

Rough music and factory protest in post-1945 Italy

The years from 1958 to 1963 saw unprecedented economic growth commonly described in Italian history books as the ‘economic miracle’. They also signalled the revival of labour unrest. Throughout the 1940s and 1950s, high unemployment rates combined with heavy repression of union activism inside factories – especially directed against the Communist and Socialist union CGIL (Confederazione Generale Italiana del Lavoro) – had secured a long period of workers’ acquiescence and refrain from protest. However, by the early 1960s full employment was almost reached and the increased bargaining power and strength of unions meant that workers were now in a position to claim better salaries and improved working conditions, particularly in dynamic and highly profitable sectors such as the electronic and car industries. Although workers’ wages had grown throughout the 1950s, they had done so at a rate slower than productivity and had remained far below the European average for the whole decade. Italian factories had also an exceptionally poor record with regards to workers’ safety and basic rights.¹

During the electronics sector strikes of 1960-62 almost 70.000 workers (60 per cent of them in the Milan area) mobilised for months under the slogan ‘resist one minute longer than the boss’.² This was just the beginning. The 1960s and the 1970s would be a time of almost incessant turmoil. Disruption escalated in the second half of the 1960s, particularly during the 1966 contract renewal negotiations, and peaked in 1968-69, the most protracted period of industrial conflict in post-war

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¹ Sergio Turone, *Storia del sindacato in Italia. Dal 1943 al crollo del comunismo* (Roma-Bari, 1992), 234.

² Gabriella Bonvini and Gianfranco Petrillo, ‘I metalmeccanici milanesi, 1945-1972: le lotte, l’organizzazione’, in Gianfranco Bertolo (ed.) *Un minuto più del padrone. I metalmeccanici milanesi dal dopoguerra agli anni settanta* (Milano, 1977), 68.

Italian history.³ In 1969 alone, in what would go down in history as the ‘Hot Autumn’, 38 million working days were lost during strike action. The increase was more than ten times the level for 1952 to 1958, when the number of working days lost due to strike action had averaged at 3.390.000 per year.⁴ Labour struggles in these years were not only exceptionally acute; they also signalled a significant rise in the use of violent and illegal forms of protest such as harsh picketing, wildcat strikes, factory occupation, self-limitation of production, sabotage.⁵ Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, factory workers also practiced the so called ‘cortei interni’ – that is internal marches which took place within the factory space during wildcat strikes. From 1968 to 1972 internal marches intensified dramatically to become one of the most distinctive features of this new protest cycle.

During strikes, and particularly during internal marches, workers targeted notorious strikebreakers and unpopular ‘capi e capetti’ – that is foremen, supervisors, and intermediate cadres. The harm inflicted upon them ranged from what participants described as ‘small slaps’ and a ‘kick in the ass’, to far more serious violence.⁶ Strikebreakers were regularly pelted with nuts and bolts and might have their cars damaged too.⁷ Victims also incurred a great deal of symbolic violence. Forms of punishment varied. Nevertheless, they mostly consisted of acts of shaming and humiliation. One such case is recounted in the memoirs of Antonio Antonuzzo, a militant of FIM (the Catholic metalworkers’ union) at the Alfa Romeo car factory of Arese (Milan), which from the mid-1960s onwards turned out to be one of the most combative plants. In 1966, as a result of a long series of wildcat strikes, Alfa called a lockout. In response, workers marched all the way up from the assembly lines to the Head of Personnel’s office. A window was broken and workers shouted at him. Union cadres tried to mediate and he was allowed to go and assured that he would suffer no

³ Donald Sassoon, *One Hundred Years of Socialism* (London, 1996), 371.

⁴ Stefano Musso, *Storia del lavoro in Italia dall’Unità a oggi* (Venezia, 2002), 230.

⁵ Sidney Tarrow, *Democracy and Disorder. Protest and Politics in Italy 1965-1975* (Oxford, 1989), 186-9.

⁶ Luigi Arisio, *Vita da capi* (Milano, 1990), 145. See also ‘Un corteo armato di 6000 operai’, *Lotta Continua*, 11 June 1971 (year III, n. 10), 10-11.

⁷ Arisio, *Vita da capi*, 144. See also Diego Giachetti and Marco Scavino, *La Fiat in mano agli operai. L’autunno caldo del 1969* (Pisa, 1999), 65; and Michele Colafato, *Modi e luoghi. Mercato del lavoro, classi sociali e sapere operaio in una inchiesta del Sud* (Milano, 1978), 75-76.

physical harm. However, when he left, he was not spared mockery and insults. As Antonuzzo recalls: ‘we got ready to open a corridor with workers on either side, so that “the hero” could walk in the middle as a good servant, bowing to the working class... those workers who had previously been punished with a three-day suspension told him: “yesterday you punished us, now it’s your turn, swine!”’⁸

Such incidents were far from isolated. In the Trento area at the end of a strike in the mid-1970s, strikebreakers at Grundig, one of Italy’s leading electronics companies, were forced to join the protest and march behind a red banner and were later insulted and mocked whilst having to walk through a human corridor.⁹ Particularly from the late 1960s, internal marches often turned into a ‘caccia al capo’, an expression that entered the workers’ vocabulary at the time to describe the pursuit or hunting down of shop foremen, intermediate and senior executives during stoppages. In 1970 at the Ducati Elettronica, a middle-sized factory in the area of Reggio Emilia which produced electronic components for transport vehicles, the Head of Personnel was forced to join workers and march all around the factory yard, whilst being insulted and mocked. All the way, a worker walked next to him holding a placard inscribed with the head’s name, Brogi, followed by the word “THIEF”.¹⁰ The shop foremen and supervisors of car industry Fiat were regularly forced to join internal marches, hold a red flag or blow whistles ‘for the amusement of all’.¹¹ Protesters spat and

⁸ Antonio Antonuzzo, *Boschi, miniera, catena di montaggio. La formazione di un militante della nuova CISL* (Roma, 1976), 193.

⁹ Luca Zanin, *Gli anni del ciclostile. Lotta Continua e le battaglie politiche, operaie e studentesche a Rovereto (1969-1978)* (Trento, 2004), 8.

¹⁰ Luigi Bobbio, *Lotta Continua. Storia di un’organizzazione rivoluzionaria* (Roma, 1979), 81. See also for a similar episode at Ducati ‘Bologna. Sospensione alla Ducati’, *Lotta Continua*, 14 November 1969, 9. And also on practices of debasement at Telemecanica (located in Cesena, in the region of Emilia Romagna) in 1960, Sesa Tatò (ed.), *A voi cari compagni. La militanza sindacale ieri e oggi: la parola ai protagonisti* (Bari, 1981), 59-65.

¹¹ Arisio, *Vita da capi*, 151. For similar episodes at Magneti Marelli, see also Massimo Cavallini, *Il terrorismo in fabbrica. Interviste di Massimo Cavallini con gli operai della Fiat, Sit-Siemens, Magneti Marelli, Alfa Romeo* (Rome, 1978), 188, 197-8.

threw small coins at them.¹² At the end of the march, executives were also occasionally ‘tried’ and ‘expelled’ from the factory.¹³

Interpretations of these actions have been scant, and mostly dismissive. At the time, victims would describe protesters involved in these practices as a ‘a gang of half-lunatics’, ‘self-improvised Zulus’, or ‘traffic police hopefuls gone insane’,¹⁴ the latter because workers who participated in internal marches not only banged tins and played cowbells, but also used whistles, one of the most distinctive features of Italy’s traffic police.¹⁵ For their part, trade unions too shrugged off mock trials and the violence enacted during the internal marches as forms of ‘political primitivism, stemming from a barely nascent trade union consciousness’, and, indeed, as a cause for embarrassment.¹⁶

Scholars of Italian labour history and industrial conflict have traditionally paid little attention to popular culture and traditions. Insofar as historians have noted these practices, they have treated them mostly as funny anecdotes, which require no in-depth analysis. The assumption is that forms of pre-industrial protest and their underlying culture did not survive processes of urbanisation and modernisation in any significant way. What matters, so far as standard narratives of labour history go, is that such forms of action disappeared, opening the way to modern politics and modern industrial relations.¹⁷

A number of scholars have tried to think outside this frame. In his work on Fiat workers, Gabriele Polo has suggested possible connections between internal marches and religious

¹² Giachetti, Scavino, *La Fiat in mano agli operai*, 87-88.

¹³ CUB Pirelli, *Tre anni di lotte ed esperienze* (Milano, aprile 1972), 242-3. See also, Arisio, *Vita da capi*, p. 173 and ‘La settimana di lotta a Rivalta. Cronaca della lotta’, *Senza Tregua*, 11 June 1975, 1.

¹⁴ Arisio, *Vita da capi*, 154.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 149.

¹⁶ Cavallini, *Il terrorismo in fabbrica*, 47.

¹⁷ For a summary and a critique of this approach see Enrico Baroncini, “Quella musica barbara”. Linguaggi popolari nella Settimana rossa in Romagna’, in *Memoria e Ricerca*, vol. 39, 2012, 140; Giancorrado Barozzi, ‘La pentola e la rivolta’, in *Annali dell’Istituto Alcide Cervi*, special issue on *Le campagne padane negli anni della crisi agraria*, 1983, n. 5, 248; and Maurizio Bertolotti, *Carnevale di massa 1950* (Torino, 1991), xiii.

processions.¹⁸ Marco Revelli and Antonella Tarpino, Robert Lumley and, more recently, Guido Panvini have occasionally noted the analogy of carnival practices with protesters' marches in the 1960s and 1970s.¹⁹ However, none of them has attempted to decode the symbolism and the function of such carnivalesque repertoires. The group who, in 1966, founded the centre for the study of popular culture and traditions 'Istituto Ernesto de Martino', has long promoted the study of folklore.²⁰ Particularly in the years up to the 1970s, the research led by the De Martino group was informed by a New Left-tinged political agenda. Their aim was to investigate and possibly revive radical cultures of protest, which, as they argued, had been stifled by the reformist turn of the Italian Socialist and Communist parties.²¹ However, Bosio and other key figures close to the de Martino centre such as Cesare Bermani focussed almost exclusively on political songs and paid little attention to other forms of popular protest. In Bermani's words, they were few and resources were limited. Their work ended up prioritising old and traditional political protest songs.²² Later generations of Italian historians of popular traditions, such as Franco Castelli and Marco Fincardi, have occasionally pointed to the need to analyse workers' repertoires of protest in the 1960s and

¹⁸ Gabriele Polo, *I tamburi di mirafiori* (Torino, 1989), p. x, 175.

¹⁹ Marco Revelli and Antonella Tarpino, 'Folla e rivolta tra storia e scienze sociali', *Rivista di storia contemporanea*, xii, iv (1983), 491-2; Robert Lumley, *States of Emergency. Cultures of revolt in Italy from 1968 to 1978* (London, 1990), 223; Guido Panvini, *Ordine nero, guerriglia rossa. La violenza politica nell'Italia degli anni Sessanta e Settanta (1966-1975)* (Torino, 2009), 131. On this see also Tarrow, *Democracy and Disorder*, 76; and Aldo Marchetti, 'Un teatro troppo serio. Appunti di analisi del corteo operaio e dello slogan politico di strada', *Classe. Quaderni sulla condizione e sulla lotta operaia*, xxi (1982), 238.

²⁰ Ernesto de Martino is one of the founders of ethnography and anthropology in Italy. His books, mostly focused on Southern Italy, are milestones of the study of Italian popular culture and traditions. And still, sadly, little known in Anglophone scholarship.

²¹ Cesare Bermani and Clara Longhini Bosio 'Nota introduttiva alla prima edizione', in Gianni Bosio, *L'intellettuale rovesciato. Interventi e ricerche sulla emergenza d'interesse verso le forme di espressione e di organizzazione "spontanee" nel mondo popolare e proletario (gennaio 1963-agosto 1971)* (edited by Cesare Bermani) (Milano, 1998), 19-20.

²² Interview Cesare Bermani, Orta, 9 July 2012. See also Cesare Bermani, *Una storia cantata. 1962-1997: Trentacinque anni di attività del Nuovo Canzoniere Italiano/Istituto de Martino* (Milano, 1997).

1970s in a historical and anthropological perspective, but their work has mostly looked at the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.²³

It is worth exploring these suggestions further in order to analyse the kind of symbolic violence described above and to understand the culture, which underpinned that protest. What kinds of symbolic actions were deployed during the industrial protests of the 1960s and 1970s? Were they random, improvised and indiscriminate or can they really be ascribed to carnivalesque repertoires? If so, what was the function of such repertoires in that particular context and for the participants themselves? What did workers and bystanders make of the tin-banging and whistling, and of the wide range of forms of humiliation imposed on strikebreakers and foremen during internal marches? And did they all attribute equal significance to these practices? Finally, moving from interpretation to explanation, why did workers choose to act in these ways?

As I will demonstrate, workers were not only adhering to behaviour that was typical of carnivalesque merrymaking; they were practising – consciously or unconsciously (and I will discuss this later) – an aggressive and punitive declension of that rowdy festive culture, a form of folk justice which went back to the Middle Ages but (as we shall see) was still well rehearsed in the twentieth century. Historians of pre-modern Europe have learned to group such practices, known with a range of names at the time and presenting different variations in different places, under the category of ‘charivari’, best known in British historiography as ‘rough music’.²⁴ Dating back to the Middle Ages, this consisted in wide-ranging rituals of folk justice, through which small

²³ See, for example, Castelli and Grimaldi (eds.), *Maschere e corpi. Tempi e luoghi del Carnevale*, viii; Franco Castelli, ‘Charivari, scampanata, ciabra, ovvero il “gioco d’Acheronte”. Introduzione’, in Franco Castelli (ed.), *Charivari. Maschere di vivi e di morti* (Alessandria, 2004), p. lxiii; and Marco Fincardi, *Derisioni Notturne* (Santa Maria Capua Vetere, 2005), 9.

²⁴ E. P. Thompson, ‘The Moral Economy of the English Crowd in the Eighteenth Century’, *Past and Present*, no. 50 (Feb., 1971), 76-136; E. P. Thompson, ‘Rough Music’, in E. P. Thompson, *Customs in Common* (London, 1991), 467-538; E. P. Thompson, ‘Rough music reconsidered’, *Folklore*, vol. 103, no.1 (1992); Natalie Zemon Davies, ‘The reasons of misrule’ (97-123) and ‘The rites of violence’ (152-179), in her *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (1978); J. Le Goff e JC Schmitt, *Le Charivari* (1981), which includes Carlo Ginzburg, ‘Charivari, associazioni junéniles, chasse sauvage’ (137-80 later published in Italian as ‘Charivari, associazioni giovanili, caccia selvaggia’, in *Quaderni Storici XVIII* (1982); Maurice Agulhon, *La République au village* (Paris, 1979).

communities in Europe denounced and sanctioned those breaching commonly accepted customs, for instance adulterous wives or widowers who remarried with girls who were far younger than them. Charivari rites were also used for ‘political’ crimes: e.g. against petty theft, hoarders and speculators (especially at times of famine), unpopular officials, informers, unpopular preachers.²⁵ In the context of early industrial conflict, E. P. Thompson found evidence of charivari practices against blacklegs or journeymen who worked below the accepted rates.²⁶ ‘Justice’ would be enforced by the community’s male unmarried youths through a range of forms of symbolic punishment, which bore striking similarities throughout Europe. As Thompson put it, these were ‘dramatic’ forms of ‘street theatre’ aimed at ‘publicising scandal’ and shaming the wrongdoer.²⁷ The most common Italian word used for such actions was *scampanata*, literally bell-jingle, because it featured the loud banging of tins, drums, cowbells, kitchen utensils.²⁸ The sound metaphor returns in other regional variations, which were many, and it testifies to the prominence of cacophonous noise in the Italian theatre of shaming – still echoed in the common expression for ‘beating up’: ‘suonarle’, literally playing music or ‘sounding’ someone. However, *scampanata* could also encompass the parading of wrongdoers placed backward on a horse or a mule, the dirtying of the offender’s doorstep with manure or garbage, enforced shaving of the hair or the beard, effigy parading, mock funerals and mock executions as well as a wide range of rites of debasement, humiliation and degradation which, staged in combination or separately, gave the festive culture of reversal captured in the classic work of Mikhail Bakhtin a particularly sharp sense of protest.²⁹

²⁵ Thompson, ‘Rough music reconsidered’, 16-17.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 8-10. See also Robert Darnton, “Workers Revolt: The Great Cat Massacre of the Rue Saint-Séverin” in *The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes in Cultural History* (New York, 1984), 75-104.

²⁷ Thompson, ‘Rough music reconsidered’, 6.

²⁸ Castelli, ‘Charivari, scampanata, ciabra, ovvero il “gioco d’Acheronte”. Introduzione’, pp. xii-Lxiii. See also Manlio Cortellazzo, ‘I nomi dialettali italiani della scampanata’, in Castelli (ed.), *Charivari*, 35-40; and Marco Fincardi, ‘La memoria della cioccona in Emilia. Appunti per iniziarne lo studio storico’, in Castelli (ed.), *Charivari*, 153-73.

²⁹ Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and his World* (Cambridge Mass; London, 1968), and on the combination of carnival and violence in Renaissance Italy, cf. Edward Muir, *Mad Blood Stirring. Vendetta and Factions in Friuli during the Renaissance* (Baltimore and London, 1993).

Such repertoires of communitarian justice are generally associated with the early modern period. However, as we shall see, they recurred in a range of rural and urban cases as late as the twentieth-century, and these in turn bear striking similarities with the acts of shaming and reversal that took place in Italian factories in the 1960s and 1970s. The next few pages will establish the sheer diffusion of these practices and their wide-ranging forms. In the following section I will pose the question of these practices' revitalisation and their meanings for participants, which, at least partly, rests on the transmission of earlier repertoires. As it will be argued, Italy's 1950s-1960s economic miracle and the migration of millions of 'new workers' to industrial cities from the countryside and small provinces – where forms of communitarian justice still had some resonance - significantly contributed to the revival of the charivari code in the context of factory protest. The article will also look at the role played by New Left groups and at their active and conscious promotion among factory workers of the repertoires of symbolic violence that had been practiced by partisans during World War II. As we will see, these were embedded in charivari culture and traditions. Only at this point will we assess why workers behaved in those ways and why a correct interpretation of these practices is crucial to our understanding of labour struggles in the 1960s and 70s.

(I) Morphology of Italian factory workers' symbolic violence

References in the literature to factory workers' violence in the 1960s and 1970s are mostly confined to large industrial cities such as Turin and Milan and to big factories such as Fiat. They also mostly point to violent actions against foremen and intermediate cadres during internal marches. However, acts of debasement and humiliation were far more geographically spread than is commonly assumed. Moreover, workers' protest actions were extremely diverse and encompassed the charivari grammar in all the variations with which it has historically been associated: the use of cacophonous music, mock trials and mock executions, effigy parading, smearing and dirtying, water immersion and the ride on a donkey.

Workers' whistling, banging and drumming was one of the most distinctive features of internal marches and from the early 1960s also became a standard trait of workers street demonstrations.³⁰ This was not 'zulu' type senseless folklore. Workers' 'music' contributed to dramatizing the protest and had an important emotional and relational function.³¹ As a worker recalls, that was a time when workers 'finally felt as a whole'.³² It was 'the gathering sound'³³ as it helped attract attention to and participation in the protest. Moreover, and most importantly, the noise or rough music produced by workers during internal marches -hanging tin plates, lids or cowbells from their necks, letting metal sheets fall to the ground, throwing bolts against the crossbeams, screaming, turning metal pipes into horns, or honking the hooters of cars in car-factories-³⁴, acted as the background cacophony traditionally staged during charivari-like rituals. It performed key functions of denunciation and intimidation. As a worker put it, it was 'a most effective weapon of the struggle...as the boss was really reduced to piss...'.³⁵

Just as with charivari-like communitarian justice, the symbolic violence of Italy's factory workers did not punish randomly chosen symbolic targets, but focused on particularly unpopular 'wrongdoers' within the factory.³⁶ They were deemed culpable of specific 'crimes' against workers' moral order, such as strikebreaking or spying, the most serious infringements of workers'

³⁰ Bonvini and Petrillo, 'I metalmeccanici milanesi', 65. See also 'Emilio Guglielmino (interview)', in Tatò (ed.), *A voi cari compagni*, 39; and Dario Lanzardo, *La rivolta di Piazza Statuto. Torino, Luglio 1962* (Milano, 1979), 86.

³¹ Ron Aminzade and Doug McAdam, 'Emotions and Contentious Politics', in Ron Aminzade, Jack Goldstone, Doug McAdam et al., *Silence and Voice in the Study of Contentious Politics* (Cambridge, 2001), 41ff.

³² Luisa Passerini and Marcella Filippa, 'Memorie di Mirafiori', in Carlo Olmo (ed.), *Mirafiori 1936-1962* (Torino, 1997), 350.

³³ 'Uso del suono nella lotta proletaria. Conversazione tra Luigi Nono, Giovanni Pirelli e due operai torinesi', in *Il Nuovo Canzoniere Italiano*, special issue on 'Cultura di base in fabbrica', Series 3, no. 2, 1975, 52.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 49-55.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 57.

³⁶ For instance, Brogi, the Head of Personnel at Ducati who, as we saw above, in 1970 was forced to join an internal march, insulted and mocked, was one of the 'most hated figures within the factory'. It was for this reason that workers 'treated him in a particularly harsh way'. See 'Bologna. Sospensione alla Ducati', *Lotta Continua*, 14 November 1969, 9.

solidarity³⁷, and, in the case of shop foremen and supervisors, denunciation or harassment against workers. The use of violence to break picket lines was also regarded as an unacceptable breach of workers' inner laws. In the early 1970s in the Turin area some workers decided to punish some shop foremen who had broken a picket line at gunpoint. As a worker recalls, 'some time later, during an internal march, a sort of popular trial of the foremen was organised... some were captured, others escaped... some were acquitted, others were condemned to expulsion from the factory. In fact, all that happened is that (the latter) were tied to the gates outside the factory, in the rain'.³⁸ It is worth noting here that water immersion was one of the punishments utilised in the past during charivari-like shaming rituals.³⁹ Names of wrongdoers would circulate by word of mouth, through graffiti in the loo⁴⁰ or onto the factory internal and external walls.⁴¹ Occasionally workers also produced flyers and placards singling out individuals and their misdeeds. In the mid-1960s at Alfa Arese, FIM produced a flyer, which named and shamed a foreman accused of using authoritarian and military-like methods against workers. As Antonuzzo commented in his memoirs, 'it was a big scandal', because only rarely did the unions targeted individuals.⁴² In 1970 at Borletti, a well-known electronic factory in Milan, a foreman was publicly and repeatedly denounced in notices hanging at the entrance of the factory for his anti-union and harassing behaviour.⁴³

³⁷ According to a survey carried out in 1962, spying was unanimously described by workers as one of the worst acts of wrongdoing. Piedmontese men rated it more serious than to provide abortion, defy the army call, and commit adultery. Southerner workers rated it more serious than honour killing and adultery. Anna Anfossi, 'Differenze socio-culturali tra gruppi piemontesi e meridionali a Torino', in Cris, *Immigrazione e industria* (Milano, 1962), 251.

³⁸ 'Storia di vita n. 29', Dote archive, Istituto Cattaneo, 66.

³⁹ Thompson, 'Rough music reconsidered', 4. For Italy see also Fincardi, *Derisioni notturne*, 9.

⁴⁰ Interview Pietro Perotti (worker and militant at Fiat Mirafiori from 1969 to 1985), Ghemme, 12 July 2012.

⁴¹ On the use of graffiti against bosses and strikebreakers during the Hot Autumn, see, for example, 'Duri scontri a venezia e a mestre', *Lotta Continua*, 7 February 1970, 14.

⁴² Antonuzzo, *Boschi, miniera, catena di montaggio*, 180.

⁴³ Palma Plini, *Lotte di fabbrica e promozione operaia* (Bologna, 1974), 242.

In keeping with the charivari script, victims were punished in person but proxies could also be used. For example, Fiat workers often marched around brandishing stuffed rabbits on poles.⁴⁴ ‘Rabbit’ - a standard Italian metaphor for coward –was one of the offences most commonly levelled at strikebreakers, who would also occasionally find their bag filled with grass.⁴⁵ In 1975 Grundig workers marched all around the factory yard carrying a painted portrait of the company’s founder.⁴⁶ Effigy parading was often followed by mock trials and mock executions, mostly by hanging, once again a standard feature of the charivari repertoire.⁴⁷ In 1971 at Autobianchi, a leading car factory near Milan, protesters hung a rag-doll featuring the factory director onto the factory gates. Next to him, they placed a rabbit meant to symbolize Agnelli, the Fiat magnate who had purchased Autobianchi in 1968.⁴⁸ In March 1973 at Fiat Mirafiori, shortly after workers occupied the factory, a rag-doll was hung on gate 9 with a placard saying ‘so end the workers’ enemies’.⁴⁹ In May 1975 the surveillance personnel of one of the most important electromechanical industries in Milan, Magneti Marelli, removed from dynamo-engines shop section of the Crescenzago plant ‘a ragdoll shaped like a hanged man scribbled with threatening phrases’.⁵⁰

Rag-dolls, animals or animals’ dismembered parts were commonly used effigies. Placards also often acted as a proxy. On 27 April 1966 a donkey was paraded at the front of a union-led march in the Sesto San Giovanni area (north of Milan), during one of the three metalworkers’ national strikes staged in the context of the harshly fought 1966 contract renewal.⁵¹ Workers didn’t go as far as forcing their target to ride on a donkey. Yet, the card placed on the donkey’s back

⁴⁴ Cavallini, *Il terrorismo in fabbrica*, 47. See also Lotta Continua-Torino (ed.), *I giorni della Fiat*, 38.

⁴⁵ Arisio, *Vita da capi*, 145.

⁴⁶ Zanin, *Gli anni del ciclostile*, photographs’ section.

⁴⁷ Castelli, ‘Charivari, scampanata, ciabra, ovvero il “gioco d’Acheronte”. Introduzione’, p. xxiii.

⁴⁸ ‘La lotta all’Autobianchi’, *Lotta Continua*, 18 March 1971, 8-9.

⁴⁹ Lotta Continua-Torino (ed.), *I giorni della Fiat*, 19, 21.

⁵⁰ ‘Informazione operaia e contropotere’, *Senza Tregua*, 14 July 1976. The article refers to a report on the episode produced on 22 September 1975 by Salvatore Trifirò, the lawyer of Magneti Marelli. In connection to this episode, ten workers were denounced and suspended by Magneti Marelli (see for this Emilio Mentasti, *La guardia rossa racconta. Storia del comitato operaio della Magneti Marelli* (Milano, 2007), 91.

⁵¹ ‘Più intensa la lotta dei metalmeccanici’, *Conquiste del Lavoro*, no. 17, 1966.

pointed unmistakably to who the culprit was: as the placard in Milanese dialect read ‘I am dumb but Confindustria [the industrialists’ association] is even worse’. A ‘translation’ in Italian was also provided on one of the donkey’s sides, possibly to cater for the regionally mixed group of workers, which characterised factories in the area.⁵² In the mid-1960s and early ‘70s donkeys were stationed outside factories near Milan and Bergamo, on the outskirts of rural areas, carrying placards such as ‘I am a donkey, but [at least I’m] not a strikebreaker’⁵³ and ‘even I learned the need to fight’.⁵⁴ As a former CISL worker recalls, in 1976 workers of Dalmine, a leading Italian steelwork factory near Bergamo, broke in the manager’s office with a donkey.⁵⁵

At the end of the April 1966 march in Sesto San Giovanni, workers headed towards the administration building of Pirelli and covered its entrance with a large quantity of manure. Antonio Pizzinato (CGIL national leader 1986-88), who, at the time, was in charge of CGIL metal workers (FIOM) in the Sesto San Giovanni area (where Pirelli was based), described this episode as ‘funny mischief’.⁵⁶ As he put it, it was a clever way to attract media attention at a time when workers struggled to make headlines.⁵⁷ However, soiling with manure and garbage, the *impagliata*, as it was most commonly named in Italy (though as is the case with the word *scampanata*, several regional variations also existed), was also a traditional element of charivari-like rituals of shaming.⁵⁸ *Impagliata* was traditionally used to sanction and denounce community members who in one way

⁵² ‘Sciopero nazionale unitario dei lavoratori metallurgici per il contratto – Corteo da Sesto San Giovanni a Milano – Asino in corteo’, 27/4/1966, Fondo fotografico Silvestre Loconsolo, Archivio del Lavoro, LCN_ST_DV_431. According to Jacques Rossiaud, ride on donkeys in effigy, that is the practice of placing a placard with the wrongdoer’s name on a donkey in place of the person itself, were already staged in the XV century (Jacques Rossiaud, ‘Le confraternite giovanili’, in Giuliana Gemelli and Maria Malatesta (eds), *Forme di sociabilità nella storiografia francese contemporanea* (Milano, 1982), 160.

⁵³ Stefano Datola, Giuseppe Fajertag, Franco Lissa, ‘L’industria metalmeccanica milanese: 1945-1975’, in Bertolo (ed.) *Un minuto più del padrone*, 163.

⁵⁴ Zaverio Pagani (ed.) *Cinquant’anni della fim-cisl di Bergamo, valori, storia, protagonisti* (Bergamo, 2004), 199.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 321.

⁵⁶ Interview Antonio Pizzinato, Milan, 26 May 2010.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ Peter Burke, *The Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy* (Cambridge, 1987), 104. See also Castelli, ‘Charivari, scampanata, ciabra, ovvero il “gioco d’Acheronte”. Introduzione’, pp. xx-xix.

or another breached communal norms (e.g. widowers who decided to remarry, young women who opted to marry outsiders or women whose behaviour was not morally impeccable). As Marco Fincardi explains, in the case of women who had been left by their *fiancé*, a carpet of hay or bedding straw would be spread to connect their family house with that of the former *fiancé* or with the church on the day of the latter's wedding with another woman.⁵⁹ We also know of several political uses of smearing in the nineteenth century. For instance, in 1891 in the Reggio Emilia area, in the wake of the electoral defeat of the moderate candidate (who had been strongly supported by the local priest), the Church's main entrance was covered with manure.⁶⁰

The wide range of excrement-related expressions, words and insults that are still part of our daily vocabulary (e.g. 'sei una merda'/you are a shit; 'faccia di merda'/shitface; 'sei uno stronzo'/you are a piece of shit; 'smerdare qualcuno'/to shit on somebody), testify to the growing prominence of metaphorical vs real smearing in modern times. In his ironic poem entitled 'La merda', published in the New Left periodical *Quaderni Piacentini* in 1972, Hans Magnus Enzensberger complained that 'shit', the most harmless and innocuous of all human products was itself regularly and unjustly 'smeared' in being associated with US presidents, capitalism, wars and the police.⁶¹ However, real dirtying in all its variations was still enacted in the years after 1945, to punish both breaches of moral customary norms in the private sphere⁶² and political wrongdoing. As a worker from Fiat Grandi Motori recalls, in the 1950s workers often 'went to the toilet, to

⁵⁹ Fincardi, 'La memoria della cioccona in Emilia. Appunti per iniziarne lo studio storico', 160; and Italo Sordi, 'E' arrivato maggio coi fiori e con le foglie', in Castelli (ed.), *Charivari*, 300-301.

⁶⁰ For this and other 'dirtying' episodes in the nineteenth century, see Marco Fincardi, *Primo Maggio reggiano. Il formarsi della tradizione rossa emiliana* (Reggio Emilia, 1990), 294-5, 299, 305.

⁶¹ Hans Magnus Enzensberger, 'La merda' (original title: 'Die Scheisse'), *Quaderni Piacentini*, no. 46, March 1972, in Luca Baranelli and Grazia Cherchi (eds.), *Quaderni Piacentini. Antologia 1962-1968* (Milano, 1977), 503.

⁶² See, for example, Goffredo Fofi, *Strana gente. 1960. Un diario tra sud e nord* (Roma, 1993), 126. As Fofi writes, in July 1960, on a train journey back from Gubbio to Rome, a woman from Fabriano (Umbria) described a dirtying ritual inflicted onto a newly wed couple accused of 'immoral past relations'. Their door was 'whitewashed as a form of public scorn'. For more examples of post-1945 *impagliate*, see Agostino Bartolo, 'Astigiano e Monferrato' and Carlo Picchio, 'Alessandria' in Carlo Tullio Altan (ed.), *La sagra degli ossessi. Il patrimonio delle tradizioni popolari italiane nella società settentrionale* (Firenze, 1972), 109, 115.

smear everything with shit'.⁶³ Along a script similar to the one used for the soiling of the Pirelli building, in the early 1970s a donkey-led barrow full of manure was left in front of the Confindustria headquarters in Bologna.⁶⁴ Back in the Milanese area, in the 1970s, during a factory occupation, some workers at night covered the building of a right-wing fascist local newspaper with manure.⁶⁵ In Summer 1975 workers at the Magneti Marelli plant of Crescenzago (near Milan) filled the company executives' offices with rubbish. As a worker later recalled 'in every office, according to the manager's position, we put the appropriate quantity of garbage, and in some cases we also chose the right quality'.⁶⁶ As he put it, it was 'a very popular demonstration among most of the workers....'.⁶⁷ These were carnivalesque acts of debasement, which symbolically undermined the factory hierarchy and its underlying norms and rules. One can easily imagine the unrestrained laughter triggered among workers at the sight of spaces of authority filled with garbage and shit. It was Bakhtin's world turned upside down coming to life in 1960s-1970s Italy: the victory of low over high, of unruliness over decency and appropriate behaviour.⁶⁸

'Bosses' and their perceived collaborators were not the only victims of dirtying. In 1965 at De Agostini, an important publishing company located in the Novara area (East Piedmont), a strikebreaker found his coat's pockets filled with human excrements.⁶⁹ Luckier strikebreakers got away with possibly less unpleasant –but equally symbolic - forms of dirtying as they had their soup tipped over their head ('vendersi per un piatto di minestra', to sell oneself for a bowl of soup, is a common Italian expression to indicate the cheap motive of betrayal).⁷⁰ Occasionally dirtying adapted to the seasonal calendar. During a strike in Autumn 1960 at Siemens, a Milan-based

⁶³ Liliana Lanzardo, *Personalità operaia e coscienza di classe* (Milano, 1989), 184.

⁶⁴ Interview Elisa Perrazzo, CGIL Bologna, 15 June 2010.

⁶⁵ Raimondo Catanzaro, 'Subjective Experience and Objective reality: an account of violence in the words of its protagonists', in Raimondo Catanzaro, *The Red Brigades* (London, 1991), 177-179.

⁶⁶ Mentasti, *La guardia rossa racconta*, 92.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸ Bakhtin, *Rabelais and his World*.

⁶⁹ Cesare Bermani, 'Il De Agostini di Novara: vicende degli anni Sessanta', in *Il Nuovo Canzoniere Italiano*, special issue on 'Cultura di base in fabbrica', Series 3, no. 2, 1975, 18.

⁷⁰ Antonuzzo, *Boschi, miniera, catena di montaggio*, 181.

leading electromechanical factory, female workers pelted strikebreakers with soft and ripe persimmons (called in Italian 'cachi' and echoing *cacca*, the Italian noun for poo).⁷¹

Strikebreakers were also regularly (and one might say ritually) spat upon.⁷² Lastly, during the electronics sector strikes in 1960-62, which, as we said earlier, signalled the revival of workers' mobilisation after ten years of industrial peace, dried bread was regularly spread in front of factory entry gates.⁷³ This was a highly symbolic twentieth-century form of *impagliata* expected to cause victims shame and humiliation.⁷⁴ First, strikebreakers would dirty their shoes. Then, the carpet of dried bread forced them to walk awkwardly and undignifiedly, 'eyes down', on what was meant to be 'a kind of tormenting street floor of morality'.⁷⁵ 'Vendersi per un tozzo di pane' - to sell oneself for a morsel of bread - which in English translates as to sell oneself for next to nothing - is another common Italian expression to indicate betrayal. The dried bread was there to remind them and, equally importantly, onlookers of their breach of class solidarity.

(II) Mass migration, 'new workers' and the 'charivarisation' of industrial conflict.

So far, we have seen a number of examples of practices and rituals which marked the workers' struggles of the 1960s and 1970s and which bore striking resemblance to older repertoires of communitarian justice. However, this raises the question of the actors' own meaning: what did factory workers (and the people standing by) make of the donkey paraded during the April 1966 march in Sesto San Giovanni? How many workers practiced dirtying and smearing as a legitimate form of justice and how many instead, as trade-union leader Antonio Pizzinato has suggested, were

⁷¹ Roberto Gallessi, 'Preupposti e sviluppi della lotta degli elettromeccanici', in Bruno Bezza, Stefano Datola, Roberto Gallessi (eds.), *Le lotte degli elettromeccanici* (Milan, 1981), 47.

⁷² Antonuzzo, *Boschi, miniera, catena di montaggio*, 181. See also Lanzardo, *Personalità operaia e coscienza di classe*, 241 (from selected testimonies of Catholic workers).

⁷³ Gallessi, 'Preupposti e sviluppi della lotta degli elettromeccanici', 37-54.

⁷⁴ 'La classe operaia di Sesto San Giovanni torna con forza all'offensiva contro I monopoli', in *l'Unità*, 30 October 1960.

⁷⁵ Gallessi, 'Presupposti e sviluppi della lotta degli elettromeccanici', 38. The quote is taken from an article published on *l'Unità* on 12 October 1960.

simply after some media attention? Did some workers really recognise the repertoires of charivari-like *scampanate* in the mannequins hanging onto factory gates, the tin banging, and the wide range of humiliations imposed on strikebreakers and foremen? In other words, to what extent were these repertoires consciously re-enacted and by whom? And how did they resurface in the context of the 1960s and 1970s industrial struggles?

Human beings attach multiple and ambivalent meanings to what they do and, most of all, as Peter Burke has perceptively observed, very rarely bother to spell out such meanings so that scholars can confidently decipher them decades or centuries later.⁷⁶ The first point to make is precisely that actions had different meanings – and levels of meaningfulness – for different workers. We know that some workers struggled to understand these practices. Pizzinato himself (who had a working-class background) is the most obvious example. The description by Luigi Arisio, a Fiat shop foreman with a working-class background, of whistling workers as ‘traffic police gone insane’ and ‘self-improvised Zulus’ also suggests some lack of familiarity with the charivari code, although one has to be aware that Arisio may have been indulging in strategic ridiculing. Andrea Fenili, the CISL worker who recounted the episode of the donkey brought into the manager’s office in 1976 at Dalmine in the Bergamo area, describes it as an ‘asinata’, a donkey feat aimed at ‘stigmatising the attitude of the management’.⁷⁷ For several workers, the donkey was presumably only – as it in fact is in everyday language – a by-word for stubbornness or stupidity. Nevertheless, some evidence seems to suggest that the donkey-ride was still meaningful among some workers as a means of symbolic debasement. For instance, in December 1970, the left-wing terrorist organisation Red Brigades – which up to 1972 was strongly rooted in factories and largely made up of factory workers⁷⁸ – circulated a ‘bulletin’ to claim the arson of the car of Enrico Loriga, the head of personnel at Pirelli. Loriga had been punished due to his confrontational attitude towards workers

⁷⁶ Peter Burke, *Popular culture in Early Modern Europe* (Farnham, 2009; 1st ed. 1978), 268.

⁷⁷ Pagani (ed.), *Cinquant’anni della fim-cisl di Bergamo, valori, storia, protagonisti*, 321.

⁷⁸ Sidney Tarrow, ‘Violence and Institutionalisation after the Italian protest cycle’, in Catanzaro, *The Red Brigades*, 52.

and, in particular, because he had dismissed a worker himself recently accused of setting fire to a car. As the flyer explained, it was not the first time Loriga had been punished by workers. Back in the 1960s when he was head of personnel at Carbosarda, a mining company in Carbonia (Sardinia), workers had already paraded him on a donkey all around town with a card listing his wrongdoing hanged around his neck.⁷⁹ The authors of the flyer clearly assumed that workers would be able to understand the donkey-ride practice and so see the parallel. Moreover, the fact that those workers who produced memories of the 1960s-1970s struggles do not feel they have to provide much of an explanation for the stuffed rabbits, mock executions, rough music and smearing which they described at length, may well suggest some familiarity with these practices and their underpinning rationale.

It is therefore plausible that charivari-like repertoires were meaningful among some cohorts of workers in the 1960s. As for the type of workers who were most susceptible to these forms of actions, this has proved a far more problematic question to answer, because of the nature of the sources. Judicial sources and criminal records do not indulge in symbolically conscious analysis and they generically – and unhelpfully – describe and frame these acts along the type of crimes punishable by Italian law: assault, insults, body injury, kidnapping.⁸⁰ In any case, they do not cover non-violent shaming rituals such as effigy parading and executions or dirtying, which were not generally reported to the police. Reports produced by factories' internal surveillance units are likely to have included detailed accounts of these practices, since they duly reported and filed workers' acts of rebelliousness and protesters' actions. However, there are not many of them left today. Most surveillance units operated on the edge of legality. In 1978 almost forty Fiat employees (including senior managers) were sentenced for having illicitly sought and obtained information (mostly from police sources) on workers and union cadres in the Turin area. Most of the evidence used during the

⁷⁹ Brigata Rossa Pirelli, 'Comunicato 4 – 11 December 1970', in Lorenzo Ruggiero (ed.), *Dossier Brigate Rosse, 1969-1975* (Milan, 2007), 87-88.

⁸⁰ For an interesting and relevant discussion of the limitations of criminal records to study the practice of summary justice, see Stephen Frank, 'Popular Justice, Community and Culture among the Russian Peasantry 1870-1900', in *Russian Review*, vol. 46. No. 3, July 1987, 242.

trial came from twenty-six volumes of personal reports (including 354,077 items), which Fiat surveillance personnel compiled from 1949 to 1971. The files were retrieved accidentally during an office move.⁸¹ Since then, a large quantity of similar papers have been ‘inexplicably’ lost in other factories. When papers are available, they are mostly inaccessible owing to privacy and confidentiality issues. The sources that have turned out to be most useful for this article are workers’ memoirs and the countless ‘militant’ books that were published in the 1970s and 1980s on the Hot Autumn and on the 1960s and 1970s labour struggles. The latter are mostly based on workers’ personal accounts and interviews. These sources provide precious information on the wide range of rites of humiliation that were staged during strikes and on their victims, but they often omit to identify the people who were behind those actions. One can well imagine that these writers wanted to protect the culprits’ identity. However, some sources suggest a link between charivari-like actions and the ‘new workers’ who, in the wake of the economic miracle, entered Italy’s fast expanding industrial sector.

The boom years triggered a mass migration towards big cities mostly from the North-east and the South of Italy. Between 1950 and 1970 cities such as Turin almost doubled their population, whilst 70 per cent of Italian municipalities decreased significantly in density.⁸² In the period from 1953 to 1963, 70 per cent of the immigrants who moved to industrial cities such as Milan, Turin and Genoa came from rural areas (mostly from jobs in agriculture or in the building sector). The North-east, including rural Veneto and Polesine (and areas near Mantua, Ferrara and Rovigo) provided 70 per cent of immigrant workers in factories in the Milanese industrial area⁸³; and in the period from 1955 to 1970 more than 700.000 Southern immigrants moved to the Turin metropolitan area, to factories such as Fiat, which became the ‘third southern’ city, after Naples and Palermo.⁸⁴

⁸¹ Bianca Guidetti Serra, *Le schedature Fiat. Cronaca di un processo e altre cronache* (Torino, 1984).

⁸² Johnathan Dunnage, *Twentieth Century Italy. A Social history* (London, 2002), 153.

⁸³ Ugo Ascoli, *Movimenti migratori in Italia* (Bologna, 1979), 121.

⁸⁴ Pizzolato, *I Terroni in Città*: Revisiting Southern Migrants’ Militancy in Turin’s ‘Hot Autumn’, 619-634; Paul Ginsborg, *A History of Contemporary Italy, 1943-1980* (London, 1990), 220.

These workers were seeking a better future and a new life, but they carried their background with them. In several testimonies one can trace newly immigrated workers' awareness of using protest repertoires derived from a distant past. This is evident in the memoirs of Mario Mosca, one of the key figures of the Pirelli CUB (Comitato Unitario di Base, Unitary Base Committee), that is the radical independent rank-and-file union, which was created in 1968 and later spread to other factories, and which from the late 1960s and throughout the 1970s promoted radical and mostly illegal forms of protest, including stoppages and internal marches. Mosca was born in a small village between Ferrara and Rovigo in the Polesine area, one of the poorest and most rebellious rural areas of the Po Valley in South-western Veneto. His father was a farm worker and a staunch Communist and his mother worked seasonally as rice weeder. Following the dramatic flood that hit Polesine in 1951, which made life and work for peasants in those areas even less bearable, his family decided to emigrate. In 1955 Mosca found his first factory job in Paderno Dugnano near Milan at Cozzi, a furniture factory. By the mid-1960s he entered Pirelli, which would soon become a hotbed of workers' struggle. In his autobiography he describes in detail the public shaming inflicted onto strikebreakers who, during internal marches, refused to join protest: workers surrounded them amidst shouting and banging of metal objects. As he put it, this practice reminded him of a *tamplà* – the Polesine equivalent of *scampanata* – which soon after the end of WWII was staged in his village against the daughter of a dead partisan. She had decided to marry a policeman and, as Mosca put it, this was regarded as an offence to her father's memory. The youths of the village gathered in front of their house to bang 'tens and tens of cans' and show in this way their 'indignation'.⁸⁵

Similarly Antonio Antonuzzo, the worker who, together with other protesters, forced in 1966 the Head of Personnel at Alfa-Romeo to bow to his workers as a 'good servant', was originally from Bronte near Catania in Sicily, an area that had long seen a culture of direct confrontation and

⁸⁵ Mario Mosca, *C'era una volta la classe operaia. Un protagonista raccontato da sei donne* (Milano, 1999), 23. For more on the ritual of *tamplà* in twentieth century Polesine, Fincardi, *Il rito della derisione*, 148-9.

popular revolts.⁸⁶ His peasant family moved to Tuscany in 1950 to work in an estate owned by a Sicilian landlord. Their life conditions only slightly improved. However, via the help of the local Christian Democratic party section they managed to secure a factory job for their children. This, as Antonuzzo writes, was a ‘privilege’ and, most importantly, one that would entail a step away from poverty and upward in the social ladder for the whole family. Antonio Antonuzzo first worked at Montecatini, a Tuscany-based leading chemical and mining company. A few years later, in 1962, he decided to try his luck in Milan and eventually found a job at Alfa in Arese. This was to be the ‘beginning of a new life’.⁸⁷ He shortly joined the Catholic metalworkers’ union (FIM) and later played a key role in the 1966 contract renewal strikes. In his memoir Antonuzzo defines the range of punishments used to sanction strikebreakers ‘as old as the labour movement’.⁸⁸ On return from a demonstration, he once invited his fellow workers to surround strikebreakers and shout at them ‘crumiro’ (blackleg) whilst pelting them with little 5 lire coins. As he later recalled, ‘the affront for this worker was terrible’, ‘a moral slap’: ‘as soon as it was over, he went to the toilet and locked himself inside almost half a day, just as a child would do’. In keeping with the charivari code, once punishment was accomplished, reintegration into the community could follow: ‘when he left his shelter, he came close to one of us and said that from that moment on, he would always join the strike... and so it was: he was the first to stop working...’.⁸⁹

Evidence of charivari routines and culture can be found throughout the 1960s protests. However, their influence was to become particularly visible with the ‘Hot Autumn’ in the late 1960s, which signalled the mass participation of new workers into protest politics. As we know, the 1968-69 struggles were kick-started and initially led by skilled unionised workers who protested over the issue of ‘qualifiche’: they claimed that salaries and promotions should be revised and better

⁸⁶ Lucy Riall, *Under the Volcano: Empire and Revolution in a Sicilian Town* (Oxford, 2013), 141-2.

⁸⁷ Antonuzzo, *Boschi, miniera, catena di montaggio*, 153.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 183.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

adjusted to their skills and competencies.⁹⁰ However, soon after the May 1969 agreement was signed, a new cycle of protest opened up, this time led by mostly immigrant and non-unionised workers – the vast majority of young immigrants who entered factories in the 1960s were unskilled or semi-skilled and did not join the unions.⁹¹ Claims ranged from equal wage rises and a shorter week to healthier and safer working conditions.⁹² One of the best-known slogans of the time was ‘we want everything’ (‘Vogliamo tutto’).⁹³ New workers had long been assumed to be the embodiment of moderation and deference⁹⁴, and for this reason were actively and enthusiastically recruited by big factories and less enthusiastically welcomed by fellow unionised workers. However, in time they turned out to be the army of revolution-prone militants whom New Left groupings had long been waiting for. *Lotta Continua* titled its November 1969 issue ‘Here come our boys’ (‘Arrivano i nostri’).⁹⁵

As Nicola Pizzolato points out, age, marital status, social origin and migratory experience influenced significantly southern migrants’ political and social identity, and Southerners sided both with strikebreakers and the scabs.⁹⁶ The same applies to immigrant workers from other Italian areas such as the North-East (Veneto and Friuli). It was mostly young migrants with no family commitments who entered the galaxy of radical political groups (e.g. CUB, *Lotta Continua*, *Potere Operaio*), which from the late 1960s onwards patiently stationed outside factory gates in pursuit of revolution by proxy.⁹⁷ The comic strip character Gasparazzo, invented by Renato Zamarin, who became a defining feature of *Lotta Continua* leaflets and press, well encapsulates this type of

⁹⁰ Tarrow, *Democracy and Disorder*, 90-91.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 47, 90-91, 267. See also for Fiat, Giachetti, Scavino, *La Fiat in mano agli operai*, 130-131.

⁹² Lumley, *States of Emergency*, 220.

⁹³ This slogan was later used by Nanni Balestrini as a title of his famous fictional account of Turin’s Hot Autumn. Nanni Balestrini, *Vogliamo Tutto* (Milano, 1971).

⁹⁴ See, for example, Marco Mietto and Maria Grazia Ruggerini, *Storie di fabbrica. Operai metallurgici a Reggio Emilia negli anni '50* (Torino, 1988), 77.

⁹⁵ ‘Arrivano i nostri’, *Lotta Continua*, 17 September 1970. On southern workers’ anger and industrial conflict see also ‘La rabbia del Meridione dentro le fabbriche del Nord’, *Lotta Continua*, 14 November 1969.

⁹⁶ Nicola Pizzolato, ‘I Terroni in Città’: Revisiting Southern Migrants’ Militancy in Turin’s ‘Hot Autumn’, *Contemporary European History*, 21, 628.

⁹⁷ Aldo Grandi, *La generazione degli anni perduti* (Torino, 2003), 61-66.

migrants. Gasparazzo, a Southern worker ‘full of folk wit’ would often piss on strikebreakers or bosses and was the embodiment of defiance.⁹⁸ As a former Lotta Continua militant recalls, Southern migrants had ‘little political experience’ but played ‘a definite role as agitators inside the factories’. They were the ones who led internal marches and the first to leave the assembly line when they decided the stoppage.⁹⁹ The more disruptive, iconoclastic, irreverent their actions were, the better. And indeed the highly acclaimed leaders (‘capi-popolo’ was the standard expression of the time) needed little training there, because they were fully equipped with repertoires through which workers could challenge authority very effectively and indeed, at least temporarily, ‘turn the world upside down’.

Many of the ‘boys’ hailed by Lotta Continua were, in fact, to later join the unions. Unions – particularly the metalworker unions – were quick in ‘riding the tiger’, as a common expression of the time would say, and incorporate in their agenda most of the rank-and-file claims. This allowed them to make significant inroads among new and unskilled immigrant workers. However, also inside the unions, newly mobilised immigrant workers made ample use of their own repertoires of protest, in combination with less familiar but quickly learned forms of direct industrial action such as stoppages, output-self-reduction or conventional protest tactics such as marches. The donkey parade and later dirtying of Pirelli headquarters in Sesto San Giovanni were enacted during a union-led demonstration. As I noted earlier, Antonio Antonuzzo was a militant of FIM, the Catholic metalworker union; from the early 1960s, the latter had been repositioning itself in the left-spectrum of union politics and, after 1968 attracted thousands of new members, mostly among recent migrants. It became one of the most radical actors in Italian factories.¹⁰⁰ The unions’ official narrative on workers’ radical protest tactics at the time and, even more so in later years, was one of disavowal; however, at factory level union representatives proved quite tolerant of their militants’

⁹⁸ Nicola Pizzolato, ‘Revolution in a Comic Strip: Gasparazzo and the Identity of Southern Migrants in Turin, 1969-1975’, in Dennis Bos and Marjolein t’Hart (eds.), *Humour and Social Protest* (Cambridge, 2007), 59-75.

⁹⁹ Luigi Bobbio, *Lotta Continua. Storia di un’organizzazione rivoluzionaria* (Roma, 1979), 49.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

use of unconventional forms of protest. In the words of a CGIL shop steward at Fiat, ‘our anger was great’: true, internal marches ‘were no a dinner party’, but neither did Fiat show the manners of a ‘high society lady’.¹⁰¹ Interestingly, the expression points to Mao’s famous phrase ‘the revolution is not a dinner party’. It is hard to tell whether this was a conscious quotation or an unconscious slip on the part of the CGIL shop steward but, either way, he was certainly echoing an idea that was in wide circulation¹⁰² -and I’ll come back to this later in the article-, and his statement reflects the high degree of acceptability and legitimacy gained in Italian factories during the 1960s and 1970s by radical forms of protest and their underpinning protest cultures.

(III) Charivari traditions in nineteenth- and twentieth- century Italian popular culture

But how could the charivari repertoire be possibly still intelligible in twentieth-century Italy? What are its origins? How was it transmitted? We know from social and cultural historians and from anthropologists that the shaming rituals of *scampanate*, although fading, continued to be meaningfully practiced in Italian rural areas and small provinces all over the nineteenth and twentieth century for both ‘moral crimes’ (such as adultery, children born out of wedlock, remarriage of widows)¹⁰³ and political ‘wrongdoing’.

In newly unified Italy, rampant anti-clericalism prompted charivaris against unpopular parish priests who were showing too openly their disdain for the new-liberal unified state.¹⁰⁴ Rough music

¹⁰¹ Cavallini, *Il terrorismo in fabbrica*, 169-170.

¹⁰² Roberto Nicolai, *Quando la Cina era vicina. La rivoluzione culturale e la sinistra extraparlamentare italiana negli anni '60 e '70* (Pisa, 1998).

¹⁰³ See, for example, Fincardi, ‘La memoria della cioccona in Emilia. Appunti per iniziarne lo studio storico’, 157. For the late nineteenth and early twentieth century in Sardinia, Clara Gallini (ed.), *Luigi Mulas. Diario di un parroco di villaggio. Lotte di potere e tecniche del consenso in una comunità sarda* (Cagliari, 1979), 50; For 1905 in the Novara area, Filippo Colombara, *Vesti la giubba di battaglia. Miti, riti e simboli della guerra partigiana* (Roma, 2009), 47, 159; For the 1920s in the Reggio Emilia area, Reclus Malaguti, *Lo scontro di classe. Guerra e pace di un proletario semplice* (Milano, 1978), 42.

¹⁰⁴ Fincardi, ‘La memoria della cioccona in Emilia. Appunti per iniziarne lo studio storico’, 157-158. See also Fincardi, *Primo Maggio reggiano*, 297 and 311-316.

was also occasionally staged in the context of labour disputes and strikes.¹⁰⁵ During the La Boje movement - the wave of peasant protests, which in the years from 1882 to 1885 hit the Po valley (including areas in Lombardy near Mantua, Cremona and the area of Polesine in South-West Veneto) and which is widely regarded as the beginning of Italy's modern agricultural workers' movement - as Giancorrado Barozzi put it, peasants' protest actions against landowners mostly consisted of improvised and harmless 'little Carnivals'.¹⁰⁶ Only in 1884 in Castलगuglielmo (near Rovigo in the Polesine) strikers clashed with the carabinieri. When landowners travelled through the fields on their carriages, they could hear workers whistling and repeating in a rhythmic and intimidating way the cry 'la boje' (a dialect expression which means 'la pentola bolle', the pot is boiling) –a reference to the protest about to explode.¹⁰⁷

In January 1910 in Gozzano near Novara (East Piedmont), socialists staged rough music in front of a Jesuit building where the priests had convened some Catholic workers for their spiritual exercises.¹⁰⁸ In the early twentieth century socialists had a firm grip on workers' vote and struggled with the Church's attempt to regain ground within the factory space. During the 'red week' in June 1914, protesters drew extensively from pre-industrial protest repertoires. In the Romagna area (a socialist bastion) municipality buildings and Churches were destroyed, pillaged and occasionally set on fire.¹⁰⁹ Churches and parish priests – the symbol of conservatism and traditionally protective of the establishment's interests - were particularly targeted. As one of the victim (a parish priest) recalled, in the village of Alfonsine, organ pipes were removed and used to produce a 'barbarous music' all around the village. In other villages protesters took hold of the parish priests' tunic and

¹⁰⁵ Franco Ramella, *Terra e Telai. Sistemi di parentela e manifattura nel biellese dell'ottocento* (Torino, 1984), 230. For more examples on the use of rough music in the context of mid-nineteenth century peasant protests, Piero Brunello, *Ribelli, questuanti e banditi. Proteste contadine in Veneto e in Friuli 1814-66* (Venezia, 1981), 11; and Colombara, *Vesti la giubba*, 39.

¹⁰⁶ Barozzi, 'La pentola e la rivolta', 227.

¹⁰⁷ Bertolotti, *Carnevale di massa 1950*, 234-236.

¹⁰⁸ Colombara, *Vesti la giubba*, 36.

¹⁰⁹ Baroncini, "'Quella musica barbara'", 141; and Manuela Martini, 'Giugno 1914. Folle romagnole in azione', *Rivista di storia contemporanea*, IV, 1989, 540-541.

staged mock religious services, which would invariably end with the burning of sacred objects.¹¹⁰ According to some testimonies, on 11 June 1914 at Mezzano, the day when the procession of Corpus Domini was scheduled, a parish priest was undressed of his vestments and given instead a ride on a donkey.¹¹¹ During the ‘*Bienno rosso*’ (1919-1920), the peasants of Ribera, a small Sicilian village, managed to expel the Duchy of Bivona from the village amid mockery and ridiculing. On the way to the station, a mock procession was enacted. Rebels waved palms, flags and played music. Their actions intentionally reversed the ceremony, which locals had traditionally been expected to stage upon the duke’s arrival to the village.¹¹²

Charivari, Marco Fincardi notes, was not solely a repertoire for ‘progressive’ causes. In the early twentieth century in the Apennine area (central Italy), on several occasions rough music was staged against 1 May parades and celebrations.¹¹³ Moreover, the symbolic violence enacted by fascists against political opponents during the inter-war period was also significantly informed by popular charivari-like traditions and a taste for debasement and role reversal.¹¹⁴ As Luisa Passerini has shown in her analysis of Italian fascism’s symbolism and rituals, the routine of castor oil—whereby Fascism’s political opponents would be forced to drink castor oil and smear themselves—enacted a ‘stock joke of comic narrative’, that is excessive defecation, and was, indeed, a practice which referred back ‘to a system of images still alive in the popular comic tradition’.¹¹⁵

Mussolini’s fall in July 1943 not only triggered several episodes of smearing of his portrait and statues but also prompted the enactment of mock funerals¹¹⁶ and mock executions. Mussolini’s

¹¹⁰ Baroncini, ‘“Quella musica barbara”’, 141-142.

¹¹¹ *Ibid*, 143-146.

¹¹² Roberto Bianchi, *Pace, pane terra. Il 1919 in Italia* (Rome, 2006), 65-66.

¹¹³ Fincardi, ‘La memoria della cioccona in Emilia. Appunti per iniziarne lo studio storico’, 157; and Fincardi, *Primo Maggio reggiano*, 303-304.

¹¹⁴ Marco Fincardi, *I riti della conquista* (Modena, 1988); Guido Crainz, *Padania* (Rome, 2007; 1st ed. 1994), 189-191.

¹¹⁵ Luisa Passerini, *Fascism in Popular Memory. The Cultural Experience of the Turin Working Class* (Cambridge, 1987), 98.

¹¹⁶ Colombara, *Vesti la giubba*, 30.

effigies were burnt and riddled with bullets.¹¹⁷ When, two years later, he was captured, killed and hanged head down in Loreto square (Milan) for the ‘people’ to do their justice, in-person uncrowning could at last be staged.¹¹⁸ A wide range of rites of debasement was famously enacted on his exposed dead corpse. The crowd repeatedly attempted to smear his body with ‘mud, urine, and excrements’.¹¹⁹ One of the workers interviewed by Luisa Passerini confesses that he had long dreamt of seeing Mussolini dragged in a cage and exhibited upon payment of 5 lire as you do at funfairs.¹²⁰ This worker’s dream did not come true. However, in the weeks following Liberation, exposure in a cage and a wide range of highly demeaning and shaming public punishments were inflicted on other members of the Fascist hierarchy (in most cases before they were killed).¹²¹ And indeed, as Alain Brossat and Filippo Colombara have convincingly argued in their work on the Resistance respectively on France and Italy, the shaving of women, accused of collaborating or simply sleeping with Nazi or Fascist cadres, also drew from charivari-like repertoires of communitarian punishment.¹²² Shaving in Italy affected thousands of women. Women were shaved publicly in main squares. In most instances, they were later paraded with placards hanging on their neck indicating their wrongdoing. They were also occasionally exposed onto the balcony of the town’s city hall.¹²³ It is worth noting that although on a more limited scale, shaving as a rite of humiliation was also enacted in the early 1920s by fascist squads against political opponents¹²⁴ and,

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 30-35.

¹¹⁸ Sergio Luzzatto, *Il corpo del duce* (Turin, 2011; 1st ed. 1998), 82-89.

¹¹⁹ Mirco Dondi, ‘Piazzale Loreto 29 aprile: aspetti di una pubblica esposizione’, *Rivista di storia contemporanea*, vol. 19, no. 2, 1990, 236-238.

¹²⁰ Passerini, *Fascism in Popular Memory*. See also Dondi, ‘Piazzale Loreto 29 aprile: aspetti di una pubblica esposizione’, 232.

¹²¹ Dondi, ‘Piazzale Loreto 29 aprile: aspetti di una pubblica esposizione’, 122. And Mirco Dondi, *La lunga liberazione* (Roma, 2004; 1st ed. 1999), 122.

¹²² Colombara, *Vesti la giubba*, 142-144; Alain Brossat, *Les tondues. Un carnival moche* (Levallois-Perret, 1992); Fabrice Virgili, *Shorn Women: Gender and Punishment in Liberation France* (Oxford, 2002).

¹²³ Colombara, *Vesti la giubba*, 138.

¹²⁴ Mimmo Franzinelli, *Squadristi. Protagonisti e tecniche della violenza fascista, 1919-1922* (Milano, 2004; 1st ed. 2003), 78.

in the years 1944-45 by fascist *repubblichini* against women accused of supporting the Resistance.¹²⁵

Hence in the wake of post-1945 Liberation, folk justice repertoires were still prominent in Italian popular culture. One should note here that Italy in the 1940s was still a predominantly rural country (in 1945 52.9 per cent of GDP originated from agriculture¹²⁶). The very same Italian Communist party – which from 1944 to December 1945 expanded from 100.000 to 1.770.000 members- had to compromise – at least at local level - with a set of traditions and practices that the new ‘mass’ party could not easily discount. The celebration of the anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution on 10 November 1945 in Novara, included the standard rally, but also sport games, outdoor dancing and the burning of a papier-mâché Mussolini.¹²⁷ Maurizio Bertolotti, has shown in his analysis of a local section of the PCI in the Mantua area (Lombardy, North of Italy)– a section whose members were mostly rural workers– the skilful use in 1950 by local party cadres of Carnival traditions and repertoires to convey Communist propaganda.¹²⁸

To the horror of young progressive left-wing intellectuals, in the post-war period rough music was still staged against ‘women who had incurred the local gossip’ and used to punish a wide range of breaches of moral communitarian norms. References to these practices in the literature¹²⁹ cover a

¹²⁵ Colombara, *Vesti la giubba*, 135.

¹²⁶ P. Flora, F. Kraus, W. Pfenning, *State, Economy and Society in Western Europe 1815-1975*, vol. I, *The Growth of Industrial Societies and Capitalist Economies* (London-Chicago, 1987), 420.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 38; See also Bertolotti, *Carnevale di massa 1950*, 20-24.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.* On Socialists’ use of popular traditions and integration into their political rituals in the late nineteenth century, see Maurizio Ridolfi, *Il PSI e la nascita del partito di massa, 1892-1922* (Rome-Bari, 1992), 189; and Fincardi, *Primo maggio reggiano*, chapter ‘Suonati e suonatori’, 291-327.

¹²⁹ Fofi, *Strana gente. 1960*, 126 (in Gubbio, in the aftermath of WWII, a crowd staged a *scampanata* against a widow who had decided to remarry (her husband had been killed by Nazi soldiers); for other examples of charivaris in the post-1945 period see: Nuto Revelli, *Il mondo dei vinti. Testimonianze di vita contadina* (Torino, 1997; 1st ed. 1977), p. LXXXIV (for examples in rural Piedmont in the 1940s); Cortellazzo, ‘I nomi dialettali italiani della scampanata’, 38 (for examples in Padova in the post-war period); Domenico Scafoglio and Simona De Luna, ‘La Chiesa e lo charivari’, in Castelli, *Charivari*, 189-200 (for examples in Southern regions, twentieth century); Pina Rita Fo, *Il paese delle rane* (Torino, 1978), 68-69 (for examples in the Langhe, Southern Lomellina, 1940s-1950s); Carlo Tullio Altan (ed.), *La sagra degli ossessi* (for examples in the whole of Italy, 1960s-1970s).

wide geographical area which includes the ‘usual suspects’ – that is the Southern regions, including Sardinia – but also Northern and Central regions such as Piedmont, Lombardy, Veneto, Friuli, Emilia Romagna, Tuscany and Umbria. Political charivari was also still in use. In the Emilia Romagna region (central Italy) in 1950 two *cioccone* – *cioccona* was the name for charivari in this region - were enacted against two parish priests accused of paedophilia.¹³⁰ In later years, possibly as a reflection of the Church’s declining social role and influence, rites of public humiliation would mostly target public officials and local administrators. In 1976 some low-ranking municipal employees brought a donkey inside the municipality building of Sassari (one of the Sardinia’s provinces). This was to protest against some unfortunate remarks made by local authorities on a recently concluded strike.¹³¹ As one commentator from the local newspaper *Nuova Sardegna* noted ‘the meaning of this act was clear to all’: it aimed at calling for the resignation of Sassari’s local government and was meant to suggest that the authorities should leave the town in the same way that had been traditionally used to expel unwanted people, i.e. on a donkey’s packsaddle. As Clara Gallini put it, the donkey was ‘a symbol and a warning that was easy to decode for both target and audience’.¹³² Another instance where such practices were targeted at local government occurred in the wave of protest and riots which spread from July 1970 to February 1971 in the city of Reggio Calabria (Southern Italy) as a result of the government’s choice of Catanzaro and not Reggio for the regional capital of Calabria. Effigy burning or hanging featured highly in the revolt, particularly of Giacomo Mancini and Riccardo Misasi, two leading politicians from Calabria (Mancini was from 1970 to 1972 the leader of the Socialist Party and Misasi was the current Christian Democrat Secretary of Education) who were deemed culpable of having favoured Catanzaro.¹³³

¹³⁰ Fincardi, ‘La memoria della cioccona in Emilia. Appunti per iniziarne lo studio storico’, 157.

¹³¹ ‘E’ terminato lo sciopero dei dipendenti comunali’, *La Nuova Sardegna*, 3 August 1976. Many thanks to Anna Maria Garbarino and to the local library of Carloforte (Sardinia) for helping me retrieve this article.

¹³² Clara Gallini, “‘Sa Corredda e ‘a caddu’e su molenti”. Il charivari in Sardegna’, in Clara Gallini, *Tradizioni sarde e miti d’oggi. Dinamiche culturali e scontri di classe* (Cagliari, 1979), 40.

¹³³ Luigi M. Lombardi Satriani, *Rivolta e strumentalizzazione. Il caso di Reggio Calabria* (Milano, 1979), 83-84.

As this overview suggests, charivari repertoires had adapted to social and political changes over the decades but were stronger in those regions from which the majority of industrial workers migrated: the North-east of Italy, including rural Veneto and Polesine (and areas near Mantua, Ferrara and Rovigo) and, of course, the Southern regions, which provided factories such as Fiat in Turin with thousands of new workers every year.¹³⁴

(IV) Lotta Continua and the diffusion of folk justice repertoires

Mass migration and the leading role played by new immigrant workers in the struggles of the 1960s and 1970s, are therefore two key factors that account for the spread of charivari-like repertoires within factories. A third factor should also be considered. New Left organisations came to show a strong interest in cultures and experiences, which the traditional Left had long associated with ‘backward’ struggles and movements.¹³⁵ Folk justice repertoires met with particularly ecstatic support from organisations such as Lotta Continua, which amplified these routines’ visibility even among workers who, by upbringing, were not familiar with the theatre and the code of public shaming. In line with its support for spontaneous worker militancy, Lotta Continua the extreme-left worker-student organisation founded in 1969, paid a great deal of attention to unconventional politics and forms and cultures of spontaneous rebelliousness in its weekly magazine that bore the name of the organization.

Its leaders showed a great interest in peasant struggles such as those in Avola (2 December 1968) and in Battipaglia (9 April 1969), which featured traditional elements of pre-modern rural protest¹³⁶, and, later, in the Reggio revolt.¹³⁷ As far as factories were concerned, *Lotta Continua*

¹³⁴ Ginsborg, *A History of Contemporary Italy, 1943-1980*, 220.

¹³⁵ On this see the special issue of *Classe* titled ‘Culture subalterne e dominio di classe’ published in June 1975 (no. 10). As Luigi Lombardi Satriani (the guest editor) wrote in his opening article (‘Culture subalterne e dominio di classe’, pp. 3-55), over the recent years the young had been rediscovering folklore, and particularly, the notion of ‘folk justice’ and its ‘revolutionary potential’.

¹³⁶ Giovanni De Luna, *Le ragioni di un decennio. 1969-1979 Militanza, violenza, sconfitta, memoria* (Milano, 2009), 106-107.

provided its readers with a wide coverage of internal marches and reported in great detail about ‘boss-hunts’, trials and expulsions of shop foremen from factories, shaming of strikebreakers, effigy hanging, mock funerals. They even ran an article on workers’ loud blowing of raspberries (‘pernacchi’).¹³⁸ In the eyes of Lotta Continua leaders, these practices reflected the strength of radical protest cultures and testified to growing distrust of workers towards unions and parliamentary politics. They also expressed the type of ‘popular justice’ that many intellectuals were advocating in those same years. As Michel Foucault put it in an interview with Pierre Victor published in 1972 in *Les Temps Modernes*, unmediated acts of popular justice were highly symbolic forms of ‘anti-judicial struggle’ that effectively undermined the legitimacy of the ‘state apparatus’ and its oppressive mechanisms. As he observed, ‘when Renault workers grab a foreman and stick him underneath a car and tell him “you’re going to have to tighten the bolts yourself”, this is fine. They are actually exercising alternative power...’.¹³⁹

Lotta Continua not only reported peasants and workers’ ‘popular justice’ but also actively promoted the practice. Workers from all over Italy regularly supplied detailed insider knowledge to feed the investigations of so-called ‘tormentors of the proletarians’ (‘aguzzini dei proletari’) published by the weekly magazine. Interestingly, during the years 1912-1914, *Pravda* had played a similar role in collecting Russian workers’ grievances about supervisors’ abuses and wrongdoing.¹⁴⁰ On the basis of the information received from factory workers, *Lotta Continua* listed the name and address of workers’ ‘torturers’ and a detailed description of their misdemeanour, including sanctions, unfair dismissals, suspensions, or the compulsory transfer of workers within the factory – this ‘*divide et impera*’ strategy was often used by shop foremen to deal with particularly combative

¹³⁷ See, for example, ‘Reggio Calabria: il capoluogo, la Madonna o qualcos’altro?’, *Lotta Continua*, 2 September 1970, 4-5.

¹³⁸ ‘Un ragazzo, una moto, un pernacchio’, *Lotta Continua*, 2 September 1970, 13.

¹³⁹ Michel Foucault, ‘On popular justice: a discussion with Maoists’, in Colin Gordon (ed.), *Power/Knowledge. Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-1977* (1980), 35, 33.

¹⁴⁰ Steve Smith, ‘Workers and Supervisors: St Petersburg 1905-1917 and Shanghai 1895-1927’, *Past and Present*, no. 139 (May 1993), 140.

shop-sections.¹⁴¹ The magazine invited workers to carry out their own ‘justice’, and they often did so. As a Fiat Mirafiori worker later recalled, during the factory occupation in April 1973, workers practiced ‘il filtro alle porte’ (the ‘door filter’). As he put it: ‘it was a mass popular trial, with class tribunals including hundreds of workers, continuously working at every factory-gate against the bosses and the strike-breakers. Those who were ready to admit their guilt were pardoned, and most did apologize for their mistakes, for their past behaviour, for choosing the side of the boss and not that of the working class. Those who wanted to persist in their errors got what they deserved.’¹⁴² In May 1975 at the Fiat plant of Rivalta, during an internal march several cadres and foremen ‘are captured and tried publicly, one by one: some are acquitted and released... By contrast, Sbrizza is declared guilty and “fired” from the factory gate no. 8’.¹⁴³

Inevitably the question arises whether the Chinese Cultural revolution, which –not just through printed propaganda but also via TV and cinema¹⁴⁴– reminded radicals throughout the world of the power of symbolic violence, acted as a model of inspiration here. We know that the Chinese Cultural Revolution exerted a strong influence on Italian extreme-left organisations and that there was a wide circulation of images of acts of debasement performed by the Chinese Red Guards, such as university professors wearing dunce caps or carrying heavy derogatory placards from their

¹⁴¹ See, for example, ‘Processo ai capi’, *Lotta Continua*, 11 June 1971, 26-28.

¹⁴² Gad Lerner, *Operai. Viaggio all’interno della Fiat. La vita, la classe, le fabbriche di una classe che non c’è più* (Milano, 1988), 96. Lerner cites here the testimony of a Lotta Continua worker who had just been sacked by Fiat Mirafiori, at the Lotta Continua National Conference in 14-15 April 1973. These speeches were later published in Lotta Continua, *Gli operai, le lotte, l’organizzazione*, Edizioni Lotta Continua 1973, 212-213.

¹⁴³ ‘La settimana di lotta a Rivalta. Cronaca della lotta’, *Senza Tregua*, 11 June 1975, 1.

¹⁴⁴ In Marco Bellocchio’s movie ‘La Cina è vicina’, winner of Leone d’argento at the Venice film festival in 1967, a bunch of young students playing Red guards force a morally corrupt high school teacher turned politician to end abruptly his electoral speech and run off undignifiedly chased by barking dogs. The popular spaghetti western movies, a genre, which emphasised regenerative and redemptive violence, (Austin Fisher, *Radical Frontiers in the Spaghetti Western. Politics, Violence and Popular Italian Cinema*, London 2011, 73), are also replete of derisions and acts of debasement enacted by outcast characters against the ‘powerful’. Interestingly, Sergio Leone’s movie ‘Giu’ la testa’ (1971) opens with Mao’s famous quotation ‘revolution is not a dinner party’.

necks.¹⁴⁵ The Red Guards' repertoire of symbolic violence, which included also ink smearing and shaving, echoed peasants' acts of violence against landowners during the 1920s struggles. The latter were famously described in Mao's Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan (1927), an enthusiastic defence of peasants' unruliness, and a well-known text among Italian Maoist-inclined groups. However, the principal model of inspiration for 'popular justice' repertoires for Lotta Continua in the period from 1969 to 1972 was the Italian Resistance.

In this respect, as in so many others, the bomb that shattered a bank in central Milan (Piazza Fontana) on 12 December 1969 and killed seventeen people, acted as a watershed. While the police repeatedly attempted to attribute it to anarchists, Lotta Continua immediately linked it to the neo-Fascists and their so-called 'strategy of tension'. New Left groups, including Lotta Continua, believed that, faced with an increasingly strong and restless labour movement, the 'bourgeoisie' was once again turning to Fascism to protect their interests, as it had already done in 1922. As they argued, the revival of Fascist organised violence against students and workers¹⁴⁶ and a profoundly class-ridden and anti-labour judiciary system all pointed to the need for workers to organise, take the law into their own hands and fight back against factory bosses and fascists with their own means.¹⁴⁷ As Lotta Continua leaders argued, factory workers had already done so in the years 1943-45 and they were now ready to do it again.

The 1943-45 Resistance was a prominent theme in *Lotta Continua*. Its attention focused on a particular aspect of the Resistance, that is post-1945 Liberation punitive actions against Fascist

¹⁴⁵ See, in particular, Alain Badiou, 'La rivoluzione culturale: l'ultima rivoluzione?', in Tommaso di Francesco (ed.), *L'assalto al cielo. La rivoluzione culturale cinese quarant'anni dopo* (Rome, 2005), 52-55; Nanni Balestrini and Primo Moroni, *L'orda d'oro 1968-1977. La grande ondata rivoluzionaria e creativa, politica ed esistenziale* (Milano, 1988), 155, 160, 169.

¹⁴⁶ See, for example, 'Fiat: I fascisti ultima carta dei padroni', *Lotta Continua*, 1 October 1970, 19; 'Le squadre fasciste davanti alle fabbriche'. Come reprimono oggi I padroni', *Lotta Continua*, 15 October 1970, 21; and 'Rapporto sullo squadristico. Chi sono, chi li comanda, chi li paga', *Lotta Continua*, 15 October 1970, 22-23.

¹⁴⁷ 'Solo Giudice il proletariato', *Lotta Continua*, 7 February 1970, 1-2. See also 'Legalità borghese e violenza rivoluzionaria', *Lotta Continua*, 11 April 1970, 7; 'Pelo sullo stomaco. Chi sono I magistrati', *Lotta Continua*, 15 October 1970, 19; 'Un vento rosso nelle fabbriche', *Lotta Continua*, 24 November 1970, 4-5.

cadres, spies and collaborators, the memory of which Italian communists and socialists had tried to eclipse in pursuit of their post-war legitimation and parliamentary strategy.¹⁴⁸ As we saw earlier, these actions were deeply informed by charivari traditions. In reviving these memories *Lotta Continua* contributed even further in spreading knowledge of folk justice repertoires. Most importantly, they provided these repertoires with an extra layer of legitimacy, which further contributed to their wide use and imitation. In Trento in July 1970 some factory workers were knifed by fascists during a clash in front of the factory gate of Ignis (the electromechanical factory, particularly renowned for its refrigerators). In response, workers paraded for 7 km two trade unionists from Cisanal (the union close to the fascist party Movimento Sociale Italiano) with a placard hanging on their neck, which said ‘we are fascist and we do politics with our knife’. *Lotta Continua* covered extensively Trento’s ‘popular pillory’, describing it as a re-enactment of rituals that had featured prominently during April-May 1945 Liberation.¹⁴⁹ The Trento episode was hailed as a model to follow. And indeed, in no time, a stream of Ignis-like ‘pillories’ was enacted all over Italy.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁸ See, for example, ‘La Guerra partigiana’, *Lotta Continua*, 11 December 1970, 16-17. As the article put it, ‘one aspect of the 1944-1945 proletarian struggle that the bourgeoisie will never be able to eclipse is the use of violence...judges were knocked off their high-backed chairs and put on trial by their former inditees, policemen were shot and tortured in the very same barracks where they had tortured and killed, bosses were impaled onto the gates of those very same factories where they had robbed and exploited their workers’ (p.17)’. See also ‘Mussolini e I gerarchi fascisti giustiziati dal proletariato’, *Lotta Continua*, 17 February 1971.

¹⁴⁹ See, for example, ‘1945-1970 il popolo ricomincia a farsi giustizia da sè’, *Lotta Continua*, 2 September 1970, 8-9.

¹⁵⁰ For more Ignis-like ‘gogne’, see ‘Dal Trentino bianco all’Emilia rossa – si estende l’uso della gogna popolare. Sequestriamo I padroni’, *Lotta Continua*, 1 October 1970, 3; ‘Processiamo in piazza I nostri aguzzini’, *Lotta Continua*, 12 November 1970, 2, 3; ‘Cronaca di una lotta degli studenti medi’, *Lotta Continua*, 11 December 1970, 11; ‘Trento: Rifacciamo il trenta luglio’, *Lotta Continua*, 29 January 1971, 12-13; ‘Alba: I fascisti spazzati via dalla violenza proletaria’, *Lotta Continua*, 29 January 1971, 13; ‘Dalla lotta antifascista alla lotta per il comunismo’, *Lotta Continua*, 17 February 1971, 2-3; ‘Nelle fabbriche, nelle scuole, nelle città: siamo noi proletari a mettere “fuori legge” I fascisti’, *Lotta Continua*, 17 February 1971, 6-7; ‘Bologna proletaria contro I fascisti e “goliardi”’, *Lotta Continua*, 26 May 1971, 32; ‘Parma: I proletari in piazza contro I fascisti e polizia’, *Lotta Continua*, 11 June 1971; ‘Pisa St Gobain. Contro I licenziamenti si risponde così’, *Lotta Continua*, 2 February 1972, 10.

Conclusion

Far from being quaint or crazy carry-overs from the past, as the literature often suggests, actions such as the parading of stuffed rabbits, the hanging of mannequins and the spread of dried bread in front of factory gates amounted to punitive rituals of debasement that played a precise political function and that, for all their variations, drew from a long and rich charivari tradition. As has been argued, the latter resurfaced in the labour struggles of the 1960s and 1970s as a result of mass migration and the arrival into factories of hundreds of thousands of new workers from the countryside, but also, via the equally important propaganda work and actions of New Left organisations such as Lotta Continua, which, at the peak of conflict, consciously and actively promoted rites of ‘popular justice’ on the model of the Resistance.

Of course, the availability of a repertoire doesn’t explain its use. The question of why charivari-like rites were practiced (and widely imitated) still needs answering. Here a number of suggestive conclusions can be made. First, rituals of shaming acted as a form of empowerment and served well the purpose of symbolically challenging authority and power relationships within factories. It is worth remembering here that the removal of foremen from factories was one of the most distinctive features of factory protests during the 1905 and 1917 revolutions in Russia. Drawing from old peasant shaming traditions¹⁵¹, workers in big industrial cities such as Petrograd carted out in a wheelbarrow hundreds of lower managers and supervisory personnel. As Steve Smith put it, through this widely practiced form of protest Russian workers punished abusive foremen but also, most importantly, symbolically challenged the ‘old factory order’.¹⁵² Similarly in Italy, during the struggles of the 1960s and 1970s, what was at stake was not only better wages, but power. Issues, such as the abolition of the highly repressive and authoritarian set of rules that had,

¹⁵¹ Mark D. Steinberg, ‘Vanguard Workers and the Morality of Class’, in Lewis H. Siegelbaum and Ronald Grigor Suny (eds.), *Making Workers Soviet: Power, Class and Identities* (Ithaca, 1994), 80. On the strength of folk justice repertoires in nineteenth century rural Russia, see also Frank, ‘Popular Justice, Community and Culture among the Russian Peasantry 1870-1900’.

¹⁵² Smith, ‘Workers and Supervisors: St Petersburg 1905-1917 and Shanghai 1895-1927’, 150. See also S. A. Smith, *Red Petrograd: Revolution in the Factories 1917-18* (Cambridge, 1983), 55.

until then, governed the inner functioning of factories, acquired undisputed prominence. Moreover, under the influence of workerist ideologies, workers demanded greater control over the production process. Several illegal forms of protest which were revived during the same years such as blockage of goods, sabotage, self-limitation of production¹⁵³, factory occupation, also aimed at symbolically establishing workers' control on production.

Mock trials, mock executions, and the wide range of rites of shaming and debasement taking place during internal marches, enacted a symbolic reversal of power relationships, which gave substance to the 'workers' power' ('potere operaio') that workerist intellectuals such as Raniero Panzieri or Mario Tronti envisaged in their writings.¹⁵⁴ As a Fiat Mirafiori worker put it, the internal march 'inspired terror... it deprived the boss of his power. In the march, so many bosses were humiliated... we've practically destroyed the boss... Agnelli was fucked. At the end of the march and once we went back to work, he was no longer the boss...'.¹⁵⁵ As one can read in a *Lotta Continua* article of 1 October 1970, the debasement of bosses and foremen was 'a spectacle which workers will not forget: the little boss who has always mistreated the workers is turned into a puppet shaken about by the force of the workers'.¹⁵⁶ In the words of another Fiat Mirafiori worker, 'Perhaps acting in this way was not "political", but it was right... it was right to take them [bosses and foremen], get them out of the dumpsters where they hid, and kick their arses to the front of the march... for us the problem was to overturn the power relations and we had to do so with that kind of violence...'.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵³ CUB Pirelli, *Tre anni di lotte ed esperienze*, 387. And 'Dal Trentino bianco all'Emilia rossa – si estende l'uso della gogna popolare. Sequestriamo I padroni', *Lotta Continua*, 1 October 1970, 3.

¹⁵⁴ See, in particular, Mario Tronti, *Operai e capitale* (Torino, 1966).

¹⁵⁵ Revelli, *Lavorare in Fiat*, 49-50.

¹⁵⁶ 'Dal Trentino bianco all'Emilia rossa – si estende l'uso della gogna popolare. Sequestriamo I padroni', in *Lotta Continua*, 1 October 1970, 3.

¹⁵⁷ Giachetti, Scavino, *La Fiat in mano agli operai*, 95. See also 'I cortei ci hanno dato la libertà', *Lotta Continua*, 26 May 1971, 8; and 'Che succede alla Fiat?', *Lotta Continua*, 24 November 1970, 8. During the 1960s and 1970s struggles French factory workers used kidnapping extensively. While being held up, cadres were inflicted a wide range of rites of inversion such as food and sleep deprivation. One was kept awake for two successive nights by workers' intentionally loud playing of *L'Internationale*. As Xabier Vigna points out, these actions were highly symbolic forms of self-

In this respect one should also note workers' determination in their theatre of reversal and uncrowning to target those practices which were mostly associated with factory hierarchy and authority: the list of foremen which workers produced to identify wrongdoers reversed the filing practice which most factories relied on to control, and spy on their workers. Workers' files were mostly based on reports compiled by supervisors and shop sections foremen.¹⁵⁸ Similarly, 'the door filter', through which workers at the picket line 'filtered' well-known hated foremen and serial strikebreakers to try them, reversed the inspection controls and occasional searches which workers had to endure on the way in and on the way out of the factory gates. Trials of bosses and foremen mocked official justice but also, if not mostly, the factory tribunals, which factories such as Fiat set up in the early 1950s to try those workers who had been reported by the surveillance personnel.¹⁵⁹ Lastly, the expulsion of foremen and senior executives from the factory symbolically reversed the practice of political lay off which factories resorted to get rid of radical and troublemaker workers. Thus, very much like charivaris, radical forms of protest parodied perceived abuses of power to turn them against their perpetrators.

There are two more possible reasons why charivari-like rites were so widely practiced and imitated. Firstly, the dramaturgical kit of charivari provided workers with powerful means of public denunciation, sanction and intimidation which, one can presume, were regarded as less risky, in terms of their legal consequences, when compared to the use of physical violence yet still, equally effective. As in the song 'il fischiello dell'operaio' (the worker's whistle) by Franco Trincale – a Sicilian storyteller who in the late 1960s and throughout the 1970s performed and sang in front of occupied and picketed factories in the area of Milan, 'the worker's whistle breaks the bosses' eardrums...doesn't leave the scoundrels alone, it's stronger than the truncheon, it's stronger than the

empowerment. Xabier Vigna, *L'insubordination ouvrière dans les années 68. Essai d'histoire politique des usines* (Rennes: 2007, 103-7).

¹⁵⁸ See for this Serra, *Le schedature Fiat. Cronaca di un processo e altre cronache*. In the words of a worker of Ercole Marelli (Milan), surveillors in the 1950s acted as 'the judge and the inquisitor' (Franco Alasia, 'Biografie operaie', in Franco Della Perruta and Roberto Leydi (eds.), *Milano e il suo territorio* (Milano, 1985), 418-420).

¹⁵⁹ Pugno and Garavini, *Gli anni duri alla Fiat*, 80-82.

monopolies of Fiat or Pirelli'.¹⁶⁰ Secondly, unlike physical violence, shaming rituals were more likely to meet other workers' approval, particularly with regards to strikebreakers, as for most workers seriously harming other workers was not an option. As Antonuzzo put it, 'our enemy was not the strikebreaker, but the boss'.¹⁶¹ By contrast, overall, shaming rituals met with widespread social acceptance: at time of protest, rituals of popular justice had traditionally operated as a powerful source of self-legitimation. As for those workers who were not familiar with the value system underlying the charivari code, public shaming and the theatre of reversal were regarded as politically 'primitive' but relatively harmless and tolerable actions.¹⁶²

We know that symbols and rituals play a crucial role in protest. They create solidarity and contribute to identity-construction. They are also a powerful 'medium of communication'.¹⁶³ Not all symbols are equally potent though.¹⁶⁴ As Robert Darnton has pointed out, some symbols possess 'special powers'.¹⁶⁵ The charivari repertoire is a case in point. Its rituals and symbolism are extremely rich and conveniently polyvalent in meaning, which might well explain why folk justice scripts, albeit despicable in their most brutal variations, have proved so exceptionally time resistant and have historically been used in a wide variety of contexts and by political actors of all colours. In this article we have seen the charivari theatre being re-enacted by early twentieth-century Socialists as well as by agricultural labourers, partisans during World War II, post-1945 factory workers but also by Fascists both under Mussolini and in the 1970 revolt of Reggio Calabria. A number of studies point to the survival and use of charivari traditions also in the context of nineteenth- and

¹⁶⁰ Franco Trincale, 'Il fischietto dell'operaio' (www.ildeposito.org; 'Canti di protesta politica e sociale', online archive of protest songs, last accessed 21 October 2014).

¹⁶¹ Antonuzzo, *Boschi, miniera, catena di montaggio*, 183.

¹⁶² Cavallini, *Il terrorismo in fabbrica*, 169-170.

¹⁶³ Mary Douglas, *Natural Symbols* (London, 2003; 1st ed. 1970), 23; and David Kertzer, *Rituals, Politics and Power* (Yale, 1988), 2-3.

¹⁶⁴ William Gamson, *Talking Politics* (Cambridge, 1992), 135.

¹⁶⁵ Robert Darnton, 'The Symbolic Element in History', *The Journal of Modern History*, 58 (1986), 223.

early twentieth- century French, German and Russian protest.¹⁶⁶ A better understanding of these practices therefore casts light on their ritualised element and important symbolic and strategic functions. It also points to a far greater continuity of protest culture and repertoires throughout history than is widely assumed. Discussing his mid-career rejection of the ‘modernisation of protest’ model, Charles Tilly wrote in the mid-1990s that labels such as ‘reactionary’ and ‘primitive’ forms of collective action, entail an ‘unjustified and unverified teleology’.¹⁶⁷ Over recent years, scholars of social movements have grown increasingly critical of modernization narratives. Similarly, the heuristic value of explanatory tools such as Eric Hobsbawm’s influential notion of ‘primitive rebels’ has also long been questioned. As James Scott put it, it would be wrong to dismiss ‘primitive’ forms of resistance as backward: ‘at times of crisis or momentous political change, they may be complemented by other forms of struggle that are more opportune. They are unlikely, however, to disappear altogether’.¹⁶⁸ Michael Taussig’s inspiring work on Colombian plantation workers and Bolivian miners effectively illustrated these two communities’ infusion of magical rites into modern class struggle.¹⁶⁹

However, the traditional distinction between pre-industrial and post-1789 forms of collective action continues to operate as a powerful dichotomy in the understanding of protest and, with the exception of the interest shown by a number of scholars in the global justice movement’s

¹⁶⁶ Amy Wiese Forbes, *The satiric decade. Satire and the rise of republicanism in France, 1830-1840* (Lanham, 2010); Peter Sahlin, *Forest Rites. The War of the Demoiselles in Nineteenth-Century France* (Cambr. Massachussets, London, 1994); Eugene Weber, *Industry and Politics in Rural France: Peasants of the Isère, 1870-1914* (Ithaca, 1994), 399-406; Michel Hastings, *Halluin la Rouge, 1919-1939 aspects d’un communism identitaire* (Lille, 1991), 394-402; Xabier Itcaina, ‘Désordre public et ordre social. Charivari et politique en Labourd intérieur (XIX-XXe siècles)’, in L. Le Gall, M. Offerlé, F. Ploux (eds.), *La politique sans en avoir l’air. Aspects de la politique informelle* (Rennes, 2012); James Brophy, *Popular culture in the Rhineland 1800-1850* (Cambridge, 2007), 138-145; Jonathan Sperber, *Rhineland radicals* (Princeton, 1991), 86-8, 180, 220-2, 243, 285, 316, 335. For Russia, see footnote no. 151.

¹⁶⁷ Charles Tilly, *Popular Contention in Great Britain 1758-1834* (London, 2005; 1st ed. 1995), 47-8.

¹⁶⁸ James C. Scott, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (Yale, 1985), 273.

¹⁶⁹ Michael Taussig, *The Devil and Commodity Fetishism in South America* (Chaper Hill, 1980).

carnavalesque elements¹⁷⁰, too little attention is still paid to popular culture and old protest traditions and their influence on modern forms of struggle. This article shows the limitations of such a unilinear approach to the study of the forms of collective action. My point is not simply to emphasise continuity, but to understand how the survival and changing uses of old repertoires informs modern protest movements as well as new forms of protest: it is not simply to deny modernization in the name of tradition, but also to understand continuity within change. Throughout the nineteenth and the twentieth century charivari culture and traditions blended into Italian workers' protest tactics. Mock executions, mock funerals, rough music (whistling and drumming) became in the 1960s and 1970s an integral part of marches, demonstrations and strikes. Pre-modern rituals of folk justice significantly informed retaliations on strikebreakers during picketing or stoppages in combination with more 'modern' forms of industrial action. 'Old' tools of protest, were rejuvenated to serve new needs and were successfully and effectively assimilated into factory workers' modern repertoire.

To come to the present time, in today Italy, as well as in the rest of Europe, protesters still practice tin banging¹⁷¹, dirtying (though mostly with eggs and ripe tomatoes) and enact spectacular mock executions (mostly by effigy burning). As late as 2006, a Sardinian blogger suggested that a 'A-caddh-a-s-ainu' (ride on a donkey) should be given to Italy's discredited political elite.¹⁷² Folk

¹⁷⁰Larry M. Bogad, 'Carnivals against Capital: Radical Clowning and the Global Justice Movement', in Michaeline A. Crichlow (ed.) *Carnival Art, Culture and Politics. Performing Life* (Routledge, 2012); Michael Shane Boyle, 'Play with Authority!: Radical Performance and Performative Irony', in Begum Ozden Firat, Aylin Kuryel (eds.), *Cultural Activism. Practices, Dilemma, Possibilities* (Amsterdam, 2011); Benjamin Shepard, *Play, Creativity and Social Movements* (London, 2011).

¹⁷¹ Fincardi, *Il rito della derisione. La satira notturna delle battarelle in Veneto, Trentino, Friuli Venezia Giulia* (Verona, 2009), 9. In 1995 in Venice a *battarella* (the name for charivari in North-east Italy and particularly in the Venetian area) was staged by a group of approximately hundred of people against a bank manager for mismanaging their savings. For an example of noisemaking and mock funerals in Bulgaria, see also Nikola D. Dimitrov, 'Streets of Anger: Opposition Protests in Belgrade and Sofia during the Winter Months of 1996-1997', in Matthias Reiss (ed), *The Street as Stage. Protest Marches and Public Rallies since the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford, 2007), 231-54.

¹⁷² <http://www.emigratisardi.com/news/newsdetails/article//a-caddh-a-s-ainu.html> (last accessed 10 June 2014). Mimmo Bua, 'A-caddh-a-s-ainu'. This expression is very similar to the one used in late 1970s Ulassai (a small village in Southern Sardinia where – as Gallini wrote- memories of

justice repertoires seem to be still meaningful also in areas beyond Europe. The *cacerolazos*, that is the demonstrators who took to the street in December 2001 and banged pots and pans to protest against the Argentinian government's economic policies, re-enacted practices of communitarian justice which had traditionally been used in South America to publicise scandals. *Cacerolas* (pots and pans) had been banged in the Plaza de Mayo twenty years earlier by the mothers of *desaparecidos* against the military dictatorship¹⁷³; and before that, by anti-Allende protesters in 1973 Chile.¹⁷⁴ Tarring and feathering, a charivari variant¹⁷⁵, was practiced by the IRA in Northern Ireland well up to 2007¹⁷⁶, and it is still a widespread metaphor for public humiliation in the United States today. In a pro-Sarah Palin blog, a Tea Party supporter tarred and feathered Barack Obama's image. As he wrote, 'Obama, his entire administration, most members of Congress (House and Senate) and most members of the judiciary should bow their heads in shame before being tarred, feathered and run out of town on a rail'.¹⁷⁷ More recently, Jonathan Sterne and Natalie Zemon Davis noted the revival of the 'tradition of charivari' by Quebec's *manifs casseroles*, that is the thousands of marchers who in 2012 banged pots and pans to protest against the government's decision to raise university tuition fees. As they pointed out, in lower Canada 'noisy disorder' had traditionally been used 'to bring about a just order' and it was now once again effectively used by angry students.¹⁷⁸ Literature on folk justice routines in the contemporary period today has been very

'legendary' rides on donkeys were back then still vivid), that is *poniri a caddu 'e su bestiolu*. Clara Gallini (ed.), *Luigi Mulas. Diario di un parroco di villaggio*, 24.

¹⁷³ Fincardi, *Il rito della derisione*, 162.

¹⁷⁴ Fincardi, *Derisioni notturne*, 8-9.

¹⁷⁵ A. W. Smith, 'Some Folklore elements in Movements of Social protest', *Folklore*, vol. 77, no. 4 (1966), 245.

¹⁷⁶ Rachel Monaghan, 'The Return of "Captain Moonlight": Informal Justice in Northern Ireland' *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, vol 25, issue 1, Jan 2002, 41-56; Stuart Jeffries, 'Tarring and feathering – a brief history of brutal revenge', *The Guardian*, 30 August 2007.

¹⁷⁷ Boudica BPI weblog, <http://boudicabpi.wordpress.com/2012/05/26/as-we-enter-memorial-day-weekend-remember/> (last accessed 21 October 2014); and

<http://obambi.wordpress.com/2010/05/12/tar-and-feather/> (last accessed 21 October 2014).

¹⁷⁸ Jonathan Sterne and Natalie Zemon Davis, 'Quebec's manifs casseroles are a call for order', *The Globe and Mail*, 31 May 2012

<http://www.theglobeandmail.com/globe-debate/quebecs-manifs-casseroles-are-a-call-for-order/article4217621/> (last accessed 21 October 2014); on charivaris and lower Canada, see

sparse and limited. Key questions on their use, meanings, resonance, global spread and transmission, social, emotional and strategic functions in protest still need to be addressed.