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Intercultural Dialogue and Ethical Challenge
in the Latin-American Thought

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Abstract

The article analyzes some central problems of the intercultural dialogue in the context of philosophical, historiographical and political debates promoted by the contemporary Latin-American thought. The analysis concerns: the anthropological and ethical approach of interculturality by Arturo Andrés Roig, its relation with the literary avant-gardes in Latin America and its expression in a liberationist philosophy oriented to overcome the patriarchalism; the interculturality as a space for the asking by the other and as intelligence to live together, as well as its educational consequences, with regard to a pedagogy and to an ethics of decolonization; the relation between interculturality and integration of peoples, on the basis of the proposal of Giuseppe Cacciatore about the ethics of imagination.

Keywords: Ethics of imagination, Intercultural dialogue, Latin-American thought, Liberationist philosophy, Pedagogy of decolonization.

In an essay on *Filosofía latinoamericana e interculturalidad* (Roig, 1997, pp. 132-144), the Argentinian philosopher Arturo Roig in 1997 stated that "la filosofía latinoamericana tiene como uno de sus temas recurrentes y decisivos la relación filosofía-cultura. De ahí, que la problemática actual de la interculturalidad y, en particular, del tipo de diálogo que genera, así como su teorización, sea cuestión, asimismo, de importancia para la Filosofía latinoamericana tal como la venimos definiendo". A short time before he had specified, nevertheless, "no es una filosofía de la cultura y si tuviéramos que cualificarla deberíamos decir que más se aproxima a una antropología que a otro campo del saber" (ibid., p. 132), given that it is a philosophizing about a determined historical subject. The same author distances himself on two topics: first, the subject "comun y a veces obsesivo" of cultural identity, considering it "una forma discursiva ordenada sobre categorías que juegan encubridoramente respecto tanto de nuestra unidad, como de nuestra diversidad social y cultural" (ibid.). Sec-

ondly, from a sort of "ontología de la cultura", anchored to the relation subject-object, "es quema de todo acto de dominación y explotación" and that in the field of interculturality can drive to study of the other and its culture to enable its dominion.

According to Roig, within the anthropological mark of the Latin American philosophy, that he would define in other works as an anthropological *a priori*, the idea that "lo humano apoya más en lo contingente que en lo necesario, más en lo 'accidental' que en lo 'sustantivo'…y, parafraseando el célebre *dictum* de Giambattista Vico, que no es verbo 'ser' el que nos ha de ayudar a responder por lo humano, sino el verbo 'nacer', el que para el filósofo napolitano no significa 'comenzar a ser' sino 'construir nuestro ser'" (Roig, 1981) is put forward. This starting point is articulated with what the author calls "moral de emergencia", from which human dignity, located at the root of intercultural communication, can be considered "desde la contingencia, el universal impulso que nos mueve a todos hacia la autoconstrucción de nuestra humanidad" (Roig, 1994). This spurs the author to propose a deconstruction of some macro-categories that, with their presence, prevented intercultural relations. Beyond a mere culturalism, we need to critically review the influence exercised by anthropocentrism on all our views of the world. Using the concept of geo-centrism as a referent, Roig shows that, despite observing the universe from our human condition is unavoidable, other thing is "hacer de esa condición una cuestión de poder en relación con el otro, en un nivel asimismo primario, el de las relaciones interhumanas…las relaciones entre etnias son, por cierto, humanas, pero marcadas por diferencias culturales, por ejemplo, el lenguaje o la religión; mientras que las relaciones entre miembros que comparten una misma cultura las llamaremos, simplemente, interhumanas" (Roig, 1997, p. 138). In any kind of relations there are phenomena of economic, social, cultural or generic asymmetry which can be understood by the figures of "master" and "slave", which characterize the patriarchalism, basic core from which different kind of exercising dominion over the others come: "logocentrism", androcentrism" "ethnocentrism", "hegemonism". According to the author "la filosofía intercultural y, dentro de ella, la etnofilosofía, no son más que rostros de una filosofía liberacionista la que tiene, entre otros de sus objetos, aquellas relaciones entre culturas y etnias, pero también y primariamente, enfrentar el

patriarcalismo como categoría omnicomprensiva de todas las formas de dominación y subordinación humana" (ibid.) of disowning. Examining the critical and combative role of the avant-gardes, Roig argues that "fue en el campo de las letras y la plástica donde se dieron los primeros pasos en la construcción de un discurso de oídos adecuados para la percepción del otro". In this way the opportunity to hear new voices, including that of woman and of indigenous Latin-American population, arose. In the literary avant-gardes, that according to the author are precursor to Latin-American philosophy, a "new sensitiveness" was cultivated, which get close to the human in listening and dialoguing: "no se trataba únicamente de ser capaces de oír la voz del otro, era necesario que todos conquistáramos nuestra propia voz". Therefore, the development of dialogue and the effort to decolonize thought and speech result convergent. There is no doubt that, along with the precursor role of the avant-gardes, the dichotomies that fed many (prevalently academic) discourses, such as those of the "superior and vulgar" and its result in the disdain of the so-called inferior races or popular arts, represented serious difficulties, obstacles and blocks in the Latin-American intercultural dialogue (Roig, 1997, p. 143). Unlocking its possibility can contribute to make real the *polyphony* discussed by R. Fornet-Betancourt (1994), the *polylogy* proposed by F. M. Wimmer (1995) or the *multilinguistic dialogue* of M. L. Gil Iriarte (1996).

Interculturality as a space of interest for the Other

Contemporaneity seems deeply characterized by a new universalism: that of the global homogenising culture, based on the answer (technological, ideological, operational) to the needs, either spontaneous or induced, of human beings all over the world. The answer, transformed in material or immaterial product that operates in the global market according to his usefulness, is the same for all human beings, irrespective of their different cultural horizons; therefore the difference, that can be considered the element of real anchorage to real life of people and communities, is completely devaluated. The logic of the answer is that of effectiveness, productivity, fastness; starting from this, it excludes the reflective dimension, considered an unproductive waste of time, and places an important section of human be-

ings outside the field of moral assessments and obligations. The societies that Zygmunt Bauman defines characterized by "moral blindness", referring to the concept of *adiafora* (Bauman & Donskis, 2015), establish moral, ideological and technological schemes of quick answer to the global stimulus present in an exhausting informative saturation, which drives citizens to isolation, insensitiveness toward what happens to the others and to the complete indifference toward what happens in the world. Along with "universalism" - globalising and, sometimes, justified as answer to itself - there were cases that E. Trias (2003) called "local shrines", ethnical, cultural or religious groups that radicalize the traditional values of some closed communities. In both cases, the consequence of the disregard for difference, for the Other, has brought violence and has worsened politics as a space of dialogue.

Within this context, today a central problem is to re-establish the power of the word closest to the experience of human life as a space of diversity, of "what is different" and, at the same time, space of peace, negotiation, learning. This power is *the question*, asking as a communicative action which expresses an essential aspect of human existence and which finds its roots in the imagination as an ethical dimension, able to open opportunities for the intellectual construction of a more human life (G. Cacciatore, 2013).

As a demand of learning and growth, asking is historically built with three different meanings. First there is the asking to know: *what is*, in the sense of understanding, knowing the cause of something, searching its root, explaining; it is a kind of asking that has the expert as its model. This meaning, considered typical of the human being in the classical Greek philosophy, starting from the thought of Modern Age began to achieve a central place, today not diminished, putting apart any other asking and involving all the spaces of life, starting from reason. The second is the communicative asking, of the person: *who are you? how are you?*, in the sense of understanding, opening oneself to the relation in which there are the messages exchanged among people, groups, cultures; it is the asking to the person without reducing the message to previous rational categories, but trying to insert it in the intention and in the life of the speaker, and that cannot be known like the interlocutor himself. It is the asking that tries to take the place of the other. The third is the asking that questions, criticizes everything and is open to possible changes, that of protestation and typical of the

moral assertion *because that is the way and cannot be different*, that tries to question in the sense of contesting, and refusing.

The different meanings of human asking are interconnected thanks to the concept of research, understood respectively as cause, person and future. Moreover, as it is a human preoccupation, they relate themselves with the research of explanation, sense and persistence (Marin, 2014). The space of asking in which human beings and cultures can establish an intercultural communication is that of the person and of his actions, in the interconnection among specific contexts and in search of a sense. Compared to the meaning of asking to know, the other cannot be reduced to object of knowledge, because when it happens, the fact of understanding the other and its culture turns into a strategy of subjugation. With regard to the critical meaning, the asking that questions the present cannot drive to a dialogue with the other, as it aims to include the maximum of human realization and happiness peculiar of each culture and that, being part of the process of intercultural dialogue, are related with the creation of the condition for being freely chosen.

As a specifically human – and therefore conflicting – power of the interrogative, inquisitive, problematic word - asking has always been risky: it has troubled regimes, knowledge and cultures that, from a position of power, felt to be threatened by the question and, more, by who asks: the other, the different. Asking is establishing a distance, introducing a difference. The authoritarian power, as well as the traditional education, the self-referential cultures, the rigid societies, have always considered it a conflict to avoid, a dysfunction to be corrected, a pathology to eliminate. The different – under both the literal and the metaphoric point of view – is always the stranger, who came from abroad or is found outside the established interests. This situation drives us to the words of Homer about the foreigner who bears truth, something that could or can be dangerous, to the point of speaking "ungrateful poleis", that mistreated Homer but later claimed to be his birthplace (Luque Lucas, 2006). Learning to valorise this ability to distance oneself and, at the same time, to interrogate oneself starting from the question means to acknowledge the value of the others (Bello Reguera, 2006), following a path articulated at least in three parts: it begins with the sensitiveness of acceptance, continues with the prudent exercise of reason which recognises dignity; ends with the affective-cognitive ability to join a

project of mutual learning and growth. Thanks to intercultural dialogue, we have opportunity to overcome the "ungrateful poleis" and to build "polis cordiales", of acceptance and coexistence.

The effort to progressively extend the spaces (cultural, social, politic) of question and to improve the protection and the activation of the right of asking (political institution, human rights) has characterized the history of human beings. This can be seen by the perspective of development, not continuous but spasmodic and paradoxical, of two complementary lines of capability: on the one side, those corresponding to knowledge, effective and processing, necessary for the dominion of the elements that threaten the survival, globally understood; on the other side, those related to the development of knowledge, based on its power but directs it from a prudential perspective, easing the understanding of the limits (of cultures, societies and political systems) and of the differences, to learn by them without renouncing to appreciate their own things. In this way the knowledge that feeds off the sources of intercultural communication is precious not only for the survival, but also for life. The perspective of a more and more complex scenario - in order to allow, from the one side, the quality of human life and, from the other side, the existence itself of the species despite the threats to the life of the planet - underlines the importance of the prudential approach proposed from the birth of bioethics (Van Potter, 1971) ad today accepted by prominent international bodies (UNESCO, 2015a; 2015b).

In the West the XX century was characterized by some questions that until now, in the XXI century, have not received an answer. *Man can survive*? asked Eric Fromm (2000) in the Fifties, as scenario of the question: *Can we live together*? formulated by Alain Touraine (2000) and, finally, *Must we bear everything*? recently asked by César Tejedor and Enrique Bonete (2006) about a very discussed topic in the intercultural field. These questions, whose answer is still open, are characterized by two essential interrogatives: one reflective, *can we choose our future*?, expressed by G. R. Urban (1973) at the beginning of that we elsewhere called "the new political century" (Martin, 2012); the other communicative: *how to live together?* Living together seems not to be, for human beings, an option among the others, neither a condemnation, but a decision and an opportunity; however, it is necessary to ask *how*, in order to transform the opportunity into decision.

Interculturality as intelligence to live together

Studies on neurosciences argue that the progressive construction of human knowledge allowed the birth of an intelligence stimulated in its development by the difficulties of adapting to hard contexts (Marina, 2012; Gardner, 1994). The intelligence for survival drove to a significant increase of the ability of dominion exercised trough knowledge, that allowed to subjugate nature to human designs, making the human will a measure of life. Later this ability was exercised to put under control elements of anarchy and social conflict: protestation, social discussions, rebellions (Roig, 1998), using for that purpose institutions and power of the State and, thanks to the progress of technology, a new stage of the process of subjugation and conditioning of minds and behaviours began, in order to put them at the service of market and political ideologies, of rigid moral systems, of different kinds of fundamentalism and racial, cultural and religious prejudices.

Within the pre-political space characterized by the violent attitude toward difference, the fights for survival – political, cultural, religious – exacerbated the elements that, in an interested way, claim to give a sense to human actions, starting from a determinate "we" – political, cultural, religious – that denies, in the name of the protection of the group, what is different, because it is considered a threat. In the pre-political space of violence, "what is different", as a justification of indifference, hostility or aggression (cultural, political, religious), is concretized in the different human beings that, until they will considered a bar to be dominated for carrying out a project of a determinate "we", will be excluded and any opportunity to be considered interlocutors will be denied. In the interpretation of the other as a threat, in their "hermeneutical absorption" by an authoritarian I, typical of a pre-political logic, any opportunity of encounter among different entities (cultures, civilizations, religions) disappears and a determinate logic of confrontation as an exercise of power prevails, based on the construction of the different as a threat and on its exclusion by a number of tools (coactive, discursive or symbolic, but always violent) directed to the real cancelation of the different (Arendt, 2006).

Within the logic of power, the reduction of the "threat" represented by the different has been presented under the form of "integration", understood in coactive and reductive sense, actually realized by forcing the other

to uncritically adapt – *integrate* – to a closed totality (economic, ideological, religious), that considers itself as "true", "superior" "unique" or, anyway, "unavoidable". In this case, integrating means to submit and this questions the value that we can see in the other and the degree of compatibility considered "admissible" among habits, experiences or praxis that have a potential of confrontation with the correlative elements usually admitted inside the "we". However, such potential of confrontation must not be understood as generator of intercultural violence (Bello Reguera, 2006); the development of initiatives like, for instance, the proposal of *communities of intercultural dialogue and argumentation* (Quintero, 2011), can pave the way to overcome the levels of the potentially violent contradiction, driving them to levels of contrariety, potentially complementary.

Terrorism and dramatic migration processes that affect several parts of the world, mainly the European countries, on the one side question the real validity of human rights and international treaties (F. Cacciatore, 2013) and, on the other side, the fragility of the integration processes and the limits of the proclaimed cooperation and solidarity relations. In Latin America history offers many examples of this logic, whose discussion is found in the present scenarios of the processes of integration among countries, as well as within countries and religions (Martin, 2016). The concept of integration, considered within the logic of power and without considering the asymmetries among countries, regions and social groups, support the juridical initiatives of the treaties on the matter and it has also fed educational and communicative programmes directed to consider its acceptance as convenient or unavoidable. There is no doubt about the importance of linking the projects of intercultural ethics to the efforts to develop an education for the Latin-American integration in a plural and critical sense (Martinez & Hernández, 2014-15). Educating to interculturality and educating to integration are two convergent processes within a critical review of the potentialities of globalization.

Education and intercultural dialogue

Education to interculturality needs to analyze the relations – both confrontational and non-confrontational – of the exchange among cultures. We

cannot demand the elimination of the conflicts, given that the diversity of life entails them as an its own conflict. It is necessary to separate conflict from violence: violence is not a necessary element of conflict, even if it can be essential in case of an inappropriate answer. The concept of intercultural conflict, read in the key of the present world, neither entails nor justifies any kind of violence. Starting from the scholars who analyzed the positive view of conflict (Galtung, 1998), it represents an opportunity to build coexistence in the stages of management, learning and transformation of conflict. As underlined by R. Salas (2011), coexistence is built to carry out harmony, an improvement of the balance that, as a process, is realized through a series of theoretical-practical interactions and is not established through the fast way of the reductionist appropriations, like several times the rationality of the West tried to do.

According to M. A. Bartolomé, within the perspective of interculturality

los seres humanos ya no poseeríamos sólo nuestra cultura de nacimiento sino que seríamos propietarios de múltiples tradiciones, a las que invocaríamos de acuerdo con el contexto interactivo coyuntural…sin embargo, esta perspectiva no debe dejar de lado los aspectos políticos y económicos de la globalización y la imposición cultural que genera, ya que lo que realmente se globaliza es Occidente. Entendida así, la interculturalidad sería sólo una nueva denominación para la Occidentalización planetaria y la destrucción de la diversidad cultural (Bartolomè, 2006).

The westernisation of the planet cannot in any way be the scenario of encounter and dialogue among cultures, first because it prevents the acknowledgement and the valorisation of non-western cultures (in the European and North American sense), rejecting what is learnt by the exchange of meanings, symbols and valorisation of cultural spaces like those of Asia (China, India, Japan) or America (maya, náhualt, quechua, aymara). Therefore it cannot be built as a platform to stimulate agreements able to make possible the creation of an intercultural ethics. Moreover, at political level, this makes impossible to reach a global governance for a more balanced and less violent world (Berggruen & Gardeis, 2012). From a Latin-American perspective of the analysis of the history of the region's countries, of their relations and projects of integration, the intercultural approach requires to overcome the situation of colonization and neocolonization. M. P. Quintero stated:

Consideramos necesaria para una comunicación y educación intercultural en América Latina, entre las culturas criollas y las culturas fundacionales, la mediación, el 'puente' que proporciona una Teoría y práctica de la Descolonización, que incluya una epistemología, una psicología, una pedagogía y una ética de la Descolonización (Quintero, 2011, p. 36).

Education to interculturality begins with the development of mechanisms that tries to stimulate intercultural dialogue. We refer to interdisciplinary spaces and educational tools considered, as highlighted by M. P. Quintero (ibid., p. 34), an universal necessity, whose importance comes from the fact that

la coexistencia de culturas diferenciadas requiere de estrategias de relación intercultural, por lo que el pluralismo cultural o multiculturalismo no es pensable sin el desarrollo de un diálogo intercultural (Bartolomé, 2006, p. 126).

To approach to the peculiarity of the intercultural dialogue as a process to establish a real mutual relations, R. Salas-Astrain (2003) summarises the orientations on the formal and contextual regulatory criteria, the interconnection of specific contexts, the starting point in the interest of the diverse subjects and communities, the priority of the conflict that can be solved, the exclusion of any element related to the pretense of mutual understanding and the resolute refusal of any recourse to violence. With regard to the regulation of the intercultural dialogue, the latter follows - as argued by Martinez and Hernández (2014-2015) – regulatory criteria derived from both formal principles and peculiarities of their context. About the intercultural communications, the same authors argue that it is "un producto inestable de la interconexión de contextos específicos" and "para poder generar un verdadero intercambio discursivo, es preciso partir de las formas argumentativas existentes históricamente de facto y no disolverlas en un modelo abstracto", with the aim to reach a common level of discursive rationality.

The intelligence necessary to live together in the diversity is found on the basis of an approach to the processes of integration of Latin American countries that must be based on mutual dialogue, learning and enrichment, in order to promote the human development by mechanisms of intercultural communication – able to lead to the valorisation of their own things– and by

the relation with the different, understood as bioethical, intercultural and prudential fundaments (Franco 2011). It is necessary to dialogue in order to achieve, in deliberative communities, the implementation of strategies of self-knowledge, self-valorisation and self-affirmation, organised on educative elements of decolonisation of mind and development of creative imagination in order to design and wide the horizon of the possible. These targets involve both institutions of formal education and the educative function of mass media in the creation of spaces of learning based on respect, dialogue and active tolerance for the search of shared minima. Starting from different ethnic roots, from different national stories and different encounters, the process of acknowledgement of the shared minima can put them into practice on the basis of similar historical processes and common social experiences; in Latin America the colonial period and the stages of the neo-colonial cultural emptying marked shared experiences of subjugation and of cultural learning of self-devaluation (Quintero, 2011).

Interculturality and integration

The different roads taken in Latin America to advance in the process of integration of peoples and cultures with significant differences, with specific encounters and historical-political processes, raised many debates about the real actors and the aims of the integration: integration of élites, without the population; integration of markets, with superficial homogenisation of cultural models. The triumph of a rationality based on efficiency but lacking the polemic imagination and the disregard for a prudential rationality directed to sustainability. In Latin-American countries acknowledgement, otherness and valorisation (Martin, 2011) have been challenges to establish effective strategies and policies of intercultural dialogue, until now widely deficient. The slow passage from multiculturalism to cultural pluralism and intercultural dialogue moved in parallel with the slow passage towards projects of integration important for the people of the region.

The confrontational experience of the arrive of European powers in American lands questioned the possibility of a community of origin as a fortress for a thought of integration. The independence wars raised the discussion about the difficult construction of a community of life that, due to

the political events, established basis of survival. This continued even later, in the neo-colonial period. The community of destination, as third element of creation of an integrating process, was built in the moment of maximum strength in the history of the Latin-American countries. As future is constructed through intercultural dialogue as processing power of present and past, it depends on the opportunities of establishing a new universalising rationality able to create an open common model, in the convergence between the value of the single experiences (with a critical work of intracultural valorisation) and the encounter with the different experiences (trough tools of intercultural education).

The forms of coexistence have always been imagined starting from conditions that have denied them. In the history of the West, the polis imagined by Aristotle, understood as a project of possible coexistence, was impossible. Therefore we can think that nowadays the project of the intercultural coexistence is the task of the imagination, as underlined by G. Cacciatore (2015, p. 53):

El nexo imaginación/interculturalidad asume un peso específico determinante también en el ámbito de las políticas y de las éticas que están fundadas en una visión pluralista y dialógica de las civilizaciones y de las culturas.

In order to realize an actual exchange in the space of reason and rules built in the intercultural dialogue, it is necessary to break the forms of hybridisation and reciprocity creatively *imagined*: starting from the narration of cultural contexts and from an effort to translate their languages,

se constituye una actividad imaginativa capaz de reemplazar la fijeza de los principios ordenadores de una cultura con formas de contaminación, lugares de un posible futuro saber común y espacios en los que se comparten decisiones éticas y derechos fundamentales: la supervivencia, la integridad de la persona y la reducción de las situaciones de indigencia, la ampliación de las chances de actuación de las capacidades personales (ibid., p. 54).

Imagining the possible coexistence among cultures and human groups makes possible to activate the potentiality of a mutual agreement among the actors, that can become real trough intercultural dialogue and represents the beginning of the intercultural ethics. The aspect of imaginative anticipation present in the dimension of a project can feed the space of open-

ing to knowledge, valorisation and solidarity in the processes of integration. According to G. Cacciatore, the role of the ethical and political imagination is essential to approach the problems of integration of the Latin-America countries:

Es justamente el aspecto simbólico-imaginativo lo que puede dar mayor fuerza a una declinación de la interculturalidad como espacio que hoy no se puede dejar de privilegiar si se quiere propiciar el diálogo y el encuentro de culturas e identidades (ibid., p. 57).

A philosophy of interculturality seems to be requested by ideas and praxis of hybridization and encounter. The experiences of encounter, starting from the horizon of the fights and of the critical conscience that imagines the possible transformation of the social and political reality, can be the starting point to build a new form of universal rationality

que no pretenda incorporar y cancelar las diferencias culturales. De esta forma se torna posible hablar de una verdadera 'tercera vía' respecto del indigenismo utópico mitológico y de la lógica mercantil y homologante de la globalización neoliberal (ibid. p. 66).

The basic assumption of the Latin-American integration processes can be based on a new kind of universalism:

Cada individuo y cada grupo puede y debe tener garantizado su derecho a vivir y a desarrollar su identidad, pero también a buscar, en el diálogo intercultural la mezcla de pertenencias con instrumentos inéditos de hibridación lingüística y cognoscitiva, pero también con la fuerza de la imaginación creadora (ibid., p. 67).

Within this new kind of universality – that, following the criticism of M. Beuchot (1999), cannot be univocal but only analogical – the way to prudential rationality is open. It claims the anticipative ability of imagination and in it there is the bioethical horizon of a valorisation of the life (integrity of life, right to political life, access to goods and information, right to hospitality and to an harmonic ecology) (Martin, 2014) as a practice of diversity and exercise of harmonization.

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Intercultural Complexity of the Southern Mediterranean: Arab-Mediterranean Perceptions and Outlooks

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Abstract

The present paper aims at placing the Mediterranean within the cultural perceptions and literary productions of the Arab World, particularly the Maghreb. How do collective consciousness and cultural representations in the South see the Mediterranean as a heritage of civilization? Does the Mediterranean exist at all for Arabs? Is it completely absent, or does it holds at least a marginal place in the Arab cultural and scientific productions? If the latter hypothesis were true, what are the underlying reasons for this relative marginality of the Mediterranean? These are some of the questions we will try to answer, the goal being to make some clarifications on the outlook of Southern Mediterranean countries towards the Mediterranean cultural heritage.

Keywords: Arabs, Culture, Cultural heritage, Dialogue, Mediterranean.

1. Diversity and Intercultural Dialogue in the Mediterranean

Only Europe able to recognize the Mediterranean its cradle and to return to turn to the banks for too long relegated to its forgotten suburbs, could really its 'natural' (in geo-historical terms) centre of gravity, that sea in which to gaze only with nostalgic regret for the lost centrality in world history, but with the proud knowledge to be a 'great space' able to exercise its role of neutralizing conflicts avoiding the danger of a clash of civilizations (Resta, 2012: 104).

This sea, that was once "dialogue and freedom" has now become "closure and death": today there are tens of thousands dead drowned in the Mediterranean, due to the increase of migration flows from Africa and the Middle East to the shores of Europe (UNHCR, 2015). This *mare nostrum* – where the "our" is related to humans (Cassano & Zolo, 2007) and once a meeting place for knowledge as the meeting place of strangers –has now become a "border insurmountable" for many desperate. This sea, unfamiliar with juxtapositions like North / South, East / West, Islam / Christianity,

and which saw the flourishing of cultures, arts, religions, philosophies, to-day is no longer a 'hotbed' of dialogue, but has become a battlefield for a war fought not with weapons but with "ideologies" and where opponents are identified in Us and Them: We, the civilized (Europeans, the North), the modern ones, those who live in prosperity; Them, the other (the Arabs, the South), the desperate fleeing war and famine.

However, the Mediterranean acquires a fundamental importance in promoting pluralism, diversity, and freedom. Because becoming a place of dialogue and encounter, this sea "could turn into the peace table between the West and the Islamic world and play an important role for the initiation of a peace process on a global scale" (Horchani & Zolo, 2005, p. 7). In light of this, if the Europeans (the North) want to build and rebuild their future, they will have to review their relationship with the Mediterranean together with the other political and cultural actors bordering on the Mediterranean, starting with the Arab peoples.

It is desirable, therefore, for the Mediterranean to becomes a "thoughtful knowledge" promoting relationship building both between subjects and within their living environment, facilitating an encounter between the North and South and West and East with the awareness that only dialogue can make society open to the re-composition of cultural differences and the specific features of every culture. In fact, culture is not an absolute and the same goes for identity; both are dynamic: the benefits derived from culture depend on its very process of reconstruction, and the dominant discourse of culture as an immutable inheritance is just a subcomponent (often a con-servative one) of a process (Buruma & Margalit, 2004; Said, 1978). It follows that multiculturalism is a new way of understanding cultural dynamics: multiculturalism does not mean the concept of culture multiplied by the number of "other cultures" in a given area, but rather a new approach for managing the cultural diversity (simultaneous presence of various cultures) introduced in everyday life by individuals coming from different areas (Hannerz, 1996).

The thoughts expressed within the debate on interculturalism and mul-ticulturalism are based on cultural and identity issues: the great challenge faced with difficulty by society and social systems (among which we can find the European Union and the Mediterranean Basin), is whether they should be seen as closed systems (non-welcoming) or as open systems

(welcoming) towards "other cultures"; what Baumann (1999) called "the multicultural enigma".

Laying the foundations for the construction of a real and effective interculturality cannot be separated from what happened in the past, to what is happening and what will happen even in the Mediterranean.

> The championing of pluralism, diversity, and basic liberties can be found in the history of many societies. The long traditions of encouraging and protecting public debates on political, social, and cultural matters in, say, India, China, Japan, Korea, Iran, Turkey, the Arab world, and many parts of Africa, demand much fuller recognition in the history of democratic ideas. This global heritage is ground enough to question the frequently reiterated view that democracy is just a Western idea, and that democracy is therefore just a form of Westernization. The recognition of this history has direct relevance in contemporary politics in pointing to the global legacy of protecting and promoting social deliberation and pluralist interactions, which cannot be any less important today than they were in the past when they were championed (Sen, 2003, pp. 29-30).

This passage by Sen explains very well why the "Mediterranean" acquires a fundamental importance in promoting pluralism, diversity, and freedom.

This sea "that has often been set ablaze, but has also always been able to put out its fires, turning the clash into an encounter, the war-front into comparison and discussion, the *pólemos* in *diálogos*, to see, at the height of the tensest conflict, the invisible and powerful harmony that, at the bottom of each contrast, holds back the contenders" (Resta, 2012, p. 17), can find an answer to the crisis of culture and identity.

The weight of the Mediterranean component is extremely relevant in several respects throughout the South resulting in great differences in comparison with the North: European society is crossed by deep interwoven cleavages, in some cases overlapping and adding up, transforming difference into conflict (Catholics and Protestants, church and state, North and South, etc.). European identity, therefore, and its geographic map, correspond not only to the institutional divisions, but also to these complex differences (as religion, economy, politics, literacy, draw another Europe than the official one) that constitute true lines of separation, often even within the borders of the nation state (Eder & Giesen, 2001). Due to the interplay of a number of factors, a common destiny connects the Europe and the entire Mediterranean, from Gibraltar to the Golden Horn, causing the

perception of a clear civil inferiority to form / stir in the collective consciousness (Kassir, 2004).

The Mediterranean legacy is a complex *ensemble* of ideas, images and feelings which have been cultivated for centuries and are still cultivated in this "*sea* (not ocean) amidst the lands"; which was called *mare nostrum* by the ancient Romans and which the same name could be attributed again if we understand the word *nostrum* as referring to each and every one of us, as human beings.

A new conception of the Mediterranean can be built with the help of an approach that goes beyond the classical oppositions Europe/ Mediterranean, North/South, East/West, etc., which can set up a new dimension of social space that as a "container" is transformed into an "arena" where people carry out their everyday lives and construct a social reality and own "life-world": what Barbieri (2016) defines "The Mediterranean approach" or the "Mediterranean mind". In order to move in the this direction, understanding what it could mean, the author reflects around 3 main ideas: a) *the open concept of Mediterranean* that has been cultivated by prominent intellectuals of the past, one of them has been Albert Camus (Judt, 2008); b) the "long durée" approach to the history of *humana civilitas*: putting apart ideas like western and eastern; and re-thinking the ideas of modernity and secularization; c) the new concept of *territoriality* that can be built with the help of the geo-sociological approach to most recent changes in geo-politics and international relations.

It is necessary to rethink the "Mediterranean mind" with the political and cultural actors bordering on the Mediterranean, starting with the Arab peoples and the representations that they have of the Mediterranean (Lewis, 1993; Norman, 1960).

2. The Mediterranean in the Arab Cultural heritage

The Mediterranean is not just a geographical concept. Its borders are not defined neither in terms of space nor in time. We do not know how and in what way to determine them: they cannot be defined according to their sovereignty or history and are neither state nor national: they resemble a chalk-drawn circle that continues to be delineated and erased, which the waves and the winds, businesses and inspirations expand or shrink. Along the coasts of this sea passed the Silk Road, it was the crossroads for the streets of salt and spices,

oils and perfumes, amber and ornaments, tools and weapons, of wisdom and knowledge, of art and science. The Greek emporiums were once markets and embassies. Along the Roman roads power and civilization were spreading. From Asian territories prophets and religions came. On the Mediterranean, Europe was conceived (Matvejevic, 2013, p. 18).

This idea seems to have been forgotten, and along with it seems to have been destroyed common cultural identity and collective memory (Halbwachs, 1968) of these territories.

Within this perspective, the recovery of memory is the process where it is possible to steer and substantiate the territorial sense of belonging through the development and the reinforcement of consensus and social balance. To achieve this function, the social groups, which are the holders of material interests and of different exigencies and needs, have to identify and identify themselves through memory sharing, in order to encourage civil life, participation and the increase of social capital, inexhaustible source of cultural resources for a territory as its own culture and cultural heritage. This is because, broadly speaking, culture should be understood as «the expression of the totality of man's social life. It is characterized by its collective dimension. In the end, culture is acquired and therefore does not depend on biological heredity. However, although culture is acquired, its origin and its characteristics are predominantly unconscious»? (Cuche, 1996, p. 16). In other words, culture is constituted both by objective elements (tools, capabilities, etc.) and subjective ones (beliefs, roles, values, etc.) and represents one of the principal factors when evaluating the individuals' sense of belonging to a society. All the activities and the institutions are "cultural" from the moment when a meaning is required in order to operate. This does not endorse the view that social life is connected to a cultural determinism, but rather we support the position that culture is the key component for the way a person acts: «every social practice depends on and relates to meaning; consequently, that culture is one of the constitutive conditions of existence of that practice, that every social practice has a cultural dimension» (Hall, 1997, pp. 225-26). Cultural objects hold significance among the people who live within a social world and the latter, in turn, has meaning only through the culture (Griswold, 1994) with which it is observed.

Therefore, culture is a fundamental aspect of daily life and, as such, it is necessary to understand it in relation to the different situations of the social

world. Through this study, possible pathways to improve relations can be hypothesized and the forms deriving from this social world, and through which interactions between people and the other elements of the system are expressed, can be improved.

Thus, in this perspective, the cultural heritage is one of the privileged spaces to promote the "dialogue" between peoples.

The Mediterranean in Arab Historiography

The Mediterranean, after the Middle Ages, often recurred in works and manuscripts by Arab scholars and geographers as a geo-historical space. Indeed, Arab geographers have shown an early interest in the Mediterranean, by establishing comparisons between this sea and the Atlantic ocean, highlighting the power relations existing at the time between the Arabs and Muslims, on the one side, and the Byzantines, Normans and Franks, on the other. Among these men we must mention the famous names: well-known Arab geographers such as Al Idrissi and Al Bekri and, in particular, the historian Ibn Khaldoun. The latter has left us a description of the situation in the Mediterranean area, defining its longitudes and latitudes and the cities that surround it (Braudel, 1966).

Ibn Kaldoun's *Muqaddimah* (Ibn Khaldun, 1862) has inspired most of the Tunisian writers and intellectuals of the modern era. In the first part of his book the author talks of civilizations and cultures, describing a land divided into seven climates, its different districts, rivers and seas. In doing so Ibn Khaldoun paints a picture of the Mediterranean inherited by the Ptolemies and by Al Idrissi, to which he often refers.

Khaldoun's world attributes the Mediterranean (*bahr al-Rûm* or *bahr al-Shâm* – the sea of the Romans or the sea of Syria) a quality place in a third or fourth climate. The description he gives combines the observation of geographical limits and political and cultural criteria, splitting the region in two. According to him, the Mediterranean area is delimited by two straits. The first, called *zuqâq* (narrow passage, alley) connects it to the "surrounding waters" (*al bahr al-muhît*), namely the Atlantic ocean: this strait is located on both sides of Tangier and Tarîfa.

The second strait, that of Byzantium, joins the area with the sea of Nithoc and Banthoc (the Black Sea). Between these two passages, the sea expands and sprouts a series of islands, more or less large, more or less in-

habited: Cyprus, Crete, Sicily, Majorca, Sardinia. This is what he calls «*al-bahr al-Rûmi, that which is well-known*» or *al-bahr al-Shâmi* (Syrian sea). Two more seas flow out of this matrix: the sea of Nithoc (the Black Sea) and the "Sea of Venice". The maritime space is thus surrounded by three coastal limits: the Syrian side, then the southern coast, and finally the coast of the "Maghreb" countries (from Tangier to Ifrîqiya and Barqa up to Alexandria). Ibn Khaldoun locates the third coast on the north shore: Byzantium, Venice, the Roman coast, the south of France, finally Andalusia up to Tarîfa, in front of Tangier. In short, Ibn Khaldoun's Mediterranean is the sea known by the educated men of his time, a plural sea in which gulfs and cities followed one another, but also a sea in which two large human groups could be distinguished, a north shore (west of Byzantium) subject to Christian dominance, an eastern and southern shore under Muslim dominance.

From the description of the various regions that make up the "climates", Ibn Khaldoun derives geographical regions which blend (or soon will) with already existing political entities. Here is what the author writes about the second part of the third climate:

Sur le rivage de cette mer est située la ville de (Bône/Annaba). Du côé de l'Orient, et sur la même ligne que ces contrées, se trouvent la province d'Ifrîkiya, la ville de Tounis, située auprés de la mer, puis Souça, puis El Mehdia. Au midi, et au pied du Mont Deren s'élèvent les villes du Djerid, telles que Touzer, Gafsa et Nefzaoua. Entre cette région et le littoral sont situées la ville de Cairouan, la montagne de Ouslat et Sobeitla. Immédiatement à l'orient de ce pays, la province de Tripoli" (Boubaker & Belhaj, 2000, p. 128[1]).

The Mediterranean and the Cultural Relations between East and West

The problem of contacts/conflicts between the Arab-Muslim society and civilization and the West is both ancient and endlessly renewed, because of geopolitical and historical reasons, as well as issues of political economy. It is therefore in this context that the West occupied – and occupies today – a central – that is, focal – place in the cultural productions of the Muslim

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[1] On the shore of this Sea is the city of (Bône/Annaba). On the Eastern shore, and on the same line as these regions, are the province of Ifrīkiya, the city of Tunis, located nearby the sea, then Souça, then El Mehdia. To the south, at the foot of Mount Deren rise the cities of Djerid, as well as Touzer, Gafsa and Nefzaoua. Between this region and the coastline are located the city of Cairouan, the Ouslat mountain and Sbeitla. Right to the east of the country, the province of Tripoli.

elite, in the official discourse of the ruling classes, and, more generally, in the modern and contemporary Arabic-Muslim social, political, and cultural though. From this point of view the West, rather than a geographical space and a separate "historical-religious lot", is perceived by Arabs and Muslims – according to highly varied considerations – as a reference, a model to follow, a school, an ally, a brother/enemy, another with which Arabs and Muslims must negotiate.

Consequently, beyond the opposing pairs East/West, Islam/Christianity, Arab-Muslim Civilization/European Civilization, the existing mechanisms and unequal relationships condemn the actors to engage, in spite of themselves and against their will, in a historical process full of hope, of interests, of tensions and problems, at the same time indispensable, conflicting, complementary, strategic, for either of the actors.

The main features and key events of this process began to be known by means of the armies and the flow of goods and ideas, starting with the Crusades, but especially throughout the so-called modern period (XV-XIX century) corresponding, on the one hand, to the European expansion and, on the other hand, to the crisis of the Muslim world in the framework of the Ottoman Empire. This process of meeting, contact, collision, the "forced cohabitation" between the West and the Muslim world lies at the root of two of the most tragic and more complicated historical events, because of their experience and their parade of problems and illnesses, namely: 1) Western colonialism; 2) dependence and underdevelopment of the Arab-Muslim world.

Muslim elites of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, conscious in their own way of this double speed of universal history, will talk about the "delay" (*Attaâkhur*) of some and the "progress" (*Attaqadum*) of others, and they will ask themselves the much pertinent question: what to do? In the modern Arab-Muslim thought, this state of mind was developed by Ahmed Ibn Abi Dhiaf, one of the more actively involved personalities, and by Kheireddine Pacha in Tunisia and Rifaat al Tahtaoui in Egypt, into this process of modernity, modernization and debate on West-Islam relations (Tlili, 1974; Jdey, 1998).

3. The Mediterranean According to the Arab Outlooks and Cultural Perceptions

Speaking of the Mediterranean seen by the contemporary Arab eyes and through the same cultural processes necessarily means evoking the complexity of the relations that have prevailed through the far and near history, without forgetting the vicissitudes of the colonial era.

Indeed, until the independence of the Maghreb countries in the late 1950s, the Maghreb-Mediterranean cultural contributions reflected almost exclusively this confrontational and complex dimension between the Christian-European north and the Arab-Mediterranean south.

Maghreb's traditional mistrust – and, more generally, that of the Arab world – towards the Mediterranean was because the latter was regarded as a projection of the North on the South and thus perceived – at the time – as a validation for the colonial project (Hadhri, 1997a).

The Mediterranean and the Seduction of the Arab Elites

During the 1930s, some Arab philosophers and writers of great renown have brought an academic and scientific outlook on the Mediterranean. Indeed, it is mainly through reference to the pre-Islamic cultural heritage that the Mediterranean idea was investigated by some minority writers in Lebanon, Egypt, and Tunisia. In Lebanon, in particular, the Mediterranean has been claimed in the name of a neo-Phoenician ancestry. In this way that Christian philosophers, such as René Habachi, have dedicated many works to the Mediterranean.

In Egypt, as early as the nineteenth century, the entire Mediterranean current is created in the wake of Egypt's modernization attempts and cultural trends that favoured the historical heritage of pharaonic Egypt. The Egyptian chronicler Rifaat Al Tahtaoui attempted, in his famous work *Takhlīṣ al-Ila ibrīz talhīs Bārīz* (The Gold of Paris) of 1834 (Al Tahtaoui, 2012), to establish the convergence between Arab thought and European thought. In the late thirties, Taha Hussein (1938), in his book *Moustaqbal Aththaqafa fi Misr* (The Future of Culture in Egypt), attempted to place the Mediterranean at the center of the Arab-Muslim thought.

The Greek roots of Arab culture find an answer in the Arab origins of European culture, a blended heritage shaping a balanced Mediterranean thought. Just as in Lebanon and Egypt, and in the same spirit, in Tunisia

the Mediterranean has often been associated to the Carthaginian and Phoenician heritage, as well as to the Roman Empire. Prestigious names such as Elyssa, queen Dido, Hannibal, the Carthaginian general who defeated Rome, Magon, and later characters such as St. Augustine, St. Cyprian, Tertullian have often been claimed as a basis for the national history of Tunisia.

In this respect, Tunisia holds a special place in the general evolution of cultural relations with western Europe. Since the beginning of the twentieth century, the dynamic and plural presence of Europeans in Tunisia seems to have exercised an obvious influence on the country's elite. These European were mainly from the Mediterranean: French, Italian, Maltese, Tuscan and Spanish. The Western image was omnipresent in the writings of Tunisian intellectuals and in their cultural and scientific productions.

In the wake of Al Tahtaoui's writings, Kherreddine Pacha's (1868) *Aquam Al Masalik fi Maarifat ahwal al mamalik* (The Surest Path to Knowledge regarding the Condition of Countries) is an essential reference in the ideological trend of the Tunisian and Arab political reformism.

Ali Douaji or the Birth of a Mediterranean Identity

In Ali Douaji's novel (1983), *Jawlat bayna hanat al-bahr al-mutawassit* (Journey through the Mediterranean bars), the young Tunisian journalist and writer of the thirties seems to have promoted "Mediterraneaness" as the theme for reflection. This novel by Ali Douaji summarizes the intellectual climate, full of passion, of the thirties in which it was written.

After the end of World War I, Tunisian literary output is marked by a multifaceted debate on *identity*. The author, apparently incompletely, narrates a voyage in the summer of 1933. His report offers to a certain youth a new perception of the Mediterranean. In the story of his "cruise" proposed by the shipping companies of the time (France, Italy, Greece, Turkey, Egypt, ...) he mixes the evocation of ancient civilizations with that of a modern East. Starting from Tunis, Douaji begins his circumnavigation in France, via Corsica. The writer actually journeys to meet the three cultural basis among which he is travelling: French culture (and French as a key language during his circumnavigation), the two origins (Latin and Greek) of the European culture, traditional Arab culture, but also Turkish culture in his recent Republican version.

We must emphasize that at every stop on his trip Douaji is interested in the archaeological and architectural heritage, as if this past that founded the different cultural roots in the Mediterranean was for him the key to the present. However, at different moments in his story, the novelist insists on the communication problems experienced by the two cultural and human groups in the region. The West has a problem in understanding the East, the latter could not be satisfied with imitating Europe. According to Douaji, westernizing does not mean losing one's soul, but rather changing the relationships with Europeans. His dream was to live in intimacy with the two cultural areas, as a man could live, in his time, with two women. But he knows, in his heart of hearts, that the West denies him this bigamy, *i.e.* this double culture.

Douaji's novel is a literary creation and not a political pamphlet. However, it evokes all the misgivings felt by part of the Tunisian elite in the face of the various identities between past, present and future. This debate, concerning the relationship of national belonging with the different cultural components of the Mediterranean, took – some years later – the turning of a great political debate.

The relationship between identity and sense of belonging is, therefore, inextricably linked because the latter is an active element of affirmation and recognition of an identity: *one's sense of belonging is an active feeling of connection* that implies (emotional) affection, so it develops a kind of loyalty to something one feels he or she belongs to (Gasparini, 2000). Initially, this produces an objective integration and later a subjective one. As a result, it reinforces the identity, this means to be identical to oneself and, at the same time, to be identical to the collectivity. Due to the problematic nature of this relationship and the complexity of its ambivalent concepts, both individual and collectivity need them, the former developing into the latter in order to continue to "exist", and the changes in identity that happen in modern society.

Limits and Weaknesses of the Mediterranean Trend in the Arab World

Considering the density of the euro-Mediterranean presence in the Arab cultural production after the beginning of the century, it is tempting to speak of a real "mindset of the two shores". In this sense, the masterful work of some major Western orientalists – such as Louis Massignon,

Jacques Berque, André Miquel and others – are undoubtedly elements of a Mediterranean syncretism whose height was reached in the thirties.

However, we are forced to conclude that it is not so. Placing themselves outside the Arab-Muslim cultural centrality, all these neo-Mediterranean trends have led to an *impasse*. These schools of thought, which consider the Mediterranean as a surrogate of the Arab cultural heritage, are largely without future in the Arab World.

It was not until the eighties that we could witness again a development in the "Mediterranean thought" in the writings of poets – such as Adonis, Salah Stétié, Tahar Ben Jelloun, Amine Maalouf – or philosophers and theorists – such as Mohamed Arkoun, Abed Al Jabri. It is a new attempt at renewing the Mediterranean dimension of Arab culture. It is a new opening, certainly still timid and fragile, but no less likely to shape a true "mindset of the two shores".

Intercultural Complexity in the Southern Mediterranean: The Case of the Maghreb

The Maghreb here presented as both reference and framework of analysis appears as a true intercultural laboratory. Indeed, Maghreb is located, with its cultural background, at the intersection of two perpendicular lines: 1) an Arab-Islamic (horizontal) one, going from the Atlantic to beyond Mecca; 2) a French-Western (vertical) one, going from Paris to the bottom of Africa.

If after more than fourteen centuries the horizontal Arab-Islamic culture appears as the corner-stone of Maghreb's cultural building, a complex process of "loans" and compromise seems to be also in place, through time and space, between the Arab-Islamic culture and other cultures, among which the Mediterranean and European culture.

The major challenge now for the Maghreb concerns its opening towards the Mediterranean and the West. This openness allows it to live its "accidentality" as one of the components of its civilization, but is at the same time reducing the risks of a shift to a "Westernism" that would make it smaller.

The tendencies to cultural and identity fallbacks observed in recent years in some layers of the Maghreb society stem from here, as well as the search for "shelter values" in the face of what appears to be a "Western cultural hegemony" (Hadhri, 1997a).

4. The Mediterranean cultural heritage in the face of new data

In the current historical and political conditions, the Mediterranean appears mainly as an intermediary world between Islam and the West. It is a territory of mediation that lays down steps and creates a possible common membership (Bedjaoui, 1994).

Briefly, the cultural realities of the contemporary Mediterranean world are undoubtedly an inexhaustible field of variations, of styles, of blended imaginaries, born from the synthesis between cultures. In other words, the Mediterranean is a complex and emblematic place of contact between cultures, a permanent hotbed of interactions and cultural sets: Judaism, Christianity and Islam, the cultures of ancient Egypt and the ancient East, the Phoenician, Greek and Roman, Byzantine, Arab and Andalusian, Ottoman, European cultures. Never a region of the world has known this much mixing, synthesis and loans between cultures so diverse and rich. Hence the crucial question we must ask concerning the future of the Mediterranean cultural heritage.

This question is all the more relevant as the Mediterranean, linking area between cultures and civilizations, is at a crucial moment in its history, and this for at least two reasons. First, for the Mediterranean region, where two opposite forces are deeply working in this geo-historic space, both to make it into a junction and passage area and, conversely and at the same time, to transform it into an area of borders and fractures. Secondly, on a planetary scale, where globalization challenges the Mediterranean and Europeans and puts them a great challenge, to adapt their own cultural heritage to the invasive phenomenon of globalization, in order to preserve the opportunities of a Mediterranean permanently reconciled with itself and with its recent and remote past.

In a caustic paper entitled *"La pensée des deux rives"*, published in his book *L'Héritage andalou*, Thierry Fabre wondered about future aspects of the Mediterranean, in particular on cultural level (Fabre, 1995). The future in the Mediterranean will be a new kind of reality gathering the two shores in an unusual combination, while others evoke the "Andalusian shore" to describe the new neo-Mediterranean discourse of recent years on solidarity, cooperation, dialogue between the north and south of the Mediterranean.

The culmination of this explosion of meetings and various events was the Barcelona Conference, which defined a new platform for the future of relations between the two shores (Hadhri, 1997b).

Anyway, the one-sided view of the Mediterranean – as a projection of the North on the South – long-dominant, gradually gives way to "a new Mediterranean utopia", this time commonly shared between the two shores.

More than ever this beautiful Mediterranean utopia, carried [with]in the elites' hearts, proves to be essential to the progress of the Mediterranean and its future. Accordingly, the UNESCO World Conference on Cultural Policies, held in Mexico in 1982, has rightly considered "that the Mediterranean has, since the dawn of human civilization, constituted a link between peoples and cultures, as a sea which is a source of creativity and of fruitful exchanges spanning millennia, and a means of communication between European and Islamic cultures" (UNESCO, 1982, p. 91).

Conclusions

This very brief study of intercultural relations in the Mediterranean as they are perceived by the South allows us to propose some deductive observations: 1) The Mediterranean suffers from a large deficit in cultural relations in spite of the efforts implemented over recent years, particularly after Barcelona; 2) The consolidation of the bases of "Mediterraneanness" also depends on in-depth work at the level of the Arab-Mediterranean societies and their elites, as well as through a North-South and South-North dialogue; 3) The great challenge of this early century for all the Mediterranean and European peoples is to synchronize their own cultural heritage in the face of globalization of ideologies, economies and cultures in order to preserve the opportunities of a Mediterranean cultural heritage, the only durable foundation for a living Mediterranean, the Mediterranean of the twenty-first century.

One of the goals to achieve would be precisely to arrive at a better perception of the other, to a rediscovery of the other in the framework of a new journey of the most sincere and outspoken cultural dialogue. It means to

dispel misunderstandings, lull passions and open the doors of hope for a better future in the Mediterranean.

In fact, if otherness is a dimension that cannot be ignored, being, today like yesterday, fundamental for the processes of identification and recognition, we must ponder the fact that the other (the difference) is not only a place of conflict and recrimination, but also a foundation on which to build a culture of tolerance and respect – an issue currently much debated. Said culture should instil, particularly into younger generations, the desire to know each other, to open up towards the other as a person from whom to learn not only new customs, habits, and new ways of being, but also as a way to re-discover ourselves, to reconsider ourselves, our values and behaviours. The cultural dimension becomes therefore crucial, as it can provide the basis on which to establish a society not merely focused on respecting "otherness", but which also allows to explore the mechanisms created at different levels (individual, social, and cultural ones) whenever we relate to the "other".

The problem of the North / South dialogue is not the Mediterranean – not least because in this area the most significant civilizations, religions, and philosophies, legal codes and political regiments were born, including democracy and even the sciences. All these different kinds of knowledge and cultural values born in the Mediterranean basin (southern Europe, North Africa and East) can represent strategic elements to overcome the current crisis in Europe, becoming a stimulus for the review of policies and providing a solid foundation for the growth of a genuine common euro-Arab-Mediterranean cultural heritage and knowledge, then passing it on to future generations.

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The interference of the mass media in the intercultural dialogue during the emergency landings in the Mediterranean: Between reality and representation

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Abstract
The aim of the paper is to highlight the difficulties that characterise the intercultural dialogue in specific contexts and situations of emergency. The paper focuses on the interference of the mass media and their representations in the dynamics of intercultural dialogue among emergency operators and migrants at the borders.
These aspects will be examined by relating the results of prior researches carried out on mass media representations of the landings to those obtained by the participating observation in the island of Lampedusa during the landings and the migrants' protests.
The results show how the frames of the mass media representation in its alarmist/pietistic approach may be reiterated in models of intercultural dialogue between operators and migrants.

Keywords: Frame, Intercultural communication, Landings, Mass media, Migration.

1. Intercultural communication as a problem

In the collective imagination, the idea is shared that intercultural communication is a desirable and ideal communicative modality in contemporary complex societies (Asante & Gundykunst, 1989). It is a kind of communication that aims at openness towards others and embracing their diversities (Ganesh & Holmes, 2011).

As Bennett (1998) claims, an intercultural perspective does not aim to understand the differences between different cultures, but the way these differences intervene and affect face to face interaction among individuals of different cultures.

In consideration of this perspective, we are suggesting, according to Baraldi (2004) and Kim (2007), that intercultural communication is therefore seen as a "problem". The problem is of acceptance of those fundamen-

tal cultural forms that are not shared: "communication is intercultural when it produces the significance of a lack of shared cultural symbols on behalf of the participants" (Baraldi, 2004, p. 44).

This kind of communication is based on the idea of an effort to mediate cultural universes that recognise each other as different (Kim & Gudykunst, 1988), a sort of "conviviality between differences" (Donati, 2008, p. 55). This awareness implies, however, that individuals are able to look at their belonging culture in a reflexive way, trying to go beyond its limits (*Ibidem*).

The aim of this contribution is to clarify the difficulties that characterise the intercultural dialogue in specific contexts and situations of emergency. Particularly, the paper analyses the interference of the mass media and their representations in the intercultural dialogue to understand how they affect interactions among individuals of different cultures, specifically among a specialised audience (i.e. operators) and migrants, during emergency situations like landings. In the analysis of this specific communicative situation, attention should focus not only on the cultural dimension (Donati, 2008) and/or on the interpersonal communication dimension (Giaccardi, 2005), but it must take into account intervening variables, among these, the role of the mass media and their representations of reality, but also the specificities of the contexts in which the intercultural dialogue takes place.

These aspects will be examined connecting what emerged from the researches that analyse the arrival of the migrants at the borders with the forms of intercultural dialogue used by the "emergency operators", examining, respectively, both reality and representation. Although the compared studies are based on different methodologies and approaches, they appear to be synergetic in re-establishing the complexity of the dynamics of intercultural dialogue and investigating them from different perspectives.

2. *Multiple interferences in the dimension of "inter"-cultural communication*

Several studies recognise the responsibility of the mass media in building a discourse on alterity often focused on the stigmatisation, the stereotyping or the strengthening of in-group/out-group mechanisms

(Boomgaarden & Vliegenthart, 2009; Calvanese, 2011; King & Wood, 2001; Morley, 2002; Van Dijk, 1991).

The rhetoric and the languages used by the media provide public opinion with some interpretative instruments which convey stereotyped images of the "other", whose presence is felt as a social problem (Marletti, Grossi, & Roncarolo, 1991). The public discourse on terrorism, where one of the solutions proposed is patrolling borders, highlights how immigration is associated through public opinion with a terrorist threat. Another example is the case of Ventimiglia in spring 2016, where a temporary refugee camp was dismantled after migrants' protests caused by the closure of the French borders. As a consequence, they were hosted in a school sports hall, raising protests among pupils' mothers complaining that migrants were occupying spaces attended by their children (*TG1*, 11/06/2016; *repubblica.it*, 13/06/2016).

Besides the role of the media, the contexts, the situations and the conditions in which interaction takes place are of great importance in framing the intercultural dialogue.

In fact, according to Durant and Shepherd (2009), the dimension of the "inter", which is characteristic of intercultural communication, is one in which "the behaviour that speakers exhibit in such circumstances provides evidence less of styles associated with their cultural origins than of their 'inter' activity and improvisation, which may start, stop and modulate from moment to moment". In some contexts and situations the "speakers suspend 'their own' cultural styles and mobilize meta-pragmatic strategies as a kind of accommodation to what they see and hear around them" (2009, p. 160).

Therefore highlighting the dimension of the "inter" means considering the multiple interferences that appear in intercultural communication, like that "between culture and location, between location and communication, between culture and communication, and among all three" (*Ibidem*).

The contribution of the two authors helps us understand how the interrelationships among location, communication and cultural dimension intervene in the construction of the "inter" dimension. This is particularly important in our study, which focuses on border areas which are exposed to migration flows, where people of different cultures modulate their communicative patterns on the basis of the three elements mentioned above. In these contexts, the factors intervening in the intercultural dialogue are: the critical situation of the emergency and the security policies

related to it (location); the interference of the media in the interpersonal dialogue and in its representation to public opinion (communication); and the encounter between people of different cultures who play different roles (culture).

Starting from these premises, our analysis aims at examining the relationship between two fundamental aspects. The first refers to the specificity of the context of the border zones in which intercultural communication takes place for the first time, like the island of Lampedusa. Here, the communicative modality is put into effect in emergencies and the communicative pattern used by staff during the intercultural dialogue tends to strengthen a securitarian policy. As a result, the "inter" dimension is muffled by this communicative modality and by the asymmetric roles among emergency operators and migrants.

The second aspect is based on the role played by the mass media on a dual level within intercultural communication among these subjects. The first level involves the impact of newspapers' representations of the arrival and management of the migrants on a specific part of public opinion—the volunteers and the operators at the borders. The second level involves the presence of the media and the information operators in these border regions in situations of emergency, such as landings or migrants' protests. The purpose is to understand if and how their presence in these contexts interferes with the interaction between operators and migrants, influencing the terms within which it takes place.

To carry out this analysis, a theoretical framework will be recreated with relation to the main and more recent studies in communication research. These have outlined models, narrative styles and the most recurrent rhetoric in the media representation of the phenomenon of the landings in Lampedusa on behalf of the Italian press (Associazione Carta di Roma, 2013; Belluati, 2014; Binotto & Martino, 2004; Binotto, Bruno, & Lai, 2016; Bruno, 2014, 2015; Ieracitano & Rumi, 2014; Sciortino & Colombo, 2004).

These researches were carried out by the network of partner Universities of the Associazione Carta di Roma[1] in collaboration with UNHCR, and through a frame and content analysis applied to the front pages of national

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[1] http://www.cartadiroma.org

daily newspapers[2] (Associazione Carta di Roma, 2013; Belluati, 2014; Binotto et al., 2016; Bruno, 2014; Ieracitano & Rumi, 2014).

In the second part of the article, the emergent study results will be compared, where possible, with the results of the participating observation realised during the same period of time chosen by the studies on the media representation of the landings in Lampedusa.

The participating observation allowed an analysis of operators' modus operandi to identify models of dialogue and the potential interference that derives from the presence of the media on the ground.

From a methodological point of view, research on the media representation of the landings in Lampedusa considers the years of 2011 and 2013. This is a significant period in the history of migration in Italy as a consequence of the Arabic revolutions in Tunisia, Egypt and mostly in Libya in 2011 and, in 2013, of the worsening civil war in Syria and the military dictatorship in Eritrea.

Observation of the relational attitudes between migrants and operators was carried out on the ground using the technique of participating observation by a researcher who took part directly in the dynamics of the management of the migratory fluxes on the island. More specifically, the researcher worked in Lampedusa in 2011 and 2013 on behalf of three different organisations: the INMP (National institute for the promotion of the health of migrants and the control of poverty-related diseases) and the ASP 06 (Provincial Sanitary Agency of Palermo) as a linguistic and cultural mediator. This meant being an intermediary on the expressional and cultural level between migrants and staff in charge of the first assistance: the researcher interacted with both of them. He was also in charge of the monitoring of the migratory movement to the island on behalf of the Onlus Borderline-Sicilia association.

The ethnographic method allowed him to understand the difficulties related to intercultural communication in emergency situations; the distance between the media representation of the emergency and the actual facts;

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[2]2011 analysis: *Corriere della Sera, La Repubblica, La Stampa, Il Giornale, L'Unità* and *Libero*; 2013 analysis: *Corriere della Sera, La Repubblica, La Stampa, L'Unità, L'Avvenire, Il Giornale* and *Libero*; local view: *La Padania* and *Il Corriere di Sicilia*.

and if and how the media in Lampedusa affected communication patterns between migrants and operators.

The observations were anonymous, with dissimulation of the researcher's role; therefore the dialogues with migrants and operators were not structured through interviews but through informal dialogues. On the one hand, the dissimulation of his research purposes allowed the operators to trust the researcher and share their impressions with him spontaneously; on the other hand, his role as a linguistic and cultural mediator exposed him more directly to the intercultural dynamics than any other operator, enabling him to be in a privileged dialogue with migrants.

The observations were later registered through brief notes with references to the causes of the observed interaction, the number and the typology of the interlocutors, the space and time context, and the role played in this interaction by the mass media and their operators.

Choosing to focus the analysis on the events occurring in Lampedusa in that specific period is due to the fact that the island is a privileged observatory for studies on interculturality. In fact, the management of migrant arrivals (based on emergency and security policies, disembarkation, identification and hosting in temporary facilities that are often crowded) and the applied media representations are nowadays repeated and proposed with reference to the recent migratory fluxes in many European areas. The island still represents an emblematic location on which the media have built their narratives and rhetoric about the problems and the emergencies linked to immigration and interculturality, as shown by some headlines pertaining to the most recent news about migration in other European countries—e.g. "Lesbos is the new Lampedusa"(*euronews.com*,19/06/2015).

3. The media representation of the landings at Lampedusa in Italian research

Within communication research, the number of national and international studies and researches analysing the media representation of migrants and their arrival, on behalf of the news, is considerable (Binotto & Martino, 2004; Binotto et al., 2016; Boomgaarden & Vliegenthart, 2009; Bruno, 2014; Kaye, 2001; King & Wood, 2001; Terwal, 1996; Van Dijk, 1991).

Studies carried out in Italy by the Associazione Carta di Roma and the Osservatorio di Pavia agree in their belief that the tendency towards stereotyping is still strong in the Italian press (Associazione Carta di Roma, 2013; OPV-MSF, 2012).

The tendency of the Italian press towards stereotyping follows two main directions: the first consists of frequent use of the news section (Binotto et al., 2016; Martino, 2014), while the second involves framing the events in an alarmist interpretative frame. This was the prevalent frame in all the newspapers analysed during the landing in Lampedusa in 2011, except that in the newspaper *L'Unità*, left-leaning, where the prevalent frame was based on solidarity (Ieracitano & Rumi, 2014). These two kinds of media representation are affected by the oversimplification with which the news on the front pages of all the analysed newspapers deals with events that include foreigners and/or the migration issue as protagonists *(Ibidem)*.

Furthermore, the mechanisms of involuntary distortion that occurs in the newsmaking process must be considered. The routine of news production often sacrifices a more detailed analysis of causes or an in-depth analysis of events due to a lack of time or space limitations. Consequently, a narrative style closer to spectacularisation and dramatisation tends to prevail (Golding & Elliott, 1979). These narrative models contribute to labelling the migrant as an uncomfortable and/or dangerous person (Van Dijk, 1991).

Among these studies, special attention was paid to landing issues in Italy (Belluati, 2014; Binotto & Martino, 2004; Ieracitano & Rumi, 2014; Sciortino & Colombo 2004) which, as Bruno and Lai (2016, p. 56) claims, represent a "media icon" of the whole migration issue.

More specifically, the moment of arrival has become a proper literary "topos" in the medial narrative of the phenomenon, supported by a rhetoric related to the representation of the migrants helped by operators, volunteers and law enforcements (Binotto & Martino, 2004; Bruno, 2014).

As Bruno (2014) and Ieracitano and Rumi (2014) outline, in the media narratives of the migrants' arrivals between 2011 and 2013, the Italian press uses interpretative frames often based on the "alarm/undesirability" and "welcome/pietism" dichotomy.

The semantic domain of "alarm/undesirability", widespread between newspapers with different political leanings, is clear in the frequent recourse to the number of landings together with headlining choices that evoke the image of invasion, like "human tsunami" (*La Stampa*, 02/04/2011), "record-breaking landings" (*La Stampa*, 09/04/2011) or "Lampedusa emergency: more migrants than inhabitants" (*La Repubblica*, 23/03/2011).

This goes hand in hand with a still inappropriate terminology that labels migrants, with particular reference to the landings in 2011, as illegal first and as immigrants afterwards, instead of migrants (Bruno, 2014; Ieracitano & Rumi, 2014). The most frequent use of those terms and the representation of landings as a social problem emerged in the right-leaning newspapers *Il Giornale* and *Libero* (Belluati, 2014; Bruno & Lai, 2016).

The wrong terminological choices do not help public opinion to perceive the differences between the juridical statuses of the subjects of the events. This element has a fundamental influence in defining the environment in which a potential intercultural dialogue takes place, as long as the other is perceived as illegal. Therefore, even before accessing dialogue, he/she is stigmatised as illegal/criminal.

The frame of emergency is strengthened by the representation the hosting contexts offer. In this case, the word "Lampedusa" is associated with "emergency" in Italian daily newspapers of different political leanings. The island is addressed in terms of a "military district" or a "besieged border" (Bruno & Lai, 2016, p. 173,) suffering an enemy invasion, as some headlines show: "The island awaits the invasion, incessant landings" (*La Stampa*, 03/03/2011), "besieged Lampedusa" (*Libero*, 01/04/2011), "collapsing Lampedusa" (*La Repubblica*, 22/03/2011).

Although the frames of alarm, threat and undesirability appear to be dominant, representations that are more oriented towards the frame of pietism are also present. These are undoubtedly scarce compared to the dominant ones and more used by progressive newspapers like *L'Unità*, *Avvenire* and *La Stampa* (Belluati, 2014). These representations are usually used when dealing with shipwrecks, like the ones occurred between March and April 2011 or the one on 3 October 2013, when more than 300 migrants died.

In this case, the image of the "human tsunami" is replaced by "the Mediterranean cemetery" (*L'Unità*) and the "illegal immigrant" becomes the "desperate" (Belluati, 2014). The migrants that were previously addressed as a threat are now defined as "shipwrecked" (*Corriere della Sera*), "poor" (*L'Unità*) and "desperate" (*La Stampa* and all the newspapers analysed) (Ieracitano & Rumi, 2014). These lexical choices contribute to a very clear definition of the interpretation of events offered by the Italian press, often going from ethic-humanitarian to pietistic (*Ibidem*).

The tone of the media narratives changes once again when the migrants become the protagonists of protests or insurrection inside the hosting centres for migrants. In this case, the terminology used contributes to the symbolic creation of an enemy addressed as "undesired" (*Il Giornale*), "riotous" (*La Repubblica*) or even "terrorist" (*Libero*) (Ieracitano & Rumi, 2014)—in other words, the one who, being in need, has no right to rise up (Gatta, 2011).

These representations, especially when making the front pages of daily newspapers, produce an agenda effect that makes the media representation of the migrant shift towards a safety discourse, strengthening the association between immigration and deviance or immigration and risk. On the one hand, it catalyses public opinion's fears; on the other, it legitimates stricter policies in the management and access of migrants (Cerase & Lai, 2016).

3. The burden of the agenda effect on a specialised audience

The literature analysed above is an important starting point for highlighting the narrative models and stereotypes that affect the representation of landings by the Italian newspapers with different political stances.

As Atheide's studies (1997, 2002) state, the representation of reality by newspapers can affect the public's perception of phenomena and promotes the security policies related to them as a consequence of the agenda setting (McCombs & Shaw, 1972).

The agenda effect produced by newspapers is a fundamental element of the framing process in which the migration and landings issue is contextualised.

Concerning this point of view, an interesting reference is Cook et al.'s (1983) research on the different degrees of impact the media agenda has on generic public opinion, on stakeholders and on policy makers. The research highlights how an audience made up of policy makers appears to be more sensitive towards catching the salience the media create surrounding some issues, modifying perception of their relevance. This research is an important basis for our analysis, because there is an emergent lack in the literature related to the media representation of landings and migrants focusing

on the consequences of the narrative models and frames used by the press for a specific audience, like the emergency operators. In particular, the innovative element this analysis wants to add to intercultural communication studies consists of examining whether a specialised audience adopts the frame used by newspapers, illustrated above, through their communicative patterns. It also consists of examining if and how the presence of information operators in border areas promotes some of these communicative patterns, affecting the intercultural dialogue among staff and migrants on landings.

Although in our analysis "emergency" operators do not belong to the policy maker category nor to that of stakeholders, they still undoubtedly represent a potentially sensitive segment of specialised public opinion. Being directly interested and involved in the matters the media report, the emergency operators expose themselves, in a privileged way, to how the media deal with the issue. Therefore, it could be supposed that they tend to internalise the interpretative keys the media provide and to reuse them at the moment of the encounter.

However, it is difficult to establish the direct impact of the agenda effect on this specialised audience, as long as another factor bears on the interaction with the migrant beyond the restraints that derive from the media and the belonging culture. This is the self-representation the emergency operators make of their role within these contexts and the interaction: people who take care of the one in need/the "miserable" (Gatta, 2012). Such a self-representation might interfere in the intercultural dialogue if the identification of cultural differences is affected by the self-awareness of having different roles: the migrant in need and potentially criminal on the one hand, the operator as a beneficent saviour on the other.

This impact has already been registered in Gatta (2011, 2012) and Cuttitta's (2012) analysis of the border regions. Gatta (2012) in particular remarks that the stereotype of the migrant as a "dangerous subject" influences the relational dynamics between operators and migrants. This image ends up constituting the interpretative reference through which the operators ascribe meaning to migrants' behaviour. Therefore, the first difficulty emerging from the intercultural dialogue involves those misunderstandings that derive from the widespread presumption of knowing the reasons and the intentions that lie behind their interlocutors' communicative behav-

iour. Such behaviours are considered to be deviant as long as the other is represented as an illegal subject. This determines inevitable consequences for how the emergency and the landing are handled.

The alarmist and pietistic frames the media suggest, together with the self-representation the operators make, are evident, as we will see, in the dialogue models created by the operators. They are models based on the security/humanitarian ambivalence that puts the migrant within the communicative relation as a person both to save and to control.

This needs to be taken into account in intercultural studies, given the importance of the media's role in the construction of the "inter" dimension analysed by Durant and Shepherd (2009). The Italian newspapers offer communicative patterns that can become part of the cultural background used by the emergency operators who are the privileged interlocutors of migrants on their arrival.

As a result, our contribution to intercultural communication studies is to examine not only the communication difficulties among migrants and emergency staff, but also if and how those difficulties can be related to the frames and the languages used by newspapers in their representation of landings and to the presence of journalists and cameras in border areas.

Our study thus aims, through the cases hereafter examined, to show how the emergency staff became an unwitting element of a vicious circle: they sometimes end up describing facts as newsmaking process requests and treating migrants as they are represented by media.

4. The ambivalence of intercultural dialogue and the presence of the media: observations on the ground

The participating observation carried out in Lampedusa highlighted a massive presence of the media on the island, especially in the years during which the migratory phenomenon saw its most dramatic developments (2011 and 2013) and during two fundamental moments for the local community—the landings and the protests.

In both the historical and social contexts, the observer looked at and took part in events of interaction between the newly landed migrants and the operators in charge of managing the emergency.

The principal observational context was the moment of the landing, within that specific setting represented by the arrival of hundreds of migrants, but also, and mostly, by the massive deployment of "emergency operators" (law enforcement, medical staff, humanitarian assistants and volunteers). Their interventions had great visibility on the quayside, where an area was specifically dedicated to the presence of reporters, becoming part of the setting.

At every landing, cameras represented a palpable presence that was not limited only to documentation. This was particularly evident when, in summer 2011, wooden barges full of migrants landed at the pier escorted by the patrol boats of the Coast Guard. In this situation, the presence of the media produced inevitable interference. They influenced the relational modalities between the actors involved in the problematic form of interaction—the landing. In particular, the operators, aware of the media coverage, established a consequential modus operandi and code of conduct which emphasised the migrants as subjects in need. Thus, at an early stage, intercultural communication was asymmetrical, the migrant having a subordinate role.

A first example of this was the display of an identification sticker. The purpose, especially of the humanitarian staff, was to show the logo of their belonging institution, as visibly reported on the service vest. As Figure 1 shows, more operators from the same organisation, easily recognisable, surrounded one migrant on his landing.

Fig. 1 (Source: INMP website)

The search for visibility was far from being an implicit strategy. The observer, as an operator, received an invitation from the logistic coordination to make himself as visible as possible in the landing areas, risking being reprimanded by law enforcement. This behaviour was motivated, as it emerged from informal dialogues with the team coordinators, by the need to stand out among competitor associations, to prove the team's activity to court public opinion, and to please the sponsoring bodies by showing them the importance and usefulness of their presence there. This caused a sort of competition to grab the newly landed to take care of them. The competition was deeply felt by the operators of different organisations. During the disembarkation procedures, staff from other organisations sometimes said to the observer, while he was assisting migrants: "We are already taking care of this!" as they were in possession of the migrant in need. The rush to the one in need found its highest point in the nurturing of minors, whom the operators would often hand from one person to another in front of the cameras (Fig. 2).

Fig.2 - Landing operations in Lampedusa (Source: SkyTG24 website, 08/05/2011)

During the landing, law enforcement also acted in front of the cameras. In parallel organised lines, they set up a human corridor which the newly landed went through in queues, counted one by one, before being led to rest areas for medical examination and first refreshment, before finally boarding the buses heading to the hosting centres for migrants. In this "mise-en-scène"—functional in maintaining a precise system of manage-

ment of the emergency based on a mixture of humanitarian and security purposes (Cuttitta, 2012)—migrants appeared to be unwitting actors.

A precise narrative technique was applied to them as well, which affected the intercultural dialogue between the actors concerned. As an example, the fact that migrants had smartphones with them on arrival broke the stereotypical image of the newly landed as subjects in need. Such a detail was used by enforcement staff as a cue to prove the migrants' potentially criminal nature: a subject in need cannot own a smartphone. Sentences like "Look! Their smartphones are more expensive than ours!" were frequently pronounced by the security staff in the presence of the observer during the landing operation, confirming what Gatta (2012, p. 140) defines as the effort of "finding the lie" on migrants' bodies.

However migrants behaved, the system in place on landings treated them according to this double representation which contains pietism and potential danger, confirming the image of the desperate illegal immigrant, of the "dangerous bodies in danger"(*Ibidem*, p. 135).

On the occasion of a more complex landing, cameras from the main national broadcasters—such as RAI, Mediaset and Sky—shifted, after the first phases of the landing, to the island's health centre. During dramatic events, like the landing on 3rd October 2013, the few Eritrean survivors were urgently transferred to the emergency room, where it was impossible for medical assistants to contain the pressure of the journalists, which made the whole job more difficult.

The setting, in this case, is very different from the landing; in fact, while at the pier there existed a tacit complicity between reporters and operators, inside the small health centre, instead, the presence of the media constituted a source of disturbance. In this context, the images stolen by national newspapers (*Corriere della Sera* and *La Stampa*) and by the cameras of newscasters TG5, TG Regione and Sky TG24 contributed to supporting a precise representation of events which was fully coherent with the "mise-en-scène" of the landing. As a confirmation, some doctors did not avoid interviews, giving details about the strong emotional impact. The manager of the island's clinic, for example, declared to journalists: "So much pain. I hardly

ever cry, but when holding the dead child in my arms I burst into tears."[3] Through informal dialogues with the manager of the clinic, it emerged how he was annoyed by the presence of cameras in the health centre. Nevertheless, when interviewed he emphasised his emotional involvement in the rescue operations, acting in line with media expectations.

No matter how genuine, such declarations contribute to that process of making a spectacle of the migration issue, as confirmed by the aforementioned studies. Such episodes outline how the emergency operators were directly involved in the process of constructing pietistic and alarmist frames. Even the observer, as an operator, was under persistent pressure from a journalist and a cameraman from France2 news to release an interview. The reporter urged him for a declaration that the migrants were everywhere and could be considered part of the island's landscape, meeting with the observer's opposition. The role of the migrants in this narrative process was mostly passive.

The same treatment pattern is reproduced within intercultural dialogue between the migrants and the operators, particularly in the way the latter approach the former, even in contexts other than that of the landing.

One of the cases observed refers to the conversations a young guest at the hosting centre on the island had with a psychologist in the summer of 2011. The migrant, who had spent a few weeks at the centre, would not eat or drink and, worse, despite great psychological and physical discomfort, he would not take the provided medications. The symptoms led to a diagnosed state of physical and psychological distress caused by the long and difficult crossing of the sea and to an antibiotic and anxiolytic treatment. To better understand the reasons for his refusal of any treatment and to evaluate the suitability of the provided treatment, the young man was offered a psychological encounter with a psychologist from the Task Force INMP and the researcher on the ground, as an intercultural mediator.

During the conversation, a reality rich in cultural and biographical elements of great interest emerged.

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[3] See Adnkronos. (06 October, 2013). Retrieved from http://www1.adnkronos.com /IGN/News/Cronaca/Lampedusa-il-medico-eroe-malato-che-ha-visto-lorrore_3269 70144.html

The young man was, in fact, the first child of his village's headman and therefore the natural heir to the throne. His father had been murdered by a rival clan and, being the direct successor, he was destined to the same fate. For this reason, he had been the victim of a ritual that only his mother could break. In his frequent nightmares, he dreamt of being chased by men threatening him with death and, fearing being poisoned, he would not eat or take medications. He would not hang around with his companions at the centre, among whom his assassins could be hiding; nor did he sleep, being afraid of being killed while asleep. Yet, after a first diagnostic evaluation, physical and psychological distress due to the crossing of the sea was the only identified cause.

The refusal of treatment by the migrant was initially considered an act of arrogance and stupidity for failing to accept a proposed suggestion for his own good. Only with deeper insight, when the migrant's personal story became clear, was that subjective dimension revealed that the management of the migratory phenomenon on the border tends to silence and flatten.

Each part involved in the situation assumed that the other could not understand. Within the dialogue with the medical staff, the migrant felt misunderstood, showing his frustration by shaking his head. Indeed, he was aware that his interlocutor had not the means to understand his personal situation, potentially being one of the co-conspirators.

On the other side, the doctor of the centre, consulted by the observer, asserted: "I know this guy very well, but if he doesn't want to take the medicines, what can I do?" His communicative pattern produced conflict in his relationship with the migrant, which was solved thanks to intercultural mediation. This case sheds light on the reproduction on a micro-level of the double representation—pietistic and alarmist—of the migrants that the media offer in their narratives and rhetoric.

The migrant, as a subject in need, has to be taken care of. In addition to the 24/7 health services within the camp, many organisations assured that further medical help was available to the newly landed, and the institution the observer was a member of was proof of this. The treatment the migrant received, however, was not adapted to his cultural background, thus proving to be ineffective. Nevertheless, his refusal often ended up being perceived as a sign of irrationality, confirming his alleged dangerousness.

Bringing to light the migrant's cultural form allowed the breaking of the pietism-alarmism dichotomy.

In the following case, the same tendency can be found with reference to the personnel in charge of managing the emergency establishing a relationship with the migrant based on a stereotyped image. From here, a model of intercultural dialogue emerged that gave little space to the migrant's subjective instances.

This case refers to a specific event of interaction between the Eritrean survivors and the authorities and law enforcement in Lampedusa. In October 2013, hundreds of caskets belonging to the victims of the shipwreck were relocated, for hygiene reasons, to Agrigento, where the funeral would also take place. This trigged strong dissent from the survivors on the island who, being relegated there for judiciary reasons, were deprived of the opportunity of grieving.

Their expressions of grief, where migrants lost consciousness, fell on the ground and cried over the caskets, were captured by cameras from the ANSA news agency and broadcaster RAI, in the presence of the observer, emphasising a pietistic representation of the facts. The observer was insistently urged by ANSA and TG2 to give an interview, in order to explain the survivors' desperate reaction. His declaration to ANSA: "they just want to close this tragic chapter and start over" (*ansa.it*, 14/10/2013) made him an unwitting part of the pietistic frame-building process.

After a few days, a committee representing the survivors—nominated by the migrants themselves to mediate between their needs and the authorities on the island—sent a formal request to the District Magistrate to participate in the funerals. The request never received an answer. As a reaction to such indifference towards their legitimate claim, a sit-in protest was organised in front of the Town Hall to negotiate the opportunity to take part in the funerals with local institutions.

Moments of tension arose when the whole group of survivors—who had already blocked every entrance to the migrants' hosting centre—joined the delegation. A march was organised with no previous notice to the institutions or any explanation as to their intentions. This alerted the law enforcement agencies, who intervened together with an ambulance and medical personnel, fearing violent or self-harm acts of the migrants.

The march turned out, on the contrary, to be a peaceful protest, a silent parade in memory of the victims. The migrants, in fact, headed to Cala Croce where, united in prayer, they could see the point in the sea where the shipwreck took place. In this case, the survivors used silence to express their dissent.

The reported episodes highlight the treatment practices and the models of communication that tended to desubjectify the image of the landed. Just as in the media representation, the migrant was not a person, but an issue. As an issue, the news framed him within oversimplified narratives. The perception that public opinion may have had of him was therefore oriented by either concern or compassion. Similarly, their requests, as in this case, met with indifference, despite surprising forms of political initiative.

In both the cases analysed, the migrant was the protagonist in various attempts at intercultural dialogue in which not only could differences find no way of being expressed, but they were even silenced, treated more as an issue than as a person with their own issues.

Furthermore, the presence of the media in these contexts influenced the interaction between the operators and the migrants, affecting the terms in which the relation developed.

The visibility the media offered may have promoted models of interaction and dialogue among the operators who ended up confirming desubjectification frames. Of course, many factors conspired to make this intercultural dialogue difficult—the emergencies, the contexts, the cultural differences and the role of the involved actors. Among these elements, though, the role of the media contributed to making the identification of differences more complex.

5. Conclusions

Compared to the aims of our analysis, the frames of the alarmist/pietistic media representation, as the observation showed, resulted in models of intercultural dialogue between the operators and the migrants. The cultural diversity that is often the basis of migrants' behaviours does not always find a way to express itself and receive full acknowledgement. On the contrary, it ends up being interpreted according to those interpretative frames

that appear to belong to specialised public opinion, like the emergency operators.

Therefore the migrant, in the communicative setting of the landing, is often given the role of the person in need who passively receives assistance. More specifically in the setting of the protest, the models of intercultural dialogue are built on an imminent and constant threat of alarm and danger. This highlights how one of the main principles of communicative action (Habermas, 1984), according to which the intention of the speaker needs to be understood in the way it is expressed, is totally undermined.

In fact, when the migrant's initiative manages to give life to some requests, these are usually met with silence, no correspondence being entered into. This enhances the migrant's frustration and increases the risk of protest, thus endorsing speculation on a possible irrational nature. This all contributes to those media narratives that light a fire—especially at the most dramatic moments (landings, protests)—overshadowing any communicative action that might qualify the migrants as people with legitimate claims rather than threats to security.

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Fostering Interculturality in Urban Ethnic Neighbourhoods: Opportunities and Limits of the Responsible Tourism Approach

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Abstract

In recent decades, new forms of interculturality are emerging as a consequence of economic and cultural globalisation. Within these experiences, tourism in ethnic neighbourhoods can represent an innovative way to create new spaces for intercultural encounter in western cities. The aim of this paper is to analyse this new social phenomenon thanks to the results emerging from an exploratory ethnographic research focused on Mygrantour, an intercultural network which aims to create new forms of intercultural encounter between migrant communities and tourists in some Mediterranean cities. Adopting a responsible tourism approach, this paper will analyse the social and cultural consequences of this growing phenomenon in terms of social integration and inter-cultural encounter.

Keywords: intercultural encounter, responsible tourism approach, ethnic neighbourhood, ethnography.

1. Introduction

Tourism in ethnic neighbourhoods is not a recent phenomenon. Between the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, metropolises all over the world started to promote their attractiveness through ethnic, religious and cultural diversity. Chinatown in San Francisco, for example, became the reference model for other Chinese quarters developed all over the world after the crisis of the Qing's Empire (Santos, Belhassen & Caton, 2008). Over the last two decades, European Mediterranean cities have also tried to attract tourists in ethnic neighbourhoods: the Raval in Barcelona, the Panier in Marseilles and the Esquilino in Rome are only few examples of this growing phenomenon (Aytar & Rath, 2012). A double motivation lies at the basis of these processes of cultural globalisation (Appadurai, 1996): on the one hand urban policies are examining the intercultural dimension of cities as a

potential force for social, economic and cultural enhancement (Wood & Landry 2007); on the other hand, contemporary tourists are changing their leisure behaviours. The phenomenon of 'slow tourism' is best representative of this idea, as it highlights a practice that emphasises the possibility to reach new relations with the anthropological space (Nocifora, 2011). Discussing these new consumption behaviours, Urbain (2002) suggests the notion of "interstitial tourism", which describes a tourist practice that reinvents the "tourist gaze" (Urry, 2002) within daily rituals. These notions express a process of re-configuration of the tourist phenomenon, as it now involves daily places, everyday life rituals and not only "exotic" and distant destinations.

Within this context, ethnic urban spaces can be conceptualised also as leisure and consumption spaces. This process is inherently divisive: humanities scholars (Lin, 1998; Shaw, Bagwell & Karmowska, 2004; Rath, 2007; Aitken & Hall, 2010, Aytar & Rath, 2012; Diekmann & Smith, 2015) have observed a series of negative impacts, such as gentrification, extreme commodification, social conflicts and crystallisation of urban and social spaces (Collins, 2007; Jones & Ram, 2007). Yet, scholars have also identified the possibility to generate positive processes and practices in terms of intercultural encounter, particularly in the case of responsible tourism[1]. According to this vision, tourism in ethnic neighbourhoods could facilitate social integration (Berti 2010)[2], as well as the creation of new social networks and possibilities for fostering intercultural dialogue (Baraldi, 2006; Igbino, 2011; Vidmar-Horvat, 2012). Furthermore, on a territorial level, it could re-brand the neighbourhood image and generate processes of territorial de-hierarchisation, as well as enhance the neighbourhood economy at different levels. Nevertheless, only few cases of tourism in ethnic neighbourhoods adopt a responsible tourism approach. In fact, most activities regarding this kind of tourist experience are located into traditional tourism schemes and mass tourism patterns.

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[1]Cape Town Declaration on Responsible Tourism (2002). Retrieved April 13, 2014, from http://responsibletourismpartnership.org/cape-town-declaration-on-responsible-tourism/

[2]In the perspective of this paper the concept of social integration is associated to the definition of Ambrosini (2013). Hence, according to the author, integration is a multidimensional and non-evolutionistic process that has a local and contextual nature and implies the receiving society and public institutions on different levels.

In the first part of this paper, the Mygrantour case study will be presented as a good example of intercultural networking (Smith 1999)developed in some Mediterranean cities. In this regard, the responsible tourism approach will be introduced as a tool to limit the possible negative impacts of tourism in ethnic neighbourhoods and to enhance mutual understanding and intercultural dialogue. The final part of this paper will analyse the results of an exploratory ethnographic research, with particular regard to the role of the responsible tourism approach in enhancing intercultural relations.

2. The Mygrantour network: from one Italian city to an international network of intercultural urban walks

Although nowadays tourism in ethnic neighbourhood is widespread in many cities all over the world, Mygrantour network represents the only well-established case of responsible tourism in Italy. The network includes different subjects (e.g.: tour operators, NGOs, associations, individuals) that operate to develop and promote responsible tourism in ethnic neighbourhoods through urban walks, offering different moments of dialogue and intercultural encounter (e.g.: eating together, sharing experiences, confronting each other about different traditions). At the moment, the core of the experience is represented by responsible urban itineraries accompanied by migrant guides that play the role of mediators between tourists, shopkeepers, restaurateurs, pedestrians and other people they may encounter during the urban walks. According to the mission of the project, "the objective is to support the integration of migrant citizens into the nine participating cities, building mutual comprehension and respect. The development of a European network is the means for scaling up the impact of the initiative and guaranteeing the spread of good practice. (…) The idea of this project was also conceived as a way to give an added source of income for disadvantaged people, often from developing countries".[3]The network draws its origins from a creative writing laboratory that took place in 2007 in the intercultural centre of Turin. The outcome was the book "Torino è casa

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[3]http://www.mygrantour.org/. Retrieved April 25, 2014.

nostra: viaggio nella città migrante" (Turin is our home: a tour in the migrant city).[4] The idea was financed by the programme "Agrobiodiversity, Cultures and Local Development", promoted by IFAD (The International Fund for Agricultural Development) and supported by Oxfam Italia, ACRA-CCS, and Viaggi Solidali, the tour operator for responsible tourism who first developed the idea. Between 2010 and 2014, in Turin, Milan, Florence and Rome, over 11,000 people, have taken part in these walks (mostly secondary school students, but also curious citizens, tourists, groups and associations). After the success of the first phase of the project, since 2013 the network has launched the project "MygranTour: a European network of migrant driven intercultural routes to understand cultural diversity", promoted by Fondazione ACRA-CCS (Milan, Italy), Viaggi Solidali (Turin, Italy), Oxfam Italia (Arezzo, Italy), Marco Polo (Paris, France), Bastina Voyages (Marseilles, France), Periferies del Mon (Valencia, Spain), IMVF (Lisbon, Portugal), Renovar la Mouraria (Lisbon, Portugal), Earth (Belgium) and co-financed by the European Union. In nine cities (Turin, Milan, Genoa, Florence, Rome, Marseille, Paris, Valencia and Lisbon) the partners are organising training courses and research projects on intercultural topics. Furthermore, they are creating new workshops and walks for children and citizens, in order to promote mutual understanding.

In this way, each individual can collaborate in order to develop intercultural skills and competencies. Furthermore, the partnership represents a multi-level network made up of three different levels of territorial diffusion. The first level refers to the urban territory: this local level includes a series of different subjects like NGOs, associations, public entities, tour operators and migrant guides that create and develop one or more itineraries within the same city. One example is the city of Turin, where it is possible to find three different consolidated itineraries of intercultural urban trekking. The second level refers to the national territory and to the diffusion of these itineraries in different Italian cities. At the moment, the network includes six Italian cities: Turin, Milan, Florence, Rome, Genoa and Bologna. On a third level, since 2013, the network expanded its international ground and now includes other four European cities (Marseilles, Paris, Valencia

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[4] This information has been extracted from Vietti F. (2012).

and Lisbon), where itineraries based on the Italian experience have been developed.

In this context, the concept of intercultural networking has a dual meaning: on the one hand it refers to a network of different subjects that deals diversely with intercultural topics (e.g. some universities and other public entities that study urban policy and its relationship to ethnic complexity); on the other hand, it indicates a network made up of subjects that are characterised by a high level of inner interculturalism (e.g. migrant associations that form their own network). These concepts can be examined separately or as mutually supportive theories, as they often exist and function within the same system. Intercultural networking considers the concept of interculturalism (Abdallah-Pretceille, 2006; Monceri, 2006; Mantovani, 2008; Cantle, 2012; Meer &Modood 2012) as a further development of the term multiculturalism (Taylor, 1994; Goldberg, 1994; Parekh, 2002; Anagnostopoulos, Germano e Tumiati, 2008), which places more emphasis on the relational dimension of social agency and exchange (Mantovani, 2010). By increasing the intercultural dimension of a network, it is possible to generate innovative intercultural dialogue and broaden individuals' global perspectives. This social practice can take place in diverse milieus (e.g. public spaces, workplaces and classrooms). If viewed in the context of the urban space, it can imply positive impacts such as increased safety and walkability within urban neighbourhoods (Jacobs, 1965). It is therefore necessary to reconsider the analytical category of networking in order to emphasise the role of the intercultural dimension within relational contexts. As a result, this paper identifies the importance of generating innovation through a mutual and intercultural dialogue, by achieving hybrid outcomes and by broadening one's own perceptive boundaries.[5]

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[5] The idea is perfectly summarised by Johannson (as cited in Wood & Landry 2007, p. 221) when he states "diverse teams have a greater chance of coming up with unique ideas as they allow different viewpoints, approaches, and frames of mind to emerge...People who have experienced the innovative power of diverse teams tend to do everything they can to encourage them (...) Invariably you find that the best ideas come from the mosaic of players working together in a team on a project. They will come up with an answer that is different from what any one of them would have come up with individually".

3. The responsible tourism approach

The Mygrantour network promotes intercultural urban walks adopting a responsible tourism perspective. Nevertheless, there is not a universal definition about this term. In this regard, despite scholars have given different definitions about responsible tourism phenomenon (Reid, 2003; Goodwin, 2011; dell' Agnese, 2013;Musarò, 2013) and it is difficult to find a shared vision of the concept, it is possible to trace the main characteristics of this practice, on the basis of institutional documents (e.g. Cape Town Declaration, Kerala Declaration), "vademecum" provided by NGO's and other entities (e.g. Tourism Concern or the Associazione Italiana Turismo Responsabile) and different field studies. The result is the conceptualisation of responsible tourism around three main characteristics. The first characteristic concerns the reduction of social, cultural, economic and environmental impacts linked to the tourist practice, and the implementation of the interrelated potential benefits (Goodwin, 2003). Secondly, responsible tourism is focused on local communities, and aims to improve their quality of life and their active participation in the decision-making process (Pretty & Hine 1999). The third aspect is related to the previous characteristics: through the valorisation of environmental and human resources, tourists can visit a better place and experience better relations with the local community (Goodwin, 2011).

But, how can we adopt a responsible tourism approach in the case of intercultural tourism in ethnic neighbourhoods? On the basis of these three dimensions, which are the main aspects to be addressed to reduce the potential negative impacts deriving from the intercultural experience? Are there any studies that recognise the importance of identifying some preconditions to avoid negative implications? These aspects are crucial, especially for the fact that, as we have seen in the introduction, researchers have identified some negative consequences deriving from tourism in ethnic neighbourhoods, such as extreme commodification, exploitation and even self-exploitation, gentrification and social conflicts. In this regard, Hall and Rath (2007, pp. 16-19) have identified eight essential and interrelated preconditions which should be taken into account in order to promote tourism in ethnic neighbourhoods in a more responsible way:

- Political regulation and structure: urban policies should promote

intercultural complexity as a positive dimension of the urban space, including them in urban and regional development plans. The role of migrants in attracting tourists and in creating 'vibrant local culture' (Zukin, 1995) should be understood as an economic resource for cities.

- Growth coalitions: these coalitions, composed of different public and private subjects, represent an essential starting point to develop "place branding" mechanisms, with the aim to enhance the value of intercultural resources from a touristic viewpoint;

- Spatial confinement: it is necessary that territorial promotion be related to a specific urban area, characterised by a large number of migrants and associations;

- Immigrant entrepreneurship: there should be a proliferation of shops (e.g.: restaurants, cafés, butchers, bakeries, clothing stores) that lend the neighbourhood its ethnic flavour and stimulate street life;

- Ethnic infrastructure: migrant communities will need to be supportive, in order to develop a long-term commodification of the ethnic neighbourhood and to avoid a "top-down" approach;

- Accessibility and Safety: alleviating the negative image of the neighbourhood often promoted by media and various political groups;

- Target marketing: migrants should be considered by policymakers and by place promoters to be attractive elements for place-branding mechanisms.

As a result, the underlying assumptions that link the responsible tourism approach to the intercultural perspective in the case of tourism in ethnic neighbourhoods are twofold. Firstly, there should be a substantial presence of migrants who ought to be included in decision-making processes linked to place promotion, enabling intercultural dialogue within all the stakeholders. Secondly, there should be a willingness of the members of the critical infrastructure to enhance the value of urban interculturality as a social and economic resource.

4. *Towards new forms of intercultural practices in urban neighbourhoods*

Methodological aspects

The results of an exploratory ethnographic research (Moralli, 2014) have disclosed a series of considerations about three examples of itineraries of the Mygrantour project, in Milan (via Padova), in Turin (Porta Palazzo) and in Florence (via Palazzolo).The decision to undertake exploratory ethnographic research (Gold, 1997) was due to the limited number of studies related to tourism in Italian ethnic neighbourhoods. Hence, the aim was to investigate processes linked to this cultural practice, focusing primarily on the role of responsible tourism as a vehicle for fostering social, economic and cultural equality and interculturality.The research has also highlighted the limits of the responsible tourism approachthat this tourist experience entails in terms of crystallisation and museification of space and cultures, as well as of the contextual production of traditional tourism patterns.

In accordance with this aim, semi-structured interviews and overt participant observations[6] were held in order to better understand the main characteristics of this growing phenomenon and the related "shared meanings, purposes, knowledge, understandings, identities - collective and individual - conventions etc." (Crossley, 2010, p. 7). In particular, participant observations during the urban walks[7] have helped to analyze the behaviour and the rela-

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[6] In particular, twenty-five semi-structured interviews and ten participant observations were held to investigate the itineraries located in Turin, Milan and Florence.

[7] In the city of Turin, the Mygrantour itinerary takes place in Porta Palazzo, a central urban area, close to important places like Palazzo Madama (where the first Senate of the Italian Kingdom was located), Piazza Castello, the main square, the Royal Palace and the Royal Gardens. Porta Palazzo is a large piazza that hosts the biggest open air market in Europe, where the itinerary begins. The whole itinerary is developed around the market and includes some interesting places like the Romanian bakery, and the first Italian shop which imported colonial products. Nevertheless, as the guides revealed, residents often avoid this area as it is associated to fear of being robbed and other perceived risks. The second example is the urban walk developed in Via Padova, in Milan. It is located in a semi-central neighbourhood, not far from the Central Station and Loreto square. As the previous example, it represents an urban area highly stigmatised and associated to crime and social problems (e.g.: street gang violence, robberies and public disorder). The Mygrantour network offers an itinerary with a lot of stops, such as a Peruvian restaurant with a tasting menu, Parco Trotter, an urban park that is now under regeneration and a South American party accessory shop. The final example is an itinerary that takes place near Florence's central station, Santa Maria Novella, which is ten-minute walk from Santa Maria del Fiore Cathedral

tions amongtourists and guides but also among other people encountered during the tourist experience (e.g.: pedestrians, shopkeepers, etc.). Finally, semi-structured interviews have been gathered by focusing on sample units chosen according to three different variables: the variable "experienced" in the case of tourists who took part in these itineraries; the variable "knowledgeable" in the case of the project's coordinators who created the itineraries, and the variable "both" in the case of the migrant guides, who usually take part in the urban walks and co-create the itineraries.

Fig. 1: Type of sampling used in the research

SAMPLING PROCESS		
V A R I A B L E	experienced	tourists
	knowledgeable	coordinators
	both	migrant guides

Is responsible tourism a vehicle for challenging cultural and spatial stigmatisation socio-economic exclusion…

The results of the exploratory ethnographic research show that these experiences located in three different cities share some fundamental aspects. Firstly, they represent responsible tourism. Secondly, they are located in neighbourhoods where the migrant presence can be experienced daily. Thirdly, all these spaces are located in central urban areas but they are often avoided by Italian residents, and are characterised by a high level of stigmatisation, crime (actual or perceived) and other kinds of social and economic problems.

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and its popular main square. During the itinerary it is possible to visit a Kenyan barber shop, a Florentine carpenter shop and an association that works for migrant integration within the local community. Despite its centrality, this area is highly marginalised by residents because of its identity of "border place", perceived as a dangerous and ambiguous neighbourhood.

In the case of Mygrantour network, the process through which the project and the related itineraries have been created, as well as the results deriving from this experience are a central element. Thus, the participant observations and qualitative interviews held during the research, have investigated the role of responsible tourism in challenging social and economic exclusion (Dal Lago 2004).At the basis of this hypothesis lies the assumption that tourism can be considered as a social force (Krippendorf, 1987;Hollinshead, 2004; Higgins-Desbiolles, 2006), characterised by a transformative capacity in terms of social, cultural and economic consequences.

First of all, the results have showed that Mygrantour tries to reduce negative impacts by encouraging local community active participation, including residents but also shopkeepers and shop assistants. In this regard, migrant guides can be considered as the main beneficiaries of the tourist experience. In particular, their role consists in taking actively part in the definition of the itinerary and mediating between tourists and other people encountered during the urban walk. According to qualitative interviews, migrant guides admit to have the advantage of the possibility to narrate their past and their own culture, as well as the opportunity to create social relations with other migrants and tourists whotake part in the itinerary.

> This is exactly what we want, we believe in this. I am not able to enter a museum, to narrate about Leonardo da Vinci…actually I do not even like doing that. However, we like speaking about human relations, about how you can inter-act…and we really appreciate that. (…) And I love another thing…that I am discovering my own country. Because I have started to do research about what we have to say and how we could make relations between Italy and our country. I did a lot of research (Guide A.).

Moreover, during the urban walks, Italian citizens can dialogue with not only migrant guides, but also with shopkeepers, restaurateurs, pedestrians, activists and other people who live or work in the neighbourhood. Consequently, the rest of the local community can be likewise involved at different levels in the tourist experience.

> You can realise that it exists something more within the same area where you live…that you would have never imagined, not only about specific places, but also about what it has

been constructed in those places (Tourist G.).

Finally, Mygrantour can foster a process of valorisation of ethnic neighbourhoods, which, as explained above, are usually marginalised and avoided by residents, city users and tourists as well. According to these results,the responsible tourist approach has improved local community's quality of life and the image of the ethnic neighbourhood through the valorisation of its resources.

> So yes, I think it is an experience that could enrich the neighbourhood, that could help to enhance…. well, the image of the area (Coordinator B.)

Furthermore, it has enhanced the host-guest relation, by promoting intercultural dialogue and a sort of role reversal between migrant guides and tourists. In fact, Mygrantour reworks the idea of "Otherness" in cities (Bauman 1991, Cotesta 2003) not as something exotic within the city, but as part of the ordinary streetscape. The project implies new roles in the interaction among social subjects: on the one hand the migrant becomes the guide, the person who knows, narrates and lives in that urban space; on the other hand, the citizen turns into the 'Other', the person who desires to experience his/her own city in a different way.

… or not?

A less optimistic prognosis is that tourism in ethnic neighbourhoods always leads to an excessive commodification of the subjects involved. According to this perspective, commodification is described as "the transformation of a good or service into an exchange relationship. The person producing the good or service loses control of his or her work; the purchaser pays for it according to its market value regardless of its use value (...) critiques of tourism dwell on the manipulation of the consumer and of the resident of the place visited" (Fainstein& Gladstone, 1999, p. 29). Similarly, Conforti (1996) highlights that tourism in ethnic neighbourhoods generates a form of museification of the urban space, especially in terms of mythical reconstruction. Other authors emphasise the inauthenticity of these places (Collins, 2007; Jones & Ram, 2007), the risk of"zooification" of cultures and places (Williams, 2008; Freire-Medeiros, 2009;Meschkank,

2011) and of residential and commercial gentrification (Glass, 1964; Atkinson & Bridge, 2005; Gotham, 2005). In this regard, two examples can be useful in order to understand gentrification[8] and "zooification" in ethnic neighbourhoods. The first example is given by Jones and Ram (2007), who have examined Birmingham's Balti Quarter. In their analysis, the authors denounce the exploitation and the inauthenticity hidden under the created sense of multiculturalism and cosmopolitanism in Birmingham's innumerable Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Chinese and African Caribbean restaurants and takeaway outlets. The second example concerns Sydney's ethnic precincts, where different efforts have been made to make "the area more Chinese" (Collins,2007, p. 78), or to create the Italian eating experience through Tuscan facades and upstairs balconies.

Such extreme commodification of commercial and consumption spaces (MacCannell 2001), and its interrelated direct and indirect consequences (e.g.: gentrification, zooification, stereotypization, etc.) are highly reduced by the responsible tourism approach adopted by the Mygrantour experience.

Nevertheless, a deeper analysis of the phenomenon has underlined some limits deriving fromthis approach. The exploratory research (Moralli, 2014)has displayed a series of practices and processes that contrast with the dimension of responsibility. In fact, in some cases, the intercultural dialogue has been facilitated thanks to traditional consumption experiences, souvenirs or other material tourist objects (e.g.: visiting an Islamic butcher's shop or eating in a Peruvian restaurant, buying Aleppo's soap or Aragn Oil, tasting Plantain chips). These forms of tourist fruition are more eradicated into traditional schemes of tourist experience rather than in alternative ones. Consequently, tourists have few possibilities to deepen the encounter with the local community.

I mean that that fact of entering for only two minutes, maybe five or six but…maybe it could be possible to create longer moments during which there is little more time in such a way that it is not only kind of "I enter your house" …. I watch and then I go…because if there is not…you need time in order to have a real dialogue (Tourist B.)

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[8] In the context of this paper, the term "commercial gentrification" is conceptualised as a change in the function of commercial spaces, which are no more only spaces of ordinary consumption but mostly tourist attractions.

In addition, whilst one of the main aim of the project is the active involvement and participation of the local community, the results of the research have highlighted that the rest of the community is excluded from the process of the itineraries creation, and rarely interact with the tourists. A clear example is the unwillingness of some shopkeepers to open their shops to the group of tourists and to narrate about their story as migrants, because of different reasons (e.g.: annoyance, shyness, diffidence, fears of an extreme commodification and "zooification").

The shopkeepers who have been included in the urban walks and you can see during the itinerary, have been enthusiastic from the very beginning of the project and they have told us "oh, yeah, good, it will be a pleasure to collaborate with you". Then, in the daily practice, they divided into two groups: those shopkeepers who, after three years, are still enthusiastic and very friendly (…), and the others who are simply tolerant (Coordinator F.)

A possible analytical perspective to understand intercultural relations between tourists and migrant communities

These results should be analysed through an overall assumption. In fact, tourism always implies a form of intercultural encounter (Ceriani, Duhamel, Knafou& Stock, 2009), which is characterised by inequalities within the power relation at different levels (Coles & Church, 2007). This phenomenon enhances interpretative and relational asymmetries facilitating "zooification" of space and cultures and gentrification. For example, the intercultural relation that originates from consumption and traditional tourist practices between hosts and guests, can derive from the "possibility that both parties may perceive themselves to be empowered through their unfolding inter-cultural commercial relation, or there is at least a perceived 'win-win', positive-sum outcome" (Coles &Scherle, 2008, p. 227). This tendency to present cultures through commercial practices, can also be explained through the analytical category of "strategic essentialism" (Spivak, 1987).In fact, Spivak uses this analytical and political concept to describe the adoption of temporary and conditional essentialism by minorities, with the aim to reaffirm and reinforce group identity and group solidarity (Lee, 2011). Whilst Spivak's strategic essentialism has political aims, this notion can be usefully employed in the case of tourist encounters, as a tool to trace cultural borders and to present cultural

homogeneity towards a "curious" tourist. The Other "essentialisation" appears in this way unavoidable within the tourist experience, despitethe use of a responsible tourism approach.In particular, during the urban walk each migrant guide adopts specific communicative patterns to present his\her culture which results "essentialised" through shared meanings and concepts (e.g.: food, dresses, songs etc.). For this reason, migrant guides become a sort of intercultural mediators(Alred&Byram 2002; Grein&Weigand, 2007) between migrants that live or work in the neighbourhood and the group of tourists, and as a consequence, they feel the responsibility linked to this role. As it emerges from the interviews, they are the real protagonists of the process of "essentialisation", which is intrinsically related to the Mygratour experience.

> We have a responsibility; we represent the image of our community. For example, I am Moroccan and I represent Morocco at all. And there are people that think certain things about us, but after the tour they could think differently (Guide T.).

In this regard, the concept of "strategic essentialism" helps us to better understand the role of the responsible tourism approach within intercultural tourism practices. The fact that migrant communities adopt a strategic presentation of themselves during the urban walks, implies that the beneficial consequences of the responsible tourism approach become relatively limited. In fact, the quality of the relation between tourists and the local community, which is one of the central principle of such an approach, is reduced. This process tends to limit the positive consequences of the responsible tourism approach within intercultural tourism practices with regard to the social and relational dimension of the phenomenon.

However, as we have seen above, the possibility that the process of "strategic essentialism" converts into forms of excessive commodification or stigmatisation can be reduced thanks to the combination of the responsible tourist approach with the intercultural perspective. In fact, although Mygrantour represents a leisure activity, the social and political dimensions of this experience are clearly visible in terms of creation of spaces of intercultural encounter and of new forms of territorialisation within the urban *milieu*.

> Because we are usually influenced by stereotypes, by things that could influence us

because of the media…but in this way you can find out that Arab doesn't mean terrorist, Rumanian doesn't mean criminal and Bengalese people do not only sell roses. You discover that other things and points of view exist…if you close your eyes and you do not want to see things, those things do not exist!(Guide M.).

Conclusion

In conclusion, Mygrantour represents an interesting case to analyse new forms of interculturalism within ethnic urban spaces. As the above analysis has displayed, in the case of the Mygrantour network the responsible tourism approach represents the key factor that enables the creation of intercultural encounters between the migrant community and local tourists. In fact, the main focus of the responsible tourism approach relates to the socio-cultural aspect of the tourist experience and, in particular, is focused on the relation between tourists and the local community and urban and commercial spaces. However, the results of a first exploratory research have underlined a series of aspects ascribable within traditional and conventional tourist practices. These aspects are strongly determined by the nature of the tourist encounter, which is never neutral but socially and culturally embedded, and by processes of cultural simplification that can be explained through the analytical concept of "strategic essentialism" (Dervin&Machart, 2015). Nevertheless, the responsible tourism approach remains a useful toolto reduce the negative impacts of the tourist experience, especially in marginalised and deprived areas, where the territorial and the socio-cultural dimensions are related to processes of identity construction and urban regeneration. Further research should be done with the aim to better understand tourism in ethnic neighbourhoods in Mediterranean cities, where the immigration phenomenon has grown only during the last thirty years (Colombo &Sciortino, 2003; Avallone, 2007; Ballerini 2011).In particular, we underline the necessity to analyse the relation between these new spaces of urban interculturalism and contemporary forms of territorialisation (Turco 2010) and identity creation (Friedman 1994) in European cities.

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Communication for Cultural Integration:
The Case of a Secondary Reception Centre

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Abstract

The language, human species-specific activity, permits to know, organize and describe the reality around us. Even though the verbal communication represents the preferred channel of expression, everyday experiences can be shared in many ways; facial expressions, gestures, but in general, our actions are reflection of the culture that shaped us. In this paper, after a brief reflection about the essential relationship that exists between language and culture, the authors report some considerations about the typical communication dynamics registered in a Secondary Reception Centre, situated in the province of Avellino. The analysis of the field observation shows that a designed and oriented educational communication is appropriate to understand the distinctive characteristics of each guests' history. Consequently, a reflection on the individual and collective communication practices, could allow overcoming the mere reception and predicting a real introduction into the social *substratum* of the Host Country.

Keywords: culture, communication, integration, community, Secondary Reception Centre.

Introduction

The current complexity that governs some regions of our world greatly increased migratory flows; the International Organisation for Migrations (OIM) says that around one million people has reached the Europe in 2015.This paper do not address the motivation at the heart of the problematic reality. Each of us have the responsibility to deal whit the condition that undeniably affects the most ingrained habits of our communities. The aim of this article is to offer some thought consideration; for this purpose, we have started from the descriptive observation carried out in the Secondary Reception Centre of Sant'Andrea di Conza, Avellino, in the South of Italy. Living in a community, even if restricted and protected, is a new op-

portunity for emigrants: people have the possibility, through the language to tell their stories, to know and to share their experiences. In addition, communication, if properly designed and targeted towards a specific goal, can facilitate the conscious entrance into a community and enable all actors to share a new life condition.

1. The language "defines" culture

One of the human species-specific characteristics is to find an explanation for the phenomena observed and/or directly lived, giving a name to objects, events or situations. The specific components of each *habitat*, such as territorial or climatic conditions, resources availability etc., permit the establishment of a cultural paradigm. In fact, specific requirements, opportunities, or vice versa, detriments have resulted decisive for adaptive strategies emergence in the human beings, in order to represent and live in a specific context. Nowadays, the possibility of living, in the way of *dwelling* (Heidegger,1976) is no longer exclusively linked to a territory hospitality; in fact, is connected also to the ability to generate and maintain a meaningful dialogue between the various performers of the world's scene. It is important to clear that the action of "communicate" does not mean transmitting information from one person to another, but precisely to put "something in common". To ensure that this can happen, it is necessary that the mutual intention between those who speak has been established: this condition permits the sharing both of meanings and of the rules that manage the communication exchange. Participants that are involved in a communicative act, carefully engage each other and adhere to a real signaling system, made up of rules that allow messages to be formulated and understood in a way as close as possible to the accuracy.The concept of *rule*, understood in the linguistic sense, concretely represent the average of everyone expressions (*parole*), among the possibilities that exist in the abstract, in a given system (*langue*).For this reason, the "rule" is considered not what each person evaluates or believes correct, in relation to his meanings system, but rule is what "necessarily people have to follow if they want to be members of a linguistic community" (Coseriu, 1971, p.76); therefore, the rules are closely dependent on peculiarities of a considered community.Another

very important aspect that concerns the communication is to be primarily a cognitive activity. Every time we want to communicate something to someone, we are implicitly referring to our thinking: ideas, beliefs, dreams. According to what has been said, the human being has to be considered as a *communicating* being, as well as a "thinking, emotional and social being" (Anolli, 2002). The communication actions, however, have not to be understood as a mere means or instrument, but rather the realization of a cooperative activity between individuals, whose meanings are made available and possible by each of the actors involved in this as ordinary as problematic process. The communication is mainly a *social* activity, because the necessary condition is that it takes place between dyads or groups. Only based on these canons, in fact, it is possible to generate, transmit and retain meaning and ensure the development of a linguistic system, as well as a cultural paradigm. In fact, the mere emission of a sound through the vocal apparatus cannot be considered language. Precisely, language is an unpredictable and complex activity: "none name is of nature. It has a name rather, when a sound of the voice becomes symbol, since something is also revealed by articulated sounds - for example by the beasts - none of which constitutes a name" (Aristoteles, *Organon*, 16a).It is important to note that, during a conversation, the ways for sharing messages can be many. It is possible to use the words of our language, but in this case, it is appropriate that our listeners share our same linguistic code. Nevertheless, the human being can use a series of nonverbal and/or paraverbal behaviours, which are also characteristic and accessible semiotic artifices. Often ignored, the non-verbal language is said to include interpersonal distance, hand gestures, facial expressions and posture, but is very common during our daily interpersonal relationships. It is problematic to unambiguously define when a nonverbal behaviour is intentional and when, on the contrary, is absolutely spontaneous and unmotivated; this does not mean that the expressed behaviour do not exactly constitutes a part of the conversation in which people are engaged. It is also true that, compared to what happens for the verbal behaviour, the nonverbal communication is characterized by a strong element of meaning arbitrariness, making its classification much more complicated. Despite the verbal represents one of the most powerful semiotic artifices

(Eco, 1975), some of the nonverbal behaviours are able to give untranslatable meanings[1].So, far from being a mere completion of the verbal language, nonverbal behaviour is a completely autonomous channel for sharing meanings.

During a communicative act, each levels - verbal, nonverbal and paraverbal - are closely related and they all together contribute to state the speaker's culture. Despite the term *culture* is often present in most people "everyday" vocabulary, for human beings think about culture as an abstract concept is very difficult, since all of us are immersed, without realizing (Anolli, 2004), in our culture, as fish are in the water. Culture is *invisible* but defines our thinking modality and, consequently, the way we express our "being".

2. Culture: an intentional activity to share meanings

It is not easy to provide a comprehensive definition of the culture concept. For this reason, we choose to refer to the etymology. The Italian word "culture" comes from the Latin *colere*, which in its literal translation means "to cultivate the land". It is then evident that this meaning was in a metaphorical sense extended as, "cultivation of the spirit and individual educational process" (Giaccardi, 2005), according to the classical (or humanistic) understanding of the culture concept. The personal educational process finds its origin in the cultural processes: culture is the *scenario* for actors involved in the everyday life *mis-en-scene* and gives them different roles. In fact, each human being is simultaneously *addressee*, *protagonist* and *observer*(Anolli, 2011).All we are *addressees* as the cultural environment that surrounds us, inexorably, shapes us: everything we do is produced because of what our culture prescribes. But, also we are *protagonists* because every day we do things, we express ourselves with words, with gestures and with actions, we become creators of new and renovated cultural practices. Through the daily behaviours, finally, we comment, express opinions on what surrounds us: this makes us *observers* of the culture in which we are

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[1]We refer in this case to every nonverbal and paraverbal behaviours that, in view of their specific character, have no specific codified words useful for expressing their relevant.

dipped. In every moment of our lives, or at least since we can operate *symbolizations*(Piaget, 1968) our "multiple roles" allow us to understand, interpret and fully live our culture in a conscious and oriented manner. Globalization and the almost total fall of the nation states defines the importance of the cultural character, and the concept of difference (which directly follows by this) is tangible and problematic. Although it could be desirable to tend to the equality in the rights recognition, this does not mean to cancel what characterizes each individual, or the uniqueness of one's own existence. This involves the so-called *culture paradox*: on the one hand, the culture regulates differences and, on the other hand, it generates or in some cases exacerbates the diversity, unfortunately giving origin to cultural-historical situations of a difficult solution (Spreafico, 2004). Communication in the formal education context assumes a decisive importance and it is desirable to be considered beyond the learning of technical and disciplinary concepts. From it depends "learning" in the true sense of the word, as knowledge of the world, of the itself and the others.

The concept of communication and that of education are significantly related, especially if education is no longer understood as "instruction" or "knowledge transmission", but as continuous recursive learning experience, in a dialogic comparison between one–self and the *other-than-self* (Ricoeur, 1993), between teacher and student, paying attention for individual differences and for the historical and social complexity.

The growing cultural diversity in today's society imposes to recognize each other in their own social community. Even if a community can be defined as a group of people who regularly share the same social structure, customs, traditions, knowledge and values (Rogoff, 2004), it is well known that every community can give the chance for human being to discover the *other* (Benhabib, 2002), as well as for social-constructivists to mutually cooperate in the knowledge construction. In general, learning have to be built over dialogical-reflective bases, over the interaction and collaboration processes, over the possibility of a shared communication and about the opportunity to come to light common arguments, meanings and definitions. John Dewey, however, argues, "there is a link, rather than verbal, between the words common, community, and communication. Humans live in the community, by virtue of the things we have in common. And communication is the modality whereby we are in possession of the common things"

(Dewey, 1916, p.46).Relationships between individuals who live in a same community are varied and multifaceted; consequently, it is impossible to exclude conflicts or disputes often caused by wrong or unsuccessful form of communication. The educational communication, in its dialogic, formative, didactic components can promote *relational processes*. Communication is "formative" inasmuch it shapes through education the human being that lives in a society composed by identical/different humans, within which the person recognise itself. That being said underline the strong relationship that exists between the communication and education. The *educational communication* is a special type of communication, which is oriented to establish a meaningful relationship (with parents, teachers or peers) that would be able to promote the *other*'s growth and the empowerment ofhis potentialities.

3. Communicative, educational and integration process: the Secondary Reception Centre.

As we aforementioned in the introduction of this contribution, the migration crisis that affects the European Continent determines a conspicuous mobilisation of resources act containing the *Desperate Journey* and offering, as much as possible, assistance to refugees. One of the most appropriate methodologies for migrants support in the Europe are the structures of the *Protection System for Asylum Seekers and Refugees* (SPRAR) designed to host vulnerable classes. In general, SPRAR has made up by the network of local authorities accessing, in the limits of available resources, to the *National Fund for Asylum Policies and Services*. The SPRAR interventions are not exclusively aimed at the immediate assistance to foreigners arrived in the European territory, but the project wants to facilitate the refugees' social and economic integration, through the acquisition of a renovated autonomy. Therefore, it works towards the concept of the beneficiary's *empowerment*, defined as "an individual and organized process through which human beings can rebuild their ability to choose and design and recover the perception of their value, of their potentiality and opportunities" (SPRAR, p. 4). Specifically, these *educating communities* allow planning actions oriented to given ends, as for example for the construction of shared mean-

ings, considering it an ethics and specific educational task (Acone, 1995).In this paper, the authors have chosen to analyse the experience ofa Secondary Reception Centre in the province of Avellino, in the municipality of Sant'Andrea di Conza. One of these authors has worked as educator in the centre, during the period from March 2015 to May 2016.She was able to directly observe and participate in the activities planned by the SPRAR project, focusing her attention on the communication dynamics and on the practices of sharing experiences. The centre, in the observed period, hosted young men between 14 to 18 years. In relation to our descriptive observation that was finalised to the characterization of the communicative phenomena, we focused on the relational aspects and on how the educational strategies can promote the intercultural communication. As the experience of the *desperate journey* represents a common element for all migrants, who unload on the European coasts, each human being has his own "history" that deserves attention and acknowledgement. To preserve these fundamental conditions, the educational path planned by the SPRAR is usually divided into four phases: the *reception*, the *personalization*, the *empowerment* and the *autonomy*. These standard procedures can nevertheless provide an adaptation, functional to the individual needs. The educational path, built by the educators, following a precise and calibrated analysis of each of the guests' characteristics, has directed the actions of the personalization phase to the educational communication: the aim is to establish a significant relationship between teacher and student, in order to *re*-create a reference relationships network in the context of life. One of the first elements that has been deduced from the descriptive observation[2] is the great difficulty in expressing. The younger refugees do not share the same language; for this reason, the observation was focused on non-verbal and paralinguistic components that can provide a variety of useful information to define their relational and educational experience within the centre. The space of this contribution do not permit to specify every educational strategies or practices registered during the period of observation. In synthesis, the SPRAR of

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[2]Research, briefly reported in this contribution, was carried out through the *participant observation* methodology. The essential features of this instrument, typical of qualitative research in education, have made possible the analysis of all those typical nonverbal behaviours. The researcher, who worked directly in the SPRAR centre, has used the technical of "logbook". For further understanding, please refer to Notti, 2012.

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Sant'Andrea di Conza provided workshop activities that involved the entire community of beneficiaries. In these: the Italian language literacy teaching, the digital literacy teaching, the art class (painting and ceramics), the course of music (guitar, drums, etc.), the dressmaking and the recycling workshop or the didactic garden. The only lab course to be mandatory was that of Italian language literacy teaching. Motivation is easily adducible: guests have very different cultural backgrounds and, often they do not even have in common the same native language. The cultural and/or linguistic distance among young guests was shortened thanks to these educational strategies and this has also allowed educators to access to recondite content, useful for follow through the guests in their path of self-empowerment. During the period spent in the SPRAR Centre, it was possible to observe some constants in the group of younger refugees, in spite of the incontrovertible individuality of each human being.The migratory experience creates a remarkable cognitive, emotional, relational and spatial disorientation and, consequently, a strong destabilization that requires specific adaptive strategies to tolerate the new done reality. This process changes the each one's identity and it call into question roles and the value-driven nature. The migratory trauma can compromise the integration quality and the results of individual path. Generally, for refugees the individual experience of migration is initially lived as an adventure fostered by many expectations. Then the expectation and enthusiasm for what is new leaves room at the disappointment, caused by the objective difficulties; in these the exhausting search for employment, unknowing other language, lack of support from family are only some of the examples of what they might be deal with. Living in a foreign country determines for each individual a constant tension in adapting to the new environments, a sort of *cultural shock*, that often results in the loss of self-esteem and in the weakening of the person's physical abilities. All significant changes that affect the young refugee attack the personality, because a modification of the geographical space, of the sense of self, of the social and economic level, and, last but not the least of the linguistic space, which includes nonverbal communication systems and cultural dimension of language. The field observation has permitted to understand another obstacle for the integration process: this is the gap that exist between competence acquired in the context/culture of origin compared to those that are typical of the Host Countries. Indeed, just as in

Western Culture linguistic and logical-mathematical abilities are privileged (Gardner,1987), the case study done in the SPRAR Centre of Sant'Andrea di Conza reveals a very significant propensity for manual or technical-practical skills, certainly more functional in the origin countries. It has been found the presence of anxious and depressive behaviours (this condition has been confirmed by the psychologists that served in the Centre): refugees felt the separation anxiety, lived as loss of contact by the family, friends and the ethnicity group. Even the necessity to "abandon" the mother tongue to interact with other people causes *eustress*[3].In fact, the greatest feeling of alienation affects the field of language, for the realization of the loss of expressive and communicative effectiveness of the language that until now had familiarly led and cataloged every level of life's experience. In conclusion, if communication, at first, has represented a very consistent factor of weaknesses, in a successive moment of the educational path in SPRAR center has been considered the unique way to live the new context of life. The results of the observation demonstrate that when they manage cultural aspects, related to the language and the cultural tradition of the Host Country, they are primed in sharing experience, emotions and feelings transmit themselves as if they were at home.

Conclusions

Migration is a complex phenomenon that includes several components, factors and histories. For this reason, it is impossible dare any solution that would be not transferable to other contexts, other places and other histories. However, the direct experience of one of the authors of this contribu-

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[3]The *eustress*, known as "positive stress", is caused by one or more stimulus, even of different nature, that train psychophysical capacity to adapt. According to Seyle,each individual has a different level of resistance to the phenomenon that surround him, that not always and necessarily are negative or harmful. The phenomena, that generate stress, can be recognized in the angst, in the physical effort, as well as in success. In fact, "from the point of view of its ability to cause stress, it does not matter that the stressor, or the situation we face, whether pleasant or unpleasant: only count the intensity of the need for adaptation or readaptation" (Selye, 1974). In the case of our study, this condition we believe would be connected with the compulsory abandon of the mother tongue.

tion attests that if the communicative dynamics are not limited "to the need," but they become means of telling one's self and one's own experience, the integration process is motivated. In fact, sharing habits and affective states favoured the rethinking and respect for cultural diversity. Abdelmalek Sayad (2002), to acknowledge that integration is a complex, disharmonious and conflictual process, believes that the study of the migrations has to consider the refugees origin. Conceiving that the person starts to exist when migrant arrives in the Host Country, inevitably means to understand only a partial and ethnocentric view of the phenomenon: this overlooks the weight that emigrant's history has in the process of adaptation in the host society. These authors conclude, based on the observation done in the SPRAR Centre, that investing in planned educational programs could be the way to promote intercultural integration. Moreover, through communicative dynamics it would be possible to develop the *intercultural competence* (of all the actors involved in meaningful relationships) to improve mainly the chance to understand the reality, and therefore the experience of *difference*: "the construction of reality as increasingly capable of accommodating cultural difference, that is at the base of evolutionary development" (Bennett, 1993, p. 24).

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Picking Up the Brush for Emperors and Sultans.
Imperial Portraits as Representations of Power in The Early Modern Mediterranean(Ca. 1450-Ca. 1650)

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Abstract

This paper aims to discuss the influence of interdependently effective political discourses and cultural differences in early modern Mediterranean regarding the motives for official state portraiture. Therefore, the paper will focus on the portraits of monarchs, foremost the depictions of Philip IV of Spain by the court painter Velázquez and works of Titian under the patronage of Charles V and Philip II in order to analyse, how the conservative portraiture culture was established and maintained during the so-called *Siglo de Oro*.In contrast to the western Mediterranean, the intercultural portraiture style of the Ottoman Emperor Mehmed II will be given to emphasize the significant role of political inclinations of monarchs on their portraits. A multi-layered approach lies therefore at the basis of full socio-political and cultural comprehension of the paintings to overcome a simple analysis and to contextualize the work of art within both macro and micro historical perspective.

Keywords: Mediterranean, Court Painters, Authority, Ottoman Sultanate, Spain

In the absence of written sources, art and visual evidence such as paintings, can guide scholars in the pursuit of understanding intercultural connections and influences. In the fifteenth and sixteenth century Mediterranean, with the Renaissance and Baroque emphasis on portraiture, a certain type of depictions prompted a real intention to represent the unique appearance of a particular person held as a subject of historical analysis (Sorabella, 2007).Indeed, the depictions of a person, as Erwin Panofsky puts it, "seeks to bring out whatever the sitter has in common with the rest of humanity" and may be regarded as a good answer to the question of why to study the paintings of the monarchs (as quoted in West, 2004, p. 24). However, monarchs cannot be assumed outside their political positions, so partially opposing the abovementioned view, this paper aims at presenting some works of art of three early Modern artists - Velázquez, Titian and Bel-

lini - as focusing on their specific representations of authority and power in Western and Eastern Mediterranean in order to investigate the motives for official state portraiture. In particular, the focus will be on the means of obtaining a portrayal conveying political ambitions, especially in relation to the cultural background in a comparative approach, meanwhile acknowledging the historical trajectories of the two halves of early Modern Mediterranean.

In this light, the paper will concern with the portraits of monarchs, primarily the depictions of Philip IV (1621-1665) of Spain by the court painter Velázquez, as mirroring the Imperial stance in the social and political turmoil gripping the Spanish dominions through Mediterranean during the first half of the 17th century. In fact, calling him just a court painter does not do justice to Velázquez, especially considering his political role in Philip IV's court. Indeed, in 1652 he was appointed the *Aposentador Mayor* (Palace Marshall) and selected as the sole responsible for all the interior arrangements of the palace (Armstrong, 1896/2013, pp. 80-81). This narrative by Armstrong hints at the culture of the Spanish royal court, "harassing minutiae of a rigid and bewildering etiquette", occupied with traditions, which are also evident in Velázquez' portrayals of Philip IV (1896/2013, pp. 80-81).

When the portraits of Philip IV are observed, a recurrent theme stands out. Jonathan Brown (1986) calls it "restraint and sobriety "for most of the depictions are rather simple, and lack the use of allegories, which is predominant especially in court painting from the Renaissance through Baroque period (p. 137). The elimination of the representation of royal symbols and allegories in the Spanish court is often explained by the lack of necessity as the royal power is already 'represented' by the ruler himself. However, Brown (1986) suggests that this approach was only favoured by Philip IV and Velázquez "and by virtually no other European ruler of the time" (p. 138).If Velázquez' portrayal of *Felipe IV*(1623–1628) is analyzed, one symbolic attribution becomes apparent, which is the symbol of the Order of the Golden Fleece, the oldest and longest continuously existing monarchical Order of Knighthood on the European continent, founded in 1430 by Duke Philippe the Good of Burgundy, to promote and defend Christianity, also mutually influential with the *Reconquista* culture (Covert, 2009, p. 10).The portrait that was described in the *Buen Retiro* Palace inventory as

the first time Velázquez depicted Philip IV, is just the beginning of a series of portraits with the same attributions of simplicity (*Corpus Velazqueño*, p. 563).Although Velázquez had travelled to Italy in 1629, the main influence from his trip was in technique, which reached an "austere perfection" but the depiction of Philip IV did not change (Domíguez Ortiz, Pérez Sánchez, Gállego, 1989, p. 36).A suggestion to this lack of influence can be found in the nature of Spanish *Siglo de Oro*, "(…) Spain withdrew into itself, and that its cultural achievements were produced by Spain's own genius and owed little to other nations" (Kamen, 1983, p. 202). Even the added elements tothe1632 portrait of Philip IV such as the drapery might be considered to have a symbolic reference to the monarchy, however, were not to be found again. An exception to this rule of thumb might be the portrayal called *Felipe IV de Castaño y Plata* (Philip IV in Brown and Silver, 1632) with an unprecedented fancy clothing, which has been described by Brown as iconographically ultra conservative for it is as if Velázquez had lifted the figure of the king from an earlier portrait and had given him new clothes(Brown, 1986). One last portrait to be mentioned is the *Felipe IV en Fraga* (Portrait of Philip IV in Fraga,), painted during a campaign to recover Lerida from the French in 1644. The exceptionality of this portrait lays in the fact that Philip IV this is facing to his right, unlike all the previous ones. "Portraits of ruler victorious in war offered an irresistible opportunity for painters in the seventeenth century" notes Brown however, again Velázquez was hesitant to use allegories of victory.

It is evident that Philip IV has a traditional image that he wanted Velázquez to maintain throughout his entire life. There are no personification, glorification or abundant symbolism in his depictions. Two hypotheses have been offered about the attitude of the King towards his portraits. First, and as mentioned before, the embodiment of the royal power within the King might be considered enough to convey the royal power. The symbolism in court paintings can be seen as a legitimization apparatus and as a manifestation of power. By not employing this, Spanish monarchs possibly implied that their right to rule was already asserted powerfully enough and it did not require any regal symbolism. Even when Rubens -who uses allegory exceedingly- visited Madrid, his works clearly point to the fact that "allegory was rejected as an effective means of royal propaganda and the

tradition of simple representations of the monarch continued without interruption" (Brown, 1986, p. 147).

A second point can be made by emphasizing Philip IV's personal desire to be painted accurately. There might be several examples to be given. In 1633 there was a movement of repainting amongst the royal portraits for accuracy; as Brown surmises from *Varia Velazqueña*, - a bibliographic tribute to Velázquez in the 300th anniversary of his death - it can be interpreted that quality and verisimilitude in royal portraits were a matter of concern to the court. In addition, there are several instances when Philip IV requests his face to be altered in portraits or even sculptures. In Pietro Tacca's Equestrian Portrait, a sculpture that arrived in Madrid eight years after it was commissioned, -due to the complaint of the king that he was now older and should be depicted as such- by the sculptures son, to be more accurate (p. 148). In addition, in a letter written by the English ambassador at Madrid which can be found in Clarendon State Papers[1], Sir Arthur Hopton to Sir Francis Secretary of State Velázquez is described as "the king's painter a man of great judgement", which implies the realistic representation of his. Jonathan Brown refers to an unpublished letter of Philip IV where he wishes never to be painted again, due to his old age (Brown, 1986, p. 148). Now that Philip's devotion to being represented as realistic as possible is apparent, it is not surprising that he rejects being altered or his features disguised by painters.

Although August L. Mayer finds "the subtle combination of simplicity and majesty" of the portraits impressing, John Huxtable Elliott rather calls them "a sense of failure, the sudden emptiness of imperial splendour" (Mayer, 1925, p. 62; Elliott, 2002, 386).In the light of Elliot's suggestion, if one is to deeply analyse Philip IV's attitude, it is simply politics and political ambitions, which creates this inclination for verisimilitude. It is not only Philip IV but also his predecessors, Charles V (1516-1556)and Philip II (1554-1598) who followed a similar trend of imperial portraiture. When Philip II's portraits are compared to Philip IV's the similar dressing style and poses are identifiable. This longing for the peculiar portrayal style of

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[1] MS. Bodl. Clar. I8, fol. 232. Extract. Sir Arthur Hopton to Secretary Windebank Madrid July 18/28 i640 Cal. Clarendon State Papers, 1397

his grandfather can be interpreted as a political responsibility for reviving Spain in the 17th century. Indeed, Velázquez's works not only represent the political discourses of Philip IV regarding the last decades of *Siglo de Oro* of Spain, but they also construct a visual representation of the monarch's obsession with verisimilitude and personal constrain from glorification.

In fact, this style as well as an inclination towards simplicity harkens back to the works of Titian under the patronage of Charles V. Indeed, Titian, the Venetian artist who a century earlier inspired Velázquez - opposing the view that Spain's artistic culture was only owed to Spanish artists- portrayed the Emperor simply as a person rather than a source of authority; this clearly contrasted to the traditional artistic manner adorning Imperial portraitures with abundant allegories of power. What is gripping about Titian is his relationship with Charles V; Charles Hope (1979) calls it "something very exceptional" giving examples of letters where authors whom are high ranking court members, and mentioning the time he spends with Charles V or the very intimate terms that they are on (p. 7). The political power of Charles V, as the Holy Roman Emperor with a Habsburg title, compared to the monarchs of his time such as Henry VIII or Francis I is considerable. Portraits of Charles V were a political necessity. Yvonne Hackenbroch (1969) describes his portraits as serving to his position: "they symbolized his dynastic power and omnipresence as head of a vast empire "on which the sun never set," extending from Hungary to Spain, from Flanders to North Africa, and including the new colonies in America." (p. 323).Deriving from this, it can be expected that the royal portraiture of Charles V to be adorned with allegories especially portraying his success and power. Although, many portrait of Charles V are filled with personifications of victory, fame and faith, his own glorification however was not deriving from the symbolism *per se* but his humbleness as conveyed by Titian's *maniera*.

Propaganda is not always glorification. One example of this is the painting called 'the Emperor Charles V at Mühlberg', which celebrates the victory over Schmalkaldic League at Mühlberg in 1547.Indeed, the Schmalkaldic League, the Lutheran alliance within the Holy Roman Empire posed not only a religious but also a political threat to Charles for it was seen by the Spanish court as a revolt against the legitimate ruler. However, Miguel Falomir (2008) suggests that "in fact leading Lutheran nobles such as Maurice

of Saxony supported Charles, whose army was primarily made up of Protestants. In addition, while Titian was painting the portrait in Augsburg, Charles was giving his support to the Interim, which concluded on 12 March 1548, in a last attempt to bring Catholics and Protestants together" (pp. 507-508). In this context, the abovementioned portrayal of Charles V had to be more moderate as to both celebrate the victory but not to show arrogance that would disturb the settlement. His imagery was towards an emperor that was "capable of ruling over a heterogeneous group of states and religions" (Falomir, 2008, pp. 507-508). So, what is missing are references to the actual battle. It is apparent that the portraits of Charles V could not escape the effect of the political discourse and they bore symbolic meaning without employing allegories and symbols.

Evidently, Charles V was eager to construct an image of self, which he wanted to convey to the observer of his portraitures. This image however, was not of an emperor portrayed by personified virtues or filled with ancient Roman symbolism. In his later years," he was fortunate in securing the services of Titian and Leone Leoni, and refused to be portrayed by others; for he appreciated not only their extraordinary talents but even more their concept of him as a ruler" as exemplified with the Mühlberg portrait; this was consistent with the contemporary political discourse (Hackenbroch, 1969, p. 323). However, this was also made possible by his personal relationship with Titian. The portraits are connected to politics in a sense that they construct Charles V's political identity as not only a powerful ruler but also a moderate, humble one.

The portraits of monarchs produced during the so called *Siglo de Oro* often follow the Spanish culture of the time, where "many foreign influences were apparently frowned on in this period" had their own particular style and narratives (Kamen, 1983, p. 202). Even though Titian was Venetian, his portraits of Charles V and Philip II -with a few exceptions as *Philip II Offering Don Fernando to Victory*- conform with the Spanish culture in the specific time period of early 16th and mid-17th centuries. Velázquez, indeed was a successor of Titian in subject and manner, creating a consistency as to approach authority and monarchy in the western Mediterranean, especially the Spanish dominions under the influence of Castile.

In contrast to Velázquez and Titian's artistic approaches to authority, both deliberately lessening the glorification and aiming to create an identity

of ruler where the legitimacy is not derived from the symbolism of the portraiture but exists within the ruler itself, Gentile Bellini -when commissioned by the Mehmed II in third quarter of the 15th century- represented the Ottoman Sultan as bearing the title of "*Victor Orbis*", as quintessential of a dominant ruler. This representation originated from Mehmet II's ambitions of expanding the nascent Ottoman empire to the Western half of the Mediterranean. After the conquest of Constantinople in 1453, the cultural interaction between a new Muslim ruler and the old Byzantine capital – highly representative of the distinct religious backgrounds- chimed with Mehmed II's personal inclinations, which spurred him into requesting a Western artist who for the first time portrayed a Muslim ruler as adopting a western pictorial language as rooted in the Renaissance artistic jargon (Necipoğlu, 2010, p. 264).

What is essential to understand about Mehmed II is that his aim was not only to glorify his own rule, but create multiple dimensions to it, as incorporating both East and the West within one ruler. Gülru Necipoğlu (2010) defines this intercultural as a "creative translation" (p. 262).The transition between Constantinople to *Konstantiniyye* (the Ottoman name of the City) is a direct example of this translation, as Mehmed II constructed the new capital, he imposed his own global vision. In addition, "Mehmed II was the only Muslim ruler of his time to adopt a western pictorial language for self-representation and, by implication, for the representation of Ottoman dynastic identity" (Necipoğlu, 2010, p. 262). Instead of isolating the Ottoman Empire and turned it to its Eastern origins, Mehmed II pursued the aim of redefining it. His interest in western portraiture was two folded.

First, Mehmed II already had an interest in both western painting and literature. About the notebook attributed to him which is preserved in Topkapı Palace, Julian Raby (1982) comments that his drawings "In spirit they evince a European influence which is also evident in the cross hatching and in their format, approaches to drawing and form which is unknown in the Islamic world" (p. 4). In addition, he had a specific interest for European languages as well as history. Also, he had the life of Alexander read to him daily and this contribute to the construction of his own self-image as a Sultan regarding himself as the Emperor of the Romans de facto connecting the 'East to the West', with the exception of marching from the opposite site of the great Macedon (Babinger, 1992, p. 500).However, it is

only logical that his personal interest correlates with his political actions towards the West with the aim of constructing an empire and an identity of emperor for himself; this is also evident from his portraits with a strict usage of western elements and symbolisms.

Second, his patronage of Italian artists, which are not limited to the widely known Bellini, are employed through political relationships and cultural recognition. These were "an extension of his foreign diplomatic relations, a very special kind of gift exchange meant to promote intercultural bonding and political alliance formation" (Necipoğlu, 2010, p. 264). It is not a coincidence that the escalation of this exchange, especially with Mehmed IIs patronage of Italian artists was facilitated by the declaration of peace with Venice (Raby, 1882, p. 5).In addition, the influence of this behaviour was not only towards foreign courts but also "his own Frankish subjects and vassals, polyglot courtiers, and the Italian merchant bankers of Pera and other Ottoman emporia" (Necipoğlu, 2010, p. 267).

The zenith of this cultural exchange can be seen when Bellini's portrait of Mehmed II, was completed in 1480. With its three-quarter view and crowns -crowns assumed to be symbolising the three kingdoms of Mehmed IIs empire; Greece, Asia and Trebizond- it bears the Renaissance and Western portraiture traditions (Raby, 1987, pp. 171-194). It is an unprecedented style not only in Ottoman art but Islamic tradition in general as previous Sultan were never showed *in effigie*. However, it is apparent that his personal ambitions about the West merged with the political aims which lead to the patronage of Western art was more personal to Mehmed II than to his court. Even his son Beyazid II more Eastern oriented especially about political campaigns condemned Mehmed IIs interests, "As Tomaso di Tolfo wrote to Michelangelo from Turkey in 1519, Beyazid took no delight in figures of any sort; indeed, he hated them" (Raby, 1982, p. 8). So, this attempt to create a self-image for Ottoman rulers as a world emperor was volatile.

To conclude, it is clear that motives for royal portraiture can be multifaceted. The abovementioned monarchs had different self-identifications, in the western Mediterranean Philip IV longed for the glory and strength of his predecessors, Charles V struggled with maintaining his own authority during the times of turmoil and resistance; meanwhile the Spanish Habsburgs during *Siglo de Oro* were increasingly unwelcoming of foreign influences. On eastern Mediterranean, instead, Mehmed II desired to represent a

hybrid of cultures to be able to pursue his western expansion. However, what is common with all of them is that even if the portraits are representations of their "self", this self is often underlined by a political purpose. The personal qualities of the portraiture styles are defined through the person's identity as a monarch, and a monarch inevitably is bound by political discourses.

Although further research is needed, as other portrayals can be investigated to test my results, it seems to me possible to surmise that the portraits of authoritiesconvey diverse cues about the nature of the cultural background, the ruler's perception of self, often defined by the very politics of his position. A multi-layered and complex approach lies therefore at the basis of full socio-political and cultural comprehension of the paintings in order to overcome a simple (often purely aesthetic) analysis and to contextualize the work of art within both the macro (Mediterranean) and micro (state or regional) historical perspective. This is true particularly for the early modern period where nation states were in formation and Mediterranean empires were still major actors in Mediterranean world.

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Report on Migrants and Refugees across Europe. How to share the challenge for a shared world of peace. *International Seminar. Rome 27-29 April 2016*

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Migrations are by now a key issue of the public discourse: the flows of people looking for a better life – sometimes just for a life – that arrive to Europe from Africa and Middle East are alarming policy makers and citizens all over the continent. Quite often the issue is addressed in a Manichean way, in favour or against the arrivals of migrants, without a serious debate. Stereotypes and cliché are frequently at the root of the ideas of the public, while decision makers often consider the problem only as an emergence, worried to manage the arrivals of foreigners without disappointing citizens. In this context, intellectuals can play an important role, as they can debunk the common myths and offer a fairer awareness of the phenomenon. It is very difficult that their studies reach the large public but, anyway, they can help the policy makers to improve the migration policies, providing them with tools of knowledge that, in the present situation, are more and more necessary.

The International Seminar *Migrants and Refugees across Europe. How to share the challenge for a shared world of peace*, held last April in Rome, tried to analyze the issue from a scientific point of view, highlighting several aspects of migrations. The Seminar was organized by the CeAS (Centro di eccellenza Altiero Spinelli) of University of Roma Tre, Italy, and by the RCIMI (Research Centre on Identity and Migration Issues) of University of Oradea, Romania, with the patronage of UNHCR, of Institute Luigi Sturzo (Rome) and of Consiglio italiano per il movimento europeo, within the programme *European Pathways to Peace*, implemented by the CeAS. Aim of the Seminar was «to analyze causes and types of migration flows and their socio-economic, legal and political impact, to collect study materials on the phenomenon, to advance proposals for managing it, and to contribute to

promote a greater sense of awareness and responsibility on the side of EU countries» (Migrants and refugees, 2016). Main organizers were Luigi Moccia (president of the CeAS) and Lia Pop (Director of the RCIMI).

The welcome speeches at the Italian Chamber of Deputies saw the participation of Mario Panizza (Rector of the University of Roma Tre), Joseph Mifsud (Director of the London Academy of Diplomacy), Ferruccio Pastore (Director of International and European Forum on Migration), along with Moccia and Pop.

The main day of the Seminar was 28 April, with four panels held at the University of Roma tre.

The first session, chaired by Marc Maresceau (University of Gent), was dedicated to *Experiences and views* (panellists: Janos Simon – Eöatvös Loránd University; Naděžda Šišková – Palacky University of Olomouc; Jan Wendt – University of Gdansk; Esther Lopatin – Center for European Studies of Herzliya; Irina Mihaela Pop - University of Oradea; Erminio Fonzo – University of Salerno) and focused on issues related to communication and to the perception of migrants in Europe, in particular in Romania, Hungary and Poland. The panellists also presented some proposals to improve the situation and to allow the public opinion to achieve a better perception of the phenomenon, such as the exploitation of the memory of emigration.

The second panel, chaired by Fulvio Attinà (University of Catania) and titled *National policies* (panellists: Stefan Messmann – Central European University; Ioan Hosu & Mihnea Storica - Babes-Bolyai University; Solange Fatal- University of Montpellier; Andrea De Petris – University "Giustino Fortunato" – Filomena Riccardi – University Roma Tre) analyzed the conditions of migrants in some European countries: Romania, France, Germany, Italy, focusing both on legal issues and on policies for inclusion.

The third session, titled *Values and rights* and chaired by Janos Simon (panellists: Lia Pop, Marie-Laure Basilien-Gainche – University Jean Moulin Lyon 3; Marco Massó Garrote – Universidad de Castilla La Mancha; Patrizia Palermo – University of Genoa; Emanuela Parisciani & Denise Venturi – Scuola superiore Sant'Anna of Pisa; Silvia Zarrella – Ngo Asilo in Europa), dealt with issues related to inclusion and law, discussing several aspects, such as electoral participation, rights of the LGBTI migrants, laws on "High Seas" and, more in general, asylum policy in Europe.

The last panel, titled *Eu Policies*, was chaired by Ioan Hosu (panellists: Stefania Panebianco – University of Catania; Nicola De Dominicis – Uni-

versity of Roma tre; Loredana Teodorescu – University of Roma Tre; Marco Omizzolo & Pina Sodano – University of Roma Tre; Giuseppe Zarrella – Association "Eugenio Rossetto"). The panellists discussed about the role of the European Union, that today is one of the most debated issues, as most European people consider insufficient the commitment of the Union for managing of the flows. Several topics were analyzed, including the *Mare Nostrum* operation, the sharing of responsibility among Member States, the cooperation with the neighbouring countries.

The last day the congress moved to the Institute Luigi Sturzo where, after the welcome speech of the president Nicola Antonetti, the panel chairmen of the previous day gave a report of the papers presented. A round table with the participation of Filippo Bubbico, vice minister for Home Affairs; Eugenio Ambrosi, International Organization for Migration; Stéphan Jaquement, UNHCR; PierVirgilio Dastoli, Consiglio italiano per il movimento europeo, Liliana Ocmin, National coordinator of the Departement of Migration Policies of Cisl and Giulio Saputo, Young European Federalists, closed the event.

It is impossible, in the short space of this report, to summarise all the reflections proposed during the Seminar. The proceedings, indeed, are in press in a volume of the European University Press (*European Studies* n. 2). What is certain is that one of the value of the congress was the multidisciplinary approach, as it involved sociologists, jurists, scholars of international relations, historians and other intellectuals. Moreover, not only academics, but also people engaged in the practical management of the flows joined the meeting.

The contribution of different disciplines and the cooperation among scholars and decision makers is more and more necessary, as migrations are a very critical and urgent issue, that risks to undermine the very foundations of the European Union. Think to the Britain leave, the so-called "Brexit", that was provoked to a large extent by the concern for the possible arrival of migrants in the United Kingdom. Moreover, the fear of migrants is contributing to increase the weight of anti-European and populist parties, by now spread in all the countries and more and more present on the political scene. The public opinion is exposed to the alarmist messages conveyed by mass media that, generally, speak of migrants only about crime, arrivals and problems of reception, forgetting the contribution of the for-

eigners to the national economies and to the welfare states of countries whose population is more and more ageing.

Moreover, the current migratory policies are only aimed at facing the emergence of arrivals and first reception. Too often the policy makers neglect the potential role of migrations in promoting development and growth and do not consider that, if included and enabled to work and use their potentiality, migrants can help, with their work, not only the countries of destination - for which they are more and more necessary - but also those of origin, mainly through remittances. Unfortunately, migrants are often considered a burden, rather than a resource, and only short-sighted policy are implemented. In the present situation, however, effective inclusion policies, able to exploit the potentiality of migrations in the longer term (think, for example, to the second generations) cannot be further delayed.

In this sense, communication is today the most important issue, given that policy makers, in particular those who hold an elective office, are forced to take into account the opinion of the public. If citizens, following alarmist messages and stereotypes, have a negative – and often unfounded – opinion of migrants and are afraid for their arrival, unavoidably the decision makers are forced to propose and implement restrictive policies, in order not to lose support. In other words, the investments for inclusion will be difficult until many people will believe that it is inopportune to "waste" money for foreigners, without acknowledging that these investments would benefit not only they migrants, but also the hosting countries. Not surprisingly, the number of mayors, deputies and other politicians that use to make statements against the arrival of migrants, mainly at local level, is increasing. The fear of the other – a recurring feature in the history of mankind - is easy to raise in front of the arrival of large flows of migrants.

Therefore, initiatives like the International Seminar held in Rome are to be encouraged and it is to be hoped that who studies the phenomenon with a scientific approach may become an important voice within the public discourse.

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