

Cultural diversity,
Italian *brava gente*, and
everyone else:

*Exploring discourses around
second-generation youth within
the 2015-2018 government-led
MigrArti initiative*

The work presented in this dissertation was carried out in the Department of Film, Media and Cultural Studies, Birkbeck, University of London, and is entirely my own except where other authors have been referred to and acknowledged in the text. It has not previously been submitted for a degree in this or any other university. The views expressed in this dissertation are my own, and not those of the University.

Francesca Danesi

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read 'Danesi', written over a horizontal line.

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Abstract

Immigration in Italy has been a structural phenomenon since the country became a popular destination in the mid-90s. As Italy started experiencing increased numbers of foreign nationals later than other European countries, the phenomenon has mainly been portrayed as “pathological” by the Italian media, right-wing and populist narratives. In addition to this, cultural diversity has been mainly overlooked by Italian government-led cultural policy until recently. A notable exception is represented by MigrArti festival, an initiative launched in 2015 by the Italian Ministry of Culture, as part of the Democratic Party-led government agenda for social cohesion. MigrArti, which ran for three editions until 2018, was axed after the Democratic Party-led cabinet collapsed in June 2018 and was replaced by the populist Five Star Movement and far-right Northern League coalition. In parallel to the initiative, the 2015-2018 window also witnessed a national increase in xenophobic and racist rhetoric (partly due to the 2015 European migrant crisis and waves of terror-related attacks in Europe), and a revived interest towards the burning issue of the rights of second generations in Italy. In fact, as the current Italian Citizenship Law prevents children born in Italy from non-Italian citizens, to be granted citizen-status at birth, two reforms to extend citizenship to nearly 800,000 minors, were approved at the Chamber of Deputies but never became law. In such a politically charged climate of second-generation activism, anti-immigration sentiment, and political instability, MigrArti endeavoured to foster intercultural dialogue while challenging fears of diversity and the “Other”. By adopting a Critical Discourse Analysis approach, this dissertation aims at identifying which discourses around second generations, MigrArti constructed, reinforced or challenged, both through its official narrative and cinema sub-stream. Ultimately, the findings of the analysis are discussed, to assess the implications of such discourses and the value of MigrArti not only within the Italian contemporary cultural policymaking, but also within the broader institutional and political climate.

List of Acronyms

CoD – Chamber of Deputies

EC – European Commission

EU – European Union

M5S – Five Star Movement

MiBACT - Ministry of Cultural Heritage, Activities, and Tourism

NL – Northern League

PD - Democratic Party

TP – The Play

TWCiAS – The World Cup in A Square

UNAR - National Anti-Racial Discrimination Office

UK – United Kingdom

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Introduction

After its rapid shift from a country of emigration to a country of immigration in the mid-1990s (Allievi, 2010; Ambrosini, 2011, 2013; Ambrosini & Caneva, 2010; Ammendola, Forti, Pittau and Ricci, 2004; Armillei, 2015, 2016; Bonifazi, Heins, Strozza & Vitiello, 2009), Italy's policy framework has struggled to adapt to the growing multicultural composition of the population, especially from a cultural diversity perspective. As heritage protection and valorisation have been the main focus of Italian cultural policies since the establishment of a dedicated ministerial body in 1974, scant attention has been paid to questions of access, participation, and cultural diversity until the early 2000s (Bodo & Bodo, 2016). Indeed, the tendency of Italian media to portray immigrants in a negative light, and the rise in popularity of far-right movement Northern League (NL), which went from being a niche party upon its foundation in 1989 to gaining 17.4% of the national vote at the 2018 election, are critical factors that contributed to a resurgence of xenophobic rhetoric and discrimination against minorities, especially after the 2007 economic recession and 2015 refugee crisis.

A revival of interest in investigating the complex relationship between cultural diversity, citizenship and identity politics was spurred in 2012 with the proposal of two reforms to the 1992 Citizenship Law, built on a strict interpretation that links birthright to bloodline, aimed at extending citizenship status to more than 800,000 minors born by foreign parents on Italian soil (Fondazione Moressa, 2015). The public debate that followed the proposal of the amendments, which came to be known as *ius soli temperato* and *ius culturae*, triggered a critical reflection on what values, rights and obligations construct the discourse around "Italianness" in contemporary Italy (Chamber of Deputies, 2015). Although the amendments were approved in 2015 by the Italian Chamber of Deputies (CoD) with a significant majority, political instability and the collapse of several coalition governments meant that the new legislation was never ratified in the Senate and it has yet to become law. As re-thinking citizenship and fostering intercultural dialogue keep slipping off the political agenda, it is

essential to ask whether the infiltration of racism and discrimination is affecting not only the public opinion but also the institutional discourse.

Within an Italian cultural policy framework, little attention has been paid to the cultural rights of non-Italians citizens since immigration flows started to increase in the mid-1990s. However, a notable exception to address cultural diversity and integration issues is represented by the MigrArti project, which was launched in December 2015 by the Italian Ministry of Cultural Heritage, Activities, and Tourism (MiBACT), in partnership with the National Anti-Racial Discrimination Office (UNAR). The initiative, part of the Democratic Party's (PD) approach to the social inclusion of minorities, ran for three editions, until its cancellation in 2018, at the hand of the new Five Star Movement (M5S) and NL coalition government.

As discussing the relationship between "mainstream culture", the core inhabited by the Italian ethnic majority (Alba, 2005), and cultural representation of minority groups is vital to identify how inequalities are reproduced, this dissertation aims at investigating how the discourse around second-generation youth is translated within the MiBACT-led cultural policy framework, in particular, I will attempt to answer the following research question:

Which discourses surround second generations in the three editions of the MigrArti project (2015-2018), and what role does MiBACT-led cultural policy play in constructing, reinforcing or challenging such discourses?

I will explore the extent to which MigrArti contributes to shifting the perception that "Italianness" is at its core, a white, monocultural identity (Armillei, 2015), and which discourses around minority groups and second generations are reinforced or deconstructed through the initiative. In addition, I will investigate the ideologies and power dynamics that produce these discourses and how they are enacted as "social practices" in the broader institutional context and public debate around minorities.

In order to succeed in this endeavour, this dissertation will be organised in four main chapters. Firstly, I will illustrate the key tenets of CDA as chosen methodology, specifically Van Dijk's ideological square (1998), how CDA was applied to the analysis process, and how some limitations encountered throughout this study were addressed. Secondly, a short literature review and overview of key terminology will be offered, in order to provide some background on immigration and cultural diversity in Italy and the EU; this section will explore why, historically, Italians have not favoured a multi-ethnic cultural representation (Ambrosini, 2011; 2013) and how the representation of non-Italians, including second-generation youth, is heavily informed by a biased portrayal of immigrants and ethnic relations (Ammendola et al., 2004; Armillei, 2015, 2016; ter Wal, 2002). Then, in the third chapter, I will apply CDA firstly to MigrArti normative framework and official documentation, and secondly to three selected short productions, which won the title "Best Film" in the first, second and third edition of MigrArti Cinema respectively. In the analysis, I will explore the rhetoric and narrative mechanisms through which minority groups and second generations are depicted and discuss how these are rooted within the political and social processes at play in Italy between 2015 and 2018. Finally, I will summarise the main conclusions of the analysis, in order to assess the value of MigrArti as a cultural initiative, and the implications of endorsing or rejecting such discourses, within the evolving Italian cultural diversity policy framework and broader political debate on minorities' civil and cultural rights.

My interest in this research topic comes directly from my experience as an Italian growing up in a nearly monochromatic Italy in the early 90s, and then emigrating to the United Kingdom (UK) in my early 20s. Despite acknowledging the existence of many contradictions with regards to cultural diversity and inclusivity in the British context, my experience in the UK has inspired me to look at the situation of my home-country and challenge the infiltration of racism, discrimination and inequalities that I see permeating ordinary day-to-day and institutional discourses alike.

Methodology

This research favours a methodological approach informed by critical constructivism and grounded in Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), which evolves from Fowler & Kress' pioneering work on critical linguistics studies in the late 70s (Fowler & Kress, 1979) and views language as a form of social practice laden by ideologies (Fowler & Kress, 1979; Fairclough, 1992, 1995, 1996; Van Dijk 1992, 1996, 1998, 2000, 2001, 2006; Van Dijk and Wodak, 2000; Wodak, 2009). As CDA scholars are particularly interested in power dynamics, the purpose of this methodology is precisely to "help increase consciousness of how language contributes to the domination of some people by others, because consciousness is the first step for emancipation" (Fairclough, 1996:1) and to understand how "social power abuse, dominance and inequality are enacted, reproduced and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context" (Van Dijk, 2001:352).

Using CDA as articulated through the work of Fairclough (1992, 1995, 1996), and Van Dijk (1992, 1996, 1998, 2000, 2001, 2006), as the main methodology for analysis, this dissertation aims at providing a deeper understanding of the ideological underpinning behind the Italian cultural diversity policy framework. In particular, my aim is to gain further insight on who controls the narrative on migrants and their children, and how multiple and sometimes conflicting discourses are constructed and reproduced at an institutional level, particularly with regards to MiBACT's cultural policy framework. Due to the complexity of the topic, this research will adopt a single case study approach, taking the MiBACT's MigrArti festival which ran from 2015 to 2018, as an entry point to Italian cultural-policy making. Given the government-led nature of the initiative, the qualitative data that will be analysed with regards to MigrArti's normative framework is all publicly available, mainly through the official MiBACT platforms (website and Youtube channel). Three short productions that were awarded the title of "Best Film" in the 1st, 2nd and 3rd edition of the festival, will also be analysed. A comprehensive summary of all the data and its properties is available in Appendix E.

Before delving into the analysis, some clarifications are required on how CDA can be applied to different types of qualitative data. With regards to purely textual (written) data, the analysis will involve three stages as conceptualised by Fairclough's three-dimensional model (1992:73):

- *Description*: which "is concerned with the formal properties of text" (Fairclough, 1996:26), such as vocabulary (wording, lexicalisation), grammar (transitivity and modality), text cohesion and structure. In Appendixes A, B, C and D, lexical or rhetorical choices are highlighted in order to identify the in-text rhetoric strategies (Fairclough, 1992).
- *Discursive Analysis*: in which inter-textual relations among discourse, texts and setting are investigated as a form of discursive practice (Fairclough, 1996:26) and the relationship between discourses and their production is explored.
- *Discussion*: which is concerned with the relationship between interaction and political, social, and cultural context. This stage is the one in which discourses are critically contextualised as "social practices", as a product of power and ideology (ibid).

In the case of multimodal texts (interviews, short films), where discourses are constructed through a wider semiotic system that encompasses vocal (tone of voice, dialects) or visual elements (bodily disposition, distinctiveness among groups), the analysis will still follow the above-mentioned stages, but cues will be transcribed to provide elements of paralinguistic and extralinguistic contextualisation (Chafe, 2013; Stamou, 2018).

In addition, while *No Borders* fits within the parameters of the documentary genre, the fictional nature of *The Play* and *The World Cup in A Square* (hereafter TWCiAS), has to be acknowledged. Although CDA has mainly been employed for the analysis of political speeches and press articles (Fairclough, 1995; Reisigl Wodak, 2001; Van Dijk, 1992, 1996, 1998, 2000, 2001, 2006; Van Dijk and Wodak, 2000), fictional texts can still constitute a

suitable epistemological site. In particular, feminist scholars have argued that there is no reason *per se* why fictional texts should not be used for linguistic analysis, as they are indeed a form of language in use, where identities are discursively constructed (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001; Wodak, 2009; Stamou 2014, 2018; Sunderland, 2010; Tapionkaski, 2007).

While it is recommended by some that in this case, CDA is integrated with insights from narrative theory (Tapionkaski, 2007), others have defended how this is not always necessary as fictional texts constitute fertile ground for CDA, as discourses are constructed through the strategy of perspectivisation (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001), the use of humour and irony (Sunderland, 2010), and fictionalisation (Stamou, 2018). Such strategies draw attention to the ideological perspective adopted by directors, screenwriters and producers as collective senders of fiction and how they are able to control and author the identities represented (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001; Stamou, 2018). Fictional texts, therefore, are not just suited for CDA but constitute an ideal site as they are capable of synthesising the divide between identity representations and identity performances in everyday talk (Stamou, 2018).

Adopting a socio-cognitive approach, this research will also draw heavily from Van Dijk's research on the reproduction of discursive racism in storytelling about ethnic or racial minorities (1992a, 1992b, 2000, also Van Dijk & Wodak, 2000). In particular, I will focus on the dichotomy of in-group versus out-group and the discursive strategy of the "ideological square", which by looking at how identities of opposing groups are constructed, presupposes that text producers will tend to display a positive attitude towards their in-group and to represent out-groups negatively (Van Dijk, 1998). This discursive strategy is prevalent when racial ideologies underpin the discourse (Van Dijk, 1992a, 1992b, 1998, 2000; Reisigl & Wodak 2001). In addition, this dichotomy is particularly relevant for this research as it highlights how second generations are required to negotiate about differences and similarities between the dominant Italian majority and minority communities, and how text producers position them within the in-

group or out-group dynamics, on ideological grounds. The level at which discourses are constructed, enacted, and reproduced is also critical (Van Dijk, 1992a, 1996, 1998, 2000, 2001, 2006). Indeed, a discourse can be expressed at different levels simultaneously, as shown in Appendix E.

As far as this research is concerned, I will be analysing the language use of text producers that belong mainly to the dominant Italian majority group. My claim is that this does not deprive the study of the “relational function” of discourse between two groups (Fairclough, 1992:64), as this is preserved in the very mandate of MigrArti, as an initiative aimed at intercultural dialogue.

Limitations

Being able to scrutinise language is key to CDA, and employing such methodology when dealing with multiple languages, in my case Italian and English, can be challenging. Van Dijk warns that, as ideology influences both language and translation, formal changes between the source text and its translation may result in ideological outcomes (2001). However, Van Dijk himself analyses texts translated from Dutch into English (1992, 2000) and proves that applying CDA to translated texts is possible. Having gained some knowledge of intercultural and linguistic mediation during my undergraduate studies, I am aware that translation is not a neutral undertaking and familiar with the theoretical and practical difficulties that the translation process entails. Indeed, ensuring that the data remained a reliable source of semantic and semiotic information, both in Italian and English, was by no mean easy.

From a practical perspective, the formal properties of text drawn from Fairclough’s (1992, 1995, 1996) and Van Dijk’s (1996, 2001) frameworks were firstly identified in the source text in Italian, as the original language in which the data was produced. These properties would encompass lexical choices and rhetorical feature, but also syntax, nominalisation, cleft structures and the modality of sentences, to name just a few. Only secondly, the source text was translated into English, setting as a critical

priority that the properties identified in the original text, would be maintained in the translated version. CDA would then be re-applied to the translated text in order to ensure that the findings of analysis would remain unaltered in both languages (Appendix A, B).

The same level of effort was put into ensuring that my personal political convictions would not result in a politically and ideologically biased version of the text. Although I am mindful of my personal biases, great effort was throughout this study, to analyse the data systematically and without prejudice, and to keep my personal views as separate as possible from academic research.

Terminology & Theoretical Framework

From a country of emigration to a country of immigration

Most scholars agree that Italy is to be considered a “country of emigration” until the beginning of the 1970s, when the country started shifting from being an exporter of migrants, to a net importer (Allievi, 2010; Ambrosini, 2011, 2013; Ambrosini & Caneva, 2010; Ammendola et al., 2004; Armillei, 2015, 2016; Bonifazi et al., 2009). Italian emigration reached a peak in the early 1900s and another in the post-war years and was primarily economic in nature. However, after the economic growth of the 1960s, the 1970s saw the country experiencing significant return flows of previously emigrated Italians (Colucci, 2018; Bonifazi et al., 2009). In the 1970s, the number of foreign nationals residing in Italy was marginal but started increasing significantly in the 1980s, when the UK, Germany, France closed their borders (Armillei, 2015), and even more sharply from the mid-90s (Bonifazi et al., 2009; Colucci, 2018), until the number of non-Italian citizens residing in the country reached nearly a million in 1998 (ISMU, 2019). Such number has continued to increase steadily, and as of January 2019, the foreign population in Italy was estimated at 6,222,000 individuals (ibid), roughly 10% of the total population.

In addition, the fact that Southern European countries have become major destinations for international migration (Ambrosini, 2011; de la Rica, Glitz & Ortega, 2013) is not to be attributed solely to their geographical positioning in proximity of the Mediterranean Sea, but to specific demands of their economic systems, which benefit from migrants' low skill labour (Ambrosini, 2011; Oliveri, 2012, 2018). Indeed, compared to post-empire immigration countries (i.e. the UK and France), the Italian case is made peculiar by the fact that in the early 1990s, the country became a country of immigration in parallel with neoliberalisation (Ferrero & Perocco, 2011; Oliveri, 2012, 2018). In fact, from both an economical and institutional perspective, the 1990s saw Italy undergo a phase of deep restructuring under pressure to cope with the demands of an increasingly competitive global market (Ambrosini 2011; Oliveri, 2012, 2018;) and to make the macroeconomic adjustments necessary to join the European monetary union in the early 2000s (Oliveri, 2018).

Under several consecutive centre-right governments, reforms were introduced in order to decrease regulation and taxation, privatise State-owned firms and other public services, delocalise industrial production, compartmentalise the labour market and decrease trade unions' powers (Gallino, 2012 as cited in Oliveri, 2018). The persistent demands for cheap labour derived from adopting the neoliberal model (Becucci, 2006; Oliveri, 2012, 2018), resulted in a sharp increase in the presence of foreign workers in the workforce, whose share reached 10,6% in 2018 (ISMU, 2019). From a legislative perspective, until the first law aimed at regulating the presence of immigrant workers was approved in 1986, issues regarding residence and employment were administered through ministerial circulars (Colucci, 2018). Starting from the late 1980s, changes in legislation aimed at legalising the employment and residence status of immigrants have been the "mainstay of immigration policy" (Ambrosini 2011; Ambrosini & Caneva 2010).

Despite extensive research on how immigration has indeed come to represent a structural, mainly economic, phenomenon (ISMU, 2019;

Ambrosini, 2011; Oliveri, 2012, 2018), political and public attention has often focussed on the marginal portion of undocumented migrants, who enter the country via sea, and the phenomenon has been considered since the 1980s as “essentially pathological” (della Porta, 1999; ter Wal, 2002; Ambrosini, 2011; Ambrosini & Caneva, 2010; Caneva, 2014; Armillei, 2015; Oliveri, 2018). Since the 1980s, despite a growing body of data attesting to the positive impact of immigration on the national economy (ISMU, 2018; 2019), extensive empirical and theoretical research on the Italian press and media tendency to frame immigration as mainly negative has been undertaken by Italian scholars (della Porta, 1999; Caponio & Graziano, 2011; Ambrosini, 2011; Ambrosini & Caneva, 2010; Bruno, 2016; Armillei, 2015, 2016; Oliveri 2018), as well as international academics (ter Wal, 2002; Berry, Garcia-Blanco and Moore, 2015; Triandafyllidou, 1999). The modalities through which such negative representation of immigrants is constructed are numerous and varied, but immigration has been mainly approached as a problem of safety and public order (Ambrosini, 2011; Caponio & Graziano, 2011), an invasion that needs to be dealt with through the tightening of border control (Bruno, 2016) or as unfair additional competition to welfare access (Oliveri, 2018). Such representations are contradicted by empirical data, which shows that the number of unauthorised migrants, although hard to calculate, represent a minimal portion of the total foreign residents (ISMU, 2018). In addition, data shows that half of illegal residents do not enter the country illegally, but arrive legally from the Schengen area, before overstaying their residence permits (Becucci, 2006). The percentage of refugees and asylum seekers arriving by sea, which has so prominently been featured in the media since the 1990s, is also usually magnified. Until 2010 in fact, the number of migrants arriving by sea would average at only 23,000 individuals a year, with peaks in 1999 due to the Kosovo War, and in 2008 due to conflicts in Somalia, Eritrea and Nigeria (ISMU, 2020). However, it has to be noted that the average number was indeed significantly higher for the 2014-2017 window, the *annus horribilis* being 2016 with a record 181.000 individuals registered, in line

with the overall increase of immigration to Europe which has come to be known as the “European migrant crisis” (ibid).

Since the global financial crisis in 2007, when Italy was one of the worst-affected European countries to be hit by austerity measures (Ambrosini, 2011), and even more so after the European migrant crisis (Berry et al., 2015; ISMU 2019), the theme of integration of migrants and the negotiation of cultural differences have also become central in Italian political debate. Cultural pluralism regarding non-indigenous minorities has long been perceived in Italy as a socially relevant problem (Ambrosini, 2010, 2013; Ambrosini & Caneva, 2010). A multi-ethnic representation of society has long found opposition by right-wing and populist parties, possibly also as a reflection of the “ethnic” implications of the *ius sanguinis* principle on which Citizenship Law is based, as it relies on a “familial” underpinning of citizenship (Ambrosini, 2011; Zincone, 2006), which informs an ethnocentric notion of white Italianness (Armillei, 2015). In recent years, Italian scholars have also drawn from postcolonial studies to investigate the premises for the complex relationship between Italian identity and minority cultures, as rooted in historical revisionism and the failure of the country to come to terms with its colonial past (Armillei, 2015; Mellino, 2006, 2012; Oliveri, 2018; Ponzanesi & Polizzi, 2016). In particular, Armillei (2015) and Ponzanesi and Polizzi, (2016) argue that the perpetuation of the myth of Italians as “brava gente” (*nice people*) has contributed to constructing the discourse around immigration, as hinged around an idea of fear of the “Other”, while Mellino (2006, 2012) and Oliveri (2018) draw attention on how colonialism-inspired group categorisation and elaboration of imaginary markers are now being employed for nation-building and racialisation of the “Other”. As in both Armillei’s (2015) and Oliveri’s (2018) research, cultural differences emerge as dangerous for social cohesion, it is not surprising that, from a cultural policy perspective, despite aligning with the EU guidelines, the development of the Italian cultural diversity policy framework has been slow, particularly compared to countries of post-empire immigration.

Cultural diversity policy in the EU and Italy

Diversity was firstly recognised as central to democratic cultural policies in the mid-1990s when UNESCO's *Our Creative Diversity* report (1995) and Council of Europe's paper *"In from the Margins"* (1997) were published. However, the concept of cultural diversity soared in popularity in the international arena in the early 2000s, when globalisation and migration began to be examined from a cultural perspective in their dimension of cross-border cultural flows (Crane, 2008). From a legislative perspective, cultural diversity was firstly introduced in the international framework by UNESCO's *Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity* in 2001, which defined the term as "plurality of the identities of the groups and societies making up humankind" (UNESCO, 2001: Article 1). Although the declaration introduced an official definition, cultural diversity was not considered a legal obligation until 2005, when the term was expanded to "the varied ways in which the cultural heritage of humanity is expressed, augmented and transmitted through the variety of cultural expressions, but also through diverse modes of artistic creation, production, dissemination, distribution and enjoyment" (UNESCO, 2005: Article 4.1).

Indeed, the concept gained more traction in the following years, culminating in the EU's decision to declare the year 2008 "European Year of Intercultural Dialogue" (European Commission, 2006), and in the Council of Europe's *White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue* (2008). Indeed, European countries had long been engaging with cultural pluralism but had until then favoured a "multicultural approach", aimed at balancing the culture of the dominant (national) group with minority cultures, defined first and foremost on the grounds of "race ethnicity and additionally but more controversially, by reference to other group-defining characteristics such as nationality and aboriginality" (Meer & Modood, 2016:34). As multiculturalism was hinged around the safeguarding of separate cultures, the 2000s paradigm shift to "interculturalism" started to seek a more horizontal approach to establishing "linkages and common ground between different cultures, communities, and people, promoting understanding and interaction" (European Commission,

2018:8). From a cultural policy perspective, this was meant to encourage member states to develop new strategies “to strengthen respect for cultural diversity” in order to serve the ultimate goal of “learning to live together in harmony” (European Commission, 2006:44).

In Italy, state-intervention in the management of culture has a complex history, which exceeds the scope of this study, but needs to be briefly discussed to contextualise the current cultural diversity policy framework. Italy was one of the first European countries to establish a dedicated ministry of culture in the 1930s, under fascist dictatorship (Bodo & Bodo, 2016). The Ministry of Popular Culture was short-lived as its demise coincided with the fall of the fascist regime; however, its establishment indicates the farsightedness of the political class of the time, in recognizing the role of the state in the construction of national cultural identity. An embryonal version of MiBACT was outlined in 1974; the mission of the Ministry for Cultural Assets and Environments, as it was known then, was the protection and valorisation of existing heritage, and physical “cultural assets” (Belfiore, 2004). The remit of the ministry expanded throughout the years to absorb responsibility for museums, monuments, libraries and cultural institutions, which had been under the Ministry of Public Education (Bodo & Bodo, 2016). Not surprisingly, public expenditure started addressing matters of cultural diversity and participation only in the early 2000s (Bodo & Bodo, 2016), under the EU legal obligation to safeguard and promote non-native minorities’ cultural rights.

However, cultural diversity management in Italy is still not straightforward; despite a specific institutional attitude to address cultural pluralism as a new imported phenomenon of the 21st century linked to immigration (Colombo & Sciortino, 2004), cultural minorities have always been present in Italian fabric since (and before) its formal unification in 1861. On the one hand, Italy is home to a variety of indigenous minorities, (the Ladins, the Alguerés, the Arbëreshë, to mention a few), who enjoy citizen status and whose cultural rights have been safeguarded by national and regional legislation, which has been in place since the post-war years (Constitution

of Italy, Art. 6 (1947), and in particular Law 482/99 (1999). A notable exception is represented by the Roma and Sinti minorities, which despite holding citizen status - only a small portion identify as “nomad” – are still significantly discriminated against, and do not fall within government-led minority-safeguarding policies (Armillei, 2015; 2016). On the other, the fact that Italy started experiencing significant immigration flows later than other European countries, combined with a thriving civic society scene (NGOs, social movements, private cultural organisations) which was able to bridge the gaps left by institutional negligence (Ammendola et al., 2004; Bodo & Bodo, 2016; Caponio & Graziano, 2011; Garau, 2019), created a considerate delay in the acknowledgement of cultural rights of migrant communities and the development of a state-led policy framework with regards to non-native minorities. As a result of this, the topic of “cultural diversity” remained at the margins of the political agenda until interculturalism emerged in parallel to the European public debate, not as a proactive endeavour to re-define the Italian national identity in pluralistic terms, but mainly as a functional response to the increasing presence of foreign youth within the education system (Gobbo, 2000; Armillei, 2015). As the death of multiculturalism was instrumental for some European countries in sparking a public discussion on national identity, this conversation was never had in Italy, where multiculturalism is considered “a missing model” by some scholars (Allievi, 2010; Armillei, 2015).

While a plethora of cultural diversity programmes still flourished outside of the government framework, as local authorities and non-profit organisations led the way with intercultural experiments in cultural policies (Bodo & Bodo, 2016; Garau, 2019), a more structured effort to put cultural diversity at the centre of MiBACT’s area of competence was undertaken in the mid-2010s, in parallel to the EU Plan for Culture 15-18. However, the different attitudes to preserving cultural rights of citizenship-holders indigenous minorities, and non-native minorities, raise questions as to what extent citizenship has the potential to inform cultural policy-making when addressing cultural diversity matters, and whether it acts as a legitimising factor.

National culture & identity

The assumption from a European cultural policy perspective that cultural diversity should be nurtured by Member States seem to clash with the perception, spread by Italian media and right-wing and populist movements, that cultural differences can create tensions, and minorities communities have the power to undermine the very foundations of Italian identity and values (Armillei, 2015; 2016). To better understand how the complex relationship between Italian “mainstream culture”, intended as “the core, inhabited largely but not exclusively by the ethnic/racial majority” (Alba, 2005:24) and “minority cultures” plays out, it is first necessary to elaborate further on how culture in its sociological dimension, can shape the individual understanding of the world. The widespread scepticism among some Italian scholars, who maintain that the country “can hardly be defined as a multicultural society” (Armillei, 2015) and that it should be considered “a monocultural and monoreligious (Roman Catholic) country” (Allievi, 2010:85), echoes British academic Richard Hoggart’s rejection of a multicultural Britain in the 1990s, on the grounds that “ethnic minority groups did not constitute a large enough percentage of the population” for the country to merit that description (1995, as cited in Carrington 2001:284). While in fact advocating for the rights of ethnic minorities to be accepted fully, Allievi (2010) and Armillei (2015), similarly to Hoggart, inadvertently align themselves with the same right-wing rhetoric they attempt to rail against, as they fail to take into account that “our understanding about nationality, cultural identity, and difference are not framed by the numerical size of particular groups, but by the ways in which cultures are imagined, narrated, and re-presented in particular settings” (Hall, 1999, as cited in Carrington, 2001).

It could be argued that the very notions of national identity and national culture are indeed socially constructed on the grounds of “an imagined political community” (Anderson, 2006:6), as no national culture can be considered truly homogenous in ethnic and cultural terms. However, while acknowledging the multicultural foundation of national cultures can be

useful in highlighting the deceiving power of nation-states' narratives, it does not lessen the impact that a hegemonic understanding of mainstream culture can have on individual members of society. In order to overthrow a definition of culture which seeks to "represent a diverse people with a diverse history through a single, hegemonic 'identity'" (1993:235) British cultural theorist Stuart Hall explores the concepts of "'cultural identity'" (1993, 2000) and "new ethnicities" (1989). One of Hall's key contributions merges two notions of identity; on the one hand, the first essentialist notion focuses on stability and emphasises how "cultural identities reflect the common historical experiences and shared cultural codes which provide us, as *one people*" (Hall, 1993: 223). On the other, the second notion admits the possibility of cultural practices to 'constitute [...] new kinds of subjects' (Hall, 1993: 237). In addition, according to Hall, identity is simultaneously and paradoxically "impossible' and 'necessary' (1989, 1993, 2000); on the one hand, it is not fixed, and it does not possess the ontological stability that it purports. On the other, the meaning and values that are internalised through aligning one subjectivity with a specific cultural identity, help individuals position themselves within society. In such a way, similarly to other social constructs like "race" and "ethnicity" is both real and unreal.

This research draws extensively from Hall's articulation of the "necessary" aspect of identity, as it is closely intertwined with matters of cultural policies and politics. Over two decades have passed since Hall's "new ethnicities", and the 21st century presents a very different set of circumstances from the ones present in mid-1980s Britain (St Louis, 2009), the War on Terror, the advent of the digital world, the growing issue of asylum-seeking sparked by new conflicts in the Middle-East, and the racialization of new migrant communities to name a few. However, identities are still "constructed within, not outside, discourse" (Hall, 2000:17) and provide a source of individual and collective subjectivities, informed by how and by whom such discourses are produced.

Finally, the choice of endorsing the term "second generations" deserves further unpacking. There is no clear agreement between Italian scholars and

institutions on which terms should be used to refer to the children of immigrants, who have no personal experience of migration as they were born in Italy (Thomassen, 2010; Clough-Marinaro & Walston, 2010). Thomassen (2010) express his conceptual hesitance over the use of the term “second-generation immigrants” and advocates for its inappropriateness of the basis of its analytical inaccuracies. Thomassen identifies the juxtaposition of “immigrants” to “second generation” as the most problematic and argues that “the category would never have emerged as a term of self-identification” (2010:28). Thomassen also discusses the vagueness of “second generation” as a sociological category on the premises that it puts individuals in relation to their parents without accounting for the fact that “every single human being is part of a second-generation” (2010:27) and that second generations lived experiences are more similar to their peers’ than their parents’ (ibid). However, as two of the most prominent nation-wide activist organisations to promote the campaign “L’Italia Sono Anch’io” in support of the citizenship amendments in 2015 were called “Network 2G – Second Generations” and “Italians without citizenship” (L’Italia Sono Anch’io, n.d), it has to be noted that the terminology in MigrArti’s official narrative indeed aligns with the preferred terms of self-identification as expressed by these organisations.

MigrArti: overview

The aim of MigrArti festival was “to promote the different cultures of origin of Italy's new citizens, with a view to fostering mutual knowledge, intercultural dialogue and exchange, and social inclusion” (MiBACT, 2015a). In addition to this, an essential prerequisite of applications was “to actively involve migrant communities, with a particular focus on second-generation youth” and “partnerships with organisations promoting intercultural mediation activities and migrants associations [are] strongly recommended” (ibid.). The initiative was launched by MiBACT in partnership with UNAR in December 2015, under the centre-left coalition government led by Matteo Renzi and reconfirmed during Paolo Gentiloni’s mandate. The initiative was launched a few months after the 2015 debate, endorsed by the same

Cabinet, to discuss the proposed introduction of the *ius soli temperato* and *ius culturae* principles to the current 1992 Italian Nationality Law, which culminated in the approval of amendments at the CoD, but never in its final ratification in the Senate. In a statement published on the official MiBACT website, the then-Ministry of Culture Dario Franceschini (PD) conceded that, with MigrArti, his Ministry was responding to a “government delay” in addressing issues of cultural diversity (MiBACT, 2016a) and that it was the “Ministry of Culture’s duty to deal not only with what we know but also what we do not know” (Lambertucci, 2015), referring to how the responsibilities of the Ministry not only include the valorisation of “national heritage and culture”, but also cultural expressions introduced by migrant minorities.

From a cultural policy perspective, the launch of MigrArti is significant for several reasons; firstly, the initiative represents MiBACT’s most structured effort in recent years to address the “burning issue” of cultural diversity, but as local grass-root organisations had been bridging the gap in cross-cultural provision since the mid-90s, what has caused MiBACT to become interested in compensating for “the government delay” all of a sudden? Secondly, MigrArti lifecycle encompasses two different government administrations – the centre-left coalition until June 2018, and the M5S-NL coalition which cancelled the project funding at the end of its 3rd edition - and it is ideally positioned to investigate how different political agendas can ideologically inform the discourses around immigration and more specifically second-generation youth. Discussed in-depth in next chapters, are four discourses – the “New Italians”, the “in-betweeners”, “the Other” and “recognition as a reward” – which were identified as prominent within MigrArti for their significance with regards to constructing, and being constructed by, the political, social, and cultural conjuncture, specific to the Italian 2015-2018 window.

MigrArti also represents an interesting case study, as its programme across the three editions, encompassed two separate streams: on the one hand, MigrArti Cinema, whose aim was not surprisingly to subsidise short productions; on the other, the performing arts-oriented MigrArti Spettacolo,

whose focus was theatre, dance and music productions. Although the budget allocated for both Cinema and Spettacolo was equal throughout the editions, and the streams aligned with the same overarching MigrArti’s vision, I argue they followed two remarkably different modi operandi, which suggest a different positioning within the spectrum of cultural democracy and the democratisation of culture. Although the second part of my analysis will focus mainly on MigrArti Cinema, some brief reflections on MigrArti Spettacolo will also be offered in a dedicated section. In this respect, before delving into the analysis of the MigrArti’s project as a whole, it is paramount to first draw attention to the composition of the panel responsible for appointing winning Cinema and Spettacolo projects, as shown below:

MigrArti Projects Selection Panel			
Representatives	1st Edition 2016	2nd Edition 2017	3rd Edition 2018
MiBACT	Paolo Masini	Paolo Masini	Paolo Masini
Ministry of Education, University and Research (MIUR)	Lorenzo Micheli	n/a	n/a
UNAR/Equal Opportunities	Mauro Valeri	Mauro Valeri/Lucia Gori	Mauro Valeri/Paola Pietrosanti
MigrArti Spettacolo	Anna Cremonini	Anna Cremonini	Alessandro Pontremoli
MigrArti Cinema	Enrico Magrelli	Enrico Magrelli	Enrico Magrelli
Chair of Panel:	Mauro Valeri	Mauro Valeri	Mauro Valeri

Figure 1 MigrArti Selection Panels (Own visualisation, data: MiBACT 2016c; 2017b; 2018a)

As cultural diversity is intended within MigrArti as a response to the changing Italian demographics, it is significant to point out how the selection panels throughout the editions were entirely constituted by ethnically white Italians, and had no minority, migrant or second-generation representation. The involvement of Mauro Valeri, representing the National Anti-Racial Discrimination Office (UNAR), which monitors the right to equal opportunities, “both as an equality body, as well as the body responsible for implementing national anti-discrimination strategies” (United Nations, 2019:6),

also needs to be noted. Is MigrArti's core organisational structure exempted from the cultural diversity, inclusion and equal opportunity requirements, upon which the applicants to the initiative are so strictly evaluated? As the CVs for all panel representatives are available under the "transparent administration" section of MiBACT's website (n.d), their knowledge and expertise indeed qualify them to sit on the panel. However, had the Italian institutions be more committed to promoting cultural diversity and representation of minorities when immigration to Italy became structural, MiBACT could already boast a pool of second-generation representative among its staff, who could have equally been excellent MigrArti panellists. In addition to such missed opportunity, UNAR's lack of independence as part of the Italian government, had previously cast doubts on its principles of impartiality, also leading to the United Nations deeming it inadequate (United Nations, 2019). In light of these considerations, UNAR's involvement may seem to a sceptic's eye, a publicity stunt rather than a good-faith attempt to make MigrArti's framework watertight.

Second generations in MigrArti's official narrative

In this chapter, I analyse MigrArti's launch press release for its 1st edition and the official promotional video of the 2nd edition, to identify which discourses surrounding second generations are predicated in the way MiBACT presents the initiative to its audience. While, both documents have been analysed in their entirety (Appendix A, B), this section will summarise and discuss the findings taking a few selected extracts as examples.

Constructing “new Italians”

Text Producer: MigrArti

Extract A.1 The Ministry of Cultural Heritage, Activities and Tourism, aware of the need to encourage as much as possible the knowledge of culture of **new Italians**, to overcome fears, biases and prejudices, is launching the project MigrArti, an initiative that aims at examining in depth a society in constant evolution. The long-term objective is to recognise different realities that, **in our Country**, deal with **those migrant communities**, which are now integrant part of the social fabric of the Country, from a human, economic, cultural and employment perspective.

Speaker: Paolo Masini (Migrarti Coordinator)

Extract B.2 It is a project, which wants to give the opportunity to the many New Italians – people who come here to live their lives, sometimes as their own choice, sometimes not – to showcase [their culture], to become acquainted, to have **their cultures** become acquainted, because oftentimes **fear is a product of the lack of acquaintance with the other**.

Speaker: Dario Franceschini (Ministry of Culture)

Extract B.3 We definitely have here... a **new territory, uncharted**, to give voice to all the forms of music, art, performing art, theatre, in the **communities of migrants** present on our territory. **Mutual knowledge is the biggest antidote to the fear of diversity, the fear of the foreigner. And it is most of all the tool to discern between what is illegal, what is criminal and has links to illegal immigration, and what is beautiful, what is useful, what is open {congenial}, and it is linked to legal immigration.** We have confirmed the funds for 2016, 2017 and we are working on 2018. I obviously hope that it will continue afterwards.

CDA of Extracts A.1, B.2 and B.3

The choice of the vocabulary “New Italians” when referring to the minority groups, whose cultures should be promoted, denotes a positive, although assimilationist attitude towards these communities. This is shared by MigrArti as an organisation (A.1) and on a micro and meso level by Paolo Masini, as an individual speaker but also the person responsible for MigrArti. From the perspective of transitivity and lexical cohesion, MiBACT (A.1) and MigrArti (A.1 and B.2) are identified as the promoters of change, which

want to tackle the current situation of “fear”, “prejudice” and “biases”. The nominalization of these words represents them as entities (a “product” in extract B.1) and not as processes which must be initiated by agents (Van Dijk, 1992a, 2000, 2006). “Lack of acquaintance with the other” is also nominalised and does not specify whose agents are responsible for it, presenting it as a matter-of-fact situation. “Mutual knowledge” as promoted by MigrArti is also presented as “the biggest antidote to fear of diversity” and “of the foreigner” (B.3.) It is also significant that the reference to “our Country” (A.1) acts as a floating signifier which can imply several levels of identification depending on the target audience (Van Dijk and Wodak, 2000). In this respect, the discussion on cultural differences is informed by assumptions about homeland, which translates in “our Country” (A.1), “here” (B.2), “our territory” (B.3), channelling the perspective of the Italian majority, whose culture “belongs to the bounded homeland”, while the culture of minorities belongs elsewhere (Colombo & Richardson, 2013:190).

In the extracts, the model of the initiative is revealed as “knowledge-oriented”, in its capacity to promote mutual knowledge and educate the audience on “other cultures”, which have supposedly either made invisible or misinterpreted to an extent which has caused “fears, biases and prejudices”. In all extracts, the topos of fear is presented as a quasi-rational argument to the exclusion of minorities from the cultural sphere (Van Dijk and Wodak, 2000), and the audience is provided with some reassurance that their anxiety is unfounded through a rhetoric mechanism, which juxtaposes the fear of change to the familiar concept of “Italian” identity (although in a “new” fashion). In extract B.3, the topos of fear is presented before introducing a dialectic understanding of immigration as either negative (“illegal”, “criminal”) or positive (“beautiful”, “useful”, “open”).

MigrArti is presented as a solution to the audience’s negative feelings about other cultures, which has been prompted by a lack of exposure to or lack of acquaintance with “the Other”. This mechanism has the effect of relieving the audience of any accountability as “fears, biases and prejudices” are

presented through a matter-of-fact narration which exposes them as an unsubstantiated, yet understandable, natural reaction" (topos of fear). With regards to the "subject" of the initiative, the mechanism of presenting heterochthonous minorities cultures as "new Italians" acts as a disclaimer that these do not represent a threat and should be recognised as legitimate and equal in dignity. While this aligns with MigrArti's positive attitude towards immigration and minorities, the discourse of "new Italians" also has the effect of presenting minority groups as a recent entry into the Italian social fabric, despite the fact that immigration in Italy has been structural for over thirty years.

The specific historical, social and political context in which MigrArti was launched, also requires further elaborations on the implications of the term "new Italians". MigrArti was launched by MiBACT at a time when the burning issue of changing eligibility criteria for the acquisition of Italian nationality was at the centre of the public debate. In November 2015, the reforms to citizenship legislation, which advocated for the rights of youth born in Italy by foreign parents legally residing in the country, to gain legislative recognition and citizen status, were approved by the CoD. While this represented a significant milestone for citizenship activists who had long campaigned for the cause, the amendments would also have to be approved in the Senate to become law officially. As the PD-led government, which had been in office since February 2014 and had supported the amendments eventually collapsed in June 2018, the issue slipped off the political agenda. The choice of using the term "new Italians" has, therefore, a political significance; on the one hand, it promotes the recognition of the cultural dimension of citizenship and strives to surpass the dichotomy Self/Other, which is still reiterated in the second half of Extract A.2. On the other, it ignores the "discrepancies in power and equality of opportunities bestowed on people of different cultures" (Gobbo, 2000:290) and can create the misperception in the audience that cultural recognition can act as a surrogate of legislative status, thus hindering the urgency for institutional change and citizenship activism.

Constructing “the in-betweeners”

Text Producer: MigrArti

Extract A.2
MigrArti wants to create the conditions and opportunities to encourage the knowledge of heritage cultures of **new Italians**, with a specific focus on **second generations**, a genuine bridge between their parents and the future which awaits them in this Country. MigrArti aims at subsidizing film festivals, theatre readings, visual arts, music and everything that will contribute to the knowledge of the other, their traditions, their origins, their journeys and their travels.

Speaker: Dario Franceschini (Ministry of Culture)

Extract B.1
MigrArti has the **admirable quality to expose the extraordinary vitality of communities in Italy**” stated the Ministry of Culture, Dario Franceschini. “**We are going through a really difficult moment**, which features **ancient and new fears** that can only be faced through dialogue and mutual knowledge, that this kind of initiatives promote. **MigrArti** – added the Minister - **fosters the meeting and exchange [of cultures] and gives old & new Italians the possibility to overcome cultural barriers**. For this reason, we want to ensure that this positive experience is reconfirmed for the future.

CDA of Extract A.2 and Extract B.1
Extract A.2 highlights further elaborations on the notion of “new Italians” as introduced in previous paragraphs. It specifically mentions “second generations” as part of this group, but the mechanism through which they are presented in their function of “genuine bridge” between their parents and the country, is somehow ambiguous. In the first part of the extract, the identity of second generations is acknowledged as separate from the one of their parents’ generation, and their positioning as entities between the “autochthonous” Italian community and non-native communities is recognised as strategic from a cultural perspective. The figure of speech of the bridge, which extends between two opposite poles, leverages the topos of culture, or “clash of civilisations”. The implication of employing such topos is that “fear and biases” are once again ascribed to cultural

differences and the difficulties which can emerge from the coexistence of culturally different communities. Second-generation are therefore invested with the responsibility to negotiate such differences between communities, and consequently can be held accountable in the case that such expectation is not met. T the second part of the extract also presents another reinforcement of the dichotomy Self/Other, through the use of "other" and "their" which also has the effect to group together the heritage culture of second generations, who have lived all or most of their lives in the country with those individuals who have migrated to Italy in their adulthood. The reference to "traditions, origins, journeys and travels" (A.2) has the subtle effect of assuming a collective subjectivity of "the Other". Similarly, the assumption that migrants and second generations must have similar stories to tell, positions the groups within the shared experience of not confirming, to various degrees, to a stable and well-defined stereotype of "Italianness", reifying the identity of separate groups as collectively unified within the category of "others".

In the text, second generations are considered instrumental in their capacity to be a "bridge" between communities as expressed in Extract A.2. This discourse revolves on elements of relational theory, and it emphasises 1) the capacity of second generations to participate in the practices of different communities, namely, their parents' communities and the Italian majority, 2) their ability to promote opportunities for exchanges between said communities, in order to promote social inclusion and mutual growth, but also 3) their responsibility and obligations to do so. Overall, MigrArti's attitude comes across as more top-down than horizontal, but nonetheless sympathetic and accepting towards second generations; In Extract A.2, the reference to being "a genuine bridge", which positions kids dialectically between "their parents" and "the future which awaits them in this Country" loudly echoes Hall's balancing act of new ethnicities (1989, 1993, 2000). There is however some posturing on MigrArti's side, that second generations are not truly native, contradicting the erstwhile discourse on "new Italians". While portraying second generations as in-betweeners might help summarise their unique positioning as "new ethnicities" within

contemporary Italian society, it also has the effect of perpetuating the myth of the dialectical relationship between Italian culture and minorities as two opposing forces. In Extract B.1, the reference to “the possibility to overcome cultural barriers” aligns with the ever-present topoi of fear and culture, in constructing the image of minorities as importers of jarring cultural expressions which are not intuitively recognised as legitimate but require a specific intervention to be understood and respected, which MigrArti can indeed provide.

Through the discourse of “in-betweeners”, MigrArti also reasserts its social inclusion objective, as it seems to hint at how Italian institutions could make use of second-generation youth in order to engage with the members of their parents’ communities, framing them as previously hard-to-reach, excluded, groups. Such narrative is indeed more leaning towards the objective of democratising culture, than cultural democracy’s endeavours towards addressing inequalities in cultural provision. As scholars such Belfiore & Bennett (2007, 2010) have long debated on whether cultural practices can actually bring about the level of social change, which government bodies wish for, in the case for MigrArti the real question is whether the rhetoric promoted by its organisers and institutional supporters, ends up narrowing the initiative’s potential towards intercultural dialogue. As from the discourses on “new Italians” and “in-betweeners”, the premises on which cultural exchange should be grounded appear skewed, is MigrArti a policy initiative, which, in its attempt to level off social and cultural inequalities, ends up arguably reasserting the cultural provision of the Italian native majority over the one of minority groups?

MigrArti Spettacolo

In order to further explore the complex power dynamics at play within MigrArti, further elucidations need to be given on how MigrArti Spettacolo and MigrArti Cinema operate, and why MigrArti Cinema was deemed a better field of investigation. Although both Spettacolo and Cinema align with the overarching MigrArti objective of promoting cultural diversity, the modi

operandi of the two streams vary significantly. The first key difference is, of course, the form of artistic expression celebrated by the two streams; MigrArti Spettacolo's focus would be specifically to "promote the performing arts through the plurality of artistic expressions" in order to "consolidate the fundamental role that the performing arts can play in developing and representing cultural identities and tackling discrimination" (MiBACT, 2015b). Spettacolo encouraged professional theatre and contemporary dance companies to create projects in partnership with local NGO organisations working with immigrant communities or second-generation youth, to promote heritage cultures and intercultural dialogue (ibid). The selection criteria for granting subsidies to Spettacolo applicants also included an assessment of the projects' capacity to 1) encourage the "participation of young immigrants in key roles of production, interpretation, and performance of projects", 2) ensure a high level of "quality of audience engagement with local immigrant communities, and second generations", and 3) ensure the "quality of partnership with local organisations, network capacity, and profile of cultural mediators assisting in the project" (ibid.).

Taking as examples the highest scorers for each edition of Spettacolo (MiBACT, 2016d, 2017e, 2018c), it is possible to identify some common trends; firstly, the projects target disadvantaged, marginalised communities with little experience of the arts, and somehow compels them to take part into MigrArti, most of the time under the humanitarian premises, that partaking would be beneficial for their own inclusion, development and growth. Secondly, Spettacolo projects are centred around a series of workshops, aligning with the instrumentalisation of culture's fundamental commandment, which priority should be given to the process over the output (Belfiore, 2002). Such approach suggests a focus for the "old "civilising" objective of cultural policy" (Merli, 2002:114), which focuses on the institutional attitude that puts at the centre of the cultural policy agenda, the potential of art and culture for social cohesion objectives (Matarasso, 1997). Indeed, the evaluation criteria of Spettacolo do not priorities the aesthetic quality of the projects but rather their social impact, according to an instrumental understanding of the arts, which not only has

long been criticised by scholars (Belfiore, 2002; Belfiore & Bennet, 2007, 2010; Merli, 2002) but does not provide minorities with the opportunity to celebrate their heritage cultures, as MigrArti's vision so ostentatiously mandates. In line with the assumption that arts and culture can be powerful promoters of social change, Spettacolo is a prime example of how MiBACT relies on the notion that the success should be measured through the depth of engagement between artists and participants, from which self-growth and personal enrichment can derive (Belfiore, 2002). From the perspective of social and cultural inclusion, it is true that Spettacolo provides an opportunity for cultural engagement, which MiBACT had never encouraged before, but are marginalised communities the primary beneficiaries of such institutional kindness? During the Spettacolo projects, intercultural dialogue has numerous occasions to potentially be realised (between facilitators and participants, between performers and the audience), but it strictly depends on the horizontality on which such exchange can take place.

Ensuring that intercultural dialogue happens on equal terms is not really articulated as MigrArti's responsibility through Spettacolo's modus operandi; rather, it becomes the remit of theatre and dance companies who apply for subsidies. In such a framework, cultural workers and artists competing for funds are evaluated on their capacity to ensure in-depth engagement with local NGOs and minorities communities, in other words, to pursue the cultural democracy path, which MigrArti wants to be seen to have taken, without "doing the legwork". As workshops and multidisciplinary events take up most of Spettacolo highest-scorers' lifecycle (MiBACT, 2016d, 2017e, 2018c), MigrArti seems to deprive theatre and dance companies of any incentive to focus on the aesthetic and cultural quality of projects, and request that they prioritise the co-production, engagement aspect instead. In addition, the requirement to engage with local organisations acts as an important indicator that MigrArti's understanding is that minority groups necessarily need facilitators in order to culturally express themselves, as they cannot be other than marginalised communities. The lifecycle of Spettacolo projects indeed reflect such attitude to the democratisation of culture; workshops are organised by the artists and held within the space of

a few months, while MigrArti puts together the programme and sets the dates on which performances are showcased. However, while the programme is advertised nationally by MigrArti, in practice, shows are performed mainly at a local level, to a local audience, and for a very short window of time over the summer season (MiBACT, 2017d). In addition, while the Spettacolo stream did not entail any agreement with high-profile institutions to maximise exposure beyond regional borders, agreements were in place to ensure visibility of its Cinema counterpart. Projects awarded funds through MigrArti Cinema were presented at the Venice Film Festival, broadcasted on television by the Italian broadcasting company RAI and made available for streaming on their on-demand platform. Schools were even encouraged by MigrArti to show some of the shorts to pupils (Istituto Centrale per il Patrimonio Immateriale, 2020).

Although the increase in funds from one edition to another, confirms that MiBACT's perception is that Spettacolo's was indeed a successful initiative, my ultimate conclusion is that the Spettacolo projects were too contingent in nature to be agents of national discourse construction, and even if they were, they were not deemed worthy of more extensive distribution or recording by MigrArti; the decision was therefore made to narrow the analysis to the Cinema stream as reported in next section.

Second generations in MigrArti Cinema “Best Films”

In this section, I will analyse three short productions, which were awarded “Best Film” in the three editions of MigrArti, as listed in the table below:

MigrArti Cinema “Best Film” awards				
MigrArti Edition	Title	Director	Screenwriter	Second-generation protagonist
1st Edition (2016)	No Borders	Haider Rashid	Haider Rashid Elio Germano	n/a
2nd Edition (2017)	The Play (La Recita)	Guido Lombardi	Guido Lombardi Marco Gianfreda	Chinuè (Myriam Kere)
3rd Edition (2018)	The World Cup in A Square (Il Mondiale In Piazza)	Vito Palmieri	Vito Palmieri Michele Santeramo	Ahmed (Malich Cissé)

Figure 2 Best Film Awards (Own visualisation, data: MiBACT 2016b, 2017c, 2018b).

As I will explain in next paragraph, *No Borders* does not feature any second-generation or cultural diversity elements; Therefore CDA was not applied, but some overall considerations were formulated, as to whether the choice of awarding Best Film to *No Borders*, represented a departure from the festival's stated objectives.

With regards to the other two productions, five scenes from *The Play* (Appendix C) and seven scenes from *TWCiAS* (Appendix D) were analysed, in order to identify the rhetoric and narrative strategies which construct emerging discourses according to Van Dijk's CDA framework (1992a, 1992b, 1996, 1998, 2001, 2006, Van Dijk & Wodak, 2000). The analysis draws heavily from Van Dijk's notion of the ideological square (1998), which explores discriminatory practices through the dichotomy between in-group favouritism versus out-group derogation.

1st Edition: No Borders (2016)

No Borders (n.d) is a short documentary, which uses the innovative technique of virtual reality (VR) in 360° degrees, shot by half Iraqi and half Italian director Haider Rashid. The short film explores the 2015 crisis by documenting the experience of migrants, through a series of interviews with Italian volunteers at two self-run reception centres, the No Borders camp at the Ventimiglia border with France and Centro Baobab in Rome. The film's aim is to educate the public on the condition of migrants, denounce the abuses by Italian border security officers and show how activists are filling the gaps left by the institutions' mishandling of migrants' fluxes. No migrants or asylum seekers are interviewed throughout the film, possibly to protect their identity as most of them are undocumented. The VR 360 technique is a deliberate stylistic choice to immerse the viewer in the shot, but from a CDA perspective, the fact that the set of voices of migrants are not even incorporated in the production is significant as to who controls the narrative. Indeed, migrants' stories are not told directly, but as anecdotes through the eyes of white Italians volunteers.

The film tries to challenge the negative representation of migrants as individuals that can exploit the Italian welfare system and to denounce the abuses perpetrated by Italian police authorities. While the film does a good job of offering an alternative to the negative narrative promoted by media and institutions, it hardly aligns with MigrArti's mission to promote cultural diversity and somehow dehumanises migrants by relying on volunteers to tell their situations, and reifying the stereotype of migrants as powerless individuals in need, far from being in the position of being equal participants in intercultural dialogue.

Paolo Masini, MigrArti Coordinator and Member of the Selection Committee, defended the choice of awarding the title "Best Film 2016" to *No Borders* as a necessary reaction to the increasing xenophobic rhetoric of the time (Istituto Centrale per il Patrimonio Immateriale, 2020), which saw anti-immigration parties exploiting the extensive media coverage of migrant

reception centres in Southern Italy to describe immigration as an “invasion”. Masini also mentioned how the organisers of the festival realised that “a change in the narrative was needed” and thus the direction of the festival changed for the following editions, opting for the choice of “different subjects” and “the use of least dramatic tones” (ibid). As further confirmation that in its first edition of MigrArti, the organisers moved away from cultural diversity as a stated objective, Giusi Nicolini - Mayor of Lampedusa, an island, which has been making headlines in the last decades for hosting one of the biggest migrants reception centres in Italy - was invited to sit with MigrArti organisers and film critics on the Venice Film Festival jury for the MigrArti category (MiBACT, 2016b), despite not holding any competences with regards to cultural policy or film studies. Consistently with the socio-cultural model promoted by the instrumentalisation of the arts, and similarly to the evaluation in Spettacolo, the choice of Nicolini as a panellist, as someone with lived experience of public administration and coordination of migrants’ reception structures, suggests that the social impact might be prioritised over artistic quality in MigrArti Cinema.

Despite the innovative techniques used by the director and the difficult themes it deals with, the short film fails to foster “mutual knowledge, intercultural dialogue and exchange” (MiBACT, 2015a), as it only interviews white Italian volunteers. In addition, although it shows the appalling conditions which asylum seekers and immigrants have to endure, it makes no mention of “the different cultures of origin of Italy's new citizens” (ibid). Both thematically and discursively, it is therefore quite distant from *The Play* and *TWCiAS*, which 1) are fictional in nature, and 2) portray second-generation characters in every-day contexts (and not humanitarian emergencies).

2nd & 3rd Editions: The Play (2017) & TWCiAS (2018)

This section aims at identifying some recurring discourses around second generations in both *The Play* and *TWCiAS*, which emerge as surrounding the main characters of the shorts, respectively Chinuè and Ahmed. For the

official synopsis of the two films see Appendix C for *The Play* and Appendix D for *TWCiAS*.

Constructing “the Other”

Summary of CDA of *The Play*

From a narrative perspective, the narration in *The Play* is stratified on multiple levels, as the film draws a comparison between Shakespeare’s Montagues and Capulets as “Italians and immigrants” (TP.2). The film tells the story of Chinuè, a black 16-year-old Italian who is portrayed as fully integrated; Chinuè speaks Italian with a Neapolitan accent, holds Italian nationality (TP.3) and has a white Italian boyfriend, Roberto, whom she is expecting a baby from. Chinuè is also a member of an all-women theatre group and plays Juliet in the adapted version of *Romeo & Juliet* which the group is rehearsing. In the stratified narration, the Montague family represent Italians and are played by white actors, while the Capulets are played by “immigrants” from different ethnic backgrounds (“Capulets and Montagues, that here in our [theatre] workshop represent immigrants and Italians” TP.2). Although the Italianness of Chinuè is never explicitly put into question in the film, from a narrative perspective the fact that she is made to play Juliet in the *Romeo & Juliet* represents a contradiction in terms as she is implicitly labelled as “immigrant”. According to Van Dijk’s ideological square (1998), the sharp distinction in *The Play* between “Italians and immigrants” is significant from an ideological perspective, although the ultimate morale of *The Play* is that they “don’t have to wage war” (TP.2). The cause of tension between the two groups is not explicitly mentioned, and neither are race and ethnicity although the division of actors on the stage - white Italians on one side, “immigrants” from other ethnicities on the other) gives an indication that they play a part in the in-group and out-group dynamics.

For instance, Ivory Coast and Mali are the only two countries explicitly mentioned apart from Italy (once, in TP.5) and with the exception of the main character Chinuè, the other black characters in the film (Chinuè’s parents, Asetù and Asetù’s shop helper) are portrayed as associated with a generic collective “African identity” (TP.1, TP.3, TP.5). According to Van Dijk, this tendency to homogenise the identity of minorities by using generalised

or generic expressions (2003) is compatible with the ideological discourse, which is hinged around the Us versus Them dichotomy. In the opening scene, the exchange between Chinuè and her mother is hinged around the assumption of the “clash of cultures” (Van Dijk, 2003) and expresses Chinuè’s mother distrust towards “Italian guys”, whom she thinks want to take advantage of her daughter, while Chinuè maintains that “African guys” are equally unreliable (TP.1). In scene TP.3, Chinuè is at the hospital and uses an ironic comment (“my mum is in Africa, too... in every possible way”) identifies backwardness and conservative views as a common trait shared by both “Africa” and her mother. The intertextual representation of the other black characters in the film, Chinuè’s parents, Asetù and her shop helper, is also significant: they are portrayed as less integrated both from a linguistic perspective (none of them speaks fluent Italian) and socially (none of them wears Western clothing while Chinuè does). In addition, Chinuè’s parents are portrayed as conservative and quick-tempered (TP.1), Asetù is depicted as peevish, overdramatic (TP.2, TP.4) and quick to shout at her shop helper, who is portrayed as a clumsy “good-for-nothing” (TP.5). On the contrary, white Italian characters are depicted as very patient (Pina in TP.2), willing to help Chinuè (Anna in TP.3 and TP.4, the doctor in TP.5) and overall sympathetic and good-hearted.

In TWCiAS, in-group versus out-group dynamics are also a key theme as the protagonist of the film are divided into two groups. Similarly to *The Play*, race and ethnicity are never explicitly mentioned as an indicator of group membership, but Italians and non-Italians, to whom Mario and Ahmed belong to respectively, are conditionally divided into white Italians (Mario and his friends, TWCiAS.1, TWCiAS.3, TWCiAS.4, TWCiAS.6) or belonging to non-white ethnic backgrounds (two kids of Asian descent in TWCiAS.1, Ahmed and his friends in TWCiAS.2 and TWCiAS.6). Non-whiteness is therefore constructed as the main marker of foreignness, as evidence of cultural assimilation such as the use of local Apulian dialect by Ahmed (TWCiAS.1, TWCiAS.2), Italian gesturing (TWCiAS.1), and lifestyle

("I live here, my girlfriend is here, I play football here" in TWCiAS.1 and "here I was born" in TWCiAS.5) are dismissed as insufficient to claim membership to the Italian group. The entry criteria to the Italian group are not elaborated upon but expressed as self-evident by Mario's remark "it is just the way it works here", which justifies any difference on evidential grounds. The pronouns *we/us* are also used deictically by Mario throughout the whole film to refer to Italians and exclude Ahmed and his friends.

The theme of racial prejudice and the racialisation of the "Other" – which reveal "a supposed notion of Italianness" (Armillei, 2016:34) as not compatible with non-whiteness - emerges in particular during the exchange between Mario, his friend and Ahmed over which team Ahmed should play for in the tournament (Senegal TWCiAS.1 and TWCiAS.3, or even "Nepal, Niger, Sudan" in TWCiAS.3), with Mario's reference to an "original Italy" (TWCiAS.5) and to the references of the world cup spectators not cheering for Ahmed's "Italy 2" team (TWCiAS.4, TWCiAS.6). The topoi of culture (Van Dijk, 2003) is revealed in TWCiAS.5: Mario's utterance "I was born here" in response to Ahmed's question "What did you do to be "the original Italy" (TWCiAS.5) reveals how identity is closely associated with notions of territory and homeland, which the Italian in-group essence is constructed upon, but Ahmed's statement that he was born on Italian soil, is not sufficient to overturn Mario's perception of him as a non-native. The theme of clash of cultures also emerges in TWCiAS.4, as the figure of speech "the town" is used to refer to Italians as a unit, which "does not seem to have accepted the idea" that Ahmed's team, "made of people of colour", can represent them, and its perceiving cultural plurality as And at each goal it has cheered less and less, as if facing a "defeat and not a victory".

It is important to mention that the director of the film, Vito Palmieri, subtly challenges the theme of the racialisation of the "Other" through a casting strategy, which is not explicitly revealed in the film is nonetheless less provocative: actor Giulio Beranek, who plays Mario, is himself a second-generation Italian, "being born from a half Greek and half Spanish mother and a Czech father" (Zappoli, 2018) and therefore not "ethnically Italian".

The fact that Beranek's credibility as the close-minded and prejudiced Mario is not undermined by his phenotypical traits, which allow him to pass as a convincing Italian to the eyes of the oblivious audience, while it is more convenient from a narrative perspective to portray second generations as ethnically different in order to set the scene, is telling of how the discourse of the Other as visibly different has taken root in contemporary Italian society.

As MigrArti was launched at a time when an increasingly racist and xenophobic attitude was being displayed by prominent far-right politicians, the discourse of the "Other", which emerges in both *The Play* and *TWCiAS*, needs to be contextualised. It is also critical to mention that Italy has no official classification of ethnic groups in the government census, contrary to the UK where individuals' self-definition of ethnicity has been included in the population census since 1991. This is partly due to the fact that discourses about race and ethnicity became a taboo in the post-war years (Ambrosetti & Cela, 2015), and since then, the country has adopted a colour-blind approach to demographics. Indeed, statistical data is structured according to nationality or country of origins rather than ethnicity.

In July 2013, Congo-born Italian citizen Cécile Kyenge, the first black government minister, made headlines as she was the victim of a racist attack by the then Senate vice-president of NL, Roberto Calderoli, who publicly declared at a rally how her features resembled "an orangutan's" (Davies, 2013) and was not convicted of aggravating racial circumstances until January 2019 (Giuffrida, 2019). In January 2018, a month before the announcement of the winners of the 3rd edition of MigrArti, Attilio Fontana, who at the time was running for the title of president of the Lombardy region, which he won in March 2018 and still currently holds at the time of writing, expressed his concerns over the fact that the Italian white race could be wiped out by migrant fluxes from Africa (Giuffrida, 2018a). A month after Fontana's statement, a failed election candidate for NL was arrested after a shooting spree against African migrants in Macerata (Gayle, 2018). Whilst the ethno-nationalistic anti-immigration attitude of far-right

parties is no surprise, the increase in popularity of the NL party in Italy, which slowly went from a being a niche party in the 1990s to gain 17,40% at the 2018 general election (Ministry of Interior, 2018) and run the country in the coalition government with the M5S, can be read as the symptom of a wider disease. In such climate of intolerance, questions need to be asked on whether the institutional colour-blind attitude, which MigrArti also embraces, is sufficient to navigate the complex relationship between national identity, ethnicity, and race in the public discourse.

Although the discourse of the "Other" surrounding the protagonists of the two short films is evidently hinged around an ethnical division of groups (white Italians versus all other ethnicities), it is also simultaneously presented as constructed in line with colour-blind ideology. *The Play* never explicitly acknowledges ethnicity as a factor that might create tension in the "war" between Italians and immigrants (TP.2), while *TWCiAS* mentions a negative attitude to "people of colour" in TWCiAS.4, but downplays discrimination and fails to call out such attitude as openly racist. As in both films, the white Italian characters are portrayed as mainly benevolent towards ethnic minorities (*The Play*) or ultimately able to question their negative feelings about them (*TWCiAS*), the fundamental property of in-group favouritism according to Van Dijk's ideological square (1998), is articulated through the directors' Guido Lombardi (*The Play*) and Vito Palmieri (*TWCiAS*) *non-negative* representation of the white Italian status quo, to which themselves, and MigrArti's organisers also belong to. The question is, as the narrative surrounding the second-generation protagonists is still controlled by "ethnically white Italians", does the discourse on the "Other" pigeonhole and marginalise minorities even further, albeit unintentionally?

Constructing "Recognition as a Reward"

As mentioned above, in *The Play* (TP.2), the character of Chinuè plays the role of Juliet in an amateur version of Shakespeare's *Romeo & Juliet*, in which the Capulets represent minority groups in contemporary Italy and the Montagues are a metaphor for ethnically white Italians. The stratified narration is also articulated in such a way that the relationship between Chinuè and her Neapolitan boyfriend Roberto is compared to the one of star-crossed lovers *Romeo and Juliet*. In the film, Pina, the director of *The Play*, explicitly compares the conflict between the Capulets and the Montagues to the "war" between "immigrants and Italians" (TP.2). The hackneyed moral of *The Play* is implicitly revealed as the need to promote mutual understanding in order to discourage group rivalry, which can only be destructive for both sides. In the stratified narration the dichotomy is organised between the pairs Montague versus Capulets, Italians versus immigrants, and Chinuè's family - originally from Ivory Coast - versus Roberto's family - from Naples. For example, Chinuè's parents' prejudices against Italians and their initial reluctance against Chinuè's boyfriend's Roberto (TP.1) are framed as reverse discrimination, admitting the possibility that the difficulties in the integration process are ascribable to minorities, as much as to the Italian hosting society. Indeed, from a discourse perspective, Chinuè's parents are not portrayed as specific individuals holding conservative views but become spokespeople to argue a general point with regards to a monolithic "African" minority in Italy (homogenised in a collective identity as discussed previously) through the expedient of the stratified narration.

The assumption that all parties involved are equally responsible for creating tension plays a vital role in the development of the topos of responsibility as a specific ideological frame in the text. Whilst, on the one hand, the notion of equality between majority and minority creates the theoretical basis for this discourse, it also aligns with the liberal, "collective individualism" ideology in which responsibility, in this case for the integration process, is transferred from institutions on to individual agents. As cultural differences

have overtaken race as “quasi-argumentative elaboration in the construction of in-group and out-group dynamics” (Van Dijk, 1991:25), at the end of *The Play*, it is Chinuè’s parents, who are required to question their views as too conservative for the Italian “hosting” society. The topoi of responsibility and culture intersect to construct ethnic relations on a Manichean understanding of cultural heritage, according to which, elements compatible to “Italian values” are seen as positive, and “the clash of cultures” must be predominantly dealt with on the minorities’ side.

Summary of CDA of TWCiAS

The admission that the changing demographics of contemporary Italian society provokes negative feelings in the Italian in-group features prominently throughout *TWCiAS* (TWCiAS.4 TWCiAS.6) although as discussed previously, racism and discrimination are never explicitly mentioned. The topos of responsibility in *TWCiAS* is articulated through the need for Ahmed, his friends and his parents to constantly justify their claim to Italianness; firstly Ahmed provides evidence of his detachment from his parents’ country of origin of Senegal, he continues elaborating further on his Italian upbringing (TWCiAS.1), then he has to tell Mario about the struggles his parents had to endure before settling in the country (TWCiAS.5), in order to obtain recognition as an Italian. Ultimately, Ahmed and his friends gain the support of the majority of the world cup crowd upon winning the tournament title (TWCiAS.6 and TWCiAS.7).

Firstly, the individualisation of responsibility for integration or racial exclusion is consistent with the liberal individualist framework, which considers individuals to be responsible for their social condition. From this perspective, individual success in obtaining cultural and legislative recognition is interpreted as the ultimate evidence which barriers are not due to institutional discrimination and societal power imbalances, but to the personal effort put towards the integration process (St Louis, 2015). Secondly, this attitude also consistent with the post-racial rhetoric that is becoming increasingly popular in Italy (Ghebremariam Tesfau’ & Picker,

2020) and allows minorities to be discriminated against on the grounds of individual and not structural explanations, thus seemingly erasing race as the critical factor (St Louis, 2015; Ghebremariam Tesfau' & Picker, 2020). The topos of responsibility which constructs the discourse through which Ahmed and his peers' resilience in the face of discrimination and willingness to put themselves on the line, will eventually help them succeed in obtaining societal recognition. However, it fails to explain why such recognition is not already granted in the first place and curtails the level of intentionality of xenophobic practices perpetrated by Mario and his friends, by portraying them as irrational prejudices that the group might be able to overcome if given a chance. Although not coupled with the derogation of the out-group, the understatement of responsibility of Mario and his friends, the focus on Ahmed's group doing the legwork to be accepted and the hesitance in calling out racist behaviours as such, make the argumentative strategies in the film coherent with Van Dijk's markers of "positive in-group self-representation" (Van Dijk, 1992a).

Although the representation of minorities and second generations seems to thread between the collective homogenised entity of the "Other" and a tendency to individualisation, which is both compatible with neo-liberal and post-racial discourses, what are the implications of MigrArti endorsing such rhetoric of responsibility to integrate? With regards to the broader Italian political context, during the 2015 Parliamentary debate on the proposed amendments to Citizenship Law, the centre-right and right-winged neo-assimilationist discourse around granting legislative recognition to second generations as a reward for a "successful" integration process (Chamber of Deputies, 2015), was heavily informed by the same topoi of fear and cultural differences, which can be detected in MigrArti's framework. A parallel can be drawn then, as a strangely similar message is endorsed by two sides with radically different attitudes towards immigration; on one side the NL right-wing bloc, with its neo-assimilationist rhetoric, and on the other, MigrArti as part of the centre-left PD's agenda.

So how is it possible that the topoi of responsibility, fear and culture, create an area of convergence between two ideologically opposite political poles? Given the complexity of the issues involved, there is, of course, no straightforward answer to be given. However, a starting point to investigate this matter could be provided again by CDA's core value of accounting for the relationship between discourse and social power (Van Dijk, 1996). As according to Van Dijk, social power is defined as one group's ability to exert control over another group and limit their freedom (1996). For example, while NL's endeavours before they joined the coalition government in 2018 might have focussed on campaigning to reduce immigration quotas and promote measures which would increase differential access to residence, employment and welfare, meaning-making and discourse-production within MigrArti are still mainly restricted to members of the Italian white majority. The organisers of MigrArti (as shown in Figure 1), the Ministry of Culture Dario Franceschini and other members of MiBACT involved in the promotion of the initiative, and the directors of *The Play*, Guido Lombardi, and of *TWCiAS* Vito Palmieri, are all members of the same elite, which has preferential access to the reproduction of white dominance, through the reproduction of "common-sense ethnic beliefs" (Van Dijk, 1992b:202). It must be pointed out that *No Borders'* Haider Rashid is half Iraqi and half Italian, but still, the lack of diversity in the discourse construction process is evident.

Assessing the value of MigrArti

From a cultural policy perspective, assessing the value of MigrArti is not a straightforward process, as cultural value "does not operate and is not generated in a social, cultural and political vacuum, but is in fact shaped by the power relations predominant at any one time" (Belfiore, 2004). As the centre-left coalition government under which MigrArti was launched, collapsed in June 2018, the new coalition between the populist M5S and the far-right NL decided to axe the initiative. In November 2018, Lucia Borgonzoni Undersecretary of MiBACT and NL representative, elaborated on the decision not to reconfirm the 4th edition by drawing attention to the fact

that MigrArti was “a special project with a defined timeframe, not a structural initiative”, and that MiBACT’s agenda for 2019 would focus on projects to boost awareness on other themes, such as violence against women and femicide (“Migrarti, Borgonzoni: Polemica sterile, non sono progetti strutturali”, 2018). MigrArti’s Paolo Masini was quick to react, describing the festival as “a cultural victim” of the new coalition government, whose motivations were “undoubtedly political” (Femia, 2018). As NL has been vehemently anti-immigration since its inception in 1989, Masini’s accusations are hardly gratuitous, but questions need to be asked on whether new fears of “Italian national identity” collapsing at the hand of second generations, can increasingly become a polarising element in the public opinion.

With regards to cultural policy, the question of to what extent cultural value and power are intended as zero-sum concepts in the social and political arena will heavily inform the way in which MigrArti can be assessed. Van Dijk’s ideological square (1998) leans towards the zero-sum assumption, as according to the Us/Them dichotomy, increased power for one group intentionally or unintentionally entails an equivalent loss for another group. However, does this approach fully appreciate the complexities of shared interests and mutual benefit in order to prevent conflicts? Cultural scholar Belfiore asserts the relational and not absolute nature of cultural value, which, similarly to power, is realised in the way it is “continually defined and redefined, contested and fought over” and in which admits “different, and even opposing, dimensions” which do not invalidate one another (2018:12). However, Belfiore is vocal about how there are indeed instances in which these dimensions mean that a form of cultural activity that benefits one group, can simultaneously contribute to the marginalisation of another (2018).

MigrArti’s organisational structure and selection panels fall short in diversity and inclusion. The festival “talks the talk” as it requires applicants to form quality partnerships with local organisations and cultural mediators, that work alongside migrants and second generation. However, its normative

framework makes it hard for those who do not hold Italian citizenship, which is often the case for migrants and second-generation youth, to have direct input in the meaning-making and discourse-construction processes. Whilst, on the one hand, MigrArti Spettacolo, admits local organisations to have some inputs in the organisation of workshops by performing arts companies, and to increase the potential for cultural and social impact at a local level, site-specificity also hinders the workstream's capacity to contribute to discourses around second generations outside the festival's scope. On the other, MigrArti Cinema's bureaucratic apparatus obstructs non-Italian citizens from applying for funds directly (MiBACT, 2015c), but the discourses within the productions which are awarded special mentions, are amplified at a national level by the agreements which MiBACT has in place with the Venice Film Festival and the national public broadcaster RAI. Short films productions such as *The Play* and *TWCiAS* are screened in schools (Istituto Centrale per il Patrimonio Immateriale, 2020) and given their visibility have a greater chance of informing the discourse around minorities, and in particular second-generation youth. Although MigrArti's requirements make ethnic minorities self-representation hard to achieve, acknowledging that the narrative is still mainly controlled by members of the white Italian majority can still provide a starting point for critical reflexivity, and re-ignite the debate over the extent to which minorities are "expected to assimilate and conform to the dominant culture" (Armillei, 2015:137).

Whilst MigrArti's vision is hinged around the promotion of cultural diversity, neither *No Borders*, *The Play* nor *TWCiAS* show a specific focus on first or second generations' elements of cultural heritage, whether tangible or intangible. *No Borders* denounces the situation of asylum seekers and immigrants and acknowledges the humanitarian efforts of Italian volunteers. *The Play* exhibits an element of cultural diversity through some characters (Chinuè's parents, Asetù), but they are framed as cultural differences from which tension might arise, rather than cultural expressions to celebrate. Finally, *TWCiAS* revolves around the de-facto cultural assimilation of the protagonist Ahmed into Italian mainstream culture. As

the festival's aim purports to be the promotion of mutual knowledge and education of the audience on "other cultures", the question remains, to what extent the cultural heritage of minorities is even showcased. As far as the implicit objective of challenging the dominant negative stereotyping propelled by Italian media and the racist discourse that exists in contemporary Italian society, as revealed by Paolo Masini (Istituto Centrale per il Patrimonio Immateriale, 2020), MigrArti Cinema still does not realise its full potential, as in the case of *The Play* and *TWCiAS* discriminatory and racist attitudes are often downplayed in the narration.

Does MigrArti attempt "to catch more flies with honey than vinegar", as it showcases to its audience, how cultural pluralism is compatible with a canonic understanding of (white) Italianness, without explicitly questioning it in the first place? Is MigrArti's political potential diluted, in order to make its knowledge-oriented model "more accessible" to the Italian majority audience? By never asking the audience, nor its organisers for the matter, to what extent they are complicit in constructing the values and beliefs that ascribe a less-than-inclusive Italian identity, one might jump to the conclusion that the festival talks the talk about cultural diversity and inclusion, but indeed does not walk the walk.

Scholars like Dâmaso, who has analysed the EU's 2015–2018 Work Plan for Culture, have advocated for a shift from the intercultural to transcultural paradigm, which surpasses "the idea of exchanges between existing cultures" in favour of "the invention of a common culture" (2018:820). The main argument for such paradigm shift is, according to Dâmaso, is that through the acknowledgement of diversity per se, intercultural dialogue implicitly magnifies the differences that it explicitly purports to oppose, as well-expressed by the EU cultural agenda for 2015-2018 and its motto "United in Diversity", as one can only unite what is separated. Although Dâmaso's statement refers to the EU agenda, the same argument could be made for MigrArti, whose framework does indeed focus on bridging cultural differences and whose motto "*Culture unites*" (MigrArti - La Cultura Unisce, n.d), has indeed a very similar feeling to the EU's *United in Diversity*.

Shifting to a transcultural paradigm would obviously revolutionise the Italian cultural policy framework, but it is wholly caveated by how long the systematic institutional discrimination with regards to ethnic minorities will be allowed to exist by both the elite and white majority as a whole.

Conclusion

The 2015-2018 Italian policy-framing of cultural diversity is telling of the relationship between the centre and the margins of contemporary Italian society, which is rooted in a political, social, but also cultural dominance of the white Italian majority over ethnic minorities. Such reality is only partly acknowledged by MigrArti, especially in the way the festival “packages” cultural diversity. While MigrArti objectives explicitly refer to cultural difference as something to be celebrated, in the short analyses in this study, there is no trace of minorities cultural heritage expressions, and the underlying message of the festival ends up being much more assimilationist in nature. By looking at the emerging discourses of the “new Italians”, the “in-betweeners”, “the other” and “recognition as a reward”, MigrArti’s narrative results in alignment with both neo-liberal and post-racial ideologies, although its stance towards immigration and minority communities is hailed as overwhelmingly positive.

Despite the fact that some practical areas for improvement were identified throughout the study, especially with regards to MigrArti’s organisational structure and production modes, which should be made more diverse, some reflections are also needed on whether the top-down democratisation of culture assumption on which MigrArti relies upon, is the most effective, and ethical, way to foster intercultural dialogue. Steering the initiative towards a more horizontal approach, built on the notions of reflective knowledge and cultural democracy, could help MigrArti come across as less tokenistic in nature, and MiBACT turn away from its managerial, institutional tinkering aimed at employing culture for social inclusion objectives. From a theoretical perspective, the ominous words of sociologist Paulo Freire, who

reiterated how “the oppressors, who oppress, exploit and rape by virtue of their power, cannot find in this power the strength to liberate either the oppressed or themselves” (1970:44), ring somehow dangerously fitting to MigrArti.

As of 1st January 2018, there were 1,316,000 second-generation minors in Italy (ISMU 2019), and although pigeon-holing them as a category per se can seem another oppressive constructivist attempt, as critics of identity politics might suggest, it is necessary in order to draw attention to the political urgency of second-generation citizenship activism. Despite the fact that the four discourses identified in this study, created some ambiguity in the way second generations should be positioned within the national debate around immigration and minorities, the festival undoubtedly represented a significant milestone for Italian cultural policy. As the first MiBACT-led initiative to draw attention to this group, MigrArti has had the effect, for better or for worse, to re-ignite a conversation over what “Italianness” means. It, therefore, represents an opportunity for cultural workers to reflect on how to engage with minorities through more meaningful and ethical interventions, more horizontally, and possibly even through the transcultural lens.

Even though the intentions of MiBACT and MigrArti’s organisers are not to be wholly interpreted as a malicious attempt of the neoliberal system to keep vulnerable communities confined to the margins, it is important to remember that good intentions can also have unexpected outcomes, and sometimes inadvertently perpetuate the existing dynamics which they set out to dismantle. Identifying the infiltration of racism and discrimination in policymaking is a critical step towards a fairer more inclusive contemporary Italian society, but the assumptions on which this is constructed, are at the same time mirror of society itself. However, as Italy moves towards a more diverse demographics, perceptions on what Italians look like and what constitutes their cultural heritage are likely to shift, hopefully naturally but most probably thanks to the catalyst work of second-generation and cultural activists alike. Whether this is likely to take place within the institutional

context, such as MiBACT's, is another matter entirely; can a government-led cultural initiative be a site of critical political intervention? Can MiBACT escape its own nature of a cultural body, invested with its powers by a national government, which is the ultimate representation of "hegemonic order" (Gramsci, 1975)? Although there is no ultimate answer to such questions, a possibility lies in creating an agonistic dialogue (Mouffe, 2010) with the same independent cultural organisations, which have so far been leading the way in terms of cultural diversity. It has to be noted that MigrArti was already leaning towards such direction with its project partnership requirement, but without proactively engaging in conversation and rather just adding its seal of approval once projects were labelled compliant to its success criteria. Developing projects in partnership with such organisations, without coercing them into a prescriptive framework, or perhaps enlisting the help of shadow consultants from minority backgrounds to provide an independent assessment of MiBACT-led projects, could significantly improve the current state of Italian cultural-policy making. The key issue lies in the fact that any meaningful intervention aimed at critical intercultural dialogue, is likely to imply an explicit critique of MiBACT's modus operandi so far; whether the ministry is able to accept such criticism in order to grow from it, without penalising partners for "biting the hand that feeds them", is difficult but achievable.

Another more hopeful scenario is that in forthcoming years, the institutional barriers which have so far prevented access to MiBACT to minority representatives will become more porous, and the ministry will be able to develop more organic intercultural initiatives on its own, even though this does not invalidate the above-mentioned recommendations for independent external assessments. In this respect, the evolution of cultural diversity policies within MiBACT and the assessment of their impact will be an incredibly interesting area of research, which no doubt will develop in the near future, in parallel to the crystallisation of second generations as citizenship-holders. In particular, as Hall's "new kinds of subjects" (1993: 237) will become more and more prevalent in Italian society, and the gap between "white natives" and "ethnic minorities" will start to subside

with third generations also likely to be granted citizenship upon birth, the Italian context will become more comparable to the preceding experience of countries such as the UK and France, much to the enthusiasm of comparative cultural scholars.

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Appendices

Appendix A

This press release issued by MiBACT on their website (MiBACT, 2015a), is directed to the public as it aims to introduce the Open Call for the first edition of MigrArti. Its genre is hybrid as it includes policy genre characteristics with a promotional undertone. Informational elements on the project are provided through the promotional genre, in a one-sided way which articulates and institutionalise a discourse, in order to promote and bring about change (Fairclough, 1996; 2001).

Text A:

ITALIAN VERSION

MigrArti: Due bandi da 400.000 euro ciascuno per il cinema e lo spettacolo dal vivo e un bando per il concorso nazionale "Un logo per Migrarti" (MiBACT, 2015a).

Roma, 15 dicembre 2015

Extract A.1

Il Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo, consapevole della necessità di favorire quanto più possibile la conoscenza delle culture dei **nuovi italiani** per superare paure, diffidenze e pregiudizi, lancia il progetto MigrArti, un'iniziativa che guarda con attenzione e in profondità a una società in continua evoluzione. L'obiettivo a lungo termine è cercare e riconoscere le varie realtà che nel nostro Paese si occupano di quei popoli migranti che fanno ormai parte integrante dal punto di vista umano, economico, culturale e lavorativo del tessuto sociale del sistema Paese

Extract A.2

MigrArti vuole creare le condizioni e le opportunità per far conoscere al meglio le culture di provenienza dei nuovi italiani con un'attenzione particolare alle seconde generazioni, autentico ponte tra i loro genitori ed il futuro che in questo Paese li attende. MigrArti vuole essere rassegne di cinema, letture teatrali, arti visive, musica tutto ciò che può far conoscere meglio l'altro, le sue tradizioni, le sue origini, i suoi percorsi, i suoi viaggi.

Strumento principale saranno i due bandi da 400.000 € ciascuno per il cinema e lo spettacolo dal vivo, che andranno a finanziare progetti cinematografici, di teatro, di danza, di musica con al centro **le tematiche di integrazione e la promozione di iniziative dedicate alla pluralità culturale**. Gli enti pubblici o privati possono presentare da oggi la domanda fino al 31 gennaio 2016.

Il Mibact e il Ministero dell'Istruzione, dell'Università e della Ricerca hanno inoltre indetto il concorso nazionale "Un logo per Migrarti", rivolto ai licei artistici e agli istituti tecnici statali e paritari con indirizzo grafica e comunicazione e agli istituti professionali con indirizzo grafica pubblicitaria. Il progetto selezionato diventerà il simbolo di tutta la campagna. Il premio di 4.000 euro andrà all'istituto dello studente vincitore e sarà destinato a progetti e attività laboratoriali di spettacolo sulle tematiche del Progetto Migrarti. Il bando scade il 15 febbraio.

Il progetto MigrArti infine mira a censire le realtà culturali delle comunità immigrate presenti sul nostro territorio, che potranno registrarsi in un apposito form sul sito del Mibact.

Il progetto MigrArti è stato realizzato in collaborazione con l'UNAR.

TRANSLATED ENGLISH VERSION:

Two competition announcements worth € 400.000 for cinema and the live performing arts respectively and a competition announcement for "a Logo for MigrArti" (MiBACT, 2015a).

Rome 15th December 2015

Extract A.1

The Ministry of Cultural Heritage, Activities and Tourism, aware of the need to encourage as much as possible the knowledge of culture of **new Italians**, to overcome fears, biases and prejudices, is launching the project MigrArti, an initiative that aims at examining in depth a society in constant evolution. The long-term objective is to recognise different realities that, **in our Country**, deal with **those migrant communities**, which are now

integrant part of the social fabric of the Country, from a human, economic, cultural and employment perspective.

Extract A.2

MigrArti wants to create the conditions and opportunities to encourage the knowledge of heritage cultures of **new Italians**, with a specific focus on **second generations**, a genuine bridge between their parents and the future which awaits them in this Country. MigrArti aims at subsidizing film festivals, theatre readings, visual arts, music and everything that will contribute to the knowledge **of the other, their traditions, their origins, their journeys and their travels**.

The main tool for this will be two open calls worth **€400,000** for cinema and the live performing arts respectively, which will fund productions of films, theatre, dance, music, **focusing on the themes of integration and promotion of activities dedicated to cultural plurality**. Public and private bodies can send their application until 31st January 2016.

MiBACT and MIUR are also issuing a national call for "A logo for Migrarti", aimed at state arts schools, technical high schools (graphics and communication course), and vocational schools (advertising graphics course). The appointed work will become the logo of the project. Eur4000 will be awarded to the school attended by the winner of the competition, to be spent on performing arts workshop activities related to the themes of MigrArti. Deadline is 15th February.

Lastly, MigrArti aims at conducting a survey of migrant cultural organisations on our territory, which will be able to register by filling in the dedicated online form on MibACT website.

MigrArti has been realised in collaboration with UNAR.

Appendix B

MigrArti promotional video (MiBACT, 2017b): on MiBACT Youtube channel (Extracts B.1, B.2, B.3) is the transcribed version of a short promotional video shot during the MigrArti 2017 programme launch.

Text B

ITALIAN VERSION

MigrArti 2017 (MiBACT, 2017b).

Description of video:

PRESENTATO IL CARTELLONE MIGRARTI 2017. 36 SPETTACOLI E 12 RASSEGNE CINEMATOGRAFICHE IN TUTTA ITALIA

Il Ministro dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo, Dario Franceschini, ha presentato oggi il cartellone 2017 di Migrarti insieme al Direttore Generale per lo Spettacolo, Onofrio Cutaià, al Direttore Generale per il Cinema, Nicola Borrelli, al consigliere del Ministro Paolo Masini, a Mauro Valeri e al musicista Jonis Bascir.

Quella di quest'anno è una seconda edizione ricca di novità con il Premio Migrarti dello spettacolo dal vivo dal 6 all'8 ottobre a Pistoia capitale italiana della cultura, il Premio Migrarti Cartoon in collaborazione con Rai, i cui vincitori sono stati presentati a *Cartoon on the bay* a Torino, le menzioni speciali alle sceneggiature g2 e nuovi italiani, conferite a marzo in occasione del festival Cortinametraggio, il premio miglior sceneggiatore g2 per il documentario che verrà attribuito a luglio a Trieste nel contesto della rassegna *ShorTS*, e la conferma del premio per i cortometraggi alla Mostra Internazionale d'Arte Cinematografica della Biennale di Venezia del prossimo settembre.

Il cartellone sarà aperto a Roma con il concerto a Palazzo Venezia della Piccola orchestra di Tor Pignattara il 2 giugno, in occasione della Festa della Repubblica.

Per lo spettacolo dal vivo, che ha visto selezionate 36 domande sulle 159 pervenute e 829 realtà coinvolte, le regioni più attive sono il Lazio, la Sicilia e la Toscana, ciascuna con cinque progetti finanziati, mentre per il cinema

Per il cinema sono state selezionate 40 domande su 214 con 637 realtà coinvolte. In particolare verranno sostenuti 12 rassegne cinematografiche, 13 documentari, 12 film e 3 prodotti di animazione.

Le 12 rassegne si terranno prevalentemente nel Lazio, in Lombardia e in Piemonte. Le comunità più rappresentate sono quelle di Senegal, Marocco, Camerun, Romania, Cina e Tunisia.

I soggetti proponenti, che quest'anno sono stati chiamati a legarsi in modo esclusivo al progetto presentato, rappresentano l'intero arco delle realtà del terzo settore, dalle associazioni laiche alle comunità religiose fino alle organizzazioni non governative.

Extract B.1

"Migrarti ha il pregio di far emergere la straordinaria vitalità delle comunità presenti in Italia" ha dichiarato il Ministro dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo, Dario Franceschini. **"Siamo in un momento molto difficile**, attraversato da **antiche e nuove paure** che possono essere affrontate e superate solo attraverso il confronto e la reciproca conoscenza resa possibile da iniziative come questa. Migrarti – ha concluso il Ministro – **alimenta l'incontro e lo scambio e da' ai vecchi e nuovi italiani la possibilità di superare le barriere culturali**. Per questo sono state poste le condizioni per far proseguire anche in futuro questa positiva esperienza"

Roma, 25 maggio 2017

Transcribed audio:

Speaker: Paolo Masini (Responsabile Progetto Migrarti): 0.16 – 0.35

E' un progetto che vuole dare l'opportunita' a tanti nuovi Italiani - a persone che vengono qui a vivere la propria vita, a volte per scelta, molte volte no - di mostrare, di far vedere, di farsi conoscere, di far conoscere **la propria cultura**, perche' poi **la paura spesso nasce dalla mancanza di conoscenza dell'altro.**

Speaker: Jonis Bascir (Attore/Testimonial MigrArti): 0.38 – 0.57

Credo che sia un'ottima opportunita' perche' permette di dare alla cinematografia allo spettacolo, **un nuovo volto, anche un nuovo punto di vista** e soprattutto permette di arricchire anche gli spettacoli di **nuove facce e nuove dimensioni.**

Speaker: Paolo Masini (Responsabile Progetto Migrarti): 1.06 – 1.45

Noi abbiamo voluto dare questa grande opportunita' che si divide in due grandi settori: Spettacolo dal vivo, pertanto musica teatro e danza, e Cinema, attraverso le rassegne cinematografiche appunto e la realizzazione di corti. Oggi presentiamo il cartellone che andra' in tutta Italia a giugno e a luglio, si aprira' con una grande iniziativa che e' quella del 2 giugno, non a caso Festa della Repubblica. Noi vogliamo che il 2 giugno suonino non a caso **i ragazzi di Torpignattara**, la piccola orchestra di Torpignattara, che sono **ragazzi immigrati di seconda generazione**, perche' la **nuova Italia e' questa**, e' fatta anche di **tantissimi ragazzi immigrati.**

Speaker: Jonis Bascir (Attore/Testimonial MigrArti): 1.57 – 2.07

The important thing is to enjoy one's diversity, to show it, to make it known in such a way that **people will get used to what's different**, because **most people fear what's different.**

Speaker: Onofrio Cutaia (Direttore Generale MiBACT) 2.20 -2.58

Noi in realta' prendiamo anche atto di quel che e' un lavoro vero nei territori, che comunque esiste da parti di molti operatori che promuovono, producono la musica il teatro, la danza...e dunque **un'istituzione centrale come la nostra**, nel momento in cui riconosce questo processo, lo fa rendendo merito a chi lavora sul campo. La cosa importante poi e' che tutto avvenga con la collaborazione massiva del mondo dello spettacolo **e il mondo delle comunita' rappresentate**, come oggi si e' visto, ottimamente.

Speaker: Dario Franceschini (Ministro MIBACT) 3.07 –3.45

Extract B.3

Sicuramente qui abbiamo .. **un terreno nuovo, inesplorato**, per dare voce a tutte le forme di musica, di arte, di spettacolo, di teatro, nelle comunita' di migranti che sono nel nostro territorio. **La conoscenza reciproca e' l'antidoto piu' grande alla paura della diversita', alla paura dello straniero. Ed e' soprattutto lo strumento per distinguere tutto cio' che c'e' di illegale, di criminale legato all'immigrazione clandestina, con tutto cio' di bello, di utile, di aperto che c'e' legato all'immigrazione regolare.** Abbiamo finanziato per il 2016, 2017 e abbiamo iniziato per il 2018. Naturalmente poi io spero che continuera' comunque.

TRANSLATED ENGLISH VERSION:

Description of video:

MIGRARTI 2017 PROGRAMME LAUNCH. 36 SHOWS, 12 FILM FESTIVALS IN ITALY.

Today, the Minister of Cultural Heritage, Activities and Tourism, Dario Franceschini, has presented the programme of MigrArti 2017, together with the General Director for the Performing Art, Onofrio Cutaia, the General Director for Cinema, Nicola Borrelli, the Minister Advisor Paolo Masini, Mauro Valeri and the musician Jonis Bascir.

This year's edition is a second edition full of innovation, with the MigrArti Awards for performing arts being held in Pistoia, Italian capital of culture, between 6th and 9th October; the MigrArti Cartoon Awards in collaboration with Rai, whose winners were presented at Cartoon on the bay, in Turin, the special mention to 2G and new Italians screenplays, awarded in March at the Cortinametraggio Festival; The award for best 2G screenwriter that will be presented in July, in Trieste, within the ShorTS festival; and the confirmation of awards for short productions that will take place at the Venice International Film Festival.

The programme will be presented in Rome, during the concert by the Little orchestra of Tor Pignattara on 2nd June, Republic Day, at Palazzo Venezia.

For the Spettacolo workstream, which has selected 36 applications out of the 159 received and has involved 829 organisations, the most active regions {the regions from where most applications were received} were Lazio, Sicily and Tuscany, each one with 5 projects that have received funding. For the Cinema stream, 40 applications were selected out of 214 received, involving 637 organisations. In particular, 12 film festivals, 13 documentaries, 12 films and 3 animation productions will receive funding.

The 12 festivals will be held mainly in Lazio, Lombardy and Piedmont. The communities which are most represented are Senegal, Morocco, Cameroon, Romania, China and Tunisia.

The applicants, whom this year have been required to present one single project, represent {encompass} the entire span of third sector organisations, from non-religious associations, to religious communities and non-governmental organisations.

Extract B.1

MigrArti has the **admirable quality to expose the extraordinary vitality of communities in Italy**" stated the Ministry of Culture, Dario Franceschini. **"We are going through a really difficult moment**, which features **ancient and new fears** that can only be faced through dialogue and mutual knowledge, that this kind of initiatives promote. **MigrArti** – added the

Minister - fosters the meeting and exchange [of cultures] and gives old & new Italians the possibility to overcome cultural barriers. For this reason, we want to ensure that this positive experience is reconfirmed for the future.

Rome, 25 May 2017

Intertextual elements:

[Playful music plays in the background. The short promotional video includes footage from the presentation of the second edition of MigrArti programme in 2017 and clips of individuals exchanging smiles in a changing room, wearing a blue football kit. A football is shown laying on the grass, at the centre of an ancient Roman forum, Roman statues can be seen in the background. It features statements from the following MigrArti and MiBACT's representatives as listed below}

Trascribed audio:

Speaker: Paolo Masini (Migrarti Project Coordinator): 0.16 – 0.35

It is a project, which wants to give the opportunity to the many New Italians – people who come here to live their lives, sometimes as their own choice, sometimes not – to showcase [their culture], to become acquainted, to have **their cultures** become acquainted, because oftentimes **fear is a product of the lack of acquaintance with the other.**

Speaker: Jonis Bascir (Actor/Testimonial MigrArti): 0.38 – 0.57

Extract B.2 I think it is an excellent opportunity because it allows to give a **new face** to cinema and the performing arts, **a new point of view even**, and above all it allows to enrich performances with new faces and new dimensions.

Speaker: Paolo Masini (Migrarti Project Coordinator): 1.06 – 1.45

We have wanted to give this great opportunity, which is divided in two great fields: the performing arts so music, theatre and dance, and Cinema, indeed through the film festivals and the production of short films. Today we are presenting the programme which will tour the whole of Italy in June and July. It will launch on 2nd June, not by chance, on Republic Day, with a great initiative. We have wanted **the kids of Tor Pignattara**, the little orchestra of Tor Pignattara, who are, not by chance **migrant youth of second generation**, because **this is the new Italy**, it is also made of **many migrant kids**.

Speaker: Jonis Bascir (Actor/Testimonial MigrArti): 1.57 – 2.07

L'importante e' godersi la propria diversita', manifestarla, pubblicizzarla in maniera tale che **la gente si abitui al diverso**, perche **la maggior parte delle persone ha paura del diverso**.

Speaker: Onofrio Cutaia (General Director MiBACT) 2.20 -2.58

We are actually also taking into account the real work which has been done at local levels, carried ou by many workers who promote, who produce, music, theatre, dance... and therefore **a central institution like ours**, when recognising such process, does so by giving credit to the workers in the field. The important thing is that this [work] is carried out in collaboration with the world of the performing arts and **the world of represented communities**, like we've witnessed it today, in a brilliant way.

Speaker: Dario Franceschini (Ministry of Culture) 3.07 –3.45

Extract B.3

We definitely have here... a **new territory, uncharted**, to give voice to all the forms of music, art, performing art, theatre, in the **communities of migrants** present on our territory. **Mutual knowledge is the biggest antidote to the fear of diversity, the fear of the foreigner. And it is**

most of all the tool to discern between what is illegal, what is criminal and has links to illegal immigration, and what is beautiful, what is useful, what is open {congenial}, and it is linked to legal immigration. We have confirmed the funds for 2016, 2017 and we are working on 2018. I obviously hope that it will continue afterwards

Appendix C

The Play (2017)

OFFICIAL SYNOPSIS

The Play (2017): "*Chinuè is a dark-skinned Italian, like her parents. When she discovers she is pregnant with her Neapolitan boyfriend's baby, knowing that she cannot reveal it at home, she decides to stage a play with the help of the most unlikely of actresses.*" (Bronx Film, n.d. researcher's own translation).

SCENE TP.1 (0.13 – 0.44)

[Chinuè's mother is making dinner. She hears the front door open and turns around. Chinuè walks in and her mother confronts her on why she is home so late]

Chinuè's mother [in French]: Why did you come home so late?

Chinuè [in Italian, walking to her room]: There were the rehearsals... mum

Chinuè's mother [in French, following Chinuè]: It's a lie! You finished rehearsing two hours ago. I called the keeper [of the rehearsal space] and he said **an Italian kid** came and picked you up on a motorcycle. You know your father, if he finds out, he's going to kill you and then kill me too. You know that **Italian guys** only want to take advantage of you.

Chinuè [in Italian, looks confrontationally at her mum]: Oh and **African guys** don't instead...

Chinuè's mother [in French]: Oh is that how you answer me! Shit! [gives her a little slap]

Chinuè shuts the door to her room.

CDA OF SCENE TP.1 (0.13 – 0.44)

The conversation between Chinuè and her mother takes place in two languages – Italian and French respectively. This acts as an early indicator of group membership. “Italians” and “Africans” are identified as two distinct groups through the use of generic, plural nouns and treated as collective identities. Chinuè’s mother representation of Italians is mainly negative (“Italian guys only want to take advantage of you”) and is consistent with the Us/Them dichotomy expressed by Van Dijk’s in his ideological square (2006). Chinuè’s father appear to be sharing the same prejudice against Italians as his wife (“if he finds out, he’s going to kill you and then kill me too). Chinuè, on the other hand, hits back at her mother by portraying “African guys” as equally negative through an ironic remark.

SCENE TP.2 (0.48 - 2.12)

[The group is rehearsing an adapted version of Romeo and Juliet by Shakespeare (in Italian). The Montagues represent the white Italian majority (all white Italian actors are standing on the right side of the stage) while the Capulets are played by a variety of women belonging to different ethnic groups (all standing on the left side of the stage). Chinuè plays Juliet Capulet and is laying on the floor. Pina, the director of the play, comforts Asetù, who feels that her role as the Prince of Verona is of marginal importance.]

Unnamed Italian girl [rehearsing Romeo & Juliet act 5 scene 3 in Italian]:
For I will raise her statue in pure gold,. That whiles Verona by that name is known,. There shall no figure at such rate be set. As that of true and faithful Juliet

[camera shows several women on the stage, all different by age, ethnic background]

Alisa [rehearsing same scene with Eastern European accent, struggling slightly to articulate words]: As rich shall Romeo's by his lady's lie, Poor sacrifices of our enmity..

Pina: Well done, Alisa. [looking at the back of the stage] Asetù, it's your turn. Be sure you take off the hood when you come forward.

Asetù [walks forward, vehemently overacting with African accent]: Capulets! Montagues! See what a scourge is laid upon your hate! [two girls at the back laugh] Heaven finds means to kill your children with love! [more girls start laughing] Love turns to poison!

Pina: Take it easy Asetù... why are you shouting like that.

Asetù [speaking angrily with thick African accent]: I only have one line. One line. So I have to scream!

Pina [patiently trying to reassure Asetù, who looks calm but disappointed]: Asetù, each line is important. Also, you are the prince. And who's the prince? The most important person in Verona..

Asetù [confrontationally]: He's always at home! He never goes out! He arrives and he says only one word, when everybody's dead!

Pina: Yes, but he says the most important thing in the play, that is Capulets and Montagues, that here in our [theatre] workshop represent **immigrants and Italians**, don't have to wage war.

CDA OF SCENE TP.2 (0.48 - 2.12)

In the Play, the relationship between Roberto and Chinuè is compared to the one of star-crossed lovers Romeo and Juliet. In fact, Chinuè also plays the role of Juliet in an amateur version of the Shakespearian play, which gives the title to the short film. In the film, Pina, the director of the play, explicitly compares the conflict between Capulets and Montagues to the "war" between "immigrants and Italians" in contemporary Italy. This scene gives an indication that the moral of the story of both Romeo and Juliet and the Play is that group rivalry can only be destructive and should be discouraged. However, by drawing a comparison with Romeo and Juliet, the words of Pina have the effect to give the impression that there are "fault on both sides" and assign the same level of responsibility for the conflict to both "immigrants" and "Italians".

SCENE TP.3 (4.17 – 4.54)

[Chinuè is at the hospital inquiring about abortion]

Nurse: “Chinuè”. What a nice name, Italian nationality, you are sixteen...don't your parents know you're pregnant yet?

[Chinuè shakes her head to mean no.]

Doctor: So Chinuè if you're sure about taking this step, it's important you talk about it at home, because you're a minor and you need both of your parents' approval.

[Chinuè stays silent. Her friend intervenes]

Chinuè's friend: You know what, the problem is that...both her parents are in Africa.

Doctor: [looking suspicious] Are both of them in Africa, Chinuè? Is there any chance your mother could be here, and she could accompany you? Without your father comes to know about it?

Chinuè: No, no my mum is in Africa, too... [rolls her eyes, adds with irony] in every possible way..

Doctor: So...I can't do anything..

CDA OF SCENE TP.3 (4.17 – 4.54)

Chinuè makes a joke that her mum is in Africa “in every possible way” referring to not just the dimension of being physically in the continent but also from a cognitive/mental attitude perspective. Firstly, the choice of referring to “Africa” and not to Chinuè’s parents’ home country of Ivory Coast, constructs a generic collective identity of Africans as one people sharing similar characteristics. Secondly, the mechanism underlying the ironic comment identifies “backwardness” as a common trait shared by both Africa and Chinuè’s mother, which has the effect of hinting at both the underdevelopment of Africa from an economic perspective and Chinuè’s mother’s traditionalist attitude. The discursive strategy implemented in this scene is also confirmed by a statement released by the director Guido

Lombardi, which summarises how Chinuè not only has to deal with an undesired pregnancy but also finds herself between “her culture of origin, the traditionalist one of a Muslim country like the Ivory Coast, and the Italian one, in which the civil battles for the independence of women, have made it possible to distance oneself from Catholic culture, which was way more prevalent in the past” (Note from director Guido Lombardi in Bronx film, n.d). Chinuè’s comment in scene TP.3 therefore hints to the negative representation of the Other as a less civilised collective subjectivity, and that reveals itself in the rhetoric device of irony, which according to Van Dijk (2006), has the effect of softening the edges of point blank derogations and it is more effective.

SCENE TP.4 (6.03 – 7.40)

[Chinuè and Anna go to Asetù’s shop to ask her to impersonate Chinuè’s mother, so Chinuè can request an abortion without telling her parents]

Asetù [standing behind the shop counter, on which several popular Italian supermarket brands can be seen on the shelves. She is wearing an African print dress, her hair wrapped in a colorful scarf, holding a corn cob]: Did Pina, the great director, send you? Tell her not to worry, I get it.

Chinuè: You get what?

Asetù [in broken Italian]: That I can't act. I am mature. I can take it. End of.

Anna [trying to complement Asetù]: No Asetù! You can act!

Asetù [pointing corn cob at Anna]: You.. You, who have always made fun of me with the others. [tries to walk away]

Chinuè: Asetù, that's not the reason we're here, I swear.

[scene continues in back of the shop]

Asetù: Me. Playing your mother. Why?

Chinuè [confessing with sheepish tone] : Two days ago I found out I'm pregnant. I can't tell at home. The only thing I can do is have an abortion. But to do that, I need the consent of a parent.

Anna: We know that in **your country** too, abortion is probably not a good thing. But it is the only chance we have.

Asetù [looking at Chinuè sympathetically]: Being a good mum.. is a hard role...[in an excited tone] but it has lots of lines! It's an important role!

Anna: We might want to rehearse it..

Asetù [emphatically]: No rehearsals! I've got this! "Your mum".. shall win an Oscar.

[Asetù's shop helper walks in to pick up a crate of food. He's wearing an African print co-ord.]

Asetù: You! What are you doing here! Don't you see we're talking?

Asetù's shop helper [jumps when Asetù shouts at him and clumsily drops the crate]: No... I thought..

Asetù [overreacting]: I am going to fire you! You're a good-for-nothing! [gets closer to him, keeps shouting] Look! You dropped the peppers! What are you doing! I am going to fire you!

Chinuè: Asetù, we're going to go..don't forget.

Asetù: Do we need a photo for the fake ID? I shall go to the hairdresser's..

Asetù's shop helper: What ID..

Asetù: You shut up! Pick up the peppers!

CDA OF SCENE TP.4 (6.03 – 7.40)

In this scene, the intertextual elements are particularly important. Asetù is shown standing behind the shop counter, on which several popular Italian supermarket brands can be seen on the shelves. She is wearing an African print dress, her hair wrapped in a colorful scarf, holding a corn cob. She is portrayed as ill-tempered as she starts threatening her shop helper, a black man roughly the same age as her, who is portrayed as clumsy and unreliable. Asetù is initially sceptical of Chinuè's request to play her mother at the clinic, but eventually agrees to help. Overall, both Asetù and her shop helper as

portrayed mainly negatively: Asetù as suspicious, dramatic, easy to overreact and incline to insult her employee; Asetù's shop helper as "a good-for-nothing".

SCENE TP.5 (9.25 – 11.15)

[Chinuè is back at the hospital with Asetù. Asetù is wearing a black outfit and hijab]

Doctor [looking at fake Republic of Mali passport. In suspicious tone]: Your daughter told us that you were **in Africa**. When did you come back?

Asetù [always speaking in broken Italian]: As soon as my daughter called me, I got on a plane.

Doctor [realising that something does not quite add up]: But, here there's no stamp!

Chinuè [looking worried]: Excuse me, what do you mean there is no stamp?

Doctor: There is no stamp on the passport. The stamp of your return.

Asetù [looks at Chinuè]: See, what you made me do! Telling lies.

Chinuè [worried that she is going to get in trouble]: No but, mum!

Asetù [raising her voice]: What mum! The truth is I... I haven't been to **Africa**. [doctor looks at Chinuè] But I can't tell my husband that she's pregnant or he will kick her out.

Doctor [looking puzzled]: Actually, she had told us she could not tell you either..

Asetù: Because she doesn't know about my sister's story..

Doctor: Sorry, what story?

Asetù [speaking in serious tone]: In **Ivory Coast**, I had a sister. Fatima was her name. She got pregnant at the age of fourteen. So my dad kicked Fatima out of the house, out of the village... [doctor looking at Asetù sympathetically] After that, I came to Italy and I never saw my little sister again. [Asetù bursts into tears. Chinuè looks at her. The doctor hands her a box of tissues] ...My

little sister... That's why I came here [to the hospital with Chinuè]. Because even if abortion is not a good thing, I don't want to lose my daughter.

Doctor [in understanding tone]: Calm down madame, calm down. As far as we've concerned, your husband is in **Africa**, like Chinuè told us. If you give your consent, we start the process and nobody but the two of you will ever find out.

[Chinuè and Asetù are in the corridor, walking out of the hospital.]

Chinuè [in extatic tone]: Asetù! Asetù, you've been great! You even broke into tears.

Asetù [looking serious]: I wasn't acting. That was the story of my life.. My sister's story .. is sad.

Chinuè: I am sorry for your sister.

Asetù: Sooner or later, I will look for her. It'll be nice to meet again. But you, you are a brave girl. I am happy I helped you. But now let's go before the idiot destroys my shop.

CDA OF SCENE TP.5 (9.25 – 11.15)

Similarly to Scene TP.3, the term "Africa" is used to construct a generic collective identity of black characters in the film. Asetù provides to the doctor a fake Republic of Mali passport, which the doctor looks at carefully and with suspicion, pointing out that the customs stamp is missing. Moments after, Asetù starts telling her sister's story, which took place in Ivory Coast, but the doctor does not pick up on the fact that Asetù's country of origins was previously inferred as Republic of Mali from the passport. Asetù's homeland is described through the use of strategies, which suggest economic underdevelopment and conservative attitudes (the term "village", the fact that her sister got pregnant when extremely young and Asetù's father decided to "kick Fatima out"). Although Asetù's story could be ascribed to the dynamics of any dysfunctional family, the scene again seem to draw a link with such dynamics as "African" praxis. In addition, Asetù is once again pictured as king but overly dramatic and emotional.

Appendix D

The World Cup in A Square (2018)

OFFICIAL SYNOPSIS

TWCiTS (2018): *"November 2017: the Italian national football team does not qualify for the 2018 world championship. There are people who can't live without having their national team to support; they hang around in the squares, feeling useless and purposeless. In the deep South of Italy, a group of them do not give up and decide to set up a parallel world championship to be played right in their hometown square. Italy will compete against other national teams made by immigrants. But some of them were born and raised in Italy and they feel Italian 100%. So, what? There's only one solution: two Italian teams will play against each other. And we will see who wins."* (Sayonara Film, n.d).

SCENE TWCiAS.1 (2.03 - 3.30)

[Mario is sitting outside the square café, sipping beer with his friends. Two kids of Asian descent approach Mario to sign up as China for the world cup. Mario looks at his friend and nods without asking questions. Ahmed then arrives to enquiry about the world cup in the square and sign up his team.]

Football commentator [voiceover while showing the square]: *Only 20 days to go until the World cup starts in Russia. Rumour has it that another world cup, so to say, is being organised. Another world cup, a little peculiar. We will keep you updated and will report on what is happening.*

[Two kids of Asian descent walk to the table where Mario is sitting]

Unnamed kid: Hi

Mario: Aho'

Unnamed kid [puts the money for the tournament fee on the table]: I want to sign up China.

Mario [nodding and looking at his friend]: Write down, "China".

Mario's friend: Alright.

Mario [talking to kids that have just signed China up]: Go now

[Ahmed arrives]

Mario [mumbling]: What do you want?

Ahmed: I want to play in the world cup.

Mario: And you, what are you? **Senegal?**

Ahmed: My father is, I am Italian.

[Mario and his friend start laughing]

Ahmed [making Italian gesture]: What are you laughing at? *[in local dialect]*

Mario [smiling arrogantly]: Hey chill out... You want to play the world cup?

Ahmed: Sure

Mario: Then look around [points at his friends, all white Italians, sitting around them at the cafe]. Italy's taken. It's **us**. Bring the money and you can sign up the **Senegalese team.**

Ahmed: Look I have never even been to Senegal. I live here, my girlfriend is here, I play football here. [switch to local dialect] Why should I sign up the Senegalese team?

Mario: Look, it's just the way it works here. [in dialect] Italy's already signed up. Do you want to play? Bring €250 and you can sign up Senegal to the world cup. Now go.

[Ahmed leaves, swearing in local dialect. Mario laughs at the insult and looks around at his friends who are also laughing.]

CDA OF SCENE TWCiAS.1 (2.03 - 3.30)

It is assumed that players in the World cup in the square will represent their home country and Ahmed is firstly asked about his origins and then laughed

at when he answers he was born in Italy. By saying "Italy's taken. It's us", Mario uses "Italy" as metaphor, which refers both to his group of friends who are playing as the Italian team in the world cup, but also asserts his entitlement to claiming the country as his own, on the basis of his birthright. The pronouns *we/us* are also used deictically by Mario to refer to his "ingroup", whose members share an understanding of Italianness, which does not include Ahmed. At the same time, Ahmed offers a series of details on his background – the fact that he was born in the country, that his girlfriend is in Italy and that he plays for a local football team – as evidence to Mario that they both belong to the same group. Ahmed also switches from the Italian language to the local dialect, which has the effect to mark him not only as Italian but as a member of a specific local community. The categorical assertion "it's just the way it works here" in response to Ahmed's request to explain the reasons why he should play for the Senegalese team, is also used by Mario to reinforce his words as expressing a self-evident truth.

SCENE TWCiAS.2 (3.33 – 3.55)

[Ahmed walked back to his friends, four kids of different ethnic background, who are waiting for him in the square.]

Ahmed: It's absurd. He said they don't want us to play in the world cup.

Unnamed Ahmed's friend #1: Why?

Ahmed: Because he said I am not Italian. And neither are you.

Unnamed Ahmed's friend #2: And what are we?

Ahmed: Dunno. Now, let's find €250 and then we'll see. [in Apulian dialect]
Let's go.

CDA OF SCENE TWCiAS.2 (3.33 – 3.55)

This short exchange replicates the in-group / out-group dynamic of the previous scene (TWCiAS.1). Ahmed mentions to his friends that Mario and his

group (they) won't let them play in the world cup because they are not Italian. To the question "what are we?" which according to Van Dijk's ideological square can also be translated to "what group do we belong to", Mario answer that he does not know. As in the previous scene, the switch from Italian language to the Apulian dialect represent a symbol of group membership to the Apulian people.

SCENE TWCiAS.3 (4.04 - 4.47)

[Mario and his friend are counting the money from the tournament fees. Ahmed comes back, puts the money on the table]

Mario's friend [nodding]: Alright

Ahmed: Alright.

Mario's friend: What do I write here? **Nepal, Niger, Sudan..**

Ahmed: **Sudan?! Italy.**

Mario [raising his voice]: What did I told you? Italy's already taken. It's **us.**

Ahmed: Why not? Are you scared?

Mario [stands up, gets closer to Ahmed]: Are we scared!? Are we scared!?

Mario's friend [trying to calm Mario down]: Come on, we only need one team and we're done...

Mario: Write it down then. Let's see what they can do. **Italy 2.**

Mario's friend [calmly]: Alright, see you on the field.

Ahmed: Alright.

CDA OF SCENE TWCiAS.3 (4.04 - 4.47)

In this scene, Mario's friend's, who is presented as quite naïve through his tone of voice and inflection, asks Ahmed which country ("Nepal, Niger, Sudan") he is going to play for. The question is phrased in order to refer to a

non-white collective identity of such countries, which is transferred on to Ahmed. Mario and his friends self-identify as the Italian in-group by the use of “us/we” pronouns and mark Ahmed as foreigner by re-iterating “Italy is already taken” as an evidentiality (a matter-of-fact situation) that cannot be changed. In the end, when they give in – Ahmed’s team is signed up as “Italy 2” in order to label it as less legitimate. The reference to “being scared” echoes the topoi of threat/fear as identified by Wodak & Van Dijk (2000) and refers to the ingroup perceived threat of loss of privilege and identity, derived from the outgroup’s asserting their role in society.

SCENE TWCiAS.4 (7.12 - 7.54)

Mario [reading a local newspaper article on the worldcup in the square]: “The town does not seem to have accepted the idea that this Italy, made of people of colour, can represent all of us. And at each goal it has cheered less and less, as if facing a defeat and not a victory. The facts, however, show that this other Italy knows how to play football and is in the running to conquer the tournament.” [looks at his friends] But I've scored that goal, a la Pelé.

Mario's friend: and they did not write anything about it.

Mario: these fucking newspapers...

CDA OF SCENE TWCiAS.4 (7.12 - 7.54)

Mario is reading from the local newspaper. The newspaper article explicitly acknowledges “the country’s” difficulty in accepting the composition of Ahmed’s Italian team because it is “made up of people of colour”. The article adopts the perspective of *the country*, the Italian white majority, which is seen as struggling to come to terms with accepting Ahmed’s team as Italian and de-emphasizes its negative attitude without explicitly labelling as racist. The reference to the country’s “cheering less and less” as witnessing a defeat rather than a victory, has the effect of subtly framing it as deserving sympathy rather than perpetrating discriminations against minority groups. This discursive strategy has the effect of softening the reference to the

ingrained racist prejudice which pervades the country without mentioning racism explicitly. This act of denial also comes in the guise of Mario drawing attention to the fact that the newspaper has failed to acknowledge his football skills in the tournament, shifting the act from a group dynamic (enacted by the country) to Mario and his friends. In this way the discourse on denial of racist practices is individualised and attributed to a small portion of the in-group and not the whole group instead.

SCENE TWCiAS.5 (9.14 - 10.15)

[Mario asks Ahmed to meet him at the café on the day of the final match of the worldcup, which is to be played between Mario's "Italy" and Ahmed's "Italy 2"]

Football commentator [voiceover]: The oddity of the World Cup in the square has reached its climax. The finale will be played by the two Italian teams. Noone expected a finale like this!

Ahmed walks over to Mario, sitting at the square café' as usual.

Ahmed: What do you want? Why did you ask me to come here?

Mario: Tonight, the **original Italy** must win.

Ahmed: And what did you do to be "**the original Italy**"?

Mario: What do you mean? I was born here.

Ahmed: [sighs] My dad, had to cross the sea and the desert to come here from Senegal. Then he arranged for my mum to join him here, and here I was born. We deserved, to be Italian.

[Ahmed and Mario look at each other in silence for a few seconds. Ahmed walks away. Mario looks deep in thought]

CDA OF SCENE TWCiAS.5 (9.14 - 10.15)

In this scene, Mario points out his perception of two entities: "the original Italy", to whom he belongs to, and a less legitimate Italy. Ahmed questions Mario on the entry criteria to "the original Italy" group, to which Mario

answers by identifying birthright and ethnicity (“I was born here”) as the key evidence that allows him to claim the “original” Italian identity as his own. Ahmed’s questions Mario’s assumption, by adopting a post-racial perspective which dismisses discrimination on the grounds of race, in order to get recognition as a reward for his parents’ struggles (“we deserved to be Italian”).

SCENE TWCiAS.6 (10.18 – 13.37)

[It is the day of the final, where the winner of the world cup will be declared]

Football commentator [voiceover]: This is the 2018 World Cup final. Allow me to say that emotions are not heightened, they are up the roof.

Referee [talking to Mario and Ahmed on the field as both teams are wearing the same blue football kit]: One of you changes football kit, otherwise I won’t let you play.

Mario [in assertive tone]: Well, we won’t take off the national team t-shirt.

Ahmed: It’s the only one we have, that’s it.

Referee [talking to Ahmed]: Right, you know what. Since you’ve only got this one, just take it off. You’ll play in your shorts.

Ahmed [not convinced]: Really?

Mario: Bare chested come on.

[Ahmed agrees, takes off the t-shirt]

[The game begins, none of the teams can prevail on the other. The crowd is waving Italian flags. Some people in the crowd look disappointed, others chant “Italy!”, it is not clear which team the crowd is supporting. Ahmed’s team is assigned a penalty kick, which will decide the winner of the worldcup. Ahmed scores. Silence falls in the square as his team wins the tournament. After a few seconds, a young boy starts cheering, shouting “Italy!” and the

crowd joins in the celebration, even though some people remain silent and look disappointed.

CDA OF SCENE TWCiAS.6 (10.18 – 13.37)

In this scene, the wholly-white crowd watching the finale is divided into two groups. On one hand, people portrayed in a negative way, as looking disappointed, shaking their heads in dissent or remaining in silence are identified as the portion of the Italian population, who are reluctant to the idea of Italian identity as multicultural. On the other, people cheering enthusiastically, smiling and clapping their hands in support of Ahmed's team are portrayed in a positive light. Although the scene overall shows a sympathetic attitude towards cultural diversity, it still aligns with the neo-liberal and post-racial rhetoric, which promotes the idea that individuals are responsible to integrate themselves and recognition should be awarded as completion of such process.

SCENE TWCiAS.7 (13.40 – 14.07)

[It's now the day after the final. It is early morning and the square is empty. Only the café owner is in the square, he's opening the shop]

Football commentator [voiceover. in solemn voice]: The first lights of the day wake up the town. The world cup in the square is over. A world cup which was wanted, lived and most of all played all-heartedly in the spirit of sacrifice. In our hearts beats the pride of those, who always believed in it, who spat blood and sweat on the football field. This morning we look with pride at the faded lines of the field. Last night, France won the world cup in Russia. [tone becomes increasingly excited] But **us**, we had our payback. **Italy** won the world cup!

CDA OF SCENE TWCiAS.7 (13.40 – 14.07)

In this scene, an implicit parallel is drawn between "the faded lines of the field" and the lines, which delimit a supposed notion Italian identity

promoted by the character of Mario through the film. Ahmed's team is referred to plainly as "Italy" and not "Italy 2" and through the use of the pronoun "us", the voiceover commentator identifies himself and Ahmed's team as part of the same group.

Appendix E

Summary of Data Analysed											
Reference code	Source Text Coding	Document Type	Data Type	Document Title	Text Producer/ Speaker	Distribution/ Available at	Level 1	Level 2	Year	Data Collection	Last Accessed
EXTRACT A.1	TEXT A	Press Release	Verbal Textual	MigrArti 1st Edition, Open Call / Press Release	MiBACT	MiBACT website	Meso Macro	Institution (MigrArti, MiBACT)	2015	May-20	Aug-20
EXTRACT A.2											
EXTRACT B.1	TEXT B	Transcribed statements in promotional video	Verbal Textual	2017 MigrArti Promotional Video	Dario Franceschini (Minister of Cultural Heritage and Activities)	MiBACT official Youtube Channel	Micro Macro	Individual & Institutional (MiBACT)	2017	May-20	Aug-20
EXTRACT B.2					Paolo Masini (MigrArti Project Coordinator)	MiBACT official Youtube Channel	Micro Meso	Individual & Institutional (MigrArti)	2017		
EXTRACT B.3					Dario Franceschini (Minister of Cultural Heritage and Activities)	MiBACT official Youtube Channel	Micro Macro	Individual & Institutional (MiBACT)	2017		
SCENE TP.1	The Play (TP)	Short Film	Textual Verbal Visual	The Play / La Recita	Guido Lombardi (Director) Marco Gianfreda (Screenwriter)	Bronx Film	Micro Meso Macro	Individual (Director & Screenwriter) Institutional (MigrArti & MiBACT Endorsement)	2017	May-20	Aug-20
SCENE TP.2											
SCENE TP.3											
SCENE TP.4											
SCENE TP.5											
SCENE TWCiAS.1	The World Cup in A Square (TWCiAS)	Short Film	Textual Verbal Visual	The World Cup in A Square / Il Mondiale in Piazza	Vito Palmieri (Director) Michele Santeremo (Screenwriter)	Sayonara Film	Micro Meso Macro	Individual (Director & Screenwriter) Institutional (MigrArti & MiBACT Endorsement)	2017	May-20	Aug-20
SCENE TWCiAS.2											
SCENE TWCiAS.3											
SCENE TWCiAS.4											
SCENE TWCiAS.5											
SCENE TWCiAS.6											
SCENE TWCiAS.7											

ⁱ Note on levels 1 and 2: *Micro level*: the personal and social cognition of individual text producers (organisers of MigrArti, directors, screenwriters) as their knowledge and opinions, as well as those shared with members of the group to which they belong. *Meso level*: the social acts as processes within MigrArti festival, which still have an individual component but are also enacted within the framework of an institutional cultural initiative, and contingent stated objectives; *Macro level*: the institutional attitude, as embodied by MigrArti's institutional mandate under MiBACT, which is informed by the political agenda of the centre-left coalition governments, which held power from March 2013 to June 2018.