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Sport and Integration of Migrants: Some considerations

GIUSEPPE D'ANGELO
University of Salerno, Italy

Abstract

The potential of sport for the inclusion of minorities is widely acknowledged. Being a non-verbal language, sport is particularly useful to ease the integration of the migrants in the hosting societies; in the present world – in which migrations are one of the most debated issues of the political arena – it can be a valid tool to create a more inclusive society. However, the potential of sport should not be overestimated, mainly because of the limits of its role and the barriers that hinder the participation of migrants. In this context, the role of scholars, which can provide useful tools of knowledge, is essential.

Keywords: Migrations, Integration, Sport, Multi-cultural society.

1. Potentialities and limits of sport as a tool for the intercultural dialogue

The potential of sport to foster integration of minorities and disadvantaged people (migrants, disabled persons, ethnic or linguistic minorities, etc.) is widely acknowledged: institutions, intellectuals, opinion leaders, use to state that sporting activities promote dialogue and integration. Since the end of the World War II, particular attention has been paid to the sport for disabled persons, which now is played in all the world (Martino *et al.*, 2019, pp. 215-220; European Commission, 2018; Smith, 2016; DePauw & Gavron, 2005).

Today, in the continuous evolution of the migratory phenomena, institutions and scholars consider sport a tool to ease the integration of migrants in the hosting society. This assumption is certainly true, but the role of sport should not be overestimated, mainly for two reasons:

1. the participation of the migrants in sport is often hindered by obstacles of economic, social-cultural and bureaucratic nature;
2. when migrants succeed in playing, not always they walk toward a real inclusion.

Stan Frossard, Executive Secretary of the Enlarged Partial Agreement on Sport of the Council of Europe, has summarized the problem in this way:

Played and watched by people from a variety of social backgrounds, it has an educational and socialising effect that makes it an ideal vehicle for intercultural dialogue and social integration. Indeed, when we speak about "integration through sport", there is wide acknowledgement of the positive contribution sport makes to social integration, for ethnic minorities and immigrant communities in particular. This consensus has been highlighted by various opinion polls in Europe and by references in political and institutional discourse. Regular participation in sport is thought, for example, to help young people of immigrant origin to develop key skills and to integrate better into society.

It is important, however, not to take things at face value. Often the only visible evidence of sport's potential to promote integration is the presence of international stars in high-profile, top-level sport, which is not always a true reflection of the situation on the ground. Experience has shown that sport can equally be a setting for extreme nationalism, exclusion and discrimination. In the context of the Council of Europe Convention against Spectator Violence, it has been observed that, unfortunately, racism and intolerance are still rife.

Sport in itself does not necessarily foster tolerance. Nor is it necessarily a factor in social mixing and integration. Harnessing this political potential requires first and foremost real commitment on the part of the associations and institutions that administer and support sport.

It is important, therefore, to look beyond the conventional wisdom and rhetoric in order to understand how certain practices contribute to the integration of immigrant communities through sport. Any such assessment must not only look at the (political and cultural) context but also identify the target groups concerned (Gasparini & Cometti, 2010, p. 5).

The attention paid to sport as a tool to ease the intercultural dialogue is due to the fact that, like music, it is a universal language: the rules of the games are equal in all the world and the linguistic barriers are easily overcome, because sport is a non-verbal language. The athletic activities, furthermore, can have some beneficial effects on the players: they can increase confidence and self-regard, and also allow people to forge new relations and widen the network of friends. For migrants, sport can help to keep the identity of the country of origin, thanks to the participation in ethnic teams or through the celebration of the victories of the national athletes in the spectator-sport competitions. Keeping a strong identity is not in contrast with integration but, on the contrary, can ease the dialogue with other people, allowing a sort of peer-to-peer interaction.

Not by chance, over the years sport has often been a tool for integration. In the long history of Italian emigration, for example, the athletic activities have played an important role in helping immigrants to become citizens of the countries of destination. The Italians emigrated to Latin America found

in sport, and particularly in football, one of the way to interact with local people. Through sport, they have also contributed to the nation building of the countries of destination. For example, some of the most known football clubs, such as Palmeiras in Brazil and Boca Juniors in Argentina, were established by Italian immigrants as ethnic associations (Porro, 2016; Riva, 2016). In the United States, where often the immigrants found a hostile environment and had to face the discrimination of significant sectors of the local population, sport contributed to make the Italians accepted, for example thanks to the popularity of some champions of Italian descent, such as the baseball player Joe Di Maggio (Marchesini, 2001). Sport, however, also allowed the emigrants to keep the Italian identity, for example through the celebration of the victories of Italian champions and teams (thinks to the boxer Primo Carnera in the Thirties (Marchesini, 2006) and, more recently, to the performance of the football national team at the 1994 World Cup, held in the United States).

Today, in all Europe many projects and initiatives aim at favouring integration through sport. Migrants participate in two ways: with ethnic teams, composed by players coming from the same country, or within multi-cultural teams, in which foreigners and local people play together. The most involved discipline, as is logical, is football, which is the favourite game of both Europeans and migrants, most of whom come from areas, such as Africa and the Middle East, where the game is very popular.

The European institutions, indeed, pay great attention on sport as a tool of dialogue. In 2007 the European Union published its *White Paper on Sport*, highlighting its importance for minorities:

Sport makes an important contribution to economic and social cohesion and more integrated societies. All residents should have access to sport. The specific needs and situation of under-represented groups therefore need to be addressed, and the special role that sport can play for young people, people with disabilities and people from less privileged backgrounds must be taken into account. Sport can also facilitate the integration into society of migrants and persons of foreign origin as well as support inter-cultural dialogue.

Sport promotes a shared sense of belonging and participation and may therefore also be an important tool for the integration of immigrants. It is in this context that making available spaces for sport and supporting sport-related activities is important for allowing immigrants and the host society to interact together in a positive way.

The Commission believes that better use can be made of the potential of sport as an instrument for social inclusion in the policies, actions and programmes of the European

Union and of Member States. This includes the contribution of sport to job creation and to economic growth and revitalisation, particularly in disadvantaged areas. Non-profit sport activities contributing to social cohesion and social inclusion of vulnerable groups can be considered as social services of general interest¹.

The Union has promoted initiatives and funded projects aimed at spreading the use of sport for the inclusion of migrants. Among them, the project Spin - Sport inclusion network, which aims to “increase volunteering of migrants and minorities through the establishment of equal partnerships and training of mainstream sport organizations”². The project, co-funded by the programme Erasmus Plus, is composed by seven partners, coming from different Member States, who promote research and organize events to overcome the barriers that limit the participation of migrants in sporting activity. For example, on 20 June, UN World Refugee Day, Spin promotes an European Football Day, with the organization of tournaments and other events.

Another initiative funded by the European Union is the project Aspire - Activity, Sport and Play for the Inclusion of Refugees in Europe, started on 1st January 2017 and lasting until 30 June 2019. The projects aims at involving asylum seekers and refugees, who are among the most disadvantaged migrants and, very often, have to face long bureaucratic procedures to achieve a permit of stay. The goal of the initiative is the “implementation of a training module that is based on underpinning evidence and enhances the skills and competences of facilitators in sport organisations how to adapt existing coaching activities to the specific context of refugees and migrants”³. In this way, Aspire aims at providing refugees with psychosocial support and easing the intercultural dialogue between them and the local people.

The Council of Europe, in turn, in 2007 has established the Enlarged Partial Agreement on Sport, which, among other things, deals with minorities and discriminations “related to gender, race, ethnicity, physical and intellectual ability, sexual orientation, migration, prisons and many

¹ For the English version of the text see <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:52007DC0391&from=EN>, retrieved 26 April 2019.

² See the website of the project, <https://sportinclusion.net/about-spin/>, retrieved 28 April 2019.

³ See the website <https://www.aspiresport.eu/>.

others”⁴. Since its establishment, Epas has promoted activities and important studies on the role of sport for integration.

Alongside the projects funded by the supranational bodies, many states implement initiatives with the same goal. Moreover, many projects come from the civil societies, by organizations, associations and groups of citizens. For example, the Italian federation Uisp – Unione italiana sport per tutti⁵, is very active in the organizations of tournaments and events that involve migrants. Many teams, mainly in football, have been established by associations and political groups with the specific purpose of including migrants and easing, in this way, their integration.

However, the potential of sport, as stated above, must not be overestimated. Sport, in fact, is only one element of the social life of an individual and beside it many other exists, such as work, social relations, etc. Not always sport has impact on them. Furthermore, the participation of migrants in athletic activities not necessarily entails a real integration and a real intercultural dialogue between foreigners and native citizens: the result depends on the context and the environment in which sport is played. More specifically, the participation in athletic activities generally does not have a direct impact on the economic condition of migrants, apart from the rare cases of expatriated citizens who have become professional sportsmen.

The foreigners, furthermore, find some barriers that limit their participation in athletic activities.

2. Barriers, discriminations, racism

The migrants who play sports are fewer than autochthon citizens. There are not studies offering precise quantitative data, but several surveys carried out in the European countries show that foreigners are less involved. A research collecting the data of several national studies has summarized in this way the subject:

In principle, the sports sector is one of the spheres in which migrant volunteers are in comparison to other social spheres rather strongly represented. The findings of the

⁴ Official website of the Epas, <https://www.coe.int/en/web/sport/inclusive-sport>, retrieved 20 April 2019.

⁵ On the history of Uisp see Di Monte, Giuntini & Maiorella (2008).

individual surveys are difficult to compare, since they deal with different issues and examine different groups. Nevertheless, they reveal differences between migrants and non-migrants at various levels of the sports sector and of voluntary commitment. Different studies find that migrants are underrepresented regarding sporting activities, membership in sports clubs, voluntary commitment in sports and/or voluntary commitment within formal structures in general. Further results indicate the existence of access barriers within the structures of organized sports (e.g. the observed general readiness of migrants to engage and their large proportion of informal volunteer activity (Schwenzer, 2016, p. 15).

The minor involvement of migrants is due to some barriers, which do not exist for native people.

First of all, economic barriers: playing sports does cost and the migrants, who generally live in poorer condition than native people, have not always the possibility of affording expenses for equipment, registration, etc. Furthermore, usually they work more hours and, therefore, have less time to devote to leisure.

Other barriers come from bureaucracy and sporting legislation. The rules of the individual federations are different from one another, but often they require documents that not always migrants are able to provide, such as long-term permits of stay. For some categories, such as asylum seekers and refugees, playing in official teams or associations is even more difficult. In last years, many progress have been made and many federations have changed their rules, easing the participation of migrants. This evolution, however, does not mean that foreigners are assimilated to local people and often the bureaucratic procedure for their registration is different.

Finally, the newcomers have also to face social-cultural barriers. Many migrants, coming from civilizations different from that of the hosting country, have habits and traditions unknown to the native citizens. Sometimes, the favourite disciplines are different: migrants coming from the Indian Subcontinent, for example, traditionally play cricket, a game little known in Europe, which makes difficult the organization of events that involve both newcomers and autochthon citizens, although some initiatives have been carried out. Also other cultural differences can create obstacles: for example, the feast days, during which sport is often played, are different for Christians and Muslims. In the case of women, the cultural barrier are particularly hard to overcome, because traditions and leading ideas of many countries of origin do not encourage (or, sometimes, explicitly refuse) the female participation in athletic activities.

Sport, furthermore, is affected by the problem of racism, which exists since when, between the end of Nineteenth century and the beginning of the Twentieth, modern sport was born.

In theory, the athletic activities should be immune from racism and discriminations, as their only important element is the ability of participants, without regard to ethnicity, but, in practice, this does not happen. William Gasparini, one of the most expert scholars in sports and discrimination, has written:

Sport involves a paradox. Popular, and practised on a voluntary basis, it accepts anyone, irrespective of cultural origin or gender. It can therefore be regarded as an area free from discrimination. Conversely, competitive sport can also be viewed as a form of differentiation, dividing and ranking practitioners according to level of ability. Yet this exclusion of those who are "less good" at their sport, which may look like discrimination, is not in fact based on social criteria, birth, religion or "race". It is even clearer that discrimination is not involved when you consider that the rules require equal treatment: age groups, weight categories and rankings are created precisely so that "the best person wins", skin colour not being a factor. Differences are recognised and differentiation allowed only between the sexes, since it is "natural" for separate competitions to be held for women and men. [...]

In the face of a certain political concept of the universality of sport, day-to-day practice and the conduct of sports institutions surely indicate that sport continues to be affected by a number of identity-related affirmations and specific instances of discrimination (sexual, ethnic and/or based on physical appearance or sexual orientation) (Gasparini & Talleu, pp. 11-12).

In the past, black-skinned sportsmen were generally prevented from playing with white people. According to the mentality of yore, human races were different from one another and, in many countries, the presence of coloured people in sporting events was considered inopportune.

In football, for example, a lasting interdiction, overcome in different moments depending on the countries, prevented black-skinned athletes to play with the white ones (Valeri, 2005). Over the years, the black football players showed more and more talent (just think to the Brazilian football team in the years 1958-1970 and to players such as Garrincha, Didi, Vavá and, above all, Pelé), so that the idea of racial superiority, used to justify the interdiction, proved to be absolutely unsustainable.

Today the interdiction has been abolished and the sporting federations forbid any kind of discrimination. However, new forms of racism have arisen: discriminations and racial insults are quite frequent by supporters and, sometime, opponent players, mainly in football. A survey realized in

2018 by the English organization Kick It Out, with interviews in 38 countries, has reported that 54% of respondents has witnessed at least one case of racism ("The Guardian", 21 November 2018). The most affected country is Peru, where incidence is 77%; in the Netherlands, on the contrary, there is the lowest incidence, 38%. The survey, furthermore, has highlighted that only 28% of football fans know how to report the episodes of discrimination. The situation is worrying, despite the progress made in last years, and the chairman of Kick It Out, Herman Ouseley, has commented: "If you were asking this question 10 years ago, certainly 25 years ago, about how many fans had witnessed racist abuse it probably would have been about 90%, so the fact it's 50% is both disappointing and pleasing" (The Guardian", 21 November 2018).

The progress, however, is jeopardized by xenophobia and nationalism, which are increasing in many countries. Racism in sport, in fact, reflects the racism in society and, if the latter grows, also the sports fields risk being more affected.

Lilian Thuram, one of the footballer most engaged in the fight against racism⁶, has explained:

It is vital to realise that racism and discrimination in sport reflect the racism that exists in society. The more racism there is in society, the more will occur at football grounds. The racism that occurs is not therefore specific either to sport or to football, and it is not sport which gives rise to racism. On the contrary, it is through sport that people come into contact with one another and get to know each other, with the result that prejudice becomes less marked. Thus, football is a fantastic means of integration. Clearly the situation is not the same in society, where people do not always meet others, and therefore retain their prejudices. Football does not solve all of society's problems, but does bring people together and get positive messages across to combat racism and encourage people to accept others. In fact, I am surprised that people feel that sport contributes to racism. While sport does involve rivalry, that rivalry is friendly. I think that there is less discrimination in sport than in society as a whole. Performance is what counts most, not skin colour (Gasparini & Talleu, p. 5).

At present, the diffusion of racism is diverse. In some Western Europe countries it is less common than in the past, at least in the spectator-sport,

⁶ In 2000, Thuram refused to be hired by the Italian club S.S. Lazio because its supporters were known for their racism and the frequent insults against black-skinned players. Moreover, Thuram has established *Fondation Lilian Thuram. Éducation contre le racisme*, aimed at combatting discriminations. See the website <https://www.thuram.org>, retrieved 2 May 2019.

also thanks to the commitment of sporting and political institutions, which have promoted anti-racist campaigns and established sanctions for the perpetrators of discriminatory behaviour. In many countries, however, xenophobia and polemics on immigration have created a climate of intolerance, which also affects sport and, particularly, football (although cases of racism against black players have also been reported in other disciplines). It is the case, for example, of Italy, where in last years the landings of asylum seekers have raised fierce polemics and for some political forces the contrast to immigration is the main element of their political engagement. The growing xenophobia has affected the football fields, mainly in the dilettantish levels, where the insults against dark-skinned players by opponents and fans are more frequent. As for professional football, many insults against black players by opponent supporters have been reported in last *Serie A* championships (Gherpelli, 2018). Also in many Eastern European countries the polemics on immigration and the fear of the foreigner risk provoking a dangerous increase of racism in the stadiums.

Racial offenses are usually directed against the opponent players. Very often, the supporters accept that black athletes play in their favourite team, but show racism against the opponents: in other words, when a dark-skinned player contributes to the success of their own team is welcomed or, at least, tolerated; when, on the contrary, his talent contributes to the defeat of the favourite team, xenophobia arises. In this sense, racism is also a form of frustration, provoked by the talent of the black athletes, whose performance reminds the racists how false are their ideas of superiority. In most extreme cases, however, the racist fans even insults the players of their own club, thinking that they make the team “impure”, with their presence. For example, the supporters of the Israeli team Beitar Jerusalem, who are strictly tied to the far right nationalism, use to insult any Arabian, black or Muslim footballer, *de facto* preventing the club to hire them (“Haaretz”, 8 February 2013; “The Jerusalem Post”, 11 July 2013). Something similar also happens in other countries. In Italy, for example, some supporters of Hellas Verona and Treviso have protested against the hiring of dark-skinned players by their clubs (Valeri, 2005, pp. 633-675; “La Repubblica”, 3 June 2001).

Sport, however, over the years has also been a tool to fight racism and discrimination. One of the most known stories is that of South Africa. As is

known, during the Apartheid regime, the sporting federations of the country, which discriminated against black-skinned people and prevented them to play together with white athletes, were excluded by all international institutions. This interdiction contributed to raise awareness about the exceptionality and unsustainability of the situation. After the end of apartheid, sport, and particularly rugby, was one of the tools for the reconciliation between blacks and whites (Carlin, 2012; Mastroluca, 2012, pp. 233-251; Farquharson & Marjoribanks, 2003, pp. 27-48)

Today, many organizations and clubs have been established with the aim to fight racism in sport. The teams established to favour integration, for example, usually organize anti-racist initiatives and, furthermore, their performance shows that the union of cultures is not a burden.

The anti-racist football clubs have also created a continental network, Fare - Football against racism in Europe, which aims to combat any discrimination (racism, nationalism, sexism, homophobia, discrimination against disabled people) by implementing several initiatives: organization of international events and conferences, production of materials for educations, monitoring of matches and report of the witnessed cases of discrimination to the international federations, Uefa and Fifa. The network intends to use football as a tool to tackle discrimination, fostering exchanges and giving voice to anybody engaged in the fight against racism. The basic principle is "that the game, as the most popular sport in the world, belongs to us all and can propel social cohesion"⁷.

Despite these interesting and useful initiatives, racism in sport continues to be a serious problem. It also makes more difficult the integration and reduces the potential of sport for integration, because prevents migrants from feeling completely at home in the hosting country. Therefore, the fight against any kind of racism and discrimination must be a fundamental commitment of institutions and civil society.

3. The contribution of research

In the "battle" to make sport more inclusive, research plays an important role. Scholars, in fact, can provide essential tools of knowledge,

⁷ See the website <https://farenet.org>, retrieved 14 April 2019.

able to help organizers, instructors, decision makers and also players to perform the task of fighting discrimination. Research, for example, can highlight which barriers limit the impact of sport activities on integration, what are the best practices for removing them, which result the projects aimed at easing integration have produced and which are their limits.

In last years, many studies have examined the potential of sport for migrants and many projects, such as the mentioned Spin and Aspire, include the promotion of new research among their objectives. In turn the Council of Europe, through its platform Epas, has promoted interesting studies (for example, Gasparini & Talleu, 2010; Cometti & Gasparini, 2010) and has organized the congress *Newly arrived migrants and their integration via sport*, held in Vienna in 2016, whose proceedings have not been published yet. National bodies, universities and individual scholars have promoted many other studies. Sociologists, political scientists and jurists have been the most attentive intellectuals, while the contribution of historiography, until now, has been small. Apart from some interesting exception (for example, Ross Mormino, 2010, pp. 5-17; Gems, 2013) the role of sport in the social-cultural of immigrants has rarely been examined in a diachronic perspective. History, however, could shed light on important elements of the potential of sport, mainly examining in which way the athletic activities have contributed to the integration of the migrants over the years.

More in general, many subjects have to be examined yet and the evolution of the migratory phenomena entails a continuous update of the studies the promotion of new research. This issue of the Journal of Mediterranean Knowledge aims to give a small contribution – a drop in the ocean – to the knowledge of the relations between sport and migration, by proposing articles on some little known topics.

The role of sport for the integration migrants is examined in two articles. Giovanna Russo proposes a general analysis, focusing on different European models and explaining how sport can be a positive tool of intercultural dialogue or, on the contrary, a mean of discrimination. Erminio Fonzo, who has already paid attention to the role of sport for integration with a book on the history of the football team Afro-Napoli United (Fonzo, 2019), has widened the range of his research, examining the situation in a region of southern Italy, Campania, telling the story of four sporting projects and highlighting their results and their limits.

Javier Torres Velasco examines the role of sport in the modernization of Colombia in the decade of '20s. His analysis includes all spectator sports in a particularly difficult context, marked by high mortality rate and immigration.

The focus of the issue, however, is on the Mediterranean, which, as is known, is both a bridge and a barrier: most of the immigrants living in Europe have crossed this sea, which, over the years, has allowed fruitful exchanges among people and cultures. Our hope is that the Mediterranean might be a bridge also for sport, allowing athletes and amateurs of different origin to play together.

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Integration by Sport Activities: Resource or Only a Paradox?

GIOVANNA RUSSO

“AMS” University of Bologna, Italy

Abstract

Nowadays in Europe sport and physical activity represent a strategic tool for public health policies that aim to promote the wellbeing of population, supporting dialogue for social cohesion and, at the same time, represent an important economic sector. The acknowledgement of sport capability to be a vehicle for integrating diversity- confirming the attention to intercultural dialogue at European level –in an evidence of its importance in the current debate on integration and multiculturalism.

Through comparing different sports models of integration within the EU, this paper is going to discuss some questions: what connection is there between the construction of a multicultural society and the diffusion of sports practices? What meanings, values and paradoxes coexist today in the culture of integration implemented in Europe? Is the “sports” habitus a field of competition between migrants and natives, or a space of integration for generations of new citizens?

Keywords: Sports practices, European society, integration models, sports habitus.

1. Introduction

Sport is one of the most widespread activities in contemporary society. It is a tool to improve the psycho-physical well-being of the population (healthy lifestyles); and plays an important role in social cohesion by providing opportunities for meetings and exchanges between people of different genres, cultures, capacities, nationalities [...] strengthening the “culture of living together” (Council Europe, 2013, doc. 1, p. 2). In this perspective sport is a phenomenon of great social, economic and cultural importance in all the countries of the European Union and by all the acknowledged members of the Council of Europe. This is because the European institutions consider sport as a central value of the so-called “European society”. A series of legislative and regulatory measures for sport and physical activities have been developed in the new millennium,

in order to go beyond the merely economic dimension of sport¹ and enhance its social, cultural and political aspects. The White Paper on Sport (2007), as well as the Treaty of Lisbon (2009), have in fact formalized the interest in sport at the European level due to its important social function and the ability to promote a shared cultural identity (Rogulski & Miettinen, 2009).

As a response to the fragmentation of national communities observed in many European countries, sport has often represented a model of integration especially for immigrant populations, strongly shared for the social and educational values that sporting practice can generate and for the ability to create social bonds (Gasparini, 2008).

Overcoming common sense, the purpose of these reflections on the relationship between sport and immigration, is an attempt to reflect on sport as tool of integration or not, and how can it decline its practices according to the specificities of the territory. This means considering sport beyond material aspects, in order to understand the socio-cultural aspects that facilitate the integration of immigrants, new actors of global civil society.

In this paper I will try to explore what opportunities sport and physical activities offer, in order to increase the social and cultural capital existing both among the immigrants (and refugees), and among the autochthonous people, in order to facilitate the social integration. In specific, my reflection will start from this point of view: social ties are created and regenerated even, and especially, during free time. Therefore, it is important to observe the place that sporting activities give to generate social capital, and to encourage –or to hinder– the integration of this people.

For this purpose, the empirical research in most of the European states, is implied. Also, my paper will attempt to outline and answer to some questions. What connection is there between building a multicultural society and the diffusion of sports practices? What meanings, values and paradoxes coexist today in the culture of European sports integration? How effective is sport in describing a multicultural society?

¹For example, the spread of physical activities among the population is an indicator of a socio-cultural change showing how sport and wellness industry is one of the fastest growing sectors in the world economy (Rutgers, 2018).

In this context, is the “sports habitus” acting as a field of competition between migrants and natives or, in contemporary society, is it a space of integration for generations of new citizens? I will try to answer these questions in the following paragraphs.

2. Sport as European category? Comparing models

Since the late 1980s of the XX century, there has been a growth in comparative studies produced by international organizations aimed at understanding the political effects and cultures of the groups studied (sports participation, or sports socialization for example). The comparison makes it possible to understand what is foreign as obvious (Bourdieu 2000), making comparable units of analysis deeply anchored in history, individual languages and different categories comparable.

Beyond these aspects, European studies have focused on both sport and the construction of European sports policy. From this perspective, following Gasparini (2011), some questions have arisen: how to overcome a normative and institutional approach to European sport? How to draw the lines of a critical sociology of a “Europe of sport” and of the functions that European institutional actors attribute to it? For this purpose it is necessary to overcome the analyzes that focus only on “objectified structures” and, conversely, consider the symbolic, ideological resources of sport, as well as the crucial role of individuals and groups that create the culture of sport that circulates in Europe.

In particular, in sport field what do the categories of cultural dialogue and integration mean? They are not just categories discussed in the social sciences, but they represent national categories that take on different meaning according to the individual territories. In fact, these are not European transnational categories: their definition and use, is the result of symbolic struggles whose purpose is the legitimate European definition of the “model of European integration through sport”. In this perspective, the democratic management of a growing cultural diversity, amplified by the globalization process, has become a priority of the Council of Europe since 2008, facing an always greater presence of ethnic minorities and immigrant communities. Concerning the latter, there are many examples of sports practices that confirm that sport is a tool of social integration for

immigrants, of skills development and identity. On the other hand, it is well known that sport can also be the field of exacerbated nationalism, exclusion and discrimination (Gasparini & Cometti, 2010).

Most of these studies take as their central theme, the interaction of migration, migration policies and social protection in European countries. In that view “migration and social policy governance in EU result in differentiated but co-existing modes of integration and segregation, inclusion and exclusion for migrants, with considerable variation between and within member state of EU” (Carmel & Cerami, 2011, p. 1). Consequently – in the field of *sociology of globalization* – a multidimensional approach is required, and it involves an exploration of the synergies that exist between migration policies at local, regional, national and transnational level, for the significant implications of migrants’ lives, as well as the possibilities of enhancing their well-being through social and cultural contexts.

An interesting comparative study carried out by the European Commission in 2003 on sport as a tool for multicultural dialogue, has highlighted how sport has been used in the countries of the European Union in order to reduce intercultural tensions. In particular, it has shown the existence of four different models of nationality and citizenship within the EU (the French republican model, the pluralist English model, the German nationalist model, the post-communist model). From these models, traditional approaches to sports policies emerge, aimed on the one hand at reinforcing diversity and cultural pluralism; on the other hand, to reinforce instead the concept of social cohesion. As William Gasparini states (2011), this result shows that a single model of integration through sport does not exist in Europe and that sports policies develop between convergences and divergences.

In doing so, discussing sports and immigration highlights the multidimensional nature of sport, its being a “total social fact” (Mauss, 1965), where it appears as a place of inclusion, and on the contrary, of discrimination and “ordinary racism”. From this point of view sport is a mirror to show a multicultural society as it happened in France for example. In fact, during the twentieth century, a model of secular cultural integration was established in France through the two major educational agencies: school and sport. This model, while acknowledging the “dual identity” for immigrants, has also shown its limitations: the presence of

strong stereotypes or the failed attempt to acknowledge equality and diversity in all ethnic groups in the nation. All of this did not stop the birth of a sports culture of integration that found its main stage in playgrounds: football, more than other sports, is a way of “ethnicization” for French society, as states W. Gasparini during an interview about the role of sport in the process of integrating immigrants (Russo, 2016).

But what’s happening in Italy? With respect to most continental European countries which experienced mass migration starting from the end of the Second World War (as the South of Europe in generally) Italy can be considered an “almost new” country of immigration, since significant flows in the second half by the ‘70s. Italy has been a frontier territory for migrations for several decades: the continuous flow of people of different origins now defines this country as a “society of cultures” in progress, within a framework of European and national mobility that is not easy to solve. In the European context, however, Italy’s role is above all that of a “transit country” for migration flows (UNHCR, 2015).

As it emerges from the 22nd ISMU Migration Report, the migration phenomenon in Italy appears to be constantly changing. Today it is possible to talk about a new cycle, whose dynamics are mainly related to the geopolitical transformations and conflicts of the countries of the Middle East and sub-Saharan Africa and, on the domestic front, to the impact of the economic crisis on the Italian labor market. This complex and diversified scenario is the result of the following reasons: significant increase in migration flows; strong reduction of people entering the country to look for work; consolidation of family units; overall increase in emigration from Italy; significant presence of migrants from the new European Union countries in Italy (Cesareo, 2016).

In this framework Italy is changing its configuration. Over 5 million immigrants live in Italy today. Despite the rhetoric that it is being invaded by foreigners, their presence in the country is almost unchanged (IDOS, 2018): at the end of 2017 there were 5,144,000 foreigners residing in Italy, 97,000 more than in 2016 (+1,9%) with an incidence of 8.5% on the total population (8,3% in the 2016)². Today Italy is one of the

² The increase of percentage is mainly due to the progressive decrease of Italian citizens, who are getting older (25% of Italian people is over 65, while among foreign are only 1 out to 2) and have an increasingly lower birth rate. Moreover, many Italians are beginning to emigrate again from the country (almost 115,000 during the year).

top eleven nations in the world that has welcomed the highest number of migrants since the 1990s onwards along with Spain. The reasons that support migration flows are specifically the following: work (52.5%), family (34.1%), and since 2014 also asylum requests (7%) - compared to previous years - these have overtaken the study motivation. But the migration issue is not only important due to its numerical and structural dimension: the relevance of the socio-cultural aspects is of primary interest for the social integration of immigrants, being a resource and a challenge for the host country (Martelli, 2015).

The visible presence of immigrants/refugees in Italian towns, as well as the social tensions that are emerging as spontaneous reactions of the autochthonous people, or as programmed interventions promoted by “political entrepreneurs” for own electoral goals, raise important questions, such as whether, and how, the integration of immigrants and refugees into the Italian society is possible, and if this event is desirable. These questions are part of the wider ongoing debate on the transformation of the European society into a multi-cultural or multi-ethnic one. It is indeed a problematic phenomenon, to be investigated indepth with multidimensional approaches being able to shed light on immigrants as new actors in global civil society. If it is true then that studying integration is today an inevitable issue, this happens not only because of a better knowledge of the dynamics of interaction with the economy, but above all because of the territorial policies of social and cultural inclusion aimed to the well-being of local communities and its main actors.

From this point of view, it is useful to explore the daily socio-cultural practices of migrants in the host country, paying attention to the social ties that are created and regenerated in free time. Sport is therefore an innovative social space, suitable for observing opportunities to meet natives and immigrants for its ability to generate social capital, favoring - or combating - integration.

In fact, sport offers extraordinary possibilities of knowledge, encounter between cultures, contamination of “socially responsible” sports practices. In this perspective it can be understood as a vehicle of positive values, the exercise of civilization and humanity, an arena for socialization but also for education and openness to others. On the other hand, the sporting reality brings with it a reality made up of forms of discrimination with its signs of

stigmatization (à la Goffman): external marks that mark the difference (skin color, language, build, gender, etc.)

It is therefore legitimate to ask: what is the real goal that is achieved on the playing fields? The social space of sport today reveals a complexity that refers to signs, practices, languages, different images of a context that sets itself the difficult objective of interculturality and that, in fact, is in a continuous search for identity. I think this is the real bet that we are living on the football, basketball and cricket fields. In stadiums, in gyms, in public spaces where physical activity or sport is practiced, in reality we mostly play “identity games. The stakes are in fact the type of identity that can be created and built starting from the social positions available in the different realities” (Zoletto, 2010, p. 45).

The game of integration is therefore a match - a battle? - in which we try to overcome a border, fill a difference between “we” and “them”, turn a stigma upside down, go beyond discrimination. Sport is in fact a cultural field in which, as Pierre Bourdieu (1998) affirmed, actors with specific interests connected to the position they occupy in the social space are faced: a field of competition, whose goal today turns into a sign of coexistence civil.

Sport and physical activity are in fact “capable of integrating, of symbolically converting” those outside “into instruments capable of giving identity, of generating identification in individuals [...] of making them participate, even symbolically, in a same reality, to share, to feel part of something common: ultimately to live together” (Xavier Medina 2002, p. 22).

3. Sport as an integration practice

This is why, especially in the last twenty years, there has been a wide flowering of studies dedicated to the role of sport in migratory processes (push towards globalization, etc.). The fundamental theme of this literature is represented by studies on sports practices that involve groups of migrants (in particular refugees and asylum seekers) and on the effect that such practices can have on integration processes in the contexts of arrival.

In most of these studies, sport is presented as a factor that positively influences these processes. However, there are also contributions that - even in the light of empirical analyzes on specific territorial areas - state

that this assumption should be critically assessed or, at least, subjected to more careful checks. Among the reasons that are evoked to highlight the positive role of sport, many concern the development of skills and attitudes of migrants who, on the one hand, favor the improvement of their living conditions and, on the other, qualify the contribution that they can bring to the territorial contexts they belong. This increase in skills is often categorized as an increase in various forms of personal “capital”. Thus, for example, Henry (2005) speaks of a triple kind of capital, to which the sport of migrants can contribute. The first is a physical capital: sport and, more generally, physical activity promote a harmonious physical development and improve the state of health, making available to migrants easily accessible resources, even to those living in unfavorable conditions. A second type of capital is the psychological one. Sport can contribute to the improvement of psychological well-being and self-esteem, factors often jeopardised by the traumatic experiences suffered. Finally, there is social capital: sporting practice often has the effect of widening the subjects' relational network. This is particularly valuable in the initial phase of the migration path, in which the weakness of relationships is an obstacle to the resolution of basic problems, such as access to work and the opportunities offered by the context.

It may be added that the personal social capital thus understood can receive further articulations (in this sense the works of Putnam, 2000; Woolcock, 2001). Three types of social capital can therefore be distinguished: “bonding”, “bridging” and “linking” social capital. The first type consists in strengthening ties between subjects already connected by ties of kinship, friendship, cultural affinity. In the case of the sport of migrants, sports practices that strengthen this type of ties are those that involve the game in teams of subjects from the same geographical areas, establishing links of mutual solidarity between individuals, which can also act in other fields of social life (examples are the game of cricket or basketball). They also have the effect of increasing the visibility of the group, making it emerge from anonymity, even with the correlated risk of bringing out factors of contrast and rivalry between groups.

Bridging capital, on the other hand, involves the creation of links between different subjects, in a heterogeneous social context. It can be augmented by activities or sporting events that bring mixed teams together and that create a common ground of collaboration between migrants and

natives, and between groups of different geographical origin (in Italy the example of the anti-racist World Cup which for over 20 years has represented one of the most important events in sporting area with the aim of integrating migrants through sport). Finally, linking capital refers to building relationships with institutional subjects and organizations with power. In this regard, the theme becomes that of sports associations (Granata, 2013) and the relationships that it defines in urban areas with various structures - institutional, private or third sector - that allow migrants to enter into relations with power, in its various forms.

In any case, the reference to these different types of social capital does not imply that they cannot overlap and mix, but contribute to highlighting the complexity of the forms of relationship that sporting activity generates (Vermuelen & Verweel, 2009; Walseth, 2007; Janssens & Verweel, 2014). Through the categorizations now referred to, or others, sport is often presented as an essential means to promote social inclusion policies, with reference to the different dimensions that inclusion implies (Bailey, 2005). From this point of view, the function that can be performed towards migrants concerns social or gender inequalities, or vis-à-vis persons with disabilities (Haudenhuyse & Theeboom, 2015). In this regard, however, as some point out, critical attention is required to avoid excessive emphasis on the effectiveness of sport in any case. In addition to the obvious fact that even in the sports field the access barriers and structural inequalities present in the whole social system are reproduced (Elling & Claringbould, 2005), it can also be argued that some prior degree of inclusion is necessary to be able to access sports practices that can produce further integration (Coalter, 2015).

It may still be added that, although sport is intrinsically connected to values such as loyalty, cooperation, equality on the playing field, in contemporary societies it is also the subject of practices and representations that exalt competitiveness instead. In this case, sport becomes an instrument of individual promotion and that exacerbates the dimension of rivalry and conflict, to the point of generating forms of effective and symbolic violence (Cushion & Jones, 2006). This is visible mainly in professional sports such as football, but it is also there at an amateur level and, in any case, it concerns precisely those disciplines that, due to their popularity and international diffusion, lend more easily to relating subjects of different origins.

However, an essential variable that affects the function of sport with respect to migrants concerns the status of the latter and the phases they reach in the migration path. For groups and communities that have come to root in local societies, the problem that arises with regard to sports practices is part of the more general condition of ethnic minorities (Long *et al.*, 2009). In the case of asylum seekers and refugees the situation arises in different terms. Sport is sometimes the object of projects and policies aimed directly at them (Amara *et al.*, 2005), but it can also be the means by which informal practices are spread, which bring migrants - even at a time when their future destiny is still uncertain - to relate to the public spaces of the city in which they are hosted and to take advantage of opportunities, also offered by places not specifically equipped.

Conclusion

Observing the relationships between sport and migration means understanding the importance and the multidimensionality that sporting practices can bring with them, within contemporary cultures and societies. The acknowledgement of sport capability to be a vehicle for integrating diversity- confirming the attention to intercultural dialogue at European level – in an evidence of its importance in the current debate on integration and multiculturalism.

From a different point of view, I tried to explain how sport can be a generative place of inter-culture or, on the contrary, a space of discrimination and/or cultural claim. The intent is to go beyond the stereotypes, clichés, paradoxes and ambiguities that migratory reality and its social practices pose daily as a point of contemporary reflection. In recent years, the growing presence of immigrants, refugees and asylum seekers in Europe has led to reflect on new possibilities for integration models. Analyzing the contribution of sports practices can provide innovative tools to the issue. On these premises, I believe there is an unquestionable value: the effort to change the “skin to the culture”, where the study of sport and physical activity becomes the spokesman of new social requests to provide concrete answers to a different question of quality of life for natives and immigrants.

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Integration by Sport Activities: Resource or Only a Paradox?

Zoletto, D. (2010). *Il gioco duro dell'integrazione. L'intercultura sui campi da gioco*, Milano, Cortina.

Intercultural Dialogue and Integration of Migrants through Sport. Experiences in the Campania Region

ERMINIO FONZO
University of Salerno, Italy

Abstract

Sport is considered a tool to ease intercultural dialogue and integration of migrants in the hosting countries. Sports activities have great potentialities, but the participation of foreigners and the impact of athleticism on their integration are limited by some barriers.

In Campania some attempts to favour the integration through sport have been promoted in recent years by associations and groups of citizens. Among the most successful projects are the football teams Afro-Napoli United, Rfc Lions Ska and Atletico Brigante and the basketball club Tam Tam. These projects have largely succeeded in involving the migrants and promoting their integration, but they also met some obstacles which limited their impact.

Keywords: Intercultural dialogue, History of sport, Migrations, Integration of migrants, Campania region.

1. Immigration in Campania

In the Campania region (southern Italy), migrants are below the national average: according to the Italian statistical office (Istat), on 31 December 2017, the region hosted 258.524 foreign citizens, 4,4% of total population (the national average is about 8%). Almost half of the immigrants living in Campania (124.302 people) come from Europe, with a prevalence of Ukrainians (43.415 people) and Romanians (42.380). Other 65.071 foreigners come from Asia, mainly from Sri Lanka (17.405), China (14.077) and Bangladesh (11.128), while people arriving from Africa are 58.492, most of them from Morocco (21.399), Nigeria (7.917) and Senegal (4.600). Only 10.540 foreigners come from the Americas and 90 from Oceania¹.

¹ See the web portal www.tuttitalia.it, retrieved on 2 May 2019. See also Caritas & Migrantes, 2018; IDOS 2018, Fondazione ISMU, 2018.

Most of the newcomers live in the most populous areas of the region, mainly in the metropolitan city of Naples, which hosts some 131.757 of them, followed by the provinces of Salerno (55.061), Caserta (46.928), Avellino (14.590) and Benevento (10.188). Some areas are characterized by a massive presence of African migrants, partly irregulars, such as the area around Castel Volturno (Caserta) and the Sele Valley (Salerno).

In Campania, immigration is more recent than in the Centre-North regions. Therefore, the number of migrants of the second generation is still scarce, but their presence is growing and destined to grow further in the following years.

The immigration in Campania is also characterized by quite a high rate of instability: many migrants, mainly those coming from Africa, spend only a few years in the region and then move to other Italian places or abroad. The newcomers' level of integration depends on several variables: nationality, gender, duration of their stay in Italy, etc. However, according to the indicators established by sociologists, it is generally inferior to that registered in other regions, mainly for the high rate of unemployment and illegal work (Ammaturo, De Filippo & Strozza, 2013; De Filippo & Strozza, 2015; Ministero del Lavoro e delle Politiche Sociali, 2016). Many immigrants experience social exclusion and poverty.

Since 2011, Campania has been involved in the arrival of flows of asylum seekers. Most of them come from sub-Saharan Africa and, after their arrival, spend some months in the hosting centres. The flows are mainly caused by the civil wars ignited in the Middle East and Africa after 2010. Furthermore, after the 2008 economic crisis, the Italian government strongly reduced the opportunities of legal entry in Italy, so that now claiming asylum is almost the only way of obtaining a residence permit (Colucci, 2018, pp. 165-187). However, after peaking in 2016, the landings on Italian coasts have started to drastically decline in the second half of 2018 (Caritas & Migrantes, 2018).

The arrival of refugees has led to a spike in xenophobia, which sometimes turns into true afrophobia, *i.e.*, biological racism against any black-skinned person, including the "black Italians" (dark-skinned people of Italian citizenship). Today many Italian citizens believe that migrants, mainly those of African origin, are dangerous for the country (Valeri, 2019). The Africans are the most "visible" migrants, as they arrive in a "spectacular" way through the Mediterranean and, unlike immigrants

coming from other continents, have dark skin. Many citizens identify Africans with migrants *tout court*, although they are only a minority among the foreigners living in Italy. The black people are the most targeted by xenophobic citizens, but also the most involved in the activities of anti-racist groups.

In Italy there is not the same culture of inclusion of other countries, such as France, as immigration is a relatively recent phenomenon (Bortoletto & Porrovecchio, 2018). However, not all Italian citizens are racist. Some left-wing and Catholic political groups have promoted projects and actions aimed at helping the integration of the newcomers. Among these initiatives, sport plays an important role, thanks to its potential for fostering intercultural dialogue and integration of foreigners.

Schematizing the models of participation, migrants can play sports in two ways: through ethnic teams, reserved to people coming from the same country or the same geographical area; or in multi-ethnic teams, in which local and foreign people play together. The scientific literature has highlighted advantages and limits of both models (Gasparini & Talleu, 2010; Cometti & Gasparini, 2010; Maguire & Falcon 2010; Elliot & Harris, 2014). In short, in the case of multi-ethnic teams the intercultural dialogue is eased by the continuous interchange among players. The ethnic teams can also favour integration, mainly if they are involved in competitions with local teams and players (otherwise, there is a risk that they promote ghettoization instead of inclusion), and are also a bridge that can allow players to establish a contact with local teams, because often the newcomers first come into contact with their fellow citizens and later with autochthon people. Furthermore, the ethnic teams usually strengthen the national identity and the culture of origin of the migrants, and this is not a barrier to integration: on the contrary, having a strong national identity can favour a sort of dialogue between equals instead of the assimilation of newcomers.

The scientific literature, however, have also highlighted the limits of sport. Playing sports together with local people does not necessarily entail a better social-cultural integration; generally, the impact on the economic integration is indirect and scarce. Furthermore, for migrants participating in sport activities is more difficult than for local people (Jakubowska, 2018; Schwenzer, 2016; Bifulco & Sarnataro, 2017; Fonzo 2019). Obviously, the opportunity of participating and improving integration depends on some

variables: economic situation, nationality, duration of the stay in the hosting country, etc., but is lower than for local people.

Despite the barriers, the initiatives to favour integration through sport are quite numerous. Italy hosts both projects managed by the institutions and grassroots initiatives. The most “exploited” sport is football, because it is the most popular game not only in the hosting country, but also in many countries of origin of the migrants. Campania is rich in both multicultural and ethnical teams. Other initiatives, less numerous, involve other disciplines, such as basketball, rugby and cricket.

In the following pages, we will shortly recount the story of four projects promoted in Campania, differing from one another but united in the attention that they pay to the inclusion of the newcomers. The four projects are the most relevant in the region and those that can show in the best way the advantages and the limits of integration through sport.

Data and information come from previous research of the author, direct observation and newspapers (national and local, electronic and printed).

2. Afro-Napoli United (Naples-Mugnano di Napoli)

Afro-Napoli United is a football team born in Naples in 2009 and represents the only important experience of integration through sport born in Campania before the arrival of refugees in 2011. In 2009, the number of migrants living in Naples was considerable but lower than in other cities: the metropolitan city hosted 68.863 foreign citizens, 2,2% of the total population (at the same date, the foreigners in the metropolitan city of Rome amounted to 9,8% of the population; in Milan to 11,2%)². The number of foreigners, however, was growing faster than the national average (De Filippo & Strozza, 2015; Ammaturo, De Filippo & Strozza, 2013; Russo Kraus & Schmoll, 2006).

The establishment of Afro-Napoli was eased by the presence of a Senegalese community, small (426 people) but well organized thanks to the *Associazione dei senegalesi di Napoli*. In 2007 a Senegalese immigrant, Sow Hamath, joined a group of Neapolitan amateur football players not always

² See the web portal www.tuttitalia.it, retrieved on 10 Aprile 2019; Caritas & Migrantes 2010, pp. 411-418.

able to collect the twenty-two people necessary for the game; other Senegalese people joined the group in the following months. In 2009 some players, both African and local, decided to establish a multi-ethnic team to participate in the regional championships organized by the *Associazione italiana cultura e sport* (Aics). The team was named Afro-Napoli because it was composed of foreigners (mostly from Africa) and Neapolitan players.

President and coach of the team was Antonio Gargiulo, a commercialist and amateur player, who explained the establishment of Afro-Napoli thus:

In Naples, there were teams of migrants, which represented their country of origin. Therefore, if we want to highlight the “difference” and the “ghettoization”, Afro-Napoli is, on the contrary, full of integration, migrants from any place of the world and Neapolitans. It is the mirror of the city. And not only this: by going around the province of Naples, to promote our values and our antiracist ideals, we demonstrate that by now there is a multi-ethnic city able to organize, enjoy and win³.

Since its birth Afro-Napoli chose the multi-ethnic model of inclusion. The original team was composed of thirty athletes, thirteen Neapolitans and seventeen immigrants, coming from Senegal, Tanzania, Nigeria, Ivory Coast and Tunisia. The players shared the “typical” condition of the sub-Saharan migrants in Naples: almost all of them lived in the area of the Central Station and mostly worked in difficult conditions, doing odd jobs, such as itinerant trade. Some of the immigrant players were relatively well integrated, as they had been living in Italy for many years; others were not able to speak good Italian (Fonzo, 2019, pp. 63-75).

Afro-Napoli started to play in the 2009/10 Aics championship and forged closer relationships with other teams. For example, the club met the team of the Cape Verdean migrants of Naples, Mindelo Football Club, and in 2010, when Mindelo broke up, some players passed to Afro-Napoli.

The multi-ethnic club, furthermore, met the Equipo Popular, a team established by the social centre *Laboratorio Insurgencia*, engaged in social and political activities. The meeting marked the beginning of a lasting relationship between *Laboratorio Insurgencia* and Afro-Napoli, which will contribute to shaping the team’s identity. The activists became supporters

³ “Retroonline”, 25 November 2013, <https://retroonline.it/2013/11/25/afro-napoli-united-squadra-il-razzismo>, retrieved 10 March 2019.

of Afro-Napoli and started to follow its other initiatives (Bifulco & Del Guercio, 2017).

The composition of the club was influenced by the evolution of the migratory phenomena. In 2011, after the “North-Africa emergency”, the province of Naples saw the arrival of many asylum seekers and some of them joined the team.

At this stage the team mainly eased social and cultural integration of migrants, creating a dialogue among cultures also outside the football field. It had little opportunity of helping migrants to find a job, also due to the high rate of unemployment in Naples.

Afro-Napoli continued to participate in the regional Aics league, doing better and better and winning the competition in the 2011/12 season. Most players, however, spent only a short time in the team and then moved from Naples, looking for a better job.

The multi-ethnic club could not join the official Italian championship, managed by the *Federazione italiana giuoco calcio* (Figc), because registering immigrants was impossible. Among other documents, the Federation required that they held a one-year residence permit, which most migrants were unable to provide. Only in 2013, after that the Figc changed its internal rules and made the registration of foreigners easier, Afro-Napoli could enrol in the official championship, joining the *Terza categoria* league (ninth and last level of the Italian championship). Some players, however, could not participate, as they lacked the necessary documents, and, to allow them to continue playing, the club decided to participate in the Aics championship as well.

Competition-wise, the results were very positive: in 2014 the “official” team achieved the promotion in *Seconda categoria*, while the amateur team won both the regional Aics championship and the national finals.

In the same year the club, who until then had played in various stadiums, found a field in Mugnano di Napoli, a town close to Naples, which would be its stadium in the following years. The team won two championships in a row, *Seconda Categoria* and *Prima Categoria*, reaching the *Promozione* league in 2016.

For Afro-Napoli, in short, integration of migrants and successes on the ground went hand in hand and the coexistence of players with diverse backgrounds is one of the strengths: as pointed out by several scholars (such as Valeri, 2005), the union of different cultures can be a way to improve the

agonistic performance. In 2015 Afro-Napoli also established a junior team, opening its participation to both Italians and young migrants. Registering foreign minors, however, was almost impossible for the bureaucratic difficulties, so that migrants were registered only after they had come of age.

In 2018 the team participated in its first championship in *Eccellenza* league, the fifth level of the Italian championship, gaining fifth place (Fonzo, 2019, pp. 125-131).

To achieve this result, the club has evolved and has changed its structure, turning into an articulated organization and establishing some junior teams and two female teams⁴. The supporters have also established a structured group, the *Brigata Spalletella*.

Afro-Napoli has also participated in many initiatives contrasting discriminations. Among these, actions aimed to remove the bureaucratic obstacles to the participation of migrants in sport, such as the campaigns *Gioco anch'io*, promoted in 2012 by the association *Sport alla rovescia*, and *We want to play. Nessuno è illegale per giocare a pallone*, launched in 2017 by the same group⁵.

Having reached semi-professional levels, the club needs to recruit talented players and cannot include migrants without considering their abilities. In the "official" team, the Italian players have become more numerous than the foreigners. The latter are generally experienced players and not migrants just arrived in Italy. However, Afro-Napoli continues to give migrants who can play football the opportunity to participate. For example, among the players who joined the team in *Promozione* league, there were two young asylum seekers from Gambia, Omar Gaye and Mbye Badare Alieu. Both reached Italy following a difficult crossing of the Mediterranean and, after a year in the Afro-Napoli, were hired by professional clubs. Furthermore, one of the key figure of the team is Ailton Dos Santos Soares, also known as Dodò, who joined the club in 2010, when he worked as a plumber, and now continues to play in the team as a professional player.

⁴ The 11-a-side football team abandoned the club in October 2018, after a diatribe related to the candidacy of a player, in a local election, within a list allied to the xenophobic party *Lega Nord*.

⁵ "Sport alla rovescia", 12 May 2017, <http://www.sportallarovescia.it/sar5/campagne/we-want-to-play/908-we-want-to-play-consegnato-alla-figc-napoli>, retrieved 20 March 2018.

In other words, for some migrants Afro-Napoli has been a sort of bridge, allowing them to play at semi-professional level. Only a minority of players, however, achieved this goal; for the others, the multi-ethnic model chosen by the club has been the tool to establish relations with local people and immigrants coming from different countries, so improving social and cultural integration.

3. *Rfc Lions Ska (Caserta)*

The football club Rfc Lions Ska was born in 2011 in Caserta, an area characterized by a significant number of African immigrants since before the “North-Africa emergency”. Although part of the Caserta population is annoyed by the presence of foreigners, some political groups, such as the social centre *Ex Canapificio*, have promoted useful initiatives in favour of migrants.

Rfc Lions Ska was established by some political activists, belonging to left-wing social movements. The name derives from the music band Rfc Ska, of which the founders of the football team were members.

The idea of establishing a team to ease the intercultural dialogue arose thanks to a meeting between the activists and a Senegalese immigrant living in Caserta and working as a window cleaner, who gave them the idea. Rfc Lions was established in October 2011 and was composed by Italian and Senegalese players. The basic idea was using sport to promote dialogue between local people and immigrants. As explained by the founders:

It is not only a football team, but an association open to anybody who shares the project – in and out the field – of pursuing a different idea of football, a bottom-up football, open to everybody and based on the ideals of anti-fascism and fight against any kind of discrimination [...] Through sport we aim at creating places of encounter, exchange and reflection, using football as a mean to create forms of socialization where belonging to a group does not matter, but what unites us is the sharing of values and intentions, creating a community and valorising diversity⁶.

⁶ “Calcio romantico”, <http://www.calcioromantico.com/le-interviste-possibili/intervista-alla-lions-ska-caserta/>, retrived 30 March 2019.

Also Rfc Lions chose a multi-ethnic model of integration and decided to organize activities of socialization outside of the football field.

The club belongs to the “calcio popolare” (popular football), namely the teams promoted by left-wing political groups, quite numerous in recent years throughout Italy. Rfc Lions, however, has its distinctive feature in the inclusion of migrants.

In the first years, the team did not establish a structured association, acting as an informal group, and joined the Aics Campania league. The team also participated in the *Mondiali antirazzisti*, a sporting event organized yearly in Emilia region by supporters and amateur football teams to fight racism (Stercherle & Saint-Blacat, 2015).

In 2015, Rfc Lions decided to join the *Terza categoria*, turning into an Asd (*Associazione sportiva dilettantistica*) and playing the internal matches on the field of Macerata Campana, close to Caserta. Since then, the agonistic results have not been excellent and the team has generally concluded the championships ranking among the mid-lower positions, but the project has significantly grown and new players, belonging to several nationalities, have joined the club. In 2015, furthermore, some Italian members have established a clothing brand, Rage sport, which produces uniforms for anti-racist and leftist sports teams.

The club has continued to manage a team in the amateur championship, to allow everybody to play, including migrants who do not have the documents required by Figc.⁷ The team generally enjoys good relations with its opponents, which appreciate its social engagement, above all in the amateur league. Sometimes, however, the African players have been targeted with racist insults, mainly in the Figc championship, as it happened, for example, on the 4th of February 2018 on the Castel Morrone field ⁸. In fact, racism, particularly against people of African origin, has becoming more and more present in the football fields, mainly at dilettantish level (Fonzo 2019, pp. 51-61) and, sometimes, also the multi-ethnic teams are affected.

⁷ In 2016 the Aics championship has been incorporated into the Fcs tournaments. In June 2016, the Rfc Lions amateur team received an important award, the Premio Fair Play, as the fairest club of the Fcs league. “Ondaweb Tv”, 21 June 2016, <http://www.ondawebtv.it/coppa-fair-play-gli-rtc-lions-ska-caserta-a-palazzo-chigi/>, retrieved 28 March 2019.

⁸ “Edizione Caserta”, 5 February 2018, <https://edizionecaserta.it/2018/02/05/saluti-romani-buu-razzisti-choc-un-campo-del-casertano/>, retrieved 9 March 2019.

Alongside its sports engagement, Rfc Lions actively fights discriminations by organizing social and political activities and recounting its story in the schools of the Caserta province. Political engagement has indeed always been an essential feature of the group, which, not by chance, has strengthened its relations with other teams of the “calcio popolare” and participated in the *We want to play* campaign together with Afro-Napoli and Atletico Brigante. Furthermore, through Uisp, Rfc Lions has joined the European Sport Inclusion Network⁹, participating in meetings in Rome and Dublin to discuss the integration through sport. In this way, the club has established relations with some European teams animated by the same principles, such as United Glasgow.

Today Rfc Lions manages four teams, with about 70 players, coming from Italy, Senegal, Ukraine, Peru, England, Ivory Coast, Ghana, Brazil, Gambia, Mali, Nigeria, Afghanistan, Pakistan and Somalia¹⁰. Its matches and activities are followed by quite a large community, composed of migrants and social activists, and some supporters have also created a structured group, *Gradinata antirazzista*.

In short, in its eight years of life, Rfc Lions significantly contributed to the social-cultural integration of the migrants who joined the club in its various stages, and it has also spread an anti-racist message in a particularly difficult area, such as the Caserta province.

4. *Atletico Brigante (Benevento)*

Atletico Brigante is a football team born in 2014 in Benevento, a province where the rate of immigration is quite low: in 2014, immigrants represented only 2,4% of the total population. Most of the foreigners living in Benevento come from Eastern Europe, but since 2011 the territory has been involved in the arrival of asylum seekers and many hosting centres have been established, often to the discontent of part of the local population. Most asylum seekers come from West Africa and particularly from the countries of the Gulf of Guinea (Senegal, Gambia, Ghana, Nigeria).

⁹ See the website <https://sportinclusion.net>, retrieved 26 March 2019.

¹⁰ “Calcio romantico”, <http://www.calcioromantico.com/le-interviste-possibili/intervista-alla-lions-ska-caserta/>, retrieved 30 March 2019.

The idea of establishing a football team to favour their integration was born among some activists of social centres and left-wing movements, part of whom already engaged in political activities against racism. The name is a tribute to the myth of brigandage, quite popular in the Benevento province.

The main purpose of the team is fighting discrimination:

The result of the match does not matter. We are in the championship and we want to win, we cannot deny this. But winning, for us, is mainly disseminating the values at the root of our project. We aim at spreading both in the field and in the everyday political militancy, the principles of anti-racism, anti-fascism, anti-sexism. For us, sport is aggregation, brotherhood, equality¹¹.

In 2014 Atletico Brigante joined the *Terza categoria* league, with a team composed by both local players and migrants (almost all asylum seekers from West Africa). The team played the internal matches in the stadium of Pago Veiano, a small town close to Benevento, because the club had not the financial means to rent a field in the main town. For migrants, most of whom lived in Benevento, reaching Pago Veiano was not easy and the Italian players were forced to organize their transfer for practice and matches. Furthermore, playing far from the main town hindered the participation of migrants as supporters.

Sports-wise, their results were not excellent, as Brigante concluded its first championship ranking last. The club however, created a friendly environment for dozens of asylum seekers, who played in the team or followed it as supporters. Furthermore, it expanded its activities, organizing a school of Italian language and participating in social and political actions against racism and promoting migrants' rights. For example, they organized several events and multi-cultural parties at the social centre *Depistaggio* in Benevento, involving its players. The political engagement and the anti-racist approach allowed the team to collect a significant number of supporters, mainly among left-wing activists.

¹¹ "Benevento Zon", 14 December 2014, <https://benevento.zon.it/asd-atletico-brigante-una-storia-di-calcio-popolare/>, retrieved 10 April 2019.

Atletico Brigante joined again the *Terza categoria* in the 2015/16 season, using the Pietrelcina field. The results were better: the club conquered 18 points and reached the eleventh place, out of thirteen teams¹².

The club was generally welcomed by its opponents, but the players have sometimes experienced racist actions and language. The worst event happened on the 7th of May 2016, when a player from Mali was violently kicked and punched by two opponents during a match in the small town of Castelfranco in Miscano¹³.

Racism did not interrupt the team's activities, which however found impossible to join the Figc again after the 2015/16 championship for economic and bureaucratic reasons: the barriers that usually limits the participation of migrants also affected the activities of Atletico Brigante. The club, therefore, decided to participate in the tournaments of the *Unione italiana sport per tutti* (Uisp), an amateur league very active in favouring the participation of migrants, and to continue its other activities. Part of the founders left the group, but Brigante found the support of the *Unione sindacale di base* (Usb), a leftist trade union, starting a lasting cooperation. The team, furthermore, began to cooperate with other left-wing movements in Campania and actively participated in the *We want to play* campaign.

Over the years, the principles of the club have not changed, as shown by a press release from August 2018:

We began with the sport because it is an effective tool to approach people, intending to transmit our ideas of sympathy, freedom, equality, against any racism, fascism, sexism. Against the logic of business-football, we have wanted to practice the heresy of bottom-up football. [...] In these years, the exigencies and needs of those who have joined our project have spurred us to expand our action radius. Thus, we have created a school of Italian language, a help desk, and a permanent assembly of migrants and activists from Benevento, open to the contribution of all, excepted those whose ideas go against our basic principles¹⁴.

¹² See the Facebook page of Atletico Brigante, <https://www.facebook.com/atleticobrigante/> and the portal Tuttocampo.it, <https://www.tuttocampo.it>, both retrieved 10 April 2019.

¹³ "Sannio sport", 8 May 2016, <https://www.sanniosport.it/la-nota-dellatletico-brigante-fatti-castelfranco/>, retrieved 9 March 2019.

¹⁴ The release was published by several local papers. For example, see "Il Vaglio", 7 August 2018, <http://www.ilvaglio.it/comunicato-stampa/23790/1039atletico-brigante-una-realta-da-sostenere.html>, retrieved 18 April 2019.

In short, the club aims to promote the fights against any kind of discrimination, on the basis of its inclusive approach.

In 2018, after the Figc modified its rules and made the registration of migrants easier, Atletico Brigante joined again the *Terza categoria* league. Finally, the club found a field in Benevento, allowing more migrants to participate as players or supporters. The composition of the public has changed: in the first years, nearly all supporters were Italian political activists, while since 2018 the stands are mainly occupied by migrants. The agonistic performance improved and in the 2018/19 championship, the team reached the tenth position, with 25 points in 24 matches.

Integration has been made easier by the organization of other activities alongside football. As pointed out by some studies (for example, Borgognoni & Di Gennaro, 2015), the best results in integration are achieved when the clubs also organize activities such as courses of local languages, multi-ethnic initiatives, etc., as in the case of Brigante.

The club, in fact, understands sport not as an end, but as a mean to favour the political integration of migrants. In other words, the football matches are part of the political militancy against racism and discriminations; one of the aims of the club is fostering the development of the foreigners' political awareness. Compared to other experiences, such as that of Afro-Napoli, Brigante gives less importance to competition and sports results. Furthermore, its fight against discriminations extends to sexism, as highlighted by the fact that its presidency is currently held by a woman, a rare occurrence among football clubs.

The migrants attracted by the team are almost exclusively West-African asylum seekers, as in Benevento there are no other significant communities of sub-Saharan foreigners. Immigrants coming from other continents, such as Eastern Europe, are less attracted by this kind of teams.

The club contributed to the social-cultural integration of its members, also thanks to its other activities. However, it cannot prevent that most immigrants living in Benevento only spend a short time in the province and then move in other regions or abroad, which demonstrates once again that the anti-racist clubs can give a limited contribution to the economic integration.

Furthermore, Brigante has brought a different narrative on migration in a peripheral province that has recently experienced a growth in xenophobia¹⁵.

5. *Tam Tam (Castel Volturno)*

Most projects aimed at favouring the integration of migrants through sports concern football. However, other disciplines have also been “exploited” for the same goal, as in the case of the basketball club Tam Tam.

The club was established in 2016 in Castel Volturno, an area characterized by an ethnic composition without equal in Campania: the municipal territory hosts 35.000 people and about 20.000 of them are immigrants from Africa, most of whom irregulars. The neighbouring towns, such as Villa Literno, Baia Domitia and Mondragone, also host a significant number of foreigners. The settlement of migrants began in the ‘80s and has always been characterized by poverty and social exclusion. Most migrants do odd jobs, often in agriculture and constructions, and face the criminal gangs active in the area. Over the years, several occurrences have highlighted how dangerous the situation is, such as the murder of a South-African asylum seeker, Jerry Essan Masslo, in 1989 in Villa Literno; the 1990 massacre of Pescopagano (municipality of Mondragone), in which the Camorra killed five people; the 2008 massacre of Castel Volturno, in which the victims were seven (Mosca, 2012; Caruso, 2015, pp. 51-90; Petrarca, 2016).

Given that the first foreign settlements date back to thirty years ago, Castel Volturno and its environs are today home of second-generation migrants. The Italian law does not grant them citizenship: they are considered foreigner until they come of age when they can finally apply for naturalization (Codini, 2014). Due to the difficult social-economic situation, immigrants and their children rarely have the opportunity to play sports.

In this context, in 2016 a former professional basketball player, Massimo Antonelli, already engaged in social projects, decided to establish a club to allow young boys of foreign origin to play along with their Italian peers. Antonelli found the support of other former professional players and

¹⁵ In last European elections, held on 26 May 2019, the xenophobic *Lega Salvini Premier* (Southern version of the *Lega Nord*) was the most voted party in the province, with 27,86%.

founded the club, named Tam Tam as a tribute to the typical African wooden drums. Around thirty teenagers, both Italians and second-generation migrants, joined the club in the first months and started their practice. The white players, however, soon left the group due to the difficulties in reaching the field and only black teenagers continued to play. Therefore Tam Tam, unlike the other mentioned experiences, has become a sort of ethnic club.

Antonelli thus recounted the creation of the group and the involvement of the boys of African descent:

In a territory with a high rate of immigration, a majority of black boys and few Italian people respond [to our call]. The motivation of the sons of the foreigners is so strong that, after school, they walk for hours under the bad weather to arrive at practice. The Italians, on the contrary, soon stopped from attending the courses for logistic difficulties. Barefoot or with pierced shoes or, even worse, with fur boots in high summer, the sons of immigrants, with their burden of problems, arrive with constancy on foot and want to practice. They are joyful, little concentrated, but they are there and ask for attention: the sports project immediately turns in a real project of social inclusion¹⁶

In January 2017 the club enrolled two teams in the Uisp basketball league: under-14 and under-12; in the following months, the players restored an abandoned sport palace, thus finding a permanent location for playing¹⁷.

However, bureaucracy posed a problem: the sons of migrants could not be registered in the official championships, managed by the *Federazione italiana pallacanestro* (Fip). Tam Tam complained about this absurd situation, as its players were born in Italy, spoke Italian and did not know any country but Italy. The minister for sport, Luca Lotti, accepted their proposal and in October 2017 the Parliament add an amendment to the 2018 budget law, allowing minors of foreign origin, even those not complying with the rules on entry and stay, to be registered in sport clubs, provided that they had been attending school in Italy for at least one year¹⁸. The measure is

¹⁶ "Segni dei tempi", March 2009.

¹⁷ See the website of the club, <https://tamtambasketball.org/it/chi-siamo/>, retrieved 10 April 2019.

¹⁸ Law 27 December 2017, art. 1, paragraph 369, letter f. The text is published in "Gazzetta Ufficiale della Repubblica italiana" n. 302, 29 December 2017, ordinary supplement n. 62. See also "La Repubblica", 17 October 2017.

known as “Tam Tam amendment” and it facilitates the participation in sports activities for hundreds of thousands of teenagers throughout Italy, who find themselves in the same condition as the Tam Tam players.

The difficulties faced by Tam Tam are not rare: the scientific literature (for example, Schwentzer, 2016) has highlighted that bureaucracy is one of the greatest barriers that limit the participation of migrants in sport activities. However, the examples coming from useful experiences of integration and dialogue can help to overcome these barriers and persuade the political authorities to ease the registration of foreign citizens in sports clubs.

After the amendment, Tam Tam could finally register its players in the Fip junior leagues, and, thanks to crowdfunding campaigns and sponsorships, could also provide them with uniforms and other equipment. The club even succeeded in buying a minivan for the athletes’ transfer ¹⁹.

Tam Tam was more and more known for its social engagement and caught the attention of some important media outlets, thus allowing for an anti-racist message to be conveyed a wide public.

Today Tam Tam manages three teams, under-18, under-15, and under-13, all playing in the Fip official junior leagues. Among its future objectives are collecting other players and establishing a women’s team.

The most interesting elements of this story, besides the legislative amendment promoted in 2017, are the area where the club was born and the involvement of second generations. The very difficult condition of the migrants living in Castel Volturno proves that, although the economic barriers seriously limit the participation of foreigners in sports, they can be overcome with the commitment of both migrants and local actors. Very interesting is also the involvement of second-generation migrants. Generally they have better opportunities to “use” sport for improving their social-cultural integration, as it had been, for example, for Italian emigrants in the United States (Ross Mormino, 1982; Gems 2012; Gems 2013). Generally, the sons of immigrants have to face difficult challenges in the territory where they live, as they are considered foreigners by the law and part of the population, but they can give an essential contribution to the

¹⁹ See “Il Sole 24ore”, online edition, 26 January 2019, <https://alleyoop.ilsole24ore.com/2019/01/26/tam-tam-basket-lintegrazione-dei-migranti-passa-lo-sport/>; “Il Meridiano news”, 14 February 2019, <http://www.ilmeridianonews.it/2019/02/pallacanestro-per-i-meno-fortunati-ecco-il-tam-tam-basketball-a-castel-volturno>, both retrieved 10 April 2019

social, economic and cultural growth of the country (El Hariri, 2010). Therefore, easing their integration is an indispensable challenge and it is desirable that other groups could take Tam Tam as a model.

Finally, the history of the club shows that, as highlighted by several studies (for example, Gasperini & Cometti, 2010), the ethnic clubs can be a useful tool of dialogue, if they participate in competitions with local teams and are managed in the correct way.

Conclusions

Alongside the four projects shortly described in the previous pages, many other sports experiences have involved migrants and refugees living in Campania. For example, in Naples the Aics has organized some cricket tournaments, involving the immigrants from the Indian Subcontinent, where the game is very popular; in Salerno, the rugby team Zona Orientale also includes migrants and asylum seekers; in Caserta, the basketball team Stella del Sud, connected to the social centre *Ex Canapificio* and mainly composed by asylum seekers and refugees, participated in the Uisp championships between 2015 and 2017. Other sports activities are organized by Catholic groups, such as the *Centro sportivo italiano*, which in Naples has promoted the five-a-side football team Tressse Pro.Te.Neo; some teams established for migrants, such as Africa Sporting Napoli and Ostello Guys Fc, play (or have played) in the Fcs football tournaments. Furthermore, several ethnic football teams have been created and some of them have led to their players being hired by non-ethnic clubs. Many teams, besides those established with the deliberate intention to ease integration, include migrants among their players, mainly in football.

Most of the migrants participating in sports activities come from sub-Saharan Africa. This prevalence has several reasons. Generally, the Africans are the foreigners most eager to interact with local people; furthermore, they live in the worst condition and often experience poverty and social exclusion, earning the attention of anti-racist associations. Football being the most popular sport in Africa, playing it professionally is a lifetime dream for most African boys, as is for young Italians.

Migrants from other continents also play sports, but they are usually less numerous in the anti-racist clubs. In Campania, the biggest foreign

communities are those from Eastern Europe. Many of their members practice sports keenly, but they seldom join the projects specifically established to favour integration, not least to distinguish themselves from African migrants. Furthermore, most migrants from Eastern Europe are women and for them playing sports is more difficult.

Migrants from the Indian Subcontinent and the Far East are little involved. Generally, the Indians prefer playing cricket and, apart from some experiences, such as the mentioned tournaments organized in Naples, the game is little known in Italy. Migrants from China generally tend to gather around ethnically based networks and communities, interacting with Italians only for work purposes (Ponzini, 2018; Riccardi, 2017).

As for migrant women, the participation in sports activities is scarce. Some clubs have tried to involve female athletes, such as Afro-Napoli, which has established two women's teams, but with limited results. Women are hindered by both their gender (sport is less popular also among European women than among men) and migrant condition (Agergaard & Tiesler, 2014; Schwenger, 2016; Jakubowska, 2018). Moreover, the culture and traditions of some of their countries of origin, such as those from the Middle East and sub-Saharan Africa, give little room to female sport and the economic condition rarely allow women to play sports. Finally, the most popular game, and the most "exploited" to ease integration, is football and, in Italy, women's involvement in the game is still scarce (Bifulco & Pirono, 2014, pp. 201-205; Gherpelli, 2018, pp. 219-224), although the participation of the Italian team in the 2019 World Cup has drawn the attention of the public.

Despite many obstacles, the four projects here described, together with other initiatives, strongly contributed to the integration of migrants. A significant part of the foreigners who have participated are asylum seekers or other people recently arrived in Italy (mainly in the cases of Rfc Lions, Brigante and Afro-Napoli its first years), and the matches often provide their first opportunity to meet local people. This has allowed them not to gather around ethnically based networks, as often happens among newcomers. By playing in multi-ethnic teams, migrants have established relations, overcoming the barriers between foreigners and Italian and, sometimes, between foreigners belonging to different countries. However, as stated above integration and dialogue are not automatic processes: playing with local people is not enough to promote real integration and

often the football field offers the only shared experiences; the best results for social-cultural integration are achieved when other activities are organized alongside sport (socialization, teaching of Italian language, etc.). In this respect, the contribution of the four above-described projects has been significant, as most of them also organize other activities. Furthermore, the teams have fostered relations among players, although it does not follow that all players have become friends: establishing relations among people coming from a different background is easier if they share other features (age, interests, etc.) (Talleu, 2010, pp. 151-157), so that not always the players of the anti-racist teams have established relations outside the sports field.

Of little significance has been the contribution of the anti-racist clubs to the economic integration: generally, playing in anti-racist teams does not lead to employment, also due to the high unemployment rate in Campania. Among the mentioned clubs, the only exceptions are some players from Afro-Napoli who have reached semi-professional levels and receive wages for playing. Sometimes, players coming from anti-racist teams have begun a career in professional sport, but it happens very rarely. However, even if in the great majority of the cases there is not a direct impact on economic integration, playing sports is useful to develop transversal skills (first and foremost the ability to speak Italian) that are necessary also in the working environment. Therefore, the migrants' participation in the clubs' activities affected also their economic integration, although in an indirect way.

A common feature of the anti-racist teams is represented by their political engagement: the clubs are often established by political groups and sometimes mingle with the teams of the "calcio popolare". Political militancy, understood as a fight against racism and defence of the rights of migrants, has often provided the push for the establishment of the teams (mainly in the cases of Rfc Lions Ska and Atletico Brigante) and has forged the identity of the clubs. However, political engagement also engenders some limits: for examples, sometimes it creates problems in participating in activities with groups not sharing the same view and, furthermore, the diatribes among left-wing groups can hinder the involvement of players and supporters.

In any case, all the four mentioned projects have spread an anti-racist message against the mounting xenophobia. They have shown, also thanks to their agonistic performance, that the cultural exchanges and the union of

diversity are not a burden, but, on the contrary, a mean to achieve important successes. This message is implicitly brought in any match that they play.

The engagement for integration has raised significant attention by the media, higher than that dedicated to the other teams playing in the same leagues. The clubs have also collected a relevant number of supporters, who are in large part political activists, whose identity is not created by the belonging to a territory, but by the sharing of ideas and political projects. An Afro-Napoli supporter has stated:

We are political activists first and football fans second, we are involved in politics and insurgent groups, we are activists, we do more than anti-racism work, anything that is a 'social' issue [...]

Afro Napoli is not the team of the local area, it's a team that expresses a certain type of thinking. We are a group from different parts of Naples, and we are involved in politics. Fundamentally, we are a group who support Afro Napoli not because we are from a certain area, but because of the ideas behind it²⁰.

The same is true for the supporters of all anti-racist teams.

At present, the clubs' work is jeopardized by the growing xenophobia and by a government explicitly opposed to the immigration and integration of foreigners. In June 2018 Matteo Salvini, leader of the *Leaga Nord*, became the head of the Ministry of the Interior. His well-known xenophobic ideas have further spiked the existing afrophobia. Racism has always been present in sport, mainly in football (Valeri, 2005; Valeri, 2010, Gherpelli, 2018), but after the 90s, also thanks to the engagement of the federations, some progress in the fight against racial discriminations had been made, at least in the professional sport. In the last years, the progress is jeopardized by the pervasive xenophobia, which mainly affects dilettantish leagues. The intolerant climate has increased racism on the stalls and often the racist supporters and players invoke the governmental repression against immigrants ("now Salvini will send you all back home", "the fun is over", etc.). Racism hinders integration, because it prevents the foreigners from feeling at home in Italy. Furthermore, some political decisions risk limiting the participation of migrants in sports. In the last years, the political and

²⁰ "Huck. Stories from the sideline", 20 June 2018, <https://www.huckmag.com/outdoor/sport-outdoor/italian-football-club-fighting-racism-pitch/>, retrieved 10 March 2019.

sportive institutions have eased the participation of migrants and, with measures such as the mentioned “Tam Tam amendment”, have removed a part of the bureaucratic obstacles to their registration. Today, the government has chosen the opposite way. The most dangerous measure is the *Decreto sicurezza* (security decree), issued in November 2018²¹, which, among other things, forbids the civil registration of asylum seekers. Given that many sporting federations, such as the Figc, require a certification of residence for registering players, the asylum seekers risk being excluded.

More in general, the political climate does not favour the migrants and the Italian citizens who support their integration. For this reason, the anti-racist clubs find some obstacles but, at the same time, they are more and more necessary to fight afrophobia and contrast the measures that make difficult the participation of migrants in sports.

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²¹ Law n. 132 of 1st December 2018, art. 13. See the text in the “Gazzetta Ufficiale della Repubblica Italiana”, 281, 3 December 2018.

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Civilization and Sport in Colombia's Drive to Modernization

JAVIER TORRES VELASCO

Universidad Externado de Bogotá, Colombia

Abstract

This paper discusses the manner in which modern spectator sports developed in Colombia in the decade of the 1920s as part of the country's efforts to modernize. An examination of the dominant theories of the diffusion of European sports to the Latin American elites and eventually to the populace as a technique for social control is undertaken. Scant immigration into the country as well as high mortality rates for men and women resulting from civil war and disease make Colombia a case of special interest. Rather than the introduction of a single sport, we embark on an analysis of leisure, scouting, gymnastics, and sports to describe the matrix from which sporting practices develop. A careful examination of the 1920s press reports allows for a careful description of the roots of these physical activities, the emergence of a new social actor, the sportsperson, and the role of state regulation in the field of sports.

Keywords: History of Colombia, History of Sport, Modernization.

Introduction

This article examines the development of sport in Colombia in the second decade of the twentieth century. This was a time of change, one marked by a collective aspiration for peace and progress. The nation strove to lift itself up to the standards of Western civilization. At the start of his term in office, President Pedro Nel Ospina (1924-1926) stated, "Our situation has changed greatly; we are now in contact with the world" (Osorio, 1923, p. 368).

Breaking away from isolation is not an easy task. The direction and pace of change are always a contested matter. High values are at stake and political forces, old and new, take the stage to confront ideas and mobilize social aspirations. Ideologues, clergymen, and men of action, political parties, and a dense fabric of social forces collided signaling that this was not a quiescent time (Rueda, 1925, p. 454). For some observers the intensity of the dispute seemed to set society apart from its representatives. Episodes

of violence darkened the decade, as observed in the 1928 massacre of agricultural workers in a banana enclave in the Caribbean region.

Leisure, sport, an appreciation for the outdoors, gymnastics and, more generally, the predisposition of mind and body through physical education were another set of cherished values consistent with civilization. Entrepreneurs, the press, social clubs, schools, political parties, and the government became active participants in the development of sports during the 1920s. I suggest that sports and the sporting experience are a key dimension of social change and governmental intervention in the quest for modernization. How did sports develop during this decade? What forms of organization emerged? How did the governments of the period intervene to organize sports?

To carry out this investigation I reviewed the issues of the *Cromos* weekly magazine from January 1920 through December 1929. Under the direction of Luis Tamayo, the magazine's editorial line reflects a moderate "liberal" view extolling patriotic virtues and celebrating cultural achievements, among which sport is consistently present.

1. The limits of diffusionist theories of sport

In their Introduction to the edited volume of *Sport in Latin America and the Caribbean*, Joseph Arbena and David LaFrance (2002) state that by the middle of the Nineteenth Century "three interrelated trends in the area of games and sports had become obvious. First, the few persisting indigenous forms virtually disappeared. Second, folk culture was attacked as an impediment to progress [...] Third, sport became increasingly tied to the spread of so-called modern, European culture and its evolving recreational practices" (p. xii).

I will take distance from this thesis as well as other variants of the "diffusionist" theories of sport. A dominant stream of studies on Latin American sports partakes of such models of cultural imposition through elite agency; other strands of analysis view sport as an expression of world power in the age of colonial empire (Tomlinson & Young, 2010; Van Bottenburg, 2010).

Available literature on the history and sociology of sports in the region tends to emphasize the influence of European culture on the local elites.

Waves of migrants attracted by the upcoming economies of Latin America as well as Latin visitors and students travelling through Europe (principally England or France) or the United States were the channels through which sports journeyed across the Atlantic. The “social club”, the “sports club” or the “sports association” are presented as the landing grounds for sports, isles from which they gradually spread to the populace, propelled by populist or reformist policies.

In this vein, Matus, Vilanova, Puig, and Vidal (2018) explore the emergence of modern sports clubs in Chile as the result of British influence. According to the authors, “sport in Chile originated in the aristocracy, as the British [migrants] introduced cricket, hunting, golf and tennis in their relations with the [Chilean] upper classes. From this [pattern] one can suggest that the extension of sports occurred from this stratum to the rest of society”. (pp. 284-285)

In their study on Brazilian sport De Melo (2013) argues that, “Foreign influence is an essential factor in the development of the sport field in Brazil. Europeans brought with them [...] organized sport and were enthusiastic proselytizers of physical activities. The British were especially prominent in the nineteenth century in this regard” (p. 378). Fernandes da Silva y Zarpellon (2015) study how rowing emerged in late nineteenth century Porto Alegre, Brazil, as a sporting practice introduced by German migrants who were attracted by the cosmopolitan impulse of the port city.

Julio Frydenberg (2017) shows how late nineteenth century European immigration into Argentina may account for the introduction of football (soccer), especially through the British School system of Buenos Aires. The author argues that not only the game itself, but also the importation of the rules of the sport and the ethos of sportsmanship allowed for the early creation of the Argentine Association Football League (AAFL) in 1891. This model of organization may have preceded the massification of the sport from the original British clubs to creole football clubs and business sponsored teams in Argentina as well as Brazil (Malaia Santos, 2013).

Colombia hardly fits these models. Colombian travel overseas was limited to a select few. Palacios argues that after 1903 a stronger *peso* stimulated travel and residence of Colombians abroad for long periods. “Some families sent their children [abroad] for university education or to specialize in commerce as workers of some reputable business” (Palacios, 2015, p. 219; Melo, 2017). Nevertheless, a few European and U. S.

immigrants as well as Colombians who had studied abroad were influential in the early development of industry and promoted the formation of social clubs (Ramírez, 2015; Ruiz, 2010).

Migratory flows into the country at the beginning of the twentieth century were meagre at best. The Thousand Days War (1899-1902) clearly signaled a violent nation, and the separation of Panama in 1903 left the nation in a state of dismay, exhaustion, and poverty. The 1912 census reported that foreign residents only accounted for 0.2% of the population; twenty-one years later this figure had risen to 0.3%.

Immigration policies were unclear, ineffective, expensive, and discriminatory. Notwithstanding the fact that people of Middle Eastern origin were the main source of immigration into the country, in the 1930s the authorities authorized quotas of ten migrants of Syrian origin, ten Lebanese, and ten Palestinians per year (Vargas, 2011). Catholics and the conservative politics of the *Regeneración* inspired distrust for foreign presence in the country. Nevertheless, an increased number of migrants from foreign religious orders were admitted into the country since 1880, occupying a high proportion of the regular clergy, 40% priests and 20% nuns (Palacios & Safford, 2013). Catholic orders founded schools and charities, introducing gymnastics, and sports to alumni and poor children.

Between 1870 and 1918, the average life span for Colombian women was estimated at 36.9 years and 31.05 years for men. Accidents and civil war accounted for the major causes of death among men (Meisel & Romero, 2017). Disease was a matter of concern for policy makers. Leprosy was widespread prompting the Reyes government (1904-1909) to develop confinement centers for the infected population (Sanin, 1909). Influenza was a major cause of death among the central Andes population, accounting for 9.5% of the registered deaths from 1912 to 1927, mostly infants. An influenza epidemic in 1918 and 1919 was especially severe in Bogotá and the neighboring department of Boyacá (Manrique, Martínez, Meléndez & Ospina, 2009).

Notwithstanding the weight of this evidence, Colombian researchers tend to view sports mainly as a technique of social control appropriated by dominant social classes or elites through the enforcement of hygiene and schooling (Pedraza, 1999). Others suggests that Colombia's novel agrarian commercial class broke from the previous elite control of the population through civil war. In its new position of influence, it sought, "[to] replace

nineteenth century pastimes for newer [ones] such as football" (Ruiz, 2010, p. 37).

Rodríguez (2013) contends that a small fraction of the elite including businessmen, politicians, educators, and medical hygienists, among others, initiated a "public sanitation program that undertook to discipline the popular sectors [...] Evils such as uncleanliness, [poor] use of time, consumption of *chicha* (fermented corn brew), absence of urban rules, labor discipline, the use of *alpartagas* (sisal footwear) and *ruanas* (woolen ponchos) as well as [...] new time allotments as demanded by the bourgeois model, including time for leisure" (pp. 169 - 170).

Unsatisfactorily, sports in Colombia are presented as a convenient functional requisite for agrarian classes who hope to retain power or of an emerging bourgeoisie that hopes to conquer it.¹ Instead, this investigation contends that "sportization" is a highly complex long-term process better understood as a pattern of collective interaction and exchange. Consequently, my focus is not on any single sports discipline, but on all sporting activities present in Colombia during the 1920s. Hence, leisure time spent outdoors, "excursionism" or scoutism, gymnastics, and spectator sports are the four dimensions I propose to analyze the development of sports in Colombia.

2. Leisure and scouting

To overcome Colombia's adverse social, political and economic conditions, cities were redesigned and public services (water, urban transportation, electricity, telephone and telegraph) began to be provided by private and public companies; rail, road, river, and airline projects flourished as a manner to integrate the country. New teaching methods were widely discussed, public education reforms were introduced, and hospitals built. Foreign policy was dictated by the urge to solidify the country's borders and participate in world commerce and international financial circuits. All public activities were grounded on the values of

¹ Sport is often equated with culture and to culture's political functions, including the hegemonic effects of culture. The difficulty stems from what Tomlinson and Young consider the lack of a "demarcated sport history (Horn, 1997; Tomlinson, 2010).

patriotism, order, intellectual achievement, high culture, youth, race, and the Hispanic heritage, including the Catholic faith.

Internal migration and low salaries produced a mass of impoverished peasant migrants who populated the cities attracted by the promise of work. In a 1924 interview, the Minister of Industry, General Diógenes Reyes, stated: “The immigration of capital [rather than labor] is preferable for the well-being of the people [...] we do not have the opportunity to develop large industry as in the United States because [financial] resources are scarce. We must rely on cheap wages.” (*Cromos*, 1924, XVII, p. 400).

Early in 1920, working class neighborhoods called for the development of urban public services to improve the living conditions (Castillo, 1920, p. 195). However, the accommodated classes also lacked many of these services. Living in the cities was uncomfortable, and health hazards were abundant. Many found that urban life was dull.

Enjoyment of the outdoors became a cherished value as it promised to provide mental and physical health for all. Country summer travel was advertised and student excursions organized to visit distant regions. So too, physical exercise and intellectual achievement were considered the keys to a balanced society. Early in 1920 an article on the “Proper social entertainment” appeared in *Cromos*: “[The countryside is] a soothing experience, [it is a fountain of] hope, rhythm, laughter, sport, sufficient air and water to bring a modicum of health and equilibrium [to those who enjoy it]” (*Cromos*, 1924, XVII, p. 40).

Public parks were considered the responsibility of government, giving citizens the opportunity to enjoy outdoor entertainment. *Cromos*, 1924, XVIII, p. 42). Nonetheless, a private citizen, Nicolás Liévano, designed and donated Bogota’s Luna Park in 1921, a site suitable for the organization of social events, recreation, and sports (Ríos, 2015). The park became a popular site to practice football, boxing, swimming and rowing. The National Federation of Students organized meetings and parties in the park facilities. As part of the Student Festival of 1921, the organizers programmed bicycle races, swimming and track competitions, as well as regattas.

The 1924 Workers’ Congress also convened in Luna Park to discuss new social legislation as well as the adoption of new models of education in the school system. (Londoño, 2004). Tila Uribe recalls that workers organizations of the 1920s, “campaigned against alcoholism, gambling,

disregard for human misery, [and against] capitalist charity [...]. In 1927 union leader Fideligno Cuellar initiated another campaign that spread like fire: to include Physical Education and chess as required assignments in school curricula for children and youths" (Uribe, 1994, p. 140).

Similarly, Pacific Railway construction engineer Ricardo Pérez believed that recreation for the workers would improve productivity. According to Pérez, "Large companies should be forced to provide lodging for their employees and workers, reduce alcohol consumption, provide hospitals and schools, deliver technical education, and guided recreation" (Cromos, 1924, XVIII, p. 429).

New generations of Colombians were to be educated in the appreciation of outdoor recreation and physical development. Educators of liberal schools influenced by Belgian pedagogue Ovide Decroly, introduced the practice of sports, scouting, and direct outdoor experimentation in the curricula. The "New School" system would break with the traditional models of disciplinary education.

The Gimnasio Moderno, an elite school in Bogotá, was hailed as the leading institution implementing the new system. In contrast, Eduardo Castillo wrote, "Intellectual as well as physical education enjoy a solid foundation [in the school's curriculum]. Daily bath, sport, and access to sun and clean air strengthen the children's bodies [...] As I observe [these activities,] I cannot but think of the students in the boarding schools of the capital city, poor locked-up children, with pale skin as a consequence of their confinement and by the [rigor] of mental efforts not balanced by physical exercise." (Cromos, 1920, X, p. 195). Other institutions such as the *Gimnasio Obrero* and the *Hospicio* boarding school for poor children, and, later in the decade, the *Gimnasio Femenino* (Cromos, 1927, XXIII, p. 549) in Bogotá implemented the same philosophy (Castro et al., 1999).

Catholic charities such as that organized by José María Campoamor, a member of the Saint Ignatius community, built the San Francisco Javier workers' neighborhood 'Barrio Obrero' in Bogotá developing similar approaches for community building in the outdoors. Construction of forty homes, a school, medical facilities, a swimming pool, and a chapel required funding from the workers' savings solidarity fund, the *Círculo Obrero*, and matching funds from private donors (Cromos, 1920, X, p. 239).

Scouting by Gimnasio Moderno students spanned the decade. The school organized an excursion to the central and western departments of

Colombia in 1920. Other schools also organized student trips. Bogotá's *Escuela Ricaurte* travelled to the Caribbean coast in 1924 and *Universidad Libre* students visited the Pacific coast in Buenaventura one year later. Student exchange visits also took place between the *Yanaconas* from Cali and Buga's *Santo Tomás* students.

As student expeditions gained momentum, Law 23 of 1925 determined that government must fund such visits from the national, regional, and local budgets. With this authorization at hand, the Director for Public Instruction of Cundinamarca, José María de Guzmán, issued Directive 7 of that year ordering the first general excursion of male student schools in the department to visit Bogotá. (*Cromos*, 1925, XX, p. 477). Germán Arciniegas, a prominent intellectual, enthusiastically supported the visit of ten thousand boys to the capital city. (*Cromos*, 1925, XX, p. 478). Public Instruction Minister Vernaza, however, believed expeditions were a total waste of time, an opinion that confronted his office with the student organizations (*Cromos*, 1926, XXII, p. 512). However, interest in scouting did not subside. Miguel Jiménez López, Colombia's ambassador to Berlin explained the importance of the Boy Scouts as an institution and the principles of its organization. (*Cromos*, 1929, XXIII, p. 559).

I suggest that leisure and scoutism were gateways through which broad sectors of society entered into contact with the country and gained a first hand knowledge of its geography, its peoples, and its government. Schools, worker's organizations, charities, and government officials valued the outdoors and sought to build children's character and physical well-being. Cultivating the national spirit and confronting health issues were certainly key dimensions that help explain the collective interest in outdoor activities.

3. *Gymnastics and sports*

Colombia exhibits a long tradition of physical education in gymnastics, possibly since 1826. Innovations introduced in the country's nineteenth century education system included "tumbling, exercising with a ball, dancing, military exercises and use of rifles. [As well as] running and wrestling" (Pinillos, 2003, p. 64). The 1870 education reform undertaken by the Radical liberals incorporated the German Mission's recommendation

concerning the development of calisthenics and gymnastics in the school curricula. Colombia's Military School pushed for the cadets' gymnastics instruction. "During a military review in 1891 [U. S. Army Lieutenant Henry Lemly] presented racing and jumping competitions along with closed order and rifle exercises" (Ávila 2012 quoted by Esquivel, 2017, p. 241). Legislation reinstated the German Mission recommendations in 1903 and 1904, thus extending gymnastics to the entire educational system (Esquivel, 2017; Alfonso, 2012).

Arguments abound suggesting that the grip of the Catholic Church over Colombia's education was an obstacle to the development of physical education. Pinillos (2003) states that Catholics regarded physical exercise as punishment, consequently opposing physical education programs. However, Michael Krüger (2018) cogently argues that sports are closely tied to ethical and moral questions. The Protestant Reform and subsequent Catholic reinterpretation of St. Paul's epistles, especially in the Jesuit Order, lead to the idea "that public education [included] education of the body" (Krüger, 2018, p. 14).

In this vein, the Minister of Public Instruction announced in 1923 that the government would convene a mission of educators from Belgian, Swiss, or German Catholic provinces to reform the country's educational system. Among other objectives, the reform should "inculcate in students the need for hygiene and physical education" (*Cromos*, 1923, p. 380).

The Lasalle School in Bogotá (*Salesiano*) hired German professor Gottfried Schlecht to lead the calisthenics program for students (*Cromos*, 1925, XIX, 454) and the Ricaurte School (*Escuela Ricaurte*) hired Herman Ermert in 1926 (*Cromos*, 1926, p. 519).

In 1927, the national government hired Hans Huber, to teach gymnastics courses in four Bogotá schools; primary level schoolteachers receiving instruction would serve as multipliers. The program included "free exercises selected from German and Swedish gymnastics; exercises with equipment, running, jumping, and throwing exercises" (Alfonso, 2012, pp. 28-29).

Public exhibitions of student gymnasts (*revistas de gimnasia*) were frequent as scores of male schoolchildren and youngsters worked through calisthenics and German or Swedish gymnastics exercises (Rúa & Pinillos 2014). The 1924 National Olympic Games featured a gymnastics show including exercises with rifles and bicycles (*Cromos*, 1924, p. 413).

The 1927 Games also presented a program of Swedish gymnastics, but incorporated new sports such as polo, baseball, basketball, tennis, field hockey and athletic competitions (*Cromos*, 1927, XXIII, p. 562).

One could argue that gymnastics and modern sports are closely related, as the first is conducive to the second manner of physical activity. However, we cannot conclude that a linear trajectory stemming from gymnastics and leading to the adoption of modern sports exists (Van Bottenburg, 2010). Instead, gymnastics appear in Colombia as constitutive of physical education programs in schools as well as social club activities and public exhibitions of collective aestheticism and organization. The objective of gymnastics was the preparation of the mind through systematic physical activity rather than the pursuit of victory by means of competitive effort as required by sports.

The suppression of traditional or indigenous sports and their replacement by modern ones as suggested by Arbena and LaFrance (2002) does not hold for Colombia. Indeed, games of aboriginal or Spanish origins prevailed over time as a sporting practice. *Tejo* or *turmequé* is perhaps the only indigenous sport of Colombia that became widely practiced by all social classes, including members of the Magdalena Club in Bogotá in the 1920s (Bernal, 2008; Abello, 2013).

Bullfighting was widely practiced in Colombia by all social groups including native indigenous peoples and afrodescendants. Renowned matadors Rafael Gómez Ortega, *El Gallo*, and José Mejías Jiménez, *Bienvenida*, performed in the San Diego plaza in Bogotá in front of a crowd of six thousand spectators (*Cromos*, 1922, XIV, p. 312). Despite public opposition to the killing of the bulls by matadors, early twentieth century citizens enthusiastically attended the *corridos* in bullrings throughout the country. Those in favor considered bullfighting as a “diversion, a matter of personal choice” (*Cromos*, 1925, p. 458).

Other “games in the arena” such as the *corralejás*, a variation of bullfighting, were sponsored by the Caribbean plains landowners and staged during popular festivities in the small villages (Hernández, 2014; Fals, 2002). Further, the *coleo*², a game of skill, strength, and speed has been

² *Coleo* competitions involve equestrians who race to stop a fugitive bull, grabbing it by the tail to turn and topple the animal in the least time. Prize money and local reputation are rewarded the fastest *coleadores*.

widely practiced in the eastern *llanos* basin of Colombia and Venezuela since the sixteenth century (Pabón, 2017). These sporting events and popular festivities called for the attendance of large numbers of spectators and built a strong sense of regional pride.

Boxing occupied a prominent place in the 1920s. This sport spanned the nation from the Caribbean coastal region to Bogotá eliciting great interest. World championship fights such as the 1921 Carpentier – Dempsey bout carried a strong local appeal. Colombians also admired Argentinian boxing champion Miguel Angel Firpo as a creole challenger of the developed world. (*Cromos*, 1923, p. 345)

Raúl Porto recalled that the Carpentier - Dempsey match gave way to “a movement of people who wanted to become boxers. *El Porvenir*, a Cartagena journal, took the opportunity and opened inscriptions for all those who wished to become [boxing] champions... [Within] two days eighty men signed up” (Quitíán, 2016, pp. 77-78). Theater, circus, and bullfighting entrepreneurs such as the Párraga brothers staged popular bouts in Cartagena's Serrezuela circus.

Nevertheless, in the early years of twentieth century, some thought that boxing was “a plague, worse than the one that had decimated the city in the past century” (Quitíán, 2016, p. 77). Renowned boxers such as Bogotá's Rafael Tanco trained out of the public eye as elites were opposed to this ungentlemanly sport. Tanco, a boxer from Bogotá, was probably a prizefighter who fought local foreign residents in private clubs.

Tanco's record as a boxer was impressive; he triumphed over challengers such as Wollis Spyers, Serventi, and Vaughn. Before Tanco's bout with Rene Van der Horde, a Dutch resident of Bogotá, in August 1921, his victory over Mr. Bethell, the British Director of the *Colombia* magazine in the capital, were highlights in his career. *Cromos* presented the Tanco – Van der Horde boxing match as the “Colombian Boxing Championship”, and reported that betting of a significant amount of dollars took place. The press published a detailed report comparing the boxer's size and covered the training of both athletes before the fight. The weekly magazine reported that Van der Horde followed an orderly life; a routine of “Swedish gymnastics” and punching bag exercises followed by walking or jogging all of which made him a strong opponent. His trainers were also his sparring partners (*Cromos*, 1921, XII, p. 264).

After winning the fight with Van der Horde, Tanco was challenged by Ben Brewer, a U. S. citizen who managed platinum mines in Colombia's western region of Chocó. Brewer was presented as the boxing champion of Arizona. He exhibited a record of fights that included victories in Mexico and Cuba. Reportedly, Brewer practiced other sports including Greco-Roman wrestling, tennis and American football; he was also a reputed hunter. The fighter's representatives, Agustin Casabianca, and Mr. Kidross, agreed to change the scheduled date of the fight as Kidross argued that Brewer had very few days to train in Bogotá's altitude while Tanco was well prepared. A boxer from Cartagena, Ramón Rodríguez, acted as Brewer's sparring partner. The company organizing the match and the fighters agreed that the winner would take four thousand dollars and none for the loser.

Clearly, these boxing matches reveal a growing interest in the technical aspects of sports, a matter that demanded knowledge not only of the rules of the sport, but of the sports discipline itself as well as the sciences associated with the improvement of the athletes' performance, an antecedent of the professionalization of sports. Carlos Ortiz wrote, "We are not educated for this [...] we need [to educate ourselves] in sports and science" (*Cromos*, 1921, XII, n.p.). When compared to boxing, Colombia's experience with football was grounded not in the media and occasional entrepreneurs, but in core social institutions, schools and social clubs. Historian Enrique Santos (2005) believes that this sport was first played in the Military School in 1892 under the auspices of Henry Lemly. From this vantage point, the game gradually gained a wide audience and the governments' acceptance.

Bogotá's Catholic schools such as the Jesuit community run *Colegio San Bartolomé*, organized its own football team, *Bartolino*, in 1912 sponsored by Father Gumersindo Lizarraga. A proper field for the practice of the sport was built in La Merced, a property belonging to the Jesuit Community (Santos, 2005). Students of the strict San José School of Medellín, run by the Lassallian Catholic Order, enjoyed a curriculum offering physical education classes along with football and basketball teams, all of which had English names (Londoño, 2004). Other non-confessional schools, such as the Gimnasio Moderno also included football among its sporting activities. Institutes for higher education such as the *Instituto Técnico Central* or the

School of Medicine in Bogotá were active participants in football tournaments.

Given these origins, football competition rapidly won social acceptance. On June 27, 1920, the *Bartolino* and *Centenario* teams met in the Magdalena field to play the final match of the Concha Football Cup. A large crowd witnessed the game won by the *Bartolino* team. Spanish Prince Juan de Borbón presented the winners with the trophy (*Cromos*, 1920, IX, p. 216). The *El Cid* football club, a sporting branch of the School of Medicine, won the 1924 "Colombian Olympic Games" final match against the Military School. Among the *El Cid* defensive backs was an experienced British footballer, Bell Ruges (*Cromos*, 1924, XVIII, p. 419). *El Cid* also won the 1926 football championship, having registered an Italian immigrant in its lineup, Ennio Viola, who had played for the Juventus professional football team of Turin in 1921 Alejandro Pino (2015). Football teams from other regions in Colombia challenged the Bogotá squads, giving the sport a strong flavor of interregional rivalry. Twenty thousand spectators attended the match between the *Bartolino* and *Medellín* teams during the 1927 Colombian Olympic Games (*Cromos*, 1927, XXIV, p. 568).

Pino (2015) suggests that 1924 represents a turning point for football in Colombia. Indeed, the Paris Olympic Games became of special interest to Colombians as Argentina and Uruguay participated for the first time in these competitions. Unexpectedly, the Uruguay football team won the gold Olympic medal, an accomplishment that the local public opinion took to suggest that Colombia should prepare itself to participate in international sporting events such as these. Uruguay's success meant, "[The] rebirth of Colombian football as the clubs returned to practice and the [participation of] workers in the sport grew [...] football served to level society" (Pino, 2015).

Participation in the international Olympic Games was a goal to be reached. In February 1928, the *Colombia* football team challenged *El Cid* to play a match in order to collect funds to send the national team to the Amsterdam Olympics (*Cromos*, 1928, XXV, p. 597). Further, in March 1929 the football Committee for Cundinamarca met to organize a series of games between local teams and a Peruvian squad, the "Association". Among the Peruvian players were swimmers, renowned athletes, as well as members of the Lima Cricket Club. The Austrian born goalkeeper of the Peruvian team, Berdicka, was presented as the team's star performer (*Cromos*, 1929, XX, p. 650). A few months later, in September 1929 another Peruvian

football team, “Chancay” played the *Samarío* club, the national football champion of that year. Both visiting teams won every match they played against Colombian opponents.

To better qualify the “levelling social impact” of sports, I suggest that football became an early avenue for the social recognition of sportsmen (and women), persons recognized for their abilities in the game. The 1920s suggest the appearance of a new social role, the sportsperson (*deportista*), clearly different from “students” or “clubmen”, a significant innovation in the nation’s social makeup. As a corollary, public recognition of sportspersons grew. As César Julio Rodríguez claimed, “It is true that the era of sports in Colombia has begun [...] the trend that has taken over the world is felt among us [...] we have a thirst for information [...]. [A] young person is more interested today in sporting news than any other discovery” (*Cromos*, 1924, XVIII, p. 419).

Other sports gained regional popularity in Colombia during the 1920s. Baseball was played in Marialabaja, in the Caribbean department of Bolívar since 1874, possibly influenced by Cuba and cattle trade in the north coastal plain (Porto, 2013). On their return from a study trip to the United States, Gonzalo and Ernesto Zúñiga brought baseball equipment back to Cartagena; the records show that the game was played in the walled city in 1905 (Riola, 2015).

Cromos began reporting on baseball games since 1925. In fact, “La Salle” and “Cartagena” teams organized a baseball game to collect funds for a charity organization, *Estrella de la Caridad* - Star of Charity - (*Cromos*, 1925, XX, p. 480). Caribbean coast department teams “Barranquilla” and “Cartagena” faced each other in the “Juana de Arco” field, a testimony of the roots this sport acquired in the region. Baseball was included in the 1927 Colombian Olympic Games along with basketball, although news coverage of the competitions is not available.

Polo, golf, tennis, and equestrian sports, among others, acquired a strong class accent as dues paying social clubs began operations in the 1920s. Federico Carlos Child, the son of a British citizen born in Bogotá, presented the game of polo and founded the Bogotá Polo Club in 1897 (*Cromos*, 1923, XVI, p. 380) Nevertheless, polo matches took place in Bogotá’s Magdalena field as well as in the haciendas of wealthy *Bogotanos* since 1890.

Golf demonstrates similar beginnings in Colombia. The Bogotá Country Club was established in 1917 and Eduardo Uribe, a key promoter of golf, founded the *Club de Golf* in 1921. The Country Club members initially rented land from the Bank of Colombia (*Banco de Colombia*) to build a golf course. Later, in 1927, members purchased the fifty-hectare *Hacienda El Retiro* to build the club facilities ("La historia del Country comenzó hace 90 años", 2007).

The gentlemen's Jockey Club sponsored horseracing since 1892. The upper classes attended the horseracing seasons exhibiting the latest fashion and newly purchased cars. So too car and motorcycling competitions were organized in the city outskirts. Ms. Bauer, wife of Scadta airline manager Von Bauer, drove her car at 100 kilometers per hour in her victory during the car and motorcycling races organized between the train Central Station of Bogotá and the Bosa bridge (*Cromos*, 1923, XVI, p. 366).

Fashion and specialized sportswear underscored the social class bias of some of the sport disciplines practiced in Colombia during the period. Importers such as Ernesto Duperly owned and managed one of the first stores of this kind in the capital city since 1893. Polo players' helmets and apparel were imported from Scotts and, later, Scloss manufacturers in London; Wills & Pradilla and Michelsen imported emblems from Swiss producers Huguenin Frères. Local carpenter Feliciano Navarrete made the wooden balls for polo from willow tress until the 1930s when Spalding took over the local market (Polo Club, n. d.). Interestingly, sports opened new business opportunities for local entrepreneurs, but also tensions with artisans who sought protection for their trade.

Tennis became a popular sport for both men and women during the 1920s. Elvira Cuervo Pérez and Leonor Uribe played the final match in a tournament organized by the America Sport Club in 1921 (*Cromos*, 1921, XII, p. 280). Elvira Anzola won the "Trujillo Cup" of tennis in the Magdalena Sport Club, an institution that also promoted basketball games for women (*Cromos*, 1926, XXI, p. 495, 1927, XXIII, p. 549).³ Schools and workers' guilds clubs, such as the *Centro Social Obrero* in Bucaramanga also promoted the game of tennis (*Cromos*, 1920, IX, p. 195).

Athletic, swimming, diving, and bicycling competitions gained momentum during the decade. The organization of national and regional

³ Women's participation in wrestling, boxing, and fencing was not encouraged.

games as well as the appearance of regional sports commissions created incentives for the introduction of new disciplines. At the end of 1929, the first two stage “resistance bicycle race” took place between Bogotá and Tunja covering a distance of 326 kilometers (*Cromos*, 1929, XXVII, p. 689). A new highly popular sport had emerged.

This brief account of sporting practice in Colombia clearly indicates that a substantial number of disciplines were available to the citizenry at the beginning of the twentieth century. Sports covered the national territory in both urban and rural settings, and involved all social strata, albeit certain sports disciplines retained strong class and regional accents. A dense web of formal and informal organizations bent on recognition through competition characterizes the field of sports in Colombia during the 1920s. Once again, schools and social clubs take the center stage, but ties of friendship and solidarity also explain the emergence of sporting practice in the country. As the decade went by, the government intervened to organize sporting events and introduce technical expertise to administer the games.

4. Government policy and sports competitions

Reporting on the manner in which sports developed in the United States, *Cromos* underlined the importance that the nation attached to this activity. Of special interest to the reporter was the manner in which U. S. governments intervened to regulate sports and create public spaces where sporting activities could take place and become available to all (*Cromos*, 1924, p. 412).

In this context, Law 80 of 1925 created the National Commission on Physical Education in charge of organizing annual national athletic competitions, building sports facilities (*plazas de deportes*), and creating incentives for associations dedicated to the promotion of “physical culture”. To this end, the Commissioners were to devise a coordinated sports system of local and foreign associations to obtain “uniformity of action and methods”. Extending the practice of sports among the population entailed organizing public conferences as well as publishing specialized sports magazines and books. Further, funding of sport through donations from regional governments, businesses, and private citizens gave this undertaking a distinct decentralized and private sector flavor.

Among the three Commissioners appointed by the government one of them was required to have "technical knowledge" and, it was determined, would receive a substantial monthly salary of six hundred pesos.

Law 80 also stressed the need to develop a compulsory physical education plan for primary, secondary and university level programs.⁴ Accordingly, the National Physical Education Section of the Ministry of Public Instruction was created and a Director appointed with a monthly salary of one hundred and fifty Colombian pesos. The Director was to organize intensive courses for educators who would be in charge of the sports facilities. In connection to such sites, the Director's role included drawing the construction plans and regulating the subsequent use of the sports facilities.

This statute also created Physical Education Commissions in every department in charge of the organization of athletic competitions, the promotion of associations for physical culture, calling for donations, and promoting sports through conferences. The Governors appointed the regional Commissioners, and the departmental Assemblies decided on the building of sports facilities in their jurisdictions and provided the funds required for their construction. Law 80 provided that municipalities with more than twenty thousand inhabitants were to build at least one sporting facility.

The center of gravity of sports policy was the development and construction of sports facilities and the organization of athletic competitions. The organization of future games became a matter of public discussion. Plinio Medina believed performance in sports could improve if law mandated local incentives in cash for athletic accomplishments. He also suggested that preliminary municipal and regional games take place in order to select the best athletes to compete in the national games. Hence, the Colombian Olympics would result in a number of sporting competitions between the departmental delegations. An autonomous central board was to organize and regulate the games, as would regional boards in each department (*Cromos*, 1927, XVIII, p. 569).

⁴ Students were required to practice gymnastic exercises in the sports facilities; gathering anthropometric information on each student participating in sporting activities became mandatory.

In the Colombian regions, Cundinamarca organized its version of the Olympic Games in 1928 followed by Cali in January 1929. The Cali games not only presented local teams and athletes, but also featured competitors from other departments in the country (*Cromos*, 1929, XXI, p. 641).

Prior to the opening of the 1927 Colombian Olympics, Guillermo Manrique Terán stated that Colombian sport was no longer an elite phenomenon but a popular event: “The cycle of warrior sports [is over]. A new sporting [mentality] has taken over the country” (*Cromos*, 1927, XVIII, p. 562). As the 1927 games came to a close Dr. Mirabel reported twenty five thousand spectators in attendance such that the stadium capacity became insufficient: “Now the games acquired a permanent and definitive foundation” (*Cromos*, 1927, XVIII, p. 568).

For the first time in its history in the second half of the decade, Colombia organized a durable institutional system for sports. A centralized sports commission and its regional parts were developed as directing bodies; the government’s mission was defined in terms of building sports facilities, organizing national and regional games, and promoting public and private cooperation toward the preparation of the athletes. Technical expertise in sports gradually became a valued commodity.

Conclusion

Sports developed as an integral part of Colombia’s drive towards modernity of the 1920s. This process is best understood as a complex pattern of formal and informal interaction and learning, rather than a linear path of transference of European sporting practice to the Latin American elites. Rather than emerging from massive migration flows or from elite social clubs, one can better understand Colombia’s sporting history in terms of the interconnected geographies of sports and the circulation of persons, ideas, and techniques. Structural and political constraints deriving from Colombia’s early twentieth century history conspire against this “diffusion” pattern of sports. Rampant disease and civil war lead to low life expectancy. Children and young people suffered from illness and poverty. Under those stringent conditions, the outlook for sports was faint.

To overcome this situation governments and social organizations sought to change the peoples’ habits, among which daily baths and the enjoyment

of the outdoors were shared values. At any rate, government response to public sanitation problems was weak and health care policies developed at a slow pace during the decade.

Colombia was not a country of choice for immigrants nor was policy suited to attract them. Further, Colombians travelling abroad were few. The country's weak infrastructure and frail economy limited the opportunities for travel even within the country. Hence, the migratory flows can hardly explain the introduction of modern sports through foreign communities settling in Colombia.

This is not to say that Colombians were fully isolated from the world. European immigrants in the country and their kin were enthusiastic supporters of sports. A few Colombian travelers abroad also learned from sports; upon their return they inspired their friends to engage in such sporting activities and eventually formed clubs to support them. Local awareness of sporting contests throughout the world became widespread as telecommunications brought citizens closer to foreign competition.

Priests from Catholic Orders engaged with the nation's education introduced gymnastics and sports and built sporting facilities that became widely used to stage events and competitions. Confessional and non-confessional liberal schools played a key role in the expansion of sport. Local charities and social groups, including student and workers organizations also promoted physical exercise and sport.

Gymnastics complied with the Latin dictum *mens sana in corpore sano*, an avenue to obtain physical as well as mental well-being. Mostly German educators taught calisthenics and Swedish gymnastics including them in the school curricula. Schools of higher learning for educators (*Normales*) provided teachers specialized training in physical education, thus opening new professional opportunities.

Spectator sports included traditional and popular sports as well as modern sports embracing all social segments. Nevertheless, some sports, such as polo, golf or car racing acquired a strong class accent. Further, everywhere in the nation one finds the imprint of traditional and modern sports, although regional preferences are clearly visible. At any rate, sports present themselves as a socially inclusive practice including ethnic and gender groups, despite the fact that not all sports were available to all.

Governments took on a symbolic role in legitimizing sports during the 1920s as evidenced by the Presidents' frequent attendance in sporting

events and presenting the winners trophies. Social recognition in the media and local prestige were available for sportspersons, a key social innovation of the period.

As sports gained a wide audience, governments intervened to organize national games, provide technical assistance, and build sporting facilities. In this sense, the governments defined a long-lasting policy-making role in sports. Private sponsorship of sport was highly valued and actively pursued by government officials. Regional sports organizations and local government participation became a building block for the social expansion of sports.

New sporting events - among which the participation in the Olympic Games was paramount - massive interest in the games, as well as the development of the technical aspects of the sports disciplines, including their anthropological and medical implications, seemed to define the agenda for the future Liberal reformist governments of the 1930s.

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Mixed Marriages: The Italian Case Study

GABRIELLA D'AMBROSIO* & VERONICA PASTORI**

*Sapienza University of Rome, Italy

**National Institute for the Evaluation of the Education System (INVALSI), Italy

Abstract

The research objective that we want to explore concerns the phenomenon of mixed marriages in Italy. Indeed, in the last years (especially from EU enlargement in 2007), Italian territory is characterized, for its geographical and cultural position, to be one of the European countries with the largest number of foreign residents: suffice it to say that from 2008 to 2016 the increase is equal to +46.4 percentage points. To this purpose, through secondary data analysis from National Institute for Statistics (ISTAT) database, we examine the unions between couples formed by both foreign citizens or by a immigrant and an autochthonous in Italy from 2008 to 2016 focusing the attention on following four specific variables: area of origin, educational level, type of rite and type of marriage. In conclusion, this phenomenon is particularly relevant because it allows to look into the state of integration and inclusion of foreign presence in Italy.

Keywords: Secondary Data, Immigration, Integration, Marital Union, Mixed Marriage.

Introduction

Among different social transformation affecting Italy (like, for example, the increase in the number of cohabitations or the increase in the divorce rate), mixed marriage is an event that, in recent years, has become very important. The concept of "mixed family", defined by Merton (1941) "as marriage of persons deriving from those different in-groups and out-groups other than the family which are culturally conceived as relevant to the choice of a spouse" (p. 362), indicates a membership of cultural and different racial groups that depends, undoubtedly, on the increase in the rate of immigration. As stated by Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD, 2014), "in the beginning of the 1970s, emigration flows fell considerably and the country progressively became a country of net immigration, as neighbouring countries imposed stricter limitations to employment-related immigration and because Italian industrial centres had higher needs for immigrant workforce" (p. 44). For this reason, it is

plausible the strong link between immigration and mixed couple: this latter represents, therefore, a valid statistical indicator that shows how, right now, the immigration is become a structural component that contributes to ethnical, cultural and religious change in the settings of Italian country (Ammendola, Forti, Pittau & Ricci, 2004).

Nevertheless, with the passing years, the phenomenon of immigration has evolved; for example, if in the 70's the motivations of the foreign presence in Italy were closely linked to the work purposes as indicated above, recently a foreign decides to remain in Italy also for other reasons like a romantic relationship with an autochthon.

So, the mixed marriage becomes not only an important moment of socialization but also a symbol of integration of foreigner within the host society.

1. Theoretical Framework

As already mentioned in the introduction of this paper, mixed marriages (a term used to indicate all the unions between two individuals belonging to different social, religious and national contexts¹) have increased accordingly to the immigration rate: indeed, according to OECD (2011), with rising migration, cultures and values have become more different, with some ethnic minorities evolving as parallel family cultures while others intermingle with mainstream cultures through multicultural marriages. Undoubtedly, however, both phenomena can be linked to a much more general and broad concept what is known as globalisation processes that, if on one hand, refer “both to the compression of the world and the intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole” (Robertson, 1992, p. 8), on the other hand, “involving increased movement across borders, have broadened the range of potential partners for many people, leading to close intimate relationship among persons who may be geographically distant and may never have met each other without these increased movements” (Singla, 2014, p. 3).

¹ At this regard, it's important to point out that Phoenix (2006) has used an intersectional approach to study mixed couples. In fact, he focused on categories of multiple belonging and saw how partners are related to. By way of example, his study included these categories: ethnicity, gender, class, career position, religious belonging and others.

In this sense, so, each person not only marries another person, deciding autonomously within an individualized society but, as underlined by Tognetti Bordogna (1996; 2001), for reasons of several kinds (i.e., mutual curiosity, strategy for inclusion in the new context, testing of cultural chance), marries another different culture (Karis & Killian, 2011). Therefore, from this point of view, the concept of mixedness, as partnering and parenting across different ethnic backgrounds, is of crucial importance (Edwards, Song, Caballero & Ali, 2012) since “allows us to signal the dynamic and relational processes in which all of a family's members are actively involved” (Meda & Crespi, 2018, p. 11). Not only that: in the words of Barbara (1989), “cross-cultural marriages have the advantage of giving advance warning of what every couple must eventually face - that they are different from each other” (p. 186).

The phenomenon of mixed marriages, that is to say “visibly ethnically different couples” (Phoenix, 2011), has been studied both from qualitative and quantitative point of view with different methods (Dumanescu, Marza & Eppel, 2014). In the first case (qualitative perspective), the methods mainly used are interviews, participant observations, focus groups and life stories as direct witness, but also analyzing secondary data³ (as memoirs, articles in the press and others documents); in the second case, which is the quantitative perspective, the studies on mixed marriages have been conducted on the basis of different resources, for example from civil status records, censuses or various surveys. Some aspects investigated, through case studies or using a comparative approach⁴, are the percentage of mixed marriages in a particular society⁵ and their composition by ethnicity, confession, age, education, economic level or area of residence.

² For all those couples whose spouses have different characteristics, the reference is the so-called theory of complementary needs developed in the Fifties (Winch, Ktsanes & Ktsanes, 1954): according to this theory, contrarily to what occurs for homogamous couples, people are more attracted to those who are dissimilar from them.

³ These cases are characterized by a high degree of subjectivity, considering that the sources are already filtered through mentality and prejudices.

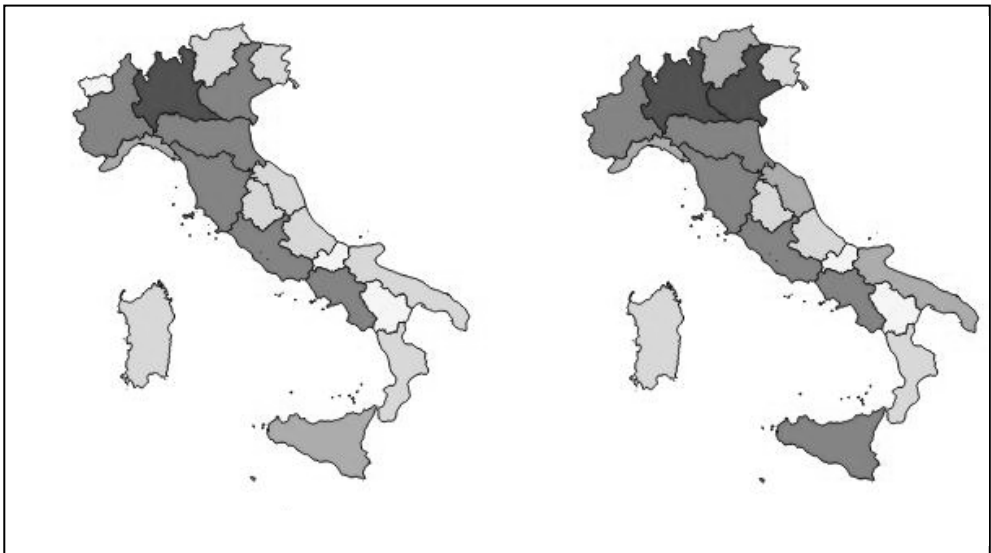
⁴ In the first case the attention is focused on a country and in the second case on two or more countries (Blanche, Durrheim & Painter, 2006; Somekh & Lewin, 2005).

⁵ Some examples are collected in González-Ferrer et al. (2016) where the several authors study the mixed marriages, separately, in the United Kingdom, Spain, Estonia, Switzerland and Romania.

2. Analysis of mixed marriages in Italy

Although the event of mixed marriages in Italy is characterized as an emerging phenomenon, however, analyzing the values provided by the National Institute for Statistics (ISTAT) database, we note that, at national level, there has been a reduction of it from 2008 to 2016: in fact, in percentage terms, there has been a decrease of -30.6%. The data, anyway, should not astonish the reader since, in recent years, there has been a reduction in the rate of marriages also with regard to the autochthonous ones (just think that, in the space of the last ten years, the marriage rate in Italy has decreased from 4.2 marriages per thousand individuals in 2006 to 3.4 in 2016).

Fig. 1 – Mixed marriage in Italy by region - %



Source: elaboration on ISTAT, 2008 and 2016

Analyzing the territorial distribution of mixed marriages in Italy we note (Fig. 1), looking at the two cartographies for the first and the last year taken into consideration, how the majority of mixed marriages can be found in North Italy (53.7% in 2008 and 55.4% in 2016) while a lower percentage refers to the South and Islands (20.4% in 2008 and 21.4% in 2016). Instead,

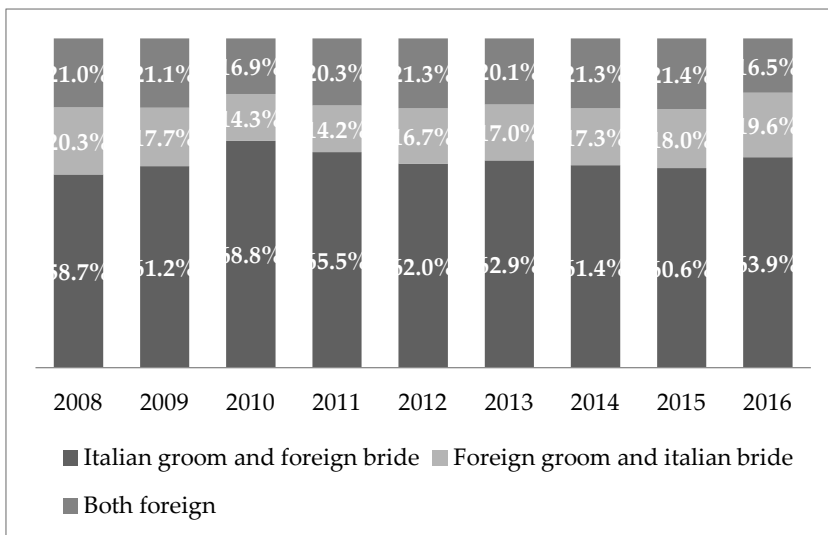
mixed marriages record an average percentage of around 24% in Central Italy.

Nevertheless, it is also possible to highlight how, from 2008 onwards, almost all Italian regions have seen their value increase even if some of them have showed a more substantial increase (for example: Vallée d'Aoste, Veneto, Marche, Apulia, Sicily). Thus, over the last ten years, the number of mixed marriages in Italy has spread more evenly throughout the national territory confirming, once again, the idea that it constitutes a factor of integration and stabilization of immigrants in our country.

Area of origin

Previously, we talked about mixed marriages like a symbol of integration between cultures. In this regard, it's interesting to investigate the area of origin of foreigners that make up the mixed couples.

Fig. 2 – Mixed marriage by type of couple - %



Source: elaboration on ISTAT, 2008-2016

Before exploring the area of origin, we note that about 60% of mixed marriages in Italy are characterized by Italian groom and foreign bride (Fig. 2): more in detail, in 2010 the percentage points of this type of couple almost reach seventy points (68.8%).

Tab. 1 – Mixed marriage by type of couple and Area of origin - %

<i>Year/Type of couple/Area of origin</i>		Albania	France	Germany	Moldova	Poland	Romania	Ukraine	Morocco	Brazil
2008	Italian groom and foreign bride	4.0	1.2	1.9	4.7	6.7	13.7	10.6	4.5	9.6
	Foreign groom and Italian bride	9.0	2.8	2.9	0.3	0.6	2.2	0.4	22.2	4.6
	At least a foreign spouse	3.5	0.3	0.6	6.6	2.4	18.4	4.0	8.2	2.5
2009	Italian groom and foreign bride	3.6	1.4	2.1	5.3	7.2	15.5	10.2	4.2	9.0
	Foreign groom and Italian bride	8.2	3.8	4.0	0.4	0.4	2.8	0.4	20.2	3.6
	At least a foreign spouse	2.9	0.4	0.5	7.8	2.0	19.5	4.2	7.9	2.0
2010	Italian groom and foreign bride	3.6	1.7	2.1	4.6	7.3	17.9	9.5	2.7	8.0
	Foreign groom and Italian bride	7.3	5.9	5.7	0.3	1.1	4.6	0.3	8.1	3.1
	At least a foreign spouse	3.6	0.5	0.7	5.7	1.8	25.0	2.9	6.5	1.4
2011	Italian groom and foreign bride	4.2	1.4	1.8	4.7	6.4	17.7	9.9	2.4	7.6
	Foreign groom and Italian bride	8.1	4.7	4.7	0.2	0.8	4.4	0.3	10.0	3.1
	At least a foreign spouse	3.9	0.7	0.9	5.5	1.6	18.8	4.6	4.2	1.1
2012	Italian groom and foreign bride	4.7	1.2	1.7	4.6	5.3	17.4	10.9	3.3	7.2
	Foreign groom and Italian bride	7.8	3.7	3.8	0.4	0.5	3.9	0.4	15.0	2.4
	At least a foreign spouse	4.9	0.3	0.5	6.7	1.4	18.4	5.5	4.4	1.2
2013	Italian groom and foreign bride	5.0	1.1	1.7	5.2	5.4	19.2	11.0	2.8	6.2
	Foreign groom and Italian bride	9.2	3.7	4.5	0.5	1.0	4.1	0.7	13.7	2.3
	At least a foreign spouse	5.9	0.5	1.3	7.7	1.5	20.8	4.5	5.1	0.8
2014	Italian groom and foreign bride	5.3	1.1	1.6	5.3	5.1	19.6	10.7	3.3	5.4
	Foreign groom and Italian bride	8.2	3.1	3.5	1.0	0.6	5.3	1.0	13.5	1.9
	At least a foreign spouse	5.4	0.4	2.8	5.8	1.7	19.9	4.8	4.8	0.7
2015	Italian groom and foreign bride	5.4	1.0	1.5	5.5	4.3	20.0	12.0	3.4	5.1
	Foreign groom and Italian bride	11.1	2.7	3.3	0.8	0.6	6.1	1.8	13.1	2.4
	At least a foreign spouse	6.3	0.4	3.5	6.0	1.3	19.2	6.5	4.6	0.7
2016	Italian groom and foreign bride	5.2	0.9	1.6	5.2	4.4	20.5	12.1	3.8	5.2
	Foreign groom and Italian bride	9.8	2.5	3.1	1.2	0.7	6.0	1.5	13.8	2.4
	At least a foreign spouse	6.6	0.2	0.4	8.5	1.0	25.6	8.7	4.9	1.1

Source: elaboration on ISTAT, 2008-2016

Considering the trend, it is interesting that there has been an increase (+5.2%) of mixed marriages especially in the case whereas an Italian man marries an immigrant woman (from 58.7% in 2008 to 63.9% in 2016). In contrast, the percentage of couples characterized by Italian bride and foreign spouse is decreased by 0.7 points while the percentage relative to

the couples formed by both foreign citizens⁶ is decreased by 4.5% (from 21% in 2008 to 16.5% in 2016).

With regard to the spouses's area of origin, in general, the most common nationalities are Romanian, Ukrainian and Maghreb but there are differences depending on whether it is foreign bride or foreign groom.

Considering Romanian nationality, we note that there are two types of prevailing couples: the first, couples formed by Italian groom and foreign bride – that in time passed from 13.7% to 20.5% - and the second, couples with at least a foreign spouse, with an increment equal to 7.2 percentage points from 2008 to 2016 (18.4% versus 25.6%).

Also the Ukrainian nationality records the highest percentage at the first type of mixed marriage (Italian groom and foreign bride), but these values are lower (around 10/12%) than those discussed above.

Finally, for the third most common nationality, emerges that the percentage of at least a Maghreb spouse decreases about ten points from 2008 to 2016: respectively, from 22.2% to 13.8%.

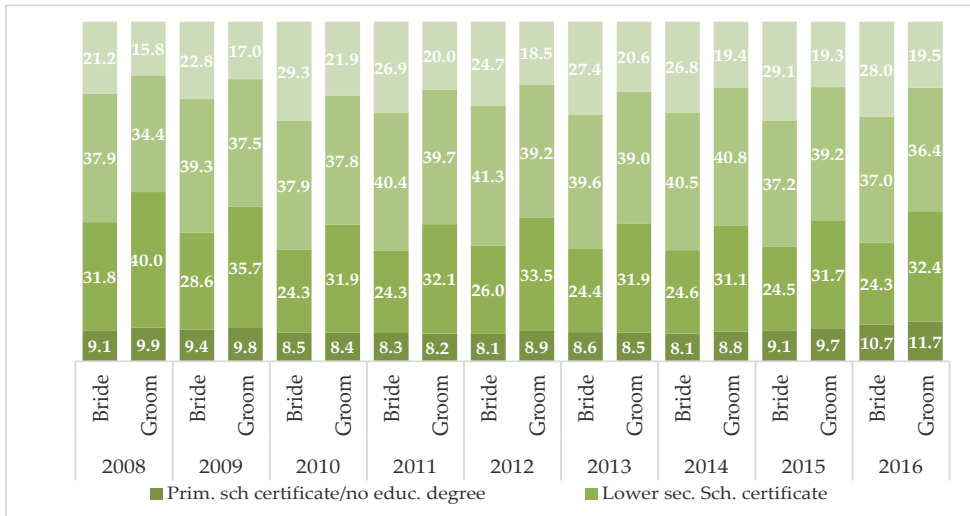
Educational level

Considering the educational level of spouses (Fig. 3), we observe that if we focus attention on the two highest levels ('Upper and post secondary' and 'Tertiary'), for every year analyzed (except for 2014 and 2015 for first level), these characterized especially bride's population. In particular, the biggest differences regard the tertiary qualification, for which there is almost a difference of ten percentage points in 2015 (29.1% versus 19.3%).

In the previous figure we analyzed the educational level of women and men separately. At this point it is interesting to consider the couples as a whole (Fig. 4). The majority of mixed marriages are characterized by homogamy from the educational point of view: over 60%, even if observing the percentages of 2008 and 2016 we note a decrease of about 2% (from 61.7% to 59.9%). 2013 is the year with the highest percentage of homogamy (64.5%).

⁶ In this case, at least one of the two spouses must be resident in Italy.

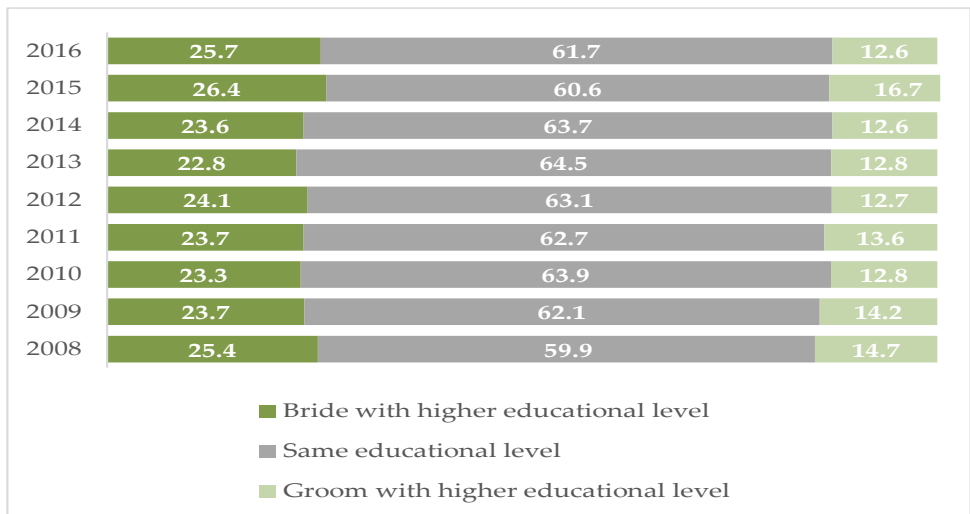
Fig. 3 - Bride's and Groom's educational level - %



Source: elaboration on ISTAT, 2008-2016

For every year investigated, in heterogamy cases over 20% of couples are formed by a bride with an higher educational level than groom, vice versa the maximum percentage of couples in which the groom has an higher educational level is registered in 2015 with 16.7%.

Fig. 4 - Educational homogamy/heterogamy of married couples - %

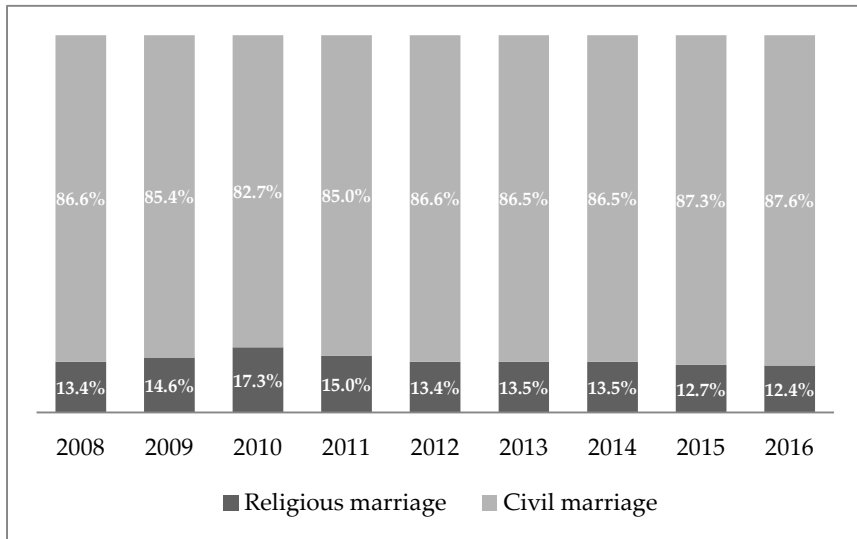


Source: elaboration on ISTAT, 2008-2016

Type of wedding ceremony

Examining the type of mixed marriages, we can note that most of these are celebrated according to a civil ceremony rather than religious (however, especially with regard to the latter, it is necessary to specify that ISTAT collects the data which refer to marriages celebrated according to a Catholic rite or one of the other religious cults accepted by the State). From the figure below it is possible to observe that from 2008 to 2016 civil marriages accounted for nearly 86% of the unions while the remaining 14% refers to ties sanctioned by religious rite.

Fig. 5 – Mixed marriage by rite - %



Source: elaboration on ISTAT, 2008-2016

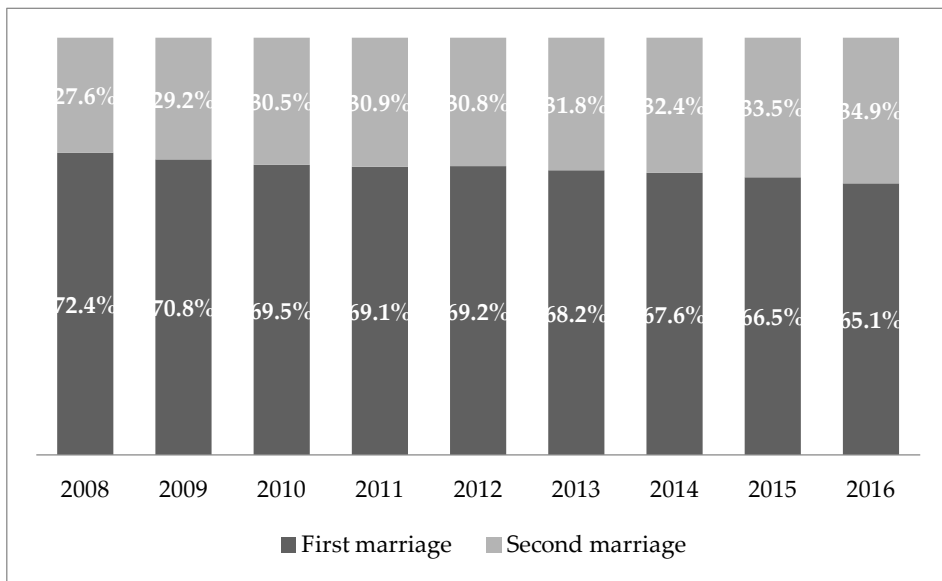
Again, the high percentage of civil marriages should not surprise the reader: it is, indeed, a trend that is increasingly affirming even in the case of marriage of Italian couples (at the national level, the average is increased from 36.7% in 2008 to 46.9% in 2016). Therefore, the phenomenon represents, under a sociological point of view, an indicator of the spread of family behavior more and more secularized since religion has dropped its relevance both social and individual (Impicciatore & Billari, 2012; Vezzoni & Biolcati-Rinaldi, 2015) and, more generally, we are facing to “fall of the religious practice, attenuation of the religious sense, the loss of influence of religion in the choices or in the orientation of living of the population”

(Crespi, 2014, p. 108). Going down to the Italian context, according to this principle, “even in Italy, religion has lost the bond of observance to become object of preference. The individualism of belief is a widespread cultural trait that can generate autonomous religious paths. Also in our country we feel the fascination of a spiritual search valid for itself, regardless of the relationship with churches and religious groups” (Garelli, 2011, p. 10).

Type of marriage

Analyzing the data related to the type of marriage between two spouses of different nationalities, we note that most of them refer to the first marriages while the remaining percentage refers to second marriages: in fact, observing the trend that emerges from Fig. 6, it is possible to emphasize how the average percentage is greater for the first marriages (68.7% against 31.3%) even if these have suffered a decrease of 7.3 points from 2008 to 2016.

Fig. 6 – Mixed marriage by first and second marriage - %



Source: elaboration on ISTAT, 2008-2016

The first marriage is, certainly, a salient indicator for the study of the family formation behaviors and its decrease is, as for the other evidences analyzed, a phenomenon that also concerns the Italian couples. More

specifically, its acceleration is caused, in the most recent years, to the so-called "structure effect" connected to the change in the composition of the population by age: indeed, the prolonged decrease in births in the last 30 years in Italy has determined a reduction of the population in the age in which the first marriages are more frequent (from 16 to 34 years).

Conclusions

The analysis described in this paper exposes an element of social vitality and integration as the mixed marriages in Italy. Indeed, it's possible to talk about mixedness as an indicator of vitality and integration (see Song, 2009; Gordon, 1964; Warner & Srole, 1945) because the couples formed by spouses belonging to different cultures contribute to the building of both multicultural societies and multiethnic families. In fact, according to Alba & Nee (2003), not only "high rate of intermarriage signals that the social distance between the groups involved is small and that individuals of putatively different ethnic backgrounds no longer perceive social and cultural differences significant enough to create a barrier to long-term union" (p. 90), but also "the family has the function to hand down to the next generations specific sets of values that are closely linked to ethnic and/or confessional identity [...]. In the long run, a large number of mixed marriages may unquestionably bring about significant demographic changes" (Dumanescu et al., 2014, p. 5). So, in this perspective, paraphrasing again Dumanescu and colleagues, the mixed families are prominent also from the point of view of the education and the socialisation of children because, in contrast with the children coming from homogeneous marriages, these grow up with the values of the groups where their parents belonging and are predicted to be less likely to identify themselves with a single ethnic or racial group (Harris & Sim, 2002). Undoubtedly, these conditions show that racial boundaries are weakening and facilitate the process of integration within our globalized society.

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From Third Generation Rights to Collective Intelligence. Environmental Protection in Brazil and Italy¹

REGIANE APARECIDA COSTA NOZAKI* & GIOVANNA TRUDA**

*Universidade do Estado do Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

**University of Salerno, Italy

Abstract

The articles deal with the environmental rights in the present world, proposing a general framework and connecting the environmental problems to capitalism and economic growth. The article focuses on two cases: that of Mariana (Minas Gerais, Brazil), where the disruption of the Fundão mining tailings dam in 2015 provoked 17 people deaths, and that of Taranto (Italy), where the factory Ilva has caused a serious environmental damage, which jeopardize the health of the local people. The article aims at providing a further demonstration that, where the logic of capital prevails, the concern with the human being and the nature are canceled.

Keywords: Environmental rights, Capitalism, Industrialization, Mining, Steel sector.

1. From Third Generation Rights to Collective Intelligence

Environmental rights are among those defined by Norberto Bobbio in *The Age of Rights* (1996) by “Third generation”, after civil and political (first generation) and social (second generation) rights. Bobbio claims that rights are not the product of nature but of human civilization and in that sense are historical rights, therefore changeable, legitimizing themselves in the general consensus.

The Italian Constitution does not explicitly refer to environmental rights; however, if we consider them to be linked to the right to life and health, we find references in two articles: in the first paragraph of article 32, which “protects health as a fundamental right of the individual and interest of the community”, and in the article 12, second paragraph, letter

¹ The article is the result of active collaboration among the authors. In the final draft, Giovanna Truda wrote par. 1, and Regiane Aparecida Costa Nozaki wrote par. 2 and Conclusions.

b, in which a reference is made to “International pact on economic, social and cultural rights”, of 1966, according to which the States must take measures for “improving all aspects of environmental and industrial hygiene”.

When we talk about environmental rights we must necessarily refer to the future generations and to the sense of responsibility towards them, as Hans Jonas reminds us in his *“The principle of responsibility. An ethic for technological civilization”* (Jonas, 2002). In the volume, he argues that we all have a responsibility to future generations when we undertake any action, meaning that we are faced with a right that is not only intragenerational, but also intergenerational.

In the last months, environmental rights have been at the center of social and political debate. The environmental movement led by the young Swedish activist Greta Thunberg has become increasingly known. To face global climate change, the voice of this 16-year-old, who suffers from Asperger's syndrome, triggered a movement of young people at an international level. Many of them went to the streets every Friday for the so-called “Friday of the future” to claim for more incisive policies to oppose the global warming and climate change in progress. The strike, every Friday, of this girl, followed by the local, national and international media, has inspired many young people in around 300 cities since August 2018, who followed her example.

Greta's case is emblematic, either because of the ideas she proposes, or because it is a reflection about climate change, life on our planet and all of its people, all of which are prerogative of the adult world.

The question evidently is not so simple to solve; anyone is able to understand that what young people who adhere to this movement are pursuing is necessary to the survival of our planet and consequently to all of its inhabitants. However, economic and political interests of private companies and individual nations make them minimize the problem or even deny it, as is happening in the Trump administration, in America.

In our opinion, there is no single recipe, but we should begin to change the perception we have of our planet, starting from our territory. The reflection of human thought about the interaction between human beings and the environment and the need to rethink development logics with a view to preserving the territory have given sight to a new concept of territorial intelligence. The territory is not only conceived as a constrictive

form, but also as a construction of the actors, like a dynamic system animated by the interactions between a human community and a geographical space, consisting of formal and informal networks.

In general, the concept of development refers to the economy. However, today, when we speak of development, we refer to a sustainable development, which includes environmental services, social and economic aspects of a community. It is a new concept of sustainable development different from that characterized the industrial society; the wealth of a territory no longer derives only from the ability to produce commodities that easily took place in the market, but also by the ability to integrate all the subjects who constitute the community, even if they are disadvantaged.

In this sense we are talking about a territory development based on its ability to place the human resources in sustainable ways. This is a development that must last over the time inspired by the promoting of a social environment. Valuing territorial resources means to maintain and to re-evaluate the cultural tradition of a community.

Since 2002 the concept of territorial intelligence is part of a scientific project of MSH Maison Science de l'Homme, coordinated by Prof. Jean Jacques Girardot, with a double objective: "(elle) désigne the ensemble des connaissances pluridisciplinaires qui, d'une part, contribue à la compréhension des structures et des dynamiques territoriales et, de l'autre, ambitionne d'être an instrument for the service of the sustainable development des territoires" (Girardot, 2002).

Over the years the project has activated a European network of universities and local authorities from 2006 to 2009 and has been funded with European funds. From 2009 onwards, the network has expanded and enriched the concept of territorial intelligence. The network has been extended and expanded to Latin America with the "Rete Territorios Posibles", from which professor Horacio Bozzano, from University de la Plata (Argentina) is a reference.

The concept of territorial intelligence, merged into the concept of collective intelligence, proposes a model of development that enhances and privileges the historical-cultural components of a territory - which make up the intangible heritage - and identifies the paths that make goals shared with the community and that respond to the environmental policies logic.

Collective intelligence activates the production and knowledge of territorial dynamics, activating choice of means and strategies, by public

and private actors and social parts, oriented to the development of the territory. In this way communication processes are activated between the social partners who operate in a territory. In this sense the concept of collective intelligence becomes a development strategy that aims to increase the sense of territorial belonging; all this becomes possible when social groups, bearers of material interests, demands and differentiated needs, share values relating to fundamental aspects of society, such as participation and growth of the social capital, which is a prerogative of development of a territory.

Rethinking the role of human activity in society challenges the responsibility of each to agreed cooperation activities. In this sense we face a system of fundamental rights that despite having been considered from the beginning as natural, they were not given once and forever. The way of dominant power today distinguishes the present phase with respect to previous eras and fortifies the demand for new rights aimed to reduce inequalities and to create systems of protection and of safeguarding of the socio-ecological system.

The new development models must consider the abilities of all those who do part of a system; as for the role of women (Truda, 2013), it is not just about reducing an imbalance, but gender represents an identity dimension through which it is possible to analyze what today on the level of the collective imagination is presented as one clash of civilizations, but it is also a dimension through which it is possible to study some aspects of the social integration process.

The transformation of rhythms and lifestyles of society have made more complex dynamics and social relations between people; however, they have also highlighted fundamentals links between life and environment, cultural identity and sustainable development. And in this context, human being has learned to adapt, to grow and to find each time the balance after each critical event.

2. Capitalism and environment: environmental disasters in Brazil and Italy

2.1 Capital crisis, globalization and center periphery relationship: the environment

In order to approach the Brazilian question of the production and organization of its territory, we must base our understanding that, in

Brazil, the phenomenon of internationalization of economy and the subordinate form of the capitalist periphery countries make the social inequalities reproduction. In this context, we have the environmental issue, since nature becomes a commodity and its destruction form is an integral part of this process (Camacho, 2010). The origin of this problem is presented to us by Novicki (2007) when considering that “the current situation is permeated by economic, political, social, institutional and cultural transformations that intensify the socio-environmental and the world of work crises” (p. 154).

Harribey (2001) asserts that the twentieth century ended in a general world crisis scenario. The capitalist mode of production spread to the entire planet and subject all human activities to the domain of the commodity, but, undoubtedly, for the first time in its history, produces two important simultaneous degradations: The first is the social one, because, despite a considerable increase in the produced wealth, poverty and misery do not regress in the world; the second major degradation concerns the nature and ecosystems seriously threatened by the depletion of certain non-renewable resources and pollution of all species. Capitalism does not regard the ability of ecosystems to reproduce, neither human needs, but is guided exclusively by its need to self-reproduction.

Harvey (2012) points out that the contradictory character of capitalism leads it, from time to time, to face violent crises that usually results from their accumulation that forces the system to find new ways of overcoming which, according to the author, goes through the spatio-temporal ordering. In an attempt to overcome the crisis, the spatial ordering through geographical expansion would play an important role, because it implies investment in new territories, often rich in natural resources, as is the case of peripheral capitalism countries.

Thus, the supposed inevitability of the so-called neoliberal globalization, characterized by a global space of economic, marketing, technological and territorial developments, take on new forms of space production, due to a new configuration that makes it a-spatial. Indeed, the notion of globalization hides the relationship of incorporation of new territories, in which the central countries take manpower and natural resources from the peripheral countries, according to the international division of labor. In this sense, Quijano (2005) points out that the so-called globalization is the

culmination of a historical process that had begun with the constitution of the America and colonial/modern and Eurocentric capitalism.

The countries of the peripheral capitalism, Brazil for instance, remains giving away their territories and sacrificing their natural wealth to subalternly insert themselves as suppliers of raw materials, which will be used for the production of disposable goods, for purpose of the companies to export large part of their production to the central capitalism.

The assumption that the model of development undertaken by the capital would be within the reach of all countries that were willing to follow the neoliberal ideas has become evident in Brazil. This country's effort to enter the international market is evident by the adoption of that prescription, which even though it was imposed, had the wide adhesion of its basic principles, like the opening of the economy to the entry of multinationals and the relaxation of environmental and labor laws. In this characteristic that fits the global corporations in the mining sector, which have already settled in the country with legal and institutional requirements for the introduction of accumulation by spoliation.

2.2 The case of Mariana/Minas Gerais

An example in Brazil concerning the peripheral insertion of capitalism and consequent concentration of the export tariff and environmental damage is the mining sector. Brazil, according to Porto and Milanez (2015), extracts more than 500 million tons/year of iron ore from the earth, mainly in Minas Gerais, the largest reserve and production state in the country. However, most of the ore, around 80%, is exported and a large part of the domestic market is used to produce crude steel, used also for exportation.

This process contributes to the central capitalism countries keeping their unsustainable patterns of consumption, which depend on the exploitation of peripheral capitalism's nature. "Currently less than 1/4 of the population consumes 80% of goods and commodities produced by man". (Martine, 1993, p. 25 apud Franco; Druck, 1998, p.65).

Regard to the incalculable environmental impacts, we point to the disruption of the Fundão mining tailings dam located in Mariana, Minas Gerais, that occurred on November 5, 2015. The dam is the responsibility of the mining company Samarco, controlled by Vale do Rio Doce (VALE), the largest mining company of the world, and the Anglo-Australian company BHP Billiton, which installed itself Brazil, since 1977, making iron ore for

steel production, with projects in the states of Minas Gerais and Espírito Santo. (Felippe et al., 2016). This process is in consonance with the context of the spatial deconcentration wave, with polluting industries migrations from the center to the periphery.

The data collected in the report of the expedition carried out in 11 cities affected by the mud of waste dumped in the Rio Doce point out that the Fundão dam has been considered by several risk agencies as the largest environmental disaster in the history of Brazil, known as “The Mariana disaster”:

The tragedy caused 17 people deaths, two disappearances and one incalculable damage to towns and villages on the banks of the Doce river and in the extensive rural areas over more than 500 km of the river Doce (maker of the fifth largest basin in the country). It is estimated that approximately of 60 billion cubic meters of liquid have been wasted, with impacts poorly evaluated until now (Felippe et al., p. 4).

The case of the tragedy in the Mariana city shows negligence in relation to environmental issues. Even in the face of the greatest environmental disaster in Brazil, draft laws which make the environmental licensing more flexible are being approved and processed at the state and federal levels. In Minas Gerais, only twenty days after the tragedy in Mariana, the Legislative Assembly approved the draft law 2946/15, which provides for the acceleration of the environmental licensing of mining companies. (Projeto..., 2015). In the federal sphere, presenting a proposal of the same nature, the Senate draft 654/2015 was approved on November 25 in the National Commission of Development (POEMAS, 2015).

In December of 2015, the country was about to vote on a new Mining Code (PL 37/11) for the country. The project was forwarded to the Congress by the Executive in 2013, and since then the rapporteur has made a number of changes to the reports which, if approved, would considerably increase the risks to which the population and the environment would be exposed (POEMAS, 2015). All this process has been taking place at a time when the recent history of Brazil still bears the marks of the human, environmental and cultural massacre of that disruption of the ore dam.

In this scenario of destruction formed with the disaster of Samarco/Vale/BHP, there were local communities that have been doubly subjected to a violent process of territorial spoliation. At first, by the strangeness of the new landscape generated by the territorial

transformations that demand implementation of a mine tailings dam. And, in the second moment, by the process of involuntary displacement to which they were subjected due to the rupture of the dam, when they lost their essential references, when they had their histories, their identities and their cultural traits taken along with the mud of tailings.

From the perspective of the relationship with the labor force, Samarco increased the total number of workers by adopting a outsourcing that was accompanied by the increased precariousness of the work conditions. Among the main forms of non-compliance with labor legislation by the Samarco, we highlight: “the illegal outsourcing; the non-payment of hours in itinerary for direct and outsourced workers; non-inspection of the conditions of labor standards and compliance with labor standards by service providers; among others “ (POEMAS, 2015, p. 7).

However, the researchers of POEMAS (2015) remember us that the precariousness of work through the large number of outsourced workers is not exclusive from Samarco, since mineral extractive industries commonly use intensive labor patterns, as well as high levels of of work.

2.3. Brazil and Italy: environmental tragedies related to the same company

One of the destinations for iron ore mined in Brazil is the city of Taranto in southern Italy, to be used in the ILVA power plants, the largest the main supplier of iron ore, the Brazilian VALE (Patrucco, 2014).

Tricked by false promises of well-being and development that accompanied the implementation and start-up phase of ILVA, the residents of Taranto, but directly those of the district of Tamburi, coexist today with an impact in social terms (increase of cancer, cardiorespiratory diseases, congenital malformations), as environmental (contamination of air, sea, soil and food chain), according to Beatrice Ruscio (2014, p. 180): Italy has a strategic location for ore exploration, either by the labor force, the ports and the roads to run the commodities. The promises of development bring impacts such as: the risk of unemployment, contamination of the air, the food chain, cardiovascular problems, increased of cancer. The release of dioxins into the soil raises the incidence of cancer into the region. As an example, it was pointed out that in every eighteen inhabitants, one has cancer. It is also noted that pollutants such as lead bring neurological factors for the population, as well as the reduction of life expectancy. Conditions of dementia, respiratory, skin and congenital formation

diseases are recorded, directly affecting the health of the local population of Taranto in a degenerative way. The port of Taranto has 800 shipyards, 1/3 of production goes to the city through jobs. In the Cambure neighborhood children are being deprived of playing in the streets because of the risk of contamination of soil and water through mercury.

The communities of Tamburi (Taranto, Italy) and Bento Rodrigues (Mariana, Brazil) are united by the condition of mass exploited by the accumulation of capital, under the logic of development related to neoliberal economic imbrications. Those are two examples of realities victimized by the externalities generated by the mine activities within the new configurations that are imposed on the territories by the globalization.

For a sad reality, the cities of Taranto and Mariana and their respective districts, Tamburi and Bento Rodrigues, are related by the fact that their residents have been directly affected by the impacts of the mining cycle and the steel industry linked to VALE, pollution generator, disease and all kinds of violation. As Marescotti (2013) wrote, comes from Brazil the mineral that is breathed by inhabitants of Taranto, after having reached the lungs of the Brazilian natives.

Clouds of red smoke are common in the sky of the Tamburi neighborhood [...] is the iron ore mined in Brazil, transported along the iron road of Carajás, which arrives by ship to Taranto to be used in the steel mills of Ilva (Ruscio, 2014).

Conclusions

It is understood that the mining and steel sectors, with their production based on the excessive exploitation of nature and of the human being, inherent to the process of social accumulation and redistribution of capital, are embedded in the elemental structure of globalized capitalism and that the cases of Taranto and Mariana are another evident sign of the suppression of rights to the common goods, that in the search for profit turned non-commercial goods into commodities to meet private interest, leaving behind territories devastated by soil contamination.

On January 25, 2019, in the state of Minas Gerais. another dam of the mining company VALE, in the city of Brumadinho, metropolitan region of Belo Horizonte, the state capital, ruptured, leaving an avalanche of mining

tailings which devastated part of the city. There was burial of houses and environmental catastrophe with still non-calculated damages, considering that it reached the river Paraopeba, one of the affluents of the São Francisco river, of great importance for the region. Although the area of the environmental accident's impact was lower than Mariana's, the human loss this time was higher, going as far as to confirm more than 240 deaths as of May, 2019. The demographics of missing persons was practically all formed by the mining workers, for the most part, as in the case of Mariana, outsourced from their company.

We conclude that the present contradiction in relation to progress and environment, identified in the logic of the productive process of capital, has demonstrated that, where the logic of capital prevails, the concern with the human being and the nature are canceled. In the dynamic of capitalist accumulation, the relation man-nature was reduced to a relation of property, in which control of nature and of the work process is subject to the condition of product.

Thus, it is understood that the precariousness of the labor force and the degradation of environment, led by capitalist society in its globalizing process, requires a discussion that seeks to understand the origin of the factors that benefit the migration of industries - with high polluting potential and likely to cause imminent and irreparable damage - from the countries in the center of world capitalism to the peripherals. Another aspect that deserves analysis is the historical process of lightening of environmental and work legislation of peripheral countries, such as Brazil, in favor of large enterprises, thus creating legal conditions for the implementation of the processes of accumulation by spoliation if put into practice.

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Ruspini, E., Bonifacio, G.T. & Corradi, C. (eds.), *Women and Religion: Contemporary and future challenges in the Global Era*, Bristol, Policy Press, 2018, pp. X+242

STELLAMARINA DONATO
LUMSA University of Rome, Italy

Abstract

Review of the book by Ruspini, E., Bonifacio, G.T. & Corradi, C. (eds), *Women and Religion: Contemporary and future challenges in the Global Era*, University of Bristol, Policy Press, 2018.

Keywords: Women, Religion, Spirituality, Interfaith dialogue, Global Era.

The book *“Women and Religion: Contemporary and Future Challenges in the Global Era”* aims to analyse the bond between the construction of women’s identity, religion and spiritual awareness in contemporary societies. The volume, edited by Ruspini, Bonifacio and Corradi, explores both the dynamic relationship between women and religion, and the contemporary and future challenges posed by women’s changes to religion in different parts of the world.

The book is divided into three parts. The first one, more rooted in a comparative past-present perspective, is called: *“Women, gender equality and religion between past and present”*. The second section, named *“Identities, women’s movements and religion”*, emphasizes specific country-based communities in the comprehension of their identities by means of spirituality and religion. The last part is a step-forward path to less known experiences detailing the relation among women and spirituality in contemporary society, it is entitled *“Contemporary women’s religious experiences”*.

“Women and religion” opens up a space for debate on why religions and transmission of faiths have never been related to women, by questioning the imperative androcentric vision of all cultural fragments influencing religious behaviors. Once concentrated on the reading of the essays, it is interesting to notice that there is a massive portion of the volume focusing on the debate concerning Islam and gender equality. The emphasis is

certainly high on the topic, accounting for both experiences in contrast to the Islamic tradition in orthodox- Islamic contexts and to non-traditional Islamic countries, witnessing the latter faith's environments. For instance, "Gender equality in different readings of Islam in post-revolutionary Iran" by M. Bakhshizadeh displays the way "*Islamic laws directly affect women's lives*" (p. 21) and gender equality, for example when debating *qiwama*. "Formation of 'religious' identity among British Muslim women" by M. Velayati attempts "*to explore the ways in which Muslim women negotiate religious and cultural norms and values to promote their interests in everyday lives*" (p. 95). The chapter on Turkey's choices of religious unorthodoxy for women by F. Kemal Kizilca presents a conclusion-undoubtedly strictly related to the way the research is carried out- that "*increased labour force participation stimulated by religious unorthodoxy has a positive association with women's well-being in Turkey as it also encouraged switching from large to nuclear families as well as lower fertility rates*" (p. 169). It stresses the outcomes of both living behind traditional religious paths and of the road leading to women's empowerment.

At the same time, in the book there is a reference to a veil of agnostic faith, intermingled with discussions on both cultural and traditional- based system of women's approach towards spirituality. Two interesting chapters consider the case of the US and discuss this issue. The first one about religion and gender ideology, recalls different attitudes in reference to Evangelic Protestantism and to Mainline Protestants, considered the most well-known and spread religious faiths in the US, where "*Evangelical Protestantism fosters traditional attitudes regarding gender and gender roles*" (p. 62). It debates on how the change in religious affiliation has impacted gender ideology. Another very intriguing essay is the one on "*Explorations of spiritual embodiment in belly dance*" by A.M. Moe. In the chapter, this spiritual experience is considered to improve physical awareness, to *build a strong sense of community* (p. 213) among women, and to create an environment of support.

Within a general overview, it is possible to argue that the choice of the topic debated in the articles follows a specific goal, the one to look at the prominence of interfaith dialogue in overcoming gender stereotypes and in creating a tight community of women fighting for the same rights on a broader scale of issues.

Moreover, the volume's essays debate the role played by religion in the process of integrating different sections and sectors of the societies, as already in the development of the thought of Comte. Indeed, the lack of profound religious explanation in the book, and the decision to include diverse forms of connection to the otherworldly, could be compared to the work of the French scholar in explaining the search for spirituality, which finds its roots in the *profession* of humanity.

There is a deeply compelling essay, the last of the volume, written by Antonelli and Ruspini and entitled: "*From exclusion to inclusion: women and interfaith dialogue in the Mediterranean area*", which epitomizes the core of the previous contributions. It has a focus on interfaith dialogue and women inside the Mediterranean scenario. There is a striking claim of the authors where religion is perceived as an active element of feminism. Indeed, it is affirmed that religion contributes to the development of women and their relation to the contemporary world, where dialogue among faiths can lead to "*peace and stability at a time of increasing geopolitical tension*" (p. 222), as the ones in the current Mediterranean countries.

Most of the connection the essays show are not common topics of analysis. The wide variety of cases presented allow the reader to manage the discussion on contemporary role of women in both identity search and religious wire of connection inside their cultural and country-based atmospheres. The impression the readings transmit is of broader involvement of women in society and in spreading out beliefs, by questioning traditions in both roles and future perspectives of peace and development paths induced by women, seen as *active* participant of their societies. Indeed, there is a strong emphasis on self-agency of women and their power in touching upon religion in today's world. Agency, gender equality and religion appear as the stunning reference point related to channels of identity formation, definition and social change for women in contemporary inter-connected societies, with reference to country based analysis and traditional religious scenarios. For instance, by means of qualitative research the book describes what is changing in traditional religiously affected countries and explores new path experiences. For example, in presenting the essay on "*female sacred paths in Italy*" which, travels through the case of the Turin Goddess Spirituality group or the interdisciplinary article entitled, "*Explorations of spiritual embodiment in belly dance*" by Angela M. Moe, observing, in the US, the effect of belly dance on

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both women's construction of identities and on their recognition of spiritual awareness, thanks to this body practice.

To conclude, the book has significant constructive characteristics. It contains a comprehensive disclosure of current possibilities for spirituality and religion inside women's world. It emphasizes the visible lack of intermixed moments in those societies made up of different faiths. Despite the title preference of the world religion, and the choice of the singular form, the essays account for *spiritualities* in the plural form as they are in contemporary societies. In the end, it may be argued that the major contribution the book presents is an introductory debate on how spirituality can help addressing both a wide array of elements related to social change and individual perceptions in constructing women's identities and their active participation in the world region.

Report of the Conference Eva e le altre,
University of Salerno, 15-17 May 2019

CARMEN LUCIA MOCCIA
University of Salerno, Italy

Abstract: Short report of the Conference Eva e le Altre, held at the University of Salerno, about women in Latin America

Keywords: Latin America, History of Women, Eva Peron.

Recently the University of Salerno has hosted the *Giornate di studio salernitane di Letteratura*, organized in the framework of the XLI International Congress of American Studies, in cooperation with Department of Humanistic Studies and Literary, Linguistic and Historical Studies, promoted by the Center for American Studies “Circolo Amerindiano ONLUS Perugia” and Center for American Studies “Circolo Amerindiano di Salerno”. Within the *Giornate*, the Conference *Eva e le altre* (Eva and the others), chaired by Rosa Maria Grillo, took inspiration from the centenary of the birth of Eva Duarte Perón (Los Toldos, 7 May 1919) for a talk about Latin America through the stories of iconic female figures in the fields of literature, arts and cinema.

Eva Perón entered international popular culture, especially in her native Argentina, where many events have celebrated the birth of a first lady as criticized as loved. Her lasting presence has defied both national borders and the corrosive effect of the time. Besides permeating Argentine politics and society until today, Eva has been the subject of books, films, musicals and plays, which have transcended the national arena. About the “the myth” of Eva Perón and its cultural, historical and social settings, the Conference has proposed several papers, such as those of Lilliana Bellone, *Eva Perón la subjetividad de una época el arte y la construcción literaria*, Maria Ines Palleiro and Victoria Frantoni, *Eva Perón: ficción, historia y mito en clave de género*, Fernando Diego Rodríguez, *La gira Arco Iris. Evita en Europa, el viaje como espectáculo de la política*.

Other papers, presented during the Conference focused on different keys of interpretation of the charismatic life of Evita Perón, but a leitmotif united the authors: the intention of humanizing her figure to propose a new Evita, far from clichés and “sacralization”. In this way, Eva is probably one of the most important examples of the difficulty of representing women from a point different from the dichotomy of demonizing or canonizing a woman. But it is not the only one. During the Conference, in fact, several female figures have been examined: revolutionary mothers, exiled artists, scattered daughters, women between absence and presence, private and public space. For example, Laura Scarabelli presented a paper on *Eugenia Prado Brassi: Advertencias de uso para una maquina de coser* and tried to explore herself in a context where, since the beginning, female archetype has been constantly dismembered, stitched and re-stitched, measured, manipulated, categorized, classified, accused, as in the case of Eve in the Bible.

Fernanda Elisa Bravo Herrera, with her *Representaciones y voces de Argentinos e inmigrantes italianos en Cesarina Lupati*, emphasised the role of woman as bridge between different cultures and apparently distant worlds. Cesarina Lupati, indeed, from 1908 to 1911 lived in Argentina and studied the Italian society and the migrant institutions in the South American country, dedicating her life to create ties between immigrants and Italy and promoting a transnational identity, beyond the borders.

Borders that divide, as explained by Emilia Perassi in *Madri e Patrie nel romanzo contemporaneo sulla migrazione. Scrittrici italiane e argentine*. Emptiness, abandonment, power of absence, represent the “war scenario” where plots and characters of migration literature take form, emphasizing familiar themes, equilibria between old and new, allegiances to family. In this framework, the migration experience establishes a new order of things for all that concerns mothers and women. An order based on the dichotomy between motionlessness (enclosed space) and movement (open space, dominated by male). These women and these mothers overcame the enclosed space to respond to new challenges, changing the categories used to interpret the world, giving a new point of view based on care, natality, emotions, as a way of salvation.

This salvation is presented in the shape of care in the paper *Eva Sámano de López Mateos: Protectora de la infancia y maestra de México* by Edgar Gómez Bonilla. Eva Samano, during her service as First Lady of Mexico from 1958 until 1964, established the National Institute for Infants, which was

Mexico's first social organization dedicated to children. This woman put her life at the service of defenseless people, working to improve the conditions of most vulnerable groups through education, giving to Mexico and Mexicans the possibility to learn how “to take care of themselves”.

These are only some of the female figures examined at the Conference. The authors, indeed, also told the stories of other women who, with their activity and efforts, have overcome the clichés. In this way, *Eva e le altre* could be understood as a starting point to rethink borders, spaces, directions of those powerful women who challenged obligations, common sense and, therefore, were condemned or often hindered by prejudices. Once again, just like Eve in the Scripture, female figures are sentenced because of their inquisitiveness, their desire to take action, explore, and research with their own power the shapes of life and how they take form.