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Italy's 'Other'

A Study of Transnational Calabrian Identity

Italy's 'Other': A Study of Transnational Calabrian Identity.

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Abstract

This thesis examines Calabrian 'illegitimacy' in the context of a dominant discourse that is dependent on the constructed superiority of both 'whiteness' and northern European models of 'modernity'. It explores the way this 'illegitimacy' influences Calabrian self-perception and self-representation amongst those in the region as well as the Calabrian diaspora. It incorporates analysis of oral history interviews with Calabrians and Calabrian-Australians alongside mainstream literary and comedy works in order to explore what it feels like to be Calabrian, or to have Calabrian ancestry, in light of this 'known' 'illegitimacy'. Responses to this 'illegitimacy' are mapped out through particular focus on the way participants and mainstream works frame interrelated markers: the 'ndrangheta, agropastoralism, racialised 'otherness', and mobility. It examines the ways in which a dominant group's (mis)recognition of a marginal group may lead to the interiorisation by the latter of their 'inferiority' or 'illegitimacy': an interiorisation that this thesis demonstrates is evidenced through manifestations of shame and blame. Conversely, resistance to (mis)recognition is explored with reference to manifestations of pride and feelings of injustice. Calabrian identity, which has so far been largely overlooked in Italian Studies, is considered in its transnational context; prejudice and the way this influences self-perception is explored, where relevant, as a transnational phenomenon.

Acknowledgments

Author's Declaration

I declare that the work in this dissertation was carried out in accordance with the requirements of the University's Regulations and Code of Practice for Research Degree Programmes and that it has not been submitted for any other academic award. Except where indicated by specific reference in the text, the work is the candidate's own work. Work done in collaboration with, or with the assistance of, others, is indicated as such. Any views expressed in the dissertation are those of the author.

SIGNED: Aurora Moxon   DATE: 22/11/2021

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Introducing Calabria

La Calabria è stata vista sempre come la regione più pericolosa [...] che ancora oggi dura. […] Se tu prendi un libro della storia italiana non ti racconteranno mai quella che era la Calabria realmente. [...] [S]e tu pensi che la Calabria è una regione che non va bene, chiedi perché non va bene.

These words belong to Francesco, an interviewee from San Luca in the province of Reggio Calabria; they exemplify the motivations behind this study. As this Introduction sets out, Calabria's reputation in the national and international collective imaginary is overwhelmingly negative. How does awareness of Calabrian 'illegitimacy' in national, international, and transnational contexts affect the self-perception and self-representation of Calabrians and the Calabrian diaspora, and what does study of this phenomenon reveal in terms of the interiorisation of 'inferiority' by marginal groups?

Figure 1: Detailed image of Calabria

Calabria, Italy's toe, is a region shaped by three mountain ranges and 800 kilometres of coastline. The Tyrrhenian and Ionian seas fringe its northern and southern boundaries, and Basilicata lies on its northern border. The region's position at the centre of the Mediterranean has without doubt determined its history, identity, and the way it has come to be recognised by others. A site of invasion and settlement over the last two millennia, Calabria has occupied a position on the borders of the East and West, Europe and Africa, Christianity and Islam. Calabrian ethnicity incorporates Ancient Greek, Roman, Phoenician, Saracen, Armenian (Byzantine), Turkish, Albanian, Norman, Arab, Jewish, and Spanish influences (Nunnari 2017, p.54; Pugliese 2002a, p.235). This ethnic hybridity has played a central role in Calabria's othering as part of the South, especially its north African and Arab patrimonies (Pugliese 2007, no pages). The region's marginality resulting from this hybridity is best conceived of in terms of 'illegitimacy'. By contrast with the 'legitimate', which may connote the 'reasonable and acceptable' (Cambridge Dictionary Online), I use the term 'illegitimate' to connote how Calabria is commonly perceived as 'unacceptable'. This use of 'illegitimacy' also alludes to Calabria's identity as an Italian region and thus its relationship to Italy. It is part of the nation and yet on the receiving end of prejudice at a national level. As I argue throughout this thesis, it is Calabria's proximity to the national culture and identity that triggers preoccupation in a national context. However, as I also demonstrate in this thesis, the issues and dynamics of 'illegitimacy' also operate at a regional level, as certain areas of Calabria are portrayed as 'illegitimate' by the wider Calabrian community.

Calabria's 'illegitimacy' is thus played out through a series of concentric layering. It is bound up with constructions of the wider Italian South as 'other' and thus 'inferior' in both Italian and northern European dominant discourses. From a northern European standpoint, the Italian peninsula as a whole has long been recognised as a 'backwards' 'other' and its South the extreme manifestation of this othering. I argue therefore that 'illegitimacy' encapsulates the way Calabria and the wider South exist as a source of preoccupation, if not shame, within official Italian discourse in the context of northern Europe (as I set out later in this Introduction).[1] From an official Italian standpoint, the South has, since Unification, been conceptualised as a land of 'backwardness', of archaic traditions that exist in contradistinction to northern ideals of 'modernity'; a land of violence and organised crime, inhabited by a population that is inherently 'backwards' and 'criminal'. As I set out in the following sections

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[1] My use of inverted commas highlights that this 'illegitimacy' exists in the dominant discourse but remains a construct; there is nothing inherently 'illegitimate' about Calabria or Calabrian identity outside of this discourse.

of this Introduction, in many ways Calabria's current position in the dominant discourse and collective imaginary might be considered extreme in the context of the South's 'illegitimacy'.

This perceived extreme 'illegitimacy' is the reason behind some of the advice I received from northern Italian friends before I moved to Calabria to teach English through the British Council in 2011: 'don't go'; 'it's dangerous'; 'why would you want to go there?'; 'their mentality is very different, you should be very careful.' Nine months later, I returned to university buzzing with questions I needed to answer; why did the image of Calabria from the outside – an image I had arrived with – contrast so clearly with my experience in the region? How is it that in the national collective imaginary an entire population of just under two million people is so often perceived to be morally inferior, irredeemably 'backwards', or even criminal? And how do Calabrians see themselves in light of this 'illegitimacy'? In time I came to realise the centrality of mobility to these questions. Historic migrations to and invasions of the region have resulted in Calabria's othering, along with the wider South. At the same time the mass movement from and within the region has also resulted in iterations of 'illegitimacy' and shame. In this thesis I pay particular attention to the Calabrian diaspora in Australia that has roots in the mass emigration from Calabria in the 1950s-1970s. This decision reflects a number of factors. Calabrians arriving in Australia during this period were met with racist immigration policies that resulted in their discrimination as part of a wider southern European diaspora (I explain these policies in more detail later in this Introduction and in Chapter 3). Many of these first-generation migrants are still alive and thus prejudice experienced in this period is still within living memory. The need to record and explore these memories now is of pressing importance. Over time the Calabrian diaspora and the wider southern European diaspora has officially and ostensibly achieved better recognition through Australia's introduction of multicultural policies from the 1970s. Consequently, through exploration of three generations of the Calabrian-Australian diaspora this thesis is able to explore Calabrian 'illegitimacy' in its transnational context over time.

This thesis is about positionality, perceived and interiorised prejudice, and rejections of 'illegitimacy'.[2] It is about the way in which dominant groups, even within the region, position themselves in relation to those 'others' they find shameful. It is about recognition and the effects

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[2] What I term 'perceived prejudice' refers to the awareness of how others conceptualise Calabrian identity and the belief held by Calabrians and the diaspora that this results in forms of discrimination. Inherent to the idea of prejudice is the idea of unjust bias against a group (in this case); a sense of felt injustice arises at points in interviews analysed in Chapter 2. Thus the term 'perceived prejudice' reflects the affective dimension to this awareness of the way Calabria is (unfairly) perceived, understood, and represented by others as well as how this might go on to affect Calabrians and the diaspora in their daily lives.

of (mis)recognition; the desire to be accepted as 'legitimate', and the ways in which the dominant discourse may be internalised or resisted. I argue that the way in which Calabrians respond to a cluster of indissociable markers relating to notions of 'backwardness', racialised inferiority, and criminality, advances our understanding of the effects of dominant discourses on marginal groups. In order to do this I ask, how do Calabrians, including the Calabrian diaspora, perceive and represent their region and identity in light of its position in northern European dominant discourse?

Central to my argument is the idea of a spectrum of 'illegitimacy' that starts with Italy's position in northern Europe, the South's position within Italy, Calabria's position within the South, and ultimately, the position of certain Calabrian towns and communities within Calabria. The same spectrum can also be mapped out in the Australian context. In the following sections of this Introduction I set forth this spectrum of 'illegitimacy' alongside an overview of current scholarship dealing with Italian Unification and the Southern Question, as well as gaps in the field. The dearth of studies focused on Calabrian history, culture, and identity is one of the principal reasons for undertaking this research. The region is chronically underrepresented in scholarship on Italy and the South in all areas.[3] The final contextual section of this Introduction explains the relevance of mobilities to questions of internalised shame and its rejection. I account for my decision to examine the Calabrian diaspora in Australia and the significance of other forms of mobility within Calabria, including recent immigration. I then explain the principal theoretical approaches I have drawn on in order to explore Calabrian and Calabrian-Australian responses to perceived prejudice and 'illegitimacy'. In turn I explain my own approach and in particular my analysis of mainstream representations of Calabrian and Calabrian-Australian identity alongside oral history interviews I recorded in both Calabria and Australia. I conclude this Introduction by outlining how the four chapters of this thesis develop further the spectrum of 'illegitimacy'. I set out the key questions this thesis investigates in order to analyse how Calabrians and the diaspora respond to Calabria's position in dominant discourses and collective imaginaries.

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[3] Only in the field of criminology is Calabria (and the 'ndrangheta) gaining increasing attention despite the 'ndrangheta's long history and the fact that it has become Italy's most powerful mafia (Sergi 2014, p.2). In fact, I argue in Chapter 3 that the increasing recognition of the 'ndrangheta in scholarship and the media, while necessary, risks consolidating the region's assimilation with organised crime in both the Italian and international collective imaginaries.

Hegemonic constructions of 'backwardness' and 'otherness'

The positioning of Italy within Europe is complex and the position of the South within Italy, and of Calabria within the general South, is still more nuanced and layered. In this section I highlight Calabria's extreme marginality by delineating the way that the South has been constructed as 'other', as 'criminal', and as 'backwards' from Unification onwards before I turn to the specificities of Calabrian 'illegitimacy' in the dominant discourse. However, particular attention must be paid first to constructions of wider Italian 'otherness'. The historian John Foot states in *Modern Italy* that 'Italy as a whole has often been looked at through the blinkers of a "paradigm of backwardness" in comparison with other countries, thus reducing Italy to Europe's backward "south"' (2014, p.172). Similarly, in his study of constructions of 'backwardness' in the context of Italy, John Agnew argues that through the employment of 'simple evolutionary schemas' intrinsic to northern European dominant discourse, Italy has long been recognised as 'backwards' (1997, p.24). Agnew's theorization of a modernity-backwardness paradigm is central to this thesis. This ideological lens originated in the fifteenth century as European powers encountered and made sense of 'other' societies (1997, p.34). Agnew highlights how this modernity-backwardness paradigm took on both temporal and spatial dimensions: 'a conception of the *temporal* transition through which the European social order had been transformed was imposed upon the *spatial* relationship between the new worlds and Europe in its entirety' (1997, p.31). This temporal-spatial conjunction clearly corresponds with these historic conceptualisations of Italy as both geographically remote and 'backwards' with respect to northern Europe. However, it is important to consider that this North-South conceptual map of Europe coexists with an East-West conceptual map which continues to see the othering of eastern European nations.

Nelson Moe has underlined how, during the seventeenth century, a geopolitical and economic shift took place in which Mediterranean dominance was replaced by that of northern Europe, in particular England, France, and later Germany (2006, p.2). By the late eighteenth century, progress 'was increasingly measured in terms of the material well-being and technological development of society. Italy had not simply fallen from its previous heights; it was *backward* with respect to the most advanced, modern societies in Europe' (Moe 2006, p.16). Indeed, Italy became a reference point for dominant northern European powers as they positioned themselves on the world stage in the seventeenth century (Moe 2006, p.13). The reduction of alterity into 'backwardness' resonates with Edward Said's ground-breaking work *Orientalism* written in 1978 (2003) in which he states that: 'the Orient has helped to define Europe (or the West) as its contrasting image, idea, personality, experience' (2003, p.1). As

Said argues, perceived northern European, or Western, superiority was 'imagined' and in turn constructed dialogically by comparison with what it was not, through a paradigm of interpreted 'alterity' and 'backwardness' (2003, pp.49-73).[4] In the Italian context, this kind of hegemonic framing of the peninsula by northern Europe became known; as Agnew explains, a 'metaphor of backwardness' morphed into a 'myth' (1997, p.24).[5] The influence of this myth can be explored with reference to Michel Foucault's theory of 'historical *a priori*[s]' (2002, p.xxvi). Foucault states: '[i]n any given culture and at any given moment, there is always only one "episteme" that defines the conditions of possibility of all knowledge, whether expressed in theory or silently invested in practice' (2002, p.183). In other words, the 'myth' that Italy is 'backwards' in northern European discourse has become 'known' and is an example of 'subjugated knowledge' (Foucault 1980, p.81).

To complicate Italy's historic position in this modernity-backwardness framework, northern European representations of Italy's South have marked the region as distinguishable in terms of its 'backwardness' from the rest of Italy. Moe explains: '[the South] was often thought to possess qualities associated with the whole of Italy but to a greater degree. The south was […] more backward and uncivilized' (2006, p.37). This is where the notion of a spectrum of 'otherness' or 'illegitimacy' within the context of northern European discourse comes into play. Moe describes this as 'an ethical scale of values descending with mathematical regularity as one moves down the "heel of the boot"'; an imagined spectrum that has 'cartographic' dimensions (2006, p.171). Throughout this thesis I refer to Calabria's arguably extreme position on this spectrum. The South's perceived 'otherness' was exemplified in 1806 when the French writer and politician Auguste Creuzé de Lesser claimed that: 'Europe ends at Naples and ends there quite badly […] all the rest belongs to Africa' (Creuzé de Lesser, cited in Gribaudi 1997, p.87; see also Moe 2006, p.37).[6] This statement both demonstrates how the geographical marker

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[4] Throughout this thesis I refer to the hegemonic discourse in the contexts of Italy and Australia as 'northern European discourse', reflecting both Cassano's critique of northern European versions of modernity (2012) and Dipesh Chakrabarty who refers to 'the narratives of "modernity" that, almost universally today, point to a certain "Europe" as the primary habitus of the modern' (1992, p.2). Other scholars refer to this as Western discourse. My use of the term 'northern European discourse' reflects the influence of northern European powers and conceptual frameworks in Italy's othering from the 1500s (Moe 2006, p.38), as well as the cartographic dimensions of this othering and the spectrum of illegitimacy that rely on the idea of a European north that is superior to the European South, and in turn the global South. It is this same northern European discourse that is now prevalent across the West (and beyond). To be clear, using the term 'northern Europe' does not indicate any 'real' division between nations according to a northern-southern European binary. It reflects instead this constructed, conceptual map. I use the term 'northern European discourse' to refer to hegemonic discourse in a European context; a discourse that positions a loose configuration of 'northern Europe' as superior to 'southern Europe'.

[5] Moe identifies France, Germany, and England as nations that, from the 1750s, were 'increasingly identified as leading the way of progress' (2006, p.2).

[6] In her study of the interpretations and representations of the South by British Grand Tourists, Sharon Ouditt states that northern Europeans 'adventured' into the 'exotic' South as part of an ideological exercise (2013, p.112).

of Africa was used to indicate 'backwardness' from a northern European perspective, and the framing of an Italy existing in two parts; a European north and an African south.

This was not only an external conceptualisation of the South. In 1861 the former Bourbon Kingdom of the Two Sicilies became part of unified Italy. Italy's new government in Piedmont attempted to position the new nation as belonging to northern Europe (Moe 2006, pp.22-3). Furthermore, Joseph Pugliese underlines how Unification symbolised the dominance of Italy's North over the South:

> [s]oon after the moment of Unification, a collection of northern Italian politicians, bureaucrats and academics descended into the South in order to begin the process of integrating the region into the larger body of the Italian nation-state. This descent into the South was viewed in terms of a process of discovery and colonisation (2010, pp.106-7).

Piemontese laws and conventions obstructed opportunities for southern autonomy (Pugliese 2007, no pages). John Dickie has set out the various markers through which the North came to recognise the South at this time and their prescriptive nature: '[t]he barbarous, the primitive, the violent, the irrational, the feminine, the African: these and other values […] were repeatedly located in the Mezzogiorno as foils to definitions of Italy' (1999, p.1). A layering of identity demarcation using the same northern European conceptual framework was repeated as the new Italian nation attempted to define itself against that which was considered 'backwards'; demonstrating the *a priori* 'knowledge' that Africa signifies 'backwardness' and northern Europe 'modernity' and 'progress'. The Italian army, sent South, conceptualised growing social unrest according to this racialised schemata and 'handed down' these images to the new national public opinion, forging stereotypes of southern delinquency (Dickie 1992, p.5).[7]

Crucial to this demarcation of the South as a zone inhabited by criminals were the positivist racial theories of the late nineteenth century that attempted to explain social phenomena through scientific analysis and the conviction that biology determined psychology and morality (Astarita 2005, p.301; Gibson 1998, p.133). The Italian positivist school of criminology was founded by Cesare Lombroso who sought to demonstrate that Italy's North

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Northern European missionaries also travelled south with Enlightenment ideals of 'civilisation' from as early as the 1500s (Moe 2006, p.38).

[7] In line with postcolonial work on Italian Unification, Pasquale Verdicchio has underlined that southern unrest was exacerbated by fiscal measures and conscription introduced by the new ruling elite (1997, p.195). He contends that a variety of socially, politically, and criminally motivated activities came to be covered by the term brigandage, including resistance to the new state (1997, p.194). However, the new political elite interpreted brigandage as a solely criminal phenomenon (Dickie 1992, p.3). Enrico Dal Lago has also written on the construction of stereotypes of southern criminality in post-Unification Italy (2014).

and South were racially disparate, that southern races were at an elementary stage of development, and that southern poverty and crime were the result of this inferior racial patrimony.[8] Lombroso stated in *L'uomo delinquente*: '[è] agli elementi africani ed orientali (meno i Greci), che l'Italia deve, fondamentalmente, la maggior frequenza di omicidii in Calabria, Sicilia e Sardegna mentre la minima è dove predominarono stirpi nordiche (Lombardia)' (1897, p.30). This idea that crime in the South has been inherited through African and Oriental racial contamination is key to analyses of hegemonic interpretations of the South, especially brigandage in these early years, but also more contemporary forms of criminality and the illegitimacy of the South as a whole.

It is hard to overstate the influence of Antonio Gramsci on the various scholarly fields I incorporate into this thesis. Arguably the earliest and one of the foremost intellectuals to reflect on cultural hegemony, Gramsci has been hugely influential in identity politics and postcolonial studies. According to Gramsci, constructions of the South as 'backwards' after Unification were used politically as a means of reinforcing dominant Italian identity and ideology. This, in turn, influenced Italian public opinion:

> [t]he misery of the south was historically inexplicable for the popular masses
> of the north; they did not understand that unification had taken place as
> hegemony of the north over the south [...] Only one conclusion was possible
> [...] the biological inferiority of the [southern] population (Gramsci and
> Verdicchio 2015, pp.80-81).

The northern bourgeoisie spread anti-southern propaganda amongst the northern masses, disseminating the notion that the South was 'the ball and chain that prevents a more rapid progress in the civil development of Italy' (Gramsci and Verdicchio 2015, pp.32-33). In other words, public opinion concerning the South was determined early in the Italian national imaginary through the racialised framing of socioeconomic problems and phenomena present in the South (though not solely).

These 'known' tropes have also influenced the way intellectuals have conceptualised Italy's South. Study of the South, or *meridionalismo*, a field that was initiated soon after Italy's Unification with the work of Pasquale Villari (1875) and Leopoldo Franchetti (1875), tended to conceptualise a homogenous South existing in binary opposition to a homogenous North. *Meridionalismo* cemented the South's position as a problem, or 'questione' to be identified and addressed by the North. The *Questione Meridionale* is the lens through which conditions in the

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[8] Alfredo Niceforo was another influential positivist criminologist of this school.

South (and Southerners) have been understood as 'different from the rest of the nation' (Schneider 1998, p.1). Up until the 1980s both Italian and international *meridionalisti* reiterated this binary through their persistent failure to consider the South outside of comparisons to the North (Morris 1997, p.2). One particularly influential text, *The Moral Basis of a Backward Society*, published in 1958, was penned by the American political scientist, Edward Banfield. In this anthropological study of a small town in Basilicata (Montegrano), Banfield described the local society as characterised by an 'amoral familism' at odds with northern European ideals of 'modern' society.[9] The term 'amoral familism' was subsequently applied to the South as a whole and has been used as further evidence of the (perceived) difference between North and South. Banfield's influence is commonly considered in conjunction with that of Robert Putnam who theorised in 1993 that Italy's South, unlike its North, lacked 'civic sense' (Putnam et al. 1994). Despite the far-reaching influence of both texts, they have received considerable criticism from scholars of southern Italian history and society; this thesis likewise contests the idea of stereotypical framing of Calabrian (and wider southern) mentality as 'backwards'.

In the wake of Said's *Orientalism* scholars of Italy's South started to deconstruct the way the South had been framed as existing in binary opposition to the North in both scholarship and the collective imaginary. Key texts in the early years of neo-meridionalismo include Robert Lumley and Jonathan Morris's (eds.) *The New History of the Italian South* (1997) and Jane Schneider's (ed.) *Italy's Southern Question* (1998). In both volumes the relevance of postcolonial studies to the case of Italy and its history of 'internal colonisation' (Ponzanesi and Polizzi 2016, p.150), is mapped out. Taking a wider view, in *Italy and the Mediterranean* (2013) Norma Bouchard and Valerio Ferme explore the position of the Mediterranean in Western thought with a particular focus on Italy and, in turn, Italy's South. I draw on this study in order to map out the wider spectrum of 'illegitimacy' that Calabrian marginality sits within.

The effects of this Western, or northern European, hegemonic framing of Italy's South is explored in the work of Massimo Cacciari and Franco Cassano who have both made valuable contributions to Mediterranean thought.[10] Cacciari maintains in *L'Arcipelago* that Europe as a whole is a Mediterranean archipelago whose islands are all 'distinte' and 'intrecciate', 'nutrite' and 'arrischiate' by the same sea (1997, p.18); I draw on this notion of connectivity when

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[9] The term 'amoral familism' refers to social bonds developed in order to protect the nuclear family rather than wider society (Costabile and Coco 2017, p.79). According to Pierluca Birindelli the concept of 'amoral familism' was one used in northern European and northern American studies of southern Italy alongside 'parochialism', 'clientelism', 'new patronage', and 'horizontal clienteles' (2019, p.239).

[10] Both scholars build on the work of Michael Herzfeld (2005), Pedrag Matvejević (1992; 1999), Paul Valéry (1948), Albert Camus (1968), and Pier Paolo Pasolini (1973) in the field of Mediterranean Studies.

analysing the way Italy's North and South are presented in primary sources. More relevant to this thesis is the work of Cassano who, influenced by the work of neo-meridionalists as well as by Cacciari (Fogu 2010, p.15), writes in *Southern Thought* that the South has interiorised a sense of its inferiority as a result of northern European discourse, and underlines the need for the South to be able to speak for, and represent itself – to be 'subject of its own thinking' – outside of a the modernity-backwardness paradigm (Cassano 2012, p.xii; 5). He states: '[t]he south itself often shares this belief [in its inferiority], bends to this image, accepts its own de-culturing [...] and thinks of itself as an error' (2012, p.1). This reference to the South's internalised prejudice is key to the many examples in which Calabrian authors and participants in both Calabria and Australia manifest shame over characteristics that do not fit northern European models of 'modernity' (agropastoralism, and folk Catholicism, for example).[11]

While this more recent body of scholarly work on the North-South divide makes clear the ways in which the North-South binary has been constructed, the South's position in the twenty-first century is still tenuous. Pugliese argues that understanding early constructions of the South, and in particular brigandage, is 'indispensable to understanding the relations between Southerners and the State and the problems that followed, including the financing of public administration, immigration, and even the emergence of the Northern League' (2008, p.2). It is not simply that early constructions of the South have informed current hegemonic Italian discourse, but also that the South's treatment according to these constructions has to some extent determined certain socioeconomic conditions. In turn, these conditions feed back into hegemonic representations of the South. The self-fulfilling nature of this construct is especially evident in the case of organised crime and the way it is represented in the national media. In their study of media representations of organised crime, Anna Di Ronco and Anita Lavorgna highlight how mediated stereotypes of southern organised crime often result in State complacency; the essentialising of organised crime as something inherently southern and therefore irredeemable has at times sanctioned a lack of State action (2018, p.12).[12]

Contemporary stereotypes of southern criminality depend on the erasure of explanations that implicate the state, other institutions, and wider Italian society. Firstly, it is often contended in the field of criminology that organised crime takes root in societies where the State is weak

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[11] For more on the genealogy behind Cacciari and Cassano's thought, including the work of philosophers in the field of geophilosophy and deconstruction, see Bouchard and Ferme (2013), in particular Chapter 3.

[12] It would be incorrect to imply that the Italian State has not responded to the problem of organised crime. Since the 1980s Italy has been considered a world leader in terms of antimafia legislation even if scholars have criticised the introduction of these measures as being reactive; Italian antimafia legislation has often been passed in response to the assassinations of high-profile judges and politicians, for example, working to fight organised crime (see Allum and Fyfe 2008; Paoli 2007).

or emerging (Dainotto 2015, p.24; Paoli 2003, p.180; Varese 2006, pp.411-12). Scholars of Italian organised crime such as Dickie (2011; 2014) and Roberto Dainotto (2015) understand Cosa Nostra, the Camorra, and the 'ndrangheta to have originated with societal shifts and socioeconomic conditions after Unification. The corruption and complicity of the Christian Democrat governments with organised crime from 1946-1994 has also been well documented by mafia scholars (Dickie 2014). An example of this was the failure of the *Cassa per il Mezzogiorno*, a fund initiated by the Christian Democrats as a means of investing in southern infrastructure. According to Foot, the failure of the *Cassa* to close the economic and social North South divide was the result of 'inefficiency and lack of strategic planning', which included the loss of funds to political ends and organised crime (2014, p.175). However, organised crime is portrayed in the media to be an essentially southern problem; an '"ontological" difference between OC [organised crime] and the "legitimate" world' is portrayed in the media, reinforcing the North-South divide in the public imaginary (Di Ronco and Lavorgna 2018, p.13). Representing organised crime as specific to southern culture reinforces nineteenth century racial theories and resonates with the way in which socioeconomic conditions in the South have been considered inherently Southern.

A recent and hugely significant example of the implementation of the South's perceived ethnic 'illegitimacy' is the growth of the *Lega*. The *Lega*'s ideology has ostensibly changed from being anti-southern to anti-immigration (Foot 2014, p.36). However, the party's rise to power, originating with its anti-southern stance in the early 1980s, demonstrates the prevelance and influence of constructions of the South in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. The *Lega* has framed the South as African (Dickie 1992, p.28; Verdicchio 2015, p.8), as well as being responsible for '[le] difficoltà e dei ritardi del Settentrione in rapporto ai paesi del Nord europeo' (Teti 2011, p.90). In the introduction to his translation of Gramsci's *The Southern Question*, Pasquale Verdicchio describes the *Lega* as 'a Northern separatist party, much of whose rhetoric is based on positivist constructions of Northern racial superiority and Southern inferiority' (Gramsci and Verdicchio 2015, p.7). In other words, racialised interpretations of the South have persisted through the implementation of this rhetoric in contemporary Italian politics.

While the ideology of the *Lega* may have shifted its focus to the constructed 'otherness' and perceived threat of illegal immigrants, the party's growing success since the 1980s is inextricable from the anti-southern sentiment it has both drawn on and fostered. If nothing else, its 2018 success on the national stage suggests that the 'other' genealogies of the South are now crystallised as 'illegitimate' or lost through a process of national 'whitewashing' and 'erasure'

(Pugliese 2007, no pages). The risk of internalisation of this racist discourse has become more real as Southerners are now often incorporated into a 'white' northern European Italian identity, formed in contradistinction with the 'otherness' of African and Asian illegal immigrants. Alternatively, as these 'other' characteristics are grafted onto the *Lega*'s latest enemy this process can be seen as a fluid layering of 'otherness' that still implicates the South.

Today, southerners are still referred to as *terroni*; a term that originated with the migration en masse of southerners to the North to work in industries that for the most part have been absent in the South (Pugliese 2007, no pages). George Newth describes the word *terrone* as 'a pejorative term for southern Italians' (2019, p.396). Pugliese takes this further, describing it as a 'racist' slur that means 'people of dirt/people who are the dirt beneath one's feet' (2007, no pages). Although this slur has roots in the (mis)recognition of Southerners as 'backwards' peasants, incapable of the kinds of industry and 'progress' found in the North, Pugliese touches here on the interrelatedness of markers of southern 'illegitimacy' and the fact that this 'backwardness' is inextricable from Lombrosian evolutionary theories of racial inferiority. Other recent contemporary slurs demonstrate more clearly the way Southerners continue to be racialised in the renaming of Calabria and other southern contexts as: Calafrica, Saudi Calabria, Gheddafiland-Sicily, Sahara Consilina (for Sala Consilina in Campania) (Saviano 2006, p.27; Pugliese 2007, no pages).

Calabria

This thesis is the first of its kind to attempt a mapping out of perceived prejudice that takes into account the region as a whole in conjunction with the idea of prejudice experienced on a transnational scale. The belief held by members of the Calabrian elite and a number of Calabrian participants in this research that today the region occupies the most extreme, 'illegitimate' position in the (inter)national collective imaginary is a crucial stimulus behind this thesis.[13] For example, as I analyse in Chapter 1, the Calabrian author and environmentalist Francesco Bevilacqua writes: '[l]a Calabria reca su di sé le stimmate di tutti i Sud del mondo cosiddetto civilizzato. È il paradigma del Meridione. Ecco perché la Calabria sta più al sud del Sud. È l'ultima, la negletta, la malfamata' (2015, p.24). Like Bevilacqua, Di Ronco and Lavorgna

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[13] I use 'dominant discourse' to refer to northern European hegemonic discourse (which has influenced the Italian dominant discourse), and 'collective imaginary' to refer to the way in which wider Italian society and at times the international community conceive of Calabria and the South more generally. At the same time, I contend that both the dominant discourse and collective imaginary reflect the same hegemonic attitudes towards Calabria (and the South).

argue that the saturation of images aligning Calabria with organised crime across the mainstream Italian media results in the formation of an understanding of Calabria as a homogenous region, consolidating its association with criminality in the collective imaginary in a way that marks Calabrians as a community that is at odds with the ideals and identity of the rest of the nation (2018, p.13). Mimmo Nunnari, another of the authors whose work I analyse in Chapter 1, also comments on this process, claiming that Calabria exists as 'una zona del male' in public opinion (2017, p.24).

Despite the dearth of scholarship on Calabrian identity, there is currently a growing body of work on the 'ndrangheta, and thus tangentially on Calabria, in the field of criminology. Anna Sergi, the foremost scholar in the field, has researched extensively the organisation's activities across the globe (see 2014; 2018). Enzo Ciconte is another prominent 'ndrangheta scholar who argues that the suffering of everyday Calabrians caused by the 'ndrangheta must be acknowledged (2012; 2015). He contends that the 'ndrangheta constitutes a minority group that exploits the majority of Calabrians, he thereby debunks assumptions that all Calabrians are in some way complicit in the 'ndrangheta's activities, a trope I return to often in this thesis. While research on the 'ndrangheta is necessary and overdue, most criminological approaches do not attempt to understand the effects of the 'ndrangheta in its Calabrian context on wider Calabrian society; the focus tends to fall on the growing scope of the organisation. An exception to this is Marie di Blasi et al.'s study of the way mafia stereotypes in Sicily, Calabria, and Naples determine behaviours amongst the young (2015). Another two important exceptions are Amber Phillips' study of literary and cinematic representations of the 'ndrangheta (2017a) and anthropologist Stavroula Pipyrou's analysis of Calabrian cultural codes and their exploitation by the 'ndrangheta (2015; 2014). However, I contend that the increasing proliferation of Calabria through the lens of the 'ndrangheta risks consolidating the region's association with organised crime and must be counterbalanced with the study of other phenomena relating to Calabria. The 'ndrangheta does of course feature heavily in this thesis but from a different angle. I contribute a new way of considering the 'ndrangheta through analysis of the ways in which Calabrians respond to prejudice arising out of Calabria's association with the organisation. At the same time, I discuss attitudes, traditions, beliefs, and mobilities that I believe merit scholarly attention in their own right.

This aligning of Calabria with crime negates regional differences as well as internal resistance to the 'ndrangheta. For example, the majority of organised crime is centred in the province of Reggio Calabria (though it is widespread in other Calabrian provinces) (Varese 2006, p.421). Regional heterogeneity was also highlighted in Giovanni Arrighi and Fortunata

Piselli's seminal study of economic conditions across Calabria, which makes clear that historically there has been no single Calabrian economy or society, even within individual provinces (1987, p.650). As I set out in Chapter 2, a cluster of towns in the province of Reggio Calabria that I have termed the hinterland nexus – San Luca, Africo, Natile, and Platì – occupies an extreme marginal position in terms of 'illegitimacy' within Calabria, Italy, and northern Europe. I argue that the hinterland nexus sits at the most extreme marginal end of the spectrum of 'illegitimacy'. Consolidating this argument, author and commentator Gioacchino Criaco, born in Africo, states in an article criticising the superficial representation of Calabria in the mainstream media, that:

> [p]er anni la Calabria ha praticato il luogocomunismo nei confronti di posti come Africo, Platì o San Luca. [...] Ora c'è un'africotizzazione della Calabria intera, per mali reali e anche per alibi strumentali. E la Calabria è diventata l'utile idiota di una nazione in declino, corrosa dai problemi. E l'Italia fuori dai suoi confini è diventata la Calabria d'Europa' (Criaco, cited in Veltri 2013).

I analyse this citation in Chapters 1 and 2; for now, it serves as confirmation of this spectrum, and of San Luca, Africo, and Platì's extreme marginality within Calabria.

Other intellectuals born in the region whose work focuses on Calabria include historians Mario Alcaro (1976; 2006), Augusto Placanica (1993; 1999) and Piero Bevilacqua (1980). In *La Calabria: Storia d'Italia* (1985), Bevilacqua and Placanica reflect on the diaspora's attachments to Calabrian identity over time; I refer to this in Chapter 3. However, while historical context is of course crucial to the questions I seek to answer, for the most part these scholars do not shed light on the ways in which Calabria's treatment and 'illegitimacy' is experienced by Calabrians themselves. It is in the anthropological studies of Vito Teti (2011; 2014), Pipyrou (2015; 2016), Alfonsina Bellio (2009), and Ann Cheney (2013) that Calabrian society, culture, and history receives most contemporary attention outside of criminology. Anthropological approaches to the region by Calabrian scholars have a relatively long history; in the nineteen-sixties Luigi Lombardi Satriani commenced his exploration of the value of and rationale behind 'pre-industrial' beliefs and traditions (1974; 2009); I refer to his work in Chapters 1 and 2. I also draw heavily on the work of Teti, a Calabrian anthropologist who has written extensively on societal shifts in Calabria since the 1950s, on the effects of mobility, and also on changing Calabrian attitudes towards immigrants. Pipyrou's focus is on the Area Grecanica, as well as nearby towns like Africo that are synonymous in the collective imaginary

with crime and 'backwardness'.[14] I find her work on feelings of second-class citizenship in this specific area useful even if the scope of this thesis is wider in terms of the geographic area I study. However, to date there exists no in-depth research on the way in which Calabrians see their 'Calabrianness' in light of their 'illegitimacy' in the dominant discourse. The twenty-seven interviews I recorded in Calabria constitute a new body of material that, through analysis, sheds light on the effects of prejudice and the kinds of responses prejudice fosters. Such analysis has a broader application outside of the Calabrian context and is relevant to other communities that have been caught up in similar patterns of (mis)recognition within the dominant discourse and collective imaginary. These findings may be applied carefully to questions regarding the influence of dominant discourses of 'illegitimacy' on marginal groups, as well as the role oral history interviews may play in such research.

Calabrian 'illegitimacy', and the heightened 'illegitimacy' of these communities, is both metaphorical and tied up with their geographical position at the southernmost tip of the peninsula. Simona Piattoni has described the North-South divide in a way that highlights the metaphorical configuration of 'southernness': 'some southern regions have made so much progress as to be able to (symbolically) "pull themselves out of the South"' (1998, p.226). Calabria's secure position within this metaphorical South is often corroborated with its geographic position across the mainstream media, emphasising Agnew's argument that the modernity-backwardness paradigm is conceived of in spatiotemporal terms (1997, p.31). For example, Di Ronco and Lavorgna cite an article published in 2004 in *La Stampa* on the 'ndrangheta: 'an illiterate peasant from another era, was captured in a farmhouse in the hinterland of the hinterland of Reggio Calabria' (2018, p.13). The spatiotemporal dimension of the modernity-backwardness paradigm is emphasised here through the exaggerated remoteness of Calabrians and Calabrian crime, which are aligned with a primitiveness at odds with the presumed modernity of the implied reader.

It could be argued that Sicily's position is more extreme both metaphorically due to its global association with Cosa Nostra, a much more infamous, though today less powerful, mafia, and geographically, given its literal detachment from the peninsula. However, it is worth noting that Sicily is not just known for organised crime; its cuisine, ancient history, and culture (including authors famous on a national and international stage such as Luigi Pirandello,

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[14] The *Area Grecanica* is an area within the province of Reggio Calabria inhabited by the *Grecanici*, a Greek linguistic minority recognised by Italian law since 1999 (Pipyrou 2012, pp.71-2). There is an ongoing debate amongst politicians and scholars as to whether their origins are Ancient Greek or Byzantine Greek (Pipyrou 2016, p.55).

Leonardo Sciascia, Elio Vittorini, and Giovanni Verga) also come to mind as positive associations that are 'known'. Furthermore, Sicily has been the object of much scholarly study across disciplines. While it could similarly be claimed that Naples' association with organised crime is just as cemented in the (inter)national imaginary as Calabria's, it is the common (mis)recognition of an entire regional population as 'backwards' and criminal in the case of Calabria that sets it apart. Naples, too, is associated with its ancient origins, with art and contemporary culture. Neapolitans have also been subject to very negative stereotyping along the lines of 'backwardness' and criminality. However, as an urban centre Naples does not carry the same connotations of 'backwards', inland or mountain people that, as I underline throughout this thesis, has marked and continues to mark Calabrians. Again, Calabria's geographical position (and physical make up) potentially consolidates its recognition as 'more southern' within the wider imaginary than Naples. At the same time, I do not claim outright that Calabria as a whole is unequivocally more 'illegitimate' than other southern regions; as I make clear, the markers of 'illegitimacy' I concentrate on in this thesis – criminality and associations of 'backwardness' in various forms – are mobile and in a state of flux. However, the act that Calabria's 'illegitimacy' is perceived to be extreme by a number of interviewees as well as the Calabrian authors whose work I explore, is significant.

Mobilities

The spectrum of 'illegitimacy' delineated so far in this Introduction can be extended further to analyse the Calabrian diaspora in Australia. The scope of this thesis therefore reflects the transnational turn in Italian studies and Modern Languages more generally, and the insistence by scholars such as Emma Bond that Italian history and identity (and thus, Calabrian history and identity) requires study through a transnational lens since Italy is 'a hyphenated, in-between space created by the multiple crossings that etch its geographical surfaces and cultural depths' (2014, p.412). Research on the Italian diaspora in Australia thus sits within this wider body of research that seeks to understand Italian history and identity through the peninsula's long history of multiple, ongoing encounters with others through mobility. The importance of such an approach is made clear in Charles Burdett et al.'s *Transcultural Italies: Mobility, Memory and Translation* (2020) in which the study of Italian identity is achieved from different geographic, cultural, and linguistic perspectives. Burdett et al. explain that '[m]ore than 60 million people around the world currently identify as having Italian origins. New streams of migration spring from the peninsula, which in turn has become a home, or a transit country, for

migrants from a variety of national, linguistic and cultural backgrounds' (2020, p.2).[15] In this thesis mobility is not solely explored through emigration but also other forms of movement. In mapping out the wider picture of Calabrian mobilities, including mobility from, to, and within Calabria (a subject area that has received little specific attention), it is possible to disentangle complex, interwoven patterns of interiorised 'illegitimacy', attempts to create distance from those who are more 'illegitimate' within the northern European dominant discourse, as well as moments in which this same hegemonic discourse is subverted.

Analysis of Calabrian identity in its transnational context is necessary since the same spectrum of 'illegitimacy' delineated so far repeats itself in the Italian diasporic experience in Anglo-Saxon settler nations (most notably the United States, Canada, and Australia), where the perceived 'otherness' of Italians has been racialised. For example, as Thomas Guglielmo states in his work on Italian migration, in the United States Italians were typically considered 'white' in contrast to 'Negroes' or 'Orientals', however, their 'whiteness' was not clear cut (2003, p.30). Similarly, Virinder Kalra, Raminder Kaur, and John Hutnik have commented on the position of the Italian diaspora in Anglo-Saxon contexts: 'those examples [of diasporas] that are not obviously non-white, as with the Jewish, and people of the Mediterranean, can be described as those of "secondary whiteness". Such diasporas have not been openly welcomed into Anglo-Saxon structural supremacy [...]. They have historically been "raced" in particular ways' (2005, p.106).

The tenuous 'whiteness' of the Italian diaspora in Anglo-Saxon settler nations requires further attention. The racial stock of the southern Italian diaspora was considered 'blacker' and consequently a greater threat to the perceived 'white' identity of settler populations in Western contexts. Laura Harris highlights: '[i]n the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries discourses regarding the massive southern Italian labour force emigrating out of Italy assigned to this population an otherness decidedly linked to racialized notions of primitiveness and biological inferiority' (2008, pp.602-3)'. For example, in the United States southern Italians

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[15] In 2006-7 Jennifer Burns and Loredana Polezzi organised a series of workshops on immigration, emigration, and internal migration which then led to the AHRC funded project 'Transnationlizing Modern Languages: Mobility, Identity and Translation in Modern Italian Cultures'; *Transcultural Italies* is the culmination of this project. *Transcultural Italies* contains chapters that focus on the artistic practices of diasporic subjects with Italian heritage, including work by those who both create art and undertake research relating to migration; this crossing of artistic and research boundaries pushes our understanding of what it means to have Italian, or more specific regional roots, and the different ways the diasporic experience might be iterated. Polezzi's chapter, for example, explores the work of three women artists with Italian ancestry. One of these is Luci Callipari-Marcuzzo, a second-generation Calabrian-Australian multidisciplinary artist and researcher whose work explores possible meanings behind traditionally female crafts such as embroidery and crochet that have been passed down to her by previous generations of Calabrian women in both Calabria and Australia. In Chapter 3 I underline the significance of her work in relation to the question of gendered experiences of shame amongst the Calabrian-Australian diaspora.

were restricted from entering after the 1911 Dillingham report whitewashed the earlier northern Italian diaspora while drawing on the African racial makeup of Southerners as the basis for their restriction (D'Agostino 2002, p.331). The recognition of Southerners as racially 'other' in the USA was also influenced by the attempts of northern Italian migrants and scholars to construct their identity as 'white' and racially superior to that of southern Italian migrants (Luconi 2013, p.127).

In its Australian context, the hegemony of 'whiteness' that has determined the experiences of Calabrian-Australians interviewed for this thesis commenced when Australia became a British settler colony in 1788 (Baldassar 2005, p.851). The desire to make Australia 'white' has resulted in the racial discrimination of ethnic and migrant groups marked as 'other' in Australia over the last two centuries, including Australia's Indigenous Peoples. Chinese and South Sea Islander immigrants, termed the 'yellow peril' (Andreoni 2003, p.83), were exploited and simultaneously discriminated against because of their non-white skin colour in the late 1800s. Similarly, in the 1920s Italian migrants, whose labour was exploited in the mining and sugar cane industries (mirroring the exploitation of Chinese and South Sea Islanders in the same industries), were known as 'the Olive peril' (Andreoni 2003, p.85). In 1901, The Immigration Restriction Act (also known as the White Australia Policy) 'formalized the selective treatment of immigrant groups and reinforced a hierarchy of preference according to notions of skin colour and assimilability' (Baldassar 2005, p.851).[16]

This thesis' focus on the marginality of Calabrians in the Australian context reflects the fact that experiences of this discrimination exist in living memory.[17] As I demonstrate in

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[16] Australia's 'entrenched white settler policy' predates the White Australia Policy of 1901; assisted passage was only provided to British migrants from 1831 'for approximately another 120 years' and with few exceptions (Waxman 2000, p.54). For example, although other European migrants (including Italians), as well as Asian and South Sea Islander migrants still arrived, they did so without assisted passage and were sometimes accepted only as temporary sojourners (Baldassar 2005, p. 851). From 1901 until 1975 all migrants were faced with the White Australia Policy which sanctioned the selection of migrants according to ethnicity; for example, the dictation test implemented as part of this policy meant that migrants had to read out a written paragraph in any language of the migration officer's choosing (Waxman 2000, p.55). This effectively allowed for the 'exclusion of those deemed undesirable, such as the Chinese or other "coloured" immigrants' (Waxman 2000, p.55). While Australia's need for migrants after the Second World War led to the opening up of assisted passage to European migrants, southern Europeans were still not desired; 'the "dubious" racial colouring of Italians' meant that they were initially excluded from this scheme (Papalia 2003, p.4). When southern Europeans went on to be granted assisted passage, southern Italians were still considered undesirable (Marino 2019, no pages). The Migration Act was passed in 1958, however, it was not until 1966 that the migration of non-Europeans was sanctioned (but discriminatory measures remained in place); only in 1973 was the White Australia Polcy officially repudiated (Waxman 2000, p.58). These are the most significant changes to legislation that have affected the Italian diaspora in Australia. Perera and Pugliese explain that Australia's contemporary treatment of asylum seekers and refugees who are kept in what they term 'offshore refugee prisons' demonstrates Australia's continued preoccupation with protecting 'Australian (white) citizen[s]' and ideals of 'whiteness' (2020, pp.491-2).

[17] In the Introduction to Chapter 3 I provide further background regarding the makeup and history of Italian migration to Australia, and the history of the Calabrian diiaspora more specifically.

Chapter 3, shifting attitudes towards migration in Australia have the potential to shape ongoing attitudes of Calabrian-Australians towards their Calabrian heritage. As part of the wider southern European diaspora, until Australia's Racial Discrimination Act was passed in 1975, all Italian migrants were expected to assimilate into 'white' Australian culture and society. However, the experience of the Italian diaspora in Australia prior to this official multicultural shift was not homogenous. The same northern European discourses that marked southern Italians as inferior in their Italian and wider European context resurfaced; southerners continued to be viewed as more 'illegitimate' than their northern counterparts within Australian dominant discourse and faced prejudice from the northern Italian diaspora (Pugliese 2007, no pages). Thus, the marginality of Italians in Australia, and the double marginality of Southerners, echoes the Italian diasporic experience in the North American diasporic context. Indeed, Papalia contends that anti-southern Italian sentiment in the US 'influenced Australian perceptions both popular and academic' (2003, p.4). Despite the turn to a policy of multiculturalism in 1975, scholars argue that the *a priori* superior status of 'whiteness' in Australia continues (Pugliese 2007, no pages; Ricatti 2018, p.69), and that the apparent celebration of diversity is limited, given the Australian hegemonic elite's ability to 'pick and choose among those aspects of the diasporic inheritance which best suited its purposes and tastes' (Papalia 2003, p.8). Numerous scholars have described Australia's current multicultural narrative as celebrating a form of multiculturalism predicated on 'whiteness' in which only some groups are acceptable, and even then their position is tenuous; Ghassan Hage first termed this 'white multiculturalism' (1998; see also Seet and Paradies 2018, pp.450-451; Ricatti 2016; Pugliese 2007). More recently, migrants from the Middle East, Africa, and Asia as well as refugees and asylum seekers arriving by boat are discriminated against on the basis of skin colour (Andreoni 2003; Pugliese 2007; Ricatti 2016). Such racism also implicates Calabrians and other southern Europeans who do not look 'white' (Pugliese 2007; Andreoni 2003).

Historic and recent racist immigration policies that have affected the Calabrian and wider southern European diasporas must, however, be contextualised with reference to the treatment of Australia's Indigenous Peoples. In her work on racism and dispossession in the Australian Aboriginal context, Aileen Moreton-Robinson states: 'the sense of belonging, home, and place enjoyed by the non-Indigenous subject – colonizer/migrant – is based on the dispossession of the original owners of the land and the denial of our rights under international customary law' (2015, p.3). While 'non-white' migrants have been and continue to be discriminated against on the basis of skin colour, their presence in Australia alongside other settler communities has only been possible through the violent erasure and displacement of

Indigenous Peoples. A number of Australian postcolonial scholars argue that the presence of these migrant 'others' and their dependency on the hegemonic group (Anglo-Australians) have legitimised and continue to legitimise the 'white' colonisation of Indigenous land (for example, see Nicolacopoulos and Vassilacopoulos 2004). Again, this resonates with the North American context; work by Stefano Luconi (2021), Donna Gabaccia (2000), and Jennifer Guglielmo and Salvatore Salerno (2003) on the North American Italian diaspora confirms that despite the position of Italians (and especially Southerners) in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, by law Italians were recognised as 'white' and had 'access to citizenship', unlike African-Americans and Indigenous Americans (Guglielmo 2003, p.11).

The experience of the Italian-Australian diaspora as a whole has been the subject of much scholarship by Australian and Italian scholars (most of whom are part of this diaspora). Francesco Ricatti's *Italians in Australia: History, Memory, Identity* (2018) is the most recent, comprehensive work on Italian migration to Australia over the past one hundred and fifty years and employs a transcultural approach to questions of identity (see also Baldassar 1999, 2005, 2011; Castles et al. 1992; Cresciani 2003; Iuliano and Baldassar 2008). These studies cover a wide range of phenomena, including attachments to Italian identities over time (Wilson 2008, Baldassar 2005), questions of gendered experience within the diaspora including the maintenance of material cultures (Cosmini-Rose 2008, 2005; Pallotta-Chiarolli 1999 and 2010; Vanni 2013), and the ways in which Italian heritage can be traced in the houses and gardens of the diaspora (Levin and Fincher 2010; Vanni 2020).[18] More specifically, Calabrian-Australian scholars have written on the heightened marginality of the Calabrian diaspora within the Italian diaspora in Australia (Papalia 2003; Pugliese 2002b, 2007), and on the preservation of Calabrian identity across different generations of the diaspora (Marino 2015, 2019; Marino et al. 2013). I also draw on Simone Marino's sociological studies of the Calabrian diaspora in order to map out the different ways in which second and third-generation Calabrians respond to their Calabrian heritage given its greater acceptability in Australia today (2020, 2012). This thesis makes a further original contribution in the field of mobility and transnational studies. Not only is this the first study to examine Calabrian identity and 'illegitimacy' in both Calabria and Australia, it is also the first to bring together analysis of oral history interviews recorded in both contexts in order to assess how relationships with Calabrian identity across these contexts

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[18] Scholars of migration based in Italy have also written on Italian migration to Australia and the Italian-Australian diaspora (Luconi 2009a; Baggio and Sanfilippo 2011).

correspond with each other. Through this I am also able to consider questions regarding the relationship of a diaspora to its origins, and with those who have remained or returned.

Finally, the arrival of new diasporas in Calabria, in particular migrants from the global South, is a phenomenon that allows for the examination of how Calabrians in the region position themselves in relation to those whose 'otherness' is more extreme within northern European discourse. By the time migrants started to arrive in Italy en masse in the 1970s, Calabria had already witnessed a century of mass movement away from the region as well as internal movement. From the 1950s inland towns became increasingly depopulated as many Calabrians moved from the interior to the coast; a movement that continues to this day. I analyse patterns of interiorised 'illegitimacy' by delineating these complex, interweaving mobilities, and focus in particular on instances in which mobility itself and the celebration of mobility subvert the dominant discourse. Certain examples of this subversion, such as the *Città Futura* in Riace – a regeneration project initiated by Domenico Lucano (ex-mayor of Riace) that has revived the depopulated town of Riace through the integration into the local community of migrants seeking work and refuge – offer 'new' iterations of Calabrian identity reached through a conceptualisation of what it might mean to be Calabrian beyond the lens of the northern European modernity-backwardness paradigm. By drawing on moments in interviews recorded in Calabria in which participants engaged with current immigration, I have been able to deepen analysis of Calabrian self-perception. I reach this through examination of how Calabrian participants position themselves in relation to these 'arrivals', and what this might mean in terms of their inculcation of the dominant discourse.

Theoretical approaches: identity politics, postcolonial thought, and shame

Subjectivity and the notion that identity is formed in dialogue with others is at the heart of this thesis. In order to critically examine the ways in which the dominant discourse and its framing of Calabrian identity as 'illegitimate' affects Calabrians, I employ a theoretical framework grounded on the recognition theory of Charles Taylor laid out in 'The Politics of Recognition' (1992). Drawing on Hegel's idea of a 'struggle for recognition' set out in *Phenomenology of Spirit* (1807), Taylor argues both that recognition is a 'vital human need' and that self-realisation is formed 'in dialogue with, sometimes in struggle against, the things our significant others want to see in us' (1992, pp.26; 33). I draw on this idea that a minority group's perception and representation of their identity takes place in dialogue with the dominant group to unpick instances in which Calabrian authors and participants, as well as the work of Calabrian-Australian comedian Joe Avati and Calabrian-Australian participants, reproduce or reject

dominant representations of Calabrian identity. I draw on Taylor's notion of 'misrecognition' and his argument that 'dominant groups tend to entrench their hegemony by inculcating an image of inferiority in the subjugated' to assess where and how these representations of Calabria demonstrate a sense of internalised inferiority or shame (1992, p.66).[19] Alternatively, those with Calabrian heritage at times engage with characteristics that are 'illegitimate' in the hegemonic framework in ways that indicate a refusal to feel shame; I interpret such moments as symbolising the rejection of the dominant discourse (1992, p.66).[20]

Central to Taylor's theory of recognition is the idea that dominant groups are in a position to misrecognise marginal groups. The idea of a power imbalance is crucial here as it can result in marginal groups being trapped in a negative, constructed image that is prescriptive. It is not simply that one group misrecognises another, but that the misrecogniser is in a position to determine the treatment of the (mis)recognised. Fundamental to the work of postcolonial thinkers since the late 1800s is the notion that marginal groups tend to desire positive recognition from their significant others: to be seen as 'legitimate' rather than imprisoned in a 'reduced mode of being' (Taylor 1992, p.25). Writing in 1903, activist, sociologist, historian, and novelist W.E.B. Du Bois has made significant contributions to the study of philosophy and race. His notion of 'double consciousness', set out in *The Souls of Black Folk* (2018) – the idea that subordinated groups live double lives, existing both in the way their oppressors or wider society view them, and the way they view themselves – resonates clearly with certain testimonies in which Calabrians describe the 'known' idea others have of them, and how this is at odds with the way they understand themselves. Franz Fanon also described experiencing this doubling in *Black Skin White Masks* (1952). It must be acknowledged that, despite the racialisation of southerners and what scholars have described as the colonisation of the South by the North, the subjugation of black populations, in particular in white-settler nations, is and has been a form of oppression on a scale that makes comparison with other contexts a potentially controversial endeavour. This is especially the case when considering the position of the Italian, and in particular, the southern Italian diaspora in relation to African Americans

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[19] I often refer to either 'misrecognition' or 'recognition' as '(mis)recognition' in order to highlight how the way Calabrians in various contexts are recognised by others is open to interpretation; the accuracy of the way in which they are recognised is always subjective.

[20] Axel Honneth and Nancy Fraser have also made important contributions to recognition theory. Like Taylor, Honneth's work underlines the fundamental role intersubjectivity plays in recognition, he also describes successful recognition as one of the '"quasi-transcendental interests" of the human race' (Fraser and Honneth 2003, p.174). One of the primary foci of Honneth's work, however, is recognition in the context of social movements which, though related to some of the acts of resistance I highlight, is not immediately relevant. Fraser's approach, on the other hand, is centered around a Marxist analysis of wealth and its redistribution which, again, is not directly applicable to the notion of inculcated inferiority through (mis)recognition.

and Australian Indigenous Peoples as I have set out and explain in more detail in Chapter 3. At the same time, some clear parallels emerge in particular in interviews with participants from the more 'illegitimate' communities within Calabria.

Said's *Orientalism* has also changed the course of scholarship on race and racism as well as the study of Italy's South. The reduction of Southern alterity into 'backwardness' in official Italian discourse can, as Ruth Glynn sets out in her work on scholarly interpretations of Neapolitan 'alterity', be read within an Orientalist framework (2020, p.68). The deconstruction of Western hegemony explored in *Orientalism* was subsequently developed by postcolonial thinkers such as Homi Bhabha whose theories of hybridity and in particular interstitial space have become central to work on subjugated groups in contexts of colonialism, as well as identities made hybrid through other forms of mobility (2009).[21] I draw on Bhabha's theory of hybridity in Chapter 4 with reference to the reception by Calabrians of migrants from the global South. The work of Stuart Hall is also drawn on throughout this thesis, in particular his argument that 'counter-strategies' can be employed to resist hegemonic framing by dominant groups (2013, p.259). Hall also contends that dominant constructions of marginal groups – their characteristics and inferiority – become the norm, or 'common sense' (1983, cited in Pugliese 2007, no pages). This is a useful lens through which to understand how constructions of Calabrian 'illegitimacy' have become widespread.

The affective responses of Calabrians and the Calabrian diaspora to their (mis)recognition and perceived discrimination by the dominant group is analysed with reference to work on shame. Throughout this thesis I contend that shame is an effective lens through which to interpret the way participants (and at times those who engage with Calabrian identity in the mainstream) manifest the effects of Calabrian 'illegitimacy' in the dominant discourse and collective imaginary. I thus read potential moments of shame alongside notions of (mis)recognition and interiorisation of 'illegitimacy' central to postcolonial studies.

The media and other mainstream institutions, as well as wider society, construct subjectivity through the way in which they talk about events, objects, and perceived difference; this has been the contention of affect and gender theorists like Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick since the 'affective turn' in the humanities in the 1990s. In *Touching Feeling* (2003) Sedgwick theorised that normativity – accepted understandings of the way things are or should be – is

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[21] Amongst other key postcolonial thinkers influenced by Said are Gayatri Spivak who has paid particular attention to the subaltern and their struggle to represent or speak for themselves (2010), and Robert Young whose 1995 work *Colonial Desire* also delineates the ways in which 'newness' surfaces through interactions in (post)colonial spaces.

created in this way. This argument is intrinsic to Sedgwick's work, to that of Sara Ahmed, who employs an intersectional approach to feminist, queer, and race studies, and also to that of feminist and queer theorist Sally Munt; it also resonates with Hall's notion of 'common sense' and Foucault's 'subjugated knowledge' (Hall 1983, cited in Pugliese 2007, no pages; Foucault 1980, p.81). Sedgwick has paid particular attention to shame which, she has argued, is both a personal and social affect. She states, for instance, that 'shame both derives from and aims toward sociability. [...] [S]hame-humiliation throughout life can be thought of as an inability to effectively arouse the other person's positive reactions to one's communications' (2003, p.37). However, it is arguably Silvan Tomkins' work on shame and affect that has influenced most shame theory and also therapy-based practice relating to shame and trauma. In *Affect, Imagery, Consciousness*, Tomkins famously wrote:

> shame is the affect of indignity, of defeat, of transgression and alienation. [...]
> [S]hame strikes deepest into the heart of man. While terror and distress hurt,
> they are wounds inflicted from outside which penetrate the smooth surface of
> the ego; but shame is felt as an inner torment, a sickness of the soul, [...] he
> feels naked, defeated, alienated, lacking in dignity or worth (1963, p.118).

The centrality of shame in the human experience described here is also reflected by Sedgwick, Ahmed and Munt. In their work, shame plays a crucial role in constituting subjectivity, or interpellating subjects in their day-to-day lives (Sedgwick 2003, p.36). Through reference to these works I have come to recognise the saliency of shame in the responses to markers of 'illegitimacy' I have encountered in the Calabrian context.

Central to this body of work on shame, and to my own analysis, is the work of gender theorist and philosopher Judith Butler, in particular her focus on performativity. Butler applied Sedgwick's notion of 'performative utterances' (2003, p.68) – the idea that certain statements may have a transformative potential when they are spoken – to gender, to the way gender is performed, and in turn the way this performance constructs the world. Examples of performance include '[c]ondemnation, denunciation, and excoriation [which] work as quick ways to posit an ontological difference between judge and judged' (Butler 2001, p.30). This argument fits precisely with attempts by participants from Catanzaro province to define towns in the hinterland nexus, and even Reggio Calabria province as a whole, as more 'illegitimate' in a 'them' and 'us' binary. I draw repeatedly on this argument that people who feel shamed by a shared identity may attempt to create distance between themselves and these shameful characteristics.

Engaging with this corpus from queer and feminist studies reflects my decision to approach shame arising from perceived Calabrian 'illegitimacy' from an intersectional and interdisciplinary perspective. I approach Calabria's 'illegitimacy' as the result of its (mis)recognition as a 'deviant' identity that exists in contradistinction to accepted, indeed celebrated, versions of Italian identity. Read this way, there are clear parallels between the stigma attached to Calabrian identity and non-normative sexualities.[22] This intersectionality is present in these scholarly works themselves. For example, in *Queer Phenomenology* (2006), Ahmed explored the way in which mixed-race bodies are physically oriented towards certain objects over others, reflecting accepted norms regarding the inferiority and superiority of different ethnicities in a northern European and western-centric world. In *The Cultural Politics of Emotion* (2014), physicality also plays a central role in Ahmed's delineation of shame as an inherently socially constituted experience: 'shame feels like an exposure [...] but it also involves an attempt to hide, a hiding that requires the subject turn away from the other and towards itself' (2014, p.103). In this example, the contention that the mind and body are one, that the physicality of shame is inextricable from a purely cognitive affective or emotional state, reflects Sedgwick's (1995) and Brian Massumi's (1995) seminal works that led to the 'affective turn' in the humanities. The idea of 'turning away from the other's gaze' (Ahmed 2014, p.103) is a useful means of exploring certain episodes relating to inhabitants of the hinterland nexus recounted in interviews as I argue in Chapter 2.

Sally Munt's *Queer Attachments* delineates numerous ways in which shame may be interiorised, experienced, and also rejected. I weave together her argument that those who feel shame might attempt to 'relocat[e] it in another' (2016, p.114) with Sedgwick and Butler's notion of performativity, and Ahmed's work on the embodiment of shame. *Queer Attachments* also contributes the notion of changing responses and resistance to shame over time, as well as the idea that shame can instigate positive change, especially in terms of the way those who have been made to feel shame over their identity may in time claim (with pride) their (mis)recognised identity. Anne-Marie Kilday and David Nash have termed these responses acts of 'anti-shame' which are: 'the concerted effort of individuals, caught in shameful situations or indulging in

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[22] For more focused scholarship on specific areas and approaches to shame see the psychoanalytic work of Helen Block Lewis, in particular *Shame and Guilt in Neurosis*; for psychotherapy see Donald L. Nathanson's *Knowing Feeling: Affect, Script, and Psychotherapy*; psychologist Michael Lewis' *Shame: The Exposed Self*; and Helen Lynd's *On Shame and the Search for Identity* which employs a Marxist approach to marginal communities. Also, for scholarship on the difference between guilt and shame see Tomkins' *Affect, Imagery, Consciousness*, and Ruth Leys' *From Guilt to Shame: Auschwitz and After* in which she critiques the shift from guilt to shame in shame-based affect theory and in so doing the work of Tomkins, Sedgwick, and Giorgio Agamben which, she argues, discredits trauma theory; and June. P. Tangey and Jessica. L Tracy's 'Self-conscious emotions' in the *Handbook of Self and Identity*, Mark Leary & June P. Tangney (eds.).

shameful behaviour, seeking to somehow fight back' (2017, p.4).[23] They may do this through counter-shaming, through unexpected and innovative forms of defence or through persistence with their opprobrious activities' (Kilday and Nash 2017, p.4). This is key to my inquiry into how Calabrian authors and participants frame characteristics of Calabrian identity that are marginal in the dominant discourse. Finally, reflecting what Munt underlines as a need for an interdisciplinary approach to the study of shame, I also draw on Stephanie Welten et al.'s 2012 psychological study of 'vicarious shame' which describes shame as experienced 'when the actions of the in-group confirm or reveal a flawed aspect of people's social identity' (2012, p.837). I draw on this study as a means of exploring how a symbol of extreme 'illegitimacy' in the collective imaginary – San Luca, for example – triggers shame amongst other Calabrians.

My approach

This thesis is centred around the following five questions: how do Calabrians and Calabrian-Australians perceive and represent their Calabrian identity in light of its 'illegitimacy' in the dominant discourse and collective imaginary? What does analysis of the effects of this 'illegitimacy' reveal in terms of the way shame is manifested by marginal groups? How do mainstream responses to Calabrian and Calabrian-Australian identity and 'illegitimacy' differ from the lived experience of prejudice vocalised in oral history interviews? How do attachments to Calabrian identity across different national contexts play out over time and changing national discourses? What role does mobility in its various forms play in the way Calabrians in different contexts within the region frame their identity (often on a micro level) as well as the position of arrivals from the global South, and what does this demonstrate in terms of the interiorisation of northern European discourse?

In order to examine each of these questions I analyse both mainstream responses to stereotypes of Calabrian (and southern) identity, and individual oral history interviews. There are a number of reasons behind this dual approach. Firstly, I have recognised a body of textual material penned by the Calabrian cultural elite that responds directly to the way in which Calabria is (mis)recognised in the (inter)national imaginary. Consequently, the authors selected (Francesco Cirillo, Francesco Bevilacqua, and Mimmo Nunnari) often discuss in detail, and often with reference to the same body of scholarly literature mapped out in the above sections, markers of Calabrian 'illegitimacy' such as extreme socioeconomic conditions, organised

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[23] The notion that shame may have constructive potential is also picked up on in Martha Nussbaum's *Hiding From Humanity* (2004); Nussbaum argues that shame can be a reminder of moral obligations.

crime, *rassegnazione*, and agropastoral traditions that are 'backwards' in northern European dominant discourse. At the same time, the Calabrian journalist Filippo Veltri and Calabrian author Criaco both highlight that the Calabrian cultural elite themselves play a role in the cementing of stereotypes of wider Calabrian society (Veltri 2013, no pages). Placanica and Bevilacqua distinguish what they term 'il ceto burocratico-intellettuale' from 'la classe operaia ex contadina' (1985, p.647). While these boundaries are blurred today with widespread access to educational opportunities, I contend that this is still a useful means of identifying the two kinds of source material I examine. I reveal moments in which these authors manifest shame in response to their fellow Calabrians; at times Calabrians are blamed in these texts for conditions in the region as well as their (mis)recognition in the (inter)national imaginary. As I pointed out in Chapter 1, this demonstration of shame over wider Calabrian society is an extension of the way in which southern intellectuals, since the 1848 revolts against Bourbon rule, have critiqued southern 'masses' for their 'passivity' in the face of foreign government (Petrusewicz 1998, p.46).

In the Australian context, I explore the work of comedian Joe Avati, described as 'one of the planet's hottest comics' (Posner 2008) and 'one of Australia's top comedy exports' (Magee 2012). Avati's work is thus firmly positioned in the cultural mainstream and reaches a large, international audience far wider in scope than that of the texts written by the Calabrian intelligentsia. His positioning of Calabrian identity is thus significant for other reasons; the way he responds to and frames stereotypes and markers of 'illegitimacy' has, I argue in Chapter 3, the potential to counteract Calabria's historic 'illegitimacy' in Australia. Conversely, moments in which he represents Calabrian heritage in a way that corresponds to this 'illegitimacy' risks consolidating certain stereotypes of Calabria and Calabrian identity.

In both the Calabrian and Australian context, I argue that these mainstream responses to Calabrian identity have the potential to shape how Calabrians and Calabrian-Australians relate to their Calabrian heritage and the region. This is one reason for my focus on oral history interviews. However, the primary reason for using interviews is because they enable understanding of the affective responses to Calabria's 'known' 'illegitimacy'. Oral history scholars such as Alessandro Portelli argue that such an approach is valuable because: 'oral sources give us information about illiterate people or social groups whose written history is either missing or distorted. Another aspect concerns content: the daily life and material culture of these people and groups' (1991, p.47). Similarly, Luisa Passerini states that oral history is about listening 'to those cultures and peoples which have not yet been listened to enough' (2003, p.249). Passerini goes on to explain the reasons behind the turn to oral history in

women's studies and subaltern studies was an endeavour that 'implied silencing the traditional hierarchies of historical knowledge and its objects in order to open up new ways of listening' (2003, p.249). No attempt has yet been made to understand how Calabrians and Calabrian-Australians respond to anti-Calabrian prejudice in either context, let alone the way in which transnational Calabrian 'illegitimacy' affects self-identification with Calabrian identity in the diasporic context; hence my decision to focus on these voices.

The oral testimony has raised questions regarding historical accuracy given that testimonies are shaped by the ability to remember accurately (reliability), self-perception, and self-represetation. These criticisms of oral histories persist in the present (Abrams 2016, p.6). In *Oral History Theory*, Lynn Abrams states that oral historians dispute the dismissal of oral histories by more conventional historians through acknowledging that 'oral history is a subjective methodology, celebrating its orality, [...] [and] arguing that oral sources must be judged differently from conventional documentary materials, but that this in no way detracts from their veracity and utility' (2016, p.6). Hugely influential in this debate is Passerini who argued in 1979 that oral history testimonies do not simply narrate historical events but include also 'the dimensions of memory, ideology and subconscious desires' (p.84). The idea that oral sources are the repository of the influence of ideology (and subconscious desires in relation to dominant ideologies) is particularly pertinent to the question of the interiorisation of inferiority by Calabrians. Portelli likewise underlines how oral histories are judged differently from conventional sources: 'the diversity of oral history consists in the fact that "wrong" statements are still psychologically "true" and that this truth may be equally as important as factually reliable accounts' (2006, p.68). Oral historians have also countered such criticisms of the self-narrative by underlining the unreliability and subjectivity of more conventional materials themselves (Thompson 2000).

Oral history analysis is also a unique tool with which to tease apart emotions felt on an individual and collective level across interviews triggered by experiences of prejudice and 'known' 'illegitimacy'. Memories of pain and shame may be 'transmitted without verbalisation, such as those incorporated in gestures, images and objects' (Passerini 2003, p.248). Similarly, Portelli has argued that information and meaning exist not in what interviewees say, but also (and primarily) through the way in which interviewees present experiences and attitudes (2018, pp.245-6). For Portelli, such an approach lends itself to revealing otherwise obscured emotions. I take a similar approach to analysing information provided in interviews with Calabrians; an approach that is well-suited to instances in which shame and other related emotions potentially distort the iteration of personal narratives. I have further developed my analysis of interviews

with reference to Kenneth Kirby's (2008) phenomenological approach to the exploration of meaning in oral history; for example, his conviction that bias demonstrated by interviewees is meaningful. The work of memory scholars also plays a crucial part in this analysis, reflecting the central position of Memory Studies in the work of oral historians. The role silence plays when interviewees skirt over some of the most painful (and potentially shameful) memories is key to my analysis of interviews undertaken in both Calabria and Australia.

Oral historians contend that the oral history interview is intersubjective: it is the product of the encounter between interviewee and interviewer who both bring to the interview their own subjectivities (Abrams 2016, p.58; Ritchie 2015, p.124). As a result, each interview is contingent on the position of the researcher in relation to the interviewee (and vice versa). The question of insider-outsider surfaces here. It is often contended that a researcher who is part of the group being interviewed is more likely to gain the trust of the narrator (Yow 2005 p.201). However, this is not always the case. As Abrams argues 'a respondent may be more willing to explain and to describe in detail to a stranger than to a peer' (2016, p.63). In my case, I believe that belonging to the Calabrian or wider Italian community would have impeded the recruitment of interviewees and would likely have discouraged participants from being open about the emotions they felt (or manifested) in response to prejudice. The prejudice certain Calabrians demonstrated in relation to others might also have been avoided. While I am undoubtedly part of the dominant group in that my identity is 'northern European', the majority of prejudice experienced by interviewees has been at the hands of other Calabrians and Italians in the Calabrian context. This distinction, however, is arguably harder to make in the Australian context. Also, I examine responses from a wide cross-section of society in both Calabria and Australia; defining what an 'insider' might entail would always be debatable. Indeed, this thesis maps out how different Calabrian and Calabrian-Australian identities position themselves against each other. I strongly believe that being an outsider in this case allowed a greater degree of objectivity than otherwise would have been possible. At times I was reassured by participants and the wider community that my being an outsider meant interviewees would not feel judged as they would were an 'Italian' researcher to conduct this study. Also, I was thanked a number of times for taking an interest in these issues as an outsider, and for giving Calabrians a voice.

Over the course of three fieldwork trips, one to Calabria and two to Australia, I recorded fifty-six participants in interviews lasting one hour on average; twenty-eight in Calabria and twenty-eight in Australia. In Australia I recruited participants in Melbourne and Mildura, enabling me to analyse experiential differences and the way these have determined attachments

to Calabrian heritage across urban and rural contexts; there are sizeable Calabrian communities in both Melbourne and Mildura and these communities often share familial ties. From my reading on tropes of Calabrian and wider southern proximity to the land (the *terroni* marker), examination of the diaspora in both urban and rural contexts was crucial and my findings, particularly relating to gendered experience, attest to this. Across these fieldwork sites I interviewed participants from a cross-section of Calabrian and Calabrian-Australian society. In both sites I recruited interviewees through gatekeepers already known to me, through participants whose trust I had already earned (snowball sampling), and by joining in with local events such as a religious trip organised by the church in Natile in order to meet potential participants who were unrelated from gatekeepers and those recruited through snowball sampling. Participants ranged from their late teens to their early nineties, came from a variety of social backgrounds and education levels. A number were university educated, others had only attended elementary school (in both contexts), one participant was illiterate. I interviewed journalists, teachers, lawyers, graphic designers, local politicians, call-centre workers, those who worked their own land, students, and construction labourers, for example. I make note of instances in which these different occupations and educational levels help to tease apart different attitudes and experiences. It was also important to ensure I heard the voices of men and women across these groups, especially given the lack of mainstream material responding to Calabrian identity generated by women (at the time of writing I was unable to identify any). In Calabria I also set out to interview inhabitants of towns that I argue are increasingly 'marginal' and 'illegitimate', depending on one's position in the region. I thus recorded interviews in Catanzaro and Davoli Marinas (Catanzaro province), towns in the wider Reggio Calabria province including Riace, Cardeto, as well as Locri, Gioiosa Ionica, and the towns of the hinterland nexus: Africo, San Luca, and Natile. I explain in detail the significance of this in Chapter 2. I also provide a further demographic breakdown to these interviews in the introductions to Chapter 2 and 3.

The interviews conducted were semi-structured. I approached each interview with a loose set of questions that could be adapted according to the background of each participant, as well as their emotional responses to these questions. For instance, some participants were clearly nervous at the start of their interviews; in these instances I asked more general questions about life in their town or region until they appeared more at ease. I made it clear that no questions required an answer and encouraged interviewees to discuss memories and reflections attached to experiences of prejudice that they felt were important.

All interviewees have been anonymised with the exception of Domenico Lucano, founder of *Città Futura* in Riace, who agreed to speak in an official capacity (the relevance of which is made clear in Chapter 4). One participant was a high-ranking official in the municipal government of a hinterland nexus town; when he discusses subjects where this position needs to be acknowledged I do not name him or his town. While anonymising participants is not uncommon in research that uses oral history, it is contended by many oral historians that 'anonymity clashes with some of oral history's most fundamental objectives. Having sought to give "voice to the voiceless," it is inconsistent to render them nameless. [...] [O]ral historians believe that their interviewees should be held accountable for what they say for the record' (Ritchie 2015, p.120). However, in my case reassuring participants that their testimonies would be anonymised was crucial in terms of recruitment; many participants only agreed to take part after I had confirmed I would not use their real names. While others might still have accepted, I suspect that engagement with problems such as the 'ndrangheta would not have been so candid (and would have potentially been dangerous if they had been, especially where criminal families were named).[24] Participants may also have screened some of the prejudice they held against neighbouring towns.

Finally, I conducted a handful of group interviews with two to five participants. These took place when time constraints and language barriers (the use of dialect) meant I had to decide between not undertaking interviews or recording participants together. I explore these group dynamics where relevant, for example when various debates occurred between participants, revealing emotions and phenomena that would not have surfaced in one-to-one interviews, as well as where participants might have felt unable to vocalise certain feelings in front of others. I also highlight some of the more significant moments in which my position as researcher might have impacted interviews.

Structure

This thesis consists of four chapters. Three works of non-fiction by Calabrian authors are the focus of study in Chapter 1. These works have been selected for the way in which they respond directly to Calabria's (mis)recognition and representation in the dominant discourse and collective imaginary. At other points these authors celebrate and/or critique characteristics of Calabrian identity whose legitimacy in the dominant discourse is tenuous. How these authors

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[24] I did not directly question participants about the 'ndrangheta except on a few occasions when they had already brought the subject up in conversation and then agreed to discuss it during their interviews.

engage with potential markers for shame such as the 'ndrangheta, agropastoralism, and 'pre-Christian' spiritual beliefs and practices is revealing of the way they position Calabrian identity and phenomena in response to the dominant discourse. The allocation of blame over problems in the region is a further demonstration of the degree to which dominant ideas of inherent Calabrian 'backwardness' and predisposition towards crime are reinforced or resisted. I bring together Taylor's recognition theory, Hall's and Cassano's respective postcolonial approaches to questions of representation and interiorised inferiority, and theorizations of shame by Munt, Kilday and Nash, Butler, and Ahmed to deconstruct these moments and scrutinise what they mean in terms of reinforcing or rejecting the dominant discourse. I also reflect on how these mainstream representations of Calabria might inform how Calabrians relate to their Calabrian identity.

How do Calabrians experience the 'illegitimacy' of Calabrian identity in the dominant discourse and public imaginary? And how do they perceive and present their own identity in light of these 'known' versions of Calabria? Chapter 2 explores verbal (and non-verbal) responses to these questions. In order to understand how this marginality is felt (and responded to), I tease apart multiple emotions that surfaced in interviews in response to Calabria's (mis)recognition. I focus on the same triggers of potential shame analysed in Chapter 1 (the 'ndrangheta, the heightened 'backwardness' of inland towns, certain forms of spirituality, and agropastoralism) in order to gauge how these are internalised or rejected on the ground. I also take into consideration how these markers themselves 'stick' together (Ahmed 2014, p.67). For example, just as ideas of widespread southern 'criminality' have been explained through notions of 'backwardness' since Unification in the collective imaginary, I argue that the 'ndrangheta marker is inextricable from the 'backwardness' marker, but so too are certain traditions like the *Festa della Madonna della Montagna* at Polsi which occupies a marginal place in the Italian collective imaginary because of its association with 'pre-Christian' religiosity, 'backwardness', and the 'ndrangheta. The spectrum of 'illegitimacy' outlined above is central to this chapter. I contend that Italy's marginal position within northern Europe, the South's position within Italy, and Calabria's marginal position in the South can be understood better through study of San Luca, Platì, Africo, and Natile. I explain how those occupying different positions on this geographical spectrum attempt to create distance from identities that occupy a more marginal position; in turn I explore what these distancing strategies symbolise in relation to inculcated northern European discourse. The contemporary emigration of Calabrians and how this plays into 'known' ideas of Calabrian 'backwardness' amongst Calabrians constitutes the final section of this chapter.

The same northern European discourse has shaped the experience of the Calabrian-Australian diaspora; Chapter 3 focuses on the transnationalisation of Calabrian marginality. Temporality and the way the diaspora relates to their Calabrian heritage over time and across different generations as official attitudes towards Italianness has shifted is, I argue, crucial to understanding attachments to Calabrian identity in the diasporic context. As Pugliese also highlights, while Calabrians may be officially recognised as 'white' they continue to be racially discriminated against in public in Australia as a result of their 'middle-Eastern appearance' in continuity with experiences of racialised prejudice against Italians, and especially Southerners, throughout the twentieth century (2007, no pages). Calabria's position in this acceptable Italianness is called into question through reference both to Joe Avati's comedy sketches, as well as the interviews I recorded in Melbourne and Mildura. An urban-rural experiential divide reflected in this body of interviews, along with questions of gender and class, encourage an intersectional approach to understandings of attachment to Calabrian heritage. I also address the ways in which the Calabrian-Australian diaspora engages with the 'ndrangheta both in its Calabrian and Australian contexts, and the potential feelings of shame that associations of Calabria with organised crime may trigger both in Italy on visits to the region, and in Australia. Questions of temporality resurface again in relation to the 'ndrangheta and its potential to mark Calabrians, as the global influence of the organisation is only beginning to be acknowledged in the international media.

Mobility is a phenomenon that is itself tied up with questions of legitimacy and shame. Abandoned and semi-abandoned towns signify, in different contexts, both loss and rejection of traditional ways of life, agropastoralism in particular. While millions of Calabrians have migrated away from the region, many have also migrated from inland towns to the coast; a process that commenced in the 1950s. This move is framed by scholars such as Teti (2011) and Placanica (1993), as well as some participants, as a move away from 'real' Calabrian identity, towards consumerist ways of life on the coast; the modernity-backwardness paradigm thus continues to be a useful lens through which to pick apart the significance of these movements. At the same time, the testimonies of individual Calabrians reveal complex attachments to both internal towns where they or their parents and grandparents were born, and the coastal towns in which they reside. In Chapter 4 I also analyse how interviewees position their Calabrian identity in relation to migrants, refugees, and asylum seekers, in particular arrivals from the global South. With particular reference to migrant revolts that took place in Rosarno in January 2010, and the reception of migrant arrivals in Riace's *Città Futura*, I explore the ways in which the hegemony of northern European discourses of 'whiteness' and 'otherness' surfaces in

interviews and what what this indicates in terms of its internalisation. Given the region's long history of invasion and settlement by 'others', Pugliese underlines that the immigration of the global South into Calabria constitutes a 'return' rather than an arrival (Pugliese 2007, no pages). I use this argument in the context of Riace to explore the subversive potential of Domenico Lucano's framing of *Città Futura* as having allowed Riace to reclaim its identity (lost through emigration) despite the framing of these migrants as a threat to Italian identity in official discourse.

Through this thesis I aim to provide a nuanced account of Calabrian identity and the Calabrian experience by shedding light on phenomena relating to Calabria that are often misrepresented and misunderstood, how these phenomena are explained by Calabrians, and how their misrepresentation and misunderstanding influences the self-perception and self-representation of Calabrians. In doing so, this thesis seeks to underline why Calabria merits careful attention as well as to address the way the region is so often overlooked in scholarship on Italy.

Chapter 1

Articulations of Shame and its Resistance: The Calabrian Cultural Elite

This chapter examines how a northern European discourse premised on the superiority of 'whiteness' and 'modernity' is reinforced and resisted by members of the Calabrian cultural elite across three works of polemical nonfiction dealing with contemporary Calabria. My aim is to assess how such acts of reinforcement and resistance may be interpreted through the notion of internalised prejudice and shame; the result of Calabria's (mis)recognition in the dominant discourse and public imaginary. As texts that are responses to and therefore in dialogue with hegemonic understandings of Calabria, these works are read in terms of how they account for Calabria's position in the national and international imaginary. I also examine how they represent specific markers of 'illegitimacy' that reoccur in hegemonic representations of the region and that are considered 'illegitimate' within a Eurocentric conceptual paradigm: ethnic heterogeneity, 'archaic' cultural practices, and the 'ndrangheta. The final section considers the solutions these authors propose to Calabria's(mis)recognition and its socioeconomic problems. I investigate where the allocation of blame counters the dominant discourse, for example where it is placed at a national state level and, conversely, where it is aligned with a perceived Calabrian mentality, thereby maintaining this discourse.

The three works selected for analysis are examples of a genre of publications by Southern Italian authors that I define as polemical nonfiction. This genre critically responds to the idea of an inherently 'backwards' South, seeking to explain socioeconomic phenomena in a way that resists representations of the South in line with the hegemonic discourse. A particularly influential and comprehensive example of text of this genre is Pino Aprile's *Terroni*: *Tutto quello che è stato fatto perché gli italiani del Sud diventassero 'meridionali'* which argues the case for an understanding of the South's history out with the official Italian narrative (2010, pp.7-11). Aprile argues that the dominant conceptual framework of the South encourages a sense of shame amongst Southerners; he also states that Southerners in turn often conceptualise the South along the same hegemonic interpretative framework (2010, pp.11, 14). Another mainstream author whose seminal work, *Gomorra* (2006), falls into this genre is Roberto Saviano. Whilst his focus is on Italian organised crime and predominantly on the Camorra, Saviano similarly demands a more accurate and comprehensive understanding of crime and social degradation in the South and how these are inextricable from national and global contexts.

I have identified three corresponding texts by members of the Calabrian cultural elite who aim to disseminate their representations of Calabria, its discrimination, history, and socioeconomic problems, among both Calabrian and non-Calabrian readers. Reading these works alongside each other helps to illuminate themes common to the three authors, as well as similarities and contradictions regarding how the hegemonic discourse is resisted and/or reinforced and consequently how and where a sense of shame emerges. Francesco Bevilacqua's *Lettere meridiane: Cento libri per conoscere la Calabria* (2015) opens with an extended essay entitled 'Per un'idea della Calabria e dei calabresi'. As Marta Petrusewicz states in her preface to this work, Bevilacqua aims to explain 'perché la Calabria e i calabresi sono come sono' (2015, p.5). This he does by including references to 'piccole dosi di tutto quell'indistinguibile *patchwork* di difetti, vizi […] che, in gran parte a ragione ma qualche volta anche a torto, l'immaginario collettivo ha attribuito alla Calabria e ai calabresi' (2015, p.25). He portrays Calabria – its reality and its representation – to non-Calabrians, drawing on the work of contemporary *meridionalisti* and Italian postcolonial scholarship. At the same time, he insists that solutions to many of Calabria's problems will be reached if Calabrians engage with and come to love their region and its culture, indicating that his text is also aimed at a Calabrian readership. Bevilacqua is a trained civil attorney, he is also a prolific author, journalist, photographer, blogger, and environmentalist.[25]

At first glance Francesco Cirillo's *Calabria ti odio: 50 storie d'amore e odio* (2014) deals more directly with what the author sees as Calabria's main problems: clientelism, organised crime, and the passivity of Calabrians, as opposed to the chronic stereotyping and negative understanding of the region from the outside. However, this text also responds to the way in which a certain idea of Calabria has become 'known' outside of the region. Cirillo highlights in the opening pages his intention to disrupt stereotypes of Calabria (2014, p.7). His text can be read as an attempt to explain the extent of socioeconomic problems in Calabria while also appealing for Calabrians to demand change, indicating an intended readership that incorporates both Calabrians and non-Calabrians. Cirillo is an author and freelance journalist who writes for *Mezzoeuro*, a local paper in Cosenza. He is a political activist, environmentalist, and part of *la Rete antirazzista calabrese*.

Mimmo Nunnari is a journalist, vice-director of TGR Rai, and has taught both journalism at the University of Messina and sociology at the University for Foreigners in

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[25] Bevilacqua has published over twenty books documenting Calabrian culture and the region's natural environment. He has a large following on social media and frequently gives talks organised by various regional cultural associations.

Reggio Calabria. As its title suggests, *La Calabria spiegata agli italiani: Il male, la bellezza e l'orgoglio della nostra Grecia* (2017) is a response to the way Calabria is understood by non-Calabrian Italians, which encourages a reconceptualisation of the region. Nunnari attempts to explain Calabria's problems which, he insists, can only be understood with reference to socioeconomic and historical processes. However, he also argues that Calabrians must play their part in the reconceptualisation of the region, implying again an intended readership that includes Calabrians and non-Calabrians. This is also implicit in the title; Nunnari does not clarify whether the 'nostra' in 'la nostra Grecia' refers to Italians or Calabrians. Nunnari draws heavily on scholarship dealing with Italian organised crime and Italy's history since Unification, as well as Italian postcolonial theory.

Hegemonic constructions of Calabria

In a section of his essay entitled 'Più al sud del Sud', Bevilacqua argues that in the European imaginary Calabria occupies the most extreme position within the South: '[n]ell'immaginario collettivo europeo (e non solo) la più meridionale delle regioni italiane non è la Sicilia, ma la Calabria' (2015, p.22). Bevilacqua then comments on each of Italy's southern regions:

> [l]a Sicilia è un'isola. Per ragioni identitarie, culturali, amministrative è un Sud a se stante. [...] La Puglia rappresenta il Sud industrioso e ordinato. In certi paesi, non sembra di stare al Sud. La Basilicata […] si è formata una fama positiva, di Sud diverso, bonario, serio, senza ombre […]. [La Campania] è da secoli la regione più ricca del Sud [...] [ha] industrie, cantieri, agricoltura, commerci relativamente fiorenti (2015, p.23).

He then focuses on Calabria: 'La Calabria, invece, è la più povera regione d'Italia. La disoccupazione è la più alta. Ha un tessuto imprenditoriale lasco e sfilacciato' (2015, p.23); before concluding this section with: '[è] il paradigma del Meridione. Ecco perché la Calabria sta più al sud del Sud. È l'ultima, la negletta, la malfamata' (2015, p.24).

These excerpts speak to the idea of a spectrum both of 'southernness' and prejudice towards the South, in which Calabria sits at the most extreme point. While Bevilacqua's overviews of other southern regions lack nuance and are contestable, his employment of them to highlight what he considers Calabria's socioeconomic extremity and its extreme place in the collective imaginary is significant. Calabria's position and (mis)recognition in the collective imaginary is not simply the result of a fabricated 'backwardness' but is inextricable from high levels of poverty, unemployment and crime, and low rates of entrepreneurialism and industry. Bevilacqua implicitly relates socioeconomic conditions to Calabria's treatment as the most

stigmatised Italian region in the collective imaginary when he claims that Calabria is both 'negletta' and 'malfamata'. By making this connection he encourages a reconceptualisation of Calabria's marginality that accounts for socioeconomic conditions; effectively calling for a change in the way that Calabria is recognised. Bevilacqua thus offers a counter-narrative, or what Stuart Hall terms a 'counter-strategy'; Hall argues that the 'dominant regime of representation' can be challenged through subversion of the representation process (2013, p.259). Bevilacqua's counter-narrative allows him to challenge dominant representations of Calabria, since he argues that these conditions are not attributable to an inherent Calabrian 'backwardness' as the hegemonic image of Calabria dictates, but are bound up with neglect of the region on the part of the state.

For Nunnari, Calabria's extreme socioeconomic conditions are inextricable from its geographically peripheral position within Europe: '[t]utti gli indicatori economici ritraggono lo scivolamento della Calabria verso una marginalità sempre più estrema di fanalino di coda dell'Europa, appena prima delle due enclavi spagnole di Ceuta e Melilla in terra africana' (2017, p.12). Nunnari does not attempt to deny the proximity (both real and constructed) of Calabria with Africa. This is significant since the alignment plays a fundamental role in the delegitimisation of Calabria in the dominant discourse. The decision not to deny Calabria's extreme socioeconomic conditions, and in particular the approximation of those conditions with the African continent, exemplifies work by Anne-Marie Kilday and David Nash on 'anti-shame' as a form of resistance to accepting one's behaviour or identity as shameful (2017, p.4. What is arguably a case of exceptionalism in their delineations of socioeconomic extremity – they neither account for socioeconomic variety within the region, nor do they take into account that extreme socioeconomic conditions in parts of Calabria are comparable with other areas of the South – is employed by both authors in an act that reflects Kilday and Nash's idea of 'persistence with […] opprobrious activities' (2017, p.4). Similarly, Sally Munt contends that shame and its consequent resistance can be 'productive'; it has the potential to result in change (2016, p.203). Rather than evade or attempt to deny potential triggers for Calabria's extreme 'illegitimacy', these authors engage with them, asking their readers to do the same. In so doing they encourage new ways of thinking about, or recognising, Calabria.

It is how this socioeconomic marginality has come about that concerns Nunnari. He correlates southern socioeconomic marginality, in which Calabria occupies an extreme position, with the processes of Unification discussed in Chapter 1, which have led to the polarisation of Italy's South and North, both economically and metaphorically (2017, p.18). He argues that still today this rhetoric, and in particular the negative construct of Calabria, is a

political tool and one that is dependent on the (mis)recognition of socioeconomic conditions. He contends that Calabria exists as a 'zona del male' in the national 'pensiero commune' which fulfills a political need; socioeconomic problems that should be dealt with at a national level are attributed to Calabria (Nunnari 2017, pp.24-5). This notion of a political need behind Calabria's metaphorical marginalisation resonates with Charles Taylor's argument that (mis)recognition is determined by what the dominant group 'want to see' in the subjugated group (1992, p.33). In an act that precludes any shame arising from the (mis)recognition of socioeconomic marginality as the result of inherent Calabrian 'backwardness', Nunnari argues that Calabrian extremity must be reconceptualised, or recognised truthfully as the result of ongoing processes of development and prejudice at a national level.

Cirillo also alludes to other southern regions in order to highlight Calabria's lived extremity. Stylistically, however, his demarcation of Calabrian extremity is markedly different:

> in Calabria tutto è di più. La Sicilia ha la mafia? La Calabria ha di più: la 'ndrangheta, che è più potente. La Puglia ha tre navi dei veleni affondate nel suo mare: la Calabria ne ha di più! La Lucania ha ferrovie borboniche? La Calabria ancora di peggio o non ne ha proprio! […] E avanti così (2014, pp.15-6).

Cirillo's exceptionalism, like Bevilacqua's and Nunnari's, emphasises Calabrian extremity in terms of crime, corruption, and infrastructure: characteristics that are manifestations of poor socioeconomic conditions. However, these references to crime, corruption, and infrastructure, without any allusion to past and present socioeconomic causes, puts forward a sensationalist version of Calabrian marginality (reinforced stylistically through his frequent use of exclamation marks). The text as a whole is further limited in terms of its subversive potential; there is no sense that Cirillo engages with problems in the region in order to speak back to negative stereotypes, he simply rebroadcasts negative markers associated with the region. I interpret the absence of a critique of Calabria's marginalisation in the collective imaginary as an example of the interiorisation of dominant ways of seeing Calabria. Drawing on Taylor's theory of recognition in which he argues 'dominant groups tend to entrench their hegemony by inculcating an image of inferiority in the subjugated' (1992, p.66), we could say this reflects the idea of the 'inculcated' image of inferiority generated amongst minority groups in response to the dominant discourse.

While the passages cited above put forward a homogenous image of Calabria, elsewhere Nunnari and Bevilacqua indicate a spectrum of real and constructed extremity within Calabria, with Africo (referring to Africo Vecchio and Nuovo) occupying the most extreme point. Africo

has long been emblematic of perceived southern 'backwardness' within the national narrative. Vito Teti writes: '[i]l nome Africo, da sinonimo di luogo dimenticato da Dio e di paese più disgraziato e più infelice del mondo' (2014, p.247). After a series of landslides in 1951 the community of Africo was relocated from its original inland position to the coast. However, the old town had already attracted national attention since the early twentieth century through the work of activist Umberto Zanotti Bianco, journalist Tommaso Besozzi, and photographer Tino Petrelli who campaigned to improve the desperate living conditions they found: conditions that persisted up until 1951 (see Figure 2). Today Africo is synonymous with organised crime in the Calabrian and wider Italian collective imaginary (Teti 2014, p.248).

Figure 2: Tino Petrelli, *Africo (Vecchio)* (1948, in Bevilacqua 2015, p.84)

Highlighting Africo's marginality, Nunnari argues: '[è] il luogo italiano più lontano dal cuore della Nazione, il più ripudiato, emarginato, imbrattato dai pregiudizi e dall'indifferenza delle istituzioni e dell'opinione pubblica nazionale' (2017, p.59). Read alongside Nunnari's conviction that Calabria is the most marginal region of the Italian South, here the heightened marginality of Africo in this spectrum becomes clear. Nunnari and Bevilacqua illustrate this marginality by drawing on a range of material, from official reports to historic and recent

cultural representations that reinforce this idea of Africo's extremity. An interesting example of this is Bevilacqua's commentary on *La Teda*, Saverio Strati's fictional account of Africo in the aftermath of WWII. He argues that, in *La Teda*, 'c'è il succo della questione meridionale, il distillato dell'anima della Calabria, del suo essere arcaica (ancora oggi, nonostante il tempo trascorso), tribale, vendicativa, rancorosa' (2015, p.159). While it is true that, by commenting on Africo, Bevilacqua engages in a shameful narrative which he could have 'erased' (Pugliese 2007, no pages), he in fact recycles the prevailing image of Africo as a location of extreme 'backwardness' and violence. To this mainstream image he adjoins his own belief that 'backwardness' and violence in Africo persist today. His layering of recycled images of Africo demonstrates how extremity can be generated and reinforced in the collective imaginary through repeated intertextual references: a process in which Bevilacqua participates.

Ironically, elsewhere Bevilacqua highlights the role the Calabrian intelligentsia have played in the construction of stereotypes of Calabria: 'i calabresi non sono affatto le vittime di […] questa immagine falsa e stereotipa di loro stessi, ma ne sono, invece […] i principali costruttori-fruitori' (2015, p.43). He refers here to Calabrian journalists whose representations of Calabria mirror the homogenising, crime-focused images in mainstream news reporting. Bevilacqua relates this to the way many exiled southern intellectuals represented the South as irredeemably 'backwards' after the 1848 revolts, and the influence this had on cementing the South's image in the dominant discourse. Examples of prejudiced representations of Calabria by the Calabrian intelligentsia resonate with Taylor's argument that (mis)recognition by 'significant others' can lead to 'self-hatred' (1992, p.26). I push this further since in these instances dominant, negative images of Calabria have been reinforced by members of the minority group in a way that implies a degree of shame over their shared identity. The dialogical nature of (mis)recognition, as emphasised by Taylor (1992, p.33), thus works both ways; both dominant and marginal groups may contribute to the construction of (mis)recognised identities.

Proving further the case for this recycling of pre-existing images in contemporary commentaries on Africo, Nunnari cites the above extract by Bevilacqua and his reference to *La Teda* in his own portrayal of Africo. At the same time, he clearly draws on this, and similar material, in order to develop his principal argument: that extreme social degradation in Calabria originated with Unification and continues through Calabria's sidelining in relation to the nation's interests. Commenting on Petrelli's photographs of Africo, taken in 1948, Nunnari states: '[dimonstrano] la povertà assoluta: l'innocenza bruciata, la vergogna dell'assenza totale dello stato' (2017, p.59). In highlighting Africo's extreme socioeconomic conditions through reference to pre-existing material, Nunnari is able to demand recognition for the reasons behind

Africo's marginality. Instead of manifesting shame in response to the extreme 'illegitimacy' of Africo, Nunnari attributes Africo's problems to the State's absence: a response that reflects Kilday and Nash's notion of 'counter-shaming' (2017, p.4). In short, Nunnari's depiction of Africo as extreme within the context of Calabria is evoked in order to highlight how blame for the region's extreme marginality lies at a national level: it should therefore not trigger shame amongst Calabrians or *africoti*.

Markers of 'illegitimacy': ethnic heterogeneity

Pugliese asserts that Arab histories in Calabria have suffered an ongoing process of whitening and erasure which he terms 'historicidal erasure' (2007, no pages). He argues that acts of 'historicidal erasure' such as the removal of Saracen artefacts by State authorities and the denial of Arab cultural influences reflect 'the dominance of a Eurocentric historiography underpinned by discourses of whiteness' (2007, no pages). With this in mind, I argue that instances in which these texts fail to recognise Calabria's Arab patrimony reflect a preoccupation with this paradigm of 'whiteness'. I argue that overemphasis of Calabria's Ancient Greek heritage (which is celebrated in northern European discourse) also lends itself to this notion of 'erasure.' Analysis of how Nunnari and Cirillo frame Calabrian multiethnicity is therefore a useful way of gauging the influence of the dominant discourse on their work.[26]

Cirillo posits the idea of a multiethnic Calabrian cultural patrimony when he describes a festival in Riace: '[l]a festa è di origine araba e fa parte di quelle antiche tradizioni calabresi quando ci si divertiva con poco' (2014, p.230). Cirillo inscribes Arabic culture into his understanding of Calabria's cultural patrimony. Ethnic plurality and a simpler way of life are celebrated here in a passage that delineates precisely the proximity of perceived racial alterity and cultural 'backwardness' central to Calabria's framing as 'illegitimate' in the dominant discourse. Nunnari, too, makes numerous references to Calabria's multiethnic make-up in statements like:

> le popolazioni calabresi, oltre che dei greci, hanno tratti genetici dei fenici,
> dei turchi, degli albanesi, dei normanni, degli arabi e degli ebrei. Le loro
> particelle cromosomiche fanno parte del pluriverso mediterraneo, dove tutto,
> dell'Occidente e dell'Oriente, si rimescola di continuo (2017, p.54).

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[26] Bevilacqua does not explore Calabrian multiethnicity in depth, though he does highlight how Calabria's identity needs to be understood as part of Southern Europe and the Mediterranean (a position which I examine in the final section of this chapter).

In such statements Nunnari explicitly highlights the heterogeneity of Calabria's ethnic identity. His insistence on this plurality is subversive because it directly resists the constructed Italian (and northern European) hegemonic models of monolithic 'whiteness'.

However, both authors effectively erase multiethnicity elsewhere in their texts. For example, in a chapter focused on the island of Cirella, Cirillo denies the possibility of Arab ethnic influences resulting from Carthaginian and Ottoman invasions.[27] Cirillo states: '[r]iassumendo, quindi, abbiamo una Cirella costruita dai Greci [...] poi una Cirella, si presume, presa da Annibale e distrutta, ricostruita dai Romani, assaltata dai Turchi e saccheggiata' (2014, p.191). This depiction, while it focuses on a specific location, is problematic in terms of its interpretation of the influence 'other' ethnicities have had on the region. As Augusto Placanica explains in his history of Calabria, Hannibal's presence in Calabria cannot be understood simply through the lens of violent invader; in fact, Annone, one of Hannibal's generals, entered into 'un governo bruzio-punico' in order to prevent the destruction of the Greek *polis* Crotone (1993, pp.49-50). Placanica underlines how the violence of Carthaginians, Bruzi, Mamertines, and Romans was responsible for the region's deterioration and depopulation around 200BC, highlighting that this decline 'si completò dopo la conquista romana' (1993, p.50). Ignoring the role the Romans also played in Calabria's decline, Cirillo constructs a binary. On one side he positions the Ancient Greeks and Romans ('legitimate' ethnicities in a Eurocentric paradigm), whom, he argues, had a positive influence on this stretch of coastline. On the other side he positions Phoenicians and Turks, who are framed exclusively as violent invaders whose ethnic legacies ('illegitimate' in a Eurocentric paradigm) are evaded.

In his history of Arab presence in the region, Antonio Loiacono argues that understanding Arab influence in Calabria simply through the lens of sporadic occupations is an example of historical revisionism: 'una indagine più accurata restituisce una immagine articolata in cui i rapporti tra gli uomini, le popolazioni e anche le istituzioni politiche e religiose assumono forme complesse e sfumate' (2017, p.9). Arab influence is also evident in dialects, place names, technical traditions, and artistic output (Loiacono 2017, p.9; Pugliese 2007, no pages). However, Loiacono explains that in most historical accounts of the region an obsession with Magna Graecia 'sembrerebbe offuscare tutto il resto' (2017, p.17). Analysis of the tendency to overemphasise Calabria's Greek heritage with respect to 'other' patrimonies by Nunnari and Cirillo, is an effective way of gauging how these authors reinforce or resist the

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[27] Carthaginians were Phoenicians and therefore belonged to a semitic ethnicity considered 'other' within a northern European paradigm of white superiority.

dominant framework of ethnic legitimacy. Such analysis takes place within the context of a northern European constructivist identity narrative that sees its origins as Ancient Greek (Bouchard and Ferme 2013, p.73), as well as the fact that within the framework of positivist anthropology Ancient Greek patrimonies were excluded from 'racialised' groups considered 'other' by Cesare Lombroso (1897, p.30).

While Cirillo is referring to Turkish 'invaders' in this passage, rather than Saracen, he falls into the pattern Loiacono sets out. Furthermore, throughout his text he highlights the importance of Calabria's Ancient Greek history and laments the disintegration of Calabria's Ancient Greek *poleis* such as Sybaris, 'la più antica e ricca colonia achea' (2014, p.211), whose abandonment today represents 'una vergogna tutta calabrese' (2014, p.133).[28] His self-declared shame over the loss of Ancient Greek sites is not shared with the loss of non-Western cultural patrimonies, for example the Arab emirate in Tropea, that dated back to the tenth and eleventh centuries, or the towns, suburbs, mosques, and Arab artefacts that have been deliberately destroyed in efforts to 'whiten' Calabrian identity (Pugliese 2007, no pages). This dual process of emphasising one cultural patrimony that is acceptable in a northern European framework while at the same time failing to recognise equally the value of a patrimony that is deemed unacceptable, indicates an implicit, perhaps unconscious denial of the influence of the latter and therefore of Calabria's ethnic heterogeneity.

Nunnari also falls into this pattern. Despite his insistence on Calabria being the site of ongoing encounters between East and West, in practice this is undermined by a tendency to focus on Ancient Greek cultural influences without exploring Arabic cultural traces in any detail. For example, the book's title, *La Calabria spiegata agli italiani: Il male, la bellezza e l'orgoglio della nostra Grecia* suggests Calabria can be understood with reference only to its Ancient Greek past. In the chapter entitled 'Tra Oriente e Occidente', Nunnari focuses overwhelmingly on Calabria's Ancient Greek patrimony, outlining the importance of Calabria in Magna Graecia and in turn Western civilization (2017, p.68). Conversely, he argues that, as a result of movement in the Mediterranean, the faces of Calabrians 'somigliano a quelli dei greci, ma anche dei fenici, turchi, albanesi, ebrei e arabi' (2017, p.74). The importance of Calabrian 'Greekness', according to Nunnari, is still emphasised here through its effective separation from 'other' ethnicities. At the same time, this claim effectively results in the heterogenisation of what he describes as a Calabrian 'phenotype'. However, in a contentious

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[28] Achea, or Achaea, is often used as a general term for Ancient Greece; in other contexts it may refer specifically to a region in the north-east of the Peloponnese.

passage referring specifically to the Ancient Greeks and Calabrians, Nunnari states: '[l]e linee somatiche dei volti degli abitanti di questi due mondi vicini sono simili, come pure il carattere' (2017, p.73). Nunnari utilises this essentialist, phenotypical understanding of Calabrians to underline Calabria's importance and 'legitimacy' in the national context. The very fact that he constructs what is essentially a Greek 'phenotype' (or indeed any 'phenotype') reflects the influence of the dominant discourse since the racialisation of physical characteristics has been fundamental to the marginalisation of 'other' 'races'.[29] In this latter instance Nunnari comes uncomfortably close to employing the same biological determinism Lombroso used to claim southern Italian racial inferiority in order to prove the racial legitimacy of Calabrians. He consequently marginalises the ethnic 'alterity' that characterises Calabrian identity.

Drawing on Taylor, these denials of Calabrian ethnic plurality manifest a sense of 'inculcated' inferiority and arguably a desire to be recognised as 'white' by the 'dominant group' in a way that delegitimises Calabria's true identity (1992, p.66). However, as indicated, Cirillo and Nunnari do, at least nominally, claim Calabria's Arab patrimony in certain instances. These are moments in which these authors talk back to the dominant discourse, and in so doing refuse to conform to what is 'legitimate' within the parameters of northern European discourse, resonating once more with Kilday and Nash's notion of resisting shame through the continuation of 'opprobrious' activities (2017, p.4). The subversive potential of these moments is heightened when we consider the alignment of these patrimonies within the racialised anthropological schemata that has been so influential in framing Calabria as inherently 'backwards' and criminal. This inconsistency is significant as it demonstrates how the position of these texts regarding the dominant discourse is unstable; they cannot be understood as either clearly reinforcing or resisting the hegemonic paradigm through which Calabria is (mis)recognised as 'backwards' and 'other'.

Contadino culture versus 'modernity'

The value of 'pre-industrial' *contadino*, or agropastoral, cultural practices is the basis of much work by twentieth-century Italian thinkers such as Pier Paolo Pasolini who condemned the way these traditional ways of life had been eclipsed by consumerist society (1973, no pages), and

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[29] As Pugliese argues, 'epidermal chromaticism, physiognomics and phenotypicality' have been used 'scientifically' since the late nineteenth century to 'prove' the racial inferiority of those not from northern Europe (2007, no pages). Lombroso's influence on criminal anthropology has played a central part in this 'process of racialised identification [...] driven by an ontology of the visible, [...] determined by visible racialised identificatory attributes' (Pugliese 2007, no pages); a process that Pugliese contends still continues (2007, no pages).

Vittorio De Seta who, in 1993, directed *In Calabria*, a docufilm with narrated footage of 'pre-industrial' ways of life the Calabria; ways of life that had been disappearing since the 1950s in the South (Fabio Nunziata 2015).[30] Building on this body of work, in this section I argue that the framing of surviving agropastoral cultures in Calabria is significant in light of the racialised paradigm of 'backwardness' addressed throughout this thesis, a paradigm that aligns constructions of Calabria's (and the South's) inability to 'modernise' with proximity to the earth (as evidenced by the slur *terrone*).

An example of Calabrian agropastoral culture is the Maundy Thursday procession in Verbicaro, described by Cirillo as having originated out of 'un popolo contadino, legati ai valori della terra' (2014, p.186). Flagellants beat themselves with sticks covered in shards of glass while others throw wine both to disinfect their wounds and as an 'augurio propiziatorio di una nuova buona annata' (Cirillo 2014, p.186). For Cirillo, '[i]l rito dei *vattienti* resta per l'Alto Tirreno uno dei più antichi riti rimasti ancora intatti. Un'occasione, quindi, per visitare un paese dell'interno dove ancora vive la buona e vecchia Calabria' (2014, p.187). Here Cirillo celebrates aspects of Calabrian identity that have consolidated the region as 'backwards' in the collective imaginary. The proximity to 'la terra' emphasised here exists in contradistinction to northern European ideas of 'modernity' and 'rationality'. In a discussion with De Seta recorded by Feltrinelli Editore, the Calabrian anthropologist Luigi Maria Lombardi Satriani describes the flagellants at Verbicaro as representing an example of agropastoral culture that survives in Calabria despite the 'illegitimacy' of such practices within an ideology grounded on capitalism and consumption (Feltrinelli Editore 2009). In highlighting and celebrating this proximity to 'la terra,' Cirillo invokes this web of signifiers of 'backwardness' and questions the authority of northern European discourses of 'modernity'.

Bevilacqua also includes an image of the *vattienti* in Verbicaro in his photographic insert. For Bevilacqua, agropastoral cultures as well as 'sopravvivenze magiche pagane' are key for his representation of what is unique and of value regarding Calabrian identity (2015, p.45). In a section of his essay entitled 'Santi, santoni, santini' he states that 'la Calabria ha avuto e ha – più che in qualunque altre regione italiana – anche alcuni famosi santoni e santone (uso questi termini senza alcun connotato negativo). C'è chi parla con i morti, […] c'è chi guarisce gli infermi, c'è chi cade in trance e asserisce di parlare in aramaico ed ebraico antichi' (Bevilacqua 2015, p.44). The interrelation of pagan beliefs with Calabria's ancient

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[30] I refer to this idea of 'pre-industrial' *contadino* cultural and agricultural practices as 'agropastoral cultures' and 'agropastoralism' from this point onwards.

multiethnicity is underlined here by Bevilacqua who also demonstrates his awareness of the marginality of this network of signifiers of 'backwardness' through his assurance the terms 'santi' and 'santoni' are employed without negative connotations. Drawing on Ernesto de Martino's anthropological study of ceremonial magical practices in Southern Italy first published in 1959 (2013), Bevilacqua states that spells and exorcisms are 'ancora oggi presenti in Calabria e molto più diffuse di quanto comunemente si creda' (2015, p.45). He not only recognises the continued existence of these practices but also asserts that they are more prevalent than is generally acknowledged. Bevilacqua draws on de Martino's theory that, rather than symbolising an irrational response to fear, these practices, like any religious or mythological belief, dehistoricise moments of crisis in an individual's life, reassuring practicants that there is a superior order through which all crises can be explained and resolved. In other words, while the collective imaginary understands popular magical practices to be signs of a failure to 'modernise', Bevilacqua rationalises their continuation as practices akin to mainstream religion.

The contemporary relevance of popular magic in Calabria is also analysed by ethnographer Alfonsina Bellio in her study of spirituality and the role of female mystics, referred to by Bevilacqua as 'santone'. These mystics connect with the guardian angels of their followers in order to communicate with deceased relations. They offer remedies (not accepted by mainstream Western medicine) to ailments, and psychological assistance. Bellio found that communication between these mystics and their believers, at times via text message, 'free[s] them from the burden of everyday cares and anxiety', explaining that: '[a]nxiety for one's future is not merely associated with 'backwardness'. It is manifested at different historical times, in every social or economic milieu, and at all levels of education' (2009, p.111, 114). In fact, Bellio argues that often the advice of mystics is contemporaneously sought in Calabria precisely because 'modernity' fosters heightened anxieties (2009, pp.114-5). The rituals she documents also reflect this 'modernity'. They incorporate 'practices inherited by peasant civilization' and 'global cultural elements', for example the dissemination of remedies to a global audience via 'modern' technology (Bellio 2009, p.120). Popular magic in Calabria does not, then, exist despite 'modernity'; its prevalence today is a symptom precisely of the contemporary, globalised world.

This idea that contemporary popular magic is a response to 'modernity' is also iterated by Bevilacqua who underlines its constant adaptation into 'forme e modi di rinnovamento e adeguamento ai tempi' (2015, p.47). Bevilacqua thus echoes Bellio's understanding of popular magic as syncretic – composed of both archaic and postmodern characteristics – thereby

destabalising the modernity-backwardness paradigm. If magical practices are in part a response to the present globalised, hyper-technical world they cannot be conceived of simply as a manifestation of Calabrian 'backwardness'. The idea that these practices continue today precisely because of 'modernity' and the stresses that living in a consumerist, globalised world generates coincides with Franco Cassano's contention that 'modernity is not extraneous to the pathologies [of the South]' (2012, p.1). The modernity-backwardness paradigm is dismantled further when Bevilacqua explains that many people travel to Calabria from around Italy in order to communicate with the deceased through the intercession of the mystics, relating the need for mystic intercession to wider Italian society which, in turn, serves to diminish any notion of a specific or extreme Calabrian 'backwardness' manifested through popular magic (2015, pp.46-7). While Cirillo argues that what is 'backwards' in this paradigm is in fact superior, thereby inverting the modernity-backwardness paradigm, Bevilacqua's portrayal of popular magic pushes for an understanding of this paradigm as a construct that cannot account for the reality of contemporary beliefs and behaviours in the contemporary world. Both these responses to characteristics that mark Calabrian identity as 'backwards' in Italian dominant discourse also reflect Hall's argument that stereotypes of 'unacceptable' minority groups in dominant representations can be contested 'from within' because '*meaning can never be finally fixed*' (Hall 2013, p.259). These moments, then, are the antithesis to the essentialist framing of Calabrian phenomena as 'other' elsewhere in these texts that reinforce Calabria's marginality in the collective imaginary.

The significance of both Cirillo's and Bevilacqua's celebration of popular cultures can be analysed further since both authors celebrate their survival alongside a critique of northern European models of 'modernity'. One of Cirillo's principal concerns is the physical destruction of parts of Calabria, in particular its coastline: 'modernità, sviluppi turistici, speculazioni cementizie' are not only at odds with the *contadino* cultures he delineates, they are responsible for the destruction of 'real' Calabria which is now only found inland (2014, p.114, see also p.187). Cirillo celebrates aspects of Calabrian identity that consolidate the region as 'backwards' in the collective imaginary while simultaneously expressing antipathy towards urban speculation and what he frames as a northern model of mass-tourism (2014, p.183). He also introduces the idea (and one that I return to over the following chapters) that inland Calabria is home to 'authentic' Calabrian cultures (in his view) while the coast is the site of

destructive processes of 'modernity' and mass-cultures.[31] Cirillo also argues on a case-by-case basis that both state-owned industrial and technological companies and companies based in the North of Italy have established themselves in the region since World War II with catastrophic consequences for the local environment (2014, pp.19-20). This process has encouraged people to abandon agropastoral ways of life for precarious factory work (Cirillo 2014, p.21).

Cirillo's condemnation of a version of 'modernity' celebrated within northern European dominant discourse is subversive in more ways than one. Calabria's 'failure' to industrialise is understood in the dominant discourse as the result of the innate 'backwardness' of Calabrians and their natural proximity to the land, evidenced by their *contadino* cultural practices. Cirillo reverses this conceptual framework: attempts to industrialise Calabria by national and northern companies are condemned for the destruction of the environment, for endangering these same *contadino* cultural practices as well as the proximity of Calabrians to the land. Cirillo consequently reiterates his insistence on the superiority of 'authentic' Calabrian identity northern European 'modernity'. To use Munt's terminology, he 'reverses the discourse', thereby avoiding shame (2016, p.4).

According to Bevilacqua, it is precisely the centripetal influence of the northern European model of 'modernity' that is to blame for a sense of inferiority amongst Calabrians which has in turn allowed for the physical destruction of parts of the region. He argues that attempts to 'modernise' Calabria, commencing with the agricultural and industrial projects of the 1950s, are responsible for the physical destruction of Calabria's coastline, for cultural loss and amnesia (2015, p.51). The 'cementificazione' of the coast in the mid-twentieth century led to mass migrations away from internal towns and villages – away from 'real' Calabrian identity (Bevilacqua 2015, p.55). This has resulted in the detachment of Calabrians from their 'civiltà contadina calabrese' and from the internal towns and areas of the region where these cultures persist (Bevilacqua 2015, pp.50-53).[32] In other words, 'modernity' is to be blamed for a destructive psychological rift between Calabrians and their identity. Bevilacqua understands this process through the lens of an inferiority complex. Calabrians feel shame over their 'origini contadine' in light of northern ideals: 'i calabresi credono che le loro origini contadine […] siano da ripudiare perché sinonimo di povertà, di sofferenza, di fatica. E credono che quella civiltà fosse inferiore a qualunque altra. Sicché ogni suo segno va cancellato' (2015, p.57). This

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[31] Contrary to this is the framing of inland towns as 'backwards' and coastal towns as more 'modern' by Calabrians interviewees as I analyse in Chapters 2 and 4.

[32] I develop the significance of mobility in the context of the modernity-backwardness paradigm in Chapters 3 and 4.

cancellation or 'erasure' of 'shameful' *contadini* origins, in part achieved through movement to the coast, indicates how a sense of shame has led to attempted reconstructions of Calabrian identity by Calabrians in order to fit the dominant model of 'modernity'. This reflects Munt's argument that shame is 'a powerfully spatial emotion, effecting displacement, and effacement in its subjects. […] Minority groups are shamed […] because they are compelled to feel inferior to a social idea' (2016, p.80). Expanding on this, the denials, amnesia, movement, and self-inflicted physical damage might be interpreted as manifestations of shame felt by a minority group in response to their (mis)recognition within the dominant discourse.

In Nunnari's case, the relative absence of an analogous celebration of *contadino* practices reflects his argument that a failure to industrialise the South, and in particular Calabria, has resulted in the region being denied the chance to 'modernise': '[è] stata una aprioristica negazione di cittadinanza che ha impedito alla Calabria di rinnovarsi e modernizzarsi' (2017, p.78). He relates failed industrial projects, including those of the *Pacchetto Colombo*, back to his belief in Italy's unequal Unification, arguing that public funds have been allocated along the lines of a form of welfarism that, rather than encouraging production, has fostered a culture of dependency (2017, p.51).[33] Both Nunnari and Placanica argue that these failed investments, alongside the *Cassa Per Il Mezzogiorno* have resulted in a form of welfarism that has weakened civic society, fostering a dependency on the State which in turn feeds into tropes such as widespread *rassegnazione* amongst Southerners and the South being an economic drain on the North (Placanica 1993, pp.368-9; Nunnari 2017, p.51). Essentially Nunnari is arguing that Calabria is owed the same 'modernisation' that the North has been granted. However, Calabria's lack of industry is not the only aspect of this 'modernisation' that is owed to the region. Failures to industrialise Calabria are symptomatic of what he defines as the unequal sense of citizenship felt by Calabrians 'nel campo dell'istruzione, del lavoro, dei diritti, della giustizia, della sanità, dei trasporti e dei mercati' (2017, p.139). His nuanced delineation of what he frames as a lack of 'modernity' at an institutional level and what this means for Calabrians is a condemnation of inequality that coincides with Pasolini's distinction between 'beni necessari' which he understands as necessary for 'progresso', as opposed to 'beni superflui' associated with 'sviluppo' and which he frames as unnecessary and destructive (like industrialisation and consumerism) (1973). For Nunnari 'modernity' does not exist in opposition to *contadino* cultures, but to poverty and to a

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[33] The *Pacchetto Colombo* was introduced in the early 1970s with the aim of improving industry in Calabria and Sicily. The failure to do so has resulted in 'cattedrali nel deserto'; numerous abandoned industrial plants across the South (Nunnari 2017, p.161)..

sense of inequality that is blamed not on the cognitive ineptitude of Calabrians, but on the State. In other words, his lack of engagement with 'pre-industrial' cultures cannot be interpreted through the notion of shame: it reflects instead his focus on allocating responsibility for current socioeconomic conditions in Calabria.

Crime and criminality

The modernity-backwardness paradigm central to Eurocentric discourse hinges on the constructed superiority of 'whiteness'. It is Calabria's Arab and North African patrimonies that have marked Calabrians as racially inferior, inherently 'backwards', and predisposed to crime in the collective imaginary. In this section I examine how Bevilacqua, Cirillo, and Nunnari engage with the scale and nature of the 'ndrangheta in light of the centrality of crime in hegemonic representations of Calabria. [34]

The strength of the 'ndrangheta and the institutional support it receives is one of Cirillo's principal concerns: '[la Calabria] è completamente in mano alla 'ndrangheta [...]. Perché in Calabria i rifiuti tossici possono essere sotterrati senza che nessuno veda e senta? [...] Perché la cementificazione è legalizzata? [...] [P]erché ogni operazione, piccola o grande che sia, è controllata e coperta da un sistema' (2014, pp.79-80). Cirillo does not downplay the 'ndrangheta's influence, delineating its control over much of daily life in the region. Bevilacqua also engages directly with the scale of the 'ndrangheta: '[la] 'ndrangheta e i suoi fiancheggiatori rappresentano la parte più efficiente del governo della regione' (2015, p.24). He discusses the 'ndrangheta's strength and consequent implications for the region in a section of his essay given over entirely to the 'ndrangheta, describing it as 'la principale piaga della Calabria', determining social and economic life in the region (2015, pp.40-41). Explaining the scale of the 'ndrangheta is key to Nunnari's portrayal of Calabria. He paints an unambiguous picture of the

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[34] Today, the 'ndrangheta is Italy's wealthiest and most powerful mafia. After the Maxi Trial of 1986-92 as well as State intervention following the assassinations of judges Giovanni Falcone and Paolo Borsellino in 1992, Cosa Nostra's influence declined (though it does continue into the present). The Camorra's influence within and well beyond Naples also has a long history that continues today. Other Italian organised crime groups such as the Sacra Corona Unita (Puglia) and Mafia Capitale (Rome) are younger and less influential by comparison; however their scope and activities are on the rise (Dickie 2014, p.270; Pezzi 2019, p.515). The 'ndrangheta's primary activities are extortion, drugs and arms smuggling, construction, and money laundering in order to invest and operate in the legal economy (Sergi 2014, p.2). Transplantation of its 'ndrine, particularly from the mid-twentieth century onwards, has ensured the 'ndrangheta's global reach. The term 'ndrine refers to local 'ndrangheta cells made up of one or more families who control specific geographic areas, typically a small town or a quarter of a larger town. The organisation also enjoys a strong presence in the North of Italy (Varese 2006). Key to the 'ndrangheta's international scope, however, is its grip over territories in Calabria.

'ndrangheta's strength today, its cohabitation with allies in business and politics, and its control over much of daily life in the region: 'si è inserita in ospedali, comunità montane, partiti, [e] enti pubblici' (2017, p.145). He also reflects the opinions of contemporary mafia scholars when he argues that the 'ndrangheta is not an 'anti-state' but has grown precisely through proximity to the State, for example through favour exchange (2017, p.145, 150).[35]

At the same time, Bevilacqua and Nunnari also foreground the role the contemporary mainstream media plays in reproducing a stereotyped image of Calabria as synonymous with criminality to a national and international audience. In a chapter entitled 'Media e pregiudizio', Nunnari states: '[g]eneralmente, dal bizzarro montaggio di immagini che fanno la storiografia ufficiale e i media emerge un paesaggio umano calabrese scomposto che s'impone come metafora di paradiso abitato da diavoli' (2015, p.128).[36] Likewise, Bevilacqua argues that in public opinion (national and international), all Calabrians live by '[un] sistema immorale e delinquenziale della 'ndrangheta', a phenomenon which is, he argue, analogous to the alignment of all Calabrians as criminals in positivist anthropology (2015, p.41). This has come about because '[l]a 'ndrangheta è divenuta un enorme spettacolo mediatico. [...] Con il risultato che, per l'opinione pubblica, tutto, in Calabria, è 'ndrangheta' (2015, p.42). Bevilacqua touches here on the idea of the word Calabria as having become a metonym for 'ndrangheta. Sara Ahmed explains that, through the 'sticky' work of metonymy, certain objects, identities, or phenomena take on other meanings (2014, p.67). I introduce here the argument that in the collective imaginary Calabria has come to mean 'ndrangheta: a phenomenon I come back to in subsequent chapters where I explore the lived consequences of such metonymic alignment and how it affects self-perception. For the authors of polemical non-fiction, the mainstream media perpetuates a (mis)recognised version of Calabria – a version that equates Calabria with crime and is therefore congruous with hegemonic representations of the region – which then informs the collective imaginary. Nunnari and Bevilacqua directly reject this dominant image of Calabria, effectively blaming the (mis)recognition of Calabria-as-criminal on prejudiced, mainstream reporting.

Criticisms of the mainstream media could, however, be understood as examples of *calabresismo*. In her PhD thesis on Calabrian literary representations of the 'ndrangheta, Amber

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[35] See also Paoli (2003), Dickie (2011), and Dainotto (2015).

[36] The expression 'un paradiso abitato da diavoli' originated in the Middle Ages with reference to Naples. Jennifer Selwyn explains: '[Naples] was an ancient city, noted for its archeological and natural wonders, and considered and important centre of Renaissance high culture, yet populated by a vast population of urban poor who were often seen by contemporaries as uncivilised, violent and immoral. Many of Naples' residents had migrated from the rural outposts of southern Italy during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to escape punishing poverty' (2016, pp. 1-2).

Phillips coins this term to account for a 'defensiveness' on the part of Calabrian intellectuals and politicians that is analogous to *sicilianismo* (2017a, p.132).[37] She states: 'of those who do undertake historical analysis of trends and patterns in newspaper representations of Calabrian organized crime, a recurring observation has been a level of "defensiveness" in regional reporting, against the perceived prejudice and negative stereotyping employed by the national press' (2017a, p.132). Within the theoretical framework of this essay, *calabresismo* could be understood as a form of shame or internalised prejudice since it is arguably a 'hysterical rejection', to use Joseph Farrell's term which he uses to describe *sicilianismo* (1995, p.32), of the reality of regional social degradation and the 'ndrangheta on the part of the Calabrian cultural elite.

Taking into consideration Louis Althusser's argument that the media is an 'apparatus' through which States can disseminate the dominant discourse (2001, p.96), the framing of regional responses to national reporting along the lines of *calabresismo* does not account for the way the mainstream media broadcasts images that corroborate the hegemonic ideology. On the one hand, the term *calabresismo* refers to real patterns of regional denial and self-defensiveness that work to obscure the scale of the 'ndrangheta. On the other hand, *calabresismo* is a concept that risks reducing all critical regional responses to the framing of Calabria at a national level as examples of apologist self-victimisation, when in fact these criticisms may incorporate a 'legitimate' critique of the South's historic economic and social mistreatment by the State; a critique backed up consistently in the work of historians and postcolonial scholars working on Italy (Dainotto 2015; Pugliese 2008). With this second interpretation in mind, accusations of *calabresismo* could in fact serve as a useful tool amongst those who uphold the dominant discourse since it allows for the weakening of regional criticisms of the State. If, as Phillips argues, regional reporting often responds to what is perceived to be prejudiced reporting in the national media by failing to engage truthfully with the scale of the 'ndrangheta, any attempt to play down the 'ndrangheta phenomenon by these authors might have been interpreted as a manifestation of shame resulting from dominant representations of the 'ndrangheta. Instead, the recognition by these authors of the strength of the 'ndrangheta suggests that it is possible for an author from a region with high rates of organised crime to both condemn representations of organised crime in the national media and

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[37] Phillips draws on Joseph Farrell's definition of *sicilianismo*: 'a hysterical rejection of all criticisms of Sicily, whether well founded and however motivated' (1995, p.32). She states that: '[w]ith regard to the mafia, this involves either denying its existence outright, or interpreting the anti-mafia measures as an attack on the reigon' (2016, p.183).

at the same time put forward an account of mafia activity that attempts to delineate a realistic sense of its scale. In doing so they demonstrate an absence of shame despite the 'illegitimacy' and prevalence of Calabrian crime in the collective imaginary.

Crucial to the idea of shame deriving from the 'ndrangheta as well as questions of self-victimisation is where culpability for the strength of the 'ndrangheta is allocated: namely, whether Calabrian society is deemed to be responsible, or the State (or both). Interpreted through the framework of the dominant discourse, the 'ndrangheta and related forms of crime in Calabria are exclusively and essentially Calabrian problems: an understanding that encourages the contention of an innate Calabrian propensity for crime. Notions of a Calabrian congenital disposition towards crime are particularly relevant when dealing with ideas of widespread consensus towards the 'ndrangheta by Calabrian society. Letizia Paoli explains that one of the reasons the Mafia and 'ndrangheta *cosche* or *'ndrine* have been able to assert their grip over local populations is because they have 'enjoyed the consensus – or at least, the tolerance – of large strata of the local population, whose cultural codes they repeated and manipulated' (2003, p.178).[38] Paoli contends that consensus between members of Calabrian society and the *'ndrine* reflects 'the longstanding incapacity of state institutions to guarantee order and public security over wide areas of the Mezzogiorno through the monopoly of force, and thus to gain full legitimacy in the eyes of the local population' (2003, p.178). In fact, there are many complex reasons behind consensus; distrust of the state is one. Fear and unemployment also play a crucial role.[39] There are, of course, many Calabrians who do not consent to the 'ndrangheta's rule of law. As I explore in more detail in Chapter 2, examples of resistance to the 'ndrangheta often go unreported or unrecognised (Cicconte 2008, pp.216-7). However, this apparent blurring of the boundary between *'ndranghetisti* and wider society feeds into hegemonic understandings of an innate Calabrian propensity for crime, or at best an inability or lack of desire to resist it. Anna Sergi has also written about these assumptions: '[i]t is imperative also to remember that albeit the 'ndrangheta represents a qualified minority of the Calabrian community, the community as a whole shall not be misjudged or discriminated against for this' (2019, p.4). Whether and how these authors deal with the question of consensus is considered here alongside analysis of where Bevilacqua, Cirillo, and Nunnari place the blame for the 'ndrangheta's current influence.

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[38] *Cosche* are the individual cells that make up Cosa Nostra; the equivalent of *'ndrine* in the 'ndrangheta.

[39] For an in-depth analysis of the reasons behind consensus see Diego Gambetta (2000) and Ciconte (2015).

Cirillo outlines a web of self-serving actors composed of the 'ndrangheta, regional politicians, freemasons, and bureaucrats responsible for high-level regional corruption, reflecting what mafia scholars term the 'grey zone'.[40] This web functions in conjunction with a complicit regional legal system that consistently fails to convict those implicated. Cirillo gives numerous examples of individuals and groups who have denounced the actions of this web and the deaths they have caused (for example, through the illegal 'disposal' of toxic waste) to the authorities only to have their cases archived. He consistently places the blame for the influence and actions of this web at a regional institutional level; high tumour rates resulting from the burying of toxic waste and poor transport infrastructure are both signs of the 'fallimento di questa provincia e di questa regione' (2014, p.173). An exception is his discussion of 'ndrangheta-related violence in the Locride area, which he describes as resulting from the 'abbandono totale dello Stato' (2014, p.226). This is, however, a rare example of his placing the blame beyond the region.

Placing the blame entirely at a regional level undermines the fact that these webs of power do not exist or operate solely within a Calabrian context; crime in Calabria is inextricable from clientelism and favour exchange amongst (inter)national politicians, heads of authorities, entrepreneurs et cetera (Dickie 2014). Conceptualising the 'ndrangheta as a specifically Calabrian problem also obscures the complexity of corruption in the region and its multiple, historical causes. One example of this complexity is underlined by Sergi and Nigel South, who highlight that the 'ndrangheta has in recent times benefited from 'EU structural and cohesion funds and policies' (2016, p.1). Calabria's underdevelopment is key to their analysis: 'as underdevelopment, economic depression and unemployment are notoriously both causes and effects of organised crime […] it is not surprising that in Calabria we find what Italian authorities consider the strongest, most connected and wealthiest Italian mafia' (2016, p.2). National failures to develop Calabria have allowed organised crime to flourish in the region as part of a 'mutually advantageous cohabitation of mafia clans, lazy public administrators, corrupt public officials and politicians' (Sergi and South 2016, p.10). Sergi and South draw on the work of Reece Walters to argue that 'lax implementation and enforcement' (Walters 2013, p.281) of the law has resulted in a range of crimes related to the environment, such as waste removal, construction of waste removal infrastructure, etc. (Sergi and South 2016, p.3). In turn, these siphoned funds 'contribute to the profits and confirm the bond with the Calabrian territory

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[40] Annamaria Nese and Roberta Troisi define the 'grey zone' as 'where corruption practices occur, namely, the surreptitious exchange of favours, the characteristics of which tend to vary depending on the actors involved: politicians, bureaucrats, entrepreneurs and criminal groups cultivate relations in the grey area' (2018: 301).

as a whole' (Sergi and South 2016, p.3). This lax enforcement of the law cannot simply be understood at a regional Calabrian level. In this particular instance, historic and chronic underdevelopment (the responsibility of national institutions), supranational EU funding released without adequate checks, lax law enforcement at a national and regional level, as well as the 'mutually advantageous cohabitation' of regional institutions with the 'ndrangheta have allowed the 'ndrangheta to grow (Sergi and South 2016, p.10).

By ignoring extra-regional factors Cirillo risks painting *malaffare* in the region as essentially Calabrian, thereby distancing his text from the idea of *calabresismo*. This is backed up by his conviction that it is ultimately a lack of civic sense on the part of Calabrians that is to blame for crime in the region: '[q]ualcuno in Calabria che si ribella c'è, ma si tratta di una minoranza. Non esiste in Calabria una società civile' (2014, p.81). He also explains that a recurring theme in his work is '[i]l filo del silenzio, dell'omertà, della paura' which, he argues, characterises Calabrians (2014, pp.29-30). While it must be noted that these statements are contradicted by Cirillo himself through the numerous examples he provides of individuals who have broken the code of *omertà*,[41] denouncing 'ndrangheta crimes to the authorities, as well as mass demonstrations in the region against the environmental disasters caused by the web of *malaffare*, his contention that Calabrians lack 'una società civile' resonates clearly with the prevalent view in the collective imaginary that southerners lack civic sense, as Robert Putnam's influential work argued (Putnam et al. 1994). His failure to recognise a wider network of blame, or to attempt an explanation of the reasons behind widespread *omertà*, encourages the further (mis)recognition of crime in Calabria as resulting from an innate Calabrian propensity for crime, and also bears witness to the authority of hegemonic framing of crime in Calabria.

Both Bevilacqua and Nunnari counter this idea that criminality can be attributed to a Calabrian mentality while at the same time commenting on consensus. Bevilacqua states: '[la Calabria] reagisce in modo ambiguo [...]. All'omertà provocata dalla paura delle vendette si aggiunge una sorta di compiacenza di alcuni settori della società calabrese che non di rado diviene connivenza' (2015, p.40). Bevilacqua engages with the idea of widespread *omertà* as well as institutional consensus at a regional level. However, he also states clearly in relation to the prevalence of the 'ndrangheta that: 'non si tratta […] di un problema di latitudine, di cultura o di razza ma di una precisa questione storica, che ha radici in condizioni e accadimenti' (2015,

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[41] *Omertà*, a term that originated in Sicily, refers to a code of silence followed both by affiliates and locals that Italian organised crime groups rely on; it is the refusal to denounce mafia related crimes, and/or inform the authorities. *Omertà* is typically maintained through fear but it is also symptomatic of a mutually beneficial system of codes and favours in which there is no clear criminal-victim dynamic.

pp.41-2). Bevilacqua demonstrates how crime is typically interpreted as inherent to Calabrians, while insisting himself on sociohistorical causes. He pushes his discrediting of the alignment of organised crime with latitude further by highlighting that the 'ndrangheta has managed to transplant its influence in the North 'alleandosi con la criminalità locale, ma anche con pezzi di imprenditoria e di politica' (2015, p.40). This immediately challenges the idea that the 'ndrangheta can be understood simply with reference to Calabria, implying by contrast that sectors of northern society are equally susceptible to connivance with organised crime.

Nunnari makes a similar point: 'ndrangheta expansion, integration, and infiltration in the richest parts of the North and Europe have taken place 'sotto gli occhi (omertosi) di tutti al nord' (2017, p.152). By relocating *omertà* and consensus, and thus also any shame or blame arising from these phenomena, to a national stage these authors deny discourses that posit Calabrian organised crime as somehow inherent to Calabrians. This redistribution of shame and blame is also achieved when they explain that northern and State industrial companies work with the 'ndrangheta to intercept public works contracts, a process that is well documented by 'ndrangheta scholars such as John Dickie (2014, p.121; pp.164-5). Maria Ridda (2020) has explained how the allocation of crime stereotypes is useful for political elites; focusing mafia narratives exclusively on Southern territories serves to keep attention away from the State's historic and continued role in allowing mafias to grow. Through this framing of criminality as a southern problem, political elites and the public do not have to acknowledge the ability of mafias to take root throughout the nation; a growth that has often been facilitated by northern and national politicians and companies (Ciconte 2015; Dickie 2014; Varese 2006). In emphasising factors that have facilitated the 'ndrangheta's growth that are external to Calabria, Nunnari attributes shameful, or 'illegitimate', behaviours to wider Italian society. Drawing on Munt's statement that '[r]ecognition would seem key to soothing shame' (2016, p.222), I argue that this example indicates that shame may be resisted through the accurate recognition of the role non-Calabrians have played in the 'ndrangheta's growth. In other words, accurate recognition of both the dominant group and the marginal group is necessary to avoid shame felt by Calabrians in the context of the 'ndrangheta marker.

The treatment of the 'ndrangheta by Bevilacqua, Cirillo, and Nunnari encourages a careful and nuanced reading of the relevance of *calabresismo* in texts dealing with the 'ndrangheta by Calabrian journalists and authors. The strength and widespread presence of the 'ndrangheta is not underplayed in any of these texts. While this alone does not disprove downplaying of the 'ndrangheta in regional reporting, its treatment across these texts prompts a number of further considerations. Firstly, it illustrates that defensive representations of

organised crime by members of the Calabrian intelligentsia and in particular journalists – or, *calabresismo* – is not a tendency demonstrated in all references to the 'ndrangheta by Calabrian journalists and essayists, and may only account for a minority of cases. Secondly, as Cirillo illustrates, engagement with the 'ndrangheta by Calabrian intellectuals may be characterised by an antithetical approach that is both arguably determined by and in turn influences the dominant framing of the 'ndrangheta as an essentially Calabrian phenomenon. The attribution of *calabresismo* only to Calabrians (as is implied by the term) fails to account for the broader utility of downplaying the 'ndrangheta outside of Calabria. This underestimation has both served the State and has contributed to the 'ndrangehta's growth. Finally, accusations of *calabresismo* may result in the silencing of Calabrians who highlight the State's historical and continued responsibility concerning the 'ndrangheta, denying Calabrians a voice with which to critique these phenomena. To avoid this, I content that *calabresismo* must only be applied to specific and indisputable examples of Calabrian apologia regarding the 'ndrangheta, and must also be considered alongside analogous, mainstream simplifications and denials.

Proposed solutions

Analysis of proposed solutions to socioeconomic and psychological phenomena set out in polemical non-fiction is a useful way of gauging whether the texts ultimately attribute blame to continued sociohistorical processes that implicate the nation or, instead, align blame in some way with the character of Calabrians. A recurring theme within each text is widespread Calabrian passivity or *rassegnazione* (common also in hegemonic representations of Calabria). This theme is also prevalent in scholarship on Calabria. For example, while Sergi and South blame underdevelopment and the cohabitation of 'ndranghetisti, politicians and bureaucrats for the strength of the 'ndrangheta, they also state that criminality takes place 'at the expense of a community of people that seem passive and unaware of their misfortunes' (2016, p.10). The framing of Calabria as passive has a long history. Petrusewicz explains that the perceived passivity of the southern masses surrounding the 1848 revolutions was one of the factors that led to the disillusionment of southern intellectuals who went on to reinforce the idea that passivity is common to southern masses in their work (1998, p.46). The problem with this generalisation in the context of Calabria is two-fold. Firstly, it paints a homogenous, essentialist image of Calabrian *rassegnazione* or passivity. Secondly, a chronic lack of attention is paid to the reasons behind this supposed behaviour.

While Cirillo blames processes of 'modernisation' as well as regional webs of clientelist power for much of the physical damage to Calabria and its inhabitants, for him it is ultimately

the 'carattere supino del calabrese', that is to blame for this destruction (2014, p.11). He states in his opening pages:

> odio i calabresi come popolo. [...] Perché non fanno nulla per cambiare […] la propria vita. Non fanno nulla per difendere la propria terra accettando tutto come se fosse una punizione divina […] Un po' come gli ebrei che non si ribellarono ai nazisti […]. Accettano tutto (2014, p.11).

This extremely problematic comparison with the Holocaust demonstrates an intense sense of frustration and shame on Cirillo's part towards his fellow Calabrians that plays straight into the stereotype of Calabrian moral inferiority due to region-wide passivity. Aprile makes a notably similar reference to the Holocaust in relation to Southerners in *Terroni*; stating that the extreme and widespread violence on the part of Savoy troops towards Southerners during *La Guerra Cafona* resulted in an existential crisis amongst Southerners that is comparable with the effects of the Holocaust for Jews.[43] He argues that, just as surviving Jews emerged from the Holocaust asking themselves 'se il male che li aveva investiti non fosse in qualche modo meritato', Southerners '[hanno] fatto propri i pregiudizi di cui erano oggetto' (2010, p.14). Aprile uses the example of the Holocaust to explain the mechanics behind the generation of what he himself terms as shame (2010, p.14).

Cirillo, on the other hand, uses the example of the Holocaust simply to emphasise his idea of Calabrian *rassegnazione*. Thus, an analogy repeated across two corresponding works of polemical nonfiction that demonstrates the relevance of shame in Calabria within a wider southern context, is distorted by Cirillo in a way that emphasises hegemonic notions of Calabrian passivity; symbolising precisely the kind of shame Aprile is arguing has been internalised by Southerners. Rather than attempting to explain perceived Calabrian passivity, Cirillo simply blames Calabrians (and Jews) for acts of physical and psychological violence committed against them. Such victim-blaming ultimately reveals Cirillo's contempt for the supposed extreme passivity of his fellow Calabrians. He reinforces this trope, demonstrating again that shame over one's social identity may manifest through repetition of the language and conceptual framework of the dominant discourse. At the same time, by apportioning blame to

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[43] *La Guerra Cafona* refers to the suppression by northern troops after Unification of 'brigands' and any Southerner who resisted 'the North's violent war of colonial annexation of the South' (Pugliese 2008, p.1). According to Pugliese: '[t]he term cafone originated in the South and it simply referred to poor rural folk; it originally had no derogatory connotations. After Italian unification, however, cafone began to be deployed by northern Italians as an insulting term to describe Southerners; its range of significations included "primitive," "barbaric," "uncivilised," "vulgar" and "backward"' (2008, p.1).

Calabrians he appears to position himself as distinct from the behaviour he condemns. I explore this idea of distancing in detail in Chapter 2.

For Cirillo the solution to Calabria's ills lies in addressing this passivity which relies on Calabrians learning to love their region: 'bisogna innamorarsi, da subito, da giovani, da vecchi […]. L'amore è essenziale alla vita in Calabria' (2014, p.16). According to Cirillo it has been the failure to love their Calabrian identity that has resulted in the destruction of parts of the landscape and 'real' (or 'authentic') Calabrian identity. The idea Calabrians must learn to love what is 'illegitimate' in the dominant discourse in order to overcome the destructive effects of shame is backed up by affect theorists like Munt who argues that '[s]hame is ambivalent because it is founded upon the interruption of love where the self is dependent upon the acceptance of the other' (2016, p.89; see also p.114). Munt later states that 'shame's loss […] presages a desire for reconnection. It is this desire for re-attachment that has the […] [potential for] love' (2016, p.103). For Cirillo, love for Calabria's 'civiltà contadina' must be achieved in order to prevent further damage (2014, p.208; p.210). This request for love is a request for the positive recognition of 'real' Calabrian identity by Calabrians, who must pursue a model of sustainable tourism that values '[l'ambiente] inteso in senso ampio, e cioè come rapporto che intercorre fra l'uomo e la natura' (Cirillo 2014, p.121). As previously discussed, the celebration of the proximity of man and nature surviving in parts of Calabria is subversive of the modernity-backwardness paradigm and resonates strongly with Cassano's insistence on the value of the proximity of man and nature in the Mediterranean, which he argues signifies the antithesis of 'rational' northern European models (2012, p.71). On the one hand Cirillo manifests shame through his essentialist portrayal of a passive Calabrian psyche which he holds responsible for the region's ills. At the same time, his celebration of the proximity of Calabrians with nature rejects the premise for shame since this proximity is equally inextricable from notions of 'illegitimate' 'backwardness' in the dominant discourse.

The need to effectively protect and promote 'real' Calabria is also key to Bevilacqua's solution. According to Bevilacqua, sociohistorical events including natural disasters, mass emigrations, and failed attempts to industrialise the region are to blame for the inferiority complex explored in the previous section; a complex that leads to Calabrian 'inanità': 'la paura, l'impotenza, l'inanità, l'incertezza, l'ignavia dalle menti dei singoli si trasferì alla mentalità collettiva' (2015, p.33). External phenomena thus account for the Calabrian psyche. Bevilacqua's solution to the damage caused by this 'inanità' is the generation of *oikofilia* which he defines as love for one's environment. Calabrians need to reconnect with the 'real' Calabria they have rejected out of a sense of inferiority: 'solo […] il rammemorare ciò che la Calabria è

stata nei secoli […] la sua identità[,] […] [può] produrre futuro' (2015, p.74). For Bevilacqua, this process of remembering and re-evaluating 'real' Calabrian identity should be understood as part of a wider process of allowing the South to think for itself, to be 'the subject of thought' (Cassano 2001, p.2). He draws on the notion of 'pensiero meridiano' adopted by Southernists such as Albert Camus (1968) and Cassano (2012) to describe this way of thinking outside of a Eurocentric paradigm that recognises Calabria as 'backwards' and inferior.[44] Bevilacqua addresses the modernity-backwardness paradigm by insisting on the need for recognition of Calabria outside of a northern European discourse founded on the supremacy of 'rationality' and 'industrialism'. However, while Bevilacqua draws heavily on Cassano's theory in order to re-recognise as valuable what is 'other' within the modernity-backwardness paradigm, his delineations of what the South can offer the North contradicts Cassano's. Cassano argues that Europe has constructed southern Italy as an exotic zone for centuries; its 'only acceptable meaning is one mediated by tourism [...] where the disciplined forces of the industrial polis escape [...] [to] rediscover nature and their bodies' (2012, p.133). However, for Bevilacqua it is precisely Calabria's 'otherness' that should be celebrated by Calabrians in order to then 'accogliere gente malata della nevrosi dei paesi freddi e ipertecnologici del Nord […] nel calore, nella lentezza' (2015, p.80). Echoing Massimo Cacciari's framing of northern Europe, or 'l'Europa franco-tedesca' as 'fredda' (1992, p. 161), Bevilacqua reconceptualises what is 'other' and exotic in the eyes of northerners as a source of pride; a further gesture that resonates with Hall's theory of making stereotypes 'work against themselves' (Hall 2013, p.263). For Bevilacqua, southern warmth, slowness, and proximity to nature are reconfigured to symbolise things Northerners require but only Calabria (and the wider South) can offer. Subversion of the dominant discourse is therefore reached through his insistence that Calabria's future does not depend, in Cassano's words, on 'becom[ing] northern' (2001, p.1). It depends on the elimination of paralysing shame felt by Calabrians arising from (mis)recognition. As with Cirillo, the promotion of this active engagement with and love for 'real' Calabria is translated here as an act of 'anti-shame' (Kilday and Nash 2017, p.4).

Bevilacqua celebrates a conceptualisation of Calabria as part of a South, the legitimacy of which exists in opposition to the North, reflecting an approach which Norma Bouchard and Valerio Ferme describe as: 'critical, oppositional thought necessary to counter the hegemonic epistemologies and normative paradigms of Atlanticist Europe' (2013, p.86). Cirillo's positive

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[44] This network of Southernists also includes Mario Alcaro (1976), Piero Bevilacqua (1980), and Pier Paolo Pasolini (1973).

acknowledgment of what is unique to Calabria also reflects this. However, Calabrian anthropologist Vito Teti argues that the idea of southern superiority is a construct that does not reflect the mixing and exchange that is inherent to both North and South (2011, p.22); a contention that resonates with Cacciari's vision of Europe as a whole existing as a Mediterranean archipelago with the same roots and destiny (1997, pp.15-16). Teti contends that this binary risks cultural homogenisation of both North and South and encourages localism (2011, pp.21-26). With this in mind, Cirillo's and Bevilacqua's insistence on the superiority of 'real' Calabria symbolises an attempt to construct an essentialist identity founded on the denial of the South's links with Northern Italy and Europe (Teti 2011, pp.20-21). By contrast, Nunnari's proposed solution repudiates any North-South binary. Again, eradication of Calabrian passivity plays a central role in solving Calabria's problems, with Nunnari blaming external stimuli for Calabrian passivity: '[c]i sono ragioni e torti storici […] che spiegano le ragioni delle condizioni di malessere della Calabria, a cominciare […] dall'atteggiamento passivo e rassegnato dei calabresi (2017, p.179). Nunnari concludes his text by arguing that: '[p]er cambiare serve una rivoluzione culturale: […] un progetto che avvicini la società del Nord che cammina veloce e la società del Sud, ferma suo malgrado' (2017, p.121, 189). He argues that this will be achieved both by Calabrians shunning their passivity, becoming 'protagonisti attivi', and the State working to undo the damage that unequal Unification has caused (2017, p.189). Nunnari's solution relies on the recognition and rectification of sociohistorical phenomena that are inseparable from State ambivalence and inaction; the State's treatment of the region has, amongst other things, resulted in Calabrian passivity. This claim thereby resits the notion of innate passivity. However, in this instance Nunnari fails to destabilise the hegemony of the dominant discourse since he is pushing for recognition within it.

At the same time, Nunnari argues the case for the legitimacy of Calabria's ethnically heterogeneous identity by insisting on the (unacknowledged) ethnic heterogeneity of the nation, thereby bridging the constructed North-South ethnic binary:

> [ci] sono culture (quella calabrese è tra queste) che sono rimaste ai margini del contesto culturale nazionale pur avendo un potenziale in grado di contribuire efficacemente al mutamento dell'identità nazionale. Le diversità [...] sono valori aggiunti, elementi utili nella ricerca di futuro per tutti (2017, p.183).

Ideals of a white monolithic Italy symbolise the nation's own (mis)recognition by and of itself since its heterogeneity remains unacknowledged and 'illegitimate'. This notion chimes with the

theories of scholars such as John Agnew and Pugliese, who argue that Italian heterogeneity (and European heterogeneity) is delegitimised within a northern discourse of whiteness, as set out in the Introduction (Agnew 1997; Pugliese 2007). According to Nunnari, Calabrian identity needs to be recognised for what it is, and in turn be accepted as a 'legitimate' example of diversity within the context of national plurality. Calabrian identity therefore has the potential to reorient the national identity. Nunnari mentions '[lo] sguardo indifferente (o di disprezzo)' of Northerners 'che umilia terribilmente', a shame that 'tende [...] a comprimere le situazioni locali senza rispettarne l'estrema ricchezza di sfumature, di varietà' (2017, p.122). Like other shame theorists, Ahmed has underlined centrality of the 'gaze' of dominant others in generating feelings of shame, thereby underlining the reciprocal nature of shame. She states that those who feel shamed may attempt to 'turn away' from this 'gaze' in an attempt to override such shame (2014, p.103).[45] Likewise, Nunnari blames the failure to recognise the legitimacy of Calabrian cultures for generating shame and preventing Calabrians from having a positive relationship with their own identity. What makes this solution particularly subversive is Nunnari's idea that 'real' Calabrian identity must be recognised and celebrated not just by Calabrians, but by all Italians. Once this is achieved both Calabrian and Italian identity/ies will be reconfigured in a way that legitimises what is currently 'other'. He consequently redistributes both blame for Calabrian passivity and shame over 'alterity' to an Italian-wide stage.

Conclusion

The manifestation of shame and blame across these texts is varied and complex. However, two relevant trends are evidenced: the celebration or evasion of characteristics that are unacceptable within the dominant discourse, and whether or not shame and blame are aligned specifically with Calabria or redistributed to a wider national context. I argue that celebrations of 'illegitimate' Calabrian phenomena such as multiethnicity and the survival of *contadino* cultures demonstrate the outright rejection of the dominant paradigm that draws on such characteristics as evidence of Calabrian 'otherness'. The celebration of 'opprobrious' cultural characteristics and the redistribution of shame and blame are acts that fall into Kilday and Nash's notion of 'counter-shaming' (2017, p.4) and Hall's notion of 'counter-strategies' (2013, p.259), both of which subvert dominant ways of (mis)recognising and representing marginal groups. Equally, insistence on the value of Calabria's Greek patrimony, considered alongside

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[45] Recognition theorists like Taylor (1992) and Axel Honneth (2003) also underline the significance of the gaze in patterns of (mis)recognition.

the absence of an equivalent degree of engagement with Calabria's Arab patrimony by Nunnari and Cirillo, points towards the inculcation of the dominant discourse and verges on demonstrating shame over 'illegitimate' ethnic heterogeneity. These are examples in which dominant ideas of inherent Calabrian 'backwardness' are reinforced by Calabrian intellectuals. None of these authors put forward one homogenous and cohesive representation of the region in response to the dominant discourse.

In the case of Nunnari and Bevilacqua the delineation of shame and blame in the context of the 'ndrangheta is nuanced. Careful consideration of what blame attributed to the mainstream media and the state symbolises in light of possible accusations of *calabresismo* is key to understanding the potential of the dominant discourse to silence the marginal voice in discussions of their own identity. Such analysis calls for prudent reference to *calabresismo* regarding representations of Calabria by the Calabrian intelligentsia. The misapplication of *calabresismo* risks playing into a political need, denying Calabrians the authority to critique phenomena that are well documented by scholars of the Italian South. Deconstructing *calabresismo* thus demonstrates how easily the Calabrian voice may be further marginalised.

The dominant discourse has clearly made its way into the way the Calabrian intelligentsia conceptualise Calabria; their works are in dialogue with a number of prevalent images and tropes of Calabria found across a range of academic and popular texts, originating in regional, national, and international contexts. For example, Africo's real and metaphorical extremity, the influence of Lombroso in dominant representations of the region, the 'ndrangheta, and the perceived passivity of Calabrians are pre-existing themes, evident in mainstream representations of Calabria. Repetition of the same images and tropes indicates how meaning attached to Calabria may be constructed intertextually. How Calabria is framed by, or what Calabria means to, members of the Calabrian intelligentsia is influenced by, and sometimes in oppositional response to, dominant images from beyond the region. At the same time, these authors discuss Calabrian society in a way that maintains a conceived divide between them and most Calabrians. It is with that limitation in mind that I turn to personal and emotional responses in order to understand the lived experience of Calabrians in relation to their position in the dominant discourse.

Chapter 2

Calabrian Self-Perception and Self-Representation: Oral Sources

Turning now to oral sources, in this chapter I examine the self-perception and self-representation of Calabrians in light of the region's 'illegitimacy' through analysis of the ways in which interviewees narrate 'illegitimate' markers. In 2019 I carried out twenty-eight interviews covering a cross-section of Calabrian society predominantly in the province of Reggio Calabria. The opening sections of this chapter explore participants' responses to the most prevalent image of Calabria – its alignment with crime – reflecting the contention common across interviews that Calabria is synonymous with crime in the wider collective imaginary. As with authors of polemical non-fiction, many participants reinforced the idea of widespread Calabrian *rassegnazione* while providing examples of civic initiatives that contradicted this; a contradiction I analyse in the fifth section. Continuing to draw on these interviews, I then discuss celebrations and denigrations of cultural practices aligned with 'backwardness' and argue that the perceived 'illegitimacy' of these practices arises out of the way in which they are associated with interconnected, negative markers in the collective imaginary. Finally, I also consider how the perceived absence of 'modernity' pushes many Calabrians to emigrate.

I drew the majority of interviewees in Calabria from Reggio Calabria province and in particular from an area called the Locride in order to reflect what I have identified to be the heightened prejudice against this area manifested within and beyond Calabria, and across textual and oral sources. I interviewed two inhabitants from Catanzaro province in order to introduce attitudes towards Reggio Calabria province and in particular the Locride that I have become familiar with during research and other trips to the region. Since 2011, when I first moved to Calabria, I have been advised repeatedly by inhabitants of Catanzaro province not to go to certain towns in the Locride (specifically San Luca, Platì, Africo, and Natile), or to be careful if I do. It is this stigma attached to the Locride that I analyse in terms of its construction amongst the wider Calabrian community and its effects on inhabitants of this area. I do not believe these warnings were related to my being a woman, instead they reflect the alignment of these towns with the 'ndrangheta. Whilst being an outsider, and doubly so as a foreigner, attracted attention and potentially suspicion, I believe this was counteracted to an extent by my being a young woman since I believe this meant I was not considered a threat. Testament to this is the fact that I was welcomed frequently into peoples' homes and was consequently able to build the trust necessary to recruit participants with relative ease.
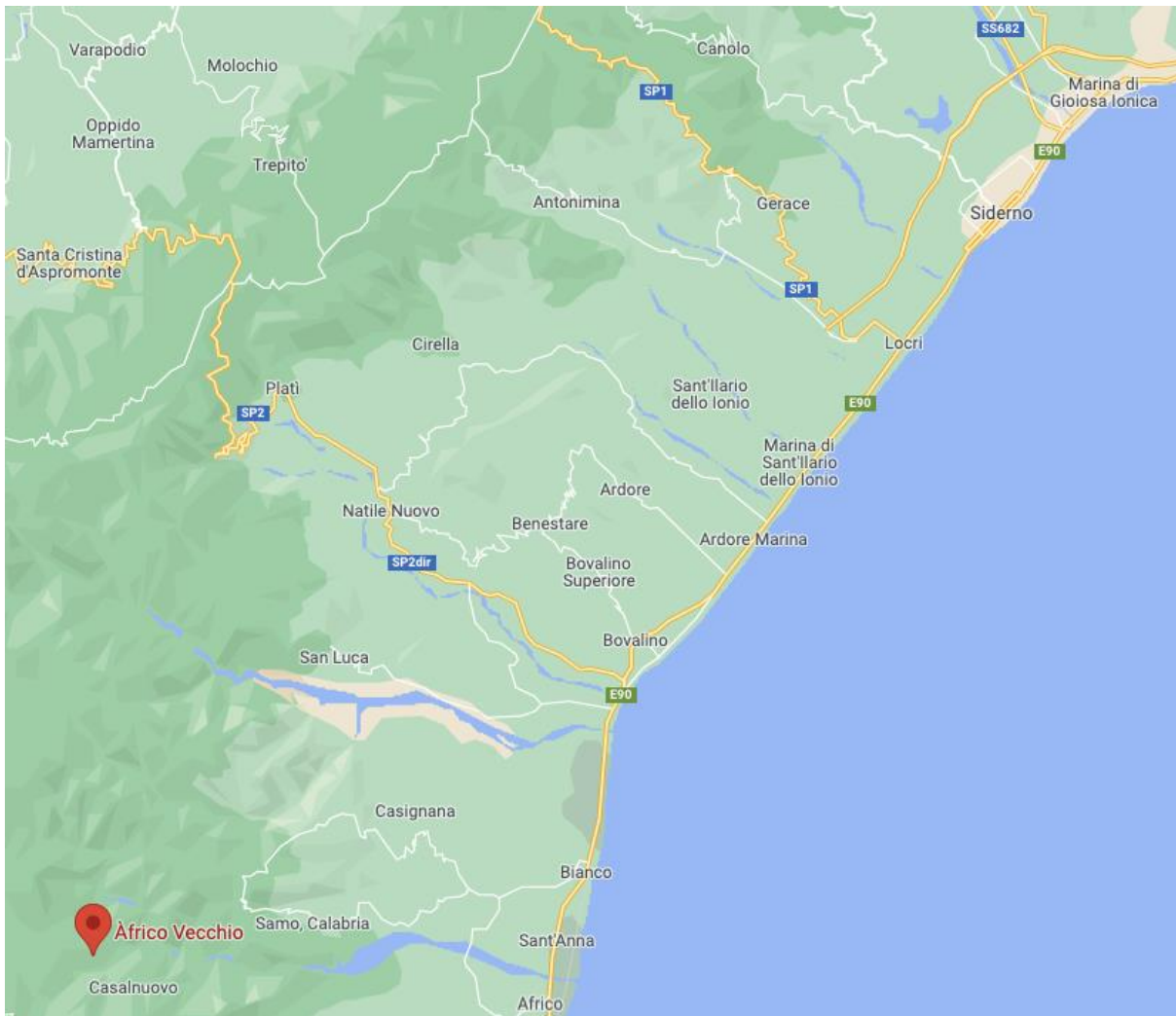
Figure 3: Map including Locri and the towns of the hinterland nexus (Africo Vecchio and Nuovo, San Luca, Natile Nuovo, and Platì)

In Chapter 1 I underlined how Africo is often associated with extreme marginality even in the context of Calabria. I build on that idea of extreme marginality within the region in this chapter by arguing the case for what I have termed the hinterland nexus. This term reflects the automatic association of San Luca, Africo, Platì (and to a lesser extent, Natile) with the 'ndrangheta, as well as the inland position of these towns and geographic proximity to each other (see Figure 3). Backing up this idea of a hinterland nexus, Gioacchino Criaco, an inhabitant of Africo and author of *Anime Nere* (the film adaptation of which I refer to in this chapter), has likewise argued that '[p]er anni la Calabria ha praticato il luogocomunismo nei fronti di posti come Africo, Platì o San Luca' (Criaco, cited in Veltri 2013). It is true both that the hinterland nexus is home to some of the most influential *'ndrine* and that San Luca is the

symbolic heart of the organisation (Gratteri and Nicaso 2009, p.126).[46] However, Nicola Gratteri and Antonio Nicaso also indicate that the extreme 'ndrangheta label cannot be attached to one specific town: '[s]e San Luca rappresenta il cuore della 'ndrangheta, Platì è la mente' (2009, p.126). As I point out below, Africo is also conceptualised as 'il cuore dell'ndrangheta' by Chiara Ugolini (2015, no pages). Natile exists geographically within this nexus and also because of its association with prolific kidnappings in the 1970s-90s (Gratteri and Nicaso 2009, p.130).[47] The 'ndrangheta is strong throughout Reggio Calabria province but has also asserted itself throughout Calabria, Italy's North, and overseas (Sergi and Lavorgna, 2016).[48]

Through further examination of the spectrum of 'illegitimacy', in this chapter I demonstrate how application of the crime marker shifts between implicating the whole region and/ or specifically the hinterland nexus. The Locride's coastal capital, Locri, is also associated with the 'ndrangheta both by other Calabrians and in the wider collective imaginary although to a lesser degree than the hinterland nexus. The geographic dimension of this spectrum of marginality is key. There are two geographic factors at play: firstly, the increasing prejudice within Calabria against Reggio Calabria province, then against the Locride, and in turn against the hinterland nexus. This is a continuation of the same spectrum of 'illegitimacy' that marks Calabria as extreme within an Italian context, and Italy within wider Eurocentric and Western contexts. Secondly, the inland-coastal dynamic intimated at by Francesco Cirillo and Francesco Bevilacqua is also key and was the conceptual framework through which many interviewees positioned smaller, remoter internal towns as 'backwards' and 'closed' in comparison with coastal towns.

Primary sources

Of the twenty-eight Calabrian interviewees (sixteen men and twelve women), two were from Catanzaro province and twenty-six were from towns in Reggio Calabria province. I interviewed six participants in their seventies, five between the ages of fifty and seventy, fifteen between the ages of thirty and fifty (four of whom took part in a group interview), and two aged between

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[46] For example, only the *locale* in San Luca can authorise the creation of new *locali* (Ciconte 2012, 93); *locale* refers to a specific territorial area controlled by *'ndrine*. A *locale* that covers a small town may comprise only one *'ndrina*, in larger towns the *locale* is made up of several *'ndrine*.
[47] Natile, a fraction of nearby Careri, refers to Natile Vecchio and Natile (Nuovo). After the flood of 1952, inhabitants of what is now Natile Vecchio were given houses in what became Natile (Nuovo) across the valley. Officially Natile Vecchio is uninhabited but this is not the case. When I use the term 'Natile' I mean to refer both to the old and new towns, in other cases I refer to one or the other specifically.
[48] Reggio Calabria province is divided into three *mandamenti* (principal branches of the 'ndrangheta), all in Reggio Calabria province and all powerful (Dickie 2014). The *mandamento ionico* is one such branch and covers the Locride area.

eighteen and thirty. While this latter category is small, it does reflect the overwhelming tendency of this age group to leave the region as the final section in this chapter examines. Eleven participants lived in inland towns and seventeen in coastal towns. However, as I explore in detail in Chapter 4, these categories are not always clear cut since a number of those who do now reside in coastal towns grew up in inland towns. A number of towns like Africo Nuovo were remote, inland communities in the Aspromonte until they were relocated to the coast after floods and landslides in 1951; a phenomenon I also explore in more detail in Chapter 4. Participants were from a range of socioeconomic backgrounds; one was illiterate and others had only completed elementary school. While the majority of participants aged fifty and below had university of degrees, a number worked or had worked as nurses, teachers, restauranteurs, call-centre workers, factory workers, and farmers (including part-time farmers). One participant was the mayor of a small town. Domenico Lucano, on the other hand, is the ex-mayor of Riace.

All but three interviewees in this chapter were born and lived in Calabria at the time of my fieldwork. Carmelo was born in Australia but lives in Natile Nuovo; Cosimo was born in Calabria but lives in Rome; Pamela was born in Calabria but lives in Germany; she, like Cosimo, was in Calabria visiting family for Easter. I have included the contributions of Carmelo, Cosimo, and Pamela because I believe they reflect the impossibility of neat categorisations in discussions of identity, especially when such discussions incorporate mobility. Almost all participants born and living in Calabria have migrated within the region, and many have lived beyond Calabria, including overseas. Elisabetta and Giacomo, both born in Natile, have spent decades in Australia, a fact that is reflected in their bilingual interviews. Only interviewing Calabrians who were born and have remained in the same town would not have provided me with responses that represent the experiences of the majority of Calabrians.

I recorded two groups of participants in joint interviews. Antonio, Emanuela and their son Cosimo participated together with the help of Ciro. Ciro facilitated this interview and acted as interpreter since a proportion of the interview was given in dialect. In Locri I interviewed a group of friends together: Serafino, Raffaella, Sebastiano, Vincenzo, and Saverio. I was put in touch with them on my last night in Locri and wanted to take the opportunity to gather their various positions and perspectives. I highlight where this specific group dynamic potentially influences what is being said.

Calabria's association with criminality

Across the majority of interviews participants picked up on and critiqued mediated stereotypes that align Calabria with criminality. According to Francesco, a graphic designer in his 30s from

San Luca, this alignment in the collective imaginary originated with the French invasion of the South in 1806. He argues that the most violent battles took place in Calabria with the result that:

> [i francesi] ci descrissero come dei selvaggi, [e] come degli africani [...]. La Calabria è terra [...] di sangue ma di sangue perché si difendeva i propri diritti. Poi negli anni questa nomea si è trasformata e quindi la Calabria è stata vista sempre come la regione più pericolosa [...] che ancora oggi dura. […] Se tu prendi un libro della storia italiana non ti racconteranno mai quella che era la Calabria realmente. [...] [S]e tu pensi che la Calabria è una regione che non va bene, chiedi perché non va bene.

Two things are particularly noteworthy in this passage; the first is Francesco's clear employment of a narrative with which to explain the origins of Calabria's association with violence and crime. As set out in the Introduction, the criminal stereotype of Calabria has origins in early accounts by outsiders. Francesco's explanation thus corresponds with the work of scholars of Italy and its place in the context of northern European discourse such as Nelson Moe (2004), and Norma Bouchard and Valerio Ferme (2013), as well as 'ndrangheta scholar Enzo Ciconte, who underlines the specific role French invaders under Napoleon played in reinforcing images of violent Calabrians as they encountered resistance in the region (2012, p.9). Francesco's focus on French invasions under Napoleon is less relevant for this thesis than his more general deployment of a narrative that understands historic external prejudice as initiating a process of stereotyping that continues today.[49] His conspicuous lack of engagement with real 'ndrangheta violence also demonstrates clearly that his own understanding of external images of Calabria itself relies on a constructed narrative. The use of this narrative to contradict what he understands to be a fabricated stereotype as well as his implicit rejection of the trope that Calabrians, like all Southerners, lack civic sense and collective agency, resonates with Stuart Hall's argument that 'counter-strategies' are one way of destabilising dominant conceptualisations of marginal groups (2013, p.259). In this instance, Francesco shows that a counter-narrative, or 'counter-strategy' is itself a construct.

Francesco states that Calabrians have been described as 'selvaggi' and 'africani', demonstrating his familiarity with the component parts of the criminal Calabria stereotype, the correlation of crime with ideas of racial 'backwardness'. That he is familiar with the same language Cesare Lombroso used to 'prove' the inherent 'backwardness' and criminality of

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[49] Francesco refers specifically to Calabria's construction in this period as 'savage', and racially 'other'. This was part of wider conceptualisations of the South as 'barbarous, the primitive, the violent, the irrational, the feminine, the African' as I set out in the Introduction to this thesis (Dickie 1999, p.1).

Southerners (and in particular Calabrians) indicates that these racial theories still gain traction today; at the very least they are still felt by Calabrians. Francesco's sense of frustration later in the same passage demonstrates the phenomenological significance of this stereotype. It is evident that Calabria's perceived misrepresentation has meaning in terms of his regional identity and his relationship to it.

Another interviewee, Giovanni from Locri and also in his thirtees, voiced a similar argument:

> c'è tanta ignoranza, e questo fa capire che non c'è un tessuto nazionale perché il [...] lombardo, il veneto, il friulano che parla della 'ndrangheta come problema non suo indica che non importa nulla della nazione [...]. E questo è tristissimo. [...] [Per i] tanti cataclismi che ci sono stati in Italia – l'Aquila, in Friuli [...] in Umbria c'è stato una partecipazione concreta. Quando qualcosa succede qui al Sud si parte subito dall'abusivismo.

Giovanni explicitly criticises the absence of civic sense on the part of other Italians towards Calabria, effectively highlighting how the national imaginary conceptualises the 'ndrangheta as an exclusively Calabrian problem, underlining also that the South is similarly criminalised. In Chapter 1 I examined how Bevilacqua and Mimmo Nunnari effectively condemned the way Calabria has become a metonym for the 'ndrangheta. Giovanni similarly appears to claim that the 'ndrangheta (and other problems) become metonyms for Calabria (or the wider South), providing an emotional response to this signifying process that is less pronounced in written sources; it is clear that Calabria's alignment with these markers is the cause of feelings of injustice and vexation on his part.

I interpret Giovanni and Francesco's criticism of this perceived, dominant (mis)recognition of Calabria, as well as the sense of injustice that pervades their speech, as a rejection of, but simultaneously a form of investment in the way other Italians conceive of Calabria. They both reject the way Calabria is seen but their response shows that they desire, or better require, recognition outside of discourses of criminality with the national public opinion. Drawing on Charles Taylor's notion that minority groups attempt self-realisation 'in dialogue with, sometimes in struggle against, the things our significant others want to see in us' (1992, p.33), for Giovanni and Francesco the 'struggle' against their (mis)recognition is a struggle against being aligned with what is shameful. These excerpts introduce the notion of a felt spectrum of prejudice within Italy, with participants perceiving anti-Calabrian prejudice in the Italian national imaginary and, consequently, a sense of inferiority in terms of how other Italians recognise them.

Gerardo illustrated further the affective repercussions of this perceived 'illegitimacy', which is reinforced through dominant images that align Calabria with crime: '[è] un'immagine diciamo della-della Calabria – secondo me sono, sono distorte tutte le notizie quindi l'immagine è brutta. L'immagine è brutta. L'immagine viene-viene … viene pubblicizzato un'immagine brutta perché non si conosce la verità secondo me'. Gerardo's agitation, evident here in his repeated words and the fragmented phrases which characterised the more emotive themes discussed in his interview, is significant. In one of his best-known analyses of an oral history interview, Alessandro Portelli interprets his interviewee's stammering as crucial information and ultimately as an indication of shame. He claims that the information given, in his participant's case regarding her family's history of slavery, 'is less about her ancestry than about her relationship to this ancestry' (2018, pp.245-6).

Read in this light, Gerardo's stammering and fragmented speech in the context of what he is saying demonstrate both frustration – even anger – and shame, reflecting Sally Munt's argument that '[s]hame is a very sticky emotion, [...] it tends to leave a residue to which other emotions are easily attached, [...] contempt, [...] humiliation, rage' (2016, p.2). In this case frustration and contempt appear to arise in response to the constructed image of Calabria, while shame can be read between the lines at the same time. This would mean that Gerardo both repudiates the shameful image of Calabria but simultaneously manifests shame in response to this image, through the way he speaks. This tension reflects classic writing on race, the gaze, and consciousness, such as Franz Fanon's *Black Skin White Masks* (1952). Fanon explains how, as a black man, he experiences his self twice, once 'among his own', and once again through the gaze of 'the other, the white man, who had woven me out of a thousand details, anecdotes, [and] stories' (1952, p.84). Similarly, Gerardo's agitation indicates his awareness that the way others recognise, or 'know' Calabria is at odds with his idea of what it means to be Calabrian. Calabrians might reject the way Calabria is 'known' or experienced by others, but they 'know' this is how others see them, and this itself appears to generate pain and shame.

The overwhelming rejection by interviewees of mediated images that associate Calabria with criminality must be considered carefully. On the one hand this rejection indicates that dominant images have not been obviously 'entrenched' or 'inculcated' by Calabrians (Taylor 1992, p.66). However, the effects of dominant images are still evident through a reliance on narratives that contradict them, agitated speech, and in the voiced 'pain' – an emotion Munt associates with shame – over Calabria's (mis)recognition (2016, p.218). I argue that the resounding rejection of such images itself indicates shame. In *La Razza Maledetta*, Vito Teti states that in order to counteract stereotypes Calabrians often deny everything said about

Calabria, which he interprets as evidence of a 'dipendenza dallo sguardo esterno, [e] la subalternità' (2011, pp.25-6). This argument corresponds with Sciascia's commentary on Sicilian identity and the pain of recognising the validity of critiques of the region, in particular the reality of the mafia and its proximity to Sicilian culture and identity (Sciascia and Padovani 1979, p.74). The concepts of *sicilianismo* and *calabresismo* are thus key here. Commenting on the importance of taking a phenomenological approach to finding meaning in oral history testimonials, Kenneth Kirby argues that insight can be found in bias; indeed, it is 'the very bias that provides the meaning' (2008, p.25). With this in mind, how Calabrian participants frame the scope of the 'ndrangheta in the region is a useful way of gauging further the influence of Calabria's alignment with crime on Calabrian self-perception.

Unsurprisingly, across twenty-eight interviews participants offered varied responses to the 'ndrangheta, with many comprehensively acknowledging its power. For example, Giovanna described it as 'una delle piaghe più grandi' of Calabria, and as 'una vicenda che è molto segnata [in Gioiosa Ionica]', even naming the 'ndrangheta family in charge of the town. Similarly, Giuseppa and Giovanni laid bare the 'ndrangheta's influence in Locri. A further example was provided by husband and wife Antonio and Emanuela, inhabitants of Bovalino but born in Platì in the 1940s. Although they did not name the 'ndrangheta (which itself speaks of the 'ndrangheta's power and also potentially of *omertà*), they made clear reference to it, feeling strongly that there had been a change in 'mentalità' amongst inhabitants of Platì. They claimed that today this mentality is characterised by 'prepotenza' (Antonio), the result of 'progresso' and increased wealth. This idea that 'progress' has bolstered the 'ndrangheta is repeated in other interviews and is one I return to later in this chapter. For now, this statement is significant because it shows, along with other honest appraisals, that a number of Calabrians do not defend or deny the 'ndrangheta.

There were, on the other hand, a number of denials and conspicuous omissions regarding the 'ndrangheta. For example, while one participant – a high-ranking official in the municipal government of one of the hinterland nexus towns – at times admitted the 'ndrangheta's presence in his town: '[n]essuno può negare l'esistenza della criminalità, dell'ndrangheta', he tended to contradict himself, for example by arguing that this was 'un'epoca chiusa'. Referring again to the presence of the 'ndrangheta in his town and then Calabria more generally, he made two comments that are strikingly disingenuous:

> non c'è niente di organizzato, […] non c'è nessuno che comanda sugli altri.

> Qua siamo gente libera. Poi nella vita ognuno sceglie la strada che vuole. […]

Non condivido chi sceglie la strada diversa. […] Mai nessuno ha provato [di]

[…] mettere oppressione sulle scelte [degli] altri […] La Calabria è libera.

I consider this self-contradictory passage which negates and implicitly confirms the 'ndrangheta's existence alongside the following statement also made by the same participant: 'tutto questo interesse degli ambienti criminali, nelle nostre comunità non lo vedo […] gli interessi di chi ha potere sono altrove, non in questa terra povera'. Taking this participant's public position into consideration, the self-victimisation rhetoric here corresponds clearly with Ciconte's delineation of the reaction of Calabrian journalists and politicians to media representations of Calabria in the 1950s. Ciconte argues these journalists and politicians demonstrated 'atteggiamenti vittimistici [che] finivano con l'oscurare […] [il] fenomeno 'ndranghetistica' (1992, p.299). It is this kind of defensiveness-cum-prevarication that Amber Phillips identifies as characteristic of *calabresismo* (2017, p.132).

Drawing also on Barbara Rosenwein's argument in *Emotional Communities* that 'insincerity tells us about how people are supposed to feel' (2006, p.29), this participant's attempts to deny what is recognised to be the 'ndrangheta's widespread (though not ubiquitous) grip on the region can only be read as a form of 'ndrangheta denial. Even interpreting this as an example of his optimism – that all Calabrians have the agency to choose their path in the context of organised crime – does not reflect the lived reality of the 'ndrangheta and the multiple ways it asserts its control over others. The fact that the clearest denial came from a municipal government official is important as it indicates that those representing their communities in an official capacity are perhaps more concerned with delineating versions of their towns and region that are acceptable within the national and international imaginary. Indeed, this may well reflect this participant's desire not to engage in problems relating to the 'ndrangheta with me, a foreign visitor who he knew intended to write about the town. At the same time, denials like these risk reinforcing associations of Calabrians with self-victimisation narratives (*calabresismo*) when in fact responses to the 'ndrangheta by other participants were typically more nuanced.

Before addressing the significance of this denial further, I outline two omissions that I read as further forms of 'ndrangheta denials. Pamela, from Natile Nuovo, said: '[la 'ndrangheta] è una cosa che io personalmente non ho vissuto perché sono cresciuta in […] una famiglia normale che non ha mai avuto problemi di questo tipo'. Here engagement with the reality of life in a town with a strong 'ndrangheta presence is omitted through focus on the personal; by implicitly distinguishing her family as 'normal' and thus not involved in organised crime, she attempts to distance herself from the 'ndrangheta association (ironically, this would arguably not be considered the norm in assumptions made by others of families from Natile). Although

Pamela does not outright deny the presence of the 'ndrangheta, this attempt to create distance as well as her unwillingness to comment on the effects of the 'ndrangheta's presence on life in her town (which will inevitably be familiar to her) do, I argue, constitute a form of denial.

It is worth mentioning that *omertà* may play a role in denials and omissions. *Omertà* may in part be triggered by fear and/or distrust of official authorities, but it also refers to a refusal amongst those living in areas with high rates of mafia activity to discuss organised crime as a means of defending their identity. In such instances *omertà* is arguably comparable with *sicilianismo* and *calabresismo*. While participants might well have been afraid to discuss the 'ndrangheta candidly, I would argue that it is a sense of defensiveness rather than fear that emerges in these moments where the 'ndrangheta is partially acknowledged and simultaneously distanced. Elisa Costanzo, a journalist from San Luca, explains this defensiveness, arguing that locals do not want to discuss the 'ndrangheta with outsiders because they are concerned they will be framed as complicit or as members, but that this refusal to talk about the 'ndrangheta is often misinterpreted by outsiders as *omertà* (Maria Elena Scandaliato 2017, *5*:07-5:33). These arguments must therefore be made tentatively since it is possible participants simply did not trust me enough to discuss the 'ndrangheta in their towns more openly for fear of my preconceptions and what I might go on to write. For this reason I do not push the possibility of reading potential examples of defensiveness further and avoid encouraging interpretations of partial denials as evidence of widespread consensus amongst locals.

One further notable omission was made by Gaetano who agreed to an interview on the condition that we only discussed Natile's cultural identity, not contemporary phenomena. When I asked what kinds of problems locals face in Natile he discussed unemployment and related phenomena, but he did not touch on the 'ndrangheta. However, an employee in a local heritage organisation, Gaetano demonstrated both considerable knowledge of the history of his local area and a desire to transmit this knowledge through *HistoriCal*[50]. Francesco and Gerardo were both similarly engaged with their towns' history, San Luca and Africo respectively, and both Gaetano and Francesco have written university theses on aspects of their towns' histories. It was Gaetano's willingness to discuss folklore and traditions related to Natile that convinced him to take part in this research. This desire to talk about other aspects of Calabrian culture was common amongst numerous participants. For example, Rocco said: 'Africo non è 'ndrangheta. Africo non è criminalità. Africo invece è cultura, Africo è sport. […] Vorrei che si parlasse

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[50] *HistoriCal* is an association that promotes local history and culture.

[della] Locride come punto turistico, come cultura, come tradizioni […] non sempre di 'ndrangheta 'ndrangheta 'ndrangheta.'

Maria Di Blasi et al. have explained how participants in their research – inhabitants of 'mafia-dense' towns in Italy's South – often feel 'an overwhelming shame' as a result of 'sharing their social space with the Mafia' because they are aware that outsiders typically associate their towns and regions with organised crime, overlooking positive attributes (2015, p.181).[51] I argue that the desire to put forward alternative narratives no doubt motivated some interviewees to take part in this study. In these interviews, engagement with and pride over local histories and identities, as well as the desire to share these with me demonstrates that, for Calabrians, homogenising images of crime held by others do not prompt an outright rejection of their identity. On the other hand, I consider this promotion of local identities as a response to perceived stereotyping. Read this way, pride over local identities is a subversive form of 'attachment' to identities considered 'illegitimate' in the wider collective imaginary, prompted itself by perceived marginality (Munt 2016, p.22). Conversely, because promotion of local identities hinges upon a response to, or omission of, 'illegitimate' characteristics, the subversive potential of this promotion is limited. This reflects Teti's notion of '[u]n senso del noi costruito sulle immagini che arrivano dall'esterno' (2011, p.25); echoing also scholarship on identity politics which underlines the centrality of intersubjectivity to both recognition and (mis)recognition.[52] Marginal groups typically rely on the dominant group's positive recognition, including the way they represent social groups with less agency than others. However, the celebration of 'illegitimate' local identities demonstrates that, for inhabitants of the hinterland nexus, their towns do not simply symbolise the 'ndrangheta. Analysis of their interviews offers alternative and more nuanced understandings of these towns and the lived experience within them.

At the same time, omissions and refusals to engage in conversations about the 'ndrangheta, read alongside this repeated desire to promote other narratives, coincide with the 'defensiveness' inherent to *calabresismo* (Phillips 2017, p.192). I seek broadly to frame

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[51] Neither Di Blasi et al. or myself take into account the pride that 'ndranghetisti (may) feel over their membership of the 'ndrangheta as well as its affairs. On this subject, this thesis also does not take into account those who respect the 'ndrangheta or wish to become members. Not only would interviews with such individuals have been likely impossible (and potentially dangerous), my focus is on Calabrians who have interiorised (or risked interiorising) a sense of 'illegitimacy' as a result, in part, of the 'ndrangheta and the region's association with it. An area for further research might be the opinions of 'ndranghetisti and those who respect the organisation in light of the way the 'ndrangheta is portrayed in the mainstream media.

[52] See Taylor (1992) and Honneth (in Fraser and Honneth 2003).

defensive responses in accordance with two categories. As I argued in the previous chapter, in the case of Calabrian polemical non-fiction, criticism of the dominant image of Calabria-as-criminal by Calabrians cannot be understood simply through the concept of *calabresismo*. The responses in the first half of this section – Francesco's criticism of early French stereotypes of violence, Giovanni's understanding that unrelated phenomena in Calabria are framed through organised crime, and Gerardo's broader accusation that the media publicises a distorted image of Calabria – must be contextualised with reference to similar arguments in the work of scholars of Italy's South drawn on in the Introduction and Chapter 1.

In these moments participants demonstrated an awareness of stereotypes of Calabria that corresponds with, for example Teti's argument that throughout recent history Calabrians have been portrayed as violent and/ or criminal within the dominant discourse and the collective imaginary (2011, p.13). This awareness also corresponds Benedict Anderson's argument in *Imagined Communities* that the mass media works to perpetuate ideas around who belongs and does not belong to national communities (2006, p.82); Calabria's 'illegitimacy' is in part the result of imagined and broadcast images of criminality. Phillips argues that *calabresismo* is evident in objections by Calabrians 'to the negative (or realistic, depending on one's perspective) portrayal of the region' (2017a, p.261). However, I argue that 'negative' and 'realistic' are not synonymous, and that such an approach does not account for valid critiques of Calabria's (mis)recognition and misrepresentation; critiques that do not respond to images of Calabrian crime per se, but to the perception that images of Calabria are only ever broadcast in the context of crime. In essence, this is a reaction to the idea that Calabria, or specific Calabrian towns, are metonyms for 'ndrangheta violence.

Conversely, the notion of *calabresismo* does fit with some of the more obvious denials and omissions regarding the 'ndrangheta in interviews. Rather than simply categorise these instances as evidence of *calabresismo*, I encourage consideration of what *calabresismo* might mean in terms of the lived experience of Calabrian identity. Instances of *calabresismo* – denials, insincerity, omissions, and the desire to discuss only positive Calabrian phenomena – which fit Teti's notion of an 'identità per difesa' (2014, p.248), are perhaps the greatest indication that the way Calabria is 'known' in the collective imaginary triggers shame and a sense of inculcated inferiority (Taylor 1992). These moments do not just speak of shame, however, but a range of related emotions. Teti argues with reference to inhabitants of Africo that being 'criminalizzati' by outsiders has left them feeling 'ancora più soli e ancora piu infelici' (2014, p.248), resonating with Munt's statement that shame 'is a magnet for pain and exclusion' (2016, p.218). Returning again to Taylor's idea that self-realisation is formed 'sometimes in struggle against the things

our significant others want to see in us' (1992, p.33), I argue that pain and exclusion are, in this context, strongly related to desire. The desire for one's collective identity to be recognised in positive terms is inextricable from perceived prejudice. Thus, in this context, desire is an emotion that reflects the effects of stigma amongst a group that feels (mis)recognised and negatively marked; it is an emotional response that is proximate to pain and shame.

Allocations of the 'ndrangheta marker: from Catanzaro province

Moving now to the notion of internal and layered prejudice within Calabria, I consider how Calabrians living in Catanzaro province frame the Locride and in particular how they discuss San Luca and the 'ndrangheta. The two participants from Catanzaro province indicated that when they think of the Locride and in particular San Luca, the first thing that comes to mind is the 'ndrangheta; a tendency I have encountered on numerous trips to the region since 2012. Referring to the 'ndrangheta's presence in Davoli Superiore and Marina (Catanzaro province) versus the Locride, Rosaria who hikes in both areas said:

> se prendo come esempio, che ne so, San Luca, là – quando andiamo a fare un'escursione [...] [o] in Aspromonte in generale [...] – non devi fermarti a guardare niente [...]. Le nostre guide dicono che sei osservato [...]. A Davoli no, ci muoviamo liberamente.

Here we can see how San Luca comes to mind as the exemplification of 'ndrangheta influence even though Rosaria went on to say that this control is also applicable to the greater Aspromonte area.[53] Serafina also named San Luca when she reflected on crime and the perception of Calabria outside the region:

> [c]erto è che nell'immaginario la Calabria è una terra [...] di delinquenti [...] perché la 'ndrangheta, perché la mafia […] perché San Luca, no? Che è stata la terra dei rapimenti [...]. Questa cosa ce la portiamo dietro agli occhi degli altri.

The explicit mention here of 'gli occhi degli altri' indicates the significance for Calabrians of the 'gaze' of others in the context of crime markers. In this particular case Serafina effectively states that within this gaze 'we' Calabrians are marked by the 'rapimenti' of San Luca, thereby indicating how San Luca is a potential source of shame amongst all Calabrians.[54] This response

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[53] The Aspromonte has historically (and problematically) been understood as in some way synonymous with the 'ndrangheta. The hinterland nexus sits on the Ionian side of the Aspromonte. In this way the Aspromonte is also arguably a metonym in the public imaginary for the 'ndrangheta, and consequently also 'illegitimacy'.

[54] Between the 1970s-1980s certain *'ndrine* kidnapped a number of wealthy northern businessmen and their children, holding them hostage in the Aspromonte. The San Luca, Platì, and Natile *'ndrine* were the primary (but

confirms the idea that San Luca is a metonym for the 'ndrangheta not just in public opinion outside of Calabria but also within the Calabrian imaginary. Drawing on Sara Ahmed's theorization, I contend that metonymy works to stick words like San Luca and 'ndrangheta together (2014, p.76). This idea gains traction when considered alongside the more recent Duisburg Feud in 2007, in which affiliates of San Luca's Strangio-Nirta *'ndrina* shot dead six affiliates of San Luca's Pelle-Romeo *'ndrina* in a street in Duisburg, Germany (Gratteri and Nicaso 2009, p.123), instigating international recognition of the 'ndrangheta's influence outside of Italy. Coverage of the Duisburg Feud in the national and international media reinforced San Luca's position in the collective imaginary as one of extreme 'illegitimacy' (Ciconte 2012, p.149).

Figure 4: Provinces of Calabria

Returning to the kidnapping era, we can see how Calabria and San Luca became associated strongly with the 'ndrangheta. Both Teti and the journalist and author Corrado Stajano have confirmed that kidnappings associated with San Luca were a source of shame

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not sole) actors in this industry (Gratteri and Nicaso 2009: 127). They recycled money generated through ransoms into drug trafficking, and legal activities. An entire quarter of Bovalino was built with the ransom paid by Jean Paul Getty to release his grandson; consolidating ties between the community and the local *'ndrina* (Sergi and South 2016: 3).

amongst the Calabrian community.[55] Stajano explains that during the kidnapping era numerous letters were sent to the town hall in San Luca by northern Italians (1990, no pages). In these letters, inhabitants of San Luca, and at times Calabrians more generally, were the target of what Stajano terms '[l]ettere intrinse d'odio' and 'rigurgiti razzistici' (1990, no pages). One author deemed Calabria the 'peste bubbonica del nostro paese' and another the 'vergogna dell'Italia' (cited in Teti 2011, p.12). Other authors targeted inhabitants of San Luca specifically with the same kinds of terminology analysed in Chapter 1: 'ai sub-umani degenerati abitanti di s. Luca, simbolo di barbarie e di vergogna' (Teti 2011, p.12). The assimilation of San Luca with Calabria, as Serafina indicated, is clear here; at times San Luca is a specific symbol of depravity, at other times it is conflated with Calabria. The effects of collapsing San Luca into Calabria are clear in further letters penned by Calabrians residing in the North, for example: '[m]a che vergogna, *siamo Calabresi tutti*, e siamo segnati a dito, dovunque andiamo ci chiamano "maledetti". [...] [O]ggi ho vergogna di essere Calabrese' (in Teti 2011, p.13). Referring to Calabrian migrants in northern Italy at the time, Placanica confirms that these kidnappings resulted in 'un viscerale odio [contro] tutta l'etnia calabrese residente nelle zone d'accoglienza' (1993, p.377); and that national public opinion 'sé n'è fatta l'idea come di una società naturalmente violenta' (1993, p.366).

In these examples, both non-Calabrian Italians and Calabrians living outside the region indicate how San Luca became a specific trigger for 'vergogna', despite the fact that San Luca's *'ndrine* were not the only ones to undertake these kidnappings (Gratteri and Nicaso 2009, p.7). I draw here on Stephanie Welten et al.'s psychological approach to the notion of 'vicarious shame' which they define as 'instances of shame that people experience for the behaviour of others, irrespective of how they behaved themselves' (2012, p.836). They state: '[w]hen people identify with groups, emotions can be experienced on their behalf. [...] [S]hame can indeed arise when the actions of the in-group confirm or reveal a flawed aspect of people's social identity' (2012, p.837). 'Vicarious shame' is a useful interpretative tool with which to understand these letters. Non-Calabrian Italians condemn the actions of Calabrians and/or inhabitants of San Luca (depending on the author) for their ability to mark all Italians as violent criminals, indicating their perception that beyond Italy they too are subsumed by the San Luca/Calabria (or Africo/Calabria) and criminality metonym. Conversely, letters by Calabrians iterate explicitly that they feel shame as a consequence of their shared Calabrian identity; a shame they

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[55] Part of a wider kidnapping phenomenon in Italy between the 1970s and the 1990s, the *rapimenti* undertaken by the 'ndrangheta became some of the most notorious.

experience in the context of northern Italy. This layering of felt 'illegitimacy' corresponds with Criaco's statement, in his case referring to Africo, that '[o]ra c'è un'africotizzazione della Calabria intera […]. E l'Italia […] è diventata la Calabria d'Europa' (Criaco, cited in Veltri 2013). Returning to the vitriolic language of these letters, I suggest that vicariously felt shame here coincides with attempts by Italians and Calabrians to distance themselves from those from a shared or proximate 'social identity', reflecting Judith Butler's argument that '[c]ondemnation, denunciation, and excoriation work as quick ways to posit an ontological difference between judge and judged, even to purge oneself of another' (2001, p.30).

Turning now to what San Luca means for Calabrians resident in the region, it might seem obvious that shame felt vicariously in response to kidnappings and the Duisburg Massacre would be more acute given their geographic proximity to San Luca. However, while Rosaria and Serafina both drew on San Luca as the example par excellence of 'ndrangheta control (Rosaria), and the reason behind Calabria's alignment with the 'ndrangheta in the collective imaginary (Serafina), both participants demonstrated empathy towards inhabitants of San Luca and other towns of the hinterland nexus in their interviews. In response to living in areas under greater 'ndrangheta influence, Serafina said people are 'condizionat[i] nel posto in cui viv[ono]', resisting any notion of inherent criminality or 'backwardness' linked to crime. Similarly, Rosaria, who has taught in secondary schools across the region, explained with reference to schoolchildren in the Locride, that: 'alcuni sono consapevoli [...] che all'occhio degli altri loro devono portare […] l'onta di che ne so, di vivere a San Luca o di vivere a Platì.' While letters sent to San Luca explicitly indicated how Calabrians and other Italians outside of Calabria feel shame as a result of events linked to San Luca, Rosaria makes clear her empathy in response to the shame these children feel, triggered by their knowledge of how they are seen by others. The absence of vitriolic language in these reflections speaks of understanding on the part Serafina and Rosaria towards inhabitants of these towns. If anything, it seems their geographic proximity to the hinterland nexus, which has contributed to their own alignment with the 'ndrangheta, encourages solidarity and understanding on the basis of shared experience. This empathy could in fact be read as a different form of vicarious shame. Welten et al. argue that 'when people take another person's perspective they can experience emotions as if they were in that situation themselves' (2012, p.837).

However, the way Rosaria spoke of the Locride in her interview did not reflect the attitudes she voiced on other occasions in which she spoke of inhabitants of the hinterland nexus as 'backwards' and distinct from inhabitants of Catanzaro province. I tentatively suggest that this ambiguity might mean Calabrians conceive of the hinterland nexus in multiple and

contradictory ways depending on the context. It is possible that Rosaria framed the hinterland nexus empathetically to me as a researcher because she felt this was an acceptable response, and the one she wanted on tape. However, it is equally possible that off-tape she adjusts her attitudes towards the hinterland nexus to fit the status quo in Catanzaro province, namely the framing of the Locride as irredeemably criminal and 'other' – taking the opportunity in the one-to-one interview to reveal empathy which she would normally conceal. This contradiction could potentially apply to a number of testimonies, however, it was only in conversation with Rosaria that this tension surfaced unequivocally. It is a contradiction that might also reflect on the one hand the desire and ability to empathise with others belonging to a shared 'social identity', and the simultaneous weight of vicariously felt shame in response to perceived prejudice against this identity held by others. Regardless of these examples of empathy, it appears that the weight of this vicarious shame encourages other Calabrians to position the hinterland nexus as ontologically different and distant from their own locality, destabilising in turn the very same premise for vicarious shame (Butler 2001, p.30). This reinforces the notion of a perceived spectrum of marginality within Calabria and introduces the notion of layered prejudice within the region.

From the Locride

When asked how Locri is perceived outside of the Locride within Calabria, and in the national context, participants from this area all explained that their town is synonymous with the *'ndrangheta* in the national and regional imaginaries. They recounted many experiences of related prejudice within greater Calabria (outside of the Locride), Italy, and abroad. I have selected two of the most salient examples. Before I finished asking about the image of Locri held by others, Giuseppa interrupted with: 'fuori, all'estero? Terribile.' Her interruption is important as it demonstrated the subject's pertinence and her strong belief that Locri's negative image and association with the 'ndrangheta exists even outside of Italy. I then asked about the perception of Locri held by other Calabrians, and she said:

> ti racconto un episodio che mi è capitato più di vent'anni fa. [...] avevo studiato a Locri con la scuola [e siamo andati a] fare una gita a Cosenza. [...] [i] ragazzini di Cosenza […] ci ingiuriano terroni, ma terroni di che? Cioè siamo sempre in Calabria. Ma perché la provincia di Reggio, soprattutto Locri, la Locride è sempre vista […] malissimo. Fino a vent'anni fa c'era una guerra di mafia [...] Quindi l'immagine che davamo fuori era, a Locri esci e ti sparano.

This episode delineates the lived experience of the kinds of stereotyping analysed in the previous section. It reinforces the spectrum of prejudice and 'illegitimacy' within Calabria (in this case from Cosenza to Reggio Calabria province, to the Locride), and also that inhabitants of the Locride perceive this layered prejudice. I read Giuseppa's sense of disbelief regarding the idea that other Calabrians could use the marker *terroni* – which she herself indicates is related to stereotypes of criminality in this instance – towards fellow Calabrians as a rejection of the validity of this prejudice.[56] This is a further example in which (mis)recognition on the part of the dominant group (in this context Cosentini) does not inculcate a sense of inferiority in a member of the minority group (Locresi). Referring again to Locri's alignment with crime, Giuseppa said: 'non mi sono mai vergognata perché io sono fiera di essere di dove sono, ovviamente mi vergogno di alcune persone che vivono qua'. Again, shame is simultaneously rejected and manifested. I argue that Giuseppa's acknowledgement of shame and crime, and the relationship between the two, in reality indicates a diminished sense of shame. Rather than deny the 'ndrangheta's presence, which would imply an inculcated sense of 'illegitimacy' through attempted erasure, Giuseppa acknowledges the shameful behaviour of a minority, and distances herself from it; it is shameful – she is ashamed of them – but she conceives of herself as distinguishable from it.

In what was described as 'una discriminazione al contrario', Sebastiano recounted how, as a student in Cosenza, he had taken a local bus to then realise he had left his tickets and wallet behind. The ticket collector instructed him to return to the station within half an hour with his documents but when they started conversing and Sebastiano said he was from Locri, the collector '[h]a cambiato totalmente comportamento in mio confronto'. Sebastiano explained: 'il giorno prima a Locri c'è stato un omicidio ma, non di mafia, un omicidio e ne hanno parlato sul telegiornale.' The inspector told him to wait until all other passengers had left, then he was free to go: 'mi sono sentito male, perché non mi sono sentito discriminato, mi sono sentito avvantaggiato perché una persona ha avuto paura [...] di una persona che viveva in un contesto e secondo la sua logica ero uguale a tutti gli altri.' Because of the perceived absence of discrimination, this is, as Sebastiano himself points out, an antithetical form of prejudice compared with examples where participants felt discriminated against for being Calabrian or Locrese. Yet, his claim that 'mi sono sentito male' is still the consequence of his (mis)recognition through his alignment with Locri and crime. Prejudice, then, is experienced in

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[56] I map out these interrelated markers later in this chapter.

contradictory ways; Sebastiano found associations of Locri with criminality painful even when they advantaged him.

So far, this section has explored how Locresi respond to 'known' images of Locri within and beyond Calabria. In order to identify further the effects of this 'known' image and how it influences self-perception and self-representation, I now consider how participants from Locri discuss and position the hinterland nexus which they unanimously framed as distinct from Locri in terms of culture, behaviour, and crime. This difference was typically explained through a coastal-hinterland paradigm, comparable with the modernity-backwardness paradigm, which understood coastal Locri (the administrative centre for the region with the local courthouse, hospital, and a number of secondary schools) as distinct from the hinterland nexus (towns on the fringes of the Ionian side of the Aspromonte with few services, and that in most cases were inaccessible by road until the second half of the twentieth century).

Describing San Luca, Giovanni said: 'San Luca è uno di quei paesi che in qualche modo sono il simbolo dello stereotipo perché è un paese dell'entroterra, è un paese dove la 'ndrangheta c'è [...] in maniera pesante.' Elsewhere Giovanni spoke candidly of the 'ndrangheta's presence in Locri; he did not shift the 'ndrangheta marker exclusively onto San Luca or similar inland towns. However, he did imply that the simple fact of San Luca's position '[n]ell'entroterra' equates to its greater contiguity with the 'ndrangheta stereotype which itself reflects this tendency to see internal towns as inextricable from the 'ndrangheta, and consequently as distinct from coastal Locri.

Arguably reinforcing the stereotype, Locresi (and other Calabrians) described certain behaviours they understood to be common amongst inhabitants of the hinterland nexus, typically using the nouns 'bullismo' (or 'comportamento dei bulli') and 'arroganza'. These behaviours were associated with wealth recently acquired through 'ndrangheta activities. Saverio said: 'loro si comportano da bullo [...]. Un problema [che] nasce negli ultimi quindici anni quando questi posti si sono stati inondati di soldi.' Sebastiano likewise related these behaviours to the fact that 'sono stati inondati di soldi.'[57] What is significant for the present argument is the perceived difference in terms of behaviours related with criminality, which Locresi (and other Calabrians) believe are common to all or a large number of inhabitants of the hinterland nexus; this is a framing which is not altogether removed from the notion of a criminal mentality associated with all Calabrians in the dominant discourse.

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[57] I analyse this recent wealth and what it means for perceived modernity-backwardness and inland-coastal binaries in section three of this chapter.

While mafia scholars do associate 'cocky' behaviours with mafia affiliates, this idea of a behavioural divide with geographic dimensions has not been recognised (Sergi 2018, p.151). That this divide is perceived amongst Locresi is important. In framing the divide, Locresi reinforce notions of 'us' and 'them' in relation to the 'ndrangheta. While the Locri-crime metonym is felt and rejected by Locresi, they risk viewing inhabitants of the hinterland nexus through a similarly reductionist lens. Once again participants attempt to map out what Butler describes as 'ontological difference between judge and judged' (2001, p.30). This clear division is a useful framework, employed in order to distance themselves from the shameful San Luca marker.

Crucially, Saverio demonstrated awareness of his own stereotyping of the hinterland nexus: 'capita anche però [...] chi sta un pochino peggio di noi – Africo [...] San Luca, Platì [...] lo guardiamo anche noi che siamo qui a quindici chilometri con un po' di sospetto.' Awareness of his prejudice and that of fellow Locresi is a key indication that shame is not necessarily felt directly through the proximity of Locresi to the hinterland nexus. '[A]nche noi' implies that the perceived distance, for Locresi, between Locri and the towns of the hinterland nexus is questionable and speaks of vicariously felt prejudice. Saverio's willingness to bridge even to a degree the metaphorical distance perceived between Locri and the hinterland nexus is an act that Anne-Marie Kilday and David Nash might term 'anti-shame' (2017, p.4). At the same time, participants made it clear that their 'suspicion', or prejudice, against these towns was in part grounded in personal experience rather than exclusively based on constructed images. Vincenzo observed:

> [ho] timore di visitare [...] San Luca, [...] Africo [...]. Questi [paesi] magari li
> evito perché ho paura che qualcuno mi dica che cosa ci fai qua? […] [S]e tu
> vai ti guardano male […] ti seguono.

Rather than contradict the validity of Vincenzo's fear, especially since other Locresi also identified with it, it is more useful to consider how Locresi frame hostility towards them on the part of inhabitants of the hinterland nexus. Sebastiano interrupted Vincenzo to highlight this reciprocated prejudice, saying that preconceptions also exist: 'dall'interno verso l'esterno'. This feeling of being threatened by the hostile behaviours of inhabitants of the hinterland nexus is significant as it speaks of a lack of contact between nearby communities; a phenomenon that is potentially grounded more on preconceptions and the fear of hostility than on experience.

Conversely, Giovanni explains that this antipathy towards 'outsiders' is a consequence of felt prejudice. His Milanese brother-in-law asked to visit San Luca (a clear indication of San Luca's reputation outside the region) and Giovanni took him there, 'a condizione che lui capisse

che stiamo andando in un paese normale non [...] in uno zoo'. In San Luca they went to the bar but were not served until Giovanni repeated their order in the local dialect so that the barista knew, in Giovanni's words, that he 'giocav[a] in casa'. Giovanni empathised with inhabitants of San Luca: 'il san lucchese [...] vede chi viene da fuori [...] [come qualcuno che] prova di insegnargli qualcosa'; consequently 'il forestiero viene visto con diffidenza'. In this situation Giovanni acted as mediator between his Milanese relation and an inhabitant of San Luca who, according to Giovanni's account, immediately felt prejudice as a result of the presence of outsiders. That Giovanni, a Locrese, was able to mediate implies that in certain instances the Locrese might not be considered an outsider, or less of an outsider than those from further afield, which speaks again to the existence of a spectrum of prejudice. Giovanni's didactic insistence that his Milanese brother-in-law recognised San Luca as a 'normal' town despite 'known' images of San Luca that consider organised crime to be the 'norm' indicates his empathy towards inhabitants of San Luca. It also demonstrates a refusal to submit to dominant stereotypes of San Lucchesi even in front of a northerner and thus a member of the dominant group.

This episode also demonstrates that Locresi believe inhabitants of San Luca pre-empt the prejudice of others, responding by refusing to engage with outsiders. This dynamic tallies with Ahmed's delineation of the desire of the shamed 'to turn away from the other's gaze': 'shame feels like an exposure [...] but it also involves an attempt to hide, a hiding that requires the subject turn away from the other and towards itself' (2014, p.103). The perceived response by San Lucchesi to outsiders illustrates clearly this dialogic basis of (mis)recognition and in turn interiorised shame. The perceived prejudiced gaze of the other determines, according to Locresi, a turning away from outsiders; shame is generated by the 'knowledge' of their 'illegitimacy' in the eyes of outsiders who, within this hierarchy of marginality, belong to the dominant group. Acknowledgement of this dynamic signals that Locresi feel they are themselves also preconceived within a 'them' and 'us' dynamic maintained by inhabitants of the hinterland nexus. Layered prejudice here, then, is clearly formed dialogically.

From the hinterland nexus

The way inhabitants of the hinterland nexus respond to the perceived position of their towns in the collective imaginary is, bearing its position in the regional imaginary, crucial to study of self-perception and representation in light of constructed 'illegitimacy'. Bearing in mind Africo's long history of extreme marginality, as explained in Chapter 1, I start with participants from Africo and their responses to the film *Anime Nere* (2014), Francesco Munzi's adaptation

of Criaco's 2008 novel. Criaco, an inhabitant of Africo, portrays the descent into a life of crime of three young Africesi who are not members of the 'ndrangheta. The novel is set in Italy's North and in Africo and details Africo's specific socioeconomic history. However, *Anime Nere*'s cinematic adaptation is of particular relevance to this thesis because of the large international audience it reached.[58] Although Criaco was involved in the adaptation, the film's plot diverges significantly from the novel, following the violent business and inter-familial relations of an Africese family. It does not explicitly refer to the 'ndrangheta, however, the audience is led to believe that the protagonists constitute an 'ndrangheta family (Phillips 2017, p.248). All characters are associated in some way with the 'ndrangheta and there is no clear reference to Africo's 'complessa storia sociale, culturale, psicologica, umana' (Teti 2014, p.244).

The effects of this lack of socioeconomic and historic context, and the way this feeds into preconceptions of the town, are indicated in the language of two film reviewers writing for *La Repubblica*.[59] Ugolini describes Africo as '[il] cuore dell'ndrangheta' and '[i]l buco nero della Calabria' (2015, no pages) while Natalia Aspesi writes: 'la lingua parlata da tutti, l'africese, musicale, duro, incomprensibile (tradotto dai sottotitoli in italiano) dà il senso di un mondo indecifrabile e sconosciuto, le belle facce primitive paiono appartenere a un altro tempo' (2014, no pages). Their language and imagery is loaded with markers of racialised, ethnic 'otherness' such as perceived phenotypic 'backwardness', and cultural 'illegitimacy'. Phillips has also citicised the language of these reviewers for the way it 'propagat[es] the old narrative of Calabria as savage, other, primitive and backward' (2017a, p.258).

In general, participants' responses to *Anime Nere* were nuanced. Teresa described it as 'un bel film', however: 'è sicuramente un film che va letto nella sua chiave [...], ambientato ad Africo rischia di creare all'esterno un pregiudizio più grosso di quello che già c'è.' Rocco made the same argument, stating that if viewers are able to recognise Africo's agropastoral identity then the film serves as a positive representation of the town's identity. However, for spectators who do not understand Africo's history, the film gives 'un'immagine negativa di questa terra'. Phillips makes a similar point with reference to the aversion towards State authorities on the part of Africesi: '[w]ith no explication of the substantial socio-historical motives for this aversion to state authority […] there is a risk that this hatred of the state be interpreted by audiences as just another facet of the mafia mindset' (2017a, p.250). These statements

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[58] The film won nine Davide di Donatello awards and stars a number of famous Italian actors.
[59] *La Repubblica* is a national newspaper and thus, in the framework of this thesis, is inextricable from the gaze and ideology of the dominant group.

contradict Criaco's that *Anime Nere* was 'un film con i calabresi e non *su* o *contro* di loro', arguing also that Africesi were fully supportive of the project (Criaco 2015, p.17). Gerardo's response to the film negates this statement: '[n]on-non sono quelle cose che dovrebbero essere pubblicizzato di un paese. Non mi piace, non-no guarda [...] no-no-no, non mi piace.' His vocalised discontent triggered by the film's portrayal of Africo speaks of shame generated in response to the idea of these images being broadcast to an inter/national audience; a further testament to the dialogic nature of shame and (mis)recognition, as well as the role mediated images play in the process. All three reactions to the film imply a belief that prejudice amongst any non-Africesi against Africo might be heightened directly as a result of viewing the film; a fear that is backed up by Ugolini's and Aspesi's language. Interviews with inhabitants of Africo therefore demonstrate the lived experience of anticipated prejudice resulting from *Anime Nere*, and its potential to contribute to shame.

Africesi were unanimous about the role played by mediated images that align Africo only with crime in provoking further prejudice. Rocco stated: 'quando la cosa negativa succede ad Africo ne parlano cinque sei mesi i giornali. Per la cosa positiva non ne parlano nemmeno dieci minuti.' Again, this criticism of the media is in line with Louis Althusser's theory that the dominant group broadcasts information (2001, p.96), or 'knowledge' in Foucauldian terms (Foucault 1980, p.81), in line with their ideology; in this case, the inherent 'backwardness' and criminal nature of Africesi. Because of this media stereotyping, Africo becomes a metonym for the 'ndrangheta, violence, and 'backwardness', the effects of which Teti outlines clearly: '[gli Africesi] si sentissero infastidi e criminalizzati anche dai molti articoli di denuncia' (2014, p.248). He explicitly states how images of Africesi as 'delinquenti' generate 'ulteriori sentimenti di chiusura e di sfiducia', thereby highlighting the emotional response formed dialogically with their perceived (mis)recognition (2014, p.248).

Gerardo argued that mediated images encourage prejudice on the part of other Calabrians, in his case amongst colleagues in Serra San Bruno (Vibo Valentia province) where he used to teach. He recounted an episode in which a colleague expressed surprise that someone from Africo would make the sacrifices necessary to commute to Serra San Bruno:

> io ho detto alla signora "non andare a leggere i giornali, vedete prima tutte le persone, conoscete le persone" […]. Certo le notizie giornalistiche […] dicono tante cose […], non è che tutti gli altri cittadini devono pagare per qualcuno che fa qualche co[sa]'.

Gerardo underlines the role the media plays in Africo's (mis)recognition, in this case by other Calabrians. Similarly, Teresa explained how she has experienced prejudice against her Africese

identity both in the wider South and within the Locride. As a student in Messina she felt prejudice 'non tanto per l'essere calabrese quanto per l'essere africese,' indicating that the Africo marker is experienced separately from her Calabrian identity even outside of Calabria, though this may be explained in part by the high numbers of Calabrian students attending the University of Messina. In turn, when she started working in Locri she says her colleagues 'mi guardavano un po' […] con sospetto.' She believed this suspicion was predominantly to do with Africo's association with 'backwardness', but in part also the 'ndrangheta.

Gerardo and Teresa's awareness of the heightened stigma attached to Africo is analogous to Francesco's perception of San Luca's extreme position in the collective imaginary:

> a San Luca viviamo ormai con lo stereotipo che pervade [...] nell'immaginario
> collettivo del resto d'Italia, del mondo. [...] [G]ià sei guardato diverso perché
> sei calabrese, [...] hai il doppio marchio. Il marchio di essere calabrese e il
> marchio di essere san lucchese.

Francesco is evidently conscious of San Luca's extreme marginality; the town's heightened 'illegitimacy' in the international, national and regional collective imaginaries has fed into the local imaginary and is 'known' and felt by San Lucchesi. The idea of a 'doppio marchio' suggests he feels visibly branded, reinforcing Ahmed's notion of 'the physicality of shame' (2014, p.103), generated by the gaze of a dominant other. Francesco explains that (mis)recognition can be felt twice. While 'vicarious shame' felt by Calabrians outside of the region arises from the assimilation of San Luca with Calabria, for Francesco shame felt directly as a Calabrian and as an inhabitant of San Luca are distinguishable; his (mis)recognition feels layered or doubled.

Francesco intimated how this 'doppio marchio' affects his behaviour. When meeting new people he does not immediately name his hometown. When he does, he says people react with: 'non mi sembri di San Luca', to which he responds '[a]llora come sono le persone di San Luca? Le persone di San Luca sono come me.' That he initially hides his identity is a demonstration of shame, confirming again the idea held by other Calabrians that San Lucchesi feel 'onta' over their origins. Given his rejection of the cogency of prejudice directed at San Luca throughout his interview, it seems that shame, again, does not stem from being San Lucchese per se, but is generated by preconceived images of San Luca held by others. His expectation of others' prejudice prompts him to hide his San Lucchese identity in order to avoid his own (mis)recognition, thereby also avoiding the possibility for further shame. However, by calling out instances of (mis)recognition and in turn recounting these moments to me,

Francesco, like Teresa and Gerardo, exhibited resistance to any suggestion that he should be ashamed of his identity. Both are responses that correspond with Kilday and Nash's notion of 'fighting back' against shame. They argue that individuals whose behaviour and identity is considered 'shameful' by others resist shame through 'innovative forms of defence' (2017, p.4), in this case refusing to submit to the 'known' 'illegitimacy' of San Luca. In these instances, shame is again simultaneously felt and resisted by the same person.

An interesting pattern emerges in terms of the self-representation and positioning of these participants and their towns within the heightened marginality of the hinterland nexus. When I asked Gerardo if other Calabrians hold an extreme image of Africo he interrupted, having misinterpreted my question as a comment instead on the particular prevalence of crime in Africo: '[n]o-no-no, secondo me – no guarda, no secondo me i paesi sono tutti – […] vanno tutti nella stessa direzione, lei troverà delinquenti ad Africo, lo troverà [...] a Sant'Agata di Militello, a Messina.' I understand Gerardo's misinterpretation of my question – his assumption that I was in some way aligning Africo with crime, and his consequent distress – as effects of his knowledge of Africo's extreme marginal position in the collective imaginary, and ultimately as signs of shame in response to this. In his dismantling of the Africo-equals-crime marker through the redistribution of crime within a wider, southern context, he effectively shifts the crime marker back along the paradigm of marginality, attempting to realise its wider redistribution from a narrower to a broader context. This is comparable with Pamela's allusion to the 'ndrangheta only in relation to its Calabrian context and never with specific reference to Natile, as well as claims made by Giovanni, and authors Bevilacqua and Nunnari that the 'ndrangheta is a problem that implicates the nation as a whole.

Interestingly, inhabitants of Africo and Natile did not, as Eve Sedgwick terms it, 'scapegoat' San Luca, or vice versa (2006, p.2). Indeed, unlike attempts by Calabrians in the wider Locride area and beyond to 'relocate' shameful behaviours and markers specifically within the hinterland nexus (Munt 2016, p.114), no inhabitants of Africo, San Luca, or Natile attempted to deflect perceived extreme 'illegitimacy' by attaching the marker onto each other (or onto Platì). This goes hand in hand with a comment Teresa made on the perceived prejudice against inhabitants of these towns: 'il discorso è anche del pensare che ad Africo sia solo cattiva gente [...] Probabilmente non solo per Africo, anche per San Luca, anche per Platì'. This statement implies that perceived extreme 'illegitimacy' is shared across towns of the hinterland nexus and reinforces the need to consider these towns as a nexus of extreme 'illegitimacy'. Reflecting on the tendency across interviews to 'relocate' shameful markers, it appears that shame is increasingly concentrated towards the extreme end of the spectrum of marginality

within Calabria, 'intensify[ing] as it travels' (Morrison 1989, cited in Munt 2016, p.114). As we reach this end of the spectrum, shame indeed seems to manifest more intensely, perhaps in part because there is no further, specific point onto which it can be projected. At the same time, while it seems inhabitants of the hinterland nexus do not deflect shame by mobilising it onto each other, its acuteness may potentially be lessened through this idea of shared, or 'vicarious' shame. Alternatively, the perceived assimilation of these 'illegitimate' towns with each other may heighten their sense of 'illegitimacy' rather than dilute it.

Rassegnazione and civic sense

As I set out in the Introduction and Chapter 1, crime stereotypes are closely related to stereotyped ideas of the absence of civic sense in the South, as famously argued by Robert Putnam (1994), and the trope that 'amoral familism' characterises southern society, as argued by Edward Banfield (1955). Calabrian participants did not openly engage with Banfield or Putnam's theories, however, the belief that Calabrians lack civic sense and are characterised by *rassegnazione* became clear in numerous interviews. According to Pamela: 'noi calabresi non facciamo niente per la nostra regione. [...] Io penso che i calabresi amino la loro terra però vivono in uno stato di rassegnazione.' Domenico Lucano said something similar: 'il destino [...] è procurato da noi, determinato dall'azione. Non bisogna accettare questo fatalismo [...] perché siamo noi che lo costrui[amo]. Poi lamentiamo'. The notion that *rassegnazione* existed in conjunction with a tendency to complain about conditions in the region was an observation many interviewees made. Serafina said:

> [se] le strade sono rotte [...] vabbè tanto ci sarà qualcuno che risolverà il problema. [...] La responsabilità però è la nostra. [...] io aspetto che tu fai questo, tu aspetti che lui faccia questo [...] nessuno si muove, ci siamo fermi.
> E poi ci lamentiamo.

The first point to make is that these self-criticisms destabilise blanket accusations of *calabresismo* on the basis of widespread *vittimismo* and the idea that Calabrians only look outside the region for the causes of problems in Calabria. Furthermore, unlike participants' responses to stereotypes of crime, here a Calabrian trait prevalent in stereotypes of Calabrians is framed as valid. One explanation for this could be that the stereotype has filtered down into the regional imaginary and has been 'inculcated' so that Calabrians 'know' or believe in their *rassegnazione* (Taylor 1992, p.66). Alternatively, participants may experience this *rassegnazione* first-hand, which would mean in this case that the stereotype and perceived reality exist alongside each other.

Cassano and Teti offer interpretations of passivity and *rassegnazione* that bring together these two possibilities with reference to the dependence by Calabrians on external images of Calabria. Cassano argues that Southerners' passivity 'derives from [the South's] subordination, from having internalized a feeling of marginality and having resigned itself to the role of history's spectator' (2012, p.xxxvii). Similarly, Teti explains that Calabrians have reached a state of paralysis through their subjugation to external images, the effects of which 'finiscono col confermare gli stereotipi che si vogliono negare. Finiscono col rendere i calabresi davvero patologicamente melancolici, [...] sfiduciati, dipendenti dalle immagini positive o negative, dalle scelte degli altri' (2011, pp.26-7). There was a moment in Serafina's interview while she discussed *rassegnezione* that resonated clearly with this idea of resignation being tied up with a dependency on, and subjugation to, the dominant group: '[a]bbiamo questa tentazione molto forte di inseguire sempre l'altro. L'altro è sempre più bravo, più buono, più bello'.

Both Franco Cassano and Teti explain Southern and Calabrian inertia through (mis)recognition, correlating external stereotypes with behaviours associated with *rassegnazione*. This process fits with Taylor's argument that (mis)recognition imprisons people 'in a false, distorted and reduced mode of being' and can '[saddle] its victims with a crippling self-hatred' (1992, pp.25-6). In other words, the Calabrian resignation criticised in interviews could be the result of prescriptive dominant images of Calabrians as 'backwards' and inert which, once internalised, trap or paralyse Calabrians who do not believe themselves capable of change or who become resigned to the way things are.

'Self-hatred', or contempt towards her Calabrian identity, is indeed perhaps the best way to describe Rosaria's framing of Calabrian *rassegnazione*:

> [i]o non sono contenta di [...] di questa rassegnazione. [...] [I]o ho notato che non c'è il senso del bene comune [...], se faccio una cosa io, che può essere positiva al bene, subito ci dev'essere qualcun altro che la vuole fare più bella di me. Per cui non c'è il senso di collaborare.

Drawing once more on Munt's argument that shame is often experienced alongside other emotions, we can conclude that Rosaria's clear frustration towards her fellow Calabrians is an example of shame felt not through Calabria's (mis)recognition but vicariously through the real behaviour of others in the 'in-group' (Welten et al. 2012, p.837). Other participants like Gaetano also believed that Calabrian individualism held the region back: '[c'è] molto invidia qua, sul territorio – chi anche non avendo la capacità, dice io lo faccio meglio, devo fare io o non lo devi fare. Come la vivi? Come ne esci fuori?' Both Rosaria and Gaetano comment here on what they

perceive to be, but do not explicitly term, a real lack of civic sense amongst Calabrians, experienced personally.

What becomes apparent through close study of these interviews, and in particular the strikingly similar rhetoric they use, is that there exists a common perception amongst Calabrians that *rassegnazione* and a lack of civic sense are prevalent amongst Calabrians and that this lack impedes the region. It was also clear that this is an important issue and one participants had reflected on prior to being interviewed. Drawing on Kirby's insistence on the importance of a phenomenological interpretation of oral sources, it is clear that the attribution of *rassegnazione* and a lack of civic sense to Calabrians does not come solely from the outside (as explored in Chapter 1); these labels are used by Calabrians to describe themselves and appear to be part of the 'known' experience of being Calabrian. Compared with stereotypes of crime which were often at least partially resisted through deflection or denials, it therefore appears to be more socially and ethically acceptable to admit to widespread resignation.

Despite this widespread belief in Calabrian resignation and individualism by Calabrians, participants' desire for change serves to challenge the blanket notion of Calabrian-wide indifference and contradicts Anna Sergi and Nigel South's statement that Calabrians are 'a community of people that seem passive and unaware of their misfortunes' (2016, p.10). Participants provided numerous examples of civic and cultural initiatives by Calabrians which resisted this framing. Pasquale helped set up and run the *Associazione Zampognari di Cardeto* which promotes and protects local musical traditions. Sebastiano collaborates with a local association that works to 'combattere la povertà educativa' in San Luca and Platì (Sebastiano). Raffaella had been part of an arts group that performed theatre productions in inland towns such as San Luca and Sinopoli. I was shown around Africo Vecchio by local youths who volunteered at the *Rifugio Carrà*, a shelter which facilitates cultural trips to the ruined town and surrounding area. Finally, Carmelo, Gaetano, and Ciro were founding members of *HistoriCal*, an association based in Locri that promotes local history and culture through events and collaboration with schools in the area. Carmelo explained:

> noi cerchiamo nel nostro piccolo [modo], di riscattarci e di portare avanti un
> discorso positivo, [...] [tendiamo a] fare del vittimismo [...], [però] i problemi
> vanno affrontati e risolti insieme alle istituzioni, […] bisogna creare gruppo
> perché uno da solo non riesce a fare niente, ma tanti con la buona volontà
> riescono a iniziare un cammino positivo dico, e costruire qualcosa per il
> futuro per lo meno per i nostri figli.

This passage not only demonstrates a keenly felt desire for change, it also manifests pride over local identities and culture, and serves as an unequivocal example of civic sense and agency on the part of Calabrians, specifically Natilesi. Far from being an exhaustive list of civic and cultural organisations, the groups mentioned above give an idea of the wealth of associations in a small geographic area (apart from the *Associazione Zampognari*, all operate in the Locride).[60]

Giuseppa and Giovanna also recounted two significant examples of civic sense, this time in the context of the 'ndrangheta. Giuseppa explained how her father, who had owned a business in Locri, stopped paying protection money and turned to the authorities. He has now lived under police protection for five years since testifying against his extortioners. She explained that in order for things to change people need to stand up to the 'ndrangheta like her father: '[p]er superare questa mentalità [si] deve riuscire ad avere coraggio.' Giuseppa effectively states that in order to achieve change, her father overcame the fear of violence in an act that resisted the indifference and passivity most participants align with Calabrians.

Giovanna explained that the history and identity of her town – Gioiosa Ionica – is tied up with a significant 'ndrangheta presence but also with an important antimafia narrative. She recounted the story of Rocco Gatto, an inhabitant of Gioiosa, who aside from refusing to pay protection money, denounced to the authorities the 'ndranghetisti who had demanded all local businesses close on the day of the funeral of the local boss in 1977. He was killed, becoming a symbol of the antimafia fight not only in the Locride but also outside of Calabria. Giovanna also recounted how the town's communist mayor Francesco Modafferi, local priest Natale Bianchi, and a number of inhabitants were all committed to bringing Gatto's murderers to trial, gaining national media attention: 'Gioiosa era il primo comune italiano a costituirsi a parte civile in un processo di mafia [...] grazie anche al coraggio di gran parte della popolazione di Gioiosa'. She believes that despite continued 'ndrangheta presence in Gioiosa, this antimafia narrative has encouraged a number of inhabitants, herself included, to fight against the 'ndrangheta. She says the majority of Gioiosani are passive in the face of the town's criminal minority, however, there is a section of the town's society who 'decide di vivere la sua vita non in maniera indifferente ma di provare a costruire delle alternative. E io ho deciso di percorrere questa strada sulle orme di quello che è stato la vicenda di Rocco Gatto'. In her family, this antimafia narrative is a source of 'orgoglio' felt across three generations. Such pride is

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[60] This list excludes those involved in SPRAR projects or the work of initiatives such as Domenico Lucano's *Città Futura*; I analyse the role of these migrant and refugee initiatives and the questions they pose for Calabrian identity in Chapter 4.

significant especially here where it is felt in the context of the 'ndrangheta – a potential source of shame. In fact, it is arguably because of the existence of this shameful 'ndrangheta narrative that this counter-narrative of courage, agency, and civic sense becomes so significant; behaviours at odds with perceived widespread resignation take on added meaning.

These examples undermine the homogenous stereotyping of all Calabrians as resigned and lacking civic sense, but they also undermine how some Calabrians themselves perceive their fellow Calabrians along these lines. It could be argued that this inconsistency is easily explained by the idea that those willing to take part in interviews are perhaps more likely to reflect on issues like widespread passivity and to be amongst those who engage with and attempt to improve certain conditions in the region. At the same time, a number of participants who were originally unwilling to take part in this research agreed to be interviewed after spending time with me and other participants; these include important members of some of the civic groups outlined above.

The complexity of this ambiguity encourages a nuanced interpretation. What can be stated with confidence is that evidently not all Calabrians today are resigned or unwilling to form groups to combat certain problems faced by the region; a point that is set out clearly by Ciconte in his closing section of *'Ndrangheta*: '[c]rescono coloro che denunciano il pizzo o fanno resistenza' (2012, p.216). Ciconte states that the number of Calabrians who directly resist 'ndrangheta control, or who work honestly and with dignity in the region '[s]ono tanti; sono persone senza volto perché nessuno s'occupa di loro se non raramente' (2012, p.217). He implicitly indicates here why belief in Calabrian *rassegnazione* and individualism may be exaggerated both in the wider non-Calabrian Italian imaginary and amongst Calabrians. This is in fact a point Giovanni touches on when he says that there have been many Calabrian journalists killed for reporting on the 'ndrangheta but that a Calabrian 'martire' has never been 'conclamato per tutta la nazione', that '[i]n Calabria i morti valgono meno.' Ciconte and Giovanni both argue that instances that challenge ideas of inherent or ubiquitous Calabrian resignation and individualism remain unrecognised and are not broadcast, thereby underlining once more the reciprocal nature of (mis)recognition, and the role played by mediated images (or lack thereof) in this paradigm. Within the framework of recognition theory the influence of this absence of recognition of Calabrian civic sense by non-Calabrians (the dominant group) goes some way towards explaining delineations of widespread *rassegnazione* by Calabrians and why they did not draw on examples of civic organisations to challenge this image. Ultimately, however, it appears that belief in the existence of widespread *rassegnazione* is intrinsically linked to the way Calabrians conceive of what it means to be Calabrian.

Other markers of 'illegitimacy': allocations of 'backwardness' and 'closedness'

In the following sections I examine how interviewees delineate 'backwardness', including how they frame traditions and practices that, in the collective imaginary, mark Calabrians as ethnically 'backwards' and existing in opposition to northern European notions of 'rational', 'industrialised' society. Perceived 'backwardness' emerges in numerous interviews in conjunction with the notion that certain Calabrians are 'chiusi', as Giuseppa (Locri) illustrates:

> da noi c'è ancora una mentalità antica, nel senso, si fa più fatica a svilupparsi [...] forse perché secondo me la Calabria è anche una regione chiusa, è difficile da raggiungere. [...] [Il] problema fondamentale nostro non è tanto la 'ndrangheta, è la mentalità. [...] È una mentalità atavica [...]. La 'ndrangheta nasce [da] [...] situazioni di chiusura.

Giuseppa's insistence on a 'backwards' Calabrian mentality plays straight into the North-South modernity-backwardness paradigm. Giovanni (Locri) made a similar statement: 'la Calabria è una regione di montagna [...]. Il montanaro in genere è più chiuso, è più duro, è più difficile ad aprirsi.' Giuseppa and Giovanni's framing of Calabrians as cognitively 'backwards' suggests that dominant ideas of Calabrian (and Southern) 'backwardness' have fed into the Calabrian imaginary, determining how Calabrians see themselves. However, that this 'backwardness' is explained through reference to Calabria's geographical position in Italy and its physical characteristics resists dominant conceptualisations of inherent Calabrian 'backwardness' stemming from racial 'backwardness'.

Giuseppa and other Locresi make clear their perception that within Calabria this spectrum of 'backwardness' continues. While Calabria is 'una regione chiusa' for Giuseppa, the 'closedness' of inland towns is even greater because inhabitants do not come into contact with other people and cultures: 'Locri è diverso da Platì – il paese che nominavo prima. Noi siamo più aperti.' The idea that a lack of contact with others leads to this closed mentality was shared with other interviewees from Locri such as Sebastiano who said, referring to the hinterland nexus: '[è] un grande limite che escono pochissimo fuori dal loro paese [...] in molti casi chi vive in un paese interno va poco fuori.' In instances such as these, participants directly reinforce the paradigm of 'backwardness' within Calabria. It is clear that many Locresi perceive themselves as distinct from the hinterland nexus in terms of 'backwardness', a distinction that reinforces John Agnew's notion of the temporal-spatial framework of the dominant discourse (1997, p.31). It should also be remembered, however, that participants from Locri explained they often maintain their own distance from these towns out of fear. To an extent, they are therefore responsible for this perceived 'closedness'.

However, the inland-coastal binary surfaced not only in the context of the hinterland nexus and Locri. Both Serafina (Catanzaro Lido) and Rosaria (Davoli Marina) believed that Calabrians on the coast are more 'aperti' than those inland. Rosaria described people from Davoli Superiore as having 'una mentalità chiusa'; '[sono] più tradizionalisti però in negativo, non in positivo, delle volte.' Rosaria's association of 'backwardness', 'closedness', and 'negative traditions' is comparable with Giuseppa's explanation of the 'ndrangheta through the perpetuation of this 'mentalità atavica' (Giuseppa). As I explain in more detail in Chapter 4, until the 1970s the majority of Calabrians lived in inland towns; the urbanisation of the coast took place 'a grandissima velocità' as a result of socioeconomic shifts in the 1960s-1970s (Placanica 1993, p.344). These coastal Calabrians clearly refer to Calabria in general as 'backwards' in a way that resonates with Cassano's theory that a 'northwestern' idea of 'modernity' has been internalised by Southerners (2001, p.1), so that they think of themselves as 'an error' and a 'not-yet' (2012, p.3). However, through focus on this idea of a spectrum of 'backwardness' within Calabria maintained by coastal Calabrians it becomes clear that this perceived 'illegitimacy' is not homogenous. Coastal Calabrians do not perceive themselves to be as 'backwards' or as 'closed' and in turn as 'illegitimate' as inhabitants of inland towns. In Chapter 4 I explore how these constructed divisions are subverted through previous and continued mobilities.

At times the same participants undermined the spatial-temporal conceptualisations of this perceived difference. In the group interview in Locri, participants explained that coastal Bovalino and Bianco are not as 'open' as towns like Locri because they are inhabited predominantly by people who have moved from San Luca, Africo and Platì. This is crucial as, despite efforts to explain 'backwardness' through an inland-coastal binary characterised by contact, or lack of, with others, in the case of Bianco and Bovalino the perceived 'backwardness' of people from the hinterland transcends the inland-coastal binary. Inhabitants of Bovalino and Bianco might live by the coast but their 'closedness' still distinguishes them, implying that these Locresi might really understand 'backwardness' more through the idea of inherent atavism than the result of the geographical space they inhabit. However, another way of interpreting Bovalino's and Bianco's perceived difference is through reference to the 'ndrangheta. Gratteri and Nicaso describe Bovalino as 'lo sbocco sul mare' since many affiliates from San Luca clan have constructed houses and invested in the local economy (2009, p.122). In other words, when Locresi frame inhabitants of Bianco and Bovalino as 'backwards' it could

well be more accurate to interpret this as a further example of their aligning criminality with the hinterland nexus.[61]

When it came to detailing how the 'closedness' of inland towns manifests itself, the subject of gendered roles and the position of women was a recurring theme. For example, Sebastiano said: 'nonostante siano pochi chilometri da noi in realtà sono distanti culturalmente un abisso. Le donne non vanno al bar [...] non possono entrare'. Francesca (Locri) reiterated this point, explaining that married women in inland towns cannot go out for pizza with their friends because 'ti giudicherebbero male'. She also said: 'a Locri [e] Siderno già trovi più donne che comunque vanno a lavorare, quindi sono già più evolute. Nei paesini invece non, magari l'obbiettivo delle donne è sposarsi, avere figli, fare la casalinga'. Her choice of the word 'evolute' to describe women in Locri and Siderno sits uncomfortably close to the essentialist and even positivist terminology used by racial scientists like Lombroso to explain perceived southern 'primitiveness'.[62]

However, at other times Francesca was explicit in her desire not to show prejudice. She said her *commare* and *commare*'s husband 'stanno a Platì, [...] hanno la campagna, hanno gli animali, [...] ancora ci hanno queste usanze con i capelli col tuppo, con la treccia.' She associates the proximity of traditions and attachment to the land – 'illegitimate' markers in the modernity-backwardness paradigm – with 'backwardness' referred to here by the word 'ancora'. However, unlike the 'negative' traditions Rosaria alluded to, Francesca both highlighted her personal connection with these inhabitants of Platì and was quick to state she did not denigrate these customs: 'ma non c'è nulla di disprezzare perché per carità, sono delle usanze'. She indicates her awareness that these traditions attract prejudice, showing also that there are multiple ways that coastal Calabrians conceptualise inland towns in terms of 'modernity' and 'backwardness'. In a way that resonates with Michael Herzfeld's argument that traditional crafts are considered inferior to Western 'high culture' within Eurocentric models of what is 'modern' (2004, p.3), in this particular instance the 'hierarchy' of the modernity-backwardness paradigm is challenged. Francesca still conceptualises a coastal-inland binary in terms of traditional ways of life but does not understand one as inferior to the

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[61] To be clear, any explanation of greater 'ndrangheta influence with the hinterland nexus on the premise of the 'closedness' of these towns and the lack of contact with outsiders (which is exactly what Giuseppa says) can be called into question considering the strength of clans in nearby, coastal towns and cities such as Reggio Calabria, Palmi, and Locri itself (Calderoni 2011; Ciconte 2015; Gratteri and Nicaso).

[62] This same pattern of an assumed gender divide held on the part of those in more urban contexts towards those in more rural contexts resurfaces in the Australian context.

other. Also, she does not manifest any sense of shame in response to her family's connection with these towns, namely Platì.

Moving now to perceptions of this gendered cultural divide held by participants from inland towns, Elisabetta from Natile Nuovo (situated between coastal Bovalino and Platì), explained that:

> even [from] Bovalino onwards we can say the mentality is different. For example, a young boy or a young girl, they can go out for a pizza together [...]. [I]f this is done here they start gossiping. [...] [At] least here in Natile Nuovo girls walk about [...]. If you go to Platì you don't see a girl alone walking. [...] The mentality is still – they keep them [inside].

This passage once again reinforces the idea of a spectrum of women's emancipation that coincides with the spectrum of 'backwardness', as well as the coastal-inland divide outlined by coastal Calabrians. Of note, though, is Elisabetta's dissatisfaction with this situation. As an inhabitant of Natile Nuovo, her attitude towards women's autonomy does not fit the pattern she describes, indicating there is no homogenous 'closed' mentality amongst inland Calabrians.[63] At the same time, it shows a degree of continuity regarding women's limited agency in the interior held by inhabitants of the coast and interior. In her anthropological research on Calabrian women, Ann Cheney states that in Calabria there are 'visible gender inequalities' (2013, p.90); despite women's growing agency they 'grow up in a world fraught with competing ideals of womanhood and limited avenues for self-realization' (2013, p.90). The position of women that emerges across interviews, however, is more complex. While interviewees from coastal towns like Francesca highlighted that Calabrian society in general often has specific and limiting expectations for women, it is strongly suggested that women's autonomy and emancipation is reduced the further inland one goes, in particular in the hinterland nexus.

However, while Cheney and coastal Calabrians imply that an absence of 'modernity' is to blame for women's position, inland interviewees blamed the position of women in their towns on recently acquired wealth. Elisabetta explained that recently acquired wealth discourages young women today from seeking further education and employment, '[they are] just aiming to marry' whereas in 1969 most young women 'were going to university'. From

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[63] It could be argued that Elisabetta, who emigrated from Natile to Australia as a child in 1951 to then return in her twenties, has been influenced by the position of women in Australia at the time. However, she stated elsewhere in her interview that when she first returned to Calabria she found that women enjoyed greater freedom (including the ability to go into higher education) than she had been familiar with in her community in rural Victoria. The perceived position of Calabrian-Australian, in particular in and around Mildura where Elisabetta lived, is explored in Chapter 3.

Elisabetta's perspective, 'modernity' in the form of economic wealth has encouraged more gendered roles. Francesco echoed this idea. He explained that while it has always been the role of women in San Luca and Calabria to look after the family, until the early eighties many women were still working in the fields and played a key role in the local economy; a point Gerardo also touched on with reference to women in Africo Vecchio. This argument destabilises to an extent stereotypes of 'backwards' patriarchal society (Pipyrou 2016, p.90).

According to Francesco, today in San Luca:

il marito preferisce lavorare lui e non far lavorare la moglie. [...] Quindi in un certo senso l'uomo lavora, la donna consuma. E questo è stato un problema [...] perché la donna [...] non è riuscita a capire cosa significa fare soldi. [...] [L]a donna secondo me [...] dev'essere autonoma.

Firstly, Francesco's own attitudes towards women resist the framing of San Lucchesi as having a homogenous, 'backwards' mentality in particular towards women. Secondly, both he and Elisabetta demonstrate that amongst interviewees there is an inland-coastal divide in terms of what is conceived to be 'modern' and 'backwards' and where these sit on a chronological axis. Elisabetta and Francesco argue that it is an influx of wealth that now holds women back in their towns, reiterating Cassano's argument that, as a consequence of 'modernity' '[s]ocial mobility has expressed itself in perverted ways' (2012, p.2). Women today have not been kept in 'traditional' roles, their current position (considered 'traditional' by coastal Calabrians) is recent and has come about through processes of 'modernisation'. Francesco and Elisabetta's narratives thus challenge normative understandings of what is 'modern' versus what is 'traditional'. 'Traditional' becomes a slippery notion and one that has opposing meanings not shared in these instances by coastal Calabrians and inland Calabrians. Conversely, 'traditional' is a term sometimes used to refer to customs like women's hairstyles which have been maintained over the course of history (Francesca). Also, in one sense women's lives have improved. For example, women might have played a more direct role in local economies but, as Gerardo explained, the transportation of goods – often undertaken by women historically – was physically gruelling and not something to be idealised. It could also be argued that today women in San Luca, for example, achieve 'empowerment' through their position as 'economic administrators of the household' (Cheney 2013, p.93; Pipyrou 2016, p.90).

It is precisely this muddying of concepts tied up with 'modernity' and 'backwardness' that is significant since it lays bare how the hegemonic modernity-backwardness paradigm is a flawed construct; here it is inadvertently contested by those reduced to 'backwardness' within its logic. Elisabetta and Francesco demonstrate that no fundamentally superior and singular

version of 'modernity' has been inculcated outright by inland Calabrians. The conclusion we can reach is that while coastal Calabrians appear to interpret what they configure to be the 'backwardness' of inland towns in line with a Eurocentric modernity-backwardness paradigm, inland Calabrians inadvertently call into question the *a priori* belief that this dominant version of 'modernity' ensures the kinds of progress – women's emancipation, for example – that it supposedly symbolises.

Polsi

I move now to analysis of cultural practices, in particular 'superstitions' and spiritual customs that are considered symptoms of 'backwardness' and 'belatedness' when considered through the lens of northern European discourse (Cassano 2012, p.xl; p.148). Referring to the belief system of 'southern peasants' in the 1930s, historian Paul Ginsborg relates what he terms 'a widely diffused pagan religiosity' characterised by *tarantismo*, 'mass pilgrimages and miraculous cures', to socioeconomic conditions which he describes as the 'harshest of realities' (1990, p.33). However, it is possible to deduce from present day interviews with Calabrians that despite drastic improvements to socioeconomic conditions, similar beliefs and practices continue. For example, a number of participants, both young and old, male and female, and from inland and coastal towns spoke of practising the removal of the evil eye. Others spoke of superstitions and pagan beliefs centred around Pietra Cappa.[64] In Chapter 1 I drew on Alfonsina Bellio's argument that the continuation of these practices today amongst some Calabrians is a sign of their relevance in the contemporary world, not as 'backwards' cultures that have survived despite 'modernity' but as evidence of a continued need for spiritual and medical intervention through 'miraculous healing and divine intervention' today (2009, p.120). The recounting of these beliefs to me as well as the act of practicing these beliefs symbolises a refusal to accept the *a priori* superiority of versions of medicine and spirituality acceptable within the hegemonic culture. This refusal falls into what Kilday and Nash describe as 'persistence with [...] opprobrious activities'; an act which symbolises 'anti-shame' (2017, p.4).

The clearest example in interviews of what Luigi Maria Lombardi Satriani terms 'folk Catholicism' are certain syncretic practices associated with the festa at Polsi in the Aspromonte

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[64] Pietra Cappa is the highest monolith in Europe, situated outside Natile Vecchio. Gaetano explained that pagan folklore and Christian beliefs form the basis of the site's symbolic significance in the local imaginary today. He underlined, for example, that Basilian monks converted locals to Christianity by teaching them that Pietra Cappa was the location of certain parables. He stated: [i]ntorno a Pietra Cappa gira religione, fede, spiritualità e superstizione. […] Tu hai una situazione di paganesimo [e superstizione] […] che arriva ad oggi, non ti dico intatta ma veramente forte.'

(1975, p.101). Each year on the 2nd September pilgrims gather in Polsi for the *Festa della Madonna della Montagna*, number of them making the journey from San Luca and other nearby towns on foot (Papalia 2008, p.59).[65] The festa has pagan origins with certain traditions surviving today despite attempts by the Catholic church to 'hegemonise pre-Christian belief systems' (Papalia 2008, p.58). Amongst these traditions are the consumption of goat-meat and *voti* involving acts of physical suffering such as 'continuously dancing the tarantella night and day, [and] walking barefoot or on one's knees' (Papalia 2008, p.59). Commenting on southern devotional practices in general, Lombardi Satriani wrote that:

> [t]hose who, moved by an extreme need for protection or help, shout, weep, and cry before a statue of the Madonna or of some saint, those who bring [...] offerings of archaic origin [...] those who dance to rid themselves of the symbolic bite of a saint [...] are opposing, by such behaviour, the universality of official Catholicism (1974, p.101).

In other words, these acts of devotion subvert what he terms 'hegemonic Catholicism' (1974, p.101).

Both interviewees and other Calabrians I spoke to underlined the importance of attending the festa.[66] Pasquale described the pilgrimage which his family has undertaken several times:

> ci abbiamo gli strumenti – la zampogna […] e siamo andati a suonare fino a Polsi dove c'è il santuario – che è un rito. [...] Poi abbiamo cucinato la capra perché è un rito [...], [si] dice 'vai a Polsi e ti mangi la capra.' [...][P]er me è importante, vedere [le mie figlie] partecipano nella festa.

It could be argued that the kinds of practices described here by Pasquale – elements of 'folk Catholicism', playing the *zampogna* (which he himself acknowledges is a potential trigger for shame later in his interview), and ritualistic goat-consumption – are not subversive since some of these practices are popular throughout Italy. However, this interpretation does not account for the Catholic church's attempts to sanitise aspects of the festival (Papalia 2008, p.59, p.62),

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[65] According to Pipyrou pilgrims number forty to fifty thousand (Pipyrou 2016, p.167), however, it is not possible to verify this. In 2021 numbers were limited to one thousand due to the Covid-19 pandemic (EsperiaTV Canale18, 2021).

[66] A correlation between these beliefs and practices and Calabrians with low levels of literacy and/or education might be assumed. However, I would argue this is undermined by the attachment of educated Calabrians to these practices (both interviewees and other Calabrians I have discussed Polsi with). Teti also writes of his own personal attachment to the festival (2014, pp.334-6), and Cirillo and Bevilacqua celebrate similar practices. A further distinction might thus be made between those who celebrate the existence of these beliefs, and those who believe them. However, this distinction was not made by Calabrians I have spoken to or interviewees, nor by Teti. In any case, both celebrations of and belief in these practices resist the dominant discourse.

or the intervention of the authorities at Polsi in 2002 which saw the banning of ritualistic goat killing: a ritual which scholars believe has pagan origins (Teti 2014, p.341; Papalia 2008, p.61).[67] Teti believes this intervention by the authorities was related to Polsi's recognition in the wider collective imaginary as a festa characterised by 'religione popolare, macellazione clandestina, illegalità, arcaicità, tribalismo' (2014, p.340). He explains further Polsi's 'illegitimacy' in the national imaginary, focusing on the 'tribalism' marker: 'il termine 'tribale' (o 'primitivo' o 'selvaggio'), coniato da uno sguardo etnocentrico, […] presuppone un 'noi' superiore e civile e un 'loro' inferiore da negare, controllare, rifiutare' (2014, p.340). Teti underlines that Polsi is recognised as 'illegitimate' within a northern European modernity-backwardness paradigm and highlights how practices undertaken at Polsi may be considered 'backwards' to the point of being savage, even in need of eradication.

Teti also indicates here that Polsi is associated with illegality. Amongst the thousands of devotees of the Madonna della Montagna are high-level 'ndranghetisti who held their annual summit during the festival until 2009 when their meeting was intercepted by the *Carabinieri* (Real Stories 2018, 38:16-38:40). In the words of an 'ndrangheta pentito, the Madonna della Montagna is considered to be: 'la Madonna di tutti i mafiosi [della 'ndrangheta]' (Ciconte 2012, p.92). Furthermore, the 'ndrangheta has appropriated rituals associated with Polsi such as the consumption of goat meat which is known to be eaten as part of a new 'ndranghetista's initiation (Parini 2008, p.13). Similarly, *tarantelle* danced in public spaces in major festivals are often an opportunity for local *'ndrine* to display territorial control (Pipyrou 2016, p.158). As Stavroula Pipyrou argues, symbolism, and especially religious symbolism, is central to the 'ndrangheta and serves to achieve social legitimacy (2016, p.129). Sergi clarifies this cultural proximity: 'Calabrian cultural codes are not intrinsically 'ndranghetista, but the 'ndranghetista cultural codes are also, in a twisted way, Calabrian' (2018, p.162). However, within the national collective imaginary Polsi has long been a metaphor for the 'ndrangheta: consideration of Polsi's coverage in the national press is testament to this.[68] 'Shared' traditions between the 'ndrangheta and the majority of pilgrims risk the (mis)recognition of the wider Calabrian community as proximate to criminality.

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[67] Teti refers specifically to the intervention of NAS (Nuclei Antisofisticazione e Sanità); a branch of the Carabinieri in charge of public health and hygiene.

[68] See Alessia Candito's article 'Sotto indagine per 'ndrangheta: sostituito il rettore del santuario di Polsi' written for *La Repubblica* (2017), Angela Corica's article 'Ndrangheta, la Madonna di Polsi si inchina anche a Ventimiglia. Si può e si deve fare qualcosa' written for *Il Fatto Quotidiano* (2017), and Mimmo Gangemi's article 'La madonna pentita della 'ndrangheta' written for *La Stampa* (2010).

Polsi thus represents a complex web of signifiers. For most devotees of the Madonna the festa represents in Teti's words: 'uno dei luoghi emblematici, peculiari, caratterizzanti dell'identità religiosa delle popolazione calabresi [...] della loro cultura, della loro esistenza' (2014, p.336). For 'ndranghetisti Polsi has its own specific significance. Within the collective Italian imaginary Polsi represents a dense nexus of markers of 'illegitimacy' such as a 'tribal' 'backwardness' aligned with criminality. Indeed, it is arguably in the context of Polsi's association with criminality that pagan and folk Catholic practices celebrated elsewhere become 'illegitimate', rather than being 'illegitimate' per se. In other words, as Teti states: 'Polsi è troppo complessa [...] di stratificazioni culturali, di valenze e di segni [...] per poter essere descritta con genericità [...] come spesso accade con le cose calabresi' (2014, p.342). With this in mind, Pasquale's willingness to celebrate Polsi – what the festa and specific rituals symbolise for him and his family – despite its (mis)recognition, is significant. He makes it clear that Polsi is not a trigger for shame for him, if anything it is a source of pride.

Perhaps, then, it is more appropriate to consider Polsi as a trigger for vicarious shame felt not by pilgrims but by those Calabrians and Italians concerned with the recognition of Calabria or Italy as 'modern' and 'rational'. Satriani Lombardi states that it was the Italian establishment in the 1950s that found the survival of the kinds of popular cultures analysed in this section shameful (in Feltrinelli Editore, 2009). Similarly, Patrick McGauley argues that in postwar Italy Matera's extreme socioeconomic conditions, considered 'Other to ideas of modernity', were a trigger for 'national shame' as Italy tried to assert itself as a 'modern', civilised Republic (2013, p.75). Read this way, Polsi and the 'backwardness'-cum-criminality associated with its rituals, as well as the survival of other elements of 'folk Catholicism', potentially trigger shame back along the spectrum of 'illegitimacy', in much the same way that San Luca's association with the 'ndrangheta generates shame amongst wider Calabrian and Italian communities. Put simply, it seems these elements of 'folk Catholicism' are potentially shameful to other Calabrians, and indeed Italians, but not to those who practice them. The question of pre-empted prejudice and the external gaze is again relevant here. In this instance those who in some way denigrate or attempt to disrupt the practices and rituals undertaken at Polsi potentially feel shamed by them as a result of their own proximity to these same practices in the dominant gaze. At the same time, through the denigration of phenomena in Calabria the national imaginary is able to insist upon an 'ontological difference between judge and judged' (Butler 2001, p.30), reinforcing a 'them' and 'us' dynamic that insists on maintaining distance between those Italians who feel ashamed of Polsi from those who participate in the festa in the eyes of the wider northern European and Western imaginaries.

Agropastoralism

Memories of agropastoral society were common to all five participants aged over seventy. These participants described a past economy based on the exchange of goods and services paid for in kind. Many of them also remembered extreme poverty. Gerardo described growing up in Africo Vecchio: 'era una vita molto molto dura perché in paese [...] c'era poca terra per coltivare.' In the case of Africo, memories of poverty have transcended generations. Teresa who was in her thirtees and whose parents were born after the flood, said of her grandmother that 'mi raccontava sempre [...] [che c'era] difficoltà di trovare qualcosa da mangiare. [...] [V]ivevano nelle case dove tenevano anche gli animali. Quindi igiene veramente scarsissima.' 'Soffrimu (soffrimmo)' was how Gerlanda described her childhood years outside Cardeto. She married and gradually acquired her farmstead. However, the legacy of those earlier years continues: 'analfabeta completa non sugnu (sono), non è che sacciu (so) quanto, però sacciu firmare.' What is crucial in these memories of rural poverty is that there seemed to be no sense of shame regarding socioeconomic conditions and proximity to the land that have, as discussed in the Introduction and Chapter 1, been used as evidence of Southerners' natural 'backwardness'. This is particularly relevant for participants from Africo whose historic, extreme socioeconomic conditions, at times explained through the idea of a racialised, psychological inferiority (Teti 2014, 209), have led to the town's recognition the most desperate and 'backwards' communities in Italy (Phillips 2017a, p.229).

Rosaria (Davoli Marina) demonstrated that the alignment of poverty and proximity to the land through the lens of 'backwardness' persists today amongst some Calabrians. Discussing the nearby inland town of San Sostene, which she highlights is further inland than Davoli Superiore, she said: 'si dice da noi che le persone di San Sostene [...] sono persone che avevano proprio il pollaio attaccato a casa. [...] [T]utto'ora si dice "sei uno di San Sostene", quando per esempio non tieni pulita vicina casa tua'. Rosaria's repetition of, and refusal to contradict, this saying indicates that the same prejudice evident in mainstream representations of Calabrian 'backwardness' (prejudice that implicates Rosaria), is manifested amongst some Calabrians against others. Expanding on the notion of creating distance between shameful markers, Ahmed argues that 'to designate something as disgusting is also to create a distance from the thing'; an act that she equates to attempts to expel 'something that has already been digested [...] into the body of the one who feels disgust. Ingestion means that one has already been made disgusting by the perception of something other than me as being disgusting' (2014, p.94). On the one hand, this notion of 'disgust' fits with Rosaria's attempted distancing from what she frames as a 'backwards', 'dirty' and consequently inferior way of life (and also from

the 'negative traditions' she associates with inland towns discussed earlier). On the other hand, Ahmed states that disgust differs from shame; with disgust, 'the subject may be temporarily "filled up" by something bad, but the "badness" gets expelled and sticks to the bodies of others' while with shame, 'I feel myself to be bad' (2014, p.104). I argue, however, that Rosaria's disgust results from her perceived 'shameful' proximity to these nearby towns and their continued associations with agropastoralism. Rosaria constructs her own identity to be separate from San Sostene and Davoli Superiore but appears to feel shame over her potential (mis)recognition as being part of this shared identity. That her father was born in Davoli Superiore before moving to the coast as a child, makes this idea of shame felt through proximity even more likely. I explore the significance of this movement in more detail in Chapter 4.

Shame over continued proximity to the land and related associations of 'backwardness', as well as the class dimensions of these potential markers, may again be felt most by Calabrians who perceive themselves to be spatially and temporally distanced from agropastoralism. This shame surfaces at the intersection of aspirations of social mobility and the desire to be recognised as 'modern' and therefore distant from agropastoral ways of life. Coinciding with what Butler terms 'performativity' (2014, p.20), Rosaria's voiced, negative recognition of ways of life associated with inland towns as 'illegitimate' reinforces the inland-coastal dynamic. A link can be made here with the idea amongst coastal Calabrians that remote inland towns might have preserved undesirable traditions explored earlier in this chapter. Unlike members of the Calabrian intelligentsia who frame these towns as the last surviving repositories of 'real' Calabria precisely because of the greater presense of agropastoral traditions maintained in them, for a number of interviewees these practices symbolise a 'backwardness' they would prefer did not continue. Thus, a further experiential divide re-emerges here between those preoccupied with being (mis)recognised as proximate to agropastoral ways of life and those who, as part of the Calabrian cultural elite, do not.

Despite the apparent 'illegitimacy' of agropastoralism amongst coastal Calabrians like Rosaria, a number of participants framed ways of life lived in proximity to the land in positive terms while simultaneously critiquing 'modernity'. For instance, recalling her early years Gerlanda said: 'erano sofferenti, però [...] mangiavi cosi sinceri. Roba chi facivi tu, era una cosa bellissima. Ora sì, c'è il bene [...] però non sappimu (sappiamo) quello che mangiamo'. Serafina (Catanzaro Lido) believes Calabrians have lost 'l'identità bellissima e genuina, semplice, che abbiamo dentro', instead they are preoccupied with 'la quotidianità, la materialità'. This is a rare example of an interviewee from the coast making the same argument as Cirillo and Bevilacqua that Calabrians have lost their 'real' identity. The clearest example of a participant

making this argument is Pasquale (a farmer, musician, and construction worker originally from inland Cardeto, now resident in Reggio Calabria city) who gave the most in-depth critique of modernity and the way it has altered relations with the land, people, and traditions. He stated that 'il consumismo' and 'la tecnologia ci ha distrutto,' arguing for example that native breeds of goats no longer interested local farmers because the volume of milk they produced was not competitive: '[adesso] vogliamo fare degli imprenditori, non vogliamo fare dei coltivatori', concluding that 'ci siamo [arrivati] nello spazio di trent'anni [a] un degrado per l'agricoltura'. In many ways Pasquale's criticisms of 'modernity' contest the *a priori* logic that northern European notions of 'development' are desirable as well as the trope that 'modernity' is extraneous to Calabria (Cassano 2012, p.132). These comments demonstrate appreciation of ways of life considered 'illegitimate' within the logic of a northern European modernity-backwardness paradigm. However, accusations by participants that 'modernity' has brought about a degradation of these former ways of life arguably reflect more recent debates about sustainability and the environment. For example, out of neo-liberal, post-industrial Italy, organisations such as Slow Food have emerged. Slow Food's aim of protecting 'slowness' in the context of food production from globalised capitalism and its homogenous 'fast' food cultures and detachment from the land in many ways echoes the arguments made by these participants (Leitch 2020).

Pasquale, however, implicitly calls into question this contemporary preoccupation with sustainability and the environment as well as the logic of the modernity-backwardness paradigm when he comments on labels like 'organic': 'La bio – dov'è sta bio? [...] [O]ppure chilometro zero, no? Io parlo di gradino venti centimetri.' He reframes the contemporary notion of organic, local food as nothing different from that which his family has always produced, critiquing precisely the kind of contemporary labels used by movements like Slow Food. Alison Leitch's analysis of the cultural politics of Slow Food underlines the movement's position as 'quintessential[ly] modern' and one that commercialises food items and practices that were once 'common element[s] in local diets' as 'exotic item[s] for gourmet consumption', a process she describes as 'the commodification of nostalgia' (2020, pp.447-48). As Agatino Rizzo explains, the majority of Slow Food's members are 'upper-middle-class' (2016, p.229); Slow Food then arguably represents an elite subsection of contemporary consumerist society. Pasquale's rejection of the positive recognition his food practices might achieve in the eyes of Slow Food and similar organisations demonstrates that he does not feel the need to be recognised as 'acceptable' within this particular construction of 'modernity'. This rejection acts as an assertion of agency on his part and one that is even more subversive given the class

dynamics at play. Pasquale thus doubly critiques northern European notions of 'modernity'. Capitalism that has brought about a degradation of agriculture is condemned and in turn more recent trends aimed at undoing the damage capitalism has done to the environment and food practices are ridiculed. He makes these versions of 'modernity' a redundant category, effectively highlighting the 'symbolic arrogance' of the dominant discourse in its various forms, thereby destabilising any narrative of Calabrian 'illegitimacy' on the basis of continued proximity to the land (Cassano 2012, p.xxxviii).

Another point to consider is the legitimacy of a perceived and arguably constructed 'harmonious' proximity to the land elsewhere in Italy, for example in Tuscany where, as Silvia Ross explains, the landscape is 'said to epitomize the relationship between humans and their environment' (2010, p.4). The Tuscan landscape has become a symbol of the 'human-nature relationship' in a positive way (Ross 2010, p.5), a 'human-nature relationship' that is not interpreted as evidence of primitiveness. Francesco Ricatti, drawing on Joseph Pugliese, also argues that the 'northern Italian countryside has been idealised' along a North-South axis; a 'false dichotomy that is deeply racialized' (Bartoloni and Ricatti 2017, p.373). Why is it then that Southerners' supposed proximity to the land and to nature in Italy's South has so often been recognised through the lens of 'backwardness', thereby becoming 'illegitimate'? Focusing on the landscape itself, Dario Gaggio who also underlines how Tuscany's landscape is valorised in the context of national patrimony, argues that: 'in Italy […] the power of landscape stems from its ability to evoke different moralities and legalities, embedded in contested pasts and possible futures that frame the present' (2014, p.556). With this in mind, recognition of the South (its landscapes and people) in the national imaginary through a modernity-backwardness paradigm has led to the framing of Calabrian proximity to the land in a negative way; in regions not interpreted through this paradigm the same characteristics may well act as a trigger for national pride. Expanding on the argument that 'superstitions' and certain aspects of 'folk Catholicism' may not be 'illegitimate' in themselves but become so when interpreted through a modernity-backwardness paradigm that aligns these practices with other negative markers, proximity to the land arguably becomes 'illegitimate' in a Calabrian and wider Southern context when it is aligned with other negative markers such as perceived criminality as well as cultural and cognitive 'backwardness'.

Picking up on the inter-relatedness of these markers, the hegemonic version of 'modernity' is further challenged in two cases where participants imply that 'modernity' has encouraged a rise in organised crime. Gerardo referred to the flood and Africo's migration to the coast, a move that scholars have argued was exploited by local 'ndrine (Teti 2014, p.244),

as a moment of substantial change: 'dopo l'alluvione [...] molti padri [...] [hanno detto] "no il mio figlio non deve fare la vita che ho fatto io, mio figlio deve stare bene"'. Teti reinforces Gerardo's argument when he states, with reference to Africo's destruction and reconstruction: '[b]astava prendere sul serio l'avvertenza di quei capifamiglia di Africo che scrivevano che la fame spinge a qualsiasi azione' (2014, p.244). Gerardo's veiled implication that the move from a life of poverty inland to the new town has in some way fostered criminality is backed up by Placania (1993, p.368). It was also made by Elisabetta, who explained that after the same 1951 flooding, inhabitants of Natile received emergency funding as well as subsidies for agriculture as part of the *Cassa per il Mezzogiorno* which transformed an existence that was poor in terms of material wealth and infrastructure (Natile Vecchio had no electricity, water, or road) (Placanica 1993, p.341). She said these services were 'all given free to everyone by the government [...] so they had everything for nothing [...] the parents spoiled everybody and gave them all what they didn't have.' She associates what she sees as a loss of values with this acquired wealth: 'some of the boys they don't have jobs but [...] then they seem to go around, driving around with cars [...]. Oh there is a lot of wealth [...]. [There was] always money coming from somewhere.' Without contextualisation she then referred to the following episode:

> so the priest came because he noticed how the situation was, he said 'women, don't cry when [...] something happens to your sons, whether they're in jail or die or are killed. [...] [S]ave them now by teaching the real principles of life.'

By implicitly aligning recently acquired wealth and socioeconomic improvement with a growth in delinquency, Gerardo and Elisabetta not only blame elements of 'modernity' for bringing about a degradation in terms of society, they also resist the logic that understands the 'ndrangheta to be a symptom of innate Calabrian 'backwardness'.

While their mention of funds and societal shifts by no means offers a comprehensive understanding of the reasons behind the 'ndrangheta's growth, their suggestion that the 'ndrangheta is tied up with 'modernity' reflects the work of contemporary mafia experts. Despite mainstream representations of the 'ndrangheta as a 'backwards' mafia 'minata da vecchie faide paesane' (Gratteri and Nicaso 2009, p.7), mafia scholars argue that the 'ndrangheta has grown alongside the development of capitalism and democracy in Italy since Unification (Dickie 2011; Varese 2006), benefitting especially from the 'opportunities offered by Italy's economic miracle' (Phillips 2017b, p.180), and 'adjusting well to the new requests of the market' (Coppola and Formica 2015, 215). Likewise, Maria Ridda (2020) has explored how the rise of organised crime in Italy (and elsewhere) is tied up with the State; an

inconvenient truth conveniently ignored in official narratives that reinforce the idea that organised crime can be understood with reference only to the South. These are also arguments made by the Calabrian intelligentsia in Chapter 1. Elisabetta's and Gerardo's implicit positioning of criminality as a symptom of 'modernity' again refutes the logic of the modernity-backwardness paradigm and its framing of Calabrian criminality in terms of Calabrian 'backwardness'. If we are to read shame on the part of Gerardo and Maria in response to this growth in delinquent behaviour, this shame is irrevocably tied up with 'modernity' in the form of wealth, consumerism, and the simultaneous loss of traditional values.

Emigration

While numerous interviewees criticised aspects of northern European 'modernity' for its degradation of society, culture, and values, they and others felt that a lack of infrastructure and services in Calabria pushed people to emigrate. I therefore examine how what could be understood as the lack of 'modernity' encourages emigration. One reason given for emigration was the absence of services, from cultural entertainment (Francesca criticised the lack of cultural events in Calabria, especially in Locri), to healthcare; Giovanni, like other participants, explained that his parents had to go to Milan for cancer treatment: '[s]e devi curarti qui è quasi impossibile'. However, by far the most pressing reason for leaving Calabria, and one that was repeated across the majority of interviews, was the problem of employment. Giacomo said: '[in Calabria [...] [it] was and is hard to find a job.' It was in this context of unemployment and absent infrastructure that blame surfaced. Carmelo said: 'qui non ci sono possibilità di lavoro. Qui la politica è stata assente e lo stato è stato assente.' One interviewee who explicitly tied together the lack of employment, perceived 'backwardness', and blame was Giovanni who had left Calabria after school, returning sixteen years later: 'me ne volevo andare da qui perché forse mi ero convinto anch'io che la Calabria fosse [...] un posto che non desse sbocchi, fosse un posto condonato da un'arretratezza [...] legat[a] all'unità d'Italia che non è mai compiuta.' Giovanni admits he previously conceptualised Calabria in a way that coincides both with Calabria's recognition within the national imaginary and Cassano's contention that the South often thinks of itself 'as an error, a fault, a hell to be escaped' (Cassano 2012, p.132). Giovanni's attitudes towards Calabria might have changed, but the fact he felt pushed to move confirms the common perception amongst participants that the region does not offer adequate opportunities especially for the young.[69]

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[69] I analyse the return movement of Calabrians to Calabria in Chapter 4.

Like Carmelo, Giovanni makes it clear that this 'backwardness', as he frames it, is the fault and responsibility of the State; these problems have nothing to do with the notion that 'backwards' conditions in Calabria can be explained through the pathological 'backwardness' of the people, as mainstream representations have so often suggested (Cassano 2012, p.132). Both Carmelo and Giovanni echo Nunnari's contention analysed in Chapter 1 that Calabria, as part of the South, continues to suffer the consequences of an incomplete Unification of which unemployment and organised crime are symptoms. This contention is arguably the antithesis to the critiques of 'modernity' explored in the previous section since it is premised on a desire for aspects of this 'modernity' to be equally distributed. On the other hand, where participants criticise the lack of healthcare and employment opportunities, they are arguably commenting on what Pier Paolo Pasolini termed 'beni necessari' (necessary for progress), as opposed to 'beni superflui'(1973). Any argument that in these instances participants have inculcated the hegemony of the dominant discourse needs to be contextualised with Pasolini's notion of an 'immediate need' for certain rights, services, and opportunities in the name of progress.

For Teresa, unemployment is one of many interdependent symptoms of Africo's contemporary problems. She argues that local youths are not offered a future because the town council is repeatedly dissolved for mafia infiltration, a process that results in paralysis since long-term projects to improve socioeconomic conditions are suspended before completion: 'così la gente se ne va, i ragazzi vanno fuori perché comunque qua non ci sono prospettive [...]. Diventa sempre più depressa per forza'.[70] Blaming State actions and antimafia legislation for Africo's socioeconomic conditions and its depopulation could easily fall into broader categorisations of *calabresismo*. Equally, drawing again on the logic that criticisms of the State and its absence by Calabrians must be considered alongside similar arguments made by scholars, the State's role in the prevalence of the 'ndrangheta must be acknowledged. Dickie, for example, has highlighted how the *commissari straordinari* employed to take over the running of dissolved councils 'generally lack the experience necessary to run local government departments. Very often, as a result, the administration grinds to a halt and with it a large section of the local economy' (2010, 331). Also, Teresa argues that the mayor can be suspected of 'ndrangheta proximity simply for being seen in the bar at the same time as an 'ndranghetista; a

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[70] Under Italian law 164/1991, town councils can be dissolved for infiltration or proximity with criminal organisations (De Cataldo and Mastrorocco 2016: 2). The disbanded municipal government is then taken over by a *commissario straordinario* of senior state functionaries (Dickie 2010: 331).

situation that is unavoidable in a small town like Africo and one that Cecilia Giordano et al. (2017) have also documented in the context of Corleone (Sicily).[71]

Crucially, Teresa ultimately blames the dissolution of the municipal government, Africo's lack of necessary infrastructure, and high tumour rates that have not been appropriately investigated on prejudice against Africo held by others, including State authorities.[72] For example, after explaining her belief that the State has not provided adequate help in terms of investigating tumour rates, she states: '[Africo] è stata una popolazione un po' sfortunata, continua a pagare magari lo scotto pure di tanti pregiudizi.' A sense of hopelessness pervades Teresa's speech in relation to this self-perpetuating cycle; *rassegnazione* amongst Africesi is explained and to a degree manifested by Teresa in response to spiralling socioeconomic conditions which are perceived to be the result of prejudice. Not only is this *rassegnazione* fodder for further prejudice – a self-perpetuating cycle as explored earlier in this chapter – it serves to maintain the status quo which plays straight into the hands of local *'ndrine* (Giordano et al., 2017, p.3). This in turn further reinforces ideas of widespread consensus in the face of organised crime. Teresa explains that this situation also pushes people to emigrate, exacerbating the problem, which is a point Diego Gambetta (1998) also makes when he argues that high rates of organised crime typically push those most likely to resist organised crime away; those who remain will in turn feel less able to resist it themselves. Teresa makes it clear how perceived prejudice amongst Africesi who feel pigeonholed in a negative identity is both damaging and debilitating. However, as in the examples analysed in the previous chapter, the act of blaming the State for this situation demonstrates a degree of resistance to this same prejudice and the dominant gaze. This does not mean that shame is not felt by Africesi over conditions in Africo and the council's repeated dissolution; Teresa's response demonstrates some of the 'sticky' emotions associated with shame by Munt like 'humiliation' and 'rage' (2016, p.2). However, she makes clear her conviction that any absence of 'modernity' in Africo is the State's responsibility; further evidence that interviewees may reject the premise for prejudice while simultaneously manifesting shame in response to the recognition of their communities as irredeemably 'backwards'.

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[71] See also Vittorio Mete (2006).

[72] High tumour rates in Africo, in particular on via Giacomo Matteotti, are attributed to the disposing of toxic or industrial waste in the vicinity by local *'ndrine*. This gained media attention in the years 2013-2015 but the problem continues in the absence of successful investigations.

Conclusion

I argue that analysis of oral sources allows for a greater understanding of the lived experience of Calabrians in light of felt prejudice. It becomes clear that the perceived dominant gaze plays a pivotal and at times prescriptive role in terms of how participants respond to aspects of their Calabrian identity. However, oral sources reveal that prejudice is not just felt by Calabrians in response to their representation and (mis)recognition in the national imaginary but is perpetuated and layered within the region amongst Calabrians themselves. Some Calabrians – in particular, those from the Locride and even more so, those from the hinterland nexus – experience a layering of felt stigma triggered by an awareness of their 'illegitimacy' in the eyes of others (fellow Calabrians, Italians, and non-Italians), especially in the context of crime stereotypes. These personal experiences of layered prejudice confirm the notion of a spectrum of 'illegitimacy' that emerged through analysis of works by members of the Calabrian cultural elite. It is through exploration of how participants reinforce this spectrum that sheds light on how shame often arises in contexts where participants are likely to be considered proximate to shameful markers and yet are able to distance themselves. These attempts at distancing intimate a preoccupation with positive recognition by the dominant group. Indeed, perceived misrepresentation in the inter/national imaginary is arguably manifested hand-in-hand with a desire to be recognised differently, indicating again their subjugation to the gaze of the dominant group. Conversely, moments in which the modernity-backwardness paradigm is destabilised are, I argue, the most convincing and revealing forms of resistance to northern European dominant discourse.

The analysis in this chapter shows that Calabrian 'illegitimacy' is often constructed out of an intersection of 'sticky' markers (Ahmed 2014, p.76). Calabrian 'illegitimacy' in the national context (or San Luca's 'illegitimacy' in a Calabrian context) is arguably the result of the alignment of practices and traditions that already occupy, or have occupied, a tenuous position in the national imaginary with Calabrian organised crime. This is consolidated by the fact that, in my attempt to categorise markers of 'illegitimacy' (organised crime, a perceived lack of civic sense, and traditional beliefs and ways of life), the 'ndrangheta has surfaced in each context. Drawing once more on the role of metonymy, markers of 'backwardness' slip into markers of crime and vice versa. Traditions like the physically painful *voti* and goat-cull at Polsi are not 'illegitimate' per se (they might be celebrated elsewhere in Italy), but become 'illegitimate' because of their framing in the mainstream media (and thus in public opinion) always in relation to the 'ndrangheta. The pain and frustration that this persistent alignment with crime generates amongst Calabrians manifests repeatedly across interviews; Rocco

summed this up when he said that he wished the media would share the many positive stories to come out of the Locride but instead it is always and only ever concerned with ''ndrangheta, 'ndrangheta, 'ndrangheta.'

Finally, Teresa's belief that this prejudice condemns her territory to a spiral of worsening socioeconomic conditions again highlights the interconnectedness of phenomena explored in this chapter. She argues that Africesi question the point of attempting to make changes in the face of this prejudice, indicating a clear link between perceived discrimination and *rassegnazione* and the way one reinforces the other. However, analysis of these interviews also demonstrates convincingly that participants tend to feel shame in response to how their identity is recognised by others while rejecting the premise of perceived prejudice. Consequently, it does not appear to be the case that any of these participants is ashamed of their Calabrian identity outright. As the focus of this thesis moves to Calabrian identity in Australia, a context in which Calabrians and other southern Europeans have been discriminated against through the same northern European discourse, I will examine whether and how perceived Calabrian 'illegitimacy' is played out in its transnational context, and in particular whether or not the same layering of prejudice is experienced.

Chapter 3
Calabrian Identities in Australia

In his introduction to Antonio Gramsci's *The Southern Question*, Pasquale Verdicchio insists, with reference to the southern Italian diaspora, that: '[t]he inclusion of [...] [these] externalized histories into the equation of both country of origin and receptor country enables us to rethink concepts of nation, race and ethnicity' (Gramsci and Verdicchio 2015, p.23). Here I explore how Calabrian-Australians perceive and represent their Calabrian identity in order to understand how dominant discourses affect marginal groups in a diasporic and transnational context. I examine aspects of Calabrian identity that haved marked Calabrians in Australia as a result of the White Australia Policy (1901-1975).[73] I also explore Calabrian identity in relation to Australia's contemporary official multicultural narrative initiated in 1975 with the Racial Discrimination Act. It is this unique backdrop to shifting dominant discourses that makes the Calabrian diaspora in Australia a unique subject of study, especially since the largest wave of migrants arrived in the 1950s-1960s; many first generation Calabrians are still alive today. This chapter therefore contributes to a growing body of work in Italian Studies that reflect Charles Burdett et al.'s insistence on the need to 'pluralize the concept of "Italian cultures" in ways that acknowledge [...] this notion's reach outside the boundaries of the nation' (2020, p.3).

As in Chapters 1 and 2, I analyse both mainstream and personal representations of Calabrian identity. To start, I explore the work of the world-famous comedian Joe Avati, a second-generation Calabrian-Australian, focusing on how he presents his 'Calabrianness' and on what his sketches symbolise in terms of the legitimacy of Calabrian heritage in Australia today. I then analyse interviews that I recorded in Melbourne and rural Mildura (Victoria) across three generations. This chapter engages with transgenerational memories of 'illegitimacy' and current attachments to 'Calabrianness' in their transnational context. I argue that study of the diaspora in the context of this history of 'illegitimacy' introduces questions of temporality as participants reflect on their changing relationship to Calabrian identity over time. Building on Joseph Pugliese's work on Calabrian marginality in Australian discourses of 'whiteness' (2007; 2002c), this chapter makes an important contribution to knowledge as the first exploration of Calabrian-Australian identity to focus on Calabria's transnational 'illegitimacy' as it has been and continues to be experienced on an individual level through oral

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[73] I provide more background to these immigration policies in the Introduction to this thesis where I also contextualise the position of southern European diasporas in the context of other migrants groups as well as Australia's Indigenous Peoples.

history interviews.[74] Similarly, this is the first study of its kind to explore the 'ndrangheta as a transnational marker of 'illegitimacy'.

The presence of Calabrians in Australia requires contextualisation. Italians have migrated to Australia since the early 1800s but numbers remained low until the gold rushes of the 1850s in Victoria and 1890s in Western Australia. Subsequently unskilled migrants arrived in Queensland and Western Australia to work in the sugar cane and mining industries. From this period up to the mid-twentieth century, northern Italians have been preferred over Southerners by the Australian State (Baldassar 2005, p.852). Anti-southern as well as specific anti-Calabrian attitudes were also demonstrated within Australian academia in the 1920s as well as by prominent entrepreneurs such as the repesentatitive of the Sugar Millowners of New South Wales who in 1948 said at a meeting of the Commonwealth Immigration Advisory Council in Sydney that 'North Italians would provide desired settlers; Sicilians were a mixed bag and should be screened carefully; and under no circumstances should the worthless Calabrians be considered' (cited in Pugliese 2002c, pp.154-5). Similarly, Francesco Ricatti argues that northern Italians in Australia typically denigrated all southern diasporas and Calabrians in particular (Ricatti 2018, p.64). So far, however, there has been little research into the effects of this prejudice on the way Calabrian-Australians perceive and represent their identity. One exception is the work of Calabrian anthropologist Simone Marino who has explored generational differences in terms of Calabrian identity, finding in particular that the second generation are more likely to conceal their Calabrian heritage (2015). This chapter expands on these findings through study of three generations of Calabrian-Australians across rural and urban contexts, also taking into account Calabrian identity in its transnational context by analysing how discourses about Calabria within Italy today may also inform the relationship of Calabrian-Australians to their Calabrian heritage.

After World War II extreme socioeconomic conditions pushed many Italians to migrate overseas; in this period 'the Australian federal government set a quota for Italian migration at 2%' (Baldassar 2005, p.852). The most significant wave of Italian migrants to Australia came in the post World War II years after a bilateral agreement was signed between Australia and Italy in 1951 (Baggio and Sanfilippo 2011, p.487). I refer to this wave as the 'post-war' wave, a term used by Sala and Baldassar (2019). In this period Italians became the largest migrant

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[74] Simone Marino's anthropological work on the Calabrian diaspora, which I draw on in this chapter, incorporates interviews and participant observation with members of the Calabrian diaspora in Australia. However, he does not consider the transnational dimension to the inferiority felt by some Calabrian-Australians.

group in Australia after British migrants (Baldassar 2005, p.853).[75] Italian migrants arriving in this period had typically left behind rural ways of life for an urban life in Australia and aspired to become part of 'the suburban dream' (Ricatti 2008, p.83; they were often exploited, working dangerous and poorly paid jobs (Ricatti 2008, p.83). Susanna Iuliano and Loretta Baldassar also argue that in Australia, the US and Canada, the Italian diaspora has historically faced '[h]igh levels of social exclusion and hostility' through their occupational (and residential) 'segregation' from Anglo-Australian society; for example in 'lower skilled employment sectors' (2008, p.3). Over time, the Italian diaspora in Australia has been upwardly mobile in terms of its socioeconomic status and, through this, has been able to 'whiten' and make their identity more 'acceptable' (Andreoni 2003, p.91). Just as in the US where the Italian diaspora has been able to 'whiten' its identity in contrast to African-Americans (see Luconi 2003, p.201), Italian-Australians are able to 'whiten' their identity in the context of groups who hold a more marginal position in Australian society: recent Middle Eastern and African diasporas (Iuliano and Baldassar 2008, p.4), Asian-Australians and Muslim Australians (Seet and Paradies 2018; Saniotis 2004), and Indigenous peoples, asylum seekers, and refugees (Perera and Pugliese 2020).

Scholars of Italian-Australian migration are generally in agreement that the Calabrian diaspora is the second largest regional diaspora in Australia after the Sicilian diaspora, and has been since the post-war wave of Italian migrants (Chiro and Marino 2013, p.2; Sergi 2014). Marino states that the majority of Calabrian migrants arriving in Australia in the early post war years until 1953 were 'peasants originating from a small number of underprivileged rural villages adjacent to the Aspromonte hinterland' (2019, no pages). Landslides and floods in 1951 pushed many Calabrians from the Aspromonte and nearby towns, including the hinterland nexus to migrate; for example, 5000 of Platì's 7200 inhabitants migrated, many of them to Australia (Sergi 2014, no pages). Similarly, Platì, San Luca and Locri 'have provided a constant flow of migrants to Australia' (Sergi 2014, no pages). Calabrians migrated en masse to Australia from the early post war years up until the 1970s; between 1959 and 1976, 36,675 Calabrians migrated to Australia, making up 26.2% of the Italian diaspora (Sergi 2014, no pages).

Finally, it is in part the 'ndrangheta's historic and growing presence in Australia that makes study of the Calabrian diaspora in Australia today particularly pertinent. While all southern Italian migrants have been associated with criminal 'delinquency' since the start of

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[75] Prior to his, most Italians migrated to the Americas; in particular, Canada, the US, Argentina (Gabaccia 2003, p.45).

Italian mass emigration to both North America and Australia, a perception that early Italian governments helped to foster (Papalia 2003, p.4), it could be argued that the global Sicilian diaspora has suffered the consequences of regional alignment with criminality to a greater extent than the Calabrian diaspora (Luconi 2009, p.31). The Sicilian mafia stereotype is undoubtedly better 'known', however, there are two key reasons why the 'ndrangheta in Australia merits specific study in relation to the potential for stereotypes of crime to lead to the interiorisation of shame.

Firstly, the 'ndrangheta, unlike Cosa Nostra, has a comprehensive, historic presence across the Australian continent (Sergi 2014; Bennetts 2016). The rise of the 'ndrangheta in Australia commenced in the 1920s and was bolstered by the mass emigration of inhabitants of towns such as San Luca, Africo, and Platì after the floods and landslides of 1951, amongst them 'ndranghetisti (Sergi 2014). Today *'ndrine* are active in all Australian states; Australia, Canada, and Italy's North are considered the three main branches of the 'ndrangheta outside of Calabria where the organisation's core remains (Sergi 2014, p.162). Secondly, the 'ndrangheta is currently Italy's strongest mafia (Sergi 2019, p.1, p.11) and, according to Nicola Gratteri and Antonio Nicaso is 'l'unica organizzazione criminale italiana che ha saputo riprodurre in ogni angolo del mondo il medesimo modulo organizzativo dei luoghi d'origine, [è] l'unica vera mafia globalizzata' (2009, p.233). As a consequence of this the global media attention Calabria receives relating the region to organised crime is on the increase. In the final section I therefore consider the potential for the 'ndrangheta to act as a contemporary transnational marker of 'illegitimacy' for the Calabrian-Australian diaspora. This is the first study to seek to explore this phenomenon.

Primary sources

Born in Sydney in 1971, stand-up comedian Joe Avati has been termed 'one of the planet's hottest comics' (Posner, 2008) and 'one of Australia's top comedy exports' (Magee 2012, no pages). Anecdotes involving his parents and grandparents who moved from Calabria to Australia with the post-war wave of emigrants characterise the majority of his sketches. Avati describes himself as part of the second generation; his father migrated from Reggio Calabria province in the 1950s, as did his maternal grandparents (his mother was born in Sydney). His global fame therefore brings his Calabrian-Australian identity into the mainstream arena. Mary Luckhurst and Jen Rae have underlined, with particular reference to ethnically marginal groups, how stand-up comedy is 'Australia's most significant form of advocatorial theatre and a major platform for challenging stigma and prejudice' (2015, no pages). While Avati states that the

principal motivation behind his sketches is to share amusing moments he has observed amongst members of the diaspora as opposed to being motivated by a desire to critique the diasporic experience (ACCA 2021), I draw on work by scholars of stand-up comedy to highlight how aspects of his work nevertheless resist the historic 'illegitimacy' of Calabrians (and the southern European diaspora more generally). Avati's work has not yet been the subject of study either by scholars of 'ethnic' stand-up comedy, or by those looking at representations of southern Italian identity in the mainstream Australian media. Indeed, to date there has been no specific study of representations of Calabrian-Australian identity in the context of mainstream Australian culture.

The focus of this chapter then turns to interviews I recorded of different generations of the Calabrian diaspora during two fieldwork trips; the first in April 2018 in Melbourne and the second in June-July of 2019 in Melbourne and Mildura. All interviewees had migrated to Australia in the 1950s-1960s or were descendants of this wave of migrants. Early migrants were confronted with the racist assimilationist White Australia policy on arrival. Their children and grandchildren have consequently grown up in tandem with Australia's shift away from assimilationist and towards multicultural politics. Consequently, examination of this wave of migrants and their descendants raises important questions in terms of lived feelings of 'illegitimacy' regarding their Calabrian identity (in both Calabria and Australia), how these may have changed over time, and what these shifting dynamics mean in terms of the self-perception and self-representation of their Calabrian heritage.

The Calabrian communities in Adelaide and in wider South Australia have been closely examined in the work of Marino (2012; 2020) and Daniela Cosmini-Rose (2005; 2008).[76] While the majority of today's Calabrian-Australian community resides in urban centres (Ricatti 2012, p.754), rural communities also constitute a significant proportion of the diaspora. I made the decision to draw participants from Melbourne and Mildura because the Calabrian diaspora in both is substantial but has so far received little to no specific scholarly attention with the exception of Gerardo Papalia's 2008 study of how the Calabrian diaspora in Melbourne celebrate Polsi's *Festa della Madonna della Montagna*. A further reason behind this research into Calabrian-Australian experiences in both urban and rural contexts is the historic and continued negative association of Calabrian and wider southern Italian identity with proximity to the land; whether and how this plays out in the Australian context is key to understanding

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[76] See also Simone Marino and Giancarlo Chiro (2013) and Simone Marino, Giancarlo Chiro and Timothy Curnow (2013).

experiential differences between the Calabrian diasporas in Melbourne and Mildura. Also, Mildura is home to a number of Calabrian-Australians with roots in the towns of the hinterland nexus.

Figure 5: Map including Mildura Red Cliffs, and Robinvale

I interviewed twenty-eight Calabrian-Australians in total. Five were first-generation migrants, six were part of the 1.5 generation (I include children who migrated during their early teens in this group), thirteen were second-generation, and four were third-generation.[77] The number of second-generation participants reflects the greater tendency amongst this group to have struggled with their southern identity as they grew up during the years of assimilationist politics, a phenomenon documented by scholars such as Marino et al. (2013) and Baldassar (1999; 2011). Fifteen participants were living in Melbourne; of these, four had moved from Calabria to Melbourne, two as children, five had been born there, and six had moved there from Mildura as adults. Thirteen participants were from Mildura and the nearby hamlet of Red Cliffs. I interviewed nineteen women and nine men; while this disparity is problematic, it reflects the

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[77] There is ambiguity among scholars regarding the 1.5 generation; some include those who migrate 'before or during their early teens' (Baldassar et al. 2012), while in other studies child migrants are considered part of the second generation (Sala and Baldassar 2019); the fact that Baldassar uses both these definitions demonstrates how unfixed the term is.

greater willingness of female members of the diaspora to engage with questions of identity and culture. I discuss the gender divide in terms of experiences of prejudice below. In some cases I interviewed multiple members of the same family in order to track transgenerational changes regarding feelings of 'Calabrianness' over time. In two instances family members were interviewed together which facilitated conversation between generations (in one case between three generations); I highlight which participants took part in these interviews. One such participant (a member of the second-generation) revealed to me after the interview that she had felt unable to discuss unhappy memories from her childhood in front of her parents; we recorded these separately. I also analyse the likelihood that memories of shame may have been concealed by interviewees during these interviews. It is crucial to highlight also that many Calabrian-Australians who have internalised anti-Calabrian prejudice will not have agreed to be interviewed.

Joe Avati

An exploration of how Avati frames his migrant heritage is necessary to assess to what extent he engages with his 'Calabrianness'. In turn, I consider what the shifting 'ethnic' parameters of his self-portrayal might tell us about what it means to be Calabrian and, specifically, second-generation Calabrian in Australia today. According to the Italian-Australian migration studies scholar Gaetano Rando, '[Avati] writes that he feels more Italian than Australian' (2007, no pages). At the same time, in an interview for *Huffington Post* Avati states: 'I am fluent in the *Calabrese* dialect and getting better at proper Italian as the years roll on' (Magee 2012). Tension, or slippage, between what is meant by 'Italian' and 'Calabrian' surfaces in many of his sketches where he refers to himself at different points as 'Italian', 'Southern Italian', and only occasionally as 'Calabrian'. At the same time, he imitates the speech of parents and grandparents in *Calabrese* and at other times in Italian with a heavy Calabrian inflection.

This hybrid self-representation is further complicated by the position Avati's comedy occupies in relation to the wider 'wog humour' comedy genre. Mary Coustas and Nick Giannopoulos were two early pioneers of this genre in Australia from the 1980s. According to Tsolidis and Pollard, their three pioneering 'wog humour' acts – *Wogs out of Work, Acropolis Now,* and *The Wog Boy*[78] – first confronted the racism faced by southern European communities

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[78] *Wogs Out of Work* was a late-1980s theatre production in Melbourne written by Nick Giannopoulos, Simon Palomares, and Maria Portesi. *Acropolis Now* was a television show first aired in 1989 and created by Nick Giannopoulos, George Kapiniaris and Simon Palomares. *The Wog Boy* was a film directed by Aleksi Velli and released in 2000.

in an 'ironic critique of racism [...]. It has been argued that these productions remove the stigma of being a "wog" and the stigma of using the term' (2009, p.430).[79] This comedy genre is characterised by exaggerated accents and hand gestures, for example, which serve to highlight the ethnic 'otherness' of these comedians in relation to those of Anglo-Australian heritage.

Unlike in the UK where the term 'wog' has not lost any of its racist connotations, in its Australian context the term is often claimed by those of Mediterranean heritage today. There is a historical explanation for this. 'Wog' was used to refer to the wave of 'undesirable' migrants to Australia who were predominantly southern European and whose perceived ethnic and racial 'otherness' was condemned in the context of Australia's White Policy; these diasporas were expected to assimilate into Anglo-Saxon society and culture (Sala and Baldassar 2019). It is necessary to contextualise the subversive potential of comedy acts that fall into the 'wog genre' today with reference to the multicultural shift in Australia away from the assimilationist policies that first and second-generation Calabrians faced in the 1950s-1960s. The 'wog' humour acts of the 1980s were performed in the context of continued racism; 'those [who] identified as "wogs" remained on the peripheries of mainstream Australian society' (Tsolidis and Pollard 2009, p.430).

Today these southern Europeans no longer occupy a liminal position on the fringes of Australian society. However, this shift has taken place over time. 'Wog' humour was subversive not long ago; its subversive potential has declined as the status of the diasporas has improved. This is a point Baldassar has also made: '[t]he negative characteristics associated with this term in the past (dirty, dangerous, dark-skinned, uncultured, and untrustworthy) have been overlain with positive connotations […] including a sense of cultural pride, culinary flair, and contemporary chic' (2005, pp.849-50). Clear here is the same proximity of racialised 'backwardness' and potential criminality that continues to mark Calabrians in Italy. Only, according to Baldassar, these negative, criminal associations no longer mark the southern European diaspora in Australia. However, Helen Andreoni argues that while 'wog' humour tells us that '[i]t is now possible to have some control over who is telling jokes about minorities' (2003, p.90), 'wog' and ethnic humour involves an act of claiming an identity whose position is still tenuous. This is evidenced by the fact that the term 'wog' would still be considered a

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[79] Numerous comedy acts fall into the category of 'wog humour' in Australia today. Some of the most popular of these, aside from Avati, are *Sooshi Mango* and *Superwog*. *Sooshi Mango* is a trio of comedians made up of the two Salanitri brothers and Andrew Manfre (all of Sicilian descent). They have also partnered with Mary Coustas and Nick Giannopoulos (both of Greek descent) during their tours *Star Wogs* (2018) and *Wogs at Work* (2017). The act *Superwog* further demonstrates the hybridity and fluidity of the 'wog' label; the act is composed of the two Saidden brothers of Greek-Egyptian descent.

racial slur if used by Anglo-Australians (and therefore by some members of Avati's audience) (Sala and Baldassar 2019, p.1661).

According to Luckhurst and Rae, since the 1980s Australian stand-up acts have become increasingly diverse and today there are growing numbers of Muslim and Asian performers, including Waleed Aly and Nazeem Hussain (2016, no pages). This is significant because, as set out in the Introduction to this thesis, Australia's 'other' today has changed; Muslims, Middle Eastern-Australians, African-Australians, and Asian-Australians (Andreoni 2003; Luckhurst and Rae 2016) are amongst the contemporary targets for the kinds of ethnic and racial discrimination southern Europeans suffered from the 1950s. The comedy of Waleed Aly and Nazeem Hussain and their counterparts is therefore considerably more subversive than acts referring to 'wog' (Mediterranean) identities that today are not only 'legitimate', but are in certain contexts celebrated; skin tone and culinary traditions are two such examples (Andreoni 2003; Baldassar 2005).

It is in the wider context of 'ethnic' comedy acts that Avati's own references to himself as a 'wog' and 'ethnic' must be considered. However, there is a further significant dimension to his work. In different sketches he frames the ethnic alterity of his family as Italian, Southern Italian, and Calabrian. As pointed out in the Introduction to this chapter, Southern Italians were doubly marginal at the time of Australia's assimilationist policies (Andreoni 2003; Marino 2015; Sala and Baldassar 2019); there was no single 'Italian' experience of racialised discrimination in Australia in this period since Southerners 'were discriminated against by the dominant Anglocentric policies of the Australian state' and by many Northerners who treated them 'as people of an inferior race' (Pugliese 2002a, p.240).

Unpicking what it means when Avati slips between these various labels is challenging. It could be that the fluidity and slippage of boundaries reflects his own unfixed ideas of what being Italian, Southern Italian, and Calabrian means in Australia today. Read this way, traits that are more accurately described as Calabrian, such as dialect, are at times attributed to the wider Italian diaspora in his work. Conversely, this fluidity might be more reflective of his audience, some members of which are unlikely to know or be interested in these distinctions today. For example, a number of interviewees stated that, despite the 'illegitimacy' of southern Europeanness in official narratives, their experience was that many Anglo-Australians could not distinguish between northern Italians and southern Italians and were even less likely to differentiate between Calabrians and other Southerners. Instead, this was a distinction typically made amongst Italians themselves. When Avati speaks in Calabrian or Italian with a heavy Calabrian inflection and calls this 'Italian', this might well be because he assumes his non-

Italian audience members (Anglo-Australians, those from the wider southern European diaspora, and others) also believe this to be standard Italian. There are numerous such instances of hybridity and heterogeneity in his sketches that he does not attempt to delineate clearly. One potential conclusion is that defining these layers and distinctions is not of concern to him. Read this way, his Calabrian identity is not, for him, something of specific interest or importance.

At the same time, this slippage is symbolically significant especially since other members of his audience will be aware of these regional specificities. On the one hand through this fluidity his distinctly southern and Calabrian identities are 'erased' and 'whitened' by being subsumed into a more 'legitimate' version of 'Italianness' (Pugliese 2007, no pages), even if this is not deliberate. Andreoni argues that some southern Italians have presented themselves as northern and central Italians and therefore as distinct from 'wog' markers that until recently symbolised their 'illegitimacy' (2003, p.89). This identity repackaging speaks directly of interiorised, or 'inculcated' inferiority (Taylor 1992; see also Cassano 2012). Pugliese makes a similar point when he argues that today southern Italians in Australia are officially recognised as 'white' (2007, no pages); this is effectively a form of what Charles Taylor describes as 'misrecognition' since being recognised as 'white' erases and further delegitimises Calabrian and southern Italian identities and their inherent ethnic hybridity. In other words, in some cases, (mis)recognition, when it involves the erasure of characteristics deemed marginal in the dominant discourse, may on the one hand delegitimise this identity while simultaneously resulting in the better treatment of members of this group; through erasure Calabrians are considered 'whiter' and more 'legitimate'.

Moments in which Avati presents his Calabrian and southern Italian heritage as Italian arguably constitute this kind of erasure and in turn his inculcated shame regarding this heritage. On the other hand, by framing what are ostensibly Calabrian and Southern Italian traits, languages, and traditions as Italian rather than as distinctly southern, Avati effectively reinforces a heterogeneous understanding of what is 'Italian'. This is a subversive act that resonates with Mimmo Nunnari's insistence, explored in Chapter 1, that the Italian South and its cultures need to be recognised in official Italian narratives as Italian, thereby hetereogenising what 'Italy' means. Avati's work lends itself similarly to an understanding of Calabrian and southern Italian identity as integral to the experience of the Italian-Australian post-war diaspora.

The majority of Avati's sketches refer to events – recent and from his childhood – that involve his grandparents and his parents and that emphasise attitudes and behaviours that are clearly framed or construed as 'other' and at times 'backwards'. I explore three sketches that in some way relate to potential markers of 'illegitimacy': the portrayal of parents and grandparents

as physically violent, especially towards him as a child, which is arguably the most common thread in Avati's work, and a reference he makes to organised crime in Calabria. In the sketch *Italian Dads No.4: Italians versus Aussies Getting in Trouble* (Joe Avati 2016), Avati says: 'the Aussies – you had time out. Aw. Time out. I had that too when my man smacked me so hard I was knocked out on the floor. In those days we called it blackout.' Similarly, in *You Can Never Win With An Ethnic Mum* (25/09/2020) he says:

> You know one of those mums that egg you on? – 'No-no, keep going. Hit your brother again, harder. 'Cause when your father get home – he's gonna kill you' [audience laughs]. […] Your old man steps one foot in the door and your mum goes 'there's your son, it's [a] bad boy, go kill him now' [with exaggerated hand gestures and accent] [Audience laughs].

In these sketches Avati plays into stereotypes of 'hot-headed' southern Italians.[80] Andreoni underlines how Italians and in particular southern Italians were framed in Australia through an Orientalist lens from the early 1900s as 'fiery' and '[as] explosive as [...] [their] native mountains' (referring to Vesuvius and Etna) (2003, p.81). These attributes were elided with stereotypes of the 'mafia', confirming the undesirability of these migrants (Andreoni 2009, p.81). The 'hot-headed' stereotype – a familiar trope that is invoked through tropes of Italian and in particular southern Italian 'passion', 'vivacity', even 'volatility' – requires further attention. There is a clear, historical link to be made between this marker and stereotypes of crime that surfaced in the work of Italian positivist anthropologists at the end of the nineteenth century. Cesare Lombroso, for example, argued that southern Italians tended to commit certain 'backwards' crimes such as the *vendetta* because of their (supposed) racial 'backwardness': '[c]rimes of passion are [...] widespread among people who live in a savage state. Familiar with the knife and the vendetta, such people take seriously even slight offences to honour' (2006, p.106). Within this framework northern Italians, by comparison, allegedly committed more 'sophisticated' and 'rational' crimes (Gibson 1998, p.102). As explored in this thesis' Introduction, these same tropes still prevail across the mainstream Italian media and hinge upon northern European discourses of 'illegitimacy' and 'otherness'. In essence, this is a transnational stereotype rooted in historic northern European discourses of 'whiteness'. When

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[80] Parental violence is a recurring theme in the work of second-generation migrant comedians in Western contexts. For example, Hasan Minhaj in *Homecoming King* jokes about 'brown parents' slapping their children (see Netflix is a Joke, 2020). For the purposes of this thesis, I outline the ways in which Avati's humour plays into specific tropes of southern Italian violence and 'hot-headedness'.

Avati emphasises, or perhaps exaggerates, this image of his 'hot-headed' parents and grandparents, he is symbolically resisting any temptation to erase or deny this marker.

Avati does not simply recount these episodes of family violence and corporal punishment; he emphasises them for comedic effect by impersonating his parents' and grandparents' speech and hand-gestures. For example, he mimics his parents and grandparents making threats in *Calabrese* or in Italian with a very heavy Calabrian inflection. By doing this he exaggerates and dramatises these threats (generating laughter from his audience) while at the same time marking them ethnically. Not all his audience members will pick up on this linguistic nuance though at times he states explicitly that he is speaking *Calabrese*. For his Italian-speaking audience members, this linguistic demarcation is clear. Bearing in mind the marginality of these 'hot-headed' behavious as well as the marginality of *Calabrese* and southern Italian accented speech in the context of standard Italian in Australia (Pugliese in Andreoni 2003, p.85), in these moments Avati effectively performs a cluster of markers of 'backwardness' that come together to emphasise the 'foreignness' and 'otherness' of his ancestry. In doing so, he could be accused of 'reinforcing […] ethno-racial assumptions' held by the dominant group, in this case Anglo-Australian and northern Italian audience members, in a way that humour scholars argue is common amongst comedians representing marginal groups (DeCamp 2017, p.327). However, other humour scholars argue that marginal comedy acts are 'inherently rebellious' (DeCamp 2017, p.328); Brett Mills contends that the subversive potential of such acts 'is dependent less on the content of a joke than on the act of being able to tell a joke at all' (2011, p.154). The fact that Anglo-Australian and northern Italian audience members are at times unable to understand Avati's comedy (unless they understand Calabrian dialect) is a clear example of the authority Avati at times exerts through use of a potentially 'illegitimate' form of speech. His exaggerated, ethnically marked performances of 'illegitimate' behaviours could be interpreted either way. I would argue, however, that his successful attempts to generate laugher through the association of Calabrian and southern Italian heritage with these potential markers is an act that demonstrates his refusal to feel shame in front of audience members who may denigrate these markers, or who have denigrated them in the past. This act in turn has the potential to encourage southern Italian audience members to similarly reject any shame they may feel in response to dominant associations of them with hot-headedness, irrationality, and violence.

In a recent interview, Avati explains that one of the aims of his comedy is to make second-generation Italians who have not felt fully part of Australian or Italian communities realise they are 'not the only […] [ones] who ha[ve] gone through that' (ACCA, 2021). It is

worth noting that a number of second-generation interviewees claimed that Avati's sketches narrate familiar experiences of growing up in Australia, as well as continued conflicts between them and their parents. Avati does not specifically mention the southern Italian diaspora in the above citation but, given the focus on southern Italian ethnic traits in his work, in practice his comedy allows members of this group who may have felt ashamed of these associations to feel part of a community. Sally Munt states that rejecting feelings of shame has political potential '[w]hen you no longer care that you are being shamed, particularly when horizontal bonds formed through communities of shame can be transmuted into collective desires to claim a political presence and a 'legitimate' self' (2016, p.4). Arguably, the second generation, in particular, who might have 'turned away' from an 'illegitimate' and shameful heritage (Ahmed 2014, p.103), are encouraged through Avati's comedy and other 'wog' humour acts to 'turn back'. In other words, those who have 'inculcated' a sense of inferiority over their identity in the past might, in time, be able to undo this interiorisation of 'illegitimacy' (Taylor 1992), reflecting Munt's contention that shame is not fixed but oscillates (2016, p.25).

The sketch *Google Earth Calabria* (Joe Avati 2017) represents a more complex example of the way Avati deals with stereotypes of violence:

> I google earthed Calabria [laughs], there was nothing there. […] [C]an you imagine […] [a] google truck going through the little streets of Calabria [pause; audience laughs]? The only shooting that would be going on [pause; audience laughs; he holds two fingers in a pistol gesture] is from the houses to the google truck. And then the google truck driver won't come home so they've got to google to find where the google truck driver is.

It is impossible to know how well-informed Avati is about Italian organised crime, specifically the 'ndrangheta in Calabria but also its presence in Australia, and whether or not this kind of superficial reference to the phenomenon is a deliberate choice or indeed the result of his own stereotypical understanding. What emerges in this particular sketch, though, is his framing of Calabrian organised crime as specific to Calabria, going against the Calabrian intelligentsia and participants in Calabria like Giovanni who insisted that the 'ndrangheta cannot be understood only with reference to Calabria.

One possible interpretation of Avati's willingness to present Calabrian criminality to his audience is that organised crime in Calabria is not a trigger for shame today for those of Calabrian descent in Australia. Drawing on the same logic, this might go some way to explain why he makes no comparable references to organised crime in the context of the Calabrian diaspora in Australia. It is true that until recently the 'ndrangheta in Australia has not achieved

political or scholarly recognition, and the full scope of *'ndrine* acting in Australia is still relatively unknown (Bennetts 2016). However, there have been significant moments, namely high-profile killings and drugs raids, in which the organisation has come into the limelight in Australia (Bennetts 2016; Sergi 2014). It would therefore be inaccurate to suggest that the Calabrian-crime association is unfamiliar in its Australian context. As we shall see, some interviewees also made the connection.

According to Joe Ramirez, writing for *Beatroute Magazine*, Avati has avoided mafia stereotypes and in his own words has said: 'I never touch the mafia, I don't put people down' (Ramirez 2012). This statement alone implies the continued relevance of Calabrian (and southern Italian) crime stereotypes in Australia today. Avati's explicit decision to ignore mafia stereotypes read alongside his willingness to engage with other stereotypes is significant as it suggests that ethnicity-based jokes that are not obviously crime-related are engaged with because they are not painful today, or are much less so, while crime-based stereotypes are still painful, arguably because of their continued currency and ability to mark those from his community as 'illegitimate'. By avoiding this more damaging, current stereotype on the one hand he refrains from reinforcing it. However, it could equally be argued that his conspicuous lack of engagement with it means he is unable to use his comedy as a means of challenging the continued Calabria-equals-crime stereotype.

Instead, by referring to organised crime only in the context of Calabria, Avati is able to engage with this familiar and 'known' crime marker while simultaneously distancing himself from it. This is again directly comparable with findings in Chapter 2; when members of the wider ethnic group distanced themselves from a potentially 'sticky' marker by reinforcing stereotypes that align organised crime with a more specific location and identity (Ahmed 2014, p.76). It is clear from the audience's reaction that the Calabrian crime marker in its Calabrian context is familiar (Avati would not have been able to make this joke in the first place otherwise), and it is this Calabrian specificity that he reinforces in this sketch. This sketch therefore demonstrates that the Calabrian-Australian diaspora also associates Calabria with the 'ndrangheta. Indeed, Avati 'performs' this association, to use Judith Butler's term (2014, p.20). This might suggest that he does not feel associations of Calabria with criminality will affect the recognition of the Calabrian-Australian diaspora. Conversely, in performing this association on his mainstream, international stage, he potentially makes the alignment of Calabrian-Australians with crime more likely.

Finally, it would not be accurate to present Avati's work as devoid of an explicitly socially engaged agenda. There are instances in which he states clearly that the hardship his

grandparents and parents endured on arrival was aggravated by racialised prejudice. In *Nonno's Stories*, for example, he says: 'not so much now but our parents and grandparents, they encountered racism […]. The Aussies would say "you're a wog, go back to where you come from"' (MVTTHXW 2008). The subversive potential of these moments rests in the fact that his Anglo-Australian audience members are implicated by this recent racism. Furthermore, Avati occasionally refers to racism amongst the southern European diaspora towards more recent diasporas. In the sketch *Grandparents and Their Fights*, he says, again with reference to his grandparents: 'I don't know if you noticed, they've become racist themselves. They say, [exaggerated hand gesture] 'these people – not good for l'Australia, they should go back to where they come from"' (Stephen J. Papa 2020). Such statements are important because they highlight the hypocrisy of recent racism on the part of southern Italians and southern Europeans. This hypocrisy is also indicated in Avati's use of the article 'l'' before 'Australia'; the article is a reminder that emphasises the potential, continued 'otherness' of first-generation Italian-Australians in the eyes of those who speak English as their mother tongue in Australia. On the potential for stand-up comedians to encourage their audiences to question their own attitudes, Fabiola Scarpetta and Anna Spagnolli state that social critiques 'conveyed humorously are less […] threatening than direct confrontation for both the speaker and the audience' (2009, p.210). Employing what humour theorist Robert Provine terms 'laugh-speak' (1996, p.42) as he delivers his moral message, Avati explicitly highlights the hypocrisy of contemporary racism on the part of southern European diaspora in Australia and by doing so both underlines their privileged position while highlighting the proximity of older and more recent diasporas; in turn he rejects the kinds of distancing strategies members of southern European diasporas may employ.

The symbolic potential of Avati's work is reached through close reading of certain moments in which he resists elements of prejudice that continue today in the Australian context and which implicate members of the Calabrian diaspora, the wider southern European diaspora, and perhaps even more recent marginal diasporas. However, in many ways Avati's work resists analysis in terms of its Calabrianness since it is not possible to approach the themes he engages with, or the genre in which his humour sits, without constant reference to wider questions of Southern Italian, Italian, and southern European identity in Australia. Part of the reason for this is because Avati himself makes infrequent references to his Calabrian heritage and, when he does so, it appears almost arbitrary. Instead, he constantly relates his Calabrian and southern Italian identity to the wider experience of the southern European diaspora. As a result, his sketches are a useful introduction to more general questions of identity and self-representation

over time in the context of the southern European diaspora in Australia. Nevertheless, the fact that many second-generation participants feel represented by these sketches suggests that the specificity of Calabrian identity is fading amongst the post-war diaspora and that Calabrian identity amongst these Calabrian-Australians is increasingly subsumed into wider southern Italian, Italian, and southern European 'wog' identity boundaries in Australia today. In other words, analysis of Avati may not lead to concrete conclusions about the relationship of the Calabrian-Australian diaspora with their Calabrian identity but this lack of specificity is nonetheless significant. One possible conclusion is that today those of Calabrian heritage in Australia may find their identity less of a trigger for shame, precisely because the distinctiveness of Calabrian markers amongst this post-war diaspora is fading.

Interviews across three generations: the first generation

Moving away from Avati's mainstream engagement with Calabrian and southern Italian identity, here I analyse how members of the Calabrian-Australian diaspora engage with Calabrian identity in the context of past and potentially continued prejudice. When asked if they recalled prejudice as a result of their Calabrian identity during the White Australia Policy, many first and 1.5-generation participants mentioned their subjection to name-calling by Anglo-Australians in the 1950s-1960s. 'Wog' and 'dago' were the most common labels, however participants understood that these terms were applied to all Italians in the case of 'dago' and all members of the wider southern European diaspora in the case of 'wog'. Amongst these participants were a few who felt that Anglo-Australian prejudice was exacerbated as a result of their being southern Italian. However, when asked about prejudice shown by northern Italians in Australia, the responses were more mixed. For example, Nicola and Sandra, both originally from Soriano Calabro (Vibo Valentia province), explained that in those early years the 'wog' label was used against migrants 'from all over Europe' (Sandra).[81] However, for Nicola, anti-Calabrian prejudice was demonstrated by Sicilians, Tuscans and Venetians in a Melbourne bar he frequented; he believed Calabrians were considered by Italians from other regions the most inferior of all regional groups. As a result of this prejudice, he decided to 'speak *Calabrese* all the time'. This is significant, given the temptation many Southerners felt in response to such

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[81] While I have anonymised participants by changing their names, Italian names are used for those who went by Italian names; the same goes for participants who went by anglicised names. Participants who went by names like 'Dom' that could be short for either Domenico or Domenic have been reflected in the anonymised names I have selected. 'Rob' is one such example.

prejudice to reject their 'heritage as inferior, outdated, [and] shameful' (Papalia 2003, p.7); attempting to assimilate into more acceptable identities (Northern Italian or Anglo-Australian) (Andreoni 2003, p.81).

Anna, who migrated in her mid-teens to Mildura, remembered that many Italians in Australia, including her Sardinian sister-in-law, 'pensavano che i calabresi [...] erano più bisognosi, che era povera [la] Calabria. [...] tanti pensavano che i calabresi sono stupida [sic], [...] che i calabresi siamo [sic] più indietro.' Anna interrupted these memories with statements like: 'ma adesso io penso […] che tutti i calabresi fu[rono] stati intelligenti […] hanno investito in tante cose per mangiare, […] tanti erbi trovavano nei prati.' The trope of Calabrian 'stupidity' surfaces here in conjunction with ideas of 'backwardness' and poverty brought over from Italy in the 1950s. Anna indicates she has reflected recently on the prejudice she encountered during those years ('ma adesso io penso'); demonstrating her belief today that such prejudice was misplaced. She describes precisely the kinds of behaviour that may have marked Calabrians as inferior by others – their proximity to the land – as something to be celebrated. Implicit in this contemporary realisation that Calabrian resourcefulness demonstrated intelligence is the possibility that at the time Anna was affected by these attitudes and may have internalised them. This again reflects Munt's conviction that internalised prejudice is not fixed (2016, p.25); there may therefore be a temporal dimension to resistance. This also resonates with the work of memory scholars who underline the importance of the past in the present (Radstone 2011, p.111); Anna indicates that even if prejudice is discussed as something of the past, the impact of such prejudice may continue especially since this is something she still reflects on.

Others like Rosalia in Mildura, and Agata, who worked with migrants from all over Italy in a Melbourne clothes factory, said they did not remember northern Italian prejudice. Similarly, Pietro and Eleonora said other Italians '[wouldn't] call you different names because they were different names themselves. Only the Australians'. This could be the result of contingency. For example, as a number of participants stated, there were relatively few northern Italians in Mildura and certain quarters of Melbourne were dominated by Calabrians or other Sicilians (and still are to a lesser extent today). Thus it is possible that some first-generation participants who operated primarily within the Calabrian or wider southern community experienced little to no prejudice in their daily lives. Alternatively, participants may not have picked up on instances of prejudice at the time or may no longer remember them. However, the second-generation Calabrian-Australian scholar Joseph Lo Bianco has explained that 'internalisation' and 'a reluctance to be vocal about things' may explain instances in which participants deny experiences of anti-Calabrian prejudice (personal correspondence). Ricatti

also states that elderly migrants tend to 'deny or downplay the forms of hostility […] they have experienced' (2018, p.63). Memory scholars often underline the 'porosity' between forgetting and remembering, especially where these acts are deliberate (Dessingué and Winter 2016, p.7; see also; Passerini 2003; Treacher 2007, p.294). According to Luisa Passerini, silences at times constitute 'a self-decided attitude taken by a whole community' (2003, 24); while Valerie Yow contends that 'present emotional needs affect memory' (2005, p.45). Again, the idea that what people remember is determined by the present is key here. The fact that a number of first-generation participants claimed not to remember a phenomenon that has been widely documented, in this case prejudice on the part of northern Italians towards Calabrians, speaks of a present need to bury memories of 'illegitimacy' in order to manage being Calabrian today. However, it could also indicate a reluctance to acknowledge Calabrian marginality in front of me, a northern European researcher, and the preconceptions they feared I may hold.

One participant who recounted a clear instance of internalised prejudice was Mark, a physician in Melbourne who migrated aged seven. As a young man he felt unable to socialise with Anglo-Australian women which he now believes was the result of an interiorised sense of inferiority over his southern Italian identity. Soon after making this point, his interview was interrupted by a fellow Calabrian-Australian who recognised him. Explaining my research, Mark said: 'she wants to know whether we [...] had bad experiences, us Calabresi. Well – some did. Us from the South, us Africans.' Before reflecting on this statement it is helpful to consider what Mark went on to say once his acquaintance had left: 'we were often called darkies. Ironically my father got away [with it] because he was actually quite fair but my mother was very Spanish.' He said that the prejudice he had experienced 'does hurt', explaining that he believes he interiorised this prejudice: 'I could see a lot of beautiful [Anglo-Australian] women that I thought were not approachable.' Mark's reflection on both racism experienced in the 1950s-1960s and his current understanding of how this affected him at the time, demonstrates the intricacy of questions of perceived prejudice within the Calabrian-Australian community over the last sixty to seventy years.

Mark stated in those early years he was often asked if he was Northerner or Southerner: 'I never hesitated [to say] […] I was actually from the deep South'. However, his contemporary response to being recognised as a 'darkie' is problematic. The interview transcript does not reflect his defensive and ironic tone when he said '[u]s from the South, us Africans,' through which he indicates that the 'African' marker is a negative marker for him. This is potentially reinforced through the representation of his mother's darker features as 'Spanish' (an ethnic descriptor that, like other southern European ethnic descriptors, is officially 'legitimate' in

contemporary Australian dominant discourse). Given Mark's long-term interest in Calabrian history and culture, I argue that this constitutes an erasure of Calabria's North African and Arabic genealogies, one that attempts to 'whiten' Calabrian identity (Pugliese 2007, no pages). Other participants, as I demonstrate in the next section, were quick to associate the 'darker' features of the Calabrian diaspora with their north African and Arabic heritage. I argue that this episode indicates Mark's interiorisation of the contemporary 'illegitimacy' of 'black' and 'other' ethnic groups in Australia today; amongst these are African-Australians (Iuliano and Baldassar 2008, p.4), Indigenous peoples, asylum seekers, and refugees (Perera and Pugliese 2020, p.489). The growing popularity of Pauline Hanson's far-right party One Nation is further evidence of the marginal position of 'otherness' in Australia today. Thus, Mark's shame over the African marker speaks of a complex layering of the interiorisation of the dominant discourse; he recognises that he inculcated a sense of 'illegitimacy' during the assimilationist years which he now rejects, while unconsciously demonstrating his discomfort still over being marked as 'African', which corresponds with contemporary hegemonic constructions of the superiority of 'whiteness'.

A further point to consider is how interactions between participants and their wider communities determined experiences of prejudice. This became evident when comparing the experiences of the 1.5 generation who had attended school in Australia with the accounts of those who had not. From these interviews it emerged that a number of female 1.5 participants were shielded from such prejudice since gendered expectations, especially in Mildura, meant they existed more in the private sphere, which represented 'a space relatively protected from the racism and discrimination […] [Italians] experience in the broader society' (Ricatti 2018, p.77). This is not clear cut, however, and class has also intersected with gender in terms of who was protected from experiences of prejudice. Rosalia, born in Platì to a farming family, remembers being called 'wog' by Anglo-Australians when she and her family first arrived and worked on 'big farms' owned by 'Australians' near Mildura. In time her family bought land and these experiences decreased. Vincenza who moved from Natile to Mildura as a teenager also spoke of similar experiences.

Cristiano and Dom, who migrated (separately) as children from Natile to rural Victoria and nearby towns in New South Wales, recalled racism and prejudice in school on the basis of darker skin (Cristiano) and their southern identity (Rob). Rob explained that as a recent migrant he felt he was stigmatised because he was 'behind' the children of earlier migrants:

> I didn't fit in […] [with] the other kids. Firstly, you know language wise. […]
>
> [S]econdly, I wasn't as neatly dressed […]. [E]veryone was at a different […]

level. […] My parents spent every hour, you know […] trying to earn money
[…] so that we could survive.

Resonating with Rosalia's and Vincenza's experiences, having recently arrived from Calabria, Rob felt that his negative experiences at school were aggravated by his family's greater poverty, dependency on agricultural labour and, consequently, their proximity to an implied 'backwardness' that was the trigger for prejudice. He thus outlines the same cluster of layered markers that continue to constitute the *terrone* label in the Calabrian context within Italy today that I delineated in Chapters 1 and 2. Other 1.5 participants described a fragmented education on their arrival in Australia as families moved around for work. This was especially the case in the rural context where children were often required to work on the land during term-time at various points in the year (Cristiano, Pietro, and Rob). It has also had long-lasting effects; Pietro cannot read or write (in English or Italian) because, he said, his education was disjointed and teachers refused to help. This raises the question of class, particularly in relation to the agricultural labouring class in and around Mildura – a factor I will address in the next section. On the one hand, this requirement to work on the land inhibited assimilation in its own way since, as Ricatti argues, schools themselves were sites of forced assimilation as part of the White Australia Policy in this period (2018, p.85). As a number of participants explained, the anglicisation of their names by teachers was evidence of this. On the other hand, absence from school in order to undertake agricultural labour risked prolonging markers of 'backwardnesss' associated with proximity to the land. It appears then that the 1.5 generation who attended Australian schools were made to feel more 'illegitimate' than those who did not, through direct prejudice and expected assimilation. Painful school memories persist even today alongside a sense of injustice over discrimination, especially discrimination by teachers. This sense of injustice, as argued in Chapter 2, indicates the contemporary absence of internalised inferiority.

The second generation

Scholars of the Italian diaspora, and diaspora scholars more generally, have examined the dilemma many second-generation migrants experience in terms of understanding and navigating their identity, especially in contexts where the 'Old World' identity of their parents comes into conflict with the 'New World' identity of the country receiving migrants (Patti 1986, pp.244-245). In this section I focus on factors that have specifically brought second-generation Calabrian-Australians into conflict with their Calabrian origins.

Predominantly born in the 1960s (Sala and Baldassar 2019, p.1653), the majority of second-generation participants experienced racism growing up. For example, because of the

'illegitimacy' of his darker features, Paul (Mildura) said he: 'wanted blonde hair [and] blue eyes'. Others described a specific North-South divide to experiences of racism, such as Tony (Mildura) who said Northerners were 'not exempt' from the 'wog' label at school but they escaped some racism because: 'they were a bit fairer than us.' Caterina (Mildura), on the other hand, said she was mistaken for a 'northern [Italian] because I've got blue eyes and blonde hair [...]. So we didn't sort of fit the stereotypical dark, short [...] person which they associate with Calabria or with southern Italy.' Caterina's personal experience in fact speaks of Calabrian heterogeneity in terms of 'phenotype'. Caterina intimates at heterogeneity in terms of the Calabrian experience of racism in Australia in the 1960s and 1970s; a heterogeneity determined by varying degrees of physical 'darkness'.

In terms of how participants internalised this prejudice, many spoke of early attempts to erase their Calabrian identity, confirming Marino's findings that second-generation Calabrians often accepted the 'stigma and laughed with the dominant group' at school (2019, no pages). They often 'rejected their parents as "simple people", mirroring the xenophobia of the wider society' (2019, no pages). However, racialised prejudice on the part of Anglo-Australians or those of northern Italian heritage was often one of many factors that played a role in the clearest examples of identity denials in interviews. As previously underlined, the majority of participants in both Melbourne and Mildura had roots in the rural labouring class in Calabria. Ricatti explains how intersecting markers of race and class that marked Southerners in Italy, including associations with the land and their presumed inherent inability to 'modernise', became transnational through emigration (2018, p.54). I argue that wider Australian society was even more likely to recognise those who settled in rural Mildura in a way that is comparable with racialised stereotypes of Calabrian 'backwardness' than the majority of new arrivals who settled in urban areas (Iuliano and Baldassar 2008, p.5; Ricatti 2018, p.41). As with the 1.5-generation participants who attended school, a number of the second-generation in Mildura recounted memories of prejudice based on their agricultural labouring-class status, combined with their perceived racial 'otherness'. There were also further instances where racialised class-based prejudice intersected with the question of gender.

In a joint interview with four cousins (two lots of sisters) who grew up in Mildura and migrated to Melbourne in their late teens, a number of these intersecting factors came to the fore. The oldest of these cousins, Carmela, was the first to leave Mildura and her reasoning reflected that of the others. As well as explaining how she was called 'gollywog' at school because of her curly, black hair, Carmela said: 'I wanted to get the hell out of there because I hated the culture, I hated the repression and the oppression [...]. For years I've denied any part

of being Italian or Calabrese,' stating also: '[there's] nothing wrong with farmers if they're adaptable and progressive but most of them aren't. [...] [T]here was no way I was gonna live on a farm, marry a farmer, and have that life.' The others added that as women their repression was extreme; Concetta said: '[i]t was awful, it was like you weren't allowed to be yourself.'

These experiences correspond with Daniela Cosmini-Rose's findings in her research on Calabrian-Australians from Caulonia; she argues that concerns about family honour in relation to the virginal status of unmarried women as well as the maintenance of typically gendered roles often led to the 'unfair treatment [of] women' in the Calabrian-Australian community (2005, p.28). Ricatti has argued that stereotypical assumptions about Italian patriarchal values lead to false assumptions about women from the Italian diaspora being oppressed and kept in gendered roles (2018, p.47). While I do not dispute the existence of these tropes, in the specific case of these participants, experiences of patriarchal oppression in a rural context have pushed these second-generation women to reject their ethnic identity. These cousins' rejection of Calabrian and wider Italian identity is arguably the result of their association of these identities in this rural proletariat context with experiences of oppressive gender expectations which they compared negatively with the comparative freedom their Anglo-Australian female counterparts enjoyed. In other words, the absence of successful recognition as individuals from within their own ethnic group was a motivating factor in the rejection of their roots. This was, however, in conjunction with their desire to reject an identity they knew was recognised negatively by others; a factor that Carmela makes clear when she explains she has denied 'any part of being Italian or Calabrese' to others.

It is clear that the Mildura cousins frame their patriarchal home environment as a form of 'backwardness' that exists in contradistinction to the 'progressive' Australian norms they sought in Melbourne; assimilation for them into Anglo-Australian culture meant greater freedom.[82] They delineated a rural-urban dynamic to the gendered experience of being Calabrian-Australian, describing Calabrian families who grew up in the city as 'a bit more progressive' (Concetta). Other participants also reiterated a rural-urban divide (though this divide was far from clear-cut), often with reference to Calabrian communities in Robinvale and Red Cliffs, smaller towns outside Mildura (see Figure 5). Caterina made this connection: 'It

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[82] This movement of second-generation Calabrian-Australian women from Mildura to Melbourne in order to resist what they perceived to be patriarchal expectations is revealing of the pressures they faced growing up in this context. However, as Ricatti underlines, there were multiple ways through which women were able to assert agency both within and beyond the private sphere (2018, pp.47-8). The artist and researcher Luci Callipari-Marcuzzo – also a second-generation Calabrian-Australian woman from Mildura – has forged a career through her arts-based research practices in which she explores and celebrates traditionally 'female' skills handed down to her by her Calabrian mother, aunts, and grandmothers.

was a bit stricter. [...] the Red Cliffs Italians – I think they all might have been from Natile [...], [Red Cliffs is] just that bit further out and I guess it was maybe because land was cheaper out there, maybe they weren't as well-off people.' Caterina said the same of Robinvale which she described as 'hickey' or 'more traditional' where she said women today 'still': 'go from the parents to the husband and it's sort of like that possession [thing].' Similarly, Beatrice (one of the cousins) said that her Calabrian-Australian friend (Melbourne): 'couldn't believe how backward[s] [they are]. Now Robinvale is near Mildura – further away from Mildura. And she couldn't believe in her mind how like the village these Robinvale Italians are.'

A spectrum of perceived 'backwardness' emerges in these examples that is comparable with the spectrum of 'backwardness' within Calabria and its spatial-temporal dynamics outlined in Chapters 1 and 2. Poverty and 'strict' gendered traditions are associated to greater degrees with the increased remoteness of pockets of Calabrians-Australians as we move from the city, to the town of Mildura, and on to smaller agricultural towns nearby. Positionality is key here; just as with the hinterland nexus, those within the Calabrian-Australian community of Mildura and Melbourne are potentially able to create distance from this more 'illegitimate' group of Calabrians. Furthermore, those with origins in Natile (one of the four towns of the hinterland nexus) are aligned with extreme 'backwardness'. In their association with Natile, Red Cliffs and Robinvale, Calabrians are thus doubly marked by this 'backwardness'. Bearing in mind the extreme 'illegitimacy' of Natile amongst Calabrians (and other Italians), the extreme marker of 'backwardness' attached to these communities exists as a form of translocal marginality. In Australia this marker operates on a micro level since those with roots in Natile who live elsewhere (Melbourne included) will not necessarily be marked by this double marginality.

Amongst the participants who criticised patriarchal norms in the Calabrian-Australian community were those who spoke of being proud of the agricultural labouring roots of their parents and the 'progress' they had made in both rural and urban contexts. Caterina (Mildura) said: 'my mother was living in a shack house with a dirt floor and look what we live in now.' Adelina (Melbourne) made the same point:

> European biases towards southern Italians […] [have] made me prouder of
> where my parents started from and what they achieved today. I have a photo
> on my fridge door of the mud and stick one-roomed shack my fathers' family
> lived in.

Caterina and Adelina describe images of rural poverty that are remarkably similar; claiming that the 'dirt floor' and the 'mud and stick [...] shack' their parents knew is a trigger for pride that on the one hand resists the same racialised framing of Calabrian *contadino* roots outlined

above. However, the similar imagery they employ indicates that this pride is inextricable from the same northern European narrative of 'progress' that pervades the modernity-backwardness paradigm. Their pride is triggered by their families' ability to 'modernise' and move away from these roots, resonating with Franco Cassano's argument that the Mediterranean has become 'something that must be escaped by those who want to become modern, liberal, and fully Westernized' (2012, p.132). In the framing of these origins as 'backwards', they imply that still today in this Australian context agricultural, 'non-Western' origins border on being 'illegitimate'. While such a narrative arguably challenges stereotypes of Calabrian and southern Italian indolence and inability to industrialise, it is really their ability to assimilate into Australian 'modernity' that these participants are celebrating.

On the one hand Caterina explained she is 'happy to be Calabrian' despite the 'negativity' and 'stigma' she has perceived. However, she also said that the reticence many Calabrian-Australians feel over their identity is because: 'they don't sort of realise [...] what a great nation we've actually come from. [...] [They] think we're just from the mountains and just agricultural people who don't have a lot to contribute.' Caterina implies a contrast here between what is 'legitimate' about Italy today in contradistinction to what she frames as a comparatively 'illegitimate' agropastoral identity; a dichotomy that a number of Italian-Australian scholars have also explored. For example, Andreoni argues that one of the ways southerners have 'whitened' their identity has been through claiming 'a more acceptable version' of Italianness; one that reflects the '"high culture" kind of Italian' (2003, p.89). Ricatti has analysed this binary in more detail. He states that the 'cultural hegemony of the West' today relies both on the appropriation of the Italian Renaissance (Bartoloni and Ricatti 2017, p.373) and twentieth-century 'Italian art, fashion and industrial design' which the West claims 'as symbols of European civilisation and modern industrial and commercial development' (2017, p.374). In other words, this Italian identity is recognised positively within, and arguably as inherently part of, the Anglo-Australian dominant discourse today. This 'legitimate' Italianness is 'contrasted at an imaginary level with the peasant and backward south of Italy' (Ricatti 2017, p.373). It is also a dichotomy that has been racialised (Bartoloni and Ricatti 2017, p.373; Pugliese 2005, p.290).

Caterina 'whitens' her identity by appearing to claim an Italian identity characterised by its 'great' contributions to civilisation and 'modernity' while denigrating characteristics typically associated with Calabrian (and southern) identity, suggesting she has internalised fully this constructed dichotomy. In other words, still today markers associated 'backwardness', such as *terrone*, 'stick' to Calabrian-Australians, encouraging some to use distancing strategies in a

way that confirms the centrality of 'whiteness' and Western notions of 'modernity' in Australia (Ricatti 2016), as well as Ghassan Hage's concept of 'white multiculturalism' (1998).

Finally, because of this continued superiority of 'whiteness', some Calabrians (and indeed Italians from both North and South) may still occupy an 'illegitimate' position because they do not look 'white' enough despite the official 'legitimacy' of Italians in Australia. Pugliese argues that many Calabrians are still at risk of racial discrimination 'because they *appear* to be non-white'; because wider society may (mis)recognise them as being '"of Middle Eastern appearance"' (Pugliese 2007, no pages). Consequently, instances in which participants highlight their ethnic 'otherness' are highly significant. For example, Gianluca (Melbourne) said: 'there's definitely an Arab trace, there's no question. I mean you can see it anyway [laughs]. We're not exactly fair.' Alessandra (Melbourne) made a further comment that speaks of the absence of internalised prejudice:

> I reckon we'd find a bit of Middle [Eastern DNA] – especially [in] the Calabresi [and] Sicilians [...]. We are closer to Africa and that's where everyone originated from so we probably are more indigenous. And if you think about the indigenous people of the world – they're always darker aren't they?

It must be remembered that, like all 'migrant' and 'settler' communities, the Calabrian diaspora in Australia continues to benefit from the 'genocidal violence' towards and 'erasure' of Aboriginal communities and heritage (Pugliese 2002b, p.14; Ricatti 2018, p.68). For example, the employment (albeit exploitative) of early Italian migrants in the mining and sugarcane industries and, later, their ability to acquire land is the result of the violent appropriation of land belonging to Indigenous communities (Pugliese 2007; 2002b).

However, it is precisely because of this history of Indigenous 'illegitimacy' since Australia's colonisation that makes Alessandra's comparison of Calabrians (and Sicilians) with Australia's indigenous populations hugely subversive of northern European discourses of whiteness. Many northern Italians in Australia have avoided racial discrimination by distancing themselves from their southern counterparts, just as many Southern Italians, as well as claiming a 'whiter' Italian identity, 'have applied this strategy to Aboriginal and Torres Straits Islander people, Pacific Islands, and other ethnic groups' (Ricatti 2018, p.64). Returning to Gianluca and Alessandra, while it is arguably easier to make such claims as part of a group that is now officially recognised as 'white', their assertions demonstrate that there are Calabrians who resist the layered 'illegitimacy' of their ethnic background in Australia by insisting on their proximity to more marginal groups, despite their own experiences of racism not long ago. In rejecting a

northern European paradigm of 'legitimacy', Gianluca and Alessandra here have produced what Munt terms 'autonomous statements' that resist Australian dominant discourse (2016, p.7); an act that is the example par excellence of Anne-Marie Kilday and David Nash's notion of 'anti-shame' (2017, p.4). In doing so they also resist Italian hegemonic discourses of 'whiteness'.

The third generation

It could be assumed that the third generation would be aware of the heightened prejudice their parents and grandparents experienced due to their Southern and in particular Calabrian identity. However, such an understanding only accounted for one out of four participants who had experienced such prejudice herself. She explained that, growing up, those with southern heritage would 'hear [the word] *terrone* a little bit' and also stated that:

> there's definitely this divide between North and South. [...] One friend who's from the Veneto region [...] [said] 'oh but you're from the South so your parents wouldn't have let you [...] do that.' [...] Like this kind of like 'oh you're a bit backward' (Laura).

In other words, prejudice from members of the third-generation northerners still manifests, and with it the potential of inculcated shame amongst third-generation southerners. It is worth noting that Laura's brother declined the offer to be interviewed, stating that he was unaware of what being Calabrian meant and did not identify with this identity, serving as a reminder that it is likely that those third-generation Calabrian-Australians who have interiorised prejudice will have 'turned away' from their Calabrian heritage (Ahmed 2014, p.104).

The following excerpt from Laura's interview is evidence of her direct experience of racism from what she termed a 'white Australian':

> [I was] at the bus stop [...] [and this] older [...] white Australian [...] goes 'you know you look like one of those Muslim people'. And I'm like 'well no I'm Italian [...] but we look close to the Middle East[erners] so I suppose it's not surprising'. [...] I guess post 9/11 there's a much more negative perception of Islam and Middle Eastern people in general.

This again confirms Pugliese's argument that even today, Calabrians, like other southern Italians, risk being (mis)recognised as 'illegitimate' by wider Australian society as a result of continued phenotypic racism. Those with darker features may occupy a liminal position in the context of global Islamophobia exacerbated by 9/11; anti-Muslim prejudice, which already has a long history in Australia, increased after this date (Seet and Paradies 2018, p.455; Saniotis

2004, p.53). Laura, however, consciously aligned the Middle Eastern 'ethnic descriptor' with her Italian identity, despite awareness of its 'illegitimacy' within the dominant discourse (Pugliese 2007, no pages). She herself resists playing into this discourse, however, this event shows that third-generation Calabrian-Australians may be (mis)recognised as 'non-white'. Other members of this group may be less willing to claim a 'non-white' identity in the same way.

Given her awareness of the specificity of my research on the Calabrian diaspora, Laura's self-identification as Italian and not specifically Calabrian (or southern) is in line with the contention held by scholars of the Italian-Australian diaspora that there has been an increasing decline in Italian regional specificity amongst the second and third generations, evidenced, for example in the declining use of dialect (Chiro and Marino 2013; Baldassar et al. 2012; Rubino 2018).[83] This framing of Laura's identity as Italian is important, as such slippage in this instance works to emphasise Italian heterogeneity; Italians, not just southerners or Calabrians, look like Middle Easterners. Just as in the case of Nunnari's heterogenization of Italian identity in Chapter 1 and Avati's fluid positioning of Calabrian and Italian identities, this insistence on Italian plurality in the context of continued ideals of 'whiteness' is subversive (Agnew 1997; Pugliese 2007).[84] Given the acceptability of Italian identity within Australian society today, Laura thus insists both on the heterogeneity of Italian identity and that of Australian identity, challenging in turn the premise of such racism in the first place. Rather than celebrating the 'illegitimate' other in a way that maintains its 'otherness,' she disrupts and reorients hegemonic Australian and Italian ideals.

Three out of four third-generation participants were familiar with the racism their parents and grandparents had faced earlier due to their Italian identity more generally but were unaware of the heightened 'illegitimacy' of Southerners as a consequence of their presumed 'backwardness'. This became evident in the joint interview with Carmela and her two children Luke and Lara (both born and brought up in Melbourne).[85] During this interview Carmela realised something about the way she had repackaged her Calabrian heritage:

Carmela: I'm now thinking about it [...] and wondering [...] maybe that's
            why we've gone for the 'I'm Italian' label 'cause it's easier to identify with

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[83] The decline in awareness of Italian regional specificity amongst the third (and second) generation(s) also corresponds with similar trends across the Italian diaspora beyond Australia (Chirico 2018, no pages; Sacco 2018, no pages).

[84] Nunnari was one of the Calabrian authors whose work I explored in Chapter 2.

[85] Carmela is also one of the four Mildura cousins whose interviews I drew on in the previous section.

> [...] [rather than] go 'I'm Calabrian', because maybe the stereotype is that sort
>
> of labourer, less wealthy, less influence, more ignorant type.
>
> Luke: Harder workers.
>
> Carmela: Well yeah harder worker but it's not necessarily a positive.
>
> Luke: I think harder worker [is] definitely a positive.

Firstly, in this passage Carmela appears to be conscious of her potential interiorisation of the 'backwards' Calabrian marker, evidenced by her desire to describe herself as Italian; she also arguably involves her cousins in this realisation given her use of 'we'. This implies that internalisation of the dominant discourse and distancing strategies used to disassociate herself from a more marginal identity have taken place subconsciously at an earlier stage, to be uncovered here during the interview.

The subsequent conversation with her son is crucial as it shows that the inculcation of 'backwardness' attached to southern Italian identity has not filtered down to the third generation; most likely because Carmela has raised Luke to feel more Italian than Calabrian which, as established in this chapter, has officially been recognised as 'legitimate' since the 1970s. Conversely, Luke associates Carmela's description of 'labourer, less wealthy, less influence, more ignorant type' with 'harder worker', suggesting that the same agricultural origins and heritage could even be a trigger for pride for him. During the interview Luke discussed at length the time he has spent on his *nonni*'s farm and how he values learning the agricultural practices of his Mildura family. Normative gender roles across different generations may also be at play here. Carmela, who felt oppressed by her position as a daughter growing up on a farm, rejects this way of life while Luke, able to return to the farm from the city when he chooses to, spoke of being invited to participate in work on the vines while also requesting cooking lessons from his grandmother. Luke's positive association of farm work was not shared by Lara (Luke's sister) who felt trapped in a gendered role, explaining she is expected to help out in the kitchen when they visit. Choice may well be the difference here; Luke describes working on the land and helping in the kitchen as activities he can decide wether or not to participate in while Lara perceives helping in the kitchen to be expected of her.

Interpreting these conflicting perceptions of working class, agricultural ways of life is a complex process. On the one hand, farmers have, since colonisation, been a celebrated feature of Australian identity given their work to 'tame' what the dominant group has perceived to be the savage land of the Australian interior (Mayes 2019; Jeffery and Hawkes 2021, p.71). As Tiziana Ferrero-Regis has indicated, although farming has always played a central role in Australian identity, in the 1950s there was a shift in the national imaginary towards favouring

agricultural practices tied up with capitalist 'modernity' (2020, pp.51-52). Most farming in contemporary Australia is intensive and best understood as a symptom of this Western capitalist 'modernity' (Newsome 2021).

The majority of Calabrian-Australians I met in Mildura were related to farmers (or were farmers themselves) who now own intensive grape and citrus farms, including Luke's *nonni*, though some of them also grew organic fruit and vegetables on a smaller scale for local farmers markets. I want to reiterate the slippery position of the kinds of agriculture and existence on the land associated with tropes of Calabrian 'backwardness' that participants from the first, 1.5, and second generations alluded to in the previous two sections (i.e., the equating of agropastoralism with roots in *contadino* ways of life, and inextricable from the *terrone* marker). In a context in which certain kinds of agriculture are positively recognised within the hegemonic discourse, including agriculture that is packaged to meet the standards of 'modern' sustainable and organic markets, I argue that agropastoralism is not perceived as 'legitimate'. While agropastoralism is typically both sustainable and organic, some members of the second generation (Caterina and Adelina) made it clear that the proximity to the land that agropastoralism entails is still potentially a trigger for shame. This dynamic resonates with the position of agropastoral ways of life in Calabria analysed in Chapter 2 that are not positively recognised because, unlike similar practices in Tuscany, they have not been recognised as 'legitimate' within a 'modern' capitalist framework. In other words, it appears that in both Italy and Australia, the acceptability of some forms of agricultural practices over others depends on intersecting factors: wealth and social class, position in relation to Western capitalist 'modernity' capitalist economy, and ethnic marginality. Conversely, it might be argued that elements of agropastoralism would be celebrated today in Australia, but previous experiences of prejudice bound up with these practices still result in their being a trigger for shame amongst earlier generations.

Returning to Carmela and Luke, I apply Munt's idea that shame may oscillate to their conflicting framing of *contadino* ways of life, only in this case, the oscillation of shame is intergenerational rather than taking place over the course of one individual lifetime (Munt 2016, p.25). While participants like Carmela and Caterina do not want to be associated with the 'backwardness' and associated poverty and lower socioeconomic class they believe others associate with agropastoral ways of life, it is clear that this marker is unfamiliar *tout court* to three out of four third-generation participants. This lack of awareness does not mean that agropastoralism is no longer marginal in Australia, it is just that the third generation do not

appear to have interiorised the alignment of their ethnicity with a marker of 'backwardness' and are possibly unaware of the kind of proximity to the land a *contadino* way of life entails.

A comment Lara made pushes this generational difference in a further direction. Referring to her Anglo-Australian identity (Lara and Luke's father is Anglo-Australian), Lara described Australia has having a 'colonial identity' but stated: 'I don't have as much taste for […] [Australian identity] as I do with the Italian identity that celebrates values […] [like] family, food, and sharing – to me it seems like the value of money isn't as highly praised, […] capital isn't the only aim'. Ricatti critiques stereotypes that associate Italians with strong family values (including by the Italian diaspora) (2018, p.4). However, through employment of this construct Lara demonstrates that members of the third generation may critique the same dominant discourse that continues to generate shame amongst the second generation in response to aspects of their heritage they fear do not conform to hegemonic ideals of Western 'modernity'. Lara thus 'reverse[s]' the discourse (Munt 2016, p.4), believing that to be part of capitalist 'modernity' is, at least to an extent, undesirable. However, her ability to do this arguably relies on the better recognition her generation enjoys within Australian society. This heightened legitimacy is backed up in Marino's research; one of his informants 'enjoys being considered Italian by her [Anglo-Australian] friends, since they rely on her predisposition to good taste' (2019, no pages).[86] Lara's agency is arguably the result of her 'self-realisation' (Taylor 1992, p.3); her belief in the validity of her identity in the eyes of the dominant group who now recognise a certain version of Italian identity as 'legitimate', or in some aspects even culturally superior.

The maintenance by the third generation of traditions bound up with the agropastoral origins of their grandparents is also worth examination.[87] Removing the *malocchio* and the use of Calabrian dialects and certain food-based traditions remain symbolically important, even when participants are unaware of any stigma attached to them. While there were instances in which the first two are practiced, all third-generation participants associated their Calabrian or Italian heritage with culinary practices they have consciously decided to take part in such as 'making the salame' (Anne, Mildura), or the 'pig killing' (Laura), going from Melbourne to Mildura to work on the family vines and to learn how to cook Calabrian or Italian food with

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[86] Marino's focus in this article is also on the Calabrian diaspora.
[87] The desire on the part of third-generation migrants within and beyond the Italian-Australian context to reconnect with the roots of their *nonni*, especially on the part of female third-generation Italians is well documented by diaspora scholars (Marino 2015; Rubino 2018; Gabaccia 1995).

their *nonna* (Luke and Lu).[88] Patrizia said that her daughter (Anne, Mildura) wanted to learn how to make *sanguinazzo*, adding: 'she loves all that sort of stuff. She loves [...] [the] *sdradiogli* [...] The intestines of the goat.' The venerated place of Italian cuisine, and especially food with southern roots, in Australia today arguably diminishes the potential 'illegitimacy' of a number of traditional Italian culinary practices such as making wine, passata, and most food (Baldassar 2005, pp.849-50; Cammarano and Ankeny 2018, no pages). However, I argue that, in the context of mainstream, acceptable Italianness in Australia, some of these practices are deeply rooted in agropastoral ways of life (consuming goat intestines, for example). They may even be considered 'backwards' by Calabrians in Calabria, given the tendency amongst some coastal Calabrians to distance themselves from comparable practices they associated with inland towns as shown in Chapter 2.

Furthermore, Sala et al. and Sala and Baldassar have found that the descendants of Italians who migrated to Australia in the 1980s denigrate the post-war diaspora. One reason for this is precisely their maintenance of practices like passata and salame making (Sala and Baldassar 2019; Sala et al. 2010). For example, the later diaspora describes the post-war diaspora as 'backwards' and mocks them for 'try[ing] to be Italian' through maintaining culinary traditions that most Italians in Italy no longer continue (Sala et al. 2010, p.118). Furthermore, participants in Sala et al.'s study framed the post-war diaspora as predominantly Calabrian, terming them 'idiots' and 'quelli non colti' (2010, p.118).[89] They also discussed anxiety stemming from their belief that wider Australian society recognises them as part of the same Italian ethnic group. This is of crucial symbolic significance, especially since third-generation participants typically describe these traditions as Italian. In attributing these traditions to all those with Italian heritage in Australia, third-generation participants in my research effectively jeopardize the distancing strategies of members of the later diaspora. At the same time, Sala and Baldassar argue that members of the post-war diaspora are barely aware of the existence of this later diaspora, suggesting that the 'illegitimacy' of these practices in the eyes of the latter is not internalised by the former (2019, p.1655). In other words, the earlier diaspora does not consciously subvert the depreciative gaze of this later diaspora. Combined

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[88] Another area ripe for exploration is how members of the third-generation Calabrian diaspora with no contemporary connection to rural Australia position some of these practices in relation to their understanding of Calabrian and/or Italian heritage.

[89] The makeup of this more recent diaspora merits further study, especially where newer migrants with Calabrian heritage encounter the more established Calabrian-Australian diaspora. However, Sala and Baldassar underline that the post-war Italian diaspora was predominantly made up of southerners, and that the more recent diaspora is predominantly from Italy's north and centre (2019, no pages).

with the overall lack of awareness of the recent 'illegitimacy' of their identity on the part of third-generaiton participants (except Laura), as well as the position they enjoy in Australian society, I argue that such maintenance is not a deliberate act of subversion; it is not an act of 'anti-shame' (Kilday and Nash 2017, p.4). It simply indicates an absence of inculcated inferiority on all fronts.

Calabria's 'illegitimacy' within Italy

In a recent edited volume, Charles Burdett et al. argue that 'focusing on the transnational brings to the fore the porosity of cultures, their diversity, their dialogical nature and their constant state of flux' (2020, p.4). In order to fully grasp how the Calabrian diaspora form an understanding of their identity dialogically with dominant discourses that have recognised and continue to recognise Calabrian identity (or aspects of it) as 'illegitimate', attention must also be brought to Calabria's contemporary position in Italy today. In the following excerpts interviewees describe experiencing for themselves the 'illegitimacy' of their Calabrian and southern identities while visiting Italy. Cristiano, Maria, Brigida, and Gianluca described moments in which they felt marked by their recognition as Calabrian by other Italians. For example, Cristiano (1.5 generation) recounted a train journey in which a fellow traveller stopped talking to him when he learned he was Calabrian:

> I said, 'why aren't you talking like before?' 'Oh,' he said, […] 'people don't get on well with some calabresi.' I said, 'look, Calabresi and northern Italians, they're all Italians. So we should all get […] on with one another […].' And after that he came good.

Cristiano's demand for better recognition from this stranger on the basis of their shared Italian identity resonates with' Giovanni's statement cited in Chapter 2 when he said 'non c'è un tessuto nazionale' with reference to the way in which other Italians consider problems in the South and in particular Calabria as 'other'. In other words, both a Calabrian interviewee and a Calabrian-Australian interviewee voiced the same frustration and injustice in response to the way other Italians recognise Calabria.

> By contrast, Gianluca explained that when he arrives in Italy (not Calabria):
>> I'm conscious of […] trying to use the proper Italian as much as I can […] in order to avoid […], the connotations that are associated with the Calabresi. Not because I'm not proud of it, but I just think it automatically may not put you on the same standing.

As both Taylor and Sara Ahmed argue, the presumed prejudice and (mis)recognition by 'dominant' others can determine the way a member of a marginal group behaves (Taylor 1992; Ahmed 2014). Ahmed states: 'it is the imagined view of the other that is taken on by a subject in relation to itself' (2014, p.105). Gianluca conceals his Calabrian identity in Italy because he assumes, or 'imagines' he will otherwise be discriminated against. Even though he may consider himself 'proud' to be Calabrian, he is clearly aware of Calabria's 'illegitimacy' in Italy; a contradiction that corresponds with W.E.B. Du Bois' concept of 'double consciousness'. In this 'doubling' he also reflects precisely the way many Calabrians interviewed discussed their own relationship to their Calabrian identity in Chapter 2.

Conversely, both Gianluca and Agnese described moments in which they have employed a certain kind of Calabrianness. Gianluca said: 'in difficult situations […] [in Italy] I'll often find myself reverting back to […] *Calabrese*. And it's […] my way of saying, be careful who you're dealing with [laughs]'. Gianluca confirmed in personal correspondence that he was referring here to experiences in Italy, outside of Calabria. Agnese similarly explained how, on a beach in Reggio Calabria province, she overheard northern Italian tourists: 'talking badly about the [southerners] […]. [With] reference[s] to them being mafiosi, terroni, that type of thing. […] [A]s a joke, […] I said, "be careful 'cause I do have contacts".' Agnese could have claimed an Australian identity but instead claimed markers that are shameful in Italian dominant discourse; an act that clearly corresponds with Kilday and Nash's notion of both 'anti-shame' and 'counter-shame' given her attempt to highlight the prejudice of others (2017, p.4). Similarly, though to different ends, Gianluca emphasises his Calabrian identity through the use of dialect in instances in which he assumes a stereotyped understanding of Calabrian identity on the part of others will benefit him (in the way that it did for Sebastiano (Locri) when he lost his wallet in Cosenza, as recounted in Chapter 2). In both cases we see a clear decision to emphasise 'illegitimate' markers that are to a greater or lesser extent associated with stereotypes of Calabrian violence, demonstrating that some Calabrian-Australians are conscious of the way other Italians recognise their Calabrian identity.

These experiences of prejudice on the part of Calabrian-Australians in Italy bridge, to an extent, the experiential divide between Calabrians in Calabria and the Calabrian diaspora. On the one hand, the Calabrian-Australian diaspora has navigated a different national context since the 1950s and 1960s, though they encountered the same northern European discourse. At the same time, moments in which Calabrian-Australian participants have been recognised as southern or Calabrian and in turn faced potential discrimination in Italy result in an affinity with Calabrians and southerners in terms of (mis)recognition and what it means to be associated with

Calabria and the South today. By physically being in Italy, their Calabrian identity has marked them as 'other' and 'illegitimate' in ways that could encourage the internalisation of shame and thus affect how they perceive and represent their identity.

The difference is, however, that these participants are not dependent on the positive recognition by other Italians given their position as Italian in 'multicultural' Australia today. The treatment of the South and in particular Calabria may be felt on an affective level but is unlikely to determine their life choices. This is what Caterina is saying when she claims that Calabrians in Italy are 'downtrodden' and struggle in the arena of employment while those who have emigrated (or whose parents or grandparents have emigrated) have found it easier to thrive outside of Italy. This is a sentiment that was picked up on in 1985 by Piero Bevilacqua and Augusto Placanica who argued that Calabrian emigrants were often nostalgic for Calabria until they visited: '[la loro] vecchia patria gli si presenta con difetti non immaginati. […] [F]orse è la costazione che, fuori della Calabria, i processi di modernizzazione sono più radicati e più effettuali' (1985, p.650). Furthermore, Calabrian-Australians are not 'imprisoned' either in Italy or Australia today by what Taylor describes as a 'false, distorted and reduced mode of being' (1992, p.25). Thus, despite the experiential proximity reached in these instances, there remains a fundamental experiential distance too; one that emphasizes the distinctness of Calabrian-Australian identity. This speaks to Susannah Radstone's work on transnationality and memory; she highlights the need to examine the specific 'locatedness of memory' and in turn the importance of not trying to force the idea of a shared identity across transnational boundaries (2011, p.115).

Despite this difference, experiences and awareness of prejudice attached to Calabrian identity in Italy still have the potential to influence the self-perception and self-representation of Calabrian-Australians in Australia. This shifting relationship is not only relevant to those with first-hand experiences of prejudice in Italy; for example, Adelina (second generation) recounted her girlfriend's experience of anti-Southern prejudice when she spoke dialect in Italy. Luke (third generation) spoke of recently trying to learn more about his heritage:

> [t]he majority of my life I've never really known about any stereotypes of
> southern Italians specifically but more recently I['ve] […] learned more
> about the […] farmer stereotype, more poverty […] and as you go North
> it becomes kind of like a richer, more metropolitan [region].

Lara also made a similar argument, indicating that their relationship to their southern Italian heritage is being navigated contemporaneously. The relative absence of perceived

'illegitimacy' over Calabrian heritage in Australia amongst the third generation is contrasted with this growing awareness of the South's position in Italy.

Another phenomenon to consider in relation to this flux is how the alignment of Calabria with crime, as well as increasing recognition of the 'ndrangheta's strength, might determine the already unstable relationship with their identity. Five interviewees (four second-generation and one 1.5-generation participants) discussed Reggio Calabria province and in particular towns in the Locride in ways that reflected their greater 'illegitimacy' within Calabria, as set out in the previous chapter. Agnese had visited Reggio Calabria where she sensed 'there was a lot more fear' than in Cosenza province, because of the proximity to 'certain towns [that have] […] a bit of a stronghold with the mafia.' Alessandra, too, brought up the problem of organised crime in her mother's town, Siderno (near Locri).[90] In other interviews the hinterland nexus surfaced in ways that confirmed that some second-generation members of the diaspora also associate it strongly with organised crime. According to Paul (second generation), I was 'brave' for having visited San Luca and Natile: '[My friend] was only there a few years back […] [and watched] people getting shot in the street. So it's – you know – who wants to go there? I wouldn't.' Finally, Gianluca mentioned both San Luca and Platì in the context of organised crime; in this extract he focuses on Platì: 'Platì is obviously renowned for its […] history of [laughs] organised crime; 'ndrangheta. […] You're deterred from visiting because of the image and because of what people say […] which is an absolute shame. […] It's a gross exaggeration.'

From these accounts we see that a number of Calabrian-Australians associate Calabria with organised crime in some way, reflecting Avati's *Google Earth Calabria* (07/10/2017) sketch, while demonstrating little awareness on the whole of the 'ndrangheta's presense in Australia. Associations of the hinterland nexus with criminality are particularly strong. However, there is variety in terms of the way participants conceptualise these towns, in particular between Paul and Gianluca. Paul does not attempt to diminish the reputation of San Luca or Natile, or his family's connection to them, indicating an absence of inculcated shame despite the criminal presence he describes. However, he aligns them with criminality in a way that is comparable with mainstream Italian and Calabrian representations, refusing to visit because of the way others associate them with criminality. Conversely, Gianluca also does not underplay the 'ndrangheta in San Luca or Platì but manifests frustration at the way others 'misrecognise' them (Taylor 1992), insisting on a more nuanced understanding that recognises the multidimensional

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[90] As delineated in Chapter 2, the Locride is an area within Reggio Calabria province (the capital of which is Locri) that is typically aligned with organised crime and greater 'illegitimacy' by both Calabrians and other Italians. The hinterland nexus lies within the Locride.

reality of these towns and their inhabitants; he appears critically aware of the way these towns exist as a 'zona del male', to use Mimmo Nunnari's term, in the collective imaginary (though it is unclear if he is referring to Italian or Australian public opinion) (2017, p.24). The same spectrum of marginality delineated in Chapter 2 in the Calabrian context surfaces amongst the Calabrian-Australian diaspora with specific reference to criminality. The 'ndrangheta's presence in Calabria is clearly a transnational marker that potentially affects those with origins in the hinterland nexus. Pushing this further with reference to Stephanie Welten et al.'s work on vicarious shame, I argue that the 'actions of the in-group', in this instance 'ndrangehtisti in the hinterland nexus, potentially resemble a 'social identity threat' (2012, p.836-7) for those beyond the region whose Calabrian origins may be associated with these towns. In this way, vicarious shame may be expressed transnationally. I also contend that the hinterland nexus is potentially a translocal marker of criminality itself. This is especially the case if the strength of 'ndrangheta clans with origins in these towns and who now operate across Australia is taken into consideration. For example, from the 1970s money generated by the kidnappings of the Platì-San Luca-Careri clan triangle was laundered in Australia and used to grow cannabis, including in and around Mildura (Bennetts 2016, 91). Money generated through these cannabis crops has been reinvested in certain Calabrian towns (Bennetts 2016, p.91), boosting the capital and influence of clans in Reggio Calabria province, especially those of the hinterland nexus (Sergi 2014).

Just as in Calabria, the potential for the crime marker and the hinterland nexus marker to shame Calabrians (and in particular those with origins in these towns) is bound up with the (mis)recognition and (mis)representation of the 'ndrangheta as a Calabrian problem in the collective imaginary.[91] Drawing once more on Ahmed and Munt, the 'ndrangheta is a 'sticky' marker in that its conceptualisation by the dominant group has the potential to mark anyone of Calabrian heritage as 'illegitimate'; as shameful (Ahmed 2014; Munt 2016). The Calabrian-Australian diaspora's association with organised crime is not new: it has existed since the 'ndrangheta murders in Australia in 1977 of Donald Mackay, an anti-drugs campaigner, and Colin Winchester in 1989, a senior police officer, which 'changed forever the perception of Calabrian immigrants' (Sergi 2014). However, now that it is Italy's strongest mafia (Sergi 2019,

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[91] Interestingly, this phenomenon is rarely touched on by Italian-Australian scholars; in particular, Calabrian-Australian scholars have not turned their attention towards contemporary markers of crime and how these are navigated by the diaspora. This might indicate that such associations are of little relevance and that they do not believe others associate them with Italian or Italian-Australian organised crime. Given the ubiquity of Italian mafia stereotypes, this seems unlikely. Alternatively, it could be that they believe they risk reasserting their own alignment with crime in engaging with this phenomenon.

p.1), portrayals of the 'ndrangheta in the international media as a Calabrian phenomenon, including current coverage of the Rinascita-Scott maxi trial, are likely to increase the 'shaming' potential of this marker (and thus the potential for transnationally felt vicarious shame will also increase).[92] Additionally, if Australian politicians and the media increase the attention they pay to the 'ndrangheta's presence in Australia (Australian politicians have so far not acknowledged the scale of the problem) (Bennetts 2016, p.94), Calabrian-Australian identity more specifically will likely encounter further prejudice; associations of 'otherness' and danger will be reinforced (Chirico 2018). Such prejudice is likely to encourage further attempts by the Calabrian-Australian diaspora to 'whiten' their identity in order to be recognised as part of an acceptable Italian identity. Also, Calabrian-Australian interviewees may be more aware of the 'ndrangheta's presence in Australia then they suggested in interviews, but in time this constructed or real lack of awareness may be less credible.

Examination of participants' awareness of Calabrian marginality within Italy, in particular their awareness of criminality, serves to highlight how the Calabrian diaspora must mediate and remediate (Burdett et al. 2020, p.6), negotiate and renegotiate their understanding of what it means to have Calabrian heritage. Their relationship to and representation of their identity is navigated not only in dialogue with dominant discourses across national contexts but also in relation to changing awareness and attitudes towards Calabria; a dialogical process that will likely play out amongst the diaspora well into the future.

Conclusion

As part of wider Italian and southern European diasporas, today the Calabrian diaspora enjoys a privileged position within Australia's multicultural narrative; a narrative centred around 'whiteness' in which the overt 'illegitimacy' of other groups exists in contradistinction to the recent legitimacy of southern Europeans. However, the centrality of this 'whiteness' continues to marginalise aspects of Calabrian identity that do not fit northern European notions of 'modernity'; in particular, practices, beliefs, and origins that may be interpreted as signs of 'backwardness' as well as phenotypic markers compromise their recognition as 'white'. Across all generations we see, as in the case with Calabrian participants in Calabria, conscious and

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[92] Recent newspaper headlines that demonstrate the way the international media is covering the Maxi Trial include: 'Mafia gang in Italy 'maxi trial' once shot boy, 3, dead and torched his body in car' in the *Mirror* (Roberts and Alford 2021); 'Italy puts over 320 on trial for 'ndrangheta mob ties' in *ABC News* (Rosa and D'Emilio 2021); 'Italy's largest mafia trial in three decades begins in Calabria' in the *Irish Times* (Tondo 2021); 'Biggest mafia trial in 30 years takes aim at Calabrian cocaine kings' in the *Brisbane Times* (Squires 2021).

subconscious attempts to claim and create distance from these markers. Similar examples also arise in Joe Avati's work. Amongst these are attempts to create distance from more 'illegitimate' groups, which I argue is evidence of the continued saliency of 'whiteness' in the dominant discourse. Study of interiorised inferiority and its rejection is therefore a useful way of looking at the effects of shifting dominant discourses – from assimilationism to limited multiculturalism in this instance – on the way marginal groups engage with their identity.

Feelings of 'illegitimacy' come to the fore in interviews in response to these markers. Past prejudice is remembered in the present in a way that indicates continued pain amongst the first generation. Attempts to perceive and represent their identity as valuable within hegemonic capitalist norms, or indeed attempts to reject completely their Calabrian identity, emerged in numerous ways amongst the second generation. The third generation, born into this context of official legitimacy, appears not to have inculcated any sense of 'illegitimacy', though any conclusion regarding third-generation attachment to Calabrian identity must remain tentative given the small sample size. At the same time, third-generation Calabrians who have inculcated shame will find it easier than previous generations to 'turn away' from this heritage in the contemporary context where regional specificity amongst the diaspora is fading, as evidenced in Avati's work. Analysis of the third generation does suggest, though, that other Italians, both post-war migrants from Italy's North and more recent Italians, continue to employ distancing strategies in relation to those with southern Italian heritage, demonstrating a continued preoccupation with 'whiteness' into the present.

Finally, before we return to Calabria having explored the effects and dynamics of mobilised shame amongst the diaspora, it is useful to reflect on direct and indirect experiences of Calabria's 'illegitimacy' in Italy. Contact with Calabria through the physical mobility of the diaspora in conjunction with the temporal and transnational mobility of shame, as underlined through analysis of the 'ndrangheta marker, continues to inform and determine Calabrian identity. In this particular framework where participants come into contact with the continued marginality of Calabria in Italy, as well as the tenuous position of aspects of Calabrianness in Australia, the unfixed position of Calabrian identity is highlighted alongside its potential to generate shame amongst those recognised as Calabrian. Such study of the Calabrian-Australian diaspora and the way it navigates shame will merit further study well into the future as the course of the 'ndrangheta develops, as will the 'ndrangheta's representation and the way it is reocgnised in the international collective imaginary.

Chapter 4

Calabrian Departures, Returns, and Arrivals: Mobile People, Mobile Markers

In the previous chapter I explored experiences of anti-Calabrian prejudice in its Australian context. In this chapter I return to Calabria to examine how various forms of mobility interact with markers of 'illegitimacy' associated with Calabrian identity. Central to this chapter is the trope of Calabrian stasis, or 'immobility' which has often been attached to the Italian South as a whole. The construction of the South as a homogenous region, far removed from the processes of 'modernity' has been fundamental to the region's othering well before Italian Unification (Teti 2011, pp.23-4). Focusing on examples of mobility in Calabria, I seek to destabilise this trope of southern 'immobility', arguing that intersecting patterns of mobility and stasis blur the boundaries of these concepts themselves.

Mobility in its various forms (within and beyond the region) is interconnected with markers of Calabrian 'illegitimacy'. I start this chapter by mapping out these connections before analysing the way interviewees in Calabria discuss the mass movement of Calabrians from inland towns to the coast, and the ways in which this reinforces and destabilises the modernity-backwardness paradigm. I examine, with reference to interviews, the abandonment of towns after natural disasters and the symbolism of subsequent returns to these towns, as well as permanent returns to the region by Calabrian migrants. In the final sections I explore the way different interviewees frame the arrival of immigrants, in particular from the global South, first in the context of Rosarno, and secondly in the context of Riace, and ask what examination of this phenomenon contributes to understanding patterns of (mis)recognition and self-representation. In tandem with analysis of the movement of people, I also integrate the mobility of capital and goods. How do these mobilities destabilise or reinforce markers of Calabrian 'illegitimacy' and what do the testimonies of Calabrians in the region reveal about prejudice experienced as a result of mobility?

Asked how she perceived the personal effects of emigration, Raffaella, an inhabitant of coastal Locri in her thirties, said: 'l'impoverimento, la mancanza di alternative, la solitudine. Cosa fai? Non ci sono coetani.' Locri is a town of 12,192 inhabitants,[93] it is the capital of the

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[93] This is the figure provided by ISTAT for 2019. According to ISTAT, the population of Locri is in decline; in 2009 its population was 12,845 (ISTAT 2021).

Locride area and thus home to a hospital, secondary schools, and law courts, amongst other services that do not exist in the nearby, inland towns I focus on. That emigration is felt in terms of loss and isolation in Locri is worth bearing in mind since it is the inland towns that have suffered and continue to suffer the greatest effects of emigration. Interviewees from inland towns described emigration as an ongoing process that leaves its mark in a number of ways on the physical landscape, as well as psychologically. However, it is the abandonment of inland towns for settlements along the coast since the 1950s that is of particular significance. Scholars argue that this movement symbolises the rejection of an 'authentic' Calabrian identity inland for a more consumerist way of life along the coast. In other words, this particular mobility requires analysis with reference to the same modernity-backwardness paradigm refered to throughout this thesis that insists on the superiority of capitalist consumerism over more traditional ways of life. At the same time, I argue that these inland towns are far from distinct from this same European concept of 'modernity'. I also pay particular attention to the way in which the Grecanici – inhabitants of the Area Grecanica (the internal area of Reggio Calabria province mentioned in Chapter 1 in the context of its Greek patrimony) – are marked by an inland identity whose long history of mobility in various forms has contributed to their othering by wider Calabrian society.

The movement of inhabitants away from Africo Vecchio deep in the Aspromonte to the coast is an event that necessitates separate consideration. Many towns in Calabria bear the signs of natural disasters that have taken place over the course of history.[94] In the second half of the twentieth century, the most significant these were the destructive floods and landslides of October 1951 in the province of Reggio Calabria.[95] As explored in Chapters 1 and 2, before Africo Vecchio's destruction by the same 1951 landslide, the town was notorious for its extreme living conditions and 'backwards' ways of life that effectively marked Africesi as existing in contradistinction to 'modernity'.[96] As one of the towns that make up the hinterland nexus, Calabrians elsewhere in the region, including in Reggio Calabria province have demonstrated

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[94] Earthquakes have long shaped the Calabrian landscape and human geography; the most destructive of these took place in 1783 and 1908. Another example is San Luca; the old town of San Luca was built by the inhabitants of Potamia, a town further inland destroyed by a landslide in 1590 (Teti 2014, p.329). In 1973 inhabitants of what is now the old part of San Luca fled the town to escape a flood, returning only to construct a new town just below the old, since they feared the latter was unsafe.

[95] Earthquakes have long shaped the Calabrian landscape and human geography; the most destructive of these took place in 1783 and 1908.

[96] Casalnuovo and Roghudi (Vecchio) were two nearby towns that were also destroyed by the same flood and landslide; Roghudi, like Africo, was rebuilt near the coast while inhabitants of Casalnuovo were merged into the communities of Africo (Nuovo), Roghudi (Nuovo), and other nearby towns. For example, both of Rocco's parents lived in Africo but his father was from Africo Vecchio while his mother was from Casalnuovo.

contempt and shame in relation to Africesi. Unlike Platì, San Luca and Natile, the old town of Africo was abandoned in 1951 and its inhabitants forced to migrate to its current position in proximity to the Ionian Sea. The trauma that such an upheaval generated is extreme, as I set out in this chapter, and has led to the consolidation of Africo's 'illegitimacy' in the contemporary public imaginary, in part through its subsequent associations with the 'ndrangheta.

These internal movements must be contextualised with patterns of emigration and immigration. Between 1876-1976 twenty-seven million Italians emigrated, a number that has inevitably only continued to rise (this number is now over thirty million) (Fiore 2017, p.4); the Italian diaspora is the largest of any country to date (Fiore 2017, p.4). However, as Charles Burdett et al. point out: '[t]he history of Italians and of Italian culture stems from multiple experiences of mobility and migration' (2020, p.1). Crucial to any discussion of Italian or Calabrian identity in the context of mobility are new arrivals into both the national and regional territories. Migration to Italy started en masse in the 1970s (Fiore 2017, p.13). At first the majority of immigrants considered Italy and southern Europe more generally as a means of reaching northern Europe but today many immigrants see southern Europe as 'a "terminus" or desirable destination in its own right' (King 2000, p.14). I consider this recent mass movement in the context of millennia of crossings and subsequent hybridities within the space that is considered Italian territory today. Such hybridity is behind the South's othering and historic 'illegitimacy' in an Italian and wider European context. Given Italy's contemporary preoccupation with 'whiteness' (Pugliese 2007, no pages) as well as 'with safeguarding a national uniformity' (Fiore 2017, p.11), it is the growing presence of migrants in particular from the global South that proves to be a fruitful area of study in terms of national and regional attempts to demarcate identity. Attempts to identify as 'white' can be interpreted through the idea of the inculcation of northern European discourse.

Italy's preoccupation with migrant arrivals is evident in its immigration policies which are considered amongst the strictest in Europe, especially since the introduction in 2002 of the 'Bossi-Fini' law (Law No. 189). This law was introduced under Silvio Berlusconi and a centre-right coalition government; it made obtaining residence permits much harder and also introduced 'tougher irregular migration policies and deportation practices' (Cetin 2015, p.381). According to Alessandra Corrado, the 'Bossi-Fini' law 'has become a reference model at a European level for tightening the rules against illegal immigration and, in general, permanent settlement of migrants' (2011, p.193). Further repressive legislation – the so-called 'pacchetto sicurezza' – proposed by Roberto Maroni, former leader of the *Lega*, was passed in 2009

(Newth 2019, p.404); it was 'designed explicitly to criminalize clandestine immigration, raise barriers to entry and facilitate the expulsion of illegal immigrants' (Cento Bull 2010, p.420).

These draconian anti-immigration policies belie the fact that large parts of the Italian economy rely on casual workers (King 2000, p.14). This demand leads to the exploitation of many migrants who are often employed illegally, are poorly paid, and have no access to legal protection (Dawson and Palumbo 2005, p.175). Migrant workers, however, are not a homogenous group. Many are asylum seekers awaiting decisions on their applications, some are refugees and legal immigrants in need of work, while others have remained 'illegally' (Corrado 2011 p.195). Furthermore, while the descendants of Italians born overseas are able to claim Italian citizenship, second-generation migrants born in Italy, 'raised on Italian soil, schooled in the local system, fluent in Italian (often with a regional dialect inflection),' are not granted citizenship automatically (Fiore 2017, p.187). It becomes clear, through reflection on Italian immigration policy, that within the dominant discourse a 'them' and 'us' binary is maintained between 'Italians' and certain kinds of immigrants. This binary is broadcast throughout the media, thus influencing public opinion in much the same way as the South's and Calabria's 'otherness' has been perpetuated (Corrado 2011, pp.193-4).

Finally, Calabria's geographical position within Italy must be taken into account when examining the position of these arrivals within the region. As I have argued, Calabria's extreme southern position on mainland Italy is central to its othering in Italian and European dominant discourses. However, as Italian postcolonial scholars like Jennifer Burns and Catherine Keen argue:

> the Italian peninsula is not at the edge, but rather reaches into the centre, with the island of Sicily a geopolitical and geocultural hub. Italian territory appears as a place of arrival, departure, and transit, fostering a practice of multidirectional exchange with Africa, eastern Europe, [and] the middle East (2020, p.141).

I argue that Calabria's similar geographical position and history, though not identical to that of Sicily, means it also occupies a central position in terms of these Mediterranean crossings.[97] The reception on the part of Calabrians to this mobility, in particular the recent immigration

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[97] Calabria and Sicily share a similar history of invasions and mobilities (and patterns of emigration and immigration) given their central position in the Mediterranean and treatment after Unification. It might be argued, however, that the question of contemporary arrivals and what this means in terms of self-identification is even more relevant in the Sicilian context given the position of the Sicilian island of Lampedusa and the number of migrants who arrive on its shores.

from the global South, has not been subject to any qualitative analysis. In bringing the voices of Calabrians to the debate I therefore contribute new ways of thinking about how the 'illegitimacy' of Calabrian identity in its Italian context interacts in these testimonies with the arrival of those whose marginality is even more extremely marked.

In continuity with the previous two chapters, oral history testimonials constitute the primary material for this chapter. These interviews offer personal perspectives to processes of mobility. I focus predominantly on mobilities that are still alive in living memory – the postwar period – but I also consider memories that have been passed down through generations, in particular in relation to Africo. From the late 1940s until the 1970s Calabrians moved within and beyond the region in vast numbers; seven-hundred thousand Calabrians left the region between 1951 and 1971 (Pugliese 2002a, p.239). There is therefore an urgency in terms of this research, since these mobilities are still in first-hand living memory. As I argue, however, more historic mobilities are not detached from recent or current movement. As I highlight in this chapter, analysis of oral histories in relation to narratives of mobility brings to light attitudes and perspectives that often resist the dominant framing of these mobilities in politics and the media.

Due to the Covid-19 pandemic I was unable to include testimonies from the migrant communities whose presence in Calabria I examine. This is problematic as, in only speaking to 'local' Calabrians, I risk maintaining the 'them' and 'us' binary I critique. During my initial fieldwork trip to Calabria my focus was on those Calabrians who had been born in Calabria to families who had long resided in the region; families who had lived through the various socioeconomic processes and historical phenomena referred to throughout this thesis. The pandemic made subsequent trips unfeasible, and so, in addition to drawing on a new interview with Domenico Lucano, this chapter also draws on research from my Masters thesis on power dynamics between 'local' Calabrians and first-generation migrants in Riace.[98] My findings from that project on the subject of hybridity and integration are of particular relevance to the final section of this chapter. In hindsight I could have attempted to conduct oral histories virtually. However, from the research I undertook in Riace I believe I would have been extremely unlikely to build the trust necessary in order to record interviews with this community online. Again, in hindsight, I could have analysed materials that have allowed the voices of this group to be heard; the activist Aboubakar Soumahoro's Instagram feed would

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[98] In June 2017 I undertook participant observation as well as in-depth discussions (not recorded interviews) with those employed in the various workshops that make up *Città Futura*, a regeneration project that has revived the depopulated town of Riace through the integration of migrants seeking work and refuge.

have been an interesting place to start. I could also have drawn on previously recorded interviews with this group. However, I would not have spent the same time familiarising myself with this community and their environment in the way that I have done with Calabrians and Calabrian-Australians across various regional and demographic contexts. It must be acknowledged that time pressures, too, were an issue. However, Calabrian identity through the eyes of first, second, and third-generation migrants in the region is an area that is ripe for further study.

Mobilities within Calabria: feelings of loss and tropes of stasis

In this section I address the meaning behind certain mobilities and the ways in which they are both inextricable from markers of 'illegitimacy' and yet often destabilise the premise of this same 'illegitimacy'. Perhaps the most obvious way that previous patterns of migration manifest themselves in Calabria is on the internal landscape. A number of participants described migration as a process that has left physical changes on inland towns in particular. In the words of Domenico Lucano who, at the time of his interview, was living on the coast:

> mi affascina andare verso l'entroterra. [...]. [L]'altro giorno mi sono fermato vicino a una fermata del pullman [...] [s]i vedeva solo il tetto di questa fermata dove prima fermavano i ragazzini per andare a scuola. [...] E questo è [...] la metafora, [...] è l'immagine della nostra terra, dell'abbandono, dell'andare via. Di perdere servizi, villaggi completamente abbandonati.

Rosa similarly commented on the number of uninhabited houses in Staiti (Reggio Calabria province): 'intorno agli anni settanta ancora c'erano un paio di negozi [...] poi pian piano [...] tutto è scemato. [...] [Q]uando sono andati via i giovani [...] il paese è destinato inesorabilmente di invecchiare'. She stated that Staiti's schools closed in 2007 and explained that only some of the local terreni are cultivated today, most are left untended because of the absence of locals young enough to work them: 'non c'è neanche la manodopera da poter applicare.' Rosa describes an ongoing process that started in living memory (though, of course this process has roots in Italy's mass emigration since Unification).

Even if the flow of people from Staiti has tapered, its effects on the landscape and on daily life continue in the present. This reflects Joseph Pugliese's description of his family's town of origin, Spilinga (Vibo Valentia province), an inland town that has lost two thirds of its inhabitants:

> [e]very silent yet anguished departure served to tear away at the socio-physical fabric of the village. The sum of all these singular flights functioned to produce

the overwhelming drama of dereliction and decay that now governs Spilinga's fate. [...] These houses all manifest the signs of structural fatigue and profound traumatism (2002a, p.234).

This account of Spilinga by Pugliese, a second-generation Calabrian-Australian, speaks of the continued, physical effects of emigration on inland towns as being felt transnationally and intergenerationally amongst the diaspora. Reading this extract in conjunction with Domenico Lucano's and Rosa's testimonies, the movement of families like Pugliese's and its consequent effects on the landscape are felt in terms of loss by those who remain, those who have left, and their descendants. Burdett et al. underline the 'intrinsic links between human mobility and the environment' (2020, p.4). In the context of those who remain in an environment in which the physical effects of emigration are so tangible, Vito Teti states: 'le rovine [sono] parte costitutiva del paesaggio, dei luoghi, della mentalità, della percezione delle persone' (2014, p.6). Reinforcing Pugliese's delineation of this process as a trigger for trauma and pain, Teti later states: '[l']abbandono [...] non [è] soltanto un problema del passato, ma il racconto di ferite aperte, di una storia in corso' (2014, p.9). The relationship between abandoned towns and those who remain, as well as those who have left, is not fixed; it is part of an ongoing, painful process.

Migration is a slow process; its effects are ongoing and engender continuous change. This contradicts the trope voiced by coastal Calabrians and, within the collective imaginary, that inland towns are places of stasis, untouched by 'modernity'. It is true that the absence in many inland towns of certain facilities and infrastructure associated with 'modernity' is key to their historic and continued depopulation; a depopulation that in turn has led to the closure of schools and shops in Staiti, for example. This in turn has led to further emigration. However, interpreted from a different angle, it is precisely 'modernity', and its far-reaching effects, that has played a central role in these patterns of emigration. Desire for a certain way of life, perceived to be distinct from and superior to agropastoral society, has played a fundamental role in the movement of people away. So too has the need for a labour force in the factories of northern Italy as well as in Belgian, North American, and Australian mines, for example. These have contributed in turn to the physical and psychological changes to inland Calabrian towns and their inhabitants. Life in these towns is not fixed, nor is it detached from capitalism or northern European and Western concepts of 'modernity', especially if the infrastructure of Italy's North and of nations whose industrial development has relied in part on a southern Italian workforce, is taken into account. This resonates with Franco Cassano's statement with reference to the Italian South that: 'with all probability, modernity is not extraneous to the pathologies that, even today, some think it should cure' (2012, p.1). Teti also underlines how

the Italian South as a whole is often (mis)recognised as 'una sorta di nucleo statico, un'isola scampata ai processi di modernizzazione' in the Italian and international imaginaries (2011, pp.23-4). In other words, the trope of stasis attached to inland Calabrian towns by coastal Calabrians is another rung in the spectrum of Orientalist 'illegitimacy' central to this thesis that affects the South, Italy, and southern Europe as a whole; a spectrum that, depending on the position of the observer, frames these zones in terms of 'immobility' and 'decadence'.

As explored in Chapter 2, a number of coastal Calabrians correlate the idea that inland towns are cut off from other cultures and 'modern' ideals with problems such as the 'ndrangheta and the treatment of women. I concluded in Chapter 2 that this perceived isolation is a cause of shame amongst some coastal Calabrians. One interviewee from Locri did, however, allude to the connectedness of inland towns with other cultures through emigration:

> io noto soprattutto nei paesi più interni [...] [che] capita spessissimo di trovare persone che parlano il dialetto stretto e il tedesco, o il francese o l'inglese.
> [...] [I]o ci vedo una [...] forma di [...] cultura che viene tramandata [...]. Fanno questi interscambi (Serafino).

This is also a point Teti makes: '[i] paesi interni [...] non conoscono soltanto storie di isolamento e di chiusura, ma anche vicende di scambio e dialogo' (2014, p.336). It could indeed be argued that the more depopulated an inland town is, the more its inhabitants are connected with migrants within the region, within Italy, and around the globe. The mobility that emigration fosters over time through return visits and visiting relations, for example, connects semi-abandoned towns and their populations with others around the globe. Loretta Baldassar's work on the connectedness via technology between the Italian-Australian diaspora, like any other diaspora, and remote villages on the other side of the world, undermines further this idea of stasis (Baldassar 2018; Baldassar and Wilding 2020). Baldassar thus confirms Burdett et al.'s contention that mobility can take many forms, and that 'we do not have to migrate in order to be mobile' (2020, p.3). Tropes of stasis attached to inland Calabrian towns rely then on a limited, or better, reductionist understanding of the effects of emigration. Through examination of mobility, and destabilising what is 'known' about inland stasis, a desire to construct internal communities as 'other', 'backwards' and thus inferior by the dominant group (in this case coastal Calabrians) is revealed.

Exploration of other ways in which mass emigration has made its mark on inland towns further destabilises stereotypes of stasis. Increased wealth is perhaps the most significant of these. Firstly, money sent back to Calabria by those living and working away (either in Calabria, elsewhere in Italy, or overseas) enabled others to remain. Burns and Keen argue that this is a

typical consequence of migration (2020, p.143); that the mobility of people and their capital has facilitated the apparent stasis of others, especially 'older, female, unskilled, or less able family members' (2020, p.143). Over time, many emigrants have also returned. Francesco Carchedi and Mattia Vitiello state that in the 1970s, eighty-five percent of Calabrian migrants returned within a year (2014, p.88). Return migration, however, has shaped Calabrian towns since well before this period, as Elisabetta explained: '[t]he ones that came back, what they did with the money [was] they bought [...] a piece of land, like my grandfather. [...] [H]e produced on the land.' Elisabetta's grandfather first migrated in 1901 and returned for good in 1909. Acquiring land eventually allowed him to resettle in Natile. Rosaria's grandfather was also able to purchase land outside what is now Davoli Marina (Catanzaro province). Her family still own the same land which they cultivate today for personal consumption. Similarly, with the money sent back from overseas by his father, Pasquale's mother, who had worked during her childhood as an agricultural labourer on the local baron's land near Cardeto (Reggio Calabria province), was able to gradually purchase small pieces of land, eventually acquiring the farmstead she continues to work with her husband.

Again, focus on mobility allows for the destabilisation of further markers such as attachment, or proximity to the land, that exist only through the simplification of complex patterns of mobility and stasis. Firstly, these participants explained that their parents and grandparents sent back money earned abroad so that their families could purchase land; for families belonging to the peasant class this new capital and land symbolised what Pier Pasolini Pasolini termed 'beni necessari' (necessary for progress) which he contrasts with the 'beni superflui' implied by the northern European concept of 'sviluppo' (1973, no pages). Secondly, as we shall see, acquiring land and, in turn, the capital generated through working this land, provided families with further economic opportunities such as the possibility for subsequent generations to migrate. Also, in the case of Rosaria and Pasquale, the same land continues to be cultivated today. In one sense, emigration has therefore served to reinforce associations of Calabrians with proximity to the land. However, such analysis demonstrates that proximity to the land is nuanced; it is also bound up with patterns of mobility which, as stated previously, are inextricable from Western and northern European 'modernity'.

The same mobility of capital has also had a significant effect in terms of the movement of people away from inland towns towards the Calabrian coastline. This descent 'accelerated significantly' in the 1950s (Pinnarò and Pugliese 2009, p.500), coinciding with Italy's economic boom and the peak of internal migration within Italy as a whole in the 1950s and 1960s (Bonifazi et al. 2020, p.1). According to Pinnarò and Pugliese, the mass movement of

Calabrians from internal towns to the coast took place despite investments made in agriculture as part of the *Cassa Per il Mezzogiorno*: 'given the substantial decline in traditional economic activities, this investment was not enough to halt the rural exodus and the movement of labour power toward the cities' (2009, p.501). As became clear from a number of interviews, this mass movement was in part facilitated by ongoing patterns of migration and the mobility of capital. In the case of both Rosaria's grandfather and Pasquale's father, an initial movement away from Calabria led to the subsequent movement of their families to settlements along the coast. In Rosaria's case, when her grandfather returned, the family moved from Davoli Superiore to Davoli Marina. As well as purchasing land outside Cardeto with money earned in Switzerland, Pasquale's father was able to purchase a plot of land in Reggio Calabria which Pasquale moved to as an adolescent to finish school and start work in the city. He, his brothers, and their children live in buildings constructed on that land today.

Domenico Lucano frames the movement away from inland towns to the coast as the renounciation (he uses the term 'rinnegare') of an 'authentic' Calabrian identity in favour of 'modernity':

> io credo che la popolazione della Calabria, quella più autentica, [...] è quella fascia collinare dell'entroterra [...] dove ci sono le più forte tradizioni, i legami con il territorio, con l'identità. [...] [N]el caso della popolazione riacese, è scesa verso giù. [...] [A] queste persone di Riace chiedo, 'ma perché vai là?' 'Perché là c'è la ferrovia, perché là c'è l'ipermercato.' [...] [È] un'idea di società più rispondente ai modelli consumistici.

Both Bevilacqua and Cirillo delineated the same dichotomy between a 'real' or 'authentic' inland Calabrian identity and the loss of identity to a homogenous, consumerist way of life on the coast, as I explored in Chapter 1. This is the same binary construction that coastal Calabrians draw on in their othering of the interior explored in Chapter 2. Augusto Placanica and Teti describe this movement in similar terms. For example, Placanica states: 'la cementificazione delle coste è un duro prezzo pagato allo sviluppo, e lo straniamento della Calabria a sé stessa – in termini di smarrimento dell'identità culturale e della memoria storica, in termini di passiva accettazione dei miti e riti elaborati altrove' (1993, p. 386). Placanica, like Teti, understands this movement to the built up coast to be a rejection of 'authentic' Calabrian identity – an

identity that is 'backwards' in the dominant discourse and collective imaginary – and thus as evidence of the inculcation of the dominant discourse by Calabrians.[99]

It is worth remembering though that mobility has played a crucial role in improving the lives of Calabrians and the wider South (and Italy). The economist and politician, Manlio Rossi-Doria wrote in 1982 that: '[o]ggi la miseria contadina – la miseria di gente [...] – non esiste più nelle zone interne e questo sostanziale progresso è dovuto all'emigrazione' (Rossi-Doria 1982, cited in Enrico Pugliese 2009, p.7). The movement to the coast symbolised for many a movement away from the 'miseria' typical of inland towns towards improved living conditions. Giovanni said as much when he explained why his grandfather had moved from Canolo (Reggio Calabria province) to the coast: 'Canolo era all'epoca uno di quei posti [...] dove combattervi contro la miseria.' Carchedi and Vitiello push the correlation of improved living conditions with emigration further, explaining that: 'la fine della miseria contadina' was reached in part through the return of many emigrants to their hometowns (2014, p.119). An initial movement away followed by the subsequent return of many migrants contributed to these changes; many returning migrants influenced the redesigning of 'lo spazio regionale con lo sviluppo di nuovi centri gravitazionali' (Carchedi and Vitiello 2014, p.119). In other words, the ways in which mobility has served to diminish abject poverty, in part through this movement to the coast, must be taken into account. Examination of earlier mobility necessitates nuance; previous movement to the coast is in this way detached from contemporary desires to be closer consumerist society on the coast.

Mobility and prejudice

Mobility might in theory reduce the premise for prejudice towards Calabrians in the collective imaginary if this migratory pattern is interpreted as the movement away from 'traditional' or 'backwards' internal towns for 'modern' coastal settlements. However, the lived reality of these complex mobilities at a personal level does not reflect this. Indeed, prejudice born out of internal movements came to the fore in Rosaria's and Pasquale's interviews. In Chapter 2 I explored the significance of Rosaria's depreciation of San Sostene, which she described as being even more 'backwards' than 'Davoli Superiore' as well as being the site of 'negative

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[99] Taking a longer historical view and putting aside the 'cementificazione' of the coast, it could, however, be argued that the movement of Calabrians to the coast is in fact itself a return to 'real' Calabrian identity given the fact that until the threat of Arab invasions in the 9th century AD Calabrian settlements were situated along or in proximity to the coast (Loiacono 2017, p.65). Alternatively, this move represents another episode in the region's long history of mobilities.

traditions' which I argued was a reference to criminality, itself a form of 'backwardness' in Rosaria's view. As I set out, the way she engaged with these inland towns demonstrated her preoccupation with being recognised as distinct from these communities. Mobility plays an interesting role here, since the movement of her grandfather to the coast permits this metaphorical distance; through her physical position on the coast she is able to claim a separate identity. However, it is this same movement from Davoli Superiore by her grandfather (in other words, his connectedness to the town) that generates this preoccupation in the first place. In this example, the mobility of markers exists in conjunction with human mobility since Rosaria is able to pin 'illegitimacy' – 'backwardness' and 'criminality' – on those families who have not moved.

Pasquale, on the other hand, has experienced prejudice firsthand as a consequence of his own migration. As mentioned, he was born outside Cardeto in the late 1960s and moved to Reggio Calabria in the 1980s when he was in his late teens. Though clearly proud of his origins, he spoke of the prejudice he has encountered and continues to feel from locals in Reggio Calabria towards himself and his fellow paesani: 'era questo modo di dire "sei di Cardeto, oooh questa è una persona tipo ignorante, una persona che sa zappare solo la terra." Tutt'ora dicono questo.' Pasquale believed that 'avevano pure paura di noi. Perché [siamo] persone della montagna, no? Qualche volta nel lavoro hanno avuto discussioni forti cioè "quello di montagna come mentalità è più [...] duro."' He also explained that for a while he and his brothers and cousins stopped playing the zampogne because it was viewed, he said, as a sign of 'backwardness' by others around them.

Cardeto's position in the Calabrian imaginary requires further contextualisation. The town lies just inside the Area Grecanica, though the borders of this area are not fixed and at times Cardeto is not incorporated; its inhabitants, however, were 'Greek-speaking until the beginning of the twentieth century' (Pipyrou 2016, p.70). In her extensive anthropological research on the inhabitants of this area, Stavroula Pipyrou has delineated the Grecanici's complex position in the contemporary Calabrian imaginary. Long discriminated against for their linguistic alterity in conjunction with the notoriously poor living conditions (until recently) in many of the towns that make up the Area Grecanica, the Grecanici have faced prejudice in towns such as Reggio Calabria where many have migrated. She states:

> [o]n their arrival to Reggio Calabria, the Grecanici were met with hostility
> and contempt because they were perceived as the embodiment of two
> 'negative' traits. First, they were alloglots [...]. Second, they were peasant

Southerners[...]. Grecanici thus experienced the stigma of inferiority (2016, p.33).

Pipyrou explains that the Grecanici are found in certain quarters of Reggio Calabria and that these are avoided by other Reggini (2016, p.102). According to Pipyrou, Reggini sometimes describe the Grecanici as belonging to a 'tribù africano' because of their tendency to favour endogamy (2016, p.33). To complicate matters, today many Grecanici celebrate their identity which they claim to be evidence of their direct descendance from their Ancient Greek patrimony and thus their 'legitimate', if not superior, identity in a Western and northern European context. Pipyrou understands the recent celebration of Grecanico identity to be bound up with its official recognition and celebration in national discourses, once more confirming the link between positive self-perception and positive recognition by the dominant group. In other words, previous mobility has been the cause of their othering but the parameters of these markers have themselves shifted.
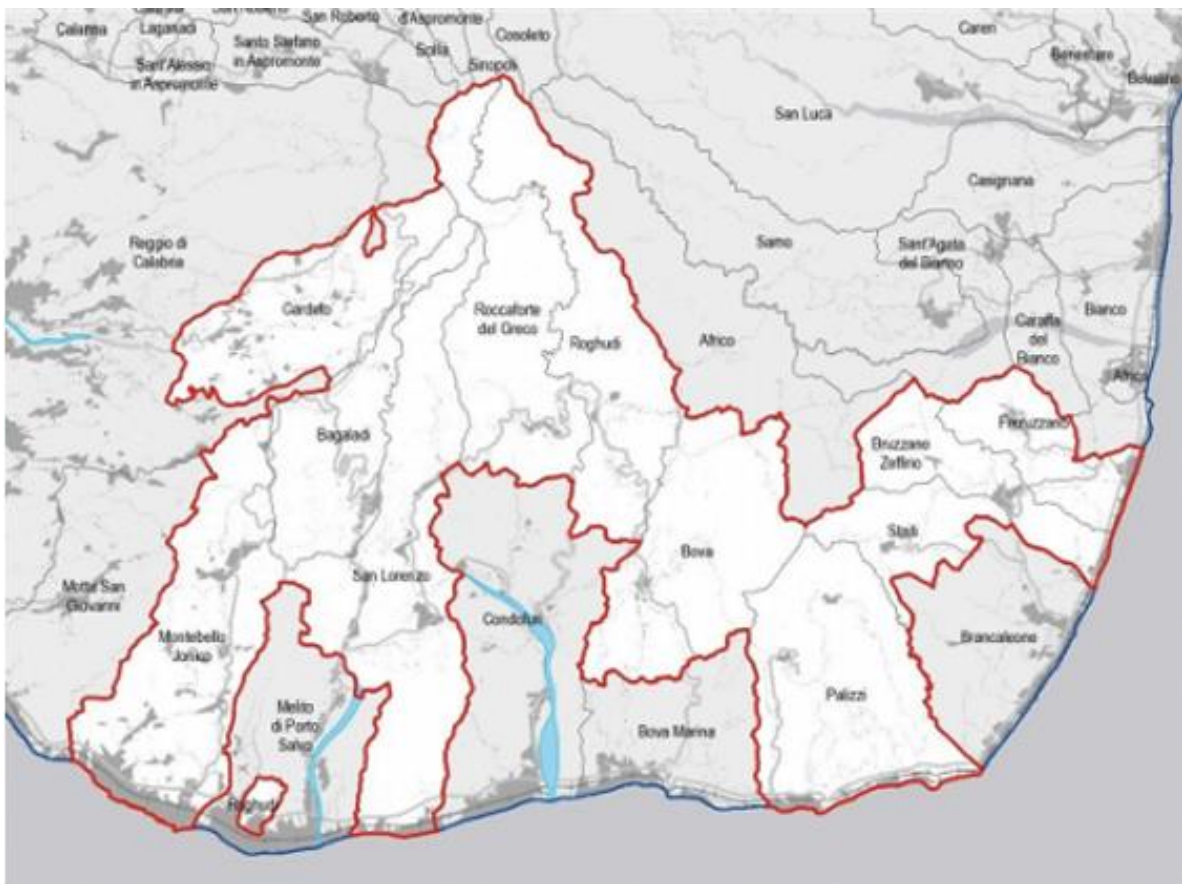

Figure 6: Area di progetto (the Area Grecanica including Cardeto)

What Pasquale's testimony confirms, however, is the continued marginality of those from Cardeto in Reggio Calabria city, suggesting that there may be a delay in terms of positive recognition of the Grecanici by the local community; they may officially enjoy positive recognition elsewhere but this does not appear to be the case amongst other Calabrians. It could also be that Cardeto, being an inland town, automatically triggers prejudice on the part of Reggini, regardless of its position in the Area Grecanica (see Figure 6). At the same time, Pasquale is fiercely proud of his Cardeto identity. This pride emerged particularly when he discussed food and music. For example, he said: 'oggi se volete mangiare qualcosa cosa di buona, se volete veramente gustare i prodotti, dovete salire a Cardeto perché la città [...] vi dà [solo] il supermercato.' His founding and running of the zampogne association in Reggio Calabria is also significant. Both of these examples demonstrate the same kinds of refusals to submit to ideas of inferiority held by the dominant group that I analysed in Chapters 2 and 3. Pasquale's claim that the food in Cardeto is superior to that found in the city fits with Pipyrou's understanding of the way Grecanici have often responded to prejudice: '[o]n their part, the Grecanici cultivated a discourse of isolation and superiority toward the locals' (2016, p.33). I argue that this is another example of what Sally Munt terms 'autonomous statements'; these are moments in which (members of) shared groups 'turn away with/from shame […] and turn back with a two-fingered "salute"' (2016, p.25). Pasquale is cosncious of the 'illegitimacy' of his Cardeto identity in the eyes of other Reggini. Not only does he refuse to submit to this prejudice, he believes and argues that his identity is in many ways superior to local urban and consumerist ways of life.

From the perspective of other Reggini, the Grecanici are marked by an inland identity that is arguably even more 'illegitimate' and 'other' than that of internal towns in general. The position of the Grecanici therefore arguably exists in parallel with that of the hinterland nexus in terms of the spectrum of 'illegitimacy', only in this case 'illegitimacy' is the result of previous mobility in conjunction with associations of 'backwardness' as opposed to organised crime in conjunction with associations of 'backwardness'. This distinction is not clear cut; Cardeto also has strong associations with the 'ndrangheta. Pasquale potentially alludes to these associations when he says other Reggini 'avevano paura di noi'; he put this perceived fear down to the trope that 'persone di montagna' have a 'mentalità [...] più [...] duro.' The marginality of Grecanici in the city is exacerbated by what is effectively a form of segregation between Grecanici and other Reggini. I read this segregation as a form of contemporary stasis that has come about through previous movements; both the historic movements of either the Ancient Greeks or Byzantine Greeks that marks the Grecanici as 'other' in the eyes of Reggini, and the

recent movement of Grecanici to the city. Their segregation, or stasis, within the city in turn attracts further prejudice in the present. These complex patterns of stasis and mobility highlight the porosity of these very same concepts.

The boundary between the two is further undermined if we consider Pasquale's continued attachment to Cardeto. He returns multiple times a week with his family, often to help out with work on the farmstead. I analyse the symbolism of continued attachments between those who live on the coast and their towns of origin in the next section. However, these 'returns' to Cardeto contrast the apparent stasis of the Grecanico community in Reggio Calabria while potentially reinforcing markers of 'backwardness' through continued attachment to the land. In other words, in the case of Pasquale, mobility itself has resulted in interconnected layers of prejudice experienced over time. The initial emigration overseas of his father has set in motion a personal narrative of continued mobilities that causes his continued (mis)recognition on the part of *Reggini*. His personal experience of prejudice encountered in Reggio Calabria, which Pipyrou describes as common amongst internal migrants from Grecanico speaking communities, is evidence that Calabrians do not have to leave the region in order to encounter prejudice based on assumptions of inherent 'backwardness' that are at times arguably racialised. This (mis)recognition has not, however, pushed him to sever this contact with Cardeto through the termination of his physical attachment and returns. These returns symbolise a movement in opposition to the migration away from inland towns for ways of life more in keeping with northern European notions of 'modernity'.

Traumatic upheavals and relocations

In October 1951, floods and landslides resulted in much destruction to towns in the Aspromonte, ultimately pushing many inhabitants to emigrate overseas or to northern Italy (Carmelo). Many others relocated to cities like Reggio Calabria and other coastal towns (Pipyrou 2015, p.51). In the case of Natile and Africo, inhabitants moved to new constructions of their towns of origin. While Natile (Nuovo) lies across the valley and in sight from Natile Vecchio, four kilometres away, the most direct route to Africo Vecchio from Africo (Nuovo) is sixty kilometres (an hour and a half by car). Africo Vecchio lies in the Aspromonte, while Africo (Nuovo) lies on the Ionian coast. Today Natile Vecchio is officially uninhabited, however, some Natilesi never left the old town. No inhabitant of Africo resides in Africo Vecchio; the town itself is completely abandoned. These two sets of circumstances have resulted in different forms of trauma.

Gaetano explained that there is a rivalry between those who live in Natile Vecchio and Natile (Nuovo) despite the familial connections between the two: '[sono] paesi [tra cui ci sono] divari e di scontri [...]. È forte questa rivalità. [...] È come del padre verso il figlio in quanto il figlio ha negato la casa natia.' A sense of abandonment, or even familial betrayal, surfaces this time on the part of the few who remain in Natile Vecchio in response to the movement away of others. What makes this of particular interest is the suggestion elsewhere in Gaetano's interview that Natile (Nuovo) is considered an extension of nearby Careri (Natile is a fraction of Careri), because of the introduction of electricity and other services there prior to their arrival in Natile Vecchio. According to Gaetano, locals call Natile (Nuovo) 'Careri piccolo' and Natile Vecchio 'la cantoniera'. In other words, as a consequence of movement in response to the 1951 flood, a 'them' and 'us' binary has surfaced amongst inhabitants who share the same physical origins, sometimes within the same family, with Natile Vecchio considered 'backwards', at least to a degree, by those in Natile (Nuovo). Natile is therefore a context in which a modernity-backwardness dynamic emerges on a micro-level within what is ostensibly a single community, with the same potential for distancing strategies and shame.

By contrast, Africesi experienced an almost complete rupture in terms of their relationship with their place of origin. Those Africesi who did not migrate from the region were divided and housed in emergency barracks in the territories of Bova, Gambarie, and Reggio Calabria. Gerardo, who was a young child at the time of the flood, recollected that refugees from Africo were not always welcome in their emergency accommodation: 'hanno protestato quelli del albergo perché la volevano libero.' The town Africo Nuovo was finally constructed almost ten years later, a traumatic delay caused by 'the prolific cooperation between the 'Ndrangheta, Church representatives, and local government in building new houses in the stricken villages' (Pipyrou 2016, p.42). The memory of this traumatic period has been passed down generations in the case of Teresa whose parents were born in the emergency barracks: 'da quella che [mia mamma] si ricorda non è che c'era molto privacy. Vivevano tutti in questi capannoni [...] come gli immigrati di adesso.' Both Gerardo and Teresa appeared to find discussing this period difficult. When recounting the immediate period after the landslide and in particular the hotel's hostility towards refugees, Gerardo's speech became fragmented, faster, and hard to follow. Similarly, Teresa's voice took on a noticeably more constricted tone. Alessandro Portelli contends that '[t]he tone and volume, range and rhythm of popular speech carry implicit meaning' (1991, p.47). It is the shift in intonation and speech pattern in both Teresa and Gerardo's interviews when discussing these events (from calm and easily

comprehensible to fast, fragmented, and constricted speech) that reveals the continued trauma and potential shame surrounding these phenomena still felt across generations.

Such an interpretation is in line with Pipyrou's contention, with reference to Africo and other nearby towns destroyed in the flood that, as a result of these events, 'connection between genealogy and place drastically broke down. This is lived as a shameful event where people lost their grip on personal and collective histories' (2015, p.49). Commenting on the corruption surrounding the relocation of communities from towns like Africo, Pipyrou states: 'the texture of memory is rough and regrets regarding the level of exploitation and violence sweep into the narratives' (2016, p.42). Testimonies are characterised by 'silences' which Pipyrou interprets as the manifestation of pain and shame generated by the numerous ways in which Africesi and inhabitants of other relocated communities continue to feel 'second-class' citizens (2015, p.49). A further incident she describes was the forced removal of children after the floods and landslides by civic and religious groups; a decision, she argues, that was based in part on the assumption that local children would have a better future if they were raised by others outside of the region. None of the Africesi I interviewed mentioned this, perhaps confirming her argument that the most painful and shameful episodes are still silenced. This resonates with the possibility in the Australian context, that first generation Calabrian-Australians continue to silence (or deliberately forget) their most painful memories or prejudice; a coping strategy employed in order to fulfil 'present emotional needs' (Yow 2005, p.45). In the context of Africo this might mean silencing in order to avoid acknowledging what this episode says about the (mis)recognition by others of Africesi. Even if this is not the case, the testimonies I recorded by Africesi are the site of multiple traumas and silencing; Gerardo alluded to the corruption some of his fellow Africesi were part of but neither he, Teresa, nor Rocco engaged with this in any detail. The pain demonstrated in the words of these participants including their silences around and unwillingness to engage with some of the most painful, or shameful events, could be interpreted as further evidence of their awareness of their treatment and (mis)recognition as second-class citizens.

Returning to the way in which a complex pattern of mobility has shaped Africo, I contend that the physical instability of the landscape set in motion other forms of mobility. Burns and Keen likewise consider mobility caused by natural disasters in Italy as existing in a binary and contrapuntal motion:

> Italy's tectonic fragility periodically causes abrupt, involuntary relocations as
> earthquakes or volcanic eruptions displace communities [...]. These often

produce dual flows, both of migration by displaced residents, but also incoming movements of rescue and reconstruction (2020, p.149).

Burns and Keen refer here to the arrival of aid in the form of workers. Rocco, an employee of Africo's *comune*, described the flow of aid that refugees received as playing a part in the upheaval of those years: 'erano abituati ai cibi prodotti da loro, quindi i cibi biologici [...]. Si ritrovarono qua a mangiare [...] cose [...] prodotte magari all'estero. [...] È stato stravolgente su tutti i piani sia sulla vita.' Rocco does not claim that this aid was unnecessary but that the arrival of unfamiliar food from northern Europe played a part in the psychological trauma born from the rupturing of previous ways of life. Coinciding with Rocco's interpretation of this aid as a factor in Africo's loss of identity was the uprooting of Africo from its inland position to the coast. Teresa said: 'sono molto più legata al mare che alla montagna e già questo ti dice tutto. Figlia propria di una generazione differente. [...] I miei avi [...] il mare neanche lo conoscevano.' Mirroring Teresa's personal understanding of the significance of this relocation, Teti, Pipyrou, and journalist and author Corrado Stajano who documented Africo's relocation and surrounding corruption in 1979, underline the inevitable trauma that a move from the inland Aspromonte to the coast caused a population centred around agropastoralism in the mountains. For example, Pipyrou explains: [o]nce a mountainous village, Africo was eventually rebuilt in a new coastal location, resulting in the villagers losing their primary economic activity, agro-pastoralism' (2015, p.53). Rocco and Teresa discuss two different forms of mobility in these passages, incoming goods, and the relocation of inhabitants to the sea – however, both instances highlight the multiple, complex forms of mobility that have constituted Africo's detachment from its physical origins and ways of life.

At the same time, Africo's traumatic upheaval interrupted what had, by the time of the landslide, become a way of life so desperate that social activists such as Umberto Zanotti Bianco and journalists like Tommaso Besozzi had been working to raise awareness of the plight of the Africesi for decades (Teti 2015, p.221). Both Teti and the three interviewees from Africo highlighted how the lack of physical connection with other towns caused real suffering: '[l]a mancanza di una strada di collegamento con il resto del mondo è stata la causa prima della miseria di Africo' (Teti 2015, p.222). Both Teresa and Gerardo acknowledged that movement away from the old town eventually meant an improvement in terms of living conditions. Teresa:

> ha radicalmente cambiato tutto. [...] Non c'erano servizi igienici nelle case, quindi era una situazione veramente al limite anche perché si parlava degli anni cinquanta, non è che si parla dell'ottocento.

It might be assumed that the physical move away from extreme living conditions and associations of 'backwardness' would have symbolised the simultaneous, metaphorical distancing of Africesi from markers of 'illegitimacy' in the eyes of the public imaginary.

Dickie explains that Africo is one of two Calabrian towns with the longest record of 'ndrangheta activity dating back to the late nineteenth century (2011, p.169). However, despite the strength of local 'ndrangheta clans prior to the landslide, the movement towards the coast and more specifically the drawn out conflicts of interest surrounding the site of the new town which Stajano has recounted in detail (2015), has facilitated the growth of 'ndrangheta clans. On top of this, the mass movement of Africesi and inhabitants of other towns of the hinterland nexus away from the region, for example to Australia, took place in conjunction with the emigration of 'ndrangheta affiliates (Sergi 2014, no pages). In Chapter 3 I analysed how emigration and the consequent strengthening of 'ndrangheta clans in Australia, and in turn Calabria, potentially results in the increased association of Calabrian-Australian identity with criminality and that this might push some Calabrian-Australians to erase their Calabrian heritage. The same process of 'ndrangheta transplantation has resulted in the consequent flow of capital back into the region. This movement of people and capital facilitates in turn the flow of illegal and legal commodities across the globe (which also result in the generation and further movement of capital). I argue that these mobilities risk resulting in the continued (mis)recognition of and prejudice against Calabrians in Calabria in a cycle that will play out into the future.

Associations of Africesi and the 'ndrangheta as a consequence of their relocation are evident in interviews. For example, a participant from Locri said, with reference to Africo: 'il motivo dell'imbarbarimento di queste persone è dovuto proprio a questo spostamento [...], da pastori si sono trasformati in trafficanti di cocaina' (Saverio). In some ways this interpretation of organised crime in Africo demonstrates a degree of empathy as it does not fall into the idea of the inherent criminality of Africesi and instead explains such activity through socioeconomic phenomena and trauma. However, the words 'queste persone' are problematic. Saverio does not differentiate between Africesi who became involved in organised crime as a result of the movement and the wider community; in this sentence all Africesi become criminals, and simultaneously kept at a distance from 'us' in Locri. This perceived division is also evident in the word 'imbarbarimento' which has strong Orientalist connotations that have historically been used to describe all southerners.

Gerardo (Africo), however, also made the link between these movements and criminality. He was convinced that, despite the improvement in living conditions as a

consequence of the move, Africo's sense of community and communal living was severed, which led to the growth in criminal attitudes amongst many, but not all, Africesi: 'dopo l'alluvione molti genitori – molti padri [...] [hanno detto] "no, il mio figlio non deve fare la vita che ho fatto io, mio figlio deve stare bene".' Gerardo links Africo's extreme conditions before the flood as well the subsequent move to the coast with the growth in local clans. Despite the rupture from a place known in the wider imaginary for extreme poverty and 'backwardness', Africo's 'illegitimacy' continues. This 'illegitimacy' today is the result of inextricable markers of 'backwardness' and criminality. This is evidenced in Natalia Aspesi's description of Africesi having 'belle facce primitive [che] appaiono appartenere a un altro tempo' in her review of the film *Anime Nere* (in which almost all characters are depicted as involved in organised crime), analysed in Chapter 2. Focus on this relationship between mobility and 'ndrangheta growth also undermines the way some coastal Calabrians explained the prevalence of the 'ndrangheta in inland towns through the idea of stasis and 'chiusura'. Movement to the coast, away from the inland, already contradicts the trope of stasis. The fact that Africo's clans grew due to this movement and other migrations across the globe undermines this trope further.

Despite the many ways that movement away from Africo continues to be felt, it would be inaccurate to suggest that the link between Africesi and Africo Vecchio has been entirely severed. Ever since the flood, locals have had to return. Rocco:

> le persone che hanno i terreni [...] vivono ancora là [...] dico, non vivono –
> non dormono là magari, però durante il giorno ci sono tante persone che
> partono da Africo per andare ad Africo Vecchio perché seminano quindi c'è
> chi ha l'orto, chi produce, ci sono pure qualche aziende.

Rocco also stated: 'qualcosa ci lega, la presenza di qualcuno c'è sempre.' His slippage between describing the Africesi as living in Africo Vecchio and undertaking daily activities in the land surrounding the old town reveals something interesting about the way in which he interprets the relationship between Africesi and their town of origin today. Africesi are not simply metaphorically or psychologically attached to Africo Vecchio but are also physically so. In fact, the Africesi who make these daily, physical returns could be described as having an inland identity attached to the same, physical landscape, in continuity to some degree with their past. In this case, mobility in the form of daily journeys to and fro maintains to a degree an inland identity even amongst those who live (or better, sleep) by the coast; in the case of Africo this has led to a hybrid identity. The same could be said for people like Pasquale who technically reside in the city but live much of their life in their rural villages of origin. It is a relationship with the site of origin that reflects stasis and mobility simultaneously, since the ability to

maintain a sense of their original identity is brought about through mobility, while mobility was also the original trigger for their detachment from these origins.

Proximity to the land, especially the continued 'agricoltura' and 'pastorizia' that some Africesi undertake in Africo Vecchio is essential to Rocco's idea of Africese identity. This also became clear when he outlined his future vision for Africo:

> vorrei pure dei collegamenti [...] tipo una strada, un sentiero, in modo tale da [...] dare la possibilità a tutti di poterci andare [...]. [Penso] che le nostre origini sono là. [...] [N]oi proveniamo da Africo Vecchio. [...] [L]a cultura aspromontane, [...] le tradizioni culturali, queste sono cose di cui dovremo fare tesori.

The significance of this desire to reconnect with rural agropastoral, 'aspromontane' identity is subversive and is another example of resistance to the dominant discourse. As part of his role with the *comune*, Rocco was working to organise regular school trips to the old town. He also mentioned a group of youths from Africo who run the *Rifugio Carrà,* a hostel near the old town where hikers and other visitors are hosted. Rocco's desire for a greater connection with Africo Vecchio, which was shared with whose who run the *Rifugio Carrà* and others I met on my excursion to Africo Vecchio, symbolises on the one hand a psychological attachment to Africo Vecchio that already exists; the desire to reconnect physically relies on a pre-existing attachment through memory, direct and intergenerational. The passing down of this memory and attachment in the case of Rocco, for example, is then drawn on to facilitate physical returns with the aim of fostering greater attachment amongst those for whom the tie is not so strong (young schoolchildren for example). The significance of this bond with Africo Vecchio in the context of potential shame and 'illegitimacy' can be understood with reference to Sara Ahmed's work on orientation and affect. According to Ahmed, 'to be affected by something is an orientation or direction toward that thing that has worldly effects' (2014, p.209). Continued attachment to Africo Vecchio, a site of extreme 'illegitimacy' in the dominant discourse and collective imaginary, is a physical and emotional orientation that rejects dominant narratives and shame; an orientation that speaks of pride and desire as well as the intention to act on this emotional attachment. In this instance, then, orientation symbolises a refusal to submit to the gaze of the dominant group. Such orientations and returns also underline that place, and relationship to place, are not static even in the case of a town that is now uninhabited in a literal sense.

A desire to return

Calabrians continue to leave Calabria, especially the young. As I set out in Chapter 2, according to participants the main reasons for leaving relate to poor employment opportunities, a lack of infrastructure including health care and cultural services, and an interiorised sense of the region's 'backwardness'. As cited in Chapter 2, Giovanni explained: 'me ne volevo andare da qui perché forse mi ero convinto anch'io che la Calabria fosse [...] un posto che non desse sbocchi, fosse un posto condonato da un arretratezza [...] legat[a] all'unità d'Italia che non è mai compiuta.' The majority of Calabrians I interviewed, including Giovanni, had spent time outside of the region (either to study or work), to then return with the intention of remaining in the region permanently.

Rosa, for instance, migrated to Rome as a young adult and later returned to Staiti to open a restaurant:[100] 'la mia idea [era] sempre quella di tornare a casa mia e di fare delle cose buone nella mia terra.' Rosa was not alone in explaining that it was a desire to improve conditions in the region that resulted in her return. Giovanni (Locri), Francesco (San Luca), Domenico Lucano (Riace), and Carmelo (Natile Nuovo) also said that they felt pushed to return to Calabria by a yearning to make positive change. For example, Francesco returned after studying in Messina:

> [h]o detto io, 'perché andare fuori e non cercare di scommettere sulla propria
> terra, perché se tutti ce ne andiamo, chi rimane qua?' Noi vogliamo il
> cambiamento magari di San Luca oppure della Calabria [...] e poi ce ne
> andiamo per primi. Noi dobbiamo essere i primi a [...] cercare di portare fuori
> il bello, per far vedere agli altri quello che è la nostra terra.

In the cases of Rosa and Francesco, returning to Calabria constituted an active decision described along the lines of making change. Such returns undermine the premise for stereotypes of widespread *rassegnazione* amongst Calabrians analysed in Chapter 2. Indeed, Francesco frames leaving the region as a form of *rassegnazione* that impedes the kind of positive change Calabrians themselves (and specifically San Lucchesi) desire. What is particularly noteworthy is his emphasis on the need to make change in order to achieve positive recognition; according to Francesco, it is up to Calabrians to 'cercare di portare fuori il bello' and thus to alter the way the region, or San Luca, is 'known' in the collective imaginary. Teti says something almost

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[100] More accurately, Rosa returned to live in Staiti with her husband and son until he started school. The family then moved to a nearby coastal town but she returns most days to Staiti to work. In the summer months the whole family relocate to Staiti. This complex pattern of mobility once more confirms that the physical and metaphorical link between people and place in Calabria is fluid and and often in an ongoing process of navigation.

identical: 'il territorio è un testo che scriviamo noi' (2011, p.26). However, he also argues that: '[i]l fuoco delle immagini esterne genera nell'osservato l'atteggiamento da assediato, [...] di chi vede nemici dappertutto' (2011, p.26). Here Teti accuses Calabrians of believing a self-victimising rhetoric. Francesco's reflection, however, undermines this idea that Calabrians only hold others accountable for their problems, since he implicates Calabrians in their own (mis)recognition; these problems are partly their responsibility and not simply the result of the prejudice of others. In other words, the way Calabria is 'known' by others is in dialogue with Calabrian attitudes towards their own region; the internalisation of the dominant discourse may therefore feed into a self-perpetuating cycle. Calabrian mobility itself has a corresponding role in terms of whether the region is recognised positively or negatively from the outside.

A comparable passage from Giovanni's interview is also worth reflecting on. He explained that while he was away from Calabria:

> mi sono sempre [...] adoperato da duemilatre in poi per cercare di migliorare nel mio piccolo ambiente [...]. [Il mio ritorno] è stata una scelta che è sempre più cresciuta [...]. Questi pregiudizi sono stati una delle molle che mi hanno motivato a tornare qui.

Giovanni followed this up later in his interview:

> [s]e noi, tornando qui, riusciremo a gettare le basi per far sì che per chi verrà dopo di noi, possa continuare su un percorso virtuoso, questa terra [...] potrà arrivare ad emanciparsi da tanti stereotipi [...]. Se [...] non ci riusciamo [...] ho paura che questa terra [...] non vada da nessuna parte, e resti condannata.

At this point in the interview, Giovanni broke down crying. Such a reaction is a poignant indication that mobilities both are inherently tied up with how others recognise the region and correspond with fraught emotions at a personal level.

In her work on emotions in oral history (2012), Rebecca Clifford argues: '[e]xpressions of feeling [...] reveal points of tension between individual and collective narratives' (2012, p.211). I posit that Giovanni's personal distress manifests intense frustration and pain in response to the way in which the wider collective imaginary (mis)recognises Calabria, how this is interiorised by other Calabrians (like him) and how this interiorised idea of Calabria as a place to leave results in the continued deterioration of conditions in the region. That his personal feelings (and narrative), in time, have gone against the grain of this collective (mis)recognition of Calabria on a regional level echoes Munt's suggestion that '[p]erhaps we need a new category for the "ex-shamed", for whom re-attachment is such a priority' (2016. p.218). Here the question of attachment and orientation resurfaces, in this case alongside the question of

temporality. Giovanni's initial detachment from the region that evidenced shame, has been follow by a *re*attachment. This coincides with Cirillo's and Bevilacqua's contention, explored in Chapter 1, that in order to improve conditions in Calabria, Calabrians need to fall back in 'love' with the region (Cirillo 2014, p.16), an act that symbolises the rejection of what is 'acceptable' in northern European discourse (Bevilacqua 2015, p74). There is also a clear parallel here with the Australian case, where I argued that the relationship of the diaspora with their Calabrian heritage is not fixed either with regard to individual Calabrian-Australians or intergenerationally. However, in Giovanni's case, this reattachment does not coincide with changing attitudes towards Calabria and increased Calabrian legitimacy over time. If anything, as I argued in Chapter 3, Calabria is increasingly associated with the 'ndrangheta as 'ndrangheta operations and trials are broadcast across the international media. For this reason, Giovanni's reattachment is a highly significant example of resistance to the dominant (mis)recognition of his region.

In the case of Giovanni, emigration reflected a desire to create physical distance between himself and Calabria. However, it is his time away that pushed him to rethink or retract the 'known' idea of Calabria and the South he had interiorised. Ahmed argues that shamed subjects 'turn away' from the gaze of the dominant group (2014, p.104). Since Giovanni's physical and emotional return reflects his rejection of the 'known' image of Calabria as a place of 'arretratezza', a region to escape, his return and reattachment arguably symbolises a 'turning' *towards* the gaze of the dominant group in an act of defiance rather than shame. Through this movement Giovanni (and Francesco) assert that the 'social space' that is Calabria will again be 're-form[ed]' for the better (Ahmed 2014, p.103). Alongside these physical movements I have delineated the mobility of Giovanni's own emotional attachment to Calabria and the South, and of his own metaphorical position in relation to the dominant discourse. In this way a corresponding fluidity, or mobility, emerges in terms of interiorised inferiority and subsequent reattachments played out emotionally and across physical space.

Prejudice against immigrants: Rosarno

The return of Calabrians to the region takes place today alongside the arrival of migrant workers, refugees, and asylum seekers; people from across the globe and from all walks of life move to Calabria.[101] However, it is the presence of migrant workers in particular from the global South that, in the context of a national right-wing political agenda, requires close attention; here

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[101] Karen Haid, the American author of *Calabria: The Other Italy* (2015) is one such example.

the question of identity demarcation by Calabrian participants in relation to these arrivals surfaces. Like the majority of participants in this research, Serafina, a teacher in her forties, voiced a positive attitude towards migrant arrivals:

> [l]e persone di Calabria [...] [sono] un popolo di emigranti [...]. Io penso che i calabresi ora stanno dimenticando questa cosa. Stanno dimenticando quest'obbligo proprio morale. [...] [C]redo sia un obbligo, quello della restituzione, [...] della possibilità che tu hai avuto, no? [...] Allora qualche anno fa c'era sicuramente molto di più questo spirito di accoglienza [...], è cambiata la politica nazionale, però voglio dire, siamo noi gli elettori di questa politica [...]. [Abbiamo perso] di vista [...] la consapevolezza della propria identità per inseguire quello che accade.

Her correlation of Calabrian emigration and contemporary arrivals is symbolically important as it speaks of her perceived affinity through mobility with arrivals considered undesirable in Italy and Europe more generally. Teresa's comparison of the experience of Africesi in emergency accommodation with the current treatment of many immigrants in Calabria (and throughout Italy), cited in the previous section, also indicates a degree of perceived affinity with these arrivals. However, as Serafina makes clear, this attitude is not representative of all Calabrians. Indeed, she accuses Calabrians of turning towards contemporary, nationalist politics which she sees as a form of self-betrayal. This fits with an argument she repeated throughout her interview, that Calabrians in recent years have forgotten 'la propria identità' in favour of following 'falsi idoli'. She thus implies that the inculcation of the dominant discourse by Calabrians explains their recent hostility towards these arrivals.

Like Serafina, Teti describes Calabrian emigration and the hostility Calabrian migrants have had to confront as phenomena that should foster affinity with migrants arriving from the global South: '[i] calabresi hanno sofferto quando erano emigrati e quella sofferenza non genera *pietas*, rendi invece più aspra la voglia di rifarsi su vittime più deboli. Non piace a loro avere davanti il simulacro di quello che sono stati' (2011, p.31). Implied here is the idea that the memory of experiences of 'illegitimacy' prompts shame amongst Calabrians, and that Calabrians utilise the presence of these migrants (who are even more marginal than them) in order to create distance from how they themselves have been recognised. This would mean that past experiences of prejudice and 'illegitimacy' through emigration may precipitate shame. I add to this the notion of vicariously felt shame; Calabrians are ashamed of their treatment as emigrants and may also feel shame because of their perceived proximity towards these arrivals in the eyes of their dominant others. That Calabrians (and Southerners more generally) have

been and continue to be labelled 'African' – for example, through use of the slur *Calafrica* – is evidence of this assumed proximity in the collective imaginary, as well as the mobility of the 'African' marker.

I thus interpret such attempts to create an 'ontological difference between judge and judged' (Butler 2001, p.30) through the same spectrum of 'illegitimacy' delineated throughout this thesis. In these instances, arrivals from the global South occupy the most extreme, marginal position in this spectrum. In Chapter 3 I mapped out the ways in which this spectrum is extended in the Australian context. References to Calabrians as 'Africans' appeared to trigger shame for one participant while others highlighted similarities in terms of skin colour (and thus potential 'illegitimacy') with non-'white' groups. I argue that attempts to create distance from those whose position is more marginal in all these examples is evidence of the interiorisation of the 'superiority' of 'whiteness' as it is 'known' in Italian and northern European dominant discourses. On the other hand, instances in which participants like Serafina draw similarities between Calabrians and immigrants and condemn this hostility, symbolise a rejection of this hegemonic othering.

Like Serafina, Teti also understands Calabrian support for anti-immigration politics, in his case specifically the *Lega*, as a phenomenon tied up with self-identification: '[i]l leghismo ha avuto effetti devastanti anche sulla percezione di sé delle popolazioni meridionali' (2011, p.21). I read this statement as confirmation of the notion that Calabrians further delegitimise their own identity through the inculcation of the dominant discourse that sees 'southernness' – be it in relation to the Italian South, or the global South – as inferior. This bolsters Serafina's belief that Calabrians have forgotten their own identity by submitting to popular and official attitudes towards immigrants. According to both Serafina and Teti, then, the way Calabrians perceive arrivals from the global South is tied up with they way they have been (mis)recognised.

Hostility on the part of Calabrians towards migrant arrivals must therefore be analysed within the wider national political context. Policies centred around ideas of 'internal security' like the 'Bossi-Fini' law and the 'pachetto sicurezza' have 'achieved the "criminalisation" of migrations in the public imaginary', including the Calabrian imaginary (Corrado 2011, p.192). One participant, Giuseppa, argued that hostility towards immigrants is the result of scapegoating in the context of pre-existing national problems:

> la situazione d'Italia non è colpa degli immigrati. Noi abbiamo altre problematiche che non vengono sicuramente da là, [...] [noi diamo] per scontato [che] quello è nero quindi fa schifo o quello è nero quindi ci violenta, poi in realtà ce l'hai in casa le persone che [...] non sono [...] per bene.

Emanuela does not manifest an attitude towards these migrants in line with the dominant discourse. Instead, she 'reverses this discourse' (Munt 2016, p.4) that criminalises immigrants by highlighting Italy's own considerable problem with organised crime (she does not specifically mention organised crime in this passage but condemned it throughout her interview). In other words, she resists the hegemonic alignment of immigrants with criminality by insisting on the proximity of her own identity (be it as an Italian, or Calabrian) with crime. In this instance, her claiming of the negative marker symbolises an admission of her own nation's (or region's) imperfections. However, while Giuseppa is another participant who has not accepted the dominant discourse and its framing of certain immigrants, she, like Serafina, indicates that this attitude is not the norm.

Calabrian criminality has itself played a part in the discrimination of immigrants by Calabrians. The exploitation of migrant workers, hostility towards them on the part of the wider Calabrian community, and the involvement of 'ndrangheta clans were all factors in the 'Rosarno Revolt' that took place in January 2010. Rosarno sits in the Plain of Gioia Tauro, a high-density agricultural zone on the Tyrrhenian side of Reggio Calabria province. The revolt was the culmination of a number of factors such as the endemic exploitation of workers (mostly sub-Saharan migrants) forced to live in desperate conditions (Devitt 2010, p.228). Violent attacks on workers, predominantly by 'ndranghetisti, also played a part in these events. In the days before the uprising, a drive-by shooting injured two migrant workers; similar episodes had previously taken place (Corrado 2011, p.197). In response, on the 7th January migrant workers took to the streets of Rosarno in violent protest; an event that was covered in detail by the national media (Devitt 2010, p.221). It is interesting to note that Roberto Maroni (of the 'pachetto sicurezza') claimed that the revolt was the consequence of 'too much tolerance of undocumented migrants' (Devitt 2010, p.220).

On the contrary, Alessandra Corrado explains that in the Plain of Gioia Tauro, the 'ndrangheta:

> sets the rules for work in the fields: Calabrian farm workers have been
> expelled not only because the competition from newly arrived labor force is
> unbearable, but also because employment of immigrants is imposed by local
> criminal organizations (the 'Ndrine). To understand the reasons for the riots,
> it is necessary to interpret local racism rooted in the mafia subculture. [...]
> 'Hitting the niggers' is interpreted as an 'initiation rite' for young people

aspiring to become members of the 'Ndrangheta, but it is also a 'game' of harassment of the 'Others' (2011, pp.197-8).[102]

This extreme discrimination on the part of local Calabrians also takes other forms. Corrado states that 'the local people have accepted the absolute poverty of immigrants' and that '[t]hey have also showed reluctance to provide immigrants access to basic services' (2011, p.199). There are, of course, exceptions to this. Individuals work to bridge the divide, like Bartolo Mercuri who has set up an association called *Il Cenacolo* that provides food, clothing, and other essentials for migrant workers in the town of Maropati, 15km from Rosarno (Anon 2021). This is not the norm, however, as Teti also highlights in his summary of the riots and the continued exploitation of migrant workers in the Plain: 'è una ferita aperta, un episodio vergognoso che non vede estranee e incolpevoli le popolazioni locali. Certo c'è la paura di perdere il lavoro, c'è disoccupazione e povertà, c'è la 'ndrangheta che controlla tutto' (2011, p.31). Here shame felt by Teti is not exhibited as a direct result of the (mis)recognition of Calabrians, but by the attitudes of Calabrians themselves towards migrants, though I would argue, again with reference to Teti, that the two are related.

What is clear, from the findings of Teti and Corrado, is the role the 'ndrangheta plays in fostering prejudice on the part of 'local' Calabrians towards migrant workers. The exploitation of migrants in the Plain has resulted in high unemployment levels within the 'local' community. Such hostility cannot therefore be understood only with reference to populist right-wing attitudes broadcast by the media and the opportunity this gives Calabrians to self-identify in contradistinction to migrant 'others'. However, the notion that some members of the wider 'local' community are racist and violent towards migrant workers in order to gain recognition from 'ndrine would suggest that in this context the 'ndrangheta symbolises a concurrent power system to that of northern European discourse. In these instances, there is a plurality to attempted recognition through xenophobia as some Calabrians seek recognition not from a dominant other but from their 'dominant others' (Taylor 1992, p.33).

A further factor at play here is the segregation of migrants who are often kept in camps away from the local community. According to Giovanna, who works for a SPRAR in a town on the Ionian side of Reggio Calabria province, this segregation has created further hostility in the Plain:[103]

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[102] It is worth noting that EU funds aimed at developing the citrus fruit industry in the Plain have been siphoned by local clans, thereby strengthening their historic presence in the area (Sergi and Lavorgna 2016, p.100).

[103] SPRAR stands for Sistema di Protezione per gli Richiedenti Asilo e Rifugiati. SPRARS were introduced in 2002 with the aim of achieving 'the "integrated reception" of [...] asylum seekers and refugees' (Cetin 2015,

là ci sono dei campi da coltivare [...], [è] un'immigrazione più [...] lavorativa, quindi non [...] votata a far parte della comunità. [...] [I] braccianti vivono in un ghetto [...] lontan[i] dal centro, [...] sempre tra di loro, e [...], sfruttati per lo più. Quindi non hanno probabilmente neanche l'istinto, la voglia, il tempo di relazionarsi con la comunità, e la comunità li vede come qualcosa di estranea.

Again, in this extract Giovanna demonstrates compassion as well as a comprehensive understanding of the conditions of migrant workers, while highlighting that the wider community in the Plain is ambivalent, if not hostile, towards them. She touches on their segregation from local life and sees this as a fundamental reason behind local prejudice (if not violence). Before analysing what this segregation symbolises in terms of stasis, the seasonal nature of this casual agricultural labour must be taken into consideration. Corrado explains:

[o]ver several periods of the year, migrants perform a sort of 'transhumance' across the various regions of the south of Italy [...] depending on seasonal harvests and thus on employment opportunities in the agricultural sector [...]. In modern intensive agriculture, the massive employment of an immigrant labor force is fundamental to buffer the risks of a production system characterized by several aleatory variables (i.e., climate, changes in prices) (2011, p.195-6).

This precarity is thus bound up with Italy's capitalist 'modernity'. The exploitation of migrant workers within this 'modernity', and especially where organised crime groups are involved, exacerbates the segregation that already exists in areas like the Plain of Gioia Tauro.[104]

This 'transhumance' is another example in which the boundary between ideas of stasis and mobility breaks down on close inspection. Nina Glick Schiller and Noel Salazar underline the need to 'move beyond categorical opposites such as fixity and motion' with specific reference to migrant workers (in particular, undocumented migrants) (2012, p.6). On the one hand the segregation of migrants from mainstream society in the Plain symbolises a form of stasis. Their physical segregation prevents positive relations with the wider community and in turn the ability to integrate or move away from cycles of exploitation. On the other hand, their precarious and seasonal employment impels them to move from one site of exploitation to

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p.383). However, until 2008 SPRARs 'had a detentive nature' as they could 'impose restrictions on personal liberty' (Cetin 383).

[104] The grip of regional organised crime groups over migrant workers is not specific to the Plain or Gioia Tauro; it is commonplace in areas of high productivity (especially in the agricultural, tourism, and construction sectors) from North to South (Corrado 2011, p.197).

another. It is this complex pattern of enforced stasis, (or 'fixity') and mobility (or 'motion'), triggered as a consequence of this 'modern intensive agriculture' (Corrado 2011, p.196), that has aggravated local Calabrian prejudice towards migrant workers. The perceived position of migrant workers within the hierarchy of local society has created a palpable and racialised 'them' and 'us' binary. In other words, capitalist 'modernity' has played a role in the way Calabrians perceive themselves in relation to those considered even less 'desirable' in the dominant discourse. The 'entrapment' of migrant workers, to use Schiller and Salazar's term (2013, p.8), thus comes to symbolise the fluidity of the position of Calabrians in contemporary Italy. Within Calabria, as they come into contact with migrants from the global South, Calabrians have thus become part of the dominant group, able to (mis)recognise new arrivals, despite Calabria's extreme marginal position in the wider Italian collective imaginary.

Celebrating hybridity: Riace

Pugliese terms the arrival of migrants from the global South to southern Italy as the 'returns of the Souths of the South' (2007, no pages). Central to this interpretation of recent immigration to southern Italy is the notion that the identity of southerners is already hybrid, the consequence of millenia of mobility and mixing. This hybridity is, as Pugliese underlines and as I have pointed out throughout this thesis, one of the root causes of southern 'illegitimacy' in Italian and European dominant discourse. A number of participants highlighted this mixing. Pamela, a midwife who works in Germany and who had returned to her hometown Natile (Nuovo) for Easter, made the following observation:

> [q]ui ci sono stati i greci, hanno fatto le loro colonie e noi siamo stati greci,
> qui ci sono stati saraceni e hanno fatto le loro colonie e noi siamo stati
> saraceni [...]. [A]vendo l'esperienza all'estero ho capito che siamo un po'
> turchi, cioè rivedo nelle donne turche [...] alcune tracce, [...] alcuni modi di
> fare, modi di essere dei calabresi.

Through her own experience of migration, Pamela believes she has recognised the ethnic hybridity of her Calabrian identity. Bearing in mind the 'illegitimacy' of Calabria's Arab genealogy within the dominant discourse, this willingness to incorporate it in her understanding of her identity is important since, as scholars Pugliese (2007) and Burdett (2015) have argued, officially Italy does not recognise the influence of its Arabic genealogies. These are instead erased in an act that manifests preoccupation with being recognised by northern Europe and the

wider West as 'white' (Pugliese 2007, no pages).[105] In both instances, self-identification takes place in dialogue with other ethnicities, however, in the case of Italy's official narrative, a reductionist version of Italian identity is constructed in contradistinction to its 'other' (reflecting preoccupation with Italy's place in northern Europe). Conversely, in Pamela's case, her sense of Calabrian identity is formed by incorporating these 'other' lineages into her own, thereby reflecting the absence of a preoccupation with the same hegemonic discourse. Such an incorporation resonates with Calabrian-Australian participants who underlined the proximity of Calabrian ethnicity to groups still (mis)recognised as 'other' in the Australian context.

Calabria's Arabic heritage surfaced in a number of other interviews. However, there was a tendency amongst some participants to emphasise Calabria's Greek patronage over and above any other ethnic influence. For example, Carmelo said: 'Ma l'identità calabrese [...] è stata culla della civiltà greca [...] la parte che parte da Crotone fino ad arrivare a Reggio Calabria [...] è stata una regione che è stata [...] invasa ma anche civilizzata [...] [dalla] cultura diciamo greca.' Also, the idea that Calabrians have inherited a predisposition to hospitality from the Ancient Greeks is a belief that I have encountered often in Calabria. In Francesco's words: 'San Luca è sempre stato un paese ospitale ma questo storicamente forse [...] la abbiamo ereditato dai greci da cui abbiamo origini.' Francesco is hypothesising here rather than claiming this inheritance as fact, however, it is clearly something he would like to believe. Magna Grecia has undoubtedly left its mark on the region. However, so too have the Carthaginians, Romans, Jews, Arabs, Byzantines, Normans, Swabians, Turks, Spanish (including the Aragonese and Bourbons), and the French. The same tendency to concentrate on Calabria's Ancient Greek patrimony appeared in the work of Nunnari and Cirillo, as I argued in Chapter 1. It therefore appears that belief in the predominance of the Ancient Greeks on Calabrian identity has become part of the regional narrative. If Pamela's engagement with patrimonies considered 'other' and 'illegitimate' in Italy's official narrative is subversive, the over-emphasis of Calabria's Ancient Greek heritage arguably plays straight into hegemonic northern European discourse since northern Europe and the West's idea of its own superiority is premised on these same Ancient Greek origins (Bouchard and Ferme 2013, p.73). Drawing on Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari whose work highlights that Ancient Greek philosophy was contingent on space, time, and interactions with others as opposed to an inherently superior intellect, Norma Bouchard and

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[105] Pugliese gives the example of a ceramic plate fixed to a wall in what was once the Arabic quarter of Spilinga which was removed by museum officials from Reggio Calabria (the plate was never seen again); an act that Pugliese describes as 'historicidal erasure' and 'cultural vandalism' (2007, no pages).

Valerio Ferme underline how the West's conceptualisation of its Ancient Greek origins already denies the intersections and connectivity with people from across the Mediterranean, in particular 'the eastern empires' that gave birth to Greek philosophy in the first place (Bouchard and Ferme 2013, p.72; see Deleuze and Guattari 1994, p.87).

Calabrian and Italian hybridity is not simply the result of historic arrivals from overseas. Before examining the kinds of hybridity celebrated in the case of Riace, it must be underlined that immigration to Italy is not a distinct phenomenon in itself; it is the consequence of a complex pattern of previous and continued mobilities, and related power dynamics that 'inter[twine] notions of space and time' (Fiore 2017, p.13). Teresa Fiore connects Italy's mass-emigrations, colonial ventures, internal movements, and immigration: '[t]he visibility of epiphenomena and legacies of emigration and colonialism – which belong to the time trajectory – can indeed be traced in the space of today's immigration in Italy' (2017, p.13). That Italy's colonial ventures were triggered by the desire to be recognised as a European power, as argued in the Introduction to this thesis, must also be taken into consideration. This desire was grounded in the same preoccupation with 'whiteness', which stems from the peninsula's position in the Mediterranean and its long history of hybridity (Pugliese 2002a, p.235). Furthermore, as I also set out in this thesis' Introduction, postcolonial scholars researching Italy typically frame Unification as the annexation of the South by the North; they highlight the violence and racialised rhetoric used against southerners at the time (Gramsci and Verdicchio 2015, pp.80-81; Pugliese 2010, pp.106-7). The movement southwards of northern troops and then officials in their quest to unify, or 'civilise', the South extends beyond the national territory. The South's annexation is by no means analogous with Italy's colonial violence, however, the long-reaching effects of these parallel mobilities intersect and continue to do so. Italy as a whole has witnessed the mass-emigration of its people heading for northern Europe and the wider West, however many southerners have also left the South for Italy's North. At the same time, in more recent history migrants from the previously colonised global South, including territories colonised by Italy, have often followed this movement north and 'West'. Thus the 'cartographic' spectrum of marginality delineated throughout this thesis stretches out geographically in both directions (Moe 2006, p.171); the power imbalance inherent to this spectrum is iterated through these patterns of colonial and postcolonial mobilities. It is this intricate mesh of mobilities that Fiore argues is denied in Italian constructivist identity; this is a point that Teti also makes with reference to the *Lega* whose ideology, he states, is founded in part on '[l']invenzione di un passato inesistente' (2011, p.18; see also Andall and Duncan 2010, p.2). For this reason, the project *Città Futura* and the links it forges between mobilities, as well

as the new forms of hybridity it celebrates, merit closer attention, especially given the establishment of this project in Calabria.

Domenico Lucano described his original vision for Riace as 'un sogno di riscatto sociale'; a desire or dream to counteract the long history of mass-emigration from his town of origin, Riace (Reggio Calabria province), that he conceptualised while living in Milan and Rome. Soon after his return to Calabria, in 1998, three hundred Kurdish refugees landed on the coast below Riace (Driel and Verkuyten 2020, p.617). Lucano reopened houses in the old town abandoned by Riacesi emigrants. He saw the arrival of these refugees as part of the same narrative of mobility that has long shaped Riace: '[u]n borgo di quattromila abitanti è diventato dei cinquecento abitanti. La maggior parte delle case abbandonate, vuote. Allora, dissi […] un popolo in viaggio [che aveva] […] bisogno di case [è] arrivato in un luogo di case senza gente.' Lucano's vision for Riace facilitated the continuation of mobility that was already part of the town's narrative. Over time more arrivals were welcomed, predominantly from the global South, and *Città Futura* was established. As part of this project new arrivals were given houses in the old town, Italian lessons, and assistance with necessary documentation.[106] Workshops were opened in which 'local' Calabrians, the majority of whom were women, taught traditional Calabrian crafts such as weaving, embroidery, and ceramics to arrivals (again, mostly women). A multi-ethnic restaurant was also established. These ventures generated an income for participants as well as for the project.[107]

Lucano stated: 'a me interessava quest'idea di ricostruire la communità [come] [una] communità globale più bello perché questa è l'essenza, l'anima della popolazione calabrese.' I interpret this as Lucano's understanding of the project having created a 'new' identity for Riace since the project undoubtedly brought about change, but at the same time this 'newness' was already part of the fabric of Calabria's (and Riace's) identity given the region's history of crossings and arrivals. As stated, Riace had already been ravaged by the effects of mass-emigration. Like Rosa's description of Staiti, the physical landscape of the town had already changed through mass-emigration. It is already something 'new' and 'other' to what it once was, or better, might have been, since these narratives of mobility date back to the post-

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[106] Similar projects were also initiated in nearby Camini, Caulonia, and Stignano (all in the province of Reggio Calabria) in the wake of Riace.

[107] During my Masters fieldwork in 2017, Riace was a destination for a number of cruise ship operators. For this fieldwork I observed women from Pakistan, Cameroon, and Somalia in these workshops. I did find that a hierarchy emerged in terms of power dynamics; 'local' Calabrian men typically occupied the more senior positions in the project, 'local' Calabrian women led the workshops, teaching their 'migrant apprentices, while 'migrant' men did not appear to have an obvious role to play in workshops (they tended to be employed in 'less-skilled' occupations such as refuse-collecting). At the same time, I was told numerous stories of friendships, interactions, and exchanges between these groups.

Unification period.[108] In his seminal text on hybridity, Homi Bhabha, drawing on Said, writes that in the context of colonial discourse: 'the demand for identity, stasis – and the counter-pressure of the diachrony of history – change and difference – [and] mimicry represents an *ironic* compromise' (2009, p.122). With this in mind, Lucano and Riace symbolise the acceptance of change and hybridity as constituent parts of Calabrian identity in a way that mirrors both the work of postcolonial scholars and scholars on Italian identity and mobilities (see Bond 2014, p.412; Fiore 2017, p.13).

It is this same 'newness', or hybridity, that is unacknowledged and causes preoccupation in the official Italian narrative. *Città Futura* is, I argue, the example par excellence of the absence of preoccupation with being recognised as 'legitimate' within northern European discourse. While Lucano did not suggest he had ever felt shame over his Calabrian identity, the following statement by Munt is a useful way of unlocking the subversive symbolism of *Città Futura*: '[w]hen you no longer care that you are being shamed, particularly when horizontal bonds formed through communities of shame can be transmuted into collective desires to claim a political presence and a 'legitimate' self, that new sense of identity can forge ahead and gain rights and protection' (2016, p.4). Munt argues that the rejection of shame can 'instigat[e] social, political and cultural agency amongst the formerly disenfranchised' (2016, p.4). I argue that in the case of Riace, this social and political agency is manifested through the collaboration between a 'local' Calabrian community that often manifests shame over the region's (mis)recognition in the collective imaginary (as demonstrated throughout this thesis), and a community of immigrants whose 'illegitimacy' within Italian and northern European discourses is even more acute.

Città Futura rejects the hegemony of northern European discourse in a further way. Lucano explained that during his own time as a migrant outside of the region, he remembered only the good things about Calabria; in particular, 'la generosità.' The Calabria he was nostalgic for existed in his mind in opposition to his surroundings in Milan and Rome which he described as 'una società legata molto al consumismo [e] molto a dimensioni individualistiche [...] così fredda, [...] ognuno per i fatti suoi. E allora io sono tornato in Calabria.' He also stated that he had returned to Calabria in the hope of being able to instigate a project like *Città Futura*, premised on this idea of generosity as well as 'riscatto sociale'. In this way his own personal migration story interacts with wider patterns of Calabrian mobilities,

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[108] Africo Vecchio is another clear example of the way in which mobilities have played, and continue to play, a constitutive role in terms of the town's identity; the town's narrative is unfixed, and attachment to Africesi identity is also determined by ongoing mobilities.

including perceived societal differences in the Italian North. Indeed, his own mobility has led him to condemn northern European ideals of 'modernity'.

Furthermore, Lucano stated: '[l']agricoltura biologica, […] [la] zootecnia, […] [il] turismo solidale – […] i nostri luoghi […] sono così. Questo è la vocazione di nostri territori. […] [Riace] ha dimostrato che è possibile.' On the one hand, this statement confirms Cassano's argument that 'modernity is not extraneous to the pathologies [of the South]' (2012, p.1) since, according to Lucano, Riace has become a model of progressive, sustainable tourism through this regeneration. This kind of tourism, like *Slow Food* and the celebration of 'rediscovered' sustainable ways of life explored in Chapters 2 and 3, has a place in contemporary northern European discourse (alongside more common forms of mass-tourism). At the same time, Lucano's framing of Riace and Calabria as a place where a different reality is possible outside of consumerist society – an argument that is, of course, contestable – resonates with Cassano's insistence that the South has its own identity and character which he associates with the notion of 'going slow' (2012, pp.10-11). It is this same identity that is often rejected by Calabrians, as demonstrated in this thesis, because it is 'illegitimate' in northern European discourse.

Finally, Riace is recognised positively on a global scale by individuals and organisations. For example, *Città Futura* has received positive media coverage across the globe.[109] The filmmaker Wim Wenders made *Il Volo* (2010), a docufilm in which he celebrates *Città Futura*'s activities and the project's resistance to dominant attitudes towards migration from the global South.[110] Lucano was named one of the world's greatest leaders by *Fortune* in 2016 and was awarded the Dresden Peace Prize in 2017. Teti sums up the potential for positive recognition that Riace stands for: '[q]ueste e altre storie di un Sud diverso, che si oppone, resiste, in mezzo allo squallore' (2011, p.35). The positive recognition of Riace in these contexts itself resists dominant discourses centred on the superiority of northern Europeanness and 'whiteness'.

At the time of this fieldwork Lucano was under house arrest having been accused of corruption and aiding illegal immigration and corruption with the work of the project having ground to a halt. It must be acknowledged that some participants in this study were sceptical of Lucano given the accusations made against him. This scepticism indicated that his trial might be a trigger for shame as yet another Calabrian is discussed in the context of illegality on an international stage. As I came close to finishing the writing up stage of this thesis, Lucano was

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[109] These are found, for example, in *The Guardian* (Kington 2013), *Reporter* (Wirth 2018), and *Le Monde* (Aloïse 2011). At the same time, Riace received negative coverage even prior to Domenico Lucano's arrest in particular in Italian right-wing national newspapers such as *Il Giornale* (see Dessì, 2016). Matteo Salvini and other high profile *Lega* politicians have also openly opposed Domenico Lucano and *Città Futura*, and continue to do so.
[110] The actor Beppe Fiorello played Domenico Lucano in the film *Tutto Il Mondo È Paese* (yet to be released).

found guilty and sentenced to thirteen years in prison.[111] Consequently, I argue that negative associations with Riace are likely to grow amongst some Calabrians as well as in the international collective imaginary. At the same time, I contend that this verdict does not change the fact that *Città Futura* was set up to revive a local community through the celebration of hybridity which it has done in more recent years in contradiction to nationalist anti-immigration rhetoric for which it has been recognised and celebrated on a global stage. Lucano's conviction does not undermine the fact that the project emerged from a subaltern region speaking back to the official, dominant discourse. For most interviewees and many Calabrians I spoke to while researching my Masters and this thesis, Riace and *Città Futura* was a source of pride. This is backed up by Ester Driel who similarly found that most Riacesi were proud of Riace's recognition and fame on a world stage (2020, p.160). I therefore argue that the continued positive recognition of what Riace came to symbolise works in contradistinction to the extreme negative markers associated with the hinterland nexus. In the same way that negative markers attached to the towns of the hinterland nexus potentially mark all Calabrians with organised crime and 'backwardness', and thus encourage distancing strategies, the same argument can be made tentatively about positive representations and associations of Riace. Calabrians beyond the town and province who continue to share Lucano's idea of 'solidarietà' and 'riscatto sociale' may take pride in the town and how it has come to be 'known' in a way that potentially encourages attempts to claim proximity to Riace; a contrapuntal movement in the face of the distancing strategies triggered by negative markers.

Conclusion

In this final chapter I explore questions of interiorised 'illegitimacy' in the Calabrian context, this time through the lens of multiple mobilities. I argue that these mobilities – emigration, internal movements, returns, and arrivals (or 'returns of the Souths' (Pugliese 2007, no pages)) – allow for an in-depth critique of stereotypes of stasis and 'backwardness'. It is through examination of continued attachments to inland towns such as Cardeto, and especially Africo Vecchio – sites of 'backwardness' and extreme 'illegitimacy' in the dominant discourse and collective imaginary – that a form of affective resistance manifests in certain interviews. I use the term 'affective' here as, in such instances, resistance to dominant narratives of 'illegitimacy' is arguably not a choice, but the result of continued emotional attachments that have withstood traumatic upheavals and time. Pasquale, Gerardo, Teresa, and Rocco indicate

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[111] Lucano will have the opportunity to appeal this sentence twice before serving any time.

that some Calabrians resident in urban centres along the coast may *feel* attached to, or oriented towards, ways of life inland that are comparatively 'traditional' and certainly closer to their agropastoral origins. Temporality is again key here, especially in the case of Africo as new organisations like the *Rifugio Carrà* and the initiatives Rocco hoped to launch to strengthen this attachment are being planned and undertaken contemporaneously. On the one hand, the need for such action speaks of detachment on the part of Africesi, the result of their traumatic relocation to the coast, while on the other, it demonstrates a desire to claim origins through continued mobility to and from the old town.

I also argue that the idea of a re-orientation or re-attachment towards Calabria is an appropriate way of interpreting the decision made by some Calabrians to return to the region to make change. The central role that stereotypes held by others have played in these decisions is testament to the awareness on the part of Calabrians of the way these others (mis)recognise their region. The idea that emigration is in part a response to stereotypes of Calabria as a hopeless region that must be escaped, a stereotype that Francesco and Giovanni imply is reinforced through emigration itself, is counteracted by these returns. This movement back is therefore an action that defies tropes of widespread Calabrian *rassegnazione*. The idea that it is the experience of moving away from Calabria that encourages re-attachment reinforces the central role mobility plays in the relationship between Calabrians and their region.

No study of contemporary Calabrian attachment to Calabria in light of the dominant discourse would be feasible without analysis of the movement into (and around) the region by immigrants, especially those from the global South. The way Calabrians respond to new migrant arrivals is revealing of the inculcation of anti-immigrant discourse in Italy and the wider West. It is through such study that the relevance of the spectrum of 'illegitimacy' mapped out across these four chapters is cemented. With reference to this new body of interviews I have been able to initiate study of both the fear and celebration of the 'other' in a Calabrian context. I conclude by arguing that it is in the celebration of hybridity in Riace that northern European dominant discourse has most resoundingly been resisted; through this resistance much of what is 'marginal' about Calabrian identity – its perceived ethnic alterity that is at the heart of associations of 'backwardness' – has been celebrated. Only time will tell how the legacy of *Città Futura* will play out in the wake of Domenico Lucano's conviction, or indeed whether or not the project will be revived.

Conclusion

Calabria has so far received little attention in Italian Studies, and the voices of Calabrians in light of the negative associations of their region have, until now, gone unheard. However, the notion of Calabrian 'illegitimacy' within dominant discourses and collective imaginaries is applicable both within the contexts of Italy and Australia. This 'illegitimacy' has a long and complex history that is tied up with the wider 'illegitimacy' of Italy's South with regards to its North, as well as Italy's position in northern Europe. Through study of the way in which mainstream texts and oral sources engage with different phenomena and traditions, as well as prejudice more directly, it becomes clear that this 'illegitimacy' manifests today at the juncture of intersecting markers: the assumed racial 'otherness' of Calabrians (as part of the wider South), the 'ndrangheta, perceived proximity to the earth and agropastoral ways of life, and cultural practices that exist in contradistinction to northern European ideals of 'modernity'. These markers are just as relevant in the case of the Calabrian-Australian diaspora.

I argue that these markers often 'stick' (Ahmed 2014, p.67) to each other in a way that frames Calabrians as irredeemably, if not inherently, 'backwards'. For example, the crime marker is often attributed to wide sections of Calabrian society (if not to all Calabrians) because of a perceived ethnic and historically racialised 'backwardness'; a trope with roots in nineteenth-century positivist criminology. Perhaps the most obvious example of these intersecting markers is Polsi. While Calabrians across the region and well beyond celebrate the Festa della Madonna della Montagna, it becomes clear that in the national imaginary the site and celebrations are conceived of as a nexus of markers relating to criminality and cultural 'backwardness' in the form of ritualistic goat killing and 'pre-Christian' beliefs. As I argued in Chapter 2, it is the belief (or preoccupation) that events and traditions like the Festa have the ability to mark all Italians as somehow 'other' to northern Europeans, that results in its denigration and (mis)recognition of such practices in the mainstream media, and by official authorities.

In the untangling of these markers and their potential to shame Calabrians, Calabrian-Australians (as well as Italians and the wider Italian-Australian community), I have developed a further, central argument throughout this thesis. Potential or pre-empted shame and 'illegitimacy' leads some groups to attempt to create distance from proximate marginal groups and traditions in both the Calabrian and Australian contexts. In other words, at times attempts are made by certain groups who come under the umbrella of Calabrian, or Calabrian-

Australian, identity to assert their position as distant and distinct from others whose 'illegitimacy' can be framed as more extreme. This repositioning speaks to scholars of identity politics and shame who contend that both identity and shame are formed in relation to others, or, as Charles Taylor states, in relation to 'significant others' (1992, p.33). That is to say, the primary materials analysed in this thesis demonstrate clearly that shame is intersubjective. I argue that, conscious or not, these attempts to create distance are examples of what Judith Butler described as efforts to 'posit an ontological difference between judge and judged' (2001, p.30) and are, thus, the manifestation of vicariously felt shame, the result of a shared, or proximate social identity.

It is in these attempts to create distance that I have been able to map out further, through my specific focus on Calabria and Calabrian heritage, the spectrum of 'illegitimacy' within the region. The towns of the hinterland nexus clearly occupy an extreme position in this spectrum in the Calabrian (and wider) collective imaginary. The 'illegitimacy' of these towns is also transnational and intergenerational; a number of second-generation Calabrian-Australian participants clearly associated these towns (and those with origins in these towns) as more 'backwards' and more marked by 'criminality'. My decision to travel further into this spectrum – a spectrum that has cartographic and geographic dimensions – reflected my desire to speak to those who potentially feel most 'illegitimate' in the region, and certainly those who are considered the most 'backwards' and the most shameful by (some) other Calabrians. With this in mind, an experiential divide appears to exist even between those from the hinterland nexus towns and those from nearby Locri.

In Chapter 2 I explored, through original interviews, what it feels like to belong to these communities and how inhabitants respond to extreme prejudice. The first argument to reiterate here is that the very existence of this nexus in the Calabrian and wider Italian and international imaginaries is, I believe, a demonstration of shame felt by those who anticipate being (mis)recognised as proximate to these 'infamous' towns. Both Calabrians and Italians beyond Calabria who (mis)recognise, or denigrate the hinterland nexus, I argue, find this area shameful. The same could be said for those Calabrian-Australians who emphasised negative markers attached to these towns. This preoccupation was demonstrated clearly in letters sent to San Luca during the kidnapping era but undoubtedly remains given the 'ndrangheta's growth and consequent coverage in the international media. This fear of (mis)recognition on the part of Calabrians and Italians layers the experience of shame experienced by those further along the spectrum (towards its more extreme end). Francesco spoke clearly of his experience of this layering of prejudice when he stated that, being from San Luca, he felt a 'doppio marchio'.

Drawing on Alessandro Portelli's, Luisa Passerini's, and Kenneth Kirby's work on finding meaning in oral histories, I interpret various forms of speech pattern and non-verbal communication as manifestations of shame and pain induced by the awareness of heightened 'illegitimacy'. These moments came to the fore in particular in interviewees from Africo whose 'illegitimacy' is bound up with narratives of trauma that have only cemented their marginality in the collective imaginary. Oral history interviews thus provide a unique lens through which to study responses to prejudice on a personal level. I argue that the sense of injustice that arises in these moments (and also more generally when participants like Giovanni and Francesco discussed openly the region's assimilation with criminality), indicates that the 'known' illegitimacy of Calabria, while familiar (and the cause of shame and pain), has not necessarily been 'inculcated' in these particular contexts (Taylor 1992, p.66). Such instances resonate with W.E.B. Du Bois' notion of double consciousness (2018, p.5) and Franz Fanon's contention that marginal groups experience their identity twice, once among their own group, and once again through the gaze of the dominant other who 'has woven me out of a thousand details, anecdotes, [and] stories' (1952, p.84). The rejection of the dominant way of recognising Calabria, in particular in the context of organised crime as an intrinsically Calabrian problem, also appeared in the work of Mimmo Nunnari and Francesco Bevilacqua. These texts, where they critique the way the national political elite and collective imaginary blame the 'ndrangheta on Calabrians, resonate with the work of mafia scholars John Dickie and Maria Ridda who likewise align the growth of Italian organised crime as the consequence of historic and continued State failures and nationwide complicity. Through such an interpretation of these rejections of the Calabria-'ndrangheta metonym, I posit that the idea of *calabresismo* requires careful and nuanced application if it is not to play a part in the framing of all Calabrians and all criticisms by Calabrians of the State as evidence of consensus and complicity in organised crime; a trope that has been used to justify both the same stereotypical framing of Calabrians as proximate to criminality and the lack of State intervention in various forms in the region.

The mainstream works of fiction and comedy selected for analysis also manifest, at different points, varied responses to northern European dominant discourse in works of Calabrian polemical non-fiction and in Joe Avati's comedy sketches. Each of these works reinforces and rejects the dominant discourse at different points, demonstrating that, like oral sources, they require close analysis in terms of the way in which they respond to tropes and prejudice. At the same time, their potential to inform wider Calabrian and Calabrian-Australian society must be taken into consideration, especially in the case of Avati who has achieved global fame. Avati's popularity amongst Calabrian-Australian interviewees is evidence that his

engagement with Calabrian and southern Italian identity influences the diaspora's sense of self. As delineated in Chapter 3 his work has the potential to both subvert Calabrian and southern Italian marginality, while simultaneously demonstrating the increased 'legitimacy' of these categories now that Australia's official narrative is one of multiculturalism. In the case of Calabrian polemical non-fiction, however, a clear 'them' and 'us' binary between authors and wider society is often demonstrated in a way that does not surface in Avati's work. This binary confirms once more the need to incorporate the voices of individual Calabrians into this research since the wider Calabrian community is not only unrepresented, or superficially engaged with in these works, Calabrians are at times represented as a trigger for shame on the part of the authors, especially with regards to tropes of widespread passivity and *rassegnazione*.

Moving away from the interiorisation of dominant images of Calabria, I have explored the significance of numerous examples in which the 'known' version of Calabria is refuted by interviewees, authors, and Avati. I argue that the most revealing of these rejections are those that destabilise the modernity-backwardness paradigm that Calabria's 'illegitimacy' is and has been reliant on in the dominant discourse in both the Italian and Australian contexts. Such examples include rejections that insist upon a northern European idea of 'modernity' being present in Calabria, as well as those in which the 'superiority' of this version of 'modernity' is denied. Pasquale's celebration of agropastoral ways of life while simultaneously scorning the positive recognition of contemporary labels such as 'bio' and 'chilometro zero' is subversive of the positive recognition of this proximity to the land and agricultural practices in other contexts. It is not necessarily that Pasquale's traditional farming methods would fail to be recognised as 'Slow' or 'bio', but that in the Calabrian context these methods are bound up with markers of 'backwardness' associated with a kind of proximity to the earth that is recognised negatively, as the *terrone* slur indicates. This is prejudice in action. As I argued in Chapter 2, on the one hand this example challenges the modernity-backwardness paradigm. Yet, as Pasquale himself indicates, the contemporary celebration of labels like 'bio' and 'chilometro zero' are inextricable from consumerist society; the re-recognition (by consumerist society and within the dominant discourse) of such produce is only possible because of its being undervalued in recent history. Pasquale's family, on the other hand, have always worked the land in a similar way. Thus, his rejection of these agricultural methods is also a denial of the 'superiority' of 'modernity'.

Another dimension at play in the layering of 'illegitimacy' within the region is the demarcation amongst some interviewees of an inland-coastal binary. A surprising pattern

emerged with regards to the celebration of agropastoral and cultural traditions deemed 'backwards' in the dominant discourse and collective imaginary. A number of coastal Calabrians framed such traditions as 'backwards', even disgusting, and often shameful, attributing these to inland communities. Conversely, Francesco Cirillo and Bevilacqua, members of the Calabrian intelligentsia, alongside members of these communities themselves celebrated these ways of life as both 'legitimate' and as somehow characteristic of 'real', 'authentic' Calabria, identity that has been lost elsewhere. In both cases, despite the experiential divide (one group practices these traditional ways of life and the other comments on them), the 'modern' 'consumerist' ways of life on the coast are framed in terms of loss and as somehow inferior to 'real' Calabrian identity. Again, the 'superiority' of northern European models of 'modernity' is denied here.

This study also offers a new perspective on the Calabrian diaspora – which itself has received little specific attention – in the context of transnational marginality. Reflecting the move towards study of identity as constructed through mobilities in Modern Languages, I contribute in-depth analysis spanning three generations of Calabrian-Australian attachments to Calabrian identity since the 1950s in light of changing hegemonic discourses of legitimacy. Despite the official legitimacy of Calabrian identity as part of the celebration of Italian identity in Australia today, memories of prejudice continue to shape the way participants relate to their heritage. Not only this, even amongst the third generation, prejudice continues to be faced on a personal level as interviewees recounted recent episodes of racialised prejudice, in particular relating to skin colour and other phenotypic features. Drawing on Joseph Pugliese's theorization, it is clear that Calabrian (and Italian) legitimacy within official Australian narratives today involves the 'erasure' of characteristics that are still 'illegitimate' in the context of a discourse that is, for all intents and purposes, northern European and thus dependent on the superiority of 'whiteness'. In interviews with Laura, Gianluca and Alessandra, resistance to the idea of the superiority of 'whiteness' takes the form of claiming phenotypic 'otherness' as 'legitimate'. I argue that the subversive potential of these moments rests on the idea of a heterogenisation of Italian identity that manifests the absence of desire to be recognised as 'white'. Instead, these moments call for the recognition of Italian identity as incorporating 'otherness'.

Conversely, in the Australian context a particular form of interiorisation of Calabrian 'illegitimacy' surfaced. The four female cousins who had 'turn[ed] away' from (Ahmed 2014, p.103) their origins in Mildura for Melbourne demonstrate that sometimes the rejection, or erasure, of Calabrian identity which they clearly represented as 'backwards', takes place in

conjunction with gendered, patriarchal norms and rural poverty. For these cousins, a rejection of their Calabrian roots took the form of movement to Melbourne and the marrying of partners from outside of the Calabrian, or Italian, community. Over time, though, as the case of Carmela shows, individual Calabrian-Australians may turn back to their origins, or at least come to recognise their interiorisation of prejudice. While the context and intersecting factors differ in the case of Calabrians who have returned to Calabria to make positive change after having left the region, the same rejection of Calabrian identity and origins plays out through movement away. In these instances, mobility itself is evidence of internalised prejudice, as Giovanni and Francesco suggest. The movement back (be it metaphorical in Carmela's case, or physical in the case of many Calabrians) thus symbolises a further form of rejection of 'known' images of Calabria and Calabrian heritage. In other words, interiorised prejudice may in time be acknowledged and then rejected. It appears, then, that mobility itself has a role to play in this since it is after an initial move away, and sometimes decades later, that Calabrians and Calabrian-Australians re-engage with their denied identities. In the Australian context, this re-engagement also takes place amongst those belonging to later generations. These moments therefore indicate that the relationship with one's marginal identity is not 'fixed' but may oscillate (Munt 2016, p.25). However, this oscillation moves both ways since it becomes clear that when Calabrian-Australians return to Italy they may experience prejudice against their Calabrian origins; prejudice that might be either familiar from first or second-hand experience, or be completely new. The idea of this unfixed attachment to Calabrian identity is reinforced when the existence of the 'ndrangheta as a transnational marker is taken into consideration. Growing media coverage of the organisation's scope, as well as recent anti-mafia trials, risks consolidating further the Calabria-'ndrangheta metonym, and in turn risks generating more, or in the Australian context, new shame on the part of Calabrians and Calabrian-Australians over their Calabrian heritage in a way that will merit scholarly attention into the future.

The analysis of the Calabrian-Australian diaspora I offer in Chapter 3 is an in-depth study of one form of mobility bound up with questions of Calabrianness. My own return to focus on the region in the final chapter reflects the need to consider all forms of mobility relating to Calabria. This thesis thus also contributes an in-depth analysis of the ways in which mobilities interact with markers of 'illegitimacy'. Indeed, historic mobility is at the heart of Calabrian and wider Southern 'illegitimacy' within northern European discourse. I have also explored how through study of mobilities it is possible to trace both the interiorisation and rejection of dominant discourses that position Calabria, and thus attachment to Calabria, as somehow deviant and taking place in contradiction to what is 'legitimate' within the modernity-

backwardness paradigm. This is how I read the continued attachment, emotional and physical, that is being encouraged by inhabitants of Africo towards Africo Vecchio, a town whose extreme reputation 'has been repeatedly imprinted onto the national public consciousness over the last century' (Phillips 2017a, p.229).

It is in this context that, I contend, the reception of arrivals from the global South may be read as further evidence of the inculcation or denial of northern European discourse. Another parallel exists here with the Australian case where the 'African' marker plays out in a way that still has the potential to mark Calabrians in a context in which Indigenous peoples and migrants from the global South face insititutionalised discrimination on the basis of race. The way the Calabrian diaspora positions themselves in relation to these other marginal groups is also revealing of interiorised shame or its rejection. In the Calabrian context, with reference to two opposing examples (Rosarno and Riace), I have set out how anti-immigration discourses which are themselves bound up with identity concerns within and beyond Italy, filter through into the reception of these arrivals. It is in the celebration of hybridity in Riace as inherently Calabrian that, I argue, the most symbolic and convincing rejection of northern European dominant discourse is found.

Finally, this thesis presents a nuanced account of transnational Calabrian identity and the Calabrian experience in both Calabria and Australia. In so doing I have explored certain phenomena in-depth: the 'ndrangheta, (perceived) proximity to the earth, practices deemed 'backwards' within northern European discourse, and mobility. It is the superficial and stereotypical representation of these phenomena in dominant discourses and collective imaginaries, sometimes within the region, that continue to result in Calabria's 'known', transnational 'illegitimacy' and the 'known' 'illegitimacy' of groups within Calabria. Through analysis of interviews I recorded in Calabria and Australia I have been able to examine how these phenomena are explained and experienced by Calabrians and those with Calabrian heritage, and how their misrepresentation and misunderstanding influences their self-perception and self-representation. This research model, and in particular the recording of personal narratives, might be used within and beyond the Italian context to study similar marginal identities that belong to a wider, 'dominant' identity that seeks to 'other' and thus create distance from them and the effects of this in terms of self-perception. It has also proved a useful model with which to analyse the emotional effects of organised crime and its representation and (mis)recognition on those living in mafia-dense territories.

Undertaking this research has revealed to me further areas of study that merit attention such as the contemporary experience of the Calabrian diaspora in Italy's North as well as that

of contemporary Calabrian emigrants living alongside the wider Italian diaspora outside of Italy. Whether or not similar attempts to demarcate 'legitimate' Italian identities in either northern Italy or in northern European nations take place to the detriment of Calabrian emigrants would expand the same questions I have sought to address here, resulting in an even deeper understanding of the Calabrian experience today. While I have touched on this in Chapter 4, a more focused study looking at whether or not experiences of Calabrian 'illegitimacy' amongst the diaspora are familiar to Calabrians in the region and how this informs their relationship with Calabrian identity would also enrich scholarly understanding of the notion of transnational Calabrian 'illegitimacy'. Recognising the way that stereotypes may result in 'crippling self-hatred' on the part of Calabrians (Taylor 1992, pp.25-26) merits further attention in its own right. It is time, after all, that study of Calabria played a more central part in Italian Studies and the Italian curriculum taught across universities. I conclude by arguing that this thesis demonstrates that understanding the way Calabrians feel about their position in Italy is an area of study that reveals much about Italy as a whole: its official narrative and its contemporary preoccupations.

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Oral history interviews

The following interviews were undertaken by myself.

(The real names of these participants have been changed in order to ensure anonymity with the exception of Domenico Lucano.)

Fieldwork trip to Melbourne April 2018

Adelina, Melbourne 12/04/2018

Agata, Melbourne 12/04/2018

Concetta, Melbourne 14/04/2018

Carmela, Melbourne 14/04/2018

Beatrice, Melbourne 14/04/2018

Donata, Melbourne 14/04/2018

Agnese, Melbourne 16/04/2018

Brigida, Melbourne 16/04/2018

Mark, Melbourne 16/04/2018

Fieldwork trip to Calabria April-May 2019

Elisabetta, Natile Nuovo 26/04/2019

Carmelo, Natile Nuovo 26/04/2019

Ciro, Natile Nuovo 26/04/2019

Cosimo, Bovalino 26/04/2019

Antonio, Bovalino (born Platì) 26/04/2019

Emanuela, Bovalino (born Platì) 26/04/2019

Gaetano, Natile Nuovo 27/04/2019

Giacomo, Natile Nuovo 27/04/2019

Pamela, Natile Nuovo 29/04/2019

Francesco, San Luca 07/05/2019

Giuseppa, Locri 08/05/2019

Giovanna, Gioiosa Ionica 08/05/2019

Giovanni, Locri 08/05/2019

Francesca, Locri 08/05/2019

Rocco, Africo 09/05/2019

Gerardo, Africo 09/05/2019

Rosa, Staiti 10/05/2019

Gerlanda, Cardeto 13/05/2019

Pasquale, Cardeto/ Reggio Calabria 13/05/2019

Domenico Lucano, Riace 18/05/2019

Teresa, Africo 21/05/2019

Vincenzo, Locri 21/05/2019

Sebastiano, Locri 21/05/2019

Saverio, Locri 21/05/2019

Serafino, Locri 21/05/2019

Raffaella, Locri 21/05/2019

Rosaria, Davoli Marina 26/05/2019

Serafina, Catanzaro Lido 29/05/2019

Fieldwork trip Mildura and Mebourne June-July 2019

Laura, Mildura 18/06/2019

Anna, Mildura 18/06/2019

Tony, Mildura 18/06/2019

Caterina, Mildura 18/06/2019

Rosalia, Mildura 19/06/2019

Vincenza, Mildura 21/06/2019

Cristiano, Mildura 22/06/2019

Paul, Mildura 23/06/2019

Anne, Mildura 24/06/2019

Patrizia, Mildura 24/06/2019

Eleonora, Mildura 24/06/2019

Pietro, Mildura 24/06/2019

Robert, Mildura 25/06/2019

Lara, Melbourne 27/06/2019

Luke, Melbourne 27/06/2019

Nicola, Melbourne 28/06/2019

Sandra, Melbourne 28/06/2019

Alessandra, Melbourne 29/06/2019

Gianluca, Melbourne 01/07/2019

Appendix

Oral history interview documentation

I submitted the subsequent documents in both Italian and English to FREC, the University of Bristol Ethics Committee, prior to each research trip: Melbourne April 2018, Calabria April-May 2019, and Melbourne and Victoria June-July 2019. After voice-recording these interviews I then transcribed them. All participants were given an Information Sheet in which I explained my research questions, how their data was to be stored, and the possibility of retracting their permission. All participants signed the Consent Form prior to their interviews. FREC granted me permission to retrospectively ask one participant if he would consent to his real name being used; he signed a new Consent Form agreeing to this.

Informazioni per i partecipanti

Titolo della tesi: "L'altra" Italia: Uno Studio Sull'Identità Transnazionale Calabrese.

Invito

Vorrei invitarla a partecipare alla mia ricerca sull'identità calabrese. Prima di decidere se vuole partecipare è importante che legga questa scheda affinché possa capire le ragioni dietro lo studio ed anche la forma della partecipazione. La prego di farmi qualsiasi domande che la venga in mente.

Qual è la motivazione dello studio?

La mia ricerca esplora cosa significa essere calabrese. Mi interessa soprattutto se i partecipanti sono orgogliosi del loro patrimonio culturale, se sono mai stati portati a vergognarsi delle loro origini, se non hanno mai considerato questa domanda (anche questo è importante per la mia ricerca). In particolare vorrei sapere se lei ha alcune storie di famiglia che trattano esperienze positive o negative dell'essere calabrese avvenute in Calabria o fuori della regione, per esempio al nord o all'estero. La partecipazione richiede un'intervista registrata in cui la inviterò a parlare dei suoi pensieri ed esperienze; nulla è di minor interesse e tutto verrà considerato. Questa ricerca fa parte del mio dottorato all'Università di Bristol nel Regno Unito in cui mi occupo di indagare l'identità calabrese in Italia ed in Australia. Se lei ha alcuni legami con Australia o Calabresi-Australiani la inviterei a parlarmi di come lei percepisca le somiglianze o differenze fra la sua identità e la loro identità.

Perché sono stato invitato a partecipare?

Sto cercando di parlare con dei volontari calabresi di età superiore ai 18 anni e sto provando a reclutare partecipanti tramite i miei contatti e col passaparola.

Devo partecipare?

La partecipazione è focaltiva. Se le interessa fare parte di questa ricerca, le spiegherò tutto su questa scheda e lei sarà libero di contattarmi in qualunque momento se ha domande o bisogno di maggiori informazioni. Se lei acconsentirà la chiederò di firmare la dichiarazione di consenso, ma potrà chiederò comunque ritirare la sua partecipazione fino a 3 mesi dopo l'intervista, prima che essa venga resa anonima (ciò è necessario rispettare la scadenza del dottorato).

Se voglio partecipare cosa devo fare?

Un'intervista registrata (con un registratore vocale) di circa 40-90 minuti. È possibile che la contatterò per una seconda intervista a cui potrà acconsentire o no. Durante l'intervista le chiederò alcune domande ci tengo a precisare che non è obbligato a rispondere e può terminare l'intervista a suo piacimento. Lei sarà libero di parlare di qualsiasi aspetto che ritiene importante della sua identità.

Quali sono gli svantaggi e i rischi nel partecipare?
È possibile che l'intervista porterà alla mente ricordi difficili, ma lei può terminare l'intervista quando vuole.

Quali sono i vantaggi?
Nella mia ricerca voglio capire cosa significa essere calabrese oggi. L'intervista è un'opportunità per condividere esperienze positive e negative sul fatto di essere calabrese che verranno analizzate attentamente nella mia ricerca. È quindi un'opportunità per contribuire ad una maggiore comprensione dell'identità calabrese e degli effetti della discriminazione storica.

Rimarrò anonimo nella ricerca?
Tutti i dati generati tramite le interviste saranno ritenuto confidenziali. Attuerò queste misure:
- non sarà possibile identificare i partecipanti nella mia tesi;
- le interviste verranno rese anonime 3 mesi dopo averle realizzate;
- l'intervista verrà registrata e prenderò appunti sul mio computer, tali dati saranno archiviati sul server protetto dell'Università di Bristol (via "Student OneDrive");
- Solo io e i miei due supervisori ne avranno accesso.

Dato che le interviste potrebbero aver luogo nei luoghi pubblici, la riservatezza assoluta non può essere garantita.

Come verranno usate le interviste?
Le interviste saranno analizzate nella mia tesi, ed intendo pubblicarla successivamente. Tutti i partecipanti avranno la possibilità di accedere al mio elaborato. Le interviste potrebbero essere utilizzate anche in altre relative pubblicazioni.

Chi dirige e finanzia la ricerca?
La ricerca è finanziata dal consorzio "South West and Wales Doctoral Training Partnership". I miei supervisori sono Dr. Ruth Glynn (Università di Bristol) e Prof. Loredana Polezzi (Università di Cardiff).

Chi ha verificato lo studio?
Lo studio è stato verificato da Dr. Ruth Glynn, Prof. Loredana Polezzi e il Comitato Etico della Ricerca dell'Università di Bristol.

Maggiori informazioni e contatti
Se ha ulteriori domande sulla partecipazione può contattarmi via email a: am17691@bristol.ac.uk. Se ha ulteriori dubbi può inoltre contattare il mio superiore, Liam McKervey: Amministratore dell'Etico e Governance della Ricerca, alla email: liam.mckervey@bristol.ac.uk, o al numero telefonico: 0044 117 331 7472.

Participant Information Sheet in English

Participant Information Sheet

Project title: Italy's Other: A Study of Transnational Calabrian Identity

Invitation paragraph

I would like to invite you to take part in my research on Calabrian identity. Before you decide whether or not to participate I would like you to read the following document so that you can understand why this research is being conducted and what taking part would involve. Please ask me questions if anything is unclear.

What is the purpose of the project?

My project explores what it means to be Calabrian today. I am particularly interested to know if participants are proud of their Calabrian heritage, or whether they have ever been made to feel ashamed of being Calabrian. Do you have any family stories of negative or positive experiences of being Calabrian both within the region as well as outside, including Italy and abroad? More generally, I am interested to know how participants describe what, if anything, being 'Calabrian' means. Participation would involve recorded oral interviews in which you would be prompted to speak about these thoughts and experiences; no experience or opinion is wrong and all will be taken into consideration. This research is for my PhD thesis, which also looks at Calabrian-Australian identity and how this compares with the experience of being Calabrian in Calabria. If you have any connection with Australia or Calabrian-Australians I would also invite you to speak about how you perceive any similarities or differences between your experiences and identity, and theirs.

Why have I been invited to participate?

I am looking to recruit Calabrians who are aged over 18 years and am making contact with participants through my own contacts and through word of mouth.

Do I have to take part?

Taking part in this research is entirely voluntary. If you are interested in taking part I will go through this information sheet with you and will answer any of your questions. Feel free to ask any questions about taking part at any point in this process. If you agree to take part I will ask you to sign a consent form but you will be able to withdraw from the study without giving a reason up to three months after the interview has taken place, before data is anonymised (this is so that I can continue to work to my PhD deadline).

What will happen to me if I take part and what will I have to do?

If you agree to participate you will be asked to undertake an oral history interview. This interview will be voice recorded (with a digital voice recorder) and is likely to last between 40-90 minutes. You may be asked for a follow up interview but agreeing to this will be entirely up to you. In this interview you will be asked questions but you are free to ignore them. You will be welcome to talk about any aspect of your Calabrian identity that you feel is relevant.

What are the possible disadvantages and risks involved in taking part in the project?
It is possible that this interview may bring back uncomfortable memories. You will be at liberty to terminate the interview at any time if you find taking part too difficult.

What are the possible benefits of taking part?
Through this research I am trying to explore what being Calabrian means today. This is an opportunity to share both positive and negative experiences of being Calabrian which will then be analysed in order to better understand both Calabrian identity and the effects of negative, historical discrimination.

Will my participation in this project be kept confidential? Any data that I gather through interviews will be kept confidential both during and after the study has taken place. In order to keep your participation confidential both during and after the study I will be putting in place the following measures:

- It will not be possible to identify individual participants from the data. Interviews will be anonymised three months after taking place.

- During interviews you will be voice-recorded and I may take written notes on my computer.

- All data will be stored on the University of Bristol's secure servers via student OneDrive.

- Only myself and my academic supervisors will have access to this data.

- I will keep this data securely stored for a maximum period of three years after publication of my thesis, after this period all data will be deleted.

- Given that interviews may be undertaken in public spaces, total confidentiality cannot be guaranteed.

What will happen to the results of the research project?

- Results from my research will be analysed in my PhD thesis. I intend to publish this thesis at a later stage. All participants will be able to access this thesis. Data may also be drawn on in further publications such as the publication of my thesis and related articles in journals. Within three years of completing my PhD I will delete all data.

Who is organising and funding the research?
This research is funded by the South West and Wales Doctoral Training Partnership. My supervisors are Dr Ruth Glynn (University of Bristol), and Professor Loredana Polezzi (University of Cardiff).

Who has reviewed the study?
This study has been reviewed by Dr Ruth Glynn (Italian Department, University of Bristol) and the Faculty Research Ethics Committee (University of Bristol)

Further information and contact details
If you have any further questions about taking part in this study please contact me (Aurora Moxon) at am17691@bristol.ac.uk. If you have concerns about this research that you would like to raise at a higher level, please contact the University of Bristol's Faculty of Arts Research Ethics Committee: Liam McKervey, Research Governance and Ethics Officer (Tel: (0044) 117 331 7472 email: Liam.McKervey@bristol.ac.uk).

Consent form in Italian

Università di Bristol: Dipartimento italiano
Tel: 0044 7850087016
Autore: Aurora Moxon
email: am17691@bristol.ac.uk

Dichiarazione di Consenso

Sintesi del progetto: questo è uno studio sull'identità calabrese per il mio dottorato di ricerca. È di mio particolare interesse: come i calabresi percepiscono la loro identità, cosa significa essere calabrese, tutte le esperienze che sono state motive di orgoglio o vergogna dell'essere calabrese.

Devo partecipare? La partecipazione è volontaria.

Posso ritirarmi più tardi? Lei può terminare l'intervista in qualsiasi momento e non deve rispondere a tutte le domande. Può ritirare la sua partecipazione fino a 3 mesi dopo l'intervista (tale tempistica è dovuto al fatto che devo rispettare la scadenza del dottorato).

Cosa devo fare? Lei sto chiedendo la partecipazione ad un'intervista registrata (con registratore vocale) che durerà circa 40-90 minuti, in cui avrà l'opportunità di discutere la sua opinione e le sue esperienze sull'essere calabrese.

Come verrà usata l'intervista? Consulterò le interviste per analizzare l'identità calabrese nella mia tesi di dottorato. Tali interviste potrebbero anche essere utilizzate in future pubblicazioni.

Rimarrò anonimo della ricerca? Si, tutti i partecipanti rimarranno anonimi. Il suo nome non verrà citato.

Quali sono i possibili svantaggi e rischinel partecipare? É possibile che certi ricordi siano dolorosi.

Come sarà archiviata la mia intervista? Le interviste registrate saranno archiviate sul server protetto dell'Università di Bristol (via "student OneDrive"). Le interviste verranno rese anonimi 3 mesi dopo che siano realizzate.

Si prega di rispondere alle domande seguenti:	**SI**	**NO**
• L'informazione è sufficiente per spiegare lo studio	☐	☐
• Ho avuto l'opportunità di fare domande	☐	☐
• Ho ricevuto risposte soddisfacenti alle mie domande	☐	☐
Ho capito che:		
• Sono libero di ritirare la mia partecipazione fino a 3 mesi dopo l'intervista;	☐	☐
• e senza dover dare una spiegazione	☐	☐

Acconsento pienamente a prendere parte di questo studio

Firma del partecipante: _____ Data: _____

Nome del partecipante IN STAMPATELLO: _____-

Se ha alcune preoccupazione collegate alla sua partecipazione a questo studio, può contattare il Comitato per la Ricerca e l'Etica della Facoltà di Lettere, via Liam McKervey, amministratore dell'Etica e Governance della ricerca
 (Tel: 0044 117 331 7472 email: Liam.McKervey@bristol.ac.uk).

Consent form amended for Domenico Lucano

Università di Bristol: Dipartimento italiano
Tel: 0044 7850087016
Autore: Aurora Moxon
email: am17691@bristol.ac.uk

Dichiarazione di Consenso

Sintesi del progetto: questo è uno studio sull'identità calabrese per il mio dottorato di ricerca. È di mio particolare interesse: come i calabresi percepiscono la loro identità, cosa significa essere calabrese, tutte le esperienze che sono state motive di orgoglio o vergogna dell'essere calabrese.

Devo partecipare? La partecipazione è volontaria.

Posso ritirarmi più tardi? Lei può terminare l'intervista in qualsiasi momento e non deve rispondere a tutte le domande. Può ritirare la sua partecipazione fino a 3 mesi dopo l'intervista (tale tempistica è dovuto al fatto che devo rispettare la scadenza del dottorato).

Cosa devo fare? Lei sto chiedendo la partecipazione ad un'intervista registrata (con registratore vocale) che durerà circa 40-90 minuti, in cui avrà l'opportunità di discutere la sua opinione e le sue esperienze sull'essere calabrese.

Come verrà usata l'intervista? Consulterò le interviste per analizzare l'identità calabrese nella mia tesi di dottorato. Tali interviste potrebbero anche essere utilizzate in future pubblicazioni.

Rimarrò anonimo della ricerca? Si, tutti i partecipanti rimarranno anonimi. Il suo nome non verrà citato.

Quali sono i possibili svantaggi e rischinel partecipare? É possibile che certi ricordi siano dolorosi.

Come sarà archiviata la mia intervista? Le interviste registrate saranno archiviate sul server protetto dell'Università di Bristol (via "student OneDrive"). Le interviste verranno rese anonimi 3 mesi dopo che siano realizzate.

Si prega di rispondere alle domande seguenti:

	SI	NO
• L'informazione è sufficiente per spiegare lo studio	☐	☐
• Ho avuto l'opportunità di fare domande	☐	☐
• Ho ricevuto risposte soddisfacenti alle mie domande	☐	☐

Ho capito che:

	SI	NO
• Sono libero di ritirare la mia partecipazione fino a 3 mesi dopo l'intervista;	☐	☐
• e senza dover dare una spiegazione	☐	☐
Acconsento all'utilizzo del mio nome	☐	☐

Acconsento pienamente a prendere parte di questo studio

Firma del partecipante: _____ Data: _____

Nome del partecipante IN STAMPATELLO: _____

Se ha alcune preoccupazione collegate alla sua partecipazione a questo studio, può contattare il Comitato per la Ricerca e l'Etica della Facoltà di Lettere, via Liam McKervey, amministratore dell'Etica e Governance della ricerca (Tel: 0044 117 331 7472 email: Liam.McKervey@bristol.ac.uk).

Consent form in English

Department of Italian
Tel: 0044 7850087016
Name Aurora Moxon
e-mail; am17691@bristol.ac.uk

University of BRISTOL

CONSENT FORM

Brief Project Outline: This is a study of Calabrian identity. I am particularly interested to learn about how Calabrians perceive Calabrian identity, what it means to be Calabrian today in Calabria, and any experiences in which you have been made to feel either proud or ashamed of being Calabrian.

Do I have to take part? – Participation is voluntary.

Can I withdraw at any time? - You can withdraw your data up to three months after your interview (this is so that I can work to my PhD deadline).

What do I have to do? – You are being asked to take part in an interview lasting approximately between 40-90 minutes in which you will discuss your opinion and experience of what it means to be Calabrian.

How will the findings be used? – I will draw on your interview in order to analyse Calabrian identity in my PhD thesis. It may also be drawn on in related publications.

Will my taking part in the study be kept confidential? – Yes, all participants in this study will be kept anonymous. Your real name will not be used.

What are the possible disadvantages and risks of taking part? – You may find the process of recalling certain experiences distressing.

What will happen to the data collected? – Data will be held on the University of Bristol's secure servers via student OneDrive. Data will by anonymised three months after the interview, you therefore have three months after your interview to withdraw your data. All data will be destroyed within three years of completion of my PhD.

Please answer the following questions to the best of your knowledge

HAVE YOU: **YES   NO**

- been given information explaining about the study   ☐   ☐
- had an opportunity to ask questions and discuss this study?   ☐   ☐
- received satisfactory answers to all questions you asked?   ☐   ☐
- received enough information about the study for you to make a decision about your participation?   ☐   ☐

DO YOU UNDERSTAND:

That you are free to withdraw from the study and free to withdraw your data prior to final consent:

- up to three months after the interview has taken place?   ☐   ☐

- without having to give a reason for withdrawing?   ☐   ☐

I hereby fully and freely consent to my participation in this study

Participant's signature: _____ Date: _____

Name in BLOCK Letters: _____

If you have any concerns related to your participation in this study please direct them to the Faculty of Arts Research Ethics Committee, via Liam McKervey, Research Governance and Ethics Officer (Tel: 0117 331 7472 email: Liam.McKervey@bristol.ac.uk.