

**Abstract:**

Since the 1980s, Italy has rapidly shifted from a country of emigration to a host country of international immigrant communities. Today, immigrants make up 8.1% of the Italian population (Osservatorio Regionale 2014: 4). Italy's historical development of immigration laws have greatly shaped the work opportunities that they can acquire as well as how they are perceived in Italian society. These political processes have also molded how immigrant participation in the Italian labor market is racialized and genderized. While studying abroad in Bologna, Italy during the academic year of 2013-2014, I was frequently confronted by West African street merchants selling items such as artisanal products from their country of origin, tissues, lighters, and socks. Some had a vending license while others did not. Their ability to get a license was dependent on their legal status.

Supported by the Global Research Fellowship of the McCulloch Center for Global Initiatives and the Mount Holyoke UAF LYNK funding, I developed an independent research project that explored how immigration politics shape the men's opportunities for finding, creating and maintaining forms of employment. This project analyzes the fieldwork I conducted within the city center of Bologna from May to August 2014. I had informal conversations and facilitated interviews with fourteen undocumented street peddlers in the city, six irregular and eight regularized workers. Three of the men were from Nigeria and the other eleven were from Senegal. I pose the following questions: why do the men engage in petty vending? What effects do immigration policies have on their ability to obtain employment in Italy? What kinds of obstacles do they confront and how do they overcome them? Common themes arose about their socio-economic and legal obstacles in Italian society, as well as discrimination that they face from police, state employees, and local politicians.

I argue that regardless of the men's legal status, regular or irregular, they are negatively impacted by Italian immigration policies as they hinder their opportunities to find and maintain employment, thus pushing them to work in the informal economy. I use social theorist Michel Foucault's concepts of biopower and biopolitics to analyze how contemporary Italian immigration policies marginalize, segregate and racialize immigrant communities, particularly African individuals. In the first chapter, I provide a brief historiography of Italian immigration politics until 2009, and how these laws have shaped immigrant participation in the Italian labor market and the political economy of the Emilia-Romagna. Chapter Two demonstrates how Italian immigration laws trap the irregular merchants into a vicious cycle of poverty. In the final chapter, I discuss how the combination of flaws within immigration policies and discrimination embedded within local bureaucratic practices restrict regularized merchants to do documented work, thus forcing them into the underground economy. At the end, I have also included two interview transcriptions with participants in Italian and a photo gallery.

**Immigration Politics & Marginalized Workers:  
West African Street Merchants in Bologna, Italy**

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“For the immigrant there are two kinds of politics available: that which is forbidden to him and that which exploits him.”

- Hamid Bichri, Moroccan-Italian politician and activist (1995, 59)

## INTRODUCTION

During the summer of 2014, I was awarded a Global Research Fellowship to conduct independent research in Bologna, Italy. Initially, I focused on the economic sustainability of West African immigrant street peddlers (*venditori ambulanti*), both those with and without a vending license<sup>1</sup>. I had been studying abroad in Bologna since August 2013, and I had developed interest in learning more about migrant workers that were prevalent in the city. Questions about their personal histories, cultural backgrounds, and experiences in Italy were critical for my research. However, despite the cultural diversity amongst the interlocutors, primarily men from Senegal and Nigeria, they shared similar viewpoints about Italy and the treatment of immigrants.

Since the 1980s, Italian immigration policies have leveraged the regulation of migrants into local labor markets and communities. The complexity of policy implementation and integration into the labor market continues to be a focus of Italian (and European) debates. Within this debate, I am interested in the downstream effects of labor policy making on the micro-social level. In this thesis, I look at how the implementation of recent Italian and Bolognese laws influence the migrant’s employment

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<sup>1</sup> I will explain the significance, history and connotations of the term *venditori ambulanti* in further detail in the Literature Review.

experiences, and how they also impact other aspects of their lives. In Bologna, West African street peddlers are constantly under scrutiny of *poliziotti* and *vigili urbani* (traffic guards) and local politicians. Building upon social scientists such as Kitty Calavita and Davide Però, I argue that the absence of migrant voices in Italian jurisdiction and policymaking is not by chance, but rather a deliberate action. The unbalanced power relations between the Italian state and immigrants, particularly those of black skin, consist of processes in which the government exerts and maintains its dominance over specific minorities.

I explore how the regulations within Italian immigration policies, along with social, political, and cultural processes, trap West African street merchants in cycles of poverty and marginalization. For the merchants who engaged in undocumented work, they were often criminalized by police officers, even though they had few other employment options. The regularized merchants struggled to maintain their legal status, as they often became targets of cultural racism from local politicians and employees of bureaucratic government offices. I suggest that the deficiencies within national immigration policies and local political practices institutionalize discriminatory practices. The effects of these policies negatively impacted each of the lives of the West African merchants: regardless of their legal status, they struggled (and continue to struggle) obtaining and maintaining employment opportunities, thus pushing them to engage in forms of undocumented labor.

### Literature Review

The experiences of *venditori ambulanti* (street merchants) have been explored through a variety of anthropological and sociological lenses, as well as recounted in personal memoirs. In his autobiographical work *Io, venditore di elefanti*, Senegalese activist and writer Pap Khouma describes his life as an irregular *venditore ambulante* in Italy and France during the 1980s. His work represents one of the first documented personal accounts of selling items on the street, a job that anthropologist Donald Carter describes as “the most despised social category of immigrants in popular Italian imagination” (Carter, 1997, 83). His narrative also highlights the relationship between the immigrant and the state:

“ The question of ‘new immigration’ becomes a collision field of political parties and politicians, which are interested in immigrants mostly because they are stimulus for votes, arguments of propaganda, and in some sense or another, when they open, rather when they close the borders”<sup>2</sup> (Khouma 1990:8).

As a fundamental work within the field of migration studies, Khouma’s memoir documents and represents one of the thousands of West African street merchant experiences in Italy. Lastly, his work also demonstrates how early Italian immigration policies and practices impacted black immigrant workers, thus underlining the differences and similarities between experiences of the past and the present day.

*Venditori ambulanti* have become increasingly included as subjects in political immigration debates (Colombo & Sciortino 2003: 32). In this political arena of ‘us

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<sup>2</sup> “La questione della nuova immigrazione si offre come campo di scontro tra partiti e uomini politici, ai quali interessano i nuovi immigrati soprattutto perché sono catalizzatori di voti, argomento di propaganda, in un senso o nell’altro, quando si aprono cioè o quando si chiudono le frontiere”- Unless otherwise specified, all translations are mine.

versus them,' *venditori ambulanti* have been characterized as a “social problem”<sup>3</sup>.

Anthropologist Donald Carter notes that much of the preoccupation of street merchants derives from their ambiguous social status (1997: 130). Anthropologist Bruno Riccio's fieldwork on undocumented Senegalese street peddlers on the Emilia-Romagna coast demonstrates that local politicians and store workers argue that the merchants (ideologically) threaten their businesses by promoting cultural racist claims (Riccio 1999: 230). Similarly, Paul Stoller argues that the African vendors in other cities such as New York City represent how third-world practices and traditions have “taken place in spaces zoned ‘first world’- all of which creates spatial areas of multiple contestation and struggle” (Stoller 1994:785). The merchants in Bologna might also represent participants in Stoller's model of confrontations between the “third-world” and “first-world”.

Street merchants are often characterized by derogatory and racialized titles, embedded within a dichotomized and racialized point-of-view. One of the most common terminology, *vu comprà*, derives from their perceived pronunciation of “*vuoi comprare?*” (you want to buy?) (Carter 1997: 141). Carter highlights that this discriminatory term, primarily used in Northern Italy, is hardly about the immigrant's Italian language comprehension (1997: 141). As a matter of fact, it is more directly related to the Italian cultural stigma towards Italian Southern communities, specifically the correlation between low social classes, dialects, and low literacy. As we shall see in Chapters 2 and 3, even though language literacy can potentially increase the migrant's social and

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<sup>3</sup> In the introduction to their volume *Stranieri in Italia: Un'immigrazione normale*, social theorists Asher Colombo and Giuseppe Sciortino develop a more comprehensive understanding of a “social problem” and how irregular African merchants embody this issue. They define the characteristics of a social problem as: “the role of social norms, people, values, and economic relationships and classes, the reaction to social problems, or the way in which social problems are constructed... there does not exist an agreement on the way in which these factors are interconnected” (Colombo & Sciortino 2003: 33).



economic possibilities (Carter 1997: 143), it does not obliterate them from discrimination. Other terms such as *clandestino* (clandestine), *extracomunitario*, *marocchino*<sup>4</sup> (Moroccan), and *negro* (black), *venditore abusivo* (illegal vendor) represent other racialized terms that designate individuals as culturally different than European Union community members (Zinn 1994: 55). This terminology also has undertones of how the immigrant vendor is perceived as a “threat to social order,” especially due to stereotypes of informal drug trade and promoting violence. Colombo and Sciortino note that these terms accentuate the tensions between the independent immigrant worker and the Italian shopkeeper (2003: 33). Since the immigrant worker is perceived as inferior to the Italian worker, he is characterized as socially degrading, due to his “disrespectable work” (Colombo & Sciortino 2003: 33). Anthropologists Martina Giuffrè (2014), Caterina Cingolani (2014), and Kate Hepworth (2012) have also used social theory to understand how a migrant’s legal status is not solely political, but also a lived experience. These explanations and arguments summarize how West African street merchants have been included in anthropological discussion.

Social scientists have conceptualized “the state” as a fragmented entity that produces politicized practices to maintain control over populations (Ferguson-Gupta 2002:991; Carter 1997:115). Social theorist Michel Foucault argues that since the 18th century, the state has used its administrative powers to control populations (Carter, 115; Ferguson & Gupta 2002: 996). Generally, Foucault has concentrated on the tactics of institutional power in Western society, and how the body becomes the target and site of political power. He argued that a capitalist society thrives on *biopower*, as it attributes

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<sup>4</sup> In Chapter 1, I talk about the historical trajectory of immigrant participation in the Italian labor market, and how it establishes racial niches of work.

value to the body through discourses<sup>5</sup> of “knowledge-power” (1976: 140). Through tactics such as statistics, *governmentality* emphasizes a “productive dimension” of power, by governing through institutions and agencies, discourses, norms, identities, and self-discipline (Foucault in Ferguson & Gupta 2002: 989). The modern state segregates and hierarchizes populations by punishing and excluding those that appear to threaten the social order, such as groups classified by vagrancy, crime and illness (Carter 1997:110).

Anthropologist Donald Carter notes that the nation represents a type of gated community, where the creation and designation of “borders”, “frontiers” and “citizens” differentiates between who belongs and who does not (Carter 1997:19). Social theorist Georg Simmel argues that within the *politics of locality*, the traveler is never free from the state’s coercive powers thus becoming a “problem” (Simmel in Carter 1997: 19).” In other words, the state constructs the migrant as a “disruption” to social order. The relationship between the foreigner and the state represents a “loss of equilibrium between power, production and distribution” (Morgenthau 1979 in Carter 20). The West African peddlers align within these hierarchical “social concerns,” as they represent a “prototypical other, the alien outside the fence of custom” (Carter 1997:113). Since the influx of migrants in the 1980s, immigrants have been accused of taking jobs that were available to Italian citizens<sup>6</sup>. As black and brown men, they represent frontiers of gender, race, and sexuality, contemporary caricatured notions of “black cultural inferiority, family disintegration and social (dis)order” (Carter 1997:161). The lives of the men I worked with are much more complex than racial stereotypes.

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<sup>5</sup> Chris Weedon summarizes Foucault’s use of the term ‘discourses’, highlighting that an individual cannot have meaning or value outside of the power relations of the society they live in (1987: 108).

<sup>6</sup> I will discuss notions of the dual-labor market in Chapter 2.

Anthropologists also concentrate on the body and embodiment in both theory and ethnography. In contemporary anthropology, the body represents a lived and conscious experience. Foucault introduces the term biopolitics, which highlights how the body becomes a “political object,” (Foucault 1976:145) that only has meaning within its “network of... institutional bases” (Weedon 1987: 108). This term highlights how the human body does not have meaning outside of the way it has been constructed by the dominant power relations. Nancy Scheper-Hughes and Margaret Lock focus on the three types of bodies within social theory: individual (the phenomenological body of the self), social (the body as a symbol in nature, society and culture), body-politic (inspired by Foucault, the regulation and dominance in every aspect of life) (1987: 7). Scheper-Hughes and Lock remind us that the body politic delineates why and how humans are socialized (1987: 8). For this thesis, the emphasis on the body-politic is the most useful for analyzing and understanding how state powers govern minorities.

My theoretical background allows me to explore how institutional powers impact the lives of immigrant workers. Using Foucault’s theories, I explore how state policies exercise control over immigrant bodies, and how these are racialized towards black men. I also use this framework to analyze how the West African merchants respond to these oppressive processes, and how they manage to create economic opportunities for themselves. As Carter reminds us, the transnational is not a new concept, but has only been depicted as a phenomenon in regards to scale (1997, 127).

### Methodology

Over the course of thirteen weeks between May to August 2014, I used a variety

of approaches and methods to conduct my fieldwork. Before conducting my research, I received permission by Mount Holyoke's Institutional Review Board and adhered to ethical guidelines. Since the interlocutors are on the margins of society, I took precautions to protect their identity, one of which using pseudonyms such as Amodoulaye and Laurence. By studying in the city of Bologna since August 2013, I had already established personal and professional connections within the city to help me find interlocutors. Through the technique of snowballing (also known as network sampling), I requested individuals within my circles to recruit African men who they know that work as street peddlers (Schensul & LeCompte 2013:208). I also connected with local not-for-profit organizations that provide services for migrant communities. Throughout this process, I developed cluster samples of both licensed and unlicensed vendors based on the areas of the city they work, such as town squares (*piazze*) and local parks (Schensul & LeCompte 2013:205). I conducted a multi-sited research project in various urban areas and institutional offices within the city.

Once I found informants, I established a relationship of trust with each of them. Since speaking about immigration in Italy remains a silenced and contentious topic, the significance of establishing a rapport permitted me to ask specific questions and learn new information (Schensul & LeCompte 2007:29). Since I interviewed the men while they were working, I applied relaxed communication methods such as accompanying them as they work and treating them to a cup of coffee for small talk. Since I am also fluent in Italian and English, we spoke in whichever language they were most comfortable using. My compassion allowed me to connect with men on a humane level, especially with those who had escaped violence, political uprisings, and still recovering

from traumatic experiences. My empathy did not only operate as a methodological technique to understand the individual's perspective, but also as an epistemological approach by recognizing my political responsibility (Robben & Sluka 2007: 24).

I gained my data through interviews, field notes, newspaper articles and photography. Field notes and recorded interviews became my main source of recording conversations and observed experiences (Schensul & LeCompte 2007: 48). I used a mixture of interview methods such as informal (daily interactive conversations) and semi-structured (pre-formulated open-ended questions) (Schensul & LeCompte 103:174). As the ethnographer, my questions focused on understanding cultural differences between the West African peddlers and the Italian state, by untangling dichotomous rhetoric of "us" versus "them," and "here" versus "there" (Ferguson & Gupta in Robbins 2007:331). Proficiency in Italian and English varied amongst each individual, which was dependent on their experiences of learning and practicing the language. They often knew other languages, such as French, Wolof, and Pigeon English. I frequently asked if they could share how concepts such as their work, migratory process, and other experiences in Italy would be described in the languages that they have higher proficiency. The licensed merchants also provided me a catalog of newspaper articles that documented the establishment and obstacles with their local market. With their permission, I took photos of their market along as well accessed others published on online news articles (see Photo Gallery).<sup>7</sup> Even though visual anthropology often gets perceived as an "accurate registration of reality," it actually represents another type of field note, by capturing the

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<sup>7</sup> I only have photos of the licensed merchants due to ethical reasons that I had explained to receive IRB approval. Since the irregular merchants are more likely to have issues with their stay permit (hence unable to have vending licenses), I protect their identity by not uploading photos of them, especially in such a small and intimate city.

agency and objectives of the researcher (Robben 2007:386).

Since it is impossible to conduct any research project from an “objective” point of view, I was constantly reflecting about my social position. The ethnographer engages in a process of self-reflection where their self-examination focuses on how they “acquired, shared, and transmitted knowledge” (Robbens 2007: 443). As an African American woman, my identity provided me an “insider-outsider” perspective and access to the field site (Narayan 1993: 682). I was an insider in respect of my physical features, therefore permitting me to understand and have shared experiences with the men in regards to prejudicial and racist encounters. As an American student abroad, I was familiar with Italy’s immigration laws; I had to participate in the mandatory visits to the *Questura* (Foreigners Office of Bologna’s Police Headquarters) therefore giving me personal insight to discuss encounters with Italian public administration personnel.<sup>8</sup> I was granted a higher social privilege than most migrants due to the United State’s global political and economical presence, and my personal and financial liberty to study abroad.

I was also an outsider, because I am firstly a woman, and secondly an African American student. As a woman, I was not granted the same opportunities or daily interactions as would be for a man in Italy. Since I conducted my fieldwork alone, there were instances where I experienced harassment from some of the interlocutors; at those moments I had to immediately terminate the relationship with that individual. My historical and cultural identity as an African American did not allow me to relate with the merchants’ shared experiences in both their countries of origin and in Italy, but rather

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<sup>8</sup> Most often, migrants and expatriates must do the applications for their visas and stay permits (*permesso di soggiorno*) individually. As an American participating in a study abroad program, I was granted the privilege to have my host program organize my visa and stay permit applications, as well as my visits to the Police Headquarters (*Questura*).

only to sympathize. My identities could not be analyzed separately, for they all intersect and are fundamental to my experiences, relationships, and research in Bologna.

Whenever conducting fieldwork, the individual doing the ethnographic research must be prepared for dangers and surprises. My greatest limitation was interviewing and observing only while the men were working. Many of the men invited me to meet them to their homes to get to know them better. Due to safety reasons, I conducted my fieldwork only in public spaces of the city during daylight hours. As a matter of fact, throughout the summer I terminated relationships with some of informants due to verbal harassment. By remaining aware of my social position and that of the merchants, I was able to make the best decisions to keep myself safe. My fieldwork methodology played a vital role in how I interacted with the merchants and learned from their experiences.

### Outline of Chapters

To prove my argument of how immigration policies and bureaucratic processes perpetuate and institutionalize discriminatory practices, I have organized my chapters as follows: in Chapter One, I explain to the evolution of Italian immigration policy, primarily drawing upon Luca Einaudi's historiography of Italian migration politics since 1861.<sup>9</sup> This review presents a historical understanding of how Italian immigration law has shaped the social and economic position of migrants in the country, as well as how they have been regulated into the labor market. I provide statistics, charts, and tables generated by Italian research organizations such as Direzione dell'Immigrazione e delle Politiche di Integrazione, Dossier Statistico (Rapporto Unar), and the Osservatorio

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<sup>9</sup> I also pull from publications by social scientists Corrado Bonifazi and Kitty Calavita, and the International Organization for Migration.

Regionale sul Fenomeno Migratorio. I also present an overview of the region Emilia-Romagna and the history of Bologna's political parties and their initiatives to support immigrant communities in Italian society since the 1990s (i.e. volunteer organizations, affordable housing, labor market).

In the second chapter, I discuss how the implementation of state policies marginalize, racialize, and criminalize irregular West African street merchants. They perform independent undocumented work because they struggle to obtain employment in a Post-Fordist labor market. I also explore their initial expectations of Italy (and the rest of Europe), and how these perceptions have changed over time. Along with exploring the answers to these questions, I highlight how the second economy remains an essential building block of the Italian economic infrastructure. I highlight their experiences of arriving to Italy, obtaining residency documents, and encounters with police and *carabinieri*, as well as other practices of adaptation such as learning the Italian language. I focus on how state interventions have trapped the men into poverty, creating an underclass of community members.

In Chapter Three, I focus on the licensed Senegalese street merchants of the Bologna's Multiethnic Market. In response to experiences of discrimination and dilemmas within the local bureaucracy, the merchants create a collective identity of solidarity and anti-racism through the items they sell, their Market, and their cultural association Paths to Freedom (*Sentieri di Libertà*). Using information gathered from interviews, photos, and newspaper articles, I explain why since the market's opening in 2002, the merchants have been under scrutiny of the Municipality of Bologna. Due to the high surveillance of local politicians and police, the Market has been forced to close a variety



of times. I explore how and why regularized migrant vendors must resort to work in the underground economy. I put their experiences and voices in conversation with those of the unlicensed merchants, and analyze the similarities and differences between their experiences.

## CHAPTER ONE:

### **Immigration Laws and Political Economy of Bologna**

In this chapter, I will review the evolution of Italian immigration laws since Unification, and connect these changes to the historical immigration patterns to the country. This overview will provide a general comprehension of how immigrants have been constructed in national political discourse. Building upon historian Luca Einaudi and sociologist Silvia Cozzi, I argue that migratory laws have been construed identifying migrants as workers. In order to make this point, I will also look at the economy of the region where the migrants I interviewed live. I will also focus on the labor market of the Emilia Romagna, more specifically its capital city of Bologna, as this will demonstrate the circumstances of the city's political and social economy. West African merchants in the city of Bologna are influenced by these historical patterns, therefore it is crucial to establish how immigration has become politicized and regulated within Italian society.

#### History of Italian Immigration Laws

Since Italy's Unification in 1861, emigration and immigration have characterized the social, economic and political evolution of the nation (Einaudi 2007: 19). Between the years of 1880 and 1924, heavy migratory processes to the United States, Argentina and Brazil distinguished the country. Despite this, the Italian government has legislated on both emigration and immigration since its inception. Between the years 1865-69, the *Normativa dell'Italia Liberale* (Legislation of a Liberal Italy), the first law to address

migratory flows, decreed that foreigners in the country benefited from the same civil rights as Italians (Einaudi 2007: 415). Furthermore, those arriving at the borders would be declined entry if found without proper identification and substantial resources. A foreigner would be expelled if they were ordained of a criminal sentence or if they were deemed dangerous to the public order (Einaudi 2007: 415). During Mussolini's rule beginning in the 1920s, immigration policies were developed to protect the Italian state.

During the Fascist era, a variety of fascist laws were established between 1926 and 1931 with the goal of protecting citizens, institutions and organizations (Einaudi 2007: 415). In 1926, provincial offices were designated with controlling foreigners that entered the country. In 1930, these offices began systematically collecting statistics on these populations (Einaudi 2007: 415). The law of public security of 1931 established that every foreigner entering the country must possess a visa<sup>10</sup> for entrance and is obligated to notify police authorities within the first 72 hours of arrival (Einaudi 2007: 415). The foreigner was required to present their stay permit, a document that affirmed their identity, nationality, place of residence, duration of stay, occupation and a description of their assets (Einaudi 2007: 32). In 1931, there were a calculated 138,000 foreigners in Italy, and until the 1970s the census would remain relatively stable (Einaudi 2007: 32). Even though other legislations continued to be established over the years, these policies would stay in effect until 1982 (Eiunadi 2007: 415).

Under Mussolini's rule, various 'racial laws' were established to control populations and to make a distinction between races (Einaudi 2007: 35). After the

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<sup>10</sup> Within Luca Einaudi's volume *Le politiche dell'immigrazione in Italia dall'unità a Oggi*, this was the only instance that I noted use of the word visa. This seems like an interesting choice, especially since the term stay permit was used much more frequently.

proclamation of the Empire in 1935, legislative measures were introduced to monitor the mixing of races (Einaudi 2007: 35). Between 1933 and 1938, anti-Jewish laws excluded Jewish communities from access to public employment, schools, universities, and other economic activities. At this time, there was an estimated census of 36,928 Italian Jews and 9,257 foreign Jews (Einaudi 2007: 36). In 1938, non Italian Jews that had arrived after 1919 were expelled from the country (Colombo & Sciortino 2004: 51), and in 1940, they were detained in a separate camp in Tarsis to be sent to concentration camps in Germany (Einaudi 2007: 37).<sup>11</sup> These laws were then abolished in 1943 (Einaudi 2007: 37).

The Italian Constitution of 1948 launched the principles of non-discrimination and identification of human rights determined by international standards and conduct, stating that “the juridical condition of the foreigner is regulated by the law in conformity with international standards and treatment” (Einaudi 2007: 45). In 1961, a calculated 62,780 foreigners resided in the country, a total that was considerably lower than in 1931 (Einaudi 2007: 405). On the contrary, the Italian state had also encouraged Italians to migrate to other countries. Due to the small number of immigrants, there was no systematic immigration policy developed between the years of 1948-1982.

By 1977, there had not yet been any proposals to supervise the arrivals of migrants participating in the labor market, especially since many migrants did clandestine work in agriculture, small businesses, or family homes (Einaudi 2007: 111).<sup>12</sup> As immigrant’s participation in the Italian labor market became more prominent, Italian and

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<sup>11</sup> The racial laws permitted the immigration of German Jews, as long as they did not participate in any anti-fascist political activity (Einaudi 2007:51).

<sup>12</sup> Many agencies and informal (usually religious) networks had documented the arrivals of foreigners that they had affiliations (Einaudi 2007: 111).

European confederate unions (Comitato Intergovernativo per le Migrazioni, Comitato Intergovernativo per le Migrazioni Europee, and International organization for Migration (Le Migrazioni 7) took responsibility for developing migratory politics (Einaudi 2007: 111-2). By the end of 1977, the unions had advocated for research on immigrant residents in Italy and used the results to pressure political action and involvement (Einaudi 2007: 115). The following year, the unions presented statistics demonstrating that 500,000 foreigners were working in the country. Many came from developing countries and worked in the *Mezzogiorno*, yet only 200,000 obtained residence permits (Einaudi 2007: 115). Responding to the confederate unions' demands, government officials began proposing immigration policies between 1979 and 1986. Until the approval of former Minister of Labor Franco Foschi's Law 943/1986 in 1986, many of these proposals were considered either too repressive or too open (Einaudi 2007: 115).

From 1982 to 1986, the ruling of the Circolare Ministeriale blocked new entrances to the country and repealed the duty of the Provincial Office of Labor to process work authorizations of non-EU citizens (Einaudi 2007: 122-3). The main goal of the law was to put an end to Italy's history of irregular immigration and sanction new effective systems to control and direct working migrant populations.

In December 1986, Law 943/1986, better known as the Foschi Law, (Standards in the Subject of Arrangement and Treatment of Non-European Workers and Against Irregular Immigration<sup>13</sup>) was first Italy's first immigration policy that addressed non-

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<sup>13</sup> Title in Italian: "Norme in materia di collocamento e di trattamento dei lavoratori extracomunitari immigrati e contro le immigrazioni clandestine" (Einaudi 2007: 27).

European Union (EU) workers and their families (Einaudi 2007: 129).<sup>14</sup> One of its principal provisions stated that all documented foreign laborers must receive equal treatment as would Italian citizens. These non-discriminatory ordinances also included access to housing and health services (Calavita 2005: 31). It authorized policies of family reunification for spouses, unmarried couples, children, and parents, as long as they did not have plans to work in the country. After one year of stay, regularized spouses and children were eligible to work (Einaudi 2007: 130). Regional Italian labor offices located in Italy circulated lists of available positions with local companies to both European and non-European countries (Einaudi 2007: 416). These monthly lists connected foreign demands to job opportunities in Italy. To quantify the number of offerings, on a monthly basis, every Provincial Office of Labor verified the unavailability of Italian and European Union workers to accept the employment offers (Einaudi 2007: 416). Non-EU migrants interested in working in Italy were also indexed, privileging those who already resided in the country with their families compared to those who were searching from other countries (Einaudi 2007: 130).<sup>15</sup> At this stage, immigration was still a recent and

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<sup>14</sup> Sociologists Anna Triandafyllidou and Ruby Gropas noted as migration began to increase, globalization contributed to the fragmented nature of nations within the European Union, (i.e. flexible labor and changing meanings of gender roles). In addition, Southern European countries were slower to respond to these migratory processes than other European nations, especially since issues surrounding migration were “taboo topics” (Triandafyllidou & Gropas 2008:2-3).

<sup>15</sup> In 1957, Italy helped found the European Union. As of today, there are 28 EU member countries. Sociologists Anna Triandafyllidou and Ruby Gropas highlight that the inclusivity of the Union raises a variety of concerns about the European identity within the member nations. The Treaty for European Union shifted the nation’s role in maintaining “freedom, security and justice ... with respect to border controls and asylum” to the political responsibility of European Union. This policy (which also built on the Amsterdam Treaty) made the protection of social order the duty of “supranational governance.” Some of the policies and procedures shared amongst European Union nations include family reunification, status of long term residents, asylum, and methods to reduce irregular migration. There have also been debates on shared policies regarding labor migration, but resulted in failed agreements. Overall, there has been slow progress towards developing a comprehensive European Union immigration policy. As for now, most of the policies are rooted in national policy-making and traditions (Triandafyllidou & Gropas 2008: 11-13).

unpredictable phenomenon, with a census of 210,937 immigrants in 1981 (Einaudi 2007: 405) and a total of 125,000 stay permits distributed in 1986 (Einaudi 2007: 407).

As a policy centered on regulating immigrant labor, the management of regularizing employed immigrants was a crucial aspect of the Foschi Law. At this time, other European nations began promulgating policies that blocked their borders,<sup>16</sup> thus making the peninsula a sought-after location by migrant communities (Einaudi 2007: 57). Between the 1970s and 1986, the number of regular migrants increased from less than 300,000 to 345,000 (in 1986, EU citizens comprised one quarter of this population) (Einaudi 207: 28). The regularization process required foreigners -both those employed and unemployed- and employers to declare their presence and activity within three months. Otherwise, the migrant risked expulsion, and the employer would receive a fine equivalent to 1,000-5,000 euros (Calavita 2005: 31) as well as face an imprisonment sentence of three months to one year (traffickers were subject to one to five years). This process produced new challenges to renew the stay permit, especially if the migrant was unable to present current documentation of work.

In 1990, the Martelli Law (39/1990) focused on the integration of civil and equal rights established by the European judicial systems.<sup>17</sup> Beginning in the 1990s, the political discourse on immigration began to frame this phenomenon as a “problem”, a process that needed to be controlled to protect the public order (Cozzi 2003:50). Claudio Martelli, socialist and vice president of the Council of Ministries, defined immigration as “a very difficult and urgent social problem that the country must address” (Einaudi

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<sup>16</sup> The closings occurred in Great Britain (1971), in Germany (1973), and in France (1974) (Einaudi 2007: 57).

<sup>17</sup> The goals of previous legislations were founded upon the requests of represented immigrants, labor unions, the Catholic Church and left wing political parties (142).

2007:142). Responding to various racist acts that had occurred in the late 1980s, such as highly reported murder of South African refugee Jerry Masslo,<sup>18</sup> the center-left political parties pushed for immediate changes in the country's immigration legislation (Einaudi 2007: 142). In 1989, less than five hundred thousand foreigners held a regular stay permit (Einaudi 2007: 31).

The Martelli Law also became one of the main legislations that began to define the immigrant in terms of their occupational contributions to local Italian communities. The Martelli Law provided additional opportunities of work to foreigners, such as employment in cooperative companies and independent work (Calavita 2005:31). Resident permits were valid after two years of issue and renewable for four years after the migrant confirmed proof of sustained labor (Calavita 2005: 32).<sup>19</sup> The introduction of the residence permit for self-employment permitted the immigrant to work autonomously rather than perform hired labor. Another new permit, one for non-EU street vendors, verified that non-EU residents could work and sell merchandise at markets across the country (*permesso di soggiorno per commercianti ambulanti stranieri*) (Einaudi 2007: 152). The laws also increased recognition of refugee status for applicants of asylum coming from non-EU nations; the migrant would be detained up to a total of 45 days in *centri di accoglienza* (immigration centers). The State set aside 30 million lire to support these centers.

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<sup>18</sup> In August of 1989, South African refugee Jerry Masslo was kidnapped and murdered in Villa Literno, Caserta, Italy. His murder was not the first to happen to migrants, let alone the first with suspicions of racist motives (141). It did however receive great coverage from national press and moved public and political opinion to review the regulations on migration.

<sup>19</sup> There were provisions that permitted co-operations and associations to endorse the stay permit. This went into full effect with the following decree 40/1998 (Einaudi 2007: 32).



The Martelli Law also regularized migrants residing in the country through a process of amnesty. A migrant sentenced to expulsion had already been gravely punished before the law, or violated terms of entrance or of the stay permit (Einaudi 2007:155). The migrant would receive a written notice indicating that they must leave the country within 15 days. Police authorities would accompany the migrant as they leave the border. Failure to comply with the Italian State's sanction would result in further consequences for the migrant.<sup>20</sup>

In 1990, Italy joined the Schengen area, which permitted more flexible mobility to and from country destinations for migrants (Einaudi 2007: 171). The Martelli Law also established a framework for a quota system regulating migrants interested in obtaining employment. In 1995, the quota of incoming migrant workers was legislated at 25,000, after the inconsistent numbers of migrant workers entering the country between 1990 and 1994.<sup>21</sup> Left wing politicians considered the Martelli Law as “unrealistic,” especially to expel migrants who were willing to work and become members of Italian society.<sup>22</sup> It was the first immigration policy that managed to address principle elements in regard to monitoring migrant populations (Einaudi 2007: 174).

In 1992, the Citizenship Law focused on creating ties of citizenship of Italian emigrants and their descendants. Two notions of national belonging were at its core: *ius sanguinis*, a “blood right” that commits concession of citizenship through the lineage of citizens of the State, and *ius solis*, to identify the legitimate birth place in order to

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<sup>20</sup> One main obstacle with this process was the lack of financial resources to pay for accompaniment (i.e. police officers, transportation). Legislative departments considered that the forced expulsion processes were too discriminatory (Einaudi 2007: 154).

<sup>21</sup> For example, In 1991, 6,000 migrant workers came to Italy, and by 1992 there were 32,000 (Einaudi 2007: 409).

<sup>22</sup> Center-right politicians also accused it of being “too relaxed”, since they viewed migrants to be at the forefront of illegality and criminality (Einaudi 2007: 174).

determine citizenship (Einaudi 2007: 186). As one of the first legislations by the center right political coalition *Forza Italia* (led by Silvio Berlusconi) in the early 1990s, this law addressed their concerns of managing the migratory fluxes through different institutional programs (i.e. Italian language courses for foreigners, work training) (Einaudi 2007: 184). In order for non-EU citizens to be naturalized before the law, they must have resided in Italy for a minimum of 10 years; this process made it more difficult for children of non-EU citizens to obtain citizenship (Einaudi 2007:416).

The legislation of Mancino Law in 1992 was centered on addressing discrimination against immigrants. Considered an “antinaziskin” policy, it fought against any incidents of racism and xenophobia, including acts against ethnicity and religion (Einaudi 2007: 416). The *Lega Nord* (Italy’s radical and conservative right wing party) considered this legislation as a limitation of free expression, despite recent incidents where many police officials had been accused of xenophobic behaviors (Einaudi 2007: 182). By 2006, the *Lega Nord* had abolished the law, since they considered it unconstitutional. They believed it allowed migrants to reside clandestinely within the borders and excused them of from penal punishments (Einaudi 2007: 182). In 1995, the Puglia Law permitted (In case of emergency) approved military control of the coast in Puglia (Einaudi 2007: 416).<sup>23</sup> It established three centers of assistance for emigrants within the region, which were designed for those without supportive means, awaiting identification and expulsion (Einaudi 2007: 416). This law became “embryonic” for

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<sup>23</sup> In March 1991, a boat of 250,000 Albanian refugees crashed onto the shores of Puglia. The Italian government granted them all six months to find employment (under stay permit for work) and housing (Einaudi 2007:178). Further boat crashes with Albanian refugees occurred in April and August of 1991. Due to the high media coverage of the incidents, much of the Italian society viewed as an invasion of migrants on the shores of Puglia (Einaudi 2007:179).

detainment centers, or *centri di permanenza temporanea* (CPT-centers of permanent provision and assistance) that would be later legislated in 1998 (Einaudi 2007: 204).

The Dini Decree, issued by former Prime Minister Lamberto Dini in 1995, adhered to their priorities of maintaining processes of regularization of immigrant communities (Einaudi 2007: 198). Centralized on the concept of *ex novo*, the employer of the migrant would be required to pay six months of contributions to the State (Einaudi 2007: 199). It offered three main types of processes of regularization: dependent work, registration in lists of employment offers, and familial reunification. In 1996, statistics demonstrated that 82.4% of the requests were for dependent work, 12.9 % for registration in employment lists, and 4.7 % for familial reunification. In order to participate in these procedures, the migrant must be employed for a minimum of 6 months.<sup>24</sup>

The rules of the Dini Decree stood middle ground between the regularization of foreign presences and the issuing of expulsion (Organizzazione Internazionale per le Migrazioni 2011:34). By 1995, Italy's immigrant population had increased to one million people, pressuring the Italian government to develop a more open immigration policy.

In 1998, the center-left government issued the Amendment of 1998, or Law Turco-Napolitano (*Discipline of Immigration and Standards of Conditions of the Foreigner*<sup>25</sup>), which recognized immigration as a structural phenomenon and developed an integrative system for immigrant populations (Organizzazione Internazionale per le Migrazioni 2011:34). This law focuses on the potentiality for a migrant to be clandestine, as well as his possibility of becoming "socially dangerous" (Cozzi 2003: 51). This

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<sup>24</sup> These processes have resulted in a reduced number of unemployment and domestic work amongst migrants.

<sup>25</sup> Title in Italian: "Disciplina dell'immigrazione e norme sulla condizione dello straniero" (Einaudi 2007: 34).

framework included developing bilateral agreements with countries of emigration that recognized Italian labor needs as a determinant of migrant movements (Organizzazione Internazionale per le Migrazioni 2011:34). The Turco Napolitano restructured much of Italy's past laws and decrees by establishing the *decreto flussi* (system of quotas for migrant workers), which established an annual limit of entrances and available permits.<sup>26</sup> This system required employers to request workers, either through enumerated lists of available positions or specific names. Employers were also required to include the labor conditions and housing accommodations.

Quota systems were specified on the permit, such as for permanent work, seasonal work, and family unification. The introduction of the residence permit for seasonal work allowed the migrant to perform temporary jobs, and would expire after six months (Einaudi 2007:216). If the migrant found permanent labor while under a seasonal work permit, they must return to their country of origin and apply for re-entry to Italy through the permanent quota system (Calavita 2005:31). The Turco-Napolitano also introduced a permit to search for employment, where the migrant had twelve months to find an occupation and apply for a work permit; otherwise the migrant would be sanctioned to leave the country (Einaudi 2007:216). Through this quota system, the employer was also responsible of ensuring how the migrant would leave the country after the employment ended. The *decreto flussi* for family unification accommodated both nuclear and extended family members and ensured the applicants work permits (Calavita 2005:32). These

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<sup>26</sup> The European Commission and EU member states declared changes in the labor policies. At this time, unemployment was as high as 15% in European countries, especially in Italy and Spain (both had up to about 11%). Employment concerns encouraged nations to change their previous policies (based on the European social model) and began admitting workers in fields such as agriculture, tourism and construction (Triandafyllidou & Gropas 2008: 3).

permits guaranteed equal treatment in the workplace for regularized workers, and access to health and emergency services for both regular and irregular migrants (Calavita 2005: 32).

The Turco-Napolitano provisioned that public organizations (NGO, immigrant advocacy groups, labor unions) could support immigrants coming to Italy searching for employment. It required that the immigrant applied through an annual quota period and the sponsor guaranteed their livelihood (Calavita 2005: 32). The duration of the permits were also expanded upon, creating a more flexible and organized process. For permanent workers, the foreigner could renew their permit without returning to their country of origin as long as they remained employed. The initial time length of a permanent worker was two years; if renewed, it increased to four years, and after five years, they were eligible for a residency permit (*carta di soggiorno*).

The Amendment also elaborated on expulsion procedures, creating a more regularized process. First, the Minister of Interior would assess grounds of whether the migrant posed a threat to the security of the State (also applicable to those who entered irregularly), and if condemned, police officials would accompany the migrant to exit the borders (Einaudi 2007:217). Those who obtained some type of invalid permit were required to leave the country within fifteen days (Einaudi 2007: 217).

The Turco-Napolitano expanded on Law Mancino's creation of centers for permanent provision and assistance (CPT), by detaining irregular migrants in non-prison centers to acquire necessary documents and permission from the countries of origin for re-entry (Einaudi 2007:218). The migrant's sentence would conclude within a total of 30 days (maximum period of 10 days and extension of 20) (Einaudi 2007:218). This process

prevented problems that existed previously, where police officials would release the migrant from a penal sentence without any documents and lose trace of his whereabouts (Einaudi 2007:218).

In 2002, the center-right government led by Silvio Berlusconi and the Lega Nord legislated Italy's current immigration policy, Law 189/2002 the Bossi-Fini (*Modifications to the Legislation on the Subject of Immigration and Work*).<sup>27</sup> In the words of Berlusconi, the goal of the new policy was to make Italy a "serious country" (Einaudi 2007: 311), by opposing irregular immigration and its association with criminality (Einaudi 2007: 307), as well as reduce the flows of migrant workers in the country (Einaudi 2007: 308). The Bossi-Fini abolished the immigrant sponsorship systems and required that the migrant must have first obtained a work contract (Calavita 2005: 35) signed by both him/her and by his/her employer; this agreement held the employer accountable for the safety and rights of the worker (Einaudi 2007: 314). The applications and contracts were only accepted within annual quota periods (Calavita 2005: 35). The duration of the permit would be dependent on the length of employment described in the work contract (Einaudi 2005: 314).

Ordinances limiting the process to obtain and renew permits also went into effect. In order to apply for a *carta di soggiorno* (residence card), the Bossi-Fini law increased the amount of years a migrant needed to reside in the country from five to six years (Calavita 2005: 35). The process of renewal remained at two years, whereas the request

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<sup>27</sup> During the late 1990s and early 2000s, European politicians had already been voicing the perception that irregular migration was increasing. Following the tragedy of September 2001 in New York City, USA, these anxieties were not only amplified, but also perpetuated a simplified narrative of complex migratory patterns. Overall, political discourses reduced and coded migration to "potential terrorist attacks" (Triandafyllidou & Gropas 2008: 3-4).

for renewal increased from thirty days before the expiration (as in the Turco-Napolitano) to ninety days (Calavita 2005: 35). According to the Turco-Napolitano, the immigrant was granted one year to search for another occupation. Under the Bossi-Fini, the immigrant has only six months to find another occupation. If they do not manage to find another, they will lose their permit and fall into irregular status (Calavita 2005: 35).<sup>28</sup> Applicants eligible for family unification became available only to spouses and minor children and excluded extended family members.

The Bossi-Fini Law introduced a “one-stop-shop” (*sportello unico*) for immigration, within the Territorial within the Territorial Prefecture Government Office (*Prefettura-Ufficio Territoriale del Governo*), which is responsible for processing documentation on immigrant labor (i.e. work contract), and remaining available to answer any questions in regard to family reunification and stay permits. The “one-stop-shops” were launched in 2005 and 2006, and began working with the quotas of 2006 (550,000 entrances of migrant workers) (Einaudi 2007: 314). These clauses increased a migrant’s penal sentence at the CPT, from a maximum of 30 to 60 days, specifically for those without a valid permit. It also introduced the collection of digital fingerprints of all foreigners residing in the country.

This law also provisioned regularization programs in regard to the presence of undocumented foreign workers in Italy. 14,000 designated post offices began distributing and processing applications for domestic workers and others seeking regularized status. Employers are required to apply and pay \$300 per worker in their home to the state. A family could have only one housekeeper per household, whereas the elderly and disabled

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<sup>28</sup> In 2001, Italian politician and former leader of the Lega Nord Umberto Bossi said that immigrants have only one purpose in Italy: to work. Otherwise they will be deported (Colaprico 2001:8).

were allowed to have more than one caregiver. Within 30 days, employers of irregular or undocumented workers could regularize their employees by completing applications, each valued at \$800. This new process of regularization was designed to assist foreign workers to withdraw from participation in the underground economy.

In 2009, irregular entrance or presence was treated as a crime, and the individual would be obligated to pay a fine of 5,000 to 10,000 euros or face incarceration (Organizzazione Internazionale per le Migrazioni 2011: 38). Public officials were required to report when a foreigner entered the nation irregularly, and the migrant would be expelled (38). Civil patrol officers were authorized by the State to protect and maintain social order. The institution of the CPT was modified to Centers of Identification and Expulsion (CIE), and would function similarly to CPT. Irregular migrants deemed menacing to society or national security were immediately expelled. They were detained in the CIE for six to eighteen months along with a possible extension of five to seven days to determine whether the foreigner must exit the country. These procedures were applicable to both EU and non-EU citizens.

The introduction of the European Citizen residence permit for long-term residents became available to migrants who had regularly and consistently resided in Italy for a minimum of five years (in 2007 this card replaced the Italian residency card). In order to obtain this permit, the migrant must pass an Italian language test and demonstrate high proficiency. This permit allowed foreigners to work, enter the country without a visa, and have access to services and programs funded by the Italian government. For all other



migrants with a regular stay permit, they must present their documentation<sup>29</sup> to access basic amenities (excluding education and health services), to complete civil and death registrations, and to recognize of any biological children. Foreigners would also be charged between 200-800 euros for the renewal of their stay permit (Organizzazione Internazionale per le Migrazioni 2011: 38).

The explanation of Italian immigration politics provides a general background of how immigrants are conceptualized and regulated within legal and political discourse. This information provides a basis of how immigration policies have developed over time, and how the immigrant's status has become more and more deeply political over time (I will further analyze media representations of immigration in Chapter 2). As already seen in the description of Italian immigration laws, immigrants are regarded and represented in respect to their participation in the labor market.

The history of patterns of immigration to Italy reveals various themes that characterize migrant participation in the labor market.<sup>30</sup> As a result, certain ethnicities and genders become associated with specific kinds of work, thus becoming typical for those specific communities. One trajectory to understand why West African immigrant men employ themselves as street merchants is through the history of immigrant insertion in the labor market.

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<sup>29</sup> If a migrant is without a permit, they will face challenges to renounce their employer by participating in irregular work (Organizzazione Internazionale per le Migrazioni 2011:38).

<sup>30</sup> Gropas and Triandafyllidou remind us that Italy has had a piecemeal approach to immigration policy-making (Gropas & Triandafyllidou 2008: 185). With this in mind, each of the 28 European Union member countries has responded to migratory influxes differently. These variations are revealed in how each country has different ways of defining and recording citizenship and different statistical categories. Some commonalities include the policy-making amongst recent host countries such as Italy, Spain and Portugal (ambivalent policies, repeated regularization programmes, focus on controlling criminality) (Triandafyllidou & Gropas 2008: 363). Italy, France, and Germany developed restrictive policies towards the increasing number of refugee applications and naturalization processes (*jus sanguinis*, *jus solis*, voting rights) (Triandafyllidou & Gropas 2008: 370, 374).

### History of Immigrant Participation in the Labor Market

During the late nineteenth century to the early twentieth century, emigration had distinguished the country, as many Italian citizens responded to demands of labor from other nations (Colombo & Sciortino 2004: 49). However, international immigration patterns also occurred during this time period as well (Colombo & Sciortino 2004: 51). Between 1919 and 1933, immigrants from the Soviet Union transferred to Milan and established businesses and social networks that are still present today (Colombo & Sciortino 2004: 51).<sup>31</sup> Since the 1920s, Chinese immigrants developed silk and fertilizer industries primarily in Milan, and then they moved their small businesses to Bologna and Tuscany (Colombo & Sciortino 2004: 52). Until 1939, there was an estimated two to three foreigners for every one thousand Italian residents (Colombo & Sciortino 2004: 52). Migrant communities have been differentiated based on their nationality and the labor they perform, thus impacting the perception of immigrant groups today.

Italy's first concentrated immigrant groups occurred during different periods between the 1960s and 1980s. In 1968, Tunisian populations arrived in Sicily after following the Italian businessmen who had already left the former North African colonies. Many immigrants occupied sectors such as fishing, agriculture, and construction, and also worked as mechanics, painters, moving-street sellers, and window

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<sup>31</sup> These groups are still represented under Italo-Russian social organizations and Orthodox churches (Einaudi 2007: 51).

cleaners (Einaudi 2007: 86).<sup>32</sup> Tunisian immigrants began to represent the “typical” immigrant worker, by working low qualified jobs, long hours and receiving low pay (Cozzi 2003: 34). Between 1961 and 1981, the concentration of Tunisian migrants to Sicily gradually increased from 1,032 to 14,785 (Einaudi 2007: 86).

The number of immigrant communities in Italy greatly increased after the oil crisis of 1973, where European countries, specifically those with a stronger colonial tradition such as England and France, enforced policies that closed their borders and restricted entry to foreigners. As a result of these political decisions, Italy became known as the immigrant’s fallback destination (Einaudi 2007: 53). Historians and sociologists have classified the increased influxes after 1973 on three different categories: the immigrant’s goals, the kinds of work they search for, and their duration of stay (Colombo & Sciortino 2004: 55). Specific nationalities and genders also began to characterize particular industries and slowly shaped the migratory phenomenon that is known today.

One cluster occurred throughout the 1970s, *colf* or *collaboratore familiare* (domestic worker) arrived primarily from Italian ex-colonies (Eritrea, Ethiopia and Somalia), and other locations such as the Philippines, Cape Verde, Mauritius, Sri Lanka, and India (Einaudi 2007: 86). Recorded statistics reveal that 47% of post-colonial *colf* movements had followed family and friends to Italy, whereas 33% had arrived through arrangements by agencies and 13.7% through Catholic missions.<sup>33</sup> For example, Eritrean

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<sup>32</sup> It was difficult to obtain an accurate census due to an observed high irregular presence, despite the increase of foreign presence.

<sup>33</sup> In 1976, there were an estimated 11,000-12,000 Ethiopians, 7,000 Philippines, and 6,200 Cape Verdeans or Mauritians. Despite these numbers, *colf* did not represent a great social phenomenon as they often

emigrants arrived after serving the colonial government and working for Italian professionals and their families (Colombo and Sciortino 2004: 56). As a result of these maintained relationships, women entered in the Italian domestic labor force and worked for families or assisted living assignments across the nation (Cozzi 2003: 32). In addition, Philippino and Portuguese domestic workers were recruited by Catholic organizations, and Italian agencies would process the employee's work contracts and provide them with tourist visas (Colombo and Sciortino 2004: 56).<sup>34</sup>

Other nationalities also became representative of foreign labor in Italian industries. In northern cities such as Brescia and Bergamo and in the Veneto region, Senegalese and Ghanaian immigrants occupied unskilled labor positions at steel mills and factories for food and textiles (Colombo & Sciortino 2004: 56). Foreign laborers of the industrial and construction sectors rose from 5.3% In 1974 to 7% In 1977, in particular population of Yugoslavian construction workers in Friuli of the Emilia-Romagna region (Cozzi 2003: 49) (Map A). Between the 1960s and 1980s, the majority of immigrants were employed as domestic workers (26%), secretaries and typists (21%) and factory workers (14.2%) (Einaudi 2007: 86). In addition, many foreigners lived in the northern regions (Veneto, Lombardia, Emilia-Romagna) and Lazio to work in the industrialized labor markets (Bonifazi 1998:185). These condensed movements indicate the beginnings of Italy's increased immigration patterns, and contributed to the configuration of Italy's present day foreign resident communities.

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worked and lived in the family's home. Colf were suspected to be victims of human trafficking by illegal recruitment agencies (86).

<sup>34</sup> Many of these organizations were shut down since they were responsible for promoting illegal and exploitative work opportunities to foreigners (Colombo and Sciortino 2004: 56).

As of the end of December 2013, Italy's foreign population comprised of 4,900,000, or 8.1% of the entire Italian population (ISTAT 2014) European citizens constitute 29.2% of foreign residents, whereas non-EU citizens represent 22.5% (Eds Direzione dell'Immigrazione e delle Politiche di Integrazione 2014: 34). Many non-EU migrants are regularized (about 3.75 million) and obtain a stay permit (Eds Direzione dell'Immigrazione e delle Politiche di Integrazione 2014: 36) (Table A & B).<sup>35</sup> As of 2013, Italy's top five immigrant nationalities include Romania, Albania, Morocco, China and Ukraine (35). Some of these communities have maintained consistent influxes since 1973. The majority of immigrants from non-EU countries come from Northern Africa (30.6%), Eastern Asia (13 %), and South and Central America (10.1%) (Eds Direzione dell'Immigrazione e delle Politiche di Integrazione 2014: 37) (Table C).

Many migrants reside predominantly in regions with industrial histories, such as Lazio, Lombardia and Emilia-Romagna (Eds Direzione dell'Immigrazione e delle Politiche di Integrazione 2014: 40). The five main Italian cities that have the highest non-EU citizen populations include Milan, Brescia, Bergamo, Modena, and Bologna (Eds Direzione dell'Immigrazione e delle Politiche di Integrazione 2014: 41). These statistics signify where the majority of non-EU immigrant populations work and reside in Italy, leading to further clues about ways in which their communities are changing the landscapes of these cities.

The history of foreign participation in the Italian labor force reveals employment opportunities available to the immigrant groups. As demonstrated through these short

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<sup>35</sup> This data was found by the Ministero dell'Interno. The research methods used compiled data that included the residential population and short term and study permits; these methods don't focus on changes in address (Eds Direzione dell'Immigrazione e delle Politiche di Integrazione 2014: 36).

samples, certain immigrant populations distinguish particular occupations. These histories illuminate the issues within Italian labor market that continue to be seen today, such as how many migrants perform low paid and physically enduring work. These examples also provide a social context to why and how Bologna has become a fertile ground for immigrant employment.

### The Changing Social and Political Economy in the Emilia-Romagna

During the economic boom of the 1950s, the economy of the Industrial Triangle (Milan, Genova, and Turin) expanded and as a result factories provided more flexible and specialized work (Map A). At this time period, the growing economy inspired internal migration patterns from North to South. Then, in the 1980s, migrant communities responded to Italian demands for imported labor, changing the dynamic of the Italian workforce. Male immigrant groups began to characterize the employees of the industrialized economy, as they were presumed to have low skills, accept low pay and perform strenuous work (Reyneri 2010:250, Bonifazi 1998:185). In the northern provinces, today's ratio of foreign residents to Italian citizens is 9-11 for every 100, whereas in the South it's 3-7 for every 100 (Eds Direzione dell'Immigrazione e delle Politiche di Integrazione 2014: 34) (See Map B). Consequently, northern regions and cities host the majority of employed and regularized foreigners compared to the south (Bonifazi 1998:185).

Due to the demographic changes over the past forty years, the foreign workforce has become essential to the growth and vitality of the Italian labor market and economy (Eds Direzione dell'Immigrazione e delle Politiche di Integrazione 2014: 61). Italy's

employment systems have been criticized for inadequate social services to better integrate the immigrant populations. The majority of immigrants are hired under contracted labor in small-medium cooperatives or in factories (Table D). A total of 11.9% immigrants are independently employed, including businessmen, *lavoro in proprio* (self-employed), and freelance (Eds Direzione dell'Immigrazione e delle Politiche di Integrazione 2014: 67).

Prior to the 1950s, Emilia Romagna's labor market and local economy relied on sharecropping. During the economic boom of the 1950s and 1960s, local industries adopted the Fordist model to mass-produce merchandise through innovative systems and well-paid specialized occupational positions. Already famous for the regional artisanal traditions in ceramics and textiles, the labor market of the Emilia Romagna became characterized by small and medium cooperatives and service industries. Described as the "Third Italy", the Emilia Romagna was seen in competition with the Industrial Triangle's (Milan, Genova, Turin) expanding economy (i.e. Fiat) (Barbagli 2004:10; Moss 2000: 588). The prosperity of these regions encouraged waves of internal migration, where single men from the south would transfer to the north in order to earn money and then prepare to return to home with a higher socio-economic status (Giardini 2006: 19).

In the 1980s, globalization challenged the standardized businesses of Emilia Romagna and the rest of Italy. Due to the competition of international markets, artisanal cooperatives needed to become further specialized to distinguish themselves from competitors. The success from the changes was enhanced by the solidarity between labor unions and laborers, greatly due to the political and socio-economic changes by the Communist Party (Partito Comunista Italiano – PCI) (to be further discussed in Chapter

2) (Giardini 2006: 9; Moss 2000: 428). In June 1999, the fifty-four-year legacy of the political left in Bologna was interrupted by right wing politics.<sup>36</sup> These political changes illustrate how immigrants are included in political debates, thus impacting their social position in Italian society. The effects of right and left politics will also be further discussed in Chapter 3.

Each of the provinces in the Emilia Romagna specialize in a specific industry, whether they be artisanal or mass-produced items, contributing to its overall efficiency and production (Map C and D). The local economy of province of Bologna, or the “Packaging Valley,” has been characterized by its production of machinery, specifically of automobile parts. Other major industries include the Parmigiano-Reggiano factory in Parma, the textile factories in Modena and Reggio Emilia, and ceramics production in Faenza and Forli (Giardini 2006: 34).

The Emilia-Romagna labor market and economy continues to prosper today, even after the recent European economic crisis in 2009. Compared to the rest of the nation, Emilia Romagna still has the lowest unemployment rate, representing only 6% of the regional population (European Commission 2014). Since the crisis, immigrant communities have been known to suffer the most, especially since many work in low qualified and low paying positions, making them considered as more dispensable employees (Reyneri 2010: 250). The disparities in the labor market also divide through gender lines. Compared to Italians, foreign males are much more vulnerable in the labor market, due to their demographics and economic characteristics (Bonifazi 2013: 207).

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<sup>36</sup> To learn more about how the discrepancies and inconsistencies within the Italian political left, please read Davide Però's work *Inclusionary Rhetoric/ Exclusionary Practices: Left Wing Politics and Migrants in Italy* (2007). Sociologists Donatella Campus and Gianfranco Pasquino's article “How to lose a mayor: the case of Bologna” (2010) identifies the various reasons behind this political shift.



Immigrants who have already lost employment have a more difficult time finding a job compared to those retaining their current positions (Bonifazi 2013: 207). In addition, the immigrant's educational status has been shown to not improve his chances of finding or maintaining an occupation (Bonifazi 2013: 207).

Within Italy's unemployed population, 72.9% are non-European foreigners whereas 27.1% are European citizens. As of 2013, about half (52.2%) of its labor market represents major manufacturing services, whereas 32.1% constitute commerce industries and 10.2% agriculture. Compared to the 1950s, where much of the workforce represented individuals of internal migration patterns, as of 2013 about 19.4% (343,987) of foreign employed laborers are in the Emilia-Romagna region. In addition, domestic labor has remained an industry dominated by women (up to 90.3%) since the first migration patterns of the 1970s (Regione Emilia- Romagna 2014).

Known as the Italian region with liberal and progressive politics, the Emilia Romagna has incorporated immigration integration initiatives into its political and social economy (Calavita 2005: 83). As of 2011, the region consisted of 1,400 associations, almost 29% of which are related to social and health issues (EUROCITIES-NLAO 2011: 2). After the implementation of the Turco Napolitano law in 1990, the region began to apply for national funding to support its NGOs, health services, integration projects and other civil rights projects targeted towards immigrants (Calavita 2005: 84). As of 2000, around four billion euros had been granted to Emilia Romagna's associations and volunteer organizations (Cozzi 2003: 56). The funds were distributed to various sectors of the political and social economy, such as 20% to the "one-stop-shops" for foreign citizens (*sportelli informazione*), 13% for social integration initiatives in schools, 11.5%

for intercultural associations and around 10% for both cultural mediators and socio-economic projects for the disadvantaged (Cozzi 2003: 57) (Table E). In October 1990, the region launched its first immigrant housing initiative, “The Immigration Project” (*“Progetto Immigrazione”*), to provide affordable housing options in the city funded by municipal resources (Calavita 2005: 84, Bernadotti 1991: 33). The Institute for Immigration Services (*Istituzione dei servizi per l’immigrazione- ISI*) represented all of Bologna’s immigrant organizations and programs through one entity. As a part of the Bologna’s Department of Social Services, ISI has grown to oversee and provide a variety of “intercultural” projects, including those related to education, mediation, employment courses, and training for health professionals (Calavita 2005: 86). The Emilia Romagna has also implemented integration laws to further promote and regulate their services.

In 2004, the regional law “Standards for Social Integration for Immigrant Foreign Citizens. Modifications to the Regional Laws 21 February 1990, N. 14 and 12 March 2003, N.2”<sup>37</sup> focused on three elements to improve the livelihood of migrants and their integration into Italian society:

1. “to promote social, cultural and political inclusion”,
2. “a reciprocal understanding and valorization of the cultural, religious, and linguistic identities to inspire principles of equality and religious equality”,
3. “the awareness of the rights and of the implications to the condition of the foreign immigrant citizen, how they are disciplined by international conventions” and European and Italian systems (Regione Emilia-Romagna Assemblea Legislativa 2004).

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<sup>37</sup> “Norme per l’integrazione sociale dei cittadini stranieri immigrati. Modifiche alle leggi regionali 21 febbraio 1990, n.14 e 12 marzo 2003, n.2”

Each of the districts in Emilia-Romagna must implement this statute, as well as standards of intervention against actions of discrimination and promote social integration. This political measure indicates support to the numerous social service organizations located in the city, as well support and inclusion for immigrant communities (Barbagli 2004: 11).

The labor market in the Emilia Romagna became one of the first to provide legislation to support the livelihood and occupations of immigrant communities. In particular, the city of Bologna has become known as one of the main cities to provide social services for immigrant communities. These laws were developed to better include immigrants in the city, however as we will see in Chapters 2 and 3, these laws do very little to support the West African merchants that struggle with discrimination and poverty. Any social assistance the men receive in Bologna, amongst other social networks, will contribute to my analysis of how the merchants establish enhanced social stats within the city.

### Conclusions

In this chapter I set up the background of immigration and labor In Italy, and more specifically in Bologna, Emilia Romagna. The overview of immigration law will provide context of the kinds of labor opportunities immigrants have, and the processes they undergo to receive and maintain that documentation. I also connected the history of Italian laws to the migratory processes, and how they relate to the development of the labor market in Emilia Romagna and the Bolognese political economy. From a political and legal standpoint, this information will provide a general overview of the

constructions and reconstruction of how immigrants are represented in political and legal discourse, as well as how Bologna has incorporated strategies to be a more inviting city to international communities. Next, I will focus on my research on the irregular West African street merchants in Bologna. What motivated these men to move In Italy? What other employment opportunities did they have before working as street vendors? Why did they become street merchants? How has Bologna's political economy supported their daily work?

## CHAPTER TWO

### Creating Your Own Work as an Irregular Merchant

In this chapter, I will focus on the narratives and experiences of the six undocumented peddlers. I interviewed unemployed men that engage in petty vending as a temporary opportunity to generate an income while they search for contractual work.<sup>38</sup> Each of their stories is unique, as the men vary Inage and their duration of time In Italy. The peddlers worked in central locations of Bologna, either in parks or near the university. A few of them had often encountered one another while they were working.<sup>39</sup> The items the peddlers sold depended on a variety of factors, such as their cultural background, their trading networks, their financial capital, and their involvement in the Italian labor market. For example, the Senegalese men I interviewed sold merchandise that came from their home country, such as shoes, clothing, jewelry and other accessories<sup>40</sup>. As for the Nigerian men, they sold items that they had purchased at the local corner stores, including lighters, tissues, socks, and other trinkets. By selling their items on the street, they encountered different people, including students, families, or state authorities (*poliziotti, carabinieri*). In this chapter, I explore the themes that arose in their narratives to analyze how they perceive their position in the Italian labor market.

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<sup>38</sup> Labor unions regulate contracts and employers must hire from government-supported lists. (Calavita 2005: 56)

<sup>39</sup> Even though many of the peddlers work in the same area of the city, they are not in competition with each other or even working together. For example, the Nigerian men explained to me that they are from the country, have had similar experiences migrating to Italy, and are now trying to make an income through the same means. They would acknowledge each other with respect and sense of camaraderie, such as “brother” for a peer and “uncle” for someone older.

<sup>40</sup> To learn more about Senegalese migration and trade networks in Italy, please read “*Toubab*” e “*vu comprà*”: *transnazionalità e rappresentazioni nelle migrazioni senegalesi in Italia* (Riccio 2007), *States of Grace: Senegalese in Italy and the New European Immigration* (Carter 1997).

I will try to answer the following questions: why do the men engage in petty vending? What effects do immigration policies have on their ability to obtain employment in Italy? What kinds of obstacles do they confront and how do they overcome them? How do they justify doing undocumented work? Common themes arose about their socio-economic and legal obstacles in Italian society: concerns about their stay permit, participation in the underground economy, conflicts with state agents, and financial plans for the future. I use Michel Foucault's concepts of "bio power" and "bio politics" to analyze these themes, and also to unpack how immigration policies coerce the men's need to partake in illicit work. I argue that the flaws of immigration law and its implementation physically and symbolically trap the West African peddlers in a "vicious cycle" of marginalization and stigmatized poverty.

#### Stay Permits and the "Illegitimate Other"

The peddlers spoke about the importance of their stay permit while living in Italy. Often referred to as "documents" or "papers",<sup>41</sup> this government issued form grants the men access to legal employment. Some of the men shared with me their legal status, either for work, political asylum, or humanitarian, while others refused. As already reviewed in Chapter One, Italian immigration law constructs the primary role of the migrant worker in Italian society.<sup>42</sup> The migrants had difficulty finding a job even with a permit, especially since the Italian immigration policy sets aside a fixed quota for

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<sup>41</sup> In English they used the words "documents" or "papers." This has a direct contextual translation to "documenti" in Italian.

<sup>42</sup> Viewing the migrant solely as a worker has been debated as problematic: it constructs a fragmented perception of the individual, rather than as a whole person.

employment opportunities. Statistics in the “Quarto Rapporto Annuale. Gli immigrati nel mercato di lavoro” reveal that non-European Union members represent the least employed in Italy, compared to other European Union citizens and Italian citizens; in fact, non-European Union members have the highest percentage of searching for employment in Italy (Direzione dell’Immigrazione e delle Politiche di Integrazione 2013: 63). Omar,<sup>43</sup> a 24-year-old Nigerian man who obtained political asylum in 2007, shared his thoughts about the value of stay permits in Italy:

“The government does nothing to help foreigners. If they were able to systemize themselves, then granting documents would be granting life here... but there are no jobs here, [anything]. There’s no future for me or other foreigners here. Only thing to do is get documents. But then what do you do? Eat them?”<sup>44</sup> (Omar, June 29 2014, Informal Conversation)

Omar expresses how his identity has been reduced to government issued documentation. His unemployed status becomes a product of deficiencies within Italian administrative processes of regulating migrants. Using a Foucauldian analysis, Omar’s criticism that “granting documents would be granting life” indicates how through immigration policies, the Italian administration governs the right “to live and allow to die” (Foucault in Fassin 2001: 3). Building on Foucault’s analysis of the power in modern states, anthropologist Didier Fassin coined the term “biopolitics of Otherness,” where the migrant body becomes “a site of inscription of immigration politics” (2001: 4). As the “outsider” living in Italy, Italian policies and practices constructs the migrant as a subject who provokes

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<sup>43</sup> As stated in the Introduction, I have changed all names of the vendors to protect their identities.

<sup>44</sup> Unless a translation is provided, then the men spoke in English. Even though Omar spoke in English, it is interesting to note that he used the word *systemize*, rather than to “get regularized” or “get established”. It seems like he did a direct translation from the Italian word *sistemare*.

social order (rather than a person looking for new and better opportunities) (2001: 4). Since the introduction of the Bossi-Fini law in 2002, the link between legal status and employment (Calavita 2005: 45) made the migrant's sole purpose in Italy to work according to the fixed quota of available positions; when the migrant does not find employment, he is "deprived of the only activity left for him," thus embodying a "bare life" (Agamben in Fassin 2001: 4). Since Omar and the other men I interviewed had their documents but no contractual work, they established their own form of temporary work as street peddlers, thus typifying them as the illegitimate Other in Italian society.

In Italy, the migrant gets viewed as two fold: a useful worker that's simultaneously a social and legal pariah. The law tolerates the migrant conditionally, specifically as flexible workers (Calavita 2005: 46). When Omar questioned his purpose as an unemployed migrant, he indicated how he is no longer viewed as "legal" or legitimate, but rather the forbidden and excluded Other. If not fulfilling the legal responsibility to work, the migrant gets shunned into the category as "illegal". Sociologist Kitty Calavita coined the term "institutionalized irregularity" (Calavita 2005: 45), since constructions of illegality are built into the Italian process of legalization. Italian immigration policies "construct and preserve the migrant's Otherness," by excluding them from economic opportunities and forcing them into poverty.<sup>45</sup> The migrant's physical and legal presence represents an "excluded underclass," as Italian law simultaneously marginalizes and poorly attempts to include them into the local economy and labor market (Calavita 2005: 46).

Of course, illegality or irregularity cannot be reduced to solely policy and the

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<sup>45</sup> Calavita argues that this form of institutionalized discrimination is provoked by the country's irrational obsession of controlling "wild immigrants" (Berlusconi in Calavita 2005: 34).



migrant's stay permit (or lack thereof). Hepworth emphasizes that neither irregularity or illegality are solely legal statuses, but “a political condition that is experienced and enacted in heterogeneous ways through divergent struggles that cross between migration and control” (2014: 3). As illegitimate outsiders, potential opportunities for contractual employment and basic rights, such as right to a home and health care get dismissed.

Laurence, 40 year old Senegalese shared his frustration with Italian policies and their lack of recognition for the migrant:

“The law is disgusting. You can't work, you can't rent a home. There is injustice for the people that the law does not recognize as Italian... the law comes before everything.”<sup>46</sup> – (Laurence, June 4 2015, Interview)

Laurence here referred to the social and institutional prejudices caused by the failure of Italian immigration policies. He criticized the power of the law, since it influenced his lack of opportunities to find work and a home, thus limiting his use of basic rights. It is common for employers and landlords to reject migrant inquiries due to discriminatory practices. Italian citizens are more likely to benefit from economic, legal, basic and social opportunities guaranteed to them, whereas migrants are limited, even if it is outlined in legal documentation. Italian immigration policies establish the difference between Italian and non-Italian bodies by defining citizenship between the already mentioned *ius sanguis*, established through familial lineage, and *ius soli*, guaranteed to someone born in

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<sup>46</sup> “La legge fa schifo. Non si lavora non si affitta una casa. C'è l'ingiustizia per le persone che la legge non riconosce come italiano... la legge viene prima di tutto” – Laurence

the host country.<sup>47</sup> Social scientist Fabio Perocco created the term *ius laboris* to describe that rights are not *naturally* guaranteed in Italy, but based on the migrant's occupation (Perocco in Grassi & Giuffrè 2013: 90). Within this system of Italian versus non-Italians, Otherness becomes an embodied experience: Italian bodies have been inscribed with a deeper sense of citizenship and basic rights, thus characterizing the migrant as illegitimate or "out-of-place" (Hepworth 2014:7). The peddlers often criticized the Italian government, specifically that they focused on generating work opportunities for their own citizens, while the country's employment rate slowly increased.<sup>48</sup> The peddlers questioned whether the Italian political and economic system can even support their own citizens, let alone migrant communities. Due to the lack of opportunities and support services available, the men engaged in petty vending as a precarious yet interim solution to the institutional issues that they face.

### Engagement in the Underground Economy

As the men searched for contracted employment, they were particular about the kinds that interest them. The available job opportunities for migrants varies according to the Italian region: agriculture is the largest economy in the South, whereas manufacturing jobs are highly representative in the North, and domestic work is prevalent in every urban area (Calavita 2005: 73). The peddlers' "economic location" indicated to which opportunities they have access (2005:73). This can be traced from their previous

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<sup>47</sup> Sociologist Enrico Pugliese describes that citizenship can be experienced in legal or social terms, such as a set of conditions that control how one becomes a citizen, or the chance to experience rights in social, political, and economic ways (1996: 106)

<sup>48</sup> The only form of work that increased between 2008 and 2013 was part-time work by 16.8% (ISTAT 2014:7)

employment, such as either Ina factory, at an apple farm, yard work at someone's home, and even with the Corriere Express (a division of German logistics company Deutsche Post DHL) in Northern and Southern Italy. Sociologists Kitty Calavita and Maurizio Ambrosini note that in northern cities such as Bologna, local capitalist markets are comprised of pre-Fordist characteristics, such as large factories, state regulations and union rules, and post-Fordist labor relations, precarious, small scale production processes, (2005: 57) within a larger globalized economy. Anthropologist Donald Carter adds that migrants are moving specifically into labor markets that are transitioning away from the Fordist model, thus forcing them to not even count as proletariat, but as subproletariat (1996: 46); as a result, migrants are excluded from the Italian labor market and forced into one of the largest underground economies of any capitalist nation (Calavita 2005:159). This form of legalized socio-economic exclusion normalizes the exploitation of migrants as the “useful” worker in Italy (Calavita 2005:73), and represents another level of “institutionalized irregularity.” The Italian labor market further marginalizes migrant workers, by differentiating them as the Other and failing to integrate them into the formal economy (Calavita 2005:73).

In the second economy, migrants that engage in precarious work, or *lavoro nero* risk exploitation and blackmail (Calavita 2005:102), either in compensation, living conditions, health care, and basic rights, to name a few. Precarious work also makes the migrant more susceptible to detention and deportation. The migrant’s vulnerability becomes their most marketable “skill,” compared to expertise learned from an apprenticeship (Calavita 2005: 103). The merchants shared that they had to avoid employment offers that would exploit them due to their weak social position. Calavita

highlights that the migrant's economic location "reproduces their Otherness from within," by creating an under caste that does not receive full basic rights (i.e. fair pay, good working conditions) (2005: 74).

As already demonstrated in the previous chapter, minority groups do certain types of work; racism provides an ideological justification for these niches. Omar describes how Black men<sup>49</sup> are perceived within the Italian labor market:

"As a Black man, we are viewed as strong. Strength, energy, can do anything. The African man can lift! Italians can't lift! Africans can do it. It takes 20 years for a Black man to achieve what an Italian can." (Omar July 5, 2015, Interview)

The segregated opportunities available to African men greatly impact the kinds of work that they do. To describe themselves as "strong Black men" in the eyes of Italian employers, the men are revealing the prominence of racial discrimination in Italian society. Calavita explains racism as comprised of subordination, prejudice and bodily inscriptions, all mechanisms used to exclude or dominate one group by another (2005: 152). Fassin notes that racial discrimination represents another inscription of politics onto the migrant body, as it distinguishes the migrant as the "most illegitimate object of social differentiation" (2001:3). Racializing the migrant's identity within the labor market further normalizes his precarious and vulnerable position.

Just as the peddlers were critical about their preferred work environments, they were also selective about what they define as precarious work. They emphasized that

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<sup>49</sup> I have capitalized the B in Black to indicate that Omar is referring to a cultural community based on racial identification.

there's a difference in performing independent insecure work. As pointed out by Luther, "[m]yself and many other migrants do *lavoro nero* since there's no work. It's very hard to find good work. So, people sell things" (Luther, June 20 2015, Interview) Rather than do precarious subordinated work, the peddlers found it easier to manage themselves independently. Their independency allowed them to escape the exploitation and blackmail associated with other subordinated work in the underground economy. The peddlers compared their work to other forms of undocumented work, such as selling drugs. Omar shared his experience with social pressures to sell illegal substances:

"Big cars, expensive dressing, spending money, living really well in Europe. But they are all into drug selling. There's an administration behind them. They [drug dealers] are people to stay away from. Once a friend called me and tried to initiate me. He lives ten minutes away from me but we don't go to each other's house. If I see friends of mine that sell drugs at the train station, I stay away. Certain others bring trouble. They tell me that probably the only help is to sell drugs. After 6-8 months you can become the top of the world through drug selling." (Omar, June 29, 2015, Interview)

They often cited how selling drugs hurts people, whereas selling a pair of pants or a packet of tissues without a vending license does not bring any harm to anybody. Some of the peddlers I interviewed shared that rather than begging, they sell trivial items as form of reciprocity, or as Steven put it, to make the "hand and leg complete." Fassin argues that the migrant "often becomes a social experience of suffering", where they must constantly justify their existence according to their own terms (2001:5). For example, Omar compares himself to the immoral work of drug dealers and politicians, to demonstrate how his work is morally just.

“I can’t stain my family name. I can’t bring a bad name. I do this for myself and for God. I will never sell drugs. Nothing will make me sell drugs. If that’s the only way to survive, I will pack my bags and go home...The pressure is for quick riches, quick money. I tell my parents that I beg for money. They feel sorry. If I go back home, where do I start from? Thanks to those who eat government money, I can’t survive.”  
(Omar, June 25 2015, Interview)

Steven also expresses how he moralizes his work:

“I sell stuff on the street because I don’t believe in selling drugs. That’s a bad thing, it gives suffering. I’m a Christian and I don’t believe in it. I don’t associate with drug dealers. I have friends who do work like me or that work in a factory, but none that sell drugs. If I did, then others would think that I sell drugs. To get a *permesso* (stay permit), you have to have a good record or else they [Foreigner’s Office] deny you and then there’s no point in applying. (Steven, June 20 2015, Interview)

Steven and Omar explain drug selling as the most unscrupulous option to make money within the underground economy. By selling drugs, they run a greater risk of getting detained and deported and left to face humiliation in their country of origin.<sup>50</sup> Even though the men understand that selling without a license is “illegal”, they view it as the least immoral option to provide for themselves. They are included in Italian society through exclusion, as institutional loopholes in immigration policy constrain them to engage in the underground economy.

Since one’s legal status also represents an experienced social condition, the men’s

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<sup>50</sup>To learn about how Algerian drug dealers in Italy rationalize their participation in the underground economy, read Asher Colombo’s volume *Etnografia di un’economia clandestina* (1998).

rationalizations of petty vending challenge the Italian socio-political perspective of the migrant's utility to Italian society. The legal migrant, one who serves the needs of the Italian economy despite marginalization and risks of exploitation, embodies a "pure and working body" (Grassi & Giuffrè 2013: 50). As a "pure body," they are embodying the legal role carved for them as workers. The migrant that does not fulfill that role gets characterized as "illegal", and ascribed as "strange," a criminal and potential threat to Italian society (2013: 50). The migrant's body becomes a site of link between morality and (il)legality. Hepworth adds this correlation frames legislation to be included "in everyday language rather than in official discourses" (2014: 6). Italian immigration policy establishes the migrant's legitimacy and morality based on the recognition of "the biological truth inscribed on the body" (Hepworth 2014:5). Migrants are discriminated against according to the racist ideological notion that they represent a potential violent threat to social order; due to exclusion and marginalization, they are restricted to choose between different illegal employment options for work.

### Conflicts with State Agents

When choosing a location to sell, the peddlers knew which sites would have a higher or lower probability of encountering police. For example, the city center of Bologna is a high profile area as it is home to municipal offices and filled with tourists and business owners.<sup>51</sup> The vendors worked in less high profile areas, such as near markets in parks and itinerantly on university grounds. Hepworth highlights that "figures of clandestine nomad work invoke a particular relationship to the political community"

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<sup>51</sup> When I tried to interview one African man who was selling items in the city center, he responded: I cannot speak about what we do (Italian translation: "quello che facciamo noi non posso parlare").

by working to hide their materiality (2014:8). By moving from place to place to avoid state agents remind us that irregularity is not solely a legal status on the one hand, but an embodied social condition, such as few economic opportunities, stigmatized poverty and homelessness (2014:8). It is not uncommon for the peddlers to have conflicts with the police and *carabinieri*.

Without a vending license, the peddlers became targets of police rounds and other forms of systemized control. They found the treatment by state officials as a tactic to drive them further into poverty, such as receiving a *multa*, or a high fine, that they cannot afford to pay. The men also shared that some of the items that immigrants sell, such as counterfeited or artisanal items, affects their interaction with the police. Samba, a 24-year-old Senegalese vendor who arrived in 2010, shared his perspective of how merchandise impacts the interaction with the police:

“But those there run a big risk. Those there that sell the hats, those trademarks over there, of non-original hats and those trademarks over there, of Nike, those Chicago hats. They have the trademarked Chicago. Those over there they (police) will take. And you, you don’t have the right to sell them. And those there, that’s another thing. But I, I sell my legal things, these are original, they are from Senegal. These here, these types of bracelet is made from the horn of a cow. These here are made from leather. These bracelets here are from coconut. These are made of bone, cow’s bone.”<sup>52</sup> (Samba, June 29 2015, Interview)

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<sup>52</sup> Italian translation: “Ma quelli che hanno un grande rischio quelli che vendono quelli capelli quelle marche lì capelli non originali e quelli marche lì, quelli di Nike, chicago quelli capelli che hai una marca chicago (mhmm) quelli lì ti lo prendono. (mm). E tu, e tu non hai diritto per venderlo. (mm okay.) E quelli lì, un’altra cosa. Ma io, vendo il mio robe legali quelli lì sono originali vengono dal Senegal. Questi qua, tipo di braccialetti hanno fatto di corno di mucca. (mm). Questi qui sono fatti di pelle di mucca. Di questi braccialetti sono cocco. Questi sono fatti da osso, osso di mucca.”



The Senegalese artisanal merchandise of Samba and Laurence, both Senegalese merchants, represents their cultural background. They explain that the items they sell are not “illegal,” due to their non-Western aesthetics. In Paul Stoller’s ethnographic work about African merchants in Harlem, NYC, he argued that the men sell Afrocentric items, representing an ideology that “allows Africans to be subjects of historical experiences rather than objects on the fringes of Europe [...] [by] discovering in every case the centered place of the African” (2002: 68).<sup>53</sup> By using Afrocentricity as a marketing tool, the peddlers represented a culturally rich and empowered body, rather than one subjected to institutionalized marginalization and repression.

By selling merchandise that represented an perspective rooted in African cultural aesthetics, the migrants did not only generate capital, but also used it as a platform to differentiate themselves from others. Samba shared that the peddlers who sell counterfeited trademarked items such as sports hats, watches, and sunglasses, were committing more of an offense than he was. He described his merchandise as legal, since he feels more authorized to sell them, especially after obtaining it through a complex trader’s network. Even though the police could still confiscate artisanal items, they are not subject to the same penalizations as if the peddler were selling duplicates of trademarked items.<sup>54</sup> Rather, the police’s perceived cultural ignorance of the value of the peddler’s items works in their favor. The peddlers also shared that depending on the officer, they may or may not get their items confiscated, but they will always receive the

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<sup>53</sup> In the third Chapter Three, I will also explore Afrocentricity at the Multiethnic Market of Bologna.

<sup>54</sup> It’s not uncommon for peddler or the police to bargain and have the migrant pay a fee to receive his merchandise back.

*multa*.

The cost of the fine is so high that any migrant selling articles on the street cannot afford to pay it back. Regardless of the cost, it's not unusual for migrant peddlers to receive it more than one. Omar explained his experience of receiving the *multa*:

“Once I got *multa*, about 5164 euros in September 2012. In September 2013, I got 5000 *multa* in piazza, 5164 euros. That's 11,000 in total. But there are all of these drug sellers around! And the police don't do anything! How can I pay? I asked him and after they control x. They took my bag and asked for a license! Said I was doing illegal work they said. I told them, the next you will see me! They said we saw you yesterday. Yes It was me. So they didn't give me a *multa* again, nothing to do but make money. If I stop, how do they want me to survive? What do I prefer? Only other option is to sell drugs!” (Omar, July 5, 2015, Interview)

Omar's narrative implicitly expresses that as a marginalized worker, he's likely to be a target of police sweeps. Beginning in 2002, Italian Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi hosted a highly publicized conference *Operation High Impact*, an initiative that symbolically permitted the penalization of “migrants and criminals” (Calavita 2005: 132).<sup>55</sup> Migrant bodies are regulated through ‘institutionalized irregularity’ (Calavita 2005:45) especially since immigration policies set the norm of legalization processes and state control strategies. After the *Operation High Impact* conference, police sweeps rapidly increased and more migrants began to occupy prisons than Italian citizens, thus indicating how migrants became synonymous with criminals (Calavita 2005: 132). In

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<sup>55</sup> In 1999, media panic of imported “social deviance” initiated the Italian government's commitment to “zero tolerance” towards “wild clandestine” immigrant communities (Calavita 2005: 130).

2013, statistical research revealed that out of the 35% of migrants that occupy Italian prisons, 50% of them came from African nations<sup>56</sup>; 91% of the offenses were related to immigration policy, along with 25% charged for drug dealing (Fondazione Leone Moressa 2013: 1). These statistics indicate that the failures of Italian immigration policies legalize and normalize marked racism within the Italian prison system.

The police's response that Omar was doing "illegal work" without a license calls into question how he embodies the 'threatening body' (Fassin 2001:4). On a regional level, the Emilia-Romagna region has a history of the highest "stopping and questioning" migrants for motives such as drug dealing, prostitution, or just appearing to be "illegal" or "clandestine".<sup>57</sup> Hepworth adds that "Black men are frequently stopped by the police and made to undergo routine checks of their documents, irrespective of their citizenship status... the likelihood of police controls and checks is tied to how men move through or occupy space" (2014: 9). Racism provides an ideological basis for social hierarchies, as it systematically subordinates, discriminates and establishes perceived bodily inscriptions (Calavita 2005: 152). The bio politics of racial discrimination govern and justify the link between morality and the migrant, such as the migrant body provoking social anxieties. The racialization of difference represents one way that Otherness is codified in Italy (Calavita 2005: 154) as it negates the failures within the Italian immigration policy that cause migrants to engage in illicit work and produces social exclusion; it gets exercised

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<sup>56</sup> As of the end of 2013, migrants comprised prisons in the Emilia Romagna. The top five nations of incarcerated migrants include Morocco, Romania, Albania, Tunisia and Nigeria. 60% of the migrants are aged 18-20, with the other 40% of men up to age 40 (Fondazione Leone Moressa 2013:1).

<sup>57</sup> Grassi and Giuffrè highlight that criminalization of migrants is also genderized (2013:10). African male migrants are viewed to be more potentially threatening to society than African female prostitutes (Fondazione Leone Moressa 2013:1).

through the penalization of migrants' behaviors.<sup>58</sup> Omar's confrontation with the police and his punitive fines reveal that he's institutionally trapped in a vicious cycle of poverty, especially since he cannot afford to pay them. Through this process of surveillance of the Other, the police perpetuate the vicious cycle of stigmatized poverty, as the peddlers are excluded from the job market, marginalized in Italian society based on prejudicial biases, and racialized as criminals. Omar and other migrants are aware that prison represents an inevitable option for them while living in Italy (Calavita 2005: 142).

Just as migrants are tracked through fixed employment quotas, they are also counted into government databases (such as through the Ministry of Interior (Eds et al 2004:1) when arrested or receive a fine. These records have consequences, such as limiting their possibility to find a job, a home, or even renew their stay permit. Laurence shares his thoughts on how migrants are accounted for: "Italy looks to colonize in a different way. It's a system of the computer-slave. Catch the slave through the computer. Italy wants to join America... We are fugitives." (Laurence, June 4 2015, Interview)<sup>59</sup> Laurence compares the racialized oppression of bodies to the colonial past of the United States, a quintessential example of colonialism in the Western world. However, he also expresses that the Italian administration does not dominate populations in a conventional sense, especially since it occurs in a capitalist economy that uses the law to normalize surveillance of migrants and produce 'docile bodies' (Foucault 1975: 180). He argues that government use of technology to manage immigration flows supports the capitalist regime, as it stores information such as when the migrant arrives, employment histories,

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<sup>58</sup> Migrants can also be targeted for doing everyday acts (Giuffrè & Cingolani 2013: 10).

<sup>59</sup> "L'Italia cerca di avere colonizzare in un modo diverso. È un sistema di schiavo del computer. Caccia schiavo al computer. L'Italia vuole aggiungere l'America... Siamo fuggitivi..."

when and why questioned by state authorities, etc.<sup>60</sup> Immigration policies discipline migrants to perform specific pre-assigned jobs, yet when that role is not fulfilled, they are trapped in a cycle of stigmatized poverty justified by racial discrimination.

By asserting that ‘Italy searches to colonize in a different way, Laurence captures the essence of how and why migrants are marginalized, criminalized and racialized in Italian society. Laurence’s reference to colonization reveals how migrants are treated as “non-persons” (Calavita 2005:15): as the Other, they are racialized as third world, prone to crime, poverty and financial need, provoking Italy’s obsession of “uncontrolled immigration”. As a capitalist nation, it imports workers from the Third World to sustain its post-Fordist economies and marginalizes and criminalizes them when they do not fulfill those positions (Calavita 2005:73). Calavita calls this process “inverse colonialism”, or creating “an empire from within,” as the failures of policy perpetuate them as the Other and transforms their identity and materiality in Italian society (2005:74). If migrants are not performing a specific task, their legal status immediately shifts to clandestine. Their utility as migrant workers no longer has meaning. These patterns further assert the oppression of the Italian state on migrant populations, thus provoking a struggle to reestablish themselves outside governed “political objects” (Foucault 1980:145). When criminalized for vending on the street, the peddlers become further subordinated by the State and further struggle to reassert their utility in Italian society. Laurence also describes the migrant as a fugitive in Italy, as they attempt to run away and out of the vicious cycle of poverty and dispel the embodiment of docility. They

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<sup>60</sup> In Pap Khouma’s memoir *Io, venditore di elefanti: Una vita per forza fra Dakar, Parigi e Milano* (1990), he shares his experiences of living as an irregular migrant in Italy during the 1980s. One quote parallels with that of Laurence’s: “If you fight back, they (police) will catch you” (“Se protesti, ti cacciano”)(37).

are aware of a ways to establish a life from themselves that does not subject them to the suspicion of the Other.

### After Bologna: Next Steps

The vendors often created their own work schedule, including the days and cities they visited based on the seasons. When commuting to Bologna, the men who sold in the university area would arrive in the morning and leave in the mid afternoon<sup>61</sup> (Steven wakes up around 6AM, prays at home. He arrives at Bologna around 8AM and stays until 3PM. Richard works only 5 days out of the week; on Sundays he goes to church and on Mondays he relaxes). As for the Senegalese merchants, they often sold at weekend markets. None of the men I interviewed lived in Bologna, but rather in nearby cities, such as Rovigo and Ferrara. These areas have a lower cost of living than Bologna. In addition to selling in Bologna, they also went to the seaside during the spring and summer months, other universities in the Emilia Romagna, and other urban areas such as Milan.

Why did the men choose to work in Bologna, if they had other options? They responded that Bologna is a small multiethnic city<sup>62</sup>, “full of ideas”. They often established interpersonal relationships with the students and locals. Steven and Omar shared that during the winter months, students will call them asking to meet up with them and bring them gifts such as pants, jackets and shoes. While working, the Nigerian peddlers shared with students and locals to keep an eye out for contractual employment opportunities either within the area, Italy, or even abroad. Even though Bologna has a

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<sup>61</sup> Migrants are known not to pay train fares. The men told me that they do when they can. They did not share if they have gotten fined for instances without a ticket.

<sup>62</sup> In Chapter 3, I will discuss the nuances of multiculturalism in Bologna.

prosperous industrial economy (reviewed in Chapter 1), they have yet to benefit from it when searching for employment.

When the men cannot find employment in Italy, they move to another European country where they have more opportunities for employment. The men view employment in other European countries (specifically Schengen) as a way escape from the experience of stigmatized poverty and racialization in Italy. Some of the men I interviewed, Luther and Laurence, have travelled and worked abroad, such as in Spain, Sweden, Lithuania and Slovenia.<sup>63</sup> In both of their narratives, they shared that outside of Italy it was “easier to make money” and to “be busy.” The men also shared different perspectives of living in

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<sup>63</sup> Considering the men have lived in other countries, it is important to give context to the complexities of their migratory patterns before arriving to Europe. In sociologist Hein De Haas’s article “The Myth of Invasion: the inconvenient realities of African migration to Europe,” he reminds us that Europe is not always the initial destination for African migrants. For example, many migrants from the Horn and Western African regions first move to Libya to find better opportunities (Haas 2008:1307). As a matter of fact, some of the irregular merchants I spoke with me shared that before moving to Europe, they had worked and lived in Libya until the uprisings forced them to leave the country.

Since the men have lived in various Schengen nations, I have also provided a brief summary of the demographics of Africans in these countries, and how immigration policies have impacted their experience. Recent statistic evaluations demonstrate that Moroccans comprise most of African migratory patterns to Spain, followed by communities from Eastern Europe and the United Kingdom (Instituto Nacional de Estadística 2014: 8). Similarly to Italy, the Spanish government has been hesitant to developing a comprehensive immigration policy, and has developed programs that emphasize ‘combatting’ irregular migration and regulating the labor market (Enriquez 2007: 331). Despite the similarities shared between Italian and Spanish immigration policies, Spain’s Alien Bill is similar to the German ‘guest worker’ model. The law constructs the migrant as a “non settler,” due to the low number of documented migrants compared to other European countries. However, since migration is increasing to Spain, these policies are bound to change (Apap 2002: 198). Within the Spanish labor market, studies have proven that Africans often engage in construction work for low wages in precarious conditions (Mendoza 2000: 611).

Swedish immigration policies largely differ from Italian policies. In sociologists Anna Triandafyllidou and Ruby Gropas’s volume *European Immigration: A Sourcebook*, they describe Sweden as a pioneer in providing rights for immigrants, considering that regularized residents of at least three years can vote (however, it has been noted that migrants vote much less than the Swedish) (Benito 2007: 338). After the Balkan Wars of the early 1990s, the Schengen Agreement pushed Swedish policies to become much more restrictive (Benito 2007: 338). For example, the Swedish government has rejected most of the applications for asylum. Most refugee migrant groups (up 1,900 arrivals) come from Somalis in Kenya and Afghans in Iran (European Resettlement Network). Recent reports by the UN Racial Discrimination Committee, Swedish Multicultural Center, and Linköping University reveal that between 2011 and 2012, hate crimes towards individuals of African heritage have increased by 17% (The Local). Luther had shared with me that while living in Sweden, he experienced racist discrimination from police officials (such as checking if he had drugs on him) who checked his residency documents.

European countries to work. Luther said that he “felt at home” in Sweden whereas Laurence expressed that “Europe is not his home”,<sup>64</sup> that he’s “done with it all”, and that “Italy is divided by jealousy.” They describe their experience in other European countries in relation to the consequences of immigration policy flaws and the marginalization of African street vendors in Italy.

The peddlers also shared their anxieties about leaving Italy and other obstacles they may encounter. The peddlers who have left Italy do not discredit that they were subjected to new immigration policies and different system of us versus the Other than in Italy.<sup>65</sup> As for the men who aspire to move out of Italy for work, they also share the anxieties of living in another country. Omar shared that when moving to a new country, he must learn the national language, creating a setback of at least six months. Even though Omar expressed that he wants to move to a different European country rather than stay in Italy, his apprehension towards moving reflects of his own transition and settling into Italian society. Others also view migrating to another country as a way to accomplish two goals once: get married to obtain EU citizenship and find employment. Steven highlighted that he could move to Germany<sup>66</sup> and get married, immediately receiving

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<sup>64</sup> Even though what constitutes as home for the migrant is important, this topic goes beyond the scope of my research.

<sup>65</sup> Luther got stopped and checked by the Swedish police, and Laurence had gotten arrested by the German police in the 1990s.

<sup>66</sup> In 2005, Germany implemented the Immigration Act. This law provided migrants different opportunities to apply for stay permits, such as for family, work, education, training or jobseekers. An individual can arrive in the country and begin searching for a job and once they have secured a position, they can then apply for the a residence permit (Federal Foreign Office 2014). German immigration policies also focus on processes of integration and multiculturalism (Triandafyllidou & Gropas 2008: 363). German citizenship is granted either through birth, legitimization or marriage to German citizen (Zimmermann et al 2007: 14). Upon receiving German citizenship, the individual cannot obtain dual citizenship and must revoke the other (Cyrus & Vogel 2007: 129). Following 1949, German demographic statistics characterized migrant backgrounds with the term “persons with immigration background” (Kaya 2013: 5). This was applied to individuals with at least one immigrant or non-German born parent (Kaya 2013: 5). The distinction



citizenship rights and more opportunities to work. He compared German women to Italian women, by stating that in Germany they love Africans<sup>67</sup> and he has friends who moved there and got married, whereas in Italy, “the women won’t even look at you”. His main obstacle would be to find and marry a woman in another country, such as Germany, but after that he would face another set of issues as an African migrant.

Marrying an Italian remained another possible option for the peddlers to escape their present situation. When marrying an Italian citizen, the migrant immediately receives citizenship rights and will no longer be subject to institutionalized irregularity in Italy. Now divorced, Laurence describes his marriage to an Italian woman in 1992:

“During those ten years, ten years, ... I had rights. Now I am a father of an Italian boy... my wife’s family did not accept me. I did not acknowledge the law when I was with my wife. We did not do the divorce for the kids... I prefer freedom. I am not going to wait for a rich white woman.”<sup>68</sup>  
(Laurence, June 7 2015, Interview)

By noting that he “had rights” and “didn’t pay attention to the law when he was with his wife,” indicates that he had easier access to finding employment, a house, free health care, etc. Even though different forms of discrimination impact mixed race couples, the migrant is not entirely exempt from conflicts with state agents and other Italian citizens.

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between “person with immigration background” versus “person without migration background” transforms foreignness from a social or legal category to a biologized trait (Kaya 2013: 5).

<sup>67</sup> Omar is idealizing life in Germany. In my opinion, he most likely believes this because he’s a Christian. In fact, Germany is mostly a Christian state. Contemporarily, there are many issues that Muslims face in Germany, such as Germany’s Pegida anti-Islam movement (Huggler 2015). Perhaps if he were Muslim, he would think differently of the nation.

<sup>68</sup> Italian translation: “Durante quelli 10 anni, 10 anni.. avevo i diritti. Ora sono padre di un ragazzo italiano...la famiglia della moglie non mi accettava. Non riguardavo la legge quando ero con la moglie. Non facciamo la divorzia per I figli... preferisco la libert . Non aspetto una donna bianca e ricca.”

Marriage does not eradicate the lens of Otherness, as he can still get questioned and stopped, requested to present his documents by bus monitors, and criticized for his assumed low proficiency in Italian. Other peddlers, such as Omar and Steven mentioned that they were also open to the opportunity of marriage to break free from poverty, but did not disclose the anxieties they had if the opportunity came to them.

Besides racial and institutionalized discrimination in the labor market, the peddlers also shared that they needed to “start over” with their education, by either continuing or finishing it, as their previous educational experiences were not recognized. They each had different perspectives on what their educational endeavors meant to them, and how it would help them reach their personal and professional goals. Luther shared that he preferred an apprenticeship rather attending a higher education institution. Based on his own work and training experiences in Nigeria, he felt more equipped for construction and landscaping work.<sup>69</sup> He highlighted that the skills he had learned from his previous jobs were not transferable to the Italian job market, thus forcing him to find or create other options to gain work experience. Steven and Omar had already attended courses or attained an undergraduate degree while in Nigeria. As they learned while in Italy, their education levels do not improve their chances of finding a job. They planned to continue their education in Europe and acquire a vocational skill necessary for a specific industry. A director of one of Bologna’s language and cultural centers informed me that after completing Italian courses, the migrants use their language instructors as

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<sup>69</sup> There are no apprenticeships for migrants guaranteed by law (Director of language school Universo Interculturale, June 24 2015, Interview).

references for jobs.<sup>70</sup> Since the men can hardly afford to receive a formal education based on their daily earnings, they also shared their final option as to leave Europe.

To return to their country of origin, either Senegal or Nigeria, represented the last resort for the peddlers. Unless the men could afford to go home and demonstrate any wealth they earned, they refused to go home. Many of the men wanted to go home, but could not afford it. As Omar put it: “you can’t go home empty handed.” Out of the six irregular peddlers I interviewed, Laurence was the only one who could afford to go home periodically.<sup>71</sup> Most of the men would only return home if they could embody the men they heard about before they left, such as the rich high profile drug dealers and underground car salesmen and traders.

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<sup>70</sup> Regardless of educational background, Italian labor market refuses to acknowledge degrees from outside of Italy (Director of Language School Universo Interculturale, June 24 2015, Interview).

<sup>71</sup> Laurence shared with me that he would drive his car down and then put it on a ferry.

### CHAPTER THREE:

#### “The War of the Regularized Street Merchants”<sup>72</sup>

To learn more about the experiences of licensed West African merchants, I worked with a group of regularized street vendors at Bologna’s outdoor Multiethnic Market (as already stated in my Introduction, I had to interview the men while they were working). This Market (from now on MM) specializes in artisanal products from various non-European nations. It is an independently run market compared to those (such as the nearby Piazzola<sup>73</sup>) managed by Italian merchant unions (*unioni dei commercianti*). The spaces at these markets were ‘first-come first-serve’ following the first 55 pre-assigned posts (No Author 2003:8). Even though the merchants of the MM<sup>74</sup> had their vending licenses,<sup>75</sup> they were still not guaranteed spaces at the local markets. Since the men were not able to obtain selling stands due to the flaws in the bureaucratic system, they were forced to engage in precarious vending. In 2002, a group of nine licensed merchants came together and decided to create their own work opportunities separate from the merchant unions, hence the opening of the Multiethnic Market.

The vendors chose the title “Multiethnic Market” to emphasize the power of cultural exchange within the market place. They all come from different nations, such as Senegal, Nigeria, Sudan, Cuba, and Italy (7 out of the 9 vendors come from African

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<sup>72</sup> “La lotta degli ambulanti” (see Index of Promotional Posters)

<sup>73</sup> Others include Mercato Antiquario Città di Bologna, Mercatino del Vintage, and Mercato delle Erbe (Bolognawelcome.com 2012).

<sup>74</sup> Throughout the rest of this chapter, I will refer to the merchants at the Multiethnic Market as MMM. The others will be referred to as OM (Italian Merchants).

<sup>75</sup> To become an artisanal merchant, you must obtain the partita IVA (the VAT identification number), marca da bollo (Italian fiscal stamp), and subscribe to INAIL (a work insurance company), Albo Artigiani (a professional agency that regulates vendors according to the law), and INPS (pension system for independent workers) (Fare Impresa. Istruzioni per nuovi cittadini 2013: 10).

nations). Many of the merchants obtain the stay permit for independent work (*permesso per lavoro autonomo*); between 2003 and 2013, the percentage of non-Italian vendors increased by 130% (Valenti 2003; *Le Imprese a Bologna nel 2013 2014*: 14). Compared to the Piazzola where they only offered industrialized items,<sup>76</sup> the merchants at the Multiethnic Market sell a diverse artisanal array of merchandise: shoes, purses, beauty products, braid stations, jewelry, posters, African and Caribbean music, books, and Rasta regalia. They expanded on their commitment to promoting craftsmanship and cultural diversity by establishing the not-for-profit Association Multiethnic Culture: Paths Toward Freedom (*Associazione Culturale Multietnica: Sentieri Liberi*). This organization's mission strives to “inspire the principles of solidarity, antiracism, and self organization and to fight against every form of discrimination”.<sup>77</sup> Through “Paths Toward Freedom” the vendors coordinate concerts and art shows (sculpture, photography, video, theater, dance, etc) in the park and in other locales. As will be further explained in this chapter, the market's approach to promoting cultural diversity makes them a target of local politicians.

As a city that greatly shaped by the legacy of its communist civil society, Bologna characterizes itself by recognizing the value and resource of individual, social, cultural, and ethnic difference (Comune di Bologna 1998 in Però 2005: 839). Since the Market's inception in 2002, there has been much strife between the state agents (politicians, police) of the Municipality and the vendors. Most recently on May 31, 2013, a Lega Nord council member charged the vendors of illicit activity and sanitary violations. After

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<sup>76</sup>Mirco, an Italian vendor of the Multiethnic Market, shared this.

<sup>77</sup> “L'associazione si ispira ai principi di solidarietà, antirazzismo, autorganizzazione, e si batte contro ogni forma di discriminazione.” From the organization's constitution, see the Index of Promotional Posters.

presenting her accusations and photographs of the Market to the Municipality, police officers closed it. The vendors argued that the council members accusations were not only false, but also rooted in racist ideologies. The African merchants have publicly protested against these claims, asserting that on the one hand they stem from prejudice towards different cultures, and on the other that politicians and merchant unions want to control vendors within the city (No Author 2003: 8; Baviello 2008: 185). Most migrant vendors at the Market become more at risk to not only lose their license, but also their stay permit. Even after opening an independent regularized market, some of the merchants were once again consistently forced into undocumented work, whereas others managed to find work in other cities.

In this chapter, I explore the question of why within city that promotes integration and cultural diversity, politicians and merchant unions have over time closed the Multiethnic Market based on ideological accusations. I support my argument through interviews and informal conversations with the merchants, along with newspaper articles and websites that include quotes and perspectives of local politicians. The merchants often discussed their struggles of working and living in Bologna (some lived in other towns in the Emilia Romagna and Veneto): lack of employment opportunities as licensed vendors, prejudice within the bureaucratic system, and shortcomings of local integration processes and policies. Why is there so much conflict between the Multiethnic Market and the Municipality? Since the licensed vendors are subject to forms of discrimination similar to the undocumented peddlers of the second chapter, I will examine the commonalities and differences between their narratives. How is the Multiethnic Market/ Paths Toward Freedom included within the political agenda of Bologna? How does the

municipality respond to immigrant cultural initiatives? What does the city's responses reveal about the inclusion of immigrants? To answer these questions, I will also use Aiwa Ong's term "cultural citizenship" (Ong 1996: 737) to explore how forms of governance create experiences of belonging within a particular nation. I argue that paired with the flaws of Italian immigration policies and bureaucratic practices, the multiculturalist rhetoric in Bologna fails to include immigrant groups but functions as another form of governance that justifies controlling and excluding immigrants within the city.

#### Before the Market: Bureaucratic Discrimination

With many African merchants at the Multiethnic Market, politicians and state employees often viewed the men as undocumented vendors and similar to the men described in Chapter 2. Precarious vending is not unfamiliar to the merchants, as this was their main means of income prior to opening the Market and during its closing in Spring 2013. Upon receiving the stay permit for autonomous work, they then applied for the vending licenses and local stands to work at. Before the opening of the Multiethnic Market, Abodoulaye, a Senegalese merchant who arrived to Italy in 1988 experienced discrimination while applying for a selling post.

"One time, my friend and I tried joining a market in Barca (a neighborhood in the Casalecchio province of Bologna) and we were one of the first to apply. At the *Questura* (Police Headquarters), we were told to go three times to complete the process, then the selling post would be ours. My friend and I went all three times. We brought our application to the Questura and the Italian lady said that she noticed something was missing, and that we needed to bring her this document and that document.

And I said to her, ‘so why didn’t you tell me this earlier? You told me to come her three times and I did.’ And the thing is, you know that afterwards, they take the post and sell it to the Chinese and the Pakistani. I’ve been living in this country for 27 years so I know. I said, I read Italian, I understand Italian. If you tell me that we are the first and do it three times, then 1, 2, 3! I did the application and it didn’t go through! Ahhh! Why didn’t you tell me that day to bring this and that? This document that you ask for, I don’t have it. And she responds to me, “Oh, are you okay? Are you crazy?” I thought: why did my post go to an Italian or someone else? This is discrimination. This.”<sup>78</sup> (Abodoulaye, August 8 2015, Interview)

In this short anecdote, Abodoulaye asserts that discriminatory practices prohibited his opportunity to receive the selling post. On the surface, it appears that Abodoulaye’s afflicted by the flaws within a bureaucratic system, such as not receiving information in a timely manner. Explicit exclusionary practices are common within bureaucratic nation-states such as Italy; as anthropologist Laurence Herzfeld reminds us, the evils produced by a bureaucracy are not for “rational efficiency, but for individual and organizational survival” (Herzfeld 1993:5; Britan 1981: 11). However, Abodoulaye’s narrative also reveals a layer of discrimination that goes deeper than solely systematic struggle. Abodoulaye is aware of this acute level of discrimination; he had to verify his knowledge of Italian since immigrants are often stereotyped as having a low comprehension of Italian, regardless of their length of stay in the country (Schuster 2005: 764). He continues explaining the systematic discrimination he has experienced:

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<sup>78</sup> Paraphrased; when I asked for specifics he said that he couldn’t remember.



This is a lack of respect. This is racism also. This is racism because we are Africans, and they like to mess with us. It's always been like this, and it always will be, understand? This is racial discrimination. The Municipality, not the Italians, I am talking about the Municipality, not Italians, it's different.<sup>79</sup> (Abodoulaye, August 8 2015, Interview)

Abodoulaye identifies that the local bureaucracy perpetuates racial hierarchy within the labor market, as we learned in his previous statement that they sell the posts to immigrants from Asian and Indian continents.<sup>80</sup> Abodoulaye's narrative also highlights that these racial exclusionary practices are ignored by the local administration, thus normalizing these behaviors. The lack of proof that discrimination occurs to within local bureaucracies to immigrants reveals that it has hardly been acknowledged on a policy-making level. Sociologists Laura Zanfrini and Winfried Kluth elaborate that immigrants are more likely to experience discrimination within the Italian bureaucracy, intensified by administrative officials (i.e. Police Headquarters or *Questura*) lack of spreading information and awareness about the issue (2008: 41). There has been significant discretion from the Italian administration to record these instances of exclusion, especially racial discrimination; therefore there is insignificant statistics and other figures illustrating the frequency of immigrants that are victims to racial discrimination at state offices (2008: 41).

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<sup>79</sup> Questo è una mancanza in rispetto, è il razzismo anche. È razzismo. Perché siamo africani, e loro ci rompono le scatole. È sempre stato così. E sarà sempre così. Capito. Questa è discriminazione razziale. Il comune, non gli italiani, il comune, parlo del comune, non gli italiani, è diverso.

<sup>80</sup> There is sociological and anthropological literature that focuses on the migratory patterns of populations from Asian and Indian countries. For example, Anna Marsden's "Il ruolo della famiglia nello sviluppo dell'imprenditoria cinese a Prato" concentrates on Chinese migration patterns and familial entrepreneurship in Italy (2002). Barbara Bertolani's "Capitale sociale e intermediazione etnica: il caso degli indiani Punjabi inseriti in agricoltura in Provincia di Reggio Emilia" focuses on Punjab migration to Emilia-Romagna and engagement in local agriculture (2003).

Abodoulaye's experience also suggests that internal bureaucratic tensions exacerbate racial prejudices towards immigrants, thus negatively impacting his ability to find steady employment. Triandafyllidou and Veikou's research on the organizational culture of administrative offices such as the Foreigners Office of Florence reveals that a combination of tensions between employees within the labor hierarchy of the office and existing biases towards immigrants impacts their efficiency processing applications and granting permits (2013:22).<sup>81</sup> The employees view "the law as the same for everybody" especially since their goal is to implement policies and any changes, regardless of how it impacts the migrant.<sup>82</sup> When problems occur in the office due to the pecking order, the agent's objective transforms to getting rid of the client immediately, even if they are unable to provide adequate service (Triandafyllidou & Veikou 2013:23). When applying for a selling post, Abodoulaye's experience of discrimination goes beyond solely bureaucratic tensions, as he's affected by implicit exclusionary rhetoric ("the law is the same for everybody") and explicit exclusionary practice (providing insufficient service by telling him too late that he's missing information). Abodoulaye's experience of racial discrimination is not inadvertent, but rather institutionalized within a bureaucratic system that perpetuates exclusion (social, cultural, political, economic) and victimizes immigrants.

The contradiction of having a license but no space calls into question the biopolitics of African merchants: they are constantly in limbo of regular and irregular

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<sup>81</sup> Triandafyllidou and Veikou note that due to administrative reform during the late 1990s, public administrative offices have been decentralized and privatized (2001: 7-8). Therefore, even though each provincial administrative office operates separately and has a different organizational culture (2001: 7-8) This sentence needs to be rewritten. However, it's important to note that the employee attitudes are not exclusive to that of Florence, and most likely have parallels with other regional public offices in Italy.

<sup>82</sup> This also demonstrates that the employees turn a blind eye as to how migrants are negatively affected, but this is not solely a choice due to work overload and insufficient staffing at the offices.

status. As one of the other vendors, Mirco put it: “we are not legal or illegal, but rather in the middle of the two”.<sup>83</sup> Amodoulaye adds: “For me, there’s no difference. It doesn’t matter in the end. Now you’re “in regola” and in one moment, you no longer have the license or the *partita IVA* (VAT number). I’m abusivo. I’m everything”.<sup>84</sup> Sociologist Liza Schuster notes that the shifting of the immigrant’s legal status is often complex and beyond their control, such as difficulty keeping valid documentation or change in social or financial circumstances (2005: 764). As a matter of fact, one’s social status often switched from a higher to a lesser status, as we have seen with the African merchants at the Multiethnic Market (Schuster 2005: 764).

The African merchants embody a liminal status, thus making them more susceptible to the structural failures within local Bolognese politics and Italian immigration policies. They are viewed as legal vendors when they embody an “economic resource,” as they have already obtained the proper licensures (this process pays taxes to the state) and engage in the local economy. On the other hand, when the merchants do not live up to these roles, immigration policies perpetuate the perception of them as an “inept body”: they are perceived as having fewer skills than Italians and belong to an economic niche occupied by many immigrants. In Sarah Scuzzarello’s article “Policy actors’ narrative constructions of migrants’ integration in Malmo and Bologna,” a representative of an Italian employer’s federation in Bologna stated: “a businessman is in the weakest position. It seems strange but that’s how it is because only migrants would do some jobs...” (2013: 65). As Scuzzarello’s example indicates, migrants are included through

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<sup>83</sup> “Non siamo legali né illegali. Siamo in mezzo.” -Mirco

<sup>84</sup> Per me non c’è differenza, la differenza per me non c’è, non entra niente alla fine. Adesso, in regola, in un momento, non hai più la licenza, la partita iva sono abusivo, sono tutto”. -Amodoulaye

exclusion: through the construction that they take the jobs that Italians don't desire, therefore they must accept and be content with meager economic returns (Scuzzarello 2013: 66).<sup>85</sup> The African merchants are often stereotyped to do these jobs, as well as deal with any discrimination they experience. The inconsistency of how they are perceived by local state authorities only further marginalizes their position in Italian society, thus making them more vulnerable to ideological and discriminatory accusations and treatment.

### The Constitution of the Market

Amodoulaye's experience of discrimination at the Police Headquarters inspired him along with other merchants to open the Multiethnic Market/Paths Toward Freedom. Hamid Bichri, a Moroccan politician and academic in Bologna stated that when Italian institutions don't meet the needs of immigrants, they try to arrange for alternative solutions away from institutional offices (Bichri in Però 2001: 169). The Market and the Paths Toward Freedom characterize a 'first (generation) immigrant association', since the immigrants "struggle for recognition by engaging in social activities within Italian structures" and to improve their experience in Italy (Riccio 2011: 361). Establishing an association does not entirely remove the immigrant from Italian political institutions and bureaucratic practices, but it does grant them independence (2011: 361). The African merchants constantly emphasized that they did not request any financial support from the Municipality, and that they fund their programs by their monthly dues of ten dollars each.

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<sup>85</sup> I have already proven that this stereotype is not true. It is beyond the scope of this research paper to explain this. For more info please see Ambrosini's work *Accogliere Attivamente. La Formazione Professionale Per Gli Immigrati Stranieri* (2003).

The Multiethnic Market/ Paths Toward Freedom provides the African vendors a space to present how they recognize difference in Bologna.

Even though the vendors acknowledge that they are seen and treated as different, they also opened the market to demonstrate how they understand themselves as community members. As already explained, one of the main motives for opening the Multiethnic Market was to ensure that the men had a selling post, whereas Paths Toward Freedom promotes solidarity through the promotion of artisanal products.<sup>86</sup> These established entities represent and provide space for how they understand citizenship as non-Italians. Rather than conceptualizing citizenship in terms of legal status, the Market and Paths Toward Freedom also embody the merchant's "cultural citizenship" (Ong 1996: 737).

Anthropologist Aiwa Ong defines "cultural citizenship" as spaces where "immigrants are made into subjects ... through a dual process of self-making and being made within webs of power linked to the nation-state and civil society" (Ong in Salih 2002: 142). Ong builds on Foucault by arguing that "self-making and being-made produce consent through schemes surveillance, discipline, control, and administration" (Ong 1993: 737). The notion of "cultural citizenship" refers to a dialectic relationship of belonging between (im)migrants, institutions, and state agents by producing cultural practices and beliefs that "establish criteria of belonging" (Ong 1993: 738; Salih 2002: 142). This process of self-making and being-made characterizes how the Multiethnic Market and Paths Toward Freedom are included and integrated in Bologna.

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<sup>86</sup> From the constitution, see Index of Promotional Posters

The idea of representing multiculturalism,<sup>87</sup> rather than a specific cultural association reveals how African vendors are constructed and included in Bologna. Anthropologist Jeff Pratt defines *multicultural* as “a widely understood way of referring to population is recognized in some degree... as *multiethnic*<sup>88</sup> or *multiracial*”, whereas *multiculturalism* concerns but not limited to the “politics, institutional accommodation, state principles, demographics, and other initiatives seeking to incorporate the recognition of ethnic, cultural, linguistic, and religious difference within the public arena” (2002: 10; Vertovec 2007: 965). As Riccio (2000: 52) and Pratt (2002: 17) explain, even though integration and multiculturalism can be seen on a national level through national laws, implementation of these can only be addressed on a local level. The migrants of different non-European nations came together and formed these organizations for their shared interested in spreading the knowledge of different cultures through artisanal products.<sup>89</sup> This multicultural perspective strives to undo stereotypical understandings of difference, such as implicit ones that Amodoulaye experienced, and more explicit ones such as verbal attacks and slurs. The vendors of the Multiethnic Market/ Paths Toward Freedom position themselves within the social, cultural, and political arena of Bologna as sites that attempt to recognize and reconcile difference<sup>90</sup> between Italians and non-Italians. These organizations “make themselves” within the institutional and cultural framework and practices towards ‘dealing with difference’ in Bologna.

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<sup>87</sup> Sociologist Ralph Grillo states that “representation” has two parts: an ideological piece and political and social practices. Within this dual process, these two dimensions of representation impact one another (Grillo in Grillo 2002: 16).

<sup>88</sup> His emphasis.

<sup>89</sup> From the Constitution: Promuovere la conoscenza e la diffusione dell’artigianato e dei prodotti tipici delle realtà locali. (See the rest of the Constitution).

<sup>90</sup> Cooperare con tutti coloro che, nei più svariati campi della vita culturale e sociale, operano Indifesa della dignità umana dell’ ambiente e per la solidarietà tra gli uomini ed i popoli - from the Constitution

When asked about the types of items they sell, they often emphasized that they sell items from African nations, along with products from East and South Asian countries, to promote multiethnic and intercultural exchange. Amadou describes his approach towards accomplishing this goal: “I sell things from different countries. Also African things. Orient. I do African – Orient. I do African-oriental. That’s what Obama did!” Amadou approach to vending reminds us of the Afrocentric ideology used by some of the irregular street peddlers. Similar to them, Amadou capitalizes on his Africanness through Afrocentricity (Stoller 2002: 82). However, the merchants risk essentializing different cultures through the category of “multiethnic.” In this sense, Amadou perceives his work as breaking boundaries and encouraging ethnic and cultural solidarity, similar to the idealized (and misconstrued) representation of Obama in the United States.<sup>91</sup> His work as an artisanal vendor allows him to give voice to African cultures and aesthetics within a bureaucratic system that excludes immigrants. The merchants’ activist participation at the Multiethnic Market shapes their embodiments of citizenship in Bologna.

Their practices of citizenship are situated within a specific European context, and are shaped by their social, cultural, and political participation within the city. Even though state agents and other policy enforcers do not consider the merchants as citizens, but rather on a ‘regularized stay,’ they demonstrate their belonging through their civic and political participation. The Multiethnic Market/ Paths Toward Freedom also receives support from other associations that fight for the same mission, such as ‘3’ Febbraio.

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<sup>91</sup> I don’t think that he’s referring to anything that Barack Obama did in particular, but more of what he represents as the first Black president. Obama is often viewed as the poster boy for a ‘post-racial society’ in the United States. However, this myth demonstrates that American society refuses to admit how the nation was built upon race and racism, and that it continues to struggle with the modern day effects of its past.

External support helps reinforce the value of their civic work in Bologna. Disillusioned by the ‘backlash’ from local politicians, the merchants often had to defend their right to work. Amadou shared that he feels as if the local politicians are “almost against culture.” In the following section, I assess the local politicians accusations of the MM and how their responses produces understandings of the African merchants’ citizenship.

### Criticism of the Market

Political agents often criticized the legitimacy of the Market and Paths Toward Freedom cultural projects. The motives of operating independently from the market managed by merchant unions segregated the merchants from the other merchants. The presentation of promoting multiculturalism was seen as a fallacy. One of the councilwomen stated Ina local news article:

“They need to follow the rules like everyone else. We have explained that to them multiple times that they can present a true cultural project where commerce is not prevalent. Or, if they want to do a market like the one in the Piazzola, they must do it like the other merchants: get the *partita IVA* (Italian VAT identification number), present the *durc* (document that indicates you’re a regularized merchant), and put themselves Inline to get a stand and pay to occupy public soil” (2013: La Repubblica-Bologna).<sup>92</sup>

The councilwoman’s claims of “following the rules like everyone else” implies that the vendors were asking for more than a market of their own, but rather a set of “special rights” specific to them. Her language blames the merchants and the members of the

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<sup>92</sup> My translation.



association for the closing of the Market, which is in fact a result of the Italian state and local policies.

By arguing that they do not represent a “true cultural project” also calls into question how state agents respond to representations of difference in Bologna. Mirco, one of the vendors at the market, informed me that the Market’s purpose was to be more inclusive and include other forms of relationships, unlike the Piazzola where they are solely commercial. Anthropologist Bruno Riccio’s research on Senegalese street peddlers on the shores of Rimini of the Emilia-Romagna demonstrates that complaints from local business owners and politicians concentrated on the ideological notion that the business owners and immigrant peddlers were in economic competition (Riccio in Maritano 2002: 73). As Riccio argues (also seen in Chapter 2), the African merchants’ presence provoke Italian unions and politicians “social anxieties,” thus justifying their racialized exclusionary rhetoric (Riccio 1999: 235). The councilwoman’s claims of a false cultural project reveal that her essentialized view of culture prompts discriminatory and inequality.<sup>93</sup>

Local politicians support and justify their exclusionary claims of the merchants because they view them as the “Other”. Even though the African merchants established the market because they envision themselves as members of the community, the state agents “ideologically blacken” the African merchants to further marginalize them. As Ong reminds us, the biopolitics of citizenship take shape as immigrants embodying ‘stereotypical embodiments’ of ethnicized citizenship (Ong 1996: 739). The way a political establishment “recognizes” or “deals” with difference is not always positive, and

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<sup>93</sup> [Il comune] vede il mercato come fosse un posto di drogati. -Mirco

can be “embedded within apartheid” of an oppressive system to govern and administer individuals of the nation-state. The Municipality closed the Multiethnic Market because of the ideological construction of the African merchant’s ethnicized citizenship; their “human capital, self-discipline and consumer power” are not recognized within the leftist model of integration.

Paired with the flaws of the Italian bureaucracy, these claims further marginalize the men. By closing the market, the men lose their main source of income, thus jeopardizing their stay permit. This form of exercised power marginalizes and punishes the authorized West African merchants similarly to the undocumented ones. Clearly, regardless of whether an immigrant has his stay permit or not, forms of racism and exclusion continue to strip them of their rights to work and live freely. Amar expresses the struggles specific to African men in Italy:

Why is it difficult for Italy to give one hundred percent? An immigrant here has the law one hundred percent, and there are only a few. If one lives here, he must escape. All over. Three things in Italy if you are black: you have problems with work, problems with a place to sleep, or with your documents. But all three are complete and difficult to overcome. Now, immigrants in Italy are throughout. But to get regularized, to remain in all of your life here, few can do it. Everyone needs to give when they have no more need. You have 40 years and you’re not a citizen. And they give it to you, if you’re old but it doesn’t mean anything. And you’re not anything more here. (Amar, August 7 2014, Interview)<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>94</sup> Perché l’Italia è difficile per mettere un cento per cento. Un immigrato qua ha la regola cento per cento, ci sono poche. Se uno vive qua, si scappa. Tutte parti [...]. Tre cose l’Italia: 1. si vive e essere un nero, e hai i problemi di lavoro hai problemi di dormire oppure dei documenti. Ma tutte tre completa e difficile per superare. Allora gli immigrati in Italia sono ovunque [...]. Però per sistemare per rimanere in tutta la vita qua [...] e poco la fa. Tutti che devono dare quando non hai bisogno più non serve più, hai 40 anni e non sei cittadina. E loro ti danno se sei vecchia ma non serve niente. o non sei più qua.

There are a variety of parallels that Amar's narrative shares with the undocumented vendors. The problems he highlights all culminate to a migrant's need to escape, rather than stay and find an opportunity. Both Amar and Laurence (from Chapter 2) share the same concern of how an immigrant struggles to obtain citizenship in Italy due to the long bureaucratic process, especially at an older age. Given Amodoulaye's experience, there are also hidden racial tensions embedded within applying for citizenship, which can only make the process become a more devaluing experience. These oppressive practices within Italian policies, systems and attitudes towards immigrants produces the need for the merchants to create a space like the Multiethnic Market/ Paths Toward Freedom so that they can construct their own cultural citizenship.

### Conclusion

In this chapter, I have demonstrated the diverse facets of discrimination that the merchants of the MM confront in Bologna. Even though they are regularized immigrants and have their vending licenses, they are still subject to exclusionary acts that repress their working opportunities. Their legal status constantly shifts from 'legal' to 'illegal,' thus making them even more vulnerable to discrimination and oppressive acts. In this dual process of citizenship making and being, the political and cultural climate towards immigrant workers have shaped the merchants' engagement in Bologna's political economy: on the one hand, repressive and exclusionary practices of state employees have shaped the African merchants' work towards anti-discrimination through the economic exchange of cultural and artisanal products, and on the other, state agents (regardless of

whether Left or Right) have shaped the merchants citizenship in relation to Italian immigration politics and reinforcing their social, cultural, and political identity as outsiders of a nationalized cultural state. The merchants struggle to balance these institutional power relations, and are often oppressed for opportunities to work.

Despite the well intentions of the associations such as the Multiethnic Market/ Paths Toward Freedom, anthropologists have questioned relationships of power within these organizations. In anthropologists Bruno Riccio and Monica Russo's research on immigrant cultural associations in Bologna, they state that despite the altruistic rhetoric, the sites still reproduce and at time, reinforce different forms of inequalities in regard to gender, class, and cultural background (2011: 261). With the exception of two couples, at the Multiethnic Market, the African merchants worked alone. Two of the Italian men had wives, one from Cuba and another from Nigeria. One of the couples used street vending as an opportunity to obtain a stay permit and to accomplish other goals in their lives, while another had used it as a way to continue a business that they had mutually managed together. Due to my short time working with the merchants, I am unable to make claims about the dynamics between the couples and how gendered relations impacted their work.

When business slows down during the winter months, the Multiethnic Market/ Paths Toward Freedom closes. Depending on their finances, some of them can afford to return to Senegal or visit another nation. As of this past February 2015, the Market has been closed. I have emailed the Market's email address and am still waiting for a response.

## CONCLUSION

In this thesis, I have demonstrated how national immigration policies and local practices perpetuate and institutionalize discriminatory practices. Inspired by Michel Foucault's work on biopower in Western societies, I have argued that these policies and processes negatively impact West African merchants' ability to find documented employment, pushing them into the informal economy as their main source of income, regardless of their legal status. Building on the work by Fassin and Hepworth, I have shown that their legal status is not solely a topic of political debate, but also an embodied and lived experience, shaped by the biopolitics of immigration policies. The discrimination and marginalization they face from politicians, police officers, and state employees have shaped their "cultural citizenship," a dual process that shapes their belonging in Italian society.

The merchants' opportunities are shaped by political, social and cultural processes within Italian history. As Stoller reminds us, political, social and cultural conflicts arise when seemingly third world practices take place in first world communities (Stoller 1994:785). Einaudi's historiography demonstrates how immigration policies have immigrant participation in the Italian labor market, and ultimately in the Third Italy. The preoccupation of immigrants with (il)legal statuses has created what Calavita calls, 'institutionalized irregularity' within immigration policy making (Calavita 2005: 45). Despite Bologna's liberal and progressive legacy, it has been proven that local politicians express acceptance of migrants, yet exclude them through municipal practices (Però 2007). In addition, the shift from a Fordist to a post-Fordist economy has characterized migrant labor as precarious and vulnerable to exploitation. Irregular merchants engaged

in the informal economy selling items as it was their only moral employment option; local and national implementation of immigration policies (i.e. Bossi-Fini law, Operation High Impact) punished, racialized and incarcerated them for their actions. The regularized merchants were subject to cultural racism embedded within bureaucratic practices, hindering their opportunities to obtain work as independent workers and pushing them into the informal economy. Unfortunately, West African merchants in Bologna embody the socio-political fears of immigration as a “social problem,” and their engagement in the informal economy has yet to be recognized as a form of resilience.

Throughout this thesis, I have used a Foucauldian lens to analyze the negative and oppressive impacts of Italian immigration policies on the labor and livelihood of West African street vendors. This Senior Thesis closes one scholarly interest of mine, but has also inspired me to apply for a Fulbright research grant for 2016-17 in Italy. At the moment, I am interested in studying the experiences of African women entrepreneurs in Bologna and the surrounding Emilia Romagna, with a particular focus on their successes and the obstacles that they overcame and/or continue to face.

## Interview Transcriptions

### Interview with Amodoulaye

Io: La mia prima domanda è quale lavoro hai fatto prima di essere un ambulante?

Lui: Sono nato ambulante.

Io: Sei nato ambulante?

Lui: Sì, sono nato ambulante. Mia famiglia, mia mamma, mio fratello, siamo tutti venditori. Mia sorella in sud America, prima lei lavora dopo anche lei va vendere. Vendere è una cosa ... sei in contatto con la gente. Noi stare fabbrica chiuso, ho visto chiuso dietro fiso blah blah blah. È stare aria aperta, in contatto con la gente. Parlare con tutti...

Io: Cosa hanno fatto i tuoi genitori?

Lui: Sono nato dietro shop. Dietro shop. Anche mio papa aver aperto una cosa grande. Tutto quello che ha fatto mia mamma, mia mamma mio papa, sempre sono questo. Anch'io qua in Italia, mia mamma mi ha dato possibilità di avere un shop piccolo. Un shop piccolo, io lavoro metto i soldi da parte. Io pagato il biglietto mio, aereo tutto. Con soldi mio del shop.

Io: Ah okay. Sempre di questo tipo di lavoro? Quindi, quando eri in Senegal, quando l'hai fatto là?

Lui: Prima là, sì. Quando avevo 7 anni, quando avevo 2 anni, mio papa (mi ha messo) in shop piccolo, boom boom boom! Ma tutti.

Io: Quindi secondo te, qual è la differenza d'essere un ambulante in Senegal? Ma, di quale città vieni?

Lui: Di Dakar. Da Dakar centre, Dakar città.

Io: Quindi secondo a te, quale sarebbe la differenza, oppure le differenze fra essere di ambulante in Dakar di Bologna?

Lui: Sì la differenza è quale, la differenza è che qui, ci sono più soldi. Perché qui sono aziende, denaro di lavorare, dopo 18 anni può lavorare capito no? C'è un sacco di generare più soldi, la economia gira. In Africa, uno va a comprare una cosa perché a lui serve. Perché a lui serve. Se va a comprare uno paio di scarpe, può farlo. Se lui fa un paio di scarpe, lui deve pensare di una famiglia perché magari arriva l'affitto, arriva la bolletta, arriva quella. È diverso. Qua la gente possa comprare una cosa che si vuole e arrivare a casa dice e questo ho comprato, capito? Questo forse non mi serve. Perché economia è diversa. C'è i soldi per fare quello che vuole. Se io ho i soldi, devo pensare se arriva l'affitto, o un figlio di mandare a scuola, o questo da fare. O qua la gente si può. Può comprare quello che vuole. E se là, è diverso. Capito? Non posso comprare cosa, quello che voglio. Perché magari, perché c'è un po' di crisi. Perché quando finisci la crisi, torna come prima. Noi siamo già nati con la crisi, no? Perché noi in Africa sono già nati in una crisi. Perché c'è un crisi qui, è là c'è un crisi. Capito no? È diverso. Molto di andare. Se mia mamma ha i soldi di andare, prima di comprare carne, riso, cibo per i bambini, dopo lei va a comprare le scarpe per lui o lei. Magari un parente si deve curare. Mia mamma non può andare comprare borsa. Perché deve mette a parte, perché se qualcuno viene da fuori, abbiamo bisogno di aspettare e dare uno mano. Invece qui, se tu sei malato, tu vai a ospedale di stato Italiano e ti copre. come in America no? America, salute, sanità è privato. Tutto deve andare pagare no? Invece qua in Italia ancora Europa, ha i male di dente va da loro e non paghi niente. Africa è diverso. Tanto. Pero tornerà a com'era prima. È un momento e poi tornerà a com'era prima. E la gente poi caos. Se non ci... la differenza è quella.

Io: Ci sono altre differenze?

Lui: Anche in Europa ci sono differenze. In Francia della Germania. È diverso dall'Austria. La differenza c'è per tutto.

Io: Hai lavorato come un ambulante in altri paesi europee?

Lui: Anche se non ho lavorato ho visto che c'è una differenza.

Io: Ah! Oh capito!

Lui: Anche miei amici che non lavorano sono messo meno di noi. Un ambulante in Francia, un ambulante in Germania è messo di meno di me qua. Perché lì il comune ti segue. Se vai in Inghilterra, se vuoi aprire un shop, vai là ti danno un banca e tutto quelle cose. In Italia, non ti danno niente. anche se... è come i figli. Non sono ambulanti. Se vai a figli non ti danno niente se fai commercio non ti danno niente. Anzi, dell'altro, danno



più a loro che a noi, capito? Ho visto. Nella vita non è discriminazione non è cattiveria, è la realtà.

Io: Quindi, dove prendi i tuoi prodotti?

Lui: I fornitori? Io li prendo...

Io: No Ingenerale.

Lui: Ingenerale. Da Africa un po'. Italia un po'. Amsterdam. Francia. United States.

Io: Perché hai scelto questi prodotti invece di... Perché hai scelto di vendere questi prodotti invece di ...

Lui: Questi sono prodotti culturali e gli altri stati, questo è un bancarella culturale. Dove si pare di rastafarismo, che è un religione, che qua in Italia, quando la gente arriva là, quando vedono verde giallo, rossa, diciamo Giamaica. Perché non sanno la storia. E io quando sono arrivato qua mi hanno detto vai in Francia cosa fai qua? Vai là che è meglio, che si lavora meglio. Ho detto no, qua c'è bisogno di qualcuno che deve spiegare al pubblico e la gente cosa vuole dire verde giallo rosso? Qual è la bandiera giamaicana? Quale da mangiare... devo spiegare a loro devo fare anche i soldi. Che mi servono a campare, ma qui dietro la cultural rasta. Dalla Giamaica alla chiopia alla Africa. Okay. Prima qua, non c'è la rasta. Quando camminavo qua, non mi dicevano una rasta, mi dicevano *Wulich*. *Wulich* è un giocato di Milan, che è il rasta. A loro non sapevano di noi rasta. Dicevano *Wulich*, *Wulich!* Dopo 25 anni, forse di stare qua spiegare, adesso sono capiti non è rasta, il nome dreadlocks, okay? Ci sia qualcuno qua. In Inghilterra, è già così. In Francia è già così. Sono stati primi generazione. Prima è andato in Inghilterra, in Francia, in Germania. Immigrazione è arrivato qui dopo. Se qualcuno arrivasse qui, qua, fare questi colori qua, qualcuno viene vendere questo di Senegal, dicono Giamaica. Okay? Questo non è Giamaica. Questo è Senegal. okay? Vede giallo rosso, no! Questo è dal Africa. Okay? Perché si va in Giamaica, trovi tutti verdi giallo rosso, perché sono stati i Giamaicani, in Giamaica dall'Africa. Sono andato là e hanno portato i colori. Come per un afro-americano, se tu vai in America, c'è anche il cognome Guy. Cognome Waad. Questo viene da Senegal. Okay? Qualcuno che fa pallacanestro (?), afroamericano, questo cognome, si chiama Waad. W A A D. Senegal Waad. Guy. Americano. Viene da Senegal questo cognome okay? Si vede che i genitori che sono stati portati in America, hanno mantenuto il nome di famiglia per orgoglio capito? Si conosco solo la storia perché abito a Dakar, dove c'è l'Isola Gorée. Dove sono partiti i schiavi. Dove andato Obama, il papa, dove andato dove sono andati grandi del mondo. Sono partiti dagli schiavi per il Brasile, sono partiti anche per l'America, sono andato per Cuba. Okay? Abito lì e

conosco la storia. È per quello che io ho detto vengo qua, tengo queste cose qua. Capito? Intanto metter la bandiera Italiana qua sono tutte capito? È tutto qua. È tutto lì .

Io: E quindi tu sei religioso? Spirituale?

Lui: No, ... Sì perché non troppo. Perché io si vede che la gente si ti ammazza per la religione e non mi piace. Mi faccio le domande. Che una cristiana può ammazzare un musulmano. Un musulmano ammazza un buddista. Io dopo faccio le domande. Dico perché, deve ammazzare quel altro religione alla fine siamo tutti uguali. Perché io e i cristiani la bibbia non dice quello. Se tu con la tua testa, che tu dici questo è meglio, questo è meglio, come dicevi a Alpha Blonde, un cantante di Costa Avorio lui dice che sono tutte religione buone. Perché? Perché io musulmano dico questo è migliore. I cristiani dicono sono migliore. I buddisti sono migliori. Quel altro dice sono migliore, allora alla fine sono tutti buoni. Capito il concetto?

Io: Sì, certo.

Lui: Alla fine sono tutti migliore. Alla fine sono tutti buoni. Dormiamo tutti uguali. Andiamo bagno tutti uguali. facciamo amore in un modo tutti uguali. mangiamo uguali. Allora un stupido musulmano dice un stupido musulmano. Per interesse.

Io: Quindi, andiamo un po' indietro, perché hai scelto hai venuto venire qui in Italia?

Lui: Io, faccio come toreto, sono in missione. Noi siamo in missione. Per far vedere cos'è l'Africa. Cultura. Colori. Toreto ha detto tanti vai in Francia qua non vai là prendere... Tanti italiani lasciano Italia e vanno in Germania, America, Irlanda, a emigrare. E dicono perché vieni qua? Vai là, e io dico no, vengo qua perché voglio fare tutto da solo. Da uno e inventare... Ho i parenti in Francia se io vado là, loro mi aiutano. Voglio fare tutto da solo. Non voglio stare aiutato. Scusa c'è il telefono che squilla.... (parla in Wolof)

Io: Quindi sei venuto in Italia...

Lui: No no io dovevo andare in Francia da mio zio. Conosco nessuno qua e dopo una settimana il marito vieni. C'è la casa, è un professore, un insegnante. Io ho detto, se io vado là, vado a casa trovo tutto, io ho fatto tutto da solo. Voglio andarci e mi dice dormi c'è tutto. se io volevo fighting! No? Per quello e dopo sono rimasto qua insomma, così. E dopo faccio culturale. Anche per famiglia, la figlia no? C'è anche famiglia allora. Pero c'è queste cose qua che ti porterà avanti. No? Rastafarismo. Capito? Perché io mi piace musica, reggae, anche ho lavorato in discoteca io prima facciamo sempre commerciante ho lavorato a radio per fare cultura. Anche per gli Italiani. Prima non c'è nessuno. C'è

qualcuno pero io e mio lavoro dopo il radio, la discoteca per diffondere anche cultura come in Germania come in Francia. Capito? Perché loro anche hanno già capito? Io volevo stare lì per fare altra roba capito? Concerti, festivali, no? Sempre qui con la musica.

Io: So che quando le persone cominciano d'essere ambulanti prendono la licenza all'inizio, oppure aspettano. Cosa hai fatto per essere un ambulante?

Lui: Io ho iniziato subito subito poco, perché non avevo i documenti. Non posso prendere la licenza. Quando prendi la licenza, vai dove bisogna fare la domanda, dopo ti danno pero c'è anche posto. Capito qua in Italia, ambulante non è buono buono buono per gli stranieri. perché tutto soldi. C'è anche il comunità europea che fatta leggi per fare la licenza. Adesso Italia parte di Europa, fatto anche richiesta di autorizzazione... Prima licenza, tu hai i soldi, vendita comune da un posto a loro, capito? e loro casa fanno? Ti vende i tuoi affitti. capito? Ma tu mi dai licenza pero io non c'è posto. Non c'è posto per vendere. Per questo abbiamo creato associazione qua. Per potere avere posto capito? Perché loro non ti danno posto, il comune. Il comune deve darti posto. Perché tu hai fatto licenza e hai comprato il polmone, la partita iva, ma non c'è posto. Qui ti manca qualcosa che non va. Questo non va. Devo trovare un altro modo per mangiare capito? Se ti vende bene, il comune non ti interesse capito? Qua in Italia la sistema è come così.

Io: Sei venuto qui negli anni 80?

Lui: Negli anni 80 si. 87.

Io: Adesso hai fatto questo lavoro, da tanti anni. Ovviamente il discorso di in regola e abusivo entra quando si fa questo lavoro quindi secondo a te qual è, quale sono le differenze fra, come definisci non in regola e abusivo? Secondo a me non è una cosa molto chiara dalla legge e la sua implementazione.

Lui: Per me non ce' differenza, la differenza per me non c'è, non entra niente alla fine. adesso, in regola, in un momento, non hai più la licenza, la partita iva sono abusivo, sono tutto. Perché qua si trova sempre i nomi, tra anche i nomi, e a volte non sanno i ragazzi di colore. Dicono africano dicono ragazzo di colore. Anche lì non è chiaro. Capito?

Io: Ma oggi adesso stanno facendo tutti di questi giri (i poliziotti), ma sai perché? Non avete fatto niente e oggi hanno scelto come per causa di..

Lui: Sì, per caso. Come per camerionte. Conosci camaleonte? Un animale che va sopra gli alberi e cambia colori. Va sopra gli alberi e cambia a nero, loro sono come così.

Io: E quindi da quanto tempo hai preso la licenza?

Lui: Allora, la licenza ho preso a duemila.

Io: Una cosa che sto ancora cercando capire è chi ha cominciato questo mercato?

Lui: L'ha cominciato noi! Quasi tutti noi insieme. Perché, è nato un post di là, dove vanno gli Italiani perché hanno più presenze, per prendere i posti. E di lì i posti Italiani prendono a loro perché prendono più posti. Sistema per aprire allora gli Italiani prendono uno lì la gente non andava. Non andava da loro perché non c'era la gente. Allora, hanno lasciato il posto che noi africani hanno preso e piano piano con colori, con sapere, con ciao e eh! E dopo è nato il mercato. I posti erano vicino i bagni. Il bagno lì dove c'è il marciapiede sono tutti insegnanti lì, gli Italiani prendono uno e noi non c'è un posto per noi. Noi fermiamo tutti giorno. Loro hanno fatto una settimana, due, tre, dice ah! Qua non si vende niente e loro sono andati via e abbiamo preso noi. Una settimana non c'è gente tre settimane non c'è gente. Allora sai, dopo piano piano l'abbiamo creato. Perché c'è anche la pazienza. Per fare crescere un albero, si vuole tempo no?

Io: Quindi siete membri di Sentieri Liberi? Sei un membro di qualche altro associazione?

Lui: No, altre associazione, si magari si parla ad aiutare gli immigrati e associazione tre febbraio che è qua. Perché quando dobbiamo parlare con il comune, loro ci danno anche uno mano. loro è una associazione per occuparsi di gente che ha problemi con permesso di soggiorno, i figli che sono stati tenuti, gente qua che ha un problema con una legge, insomma. Io a volte lavoro con loro, siamo in collaborazione. Così, insomma, c'è un altro associazione che ho creato, si chiamo Afrik, ci siamo sempre attivi comunque dove si fa parte di associazione dove si può fare che cosa di nuovo o, io sono sempre pronto per andare capito... Non c'è un limite no?

Io: E quindi secondo a te, i problemi passati con il comune sono risolti?

Lui: Risolti no, Risolti no. Perché qua è un paese dove la politica pesa molto. La politica pesa molto. Il comune che deve riconoscere quello che c'è qui. Capito, del nostro mercatino. Ho visto del comune almeno non mi hanno mai dato la licenza, non mi hanno dato posto, tu mi ha dato la licenza, vai arrangati. Io ho speso 6 mila euro per il furbone, ho speso tanti soldi per fare questo. Però, il comune sanno che i soldi vanno, fanno girare la economia. Anche siamo stranieri, facciamo gira la economia. Facciamo parte. La economia reale Italiana. Capito perché abbiamo spesa anche noi. Non solo gli Italiani. Però se il comune non ti da posto, ho trovato un'altra formula di creare questo mercato

qua. È solo che qua, il comune deve prendere la responsabilità per è troppo politica. Perché se qualcuno che dice io nel mercato, gli africani che se qualcuno sempre dall'altra parte, se anche la lega, per avere i voti, dice ah tu hai dato posto agli africani! È colpa tua è colpa tua capito? Quindi c'è anche interessi politici dietro. In Germania, c'è il mercato africano tutti giorni. Perché è una cosa bella dove la gente va, si incontra, è una cosa bella. non è una cosa negativa. Però c'è gente che spaccia le droghe qui, vicino noi, loro sono lì. Noi siamo lavoratori, con famiglie, il mercato tu oggi, apri oggi, capito. Nessuno vuole prendere la responsabilità che questo è una cosa bella perché è 27 anni che siamo qua [In Italia mi pare]. Non abbiamo richiesto dal comune per dormire. non abbiamo chiesto al comune per mangiare. Abbiamo una licenza. Che si usa per lavorare, il posto e per solo due giorni alla settimana. Questo è una mancanza in rispetto, è il razzismo anche. È razzismo. Perché siamo africani, e loro ci rompono le scatole. È sempre stato così. E sarà sempre così. Capito. Questa è discriminazione razziale. Il comune, non gli italiani, il comune, parlo del comune, non gli italiani, è diverso.

Io: Quindi il comune ti tratta in un modo diverso dei venditori ambulanti a questo mercato? Anche?

Lui: Sì sì. Sono tante cose che noi dobbiamo sapere, come ambulante, come commercianti, quando andiamo, dove dobbiamo andare per prendere informazione e l'informazione non mi danno. In Irlanda sì. In Inghilterra non ti danno. Qua no, loro ti danno. Questo è la verità. Vendo qui da 27 anni, lo so!

Io: Puoi dare un esempio, un esempio ...

Lui: Tanti cose che non ti dicono! Tante cose. I soldi i fondi perduti, per i rimborsi, c'è la legge che dice okay, tu hai iniziato fare questo lavoro qua, hai speso 20 mille euro, mi fai, vede la fattura, il furbone che hai comprato, il tavolo che hai comprato, quello quello quello. La mia amica Italiana per esempio, 70 mille euro, rimborsi. Quando mi vado mi dicono no, perché tu lo sai. C'è sempre una altra cosa da dire capito? Una volta, alla barca, hanno fatto mercato noi, alla barca. Quartiere barca, i primi che hanno aperto un mercato hanno detto che i primi se fai tre volte il mercato, il posto è tuo! Io ho fatto 3 volte il mercato con mio amico Senegalese, abbiamo preso anche una domanda [a un cliente: eh? è quaranta!] on il mio amico, hanno preso è andato ad una Italiana e hanno detto un'altra cosa hanno trovato un'altra cosa, ma no ma tu devi portarmi un'altra cosa. Deve portarmi quello, deve portarmi quello. Perché non mi hai detto il primo giorno? Tu mi ha fatto venire 3 volte. Io sono andato là, tu sai che il posto dopo, loro devono fare posto e vende ai cinesi, ai pakistani... Sono 27 anni qui lo so. E poi aspettava me. Perché ho letto Italiano. Capisco Italiano. Se tu mi dici primi, fai 3 volte, uno, due, se ho fatto 2 volte, tre. Ho fatto la domanda e non è andato. Aahhn! Perché tu quel giorno dovevi

portare quello, una cosa che non ce l'ho. Mi dicono ah okay non sei fuori? Perché mio posto va ad un Italiano. Questo è discriminazione questo. Senza paura. Non ho paura. Paura solo di Allah, Dio. Non ho paura di loro.

Io: Quando si deve andare alla Questura succede la stessa cosa? Loro ti dicono no no, ma devi portare questo. Ecc, ecc.

Lui: Sì sì, io ho un soggiorno. Già il soggiorno, regolare. Ho pagato 270 euro per fare. quando l'ho perso, ho detto mi fai duplicato? Perché tu ce l'ho già. Deve fare solo un altro. Ho pagato 270 euro ancora. Perché? Perché? Perché vogliono fare i soldi con noi. Io l'ho perso, non è come faccio una domanda. Io devo fare la domanda prima, ma come tu ce l'hai patente di guida la perdi, no? Perché ha rubato il portfolio e mi ha perso sono andato pagare altri 270. Deve fare duplicato perché loro ce l'hanno già tutto. Non nuovo. Nuovo, okay, pago 270. Anche quando fai richiesta di cittadinanza, tu fai richiesta di cittadinanza e dicono 270. Sì okay, ti danno. Bene. Se non ti danno, 270. Non ti danno Indietro. Perché? 270, non 20 euro. 270 euro. A persona. Ogni immigrato è 270. Se mi dai va bene, ma se tu mi dice ah è negativo, non va bene, non ti possiamo dare, che 270 non mangi. Okay?

[suona la musica reggae]

.....

Lui: È quando sono venuto sono arrivato in aereo perché non c'è il visto. Quando scendi, sono Senegalese, non tu Africa. No, sono Senegalese e sono andato all'ambasciata. E dove sei? Senegal, prendi e vai. Senza niente 87. Eravamo pochi. Capito, era normale senza problema. Tranquillo. Capito? Non è come adesso, dove tutto ha cambiato. Tante cose hanno cambiate.

### Intervista con Avvocati di Strada

Antonello: Noi siamo un'associazione di avvocati. Uhh volontari. Che significa che siamo un'associazione che raccoglie tanti avvocati di Bologna perché siamo a Bologna ma siamo una associazione nazionale. Ognuno che ha il suo proprio studio legale. Ognuno fa il diritto di famiglia, diritto di lavoro, diritto penale, diritto commerciale. Quindi lavora appunto proprio. Il più è volontariato. C'è che fa il volontariato di fare il suo professione per i clienti che pagano, come lavoro, una professione, lo fa per le persone che non possono pagare. E in particolare lo fa per i homeless, per le persone senza dimora. avvocati di strada, si chiama così perché è legato alla strada: chi vive In strada. Che

significa che noi facciamo tutela legale gratuita e volontaria per le persone senza dimora. Che significano che solo quelli che vivono proprio proprio In strada. O in stazione. Ma anche che sta nei dormitori, le strutture di accoglienza, per esempio i richiedenti di asilo, rifugiati, per le donne, vittime di violenza, le case protette, tutte di queste cose qua. E in particolare, noi lo facciamo veramente sia per gli Italiani sia per gli immigrati. Ovviamente c'è una differenza. noi, l'unica... ehmm... mmm.. specifica che noi percepiamo le persone senza dimora. e poi facciamo tutto legale.

Io: Okay capito.

Antonello: E ovviamente sono molti di più immigrati che Italiani.

Io: Sì, sì come ho notato ... pero come hai detto che il nome è avvocati di strada quindi è proprio per le persone che più o meno sono per strada oppure sono di qualche parte della loro vita.

Constantino: Esatto. Ti posso dare un rapporto? ..... (Mi spiega il rapporto di 2012 dell'associazione). Per gli immigrati, siamo occupati principalmente per il permesso di soggiorno, professione internazionale (asilo essenzialmente), espulsione, cittadinanza e altro. Quindi in questo rapporto ci sono altre cose.

.....

Io: Quindi per il permesso di soggiorno ci sono come ho visto qui che c'è tanti ci sono tanti problemi per il permesso di soggiorno. Della scadenza oppure qual è più spesso è il problema?

Antonello: Più spesso i problemi di ogni tipo...La legge, testimonianze di immigrazione, bossi-fini, e tutto di questo normativo. Relativo agli immigrati è molto critico. E per cui, quello che facciamo noi per gli immigrati rispetto al permesso di soggiorno è di cercare di capire dov'è il problema che molte volte blocca la pratica di rilascio del diritto.... Passano mesi mesi mesi e gli immigrati non possono fare più il permesso di soggiorno. quindi quello che facciamo è di trovare dov'è il problema perché per avere un permesso di soggiorno, bisogna di avere tutti i requisiti di sistemi tipi. Permesso di lavoro, di studio, di lavoro stagionale, di ricongiungimento familiare, salute. E poi di certa la parte facciamo tantissimo tipi di asile per gli internazionali. Tantissimo.

Io: Uhm e quindi chi sono le persone che vi chiamano per esempio?

Antonello: Okay. Allora uhh tutte le persone che sanno della nostra assistenza, magari perché fanno dei sociali e di altre associazioni. Perché a Bologna c'è e questa bella rete

che conosciamo tutti quanti e quindi siamo per esempio se c'è una persona che ha bisogno di un posto letto, lo so ed i volontari che ci sono gli associazioni che sanno dove sono i dormitori, una struttura, ha bisogno dei vestiti, ho della mensa per mangiare, la mandiamo là. ... Per le persone che vanno per esempio in mensa .... I servitori sanno che guardi io ho questo problema legale e conosco una persona di avvocati di strada e tutto qua. ... Questa guida qua. Qui ci sono .... Dove andare per dormire, dove andare per lavarsi, vestirsi, curarsi, ecc ecc. Anche questo puoi tenere. La diamo a tutti gli associazioni che lo distribuiscono alle persone. Le persone vengono qua, i servizi sociali, tutti quanti lo usano e perché, serve a mettere tutto il rete in realtà. E perché poi una persona che usa le droghe, una persona in difficoltà, una persona homeless ci sono tanti bisogni, no? Perciò per prendere la persona In strada non è che di può andare da sola un'organizzazione per una cosa specifico, perché alcune volte, non sempre. A volte non è proprio legale (words difficult to understand). Andare a un psicologico, di inserimento al lavoro, Alcune volte solo di un posto di dormire e basta. Alcune volte non è più complesso. E in questo modo vengono. grazie alla rete.

Io: Ah okay. Grazie. La mia prossima domanda è che l'immigrato esca dal centro di accoglienza, esce con un documento o certificato che mi sa sarebbe il permesso di soggiorno, si?

Antonello: Sì.

Io: Cosa si può fare?

Antonello: Allora Innanzitutto l'Italia, l'accoglienza si può dare solamente alle persone che hanno un permesso di soggiorno. Chi è senza permesso di soggiorno non entra mai perché la legge bossi finì con tutto la norma dice che i servizi pubblici che quindi dirivono dalle tasse che pagano le persone qua possono essere erogati solamente a chi è regolare qua. Le persone che non hanno un permesso di soggiorno è irregolare quindi non può stare in Italia e quindi il servizio non può essere dato, okay? Questo è un problema delle eccezioni, cioè nel dormitorio per esempio, dove si dormire, non si può andare. Però ci sono qui diritti fondamentali, come la salute per esempio. Che invece si da anche per fortuna, ci da anche a chi non ha un permesso di soggiorno. E poi ci sono diversi, noi non siamo un servizio pubblico. Noi siamo un'associazione di liberi cittadini che fanno quello che diciamo noi. E infatti abbiamo un assistenza anche soprattutto a, anzi a chi non ha un permesso di soggiorno. Per i servizi pubblici, come sono la maggior parte dei dormitori a Bologna, solo a chi ha un permesso di soggiorno. A chi non ha i permessi di soggiorno non può entrare. Perché, gli operatori dell'accoglienza hanno l'obbligo di insegnare la questura e le nomi delle persone che ce l'ha. E la questura sa che ci sono le persone senza permesso di soggiorno che vanno di là, ci sarà una discussione. Un'altra eccezione



importante è il piano freddo. In quasi tutte le città Italiane, da più o meno dal fine febbraio, quando fa molto freddo, per evitare di lasciare le persone In strada, che fa freddissimo e muoiono tantissimi homeless ogni anno, tanti tanti tanti, non in tutte le città di Italia, in ognuno, Bologna è una di queste, uh nella struttura di accoglienza, si fa un'associazione dove entrano tutti. Anche senza il permesso di soggiorno. Perché poi dice mi menefrego che chi ha il permesso di soggiorno. È più importante che queste persone non muoiono ingiustamente. E a Bologna succede come così per fortuna. Non in tutte le città. Non in tutte le città. Dice che un po' dei piani dei comuni decidono. E la regola è nei dormitori e i centri di accoglienza sono per solo chi ha il permesso di soggiorno. Con le eccezioni per il piano freddo.

Io: E quindi scegliete di aiutare solo le persone con permesso di soggiorno perché è più facile...

Antonello: Noi siamo un'associazione, questa è per i servizi che raccogliamo. Noi come un'associazione. Tutti. Tutti. Anzi, la maggior parte degli stranieri che lavoriamo sono senza.

...

Io: La mia prossima domanda è che ci sono tantissimi ragazzi di colore che sono in carcere.

Antonello: Ci sono tantissimi stranieri. Se parli proprio di neri, non saprei di sicura di si. Sicuramente ci sono ma non saprei tutti quanti.

Io: E quindi ho sentito delle cose che ho letto che almeno degli articoli su internet delle notizie che i motivi siano delle droghe. Più o meno. E quindi, dai vostri casi, ha visto che c'è ci sarebbero altri motivi? Oppure...

Antonello: Tanti. Si può andare in penale per tanti motivi. Droghe tantissimo. Perché la normativa Italiana delle droghe è molto molto severa. Molto molto severa. Per cui è molto facile per finire in carcere per la droga. Anche per un piccolo spaccio sai. Non può entrare in commercio di droga. Abbiamo conosciuto ragazzi neri che sono in carcere e che facevano gli ovulatori. Cioè, sai mangiano ovuli di cocaina per esempio e poi viaggiano dalla spagna all'Italia, dal sud America. E poi ci sono gli altri che sono in carcere per l'altro. Furto, rapine.

Io: Okay. E quindi se un immigrato ha il suo permesso e ha qualche problema, per esempio al suo lavoro senza contratto, cosa fate per lui?

Antonello: Ci sono tanti problemi. Dipende dai problemi. Qualche volta possono essere problemi tipo la persona ha qualche precedente ha fatto qualche piccolo reato, quelli piccoli. La rissa, a quasi tutti che sono In strada. Questi reati molto piccoli. Però da qualche parte possiamo non possiamo aiutare senza il permesso di soggiorno. Ma cerchiamo di convincere la questura di lasciare il carico spesso, oppure, ma questo è In generale. Oppure boh, ci sono diversi oppure semplicemente la questura d'Italia non ci salutiamo. E poi c'è tutto l'altro della protezione internazionale che è un altro capitolo, un altro discorso da fare... Delle persone che vanno in commissione per raccontare la loro storia per capire che hanno diritto di asilo qui in Italia.

Io: Okay. E quindi gli immigrati hanno un incontro con le forze di ordine per una vendita di strada, cosa succede? Cosa fanno? Perché ho sentito che se loro prendono la multa, se loro pagano ... Tanti mi hanno detto di no.

Antonello: Esatto. Se vendono perché non hanno un titolo, non possono fare questo lavoro. Il lavoro irregolare. E qualche volta magari anche nel commercio contraffatta. Ci sono diversi profili legali c'è la multa, per vendere In strada proprio okay? Poi ci possono essere anche altri reati. Magari vendono le merci contraffatte finte o marche tipo.. Queste multe che sono salate, e molti non lo pagano perché. E quando non si pagano queste multe, queste multe col tempo diventano più alte, ci sono le more sopra e a un certo punto, può essere potrebbe diventare anche si dice delle intenzioni per il reali, è vero ma ad un certo punto lo stato dice okay, due anni fa dovevi pagare queste multe di 500 euro per esempio, non l'hai pagata conto ti interesse di diventata 750 euro. Ti mando l'ultimo avviso o mi paghi 750 euro o ti pignora la televisione macchina. faccio un confiscazione. Cerco di parlare nemmeno per capirci. Queste sono le persone che non pagano e confronti lo stato. lo stato può prendere la macchina, il motorino, la televisione, può anche prende il reddito (o il registro?) di matrimonio, il stipendio che ce l'ha. Per cui c'è ci possono essere problemi per sicuro se non la paga.

Io: E dove vanno le loro merci dopo la confiscazione?

Antonello: Eh, sono sequestrate e quindi ritiene sotto l'autorità.

....

Io: E quando sono in autobus e i controllatori chiedono per i loro documenti? Perché lo fanno?

Antonello: Il controllore è equiparato come un poliziotto perché quel lavoro è come ... È un lavoro pubblico. Lo diciamo come così. Quindi la norma mette sul stesso piano controllore dell'autobus e poliziotto. E lui ha il potere di chiederti di un documento. E

quando la persona è irregolare o senza documento,... Dipende dai i casi. E le persone senza documento più spesso la gente si scappa perché hanno paura.

Photo Gallery:

Image 1:



This is an image of one of the merchant's stands at Montagnola Park. All photos are taken by myself unless stated otherwise. These merchants mostly sold artisanal products from Senegal.

Image 2:



Another merchant's stand at the ring of Montagnola Park. Here we see Amodoulaye and a client. Amodoulaye often played Caribbean music to set the scene of the Mercato Multietnico.

Image 3:



The vendors at Mercato Multietnico also have photography shows represented by their organization Paths to Freedom. That week, the photos highlighted historical sites and local communities in Nigeria, taken by one of the merchant's Nigerian wife.

Image 4:



Another merchant's stand. He specializes in artisanal products from Ghana.

Image 5:



Here we see Amadou and Amodoulaye working at the cultural event ‘Indovina chi viene a pranzo’ in Cirenaica, Bologna. At this event, Amadou prepares and shares a glass of Senegalese tea (*attaya*) with former Minister of Integration Cecile Kyenge. (Iguana 2014)

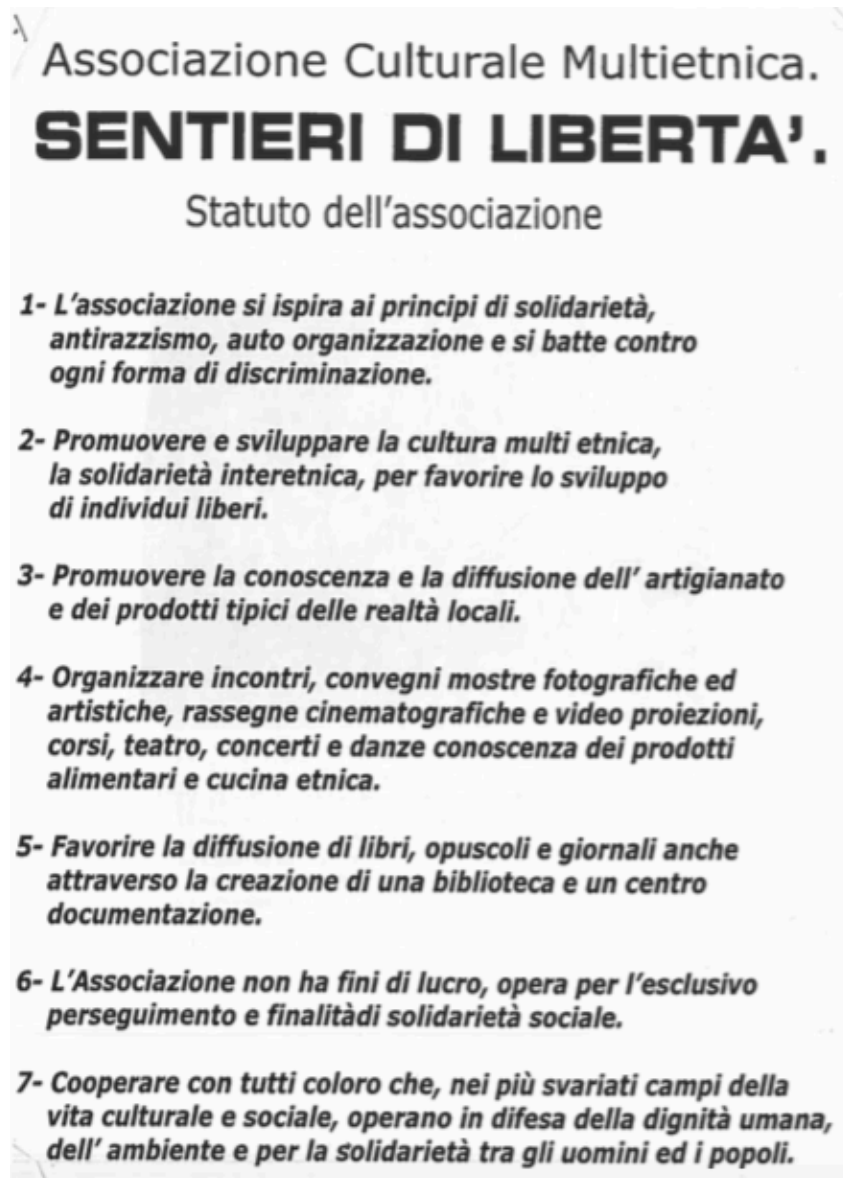
Image 6:



Maguette and his friend selling handmade Senegalese sandals and hats at the cultural event “Indovina chi viene a pranzo” in Cirenaica, Bologna. (Iguana 2014)

Index of Promotional Posters:

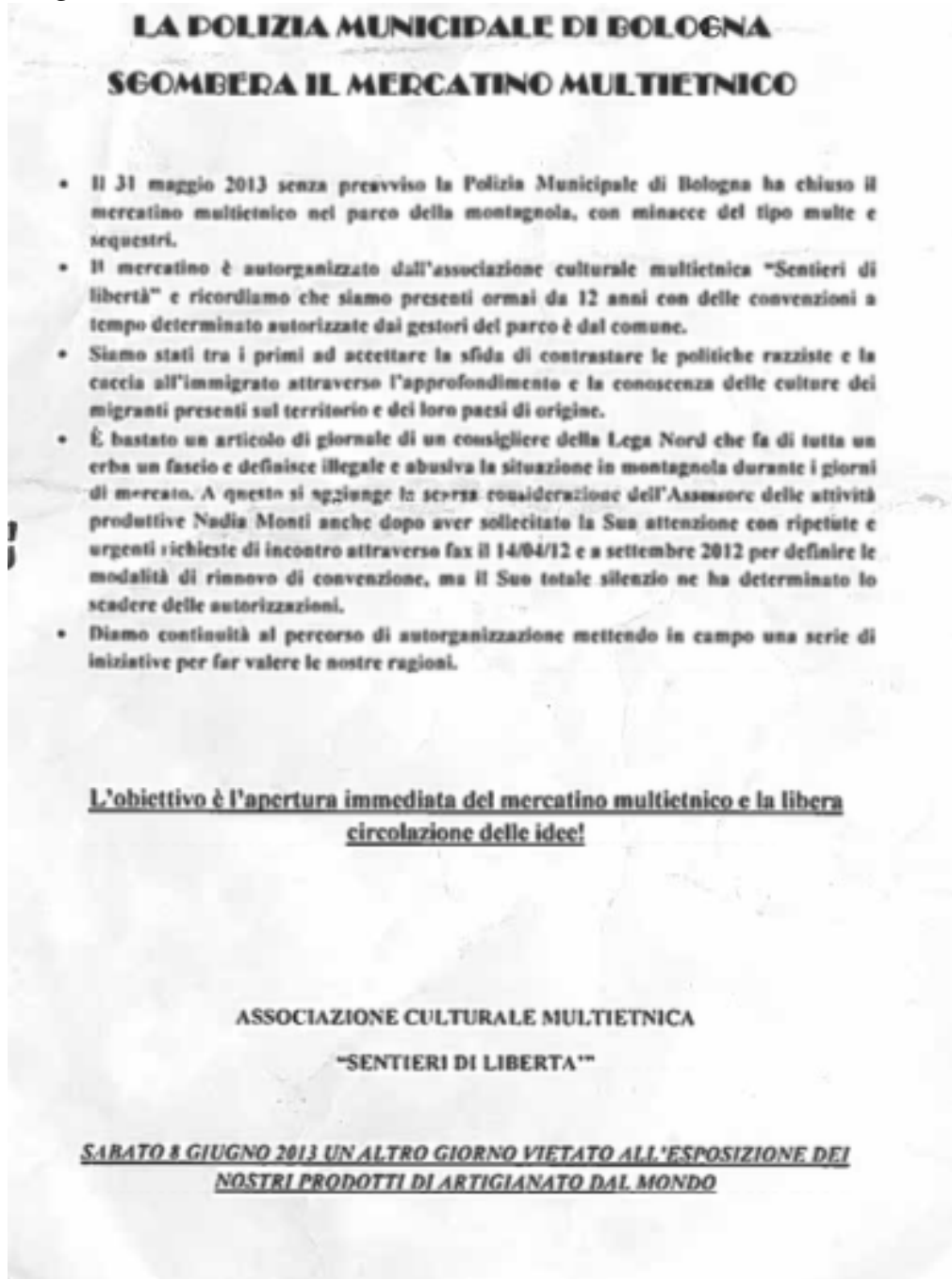
Image 1:



The Constitution of Feelings of Freedom.



Image 2:



When the Multiethnic Market was closed from Spring 2013 to June 2014, they would use these paper made bags to wrap the clients' purchases.

Image 3:

**FESTIVAL MULTIETNICO  
DI CULTURE DAL MONDO  
"SENTIERI DI LIBERTÀ"**  
2ª edizione  
**SABATO 13 GIUGNO 2009**  
Parco della Montagnola (BO)

**Ore 9**

- ★ **Mercatino multiethnico**
- ★ **Mostra fotografica**  
- popoli migranti e  
forzezza culturale
- ★ **Banchetti INFO:**  
Realtà del movimento  
antirazzista

**Ore 10**

- ★ **Action B dj Manu *Etnik Style***
- ★ **Stand con cibo e bevande**  
cucina migrante
- ★ **Spazio Giochi per Bambini**  
animazione - clown e giocoleria  
con regali e sorprese per tutti

**ore 14**

- ★ **Inizio concerti dal vivo**
- ★ **Sao Salomao** (capoeira brasilie)
- ★ **Lazza Dub** (Reggae dub - Bo)

**ore 17**

- ★ **El karmaso** (crossover Bo-Ecuador)
- ★ **+jahpawa** (Dubstep, Dnb)

**ore 18**

- ★ **Key Smile** (Reggae - ser.egal)
- ★ **Mistical Rule** (reggae)
- ★ **Big Gora** (rap Senegal)


**Chiosco della Montagnola**  
di Monica e Fausto

**Associazione Culturale Multiethnica SENTIERI DI LIBERTÀ**  
INFO tel. 328 1476745

A poster for Sentieri di Libertà Multiethnic Festival in June 2009.

Image 4:

ASSOCIAZIONE CULTURALE MULTIETNICA  
"SENTIERI di LIBERTÀ"  
MERCATINO-MULTIETNICO  
nel PARCO della MONTAGNOLA (BOLOGNA)  
-SABATO 17 APRILE 2004  
dalla MATTINA fino a CHIUSURA MERCATO.



ASS. SENTIERI di LIBERTÀ...  
...sulle TRACCE delle MIGRAZIONI...  
-Percorsi di conoscenza e approfondimento culturale,  
incontri con Ecuador, Nigeria, Senegal, Sudan e  
altri paesi del mondo...  
-Mestre fotografiche e immagini-Banchetti informativi  
-Artigianato-Percussioni e Danze-Gioielleria e Poesie  
-Rinfreschi e Cibi Etnici. 059 4150 3305/1301

IN COLLABORAZIONE CON  
ASS. ANTIRAZZISTA E INTERETNICA "3 FEBBRAIO"

A poster for a collaborative event with the anti-racist and interethnic association "3 February."

Image 5:

**Organizzato da:**



**COMUNE  
DI  
CASALGRANDE**  
"Assessorato al Commercio"

**Mercatino  
MULTIETNICO**

**In collaborazione:**

Associazione  
Culturale  
Multietnica  
"Sentieri di libertà"  
Via Cuccoli, 1 - Bologna

**Domenica 26 settembre**  
Dalle 09.00 alle 20.00 nel Centro di Salvaterra di Casalgrande (RE)

**ESPOSITORI DI ARTICOLI  
ARTIGIANALI DA TUTTO IL  
MONDO!!!!**

**Dalle Ore 09.00**  
Apertura Mercatino Multietnico per le vie del centro  
A seguire.....

- **Mostra fotografica "Viaggio in Nigeria"**  
e "Le sculture dell'africa nera"
- **Animazione con artisti di strada**  
per tutta la durata del mercatino
- **Ospite d'eccezione direttamente dalla Guinea**  
il Pittore Mamady Camara con "Pittura Africana"
- **Stand Progetto di Solidarietà Internazionale**  
"Sostegno a distanza"

**Ore 17.00**  
**Concerto "Sole e Africa"**  
con Pap Malick  
Ritmi e percussioni africane,  
musica tribale metropolitana,  
dun dunba d'jembè



**SPONSOR della Manifestazione:**

Antica Bottega Mammi  
Bar Milva  
Credem Salvaterra  
Magnifico Francia Giuliana  
Floricoltura Nizzoli  
Campioli e Mattioli TAMOIL  
Corna di Corrado Mammi  
Ferrari Giovanni Impianti Elettrici  
Parrucchiere Giuliana  
Farmacia di Salvaterra  
Bonvicini Giardini  
Bar Basettolo  
Pizzeria Pastora Rossa  
Pizzeria Sara Gub

Gelateria Mattioli di Debbia Marco  
Parrucchiere Equipe Nicoletta  
Forno Dallari

Cicli e Motorcicli Mucchi  
Tabaccheria F.lli Ruini  
Forno Panem

<p><b>GESTIONI s.r.l.</b> Strada Sesto 447 n. 13 42013 CASALGRANDE (RE) Cell. 398.776142</p> <p><b>VENDE A SALVATERRA</b> Appartamenti</p> <p><b>TEHNO EDIL 2001 s.r.l.</b> Strada Sesto 447 n. 13 42013 CASALGRANDE (RE)</p> <p><b>VENDE A BISSIAGO</b> Servizi abitazioni artigianali e commerciali Bisogna anche app. di ristrutturati e terrane residenziali.</p>	<p><b>EUROPA 92 s.r.l.</b> Via Aldo Moro, 47 42013 CASALGRANDE (RE)</p> <p><b>VENDE A CASALGRANDE</b> Nelle Località "Boschi" di Prati Villetta a salutare - negozi All'interno della ex Caserma Ferraro Appartamenti artigianali e commerciali</p> <p><b>VENDE A SABBIONE</b> Zone oltre periferie Appartamenti a villette a salutare</p>	<p><b>CENTRO IMMOBILIARE s.r.l.</b> Strada Sesto 447 n. 13 42013 CASALGRANDE (RE)</p> <p><b>VENDE IN CENTRO A CASALGRANDE</b> Appartamenti a negozi</p> <p><b>EURO 99 s.r.l.</b> Via S. Maria, 7 42013 CASALGRANDE (RE)</p> <p><b>VENDE A SALVATERRA</b> via Saverio, via XIV Aprile <b>VENDE A CASALGRANDE</b> via S. Maria</p> <p>Servizi - Case a salire Appartamenti e mini appartamenti</p>
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**MAIOLI  
ENZO**

Per informazioni e iscrizioni: *Ufficio Manifestazioni*  
E-Mail: [manifestazioni@comune.casalgrande.re.it](mailto:manifestazioni@comune.casalgrande.re.it)  
Telefono: 0522-998526 - 328-3904803

**CONAD  
Il Forte**

A poster for one of Path to Freedom's art shows.

Image 6:

**MERCATINO MULTIETNICO**  
Parco della Montagnola (BO)

*Mostra e Mercato di Artigianato dal Mondo*

- ABBIGLIAMENTO
- STOFFE E TESSUTI
- QUADRI - INCISIONI E BATIK
- SCULTURE IN LEGNO
- MANUFATTI IN PELLE
- TAMBURI E STRUMENTI MUSICALI
- SANDALI BORSE E CAPPELLI
- COLLANE BRACCIALI ORECCHINI
- E TANTISSIME NOVITÀ...



*Idee per regali originali e unici*

Nel mese di dicembre aperto il venerdì - sabato - domenica per tutto il giorno

Associazione Culturale Multietnia "Sentieri di Libertà" - via Cuccoli, 1 - Bologna - Cell. 328 1476745



**ETNO STILE**  
ACCONCIATURE AFRICANE  
TRECCINE



EXTENSION  
Cell. 328 147 6745 DREAD  
Tina

Sistemazione rasta dreadlock  
-Info: venerdì e sabato al mercatino multietnico, parco della Montagnola (Bologna)  
-o su appuntamento durante la settimana a Mirandola (Modena)

Promotional posters for the Market. The bottom left corner illustrates the location of the Multiethnic Market at Montagnola Park.

Appendix of Statistics:

Table A:

rispetto a quella determinata.

**Tabella 1.16. Numero di permessi di soggiorno a cittadini UE per motivo. Valori assoluti annui nel 2007 e 2010-2012**

MOTIVO	2007	2010	2011	2012
Lavoro	150.098	358.870	124.544	70.892
Famiglia	86.468	178.797	140.846	116.891
Studio	11.523		31.295	31.005
Asilo/umanitari	9.971	60.900	42.672	22.916
Altro	9.540		22.333	22.264
<b>Totale</b>	<b>267.600</b>	<b>598.567</b>	<b>361.690</b>	<b>263.968</b>

(\*) Sono compresi i minori registrati sul permesso di un adulto anche se rilasciato per lavoro

Fonte: elaborazioni Staff SSRMDL di Italia Lavoro su dati ISTAT (*Cittadini non comunitari regolarmente soggiornanti*)

Comparison of number and types stay permits released in 2007, 2010, 2011, and 2012 (Eds. Direzione dell'Immigrazione e delle Politiche di Integrazione 2014:41).

Table B:

Tabella 1.14. Prime 50 province di insediamento di cittadini non comunitari regolarmente soggiornanti al 1° gennaio 2013: valori assoluti e distribuzione % per motivo del permesso (esclusi i permessi di soggiorno a tempo indeterminato)

POS.	PROVINCE	Totale in valori assoluti	Motivo del permesso (%)					Totale
			Lavoro	Famiglia	Studio	Asilo/ Umanitari	Altro	
1	Milano	214.459	54,8	37,3	4,2	2,2	1,5	100,0
2	Roma	179.919	48,5	30,1	4,4	5,9	11,2	100,0
3	Torino	70.627	42,4	42,3	7,2	5,8	2,3	100,0
4	Firenze	53.416	50,4	35,8	7,6	2,9	3,2	100,0
5	Napoli	53.040	65,3	28,1	0,8	3,1	2,6	100,0
6	Brescia	49.946	51,2	45,1	0,7	2,1	0,9	100,0
7	Bergamo	48.012	49,7	46,4	0,7	2,2	1,0	100,0
8	Bologna	38.414	44,5	44,4	5,6	3,6	1,9	100,0
9	Verona	38.295	48,7	47,6	1,1	1,2	1,4	100,0
10	Modena	33.934	53,4	41,8	1,8	2,0	0,9	100,0
11	Vicenza	32.721	45,2	50,7	0,8	2,6	0,7	100,0
12	Reggio nell'Emilia	30.549	50,1	46,8	0,5	1,9	0,7	100,0
13	Prato	29.567	67,1	30,9	0,1	1,0	0,8	100,0
14	Treviso	29.218	45,3	51,8	0,5	1,2	1,1	100,0
15	Genova	27.267	45,7	43,4	4,5	2,8	3,6	100,0
16	Padova	26.869	51,8	39,9	3,8	3,0	1,6	100,0
17	Perugia	24.386	40,8	48,8	6,0	2,3	2,1	100,0
18	Venezia	23.361	51,5	41,1	1,8	4,2	1,4	100,0
19	Varese	22.550	41,4	51,9	0,6	4,2	1,8	100,0
20	Bari	21.678	44,8	35,3	2,5	14,7	2,7	100,0
21	Parma	20.921	46,4	46,4	2,8	3,5	0,9	100,0
22	Mantova	19.463	49,3	47,5	0,5	1,9	0,9	100,0
23	Como	18.828	44,2	45,6	2,7	3,5	4,0	100,0
24	Pavia	18.530	42,6	50,0	3,4	2,3	1,7	100,0
25	Caserta	17.703	54,9	30,8	0,3	10,8	3,2	100,0
26	Palermo	16.193	51,2	36,8	1,7	4,1	6,1	100,0
27	Trento	15.654	33,7	54,8	6,5	3,1	1,8	100,0
28	Forlì-Cesena	15.600	43,7	50,1	2,3	2,2	1,7	100,0
29	Rimini	15.544	47,9	44,5	3,2	1,3	3,2	100,0
30	Piacenza	15.070	43,2	51,9	2,0	1,9	1,0	100,0
31	Pisa	14.915	47,0	40,5	4,0	4,3	4,2	100,0
32	Cuneo	14.670	44,2	48,1	2,0	3,2	2,5	100,0
33	Pordenone	13.933	42,1	52,3	1,6	3,0	1,0	100,0
34	Latina	13.445	55,7	38,6	1,0	2,1	2,6	100,0
35	Udine	13.338	38,2	51,3	2,8	5,7	2,1	100,0
36	Salerno	13.184	64,9	22,3	0,8	2,8	9,2	100,0
37	Ancona	13.145	49,3	40,1	2,5	6,1	2,0	100,0
38	Macerata	13.048	41,5	46,6	4,3	5,1	2,5	100,0
39	Ravenna	12.910	45,0	45,8	1,3	4,2	3,7	100,0
40	Pesaro e Urbino	12.369	42,9	50,9	2,8	1,3	2,1	100,0
41	Novara	12.144	47,0	45,8	1,0	3,6	2,6	100,0
42	Ferrara	11.441	45,6	43,4	4,9	5,2	0,9	100,0
43	Cremona	11.423	44,0	48,7	2,0	3,8	1,5	100,0
44	Alessandria	11.416	42,2	49,2	2,1	3,7	2,7	100,0
45	Ascoli Piceno	10.535	49,8	43,7	1,4	2,9	2,2	100,0
46	Lecco	10.025	43,7	47,6	3,0	4,8	1,0	100,0
47	Catania	9.927	38,6	37,4	0,6	19,2	4,1	100,0

The top 50 Italian provinces that release stay permits to non-EU citizens In 2013. Includes total number released and the types (Eds. Direzione dell'Immigrazione e delle Politiche di Integrazione 2014:19).

Table C:

**Tabella 1.13. Cittadini non comunitari regolarmente soggiornanti per regione e provincia autonoma al 1° gennaio 2013 per area geografica. Valori percentuali**

REGIONE	Europa Centro-orientale	Africa Settentr.	Africa Sub-Sahariana	Asia Centro-meridionale	Asia Orientale	Medio Oriente	America Latina	Altro	Totale
Piemonte	31,2	31,8	9,4	4,0	10,0	0,8	12,1	0,7	100,0
Valle d'Aosta	26,7	50,8	3,5	2,4	5,4	0,5	10,1	0,6	100,0
Lombardia	22,6	24,1	9,8	14,9	12,6	1,0	14,3	0,6	100,0
Liguria	30,6	19,1	4,6	6,2	5,8	0,8	31,9	1,0	100,0
Bolzano	49,3	16,1	2,7	18,0	4,3	1,8	6,7	1,0	100,0
Trento	52,1	20,6	4,3	9,2	4,5	0,5	8,3	0,5	100,0
Veneto	39,2	18,2	12,1	12,9	11,3	0,6	4,2	1,5	100,0
Friuli Venezia Giulia	53,4	8,6	12,7	8,1	5,6	1,1	4,6	6,0	100,0
Emilia Romagna	34,0	25,5	11,4	12,2	10,9	0,9	4,6	0,4	100,0
Toscana	35,6	13,8	6,7	8,0	24,5	1,5	8,0	1,8	100,0
Umbria	46,4	21,1	6,6	4,5	7,4	1,3	11,7	1,1	100,0
Marche	39,6	18,7	8,2	12,7	13,0	0,9	6,5	0,4	100,0
Lazio	23,3	11,4	7,9	19,0	19,7	1,9	14,7	2,0	100,0
Abruzzo	52,6	15,8	5,7	4,5	12,5	1,1	7,2	0,6	100,0
Molise	37,4	28,9	5,2	11,0	6,5	0,9	9,2	1,0	100,0
Campania	38,2	16,2	8,5	16,1	10,6	0,8	5,6	4,1	100,0
Puglia	40,7	16,7	11,8	10,0	9,4	6,4	4,2	0,8	100,0
Basilicata	35,6	27,1	5,7	11,9	13,0	1,1	5,2	0,3	100,0
Calabria	26,6	32,2	8,0	13,3	11,9	3,7	3,6	0,6	100,0
Sicilia	11,3	34,1	14,4	21,5	12,6	0,6	3,6	1,8	100,0
Sardegna	19,2	23,5	17,4	8,7	20,2	1,2	8,2	1,6	100,0
<b>Italia</b>	<b>31,4</b>	<b>21,0</b>	<b>9,5</b>	<b>12,6</b>	<b>13,0</b>	<b>1,2</b>	<b>10,1</b>	<b>1,2</b>	<b>100,0</b>

Fonte: elaborazioni Staff SSRMDL di Italia Lavoro su dati ISTAT (*Cittadini non comunitari regolarmente soggiornanti*)

Illustrates where non-EU citizens have geographically received their stay permit (Eds. Direzione dell'Immigrazione e delle Politiche di Integrazione 2014:41).



Table D:

Tabella 2.18. Composizione percentuale del numero di occupati 15 anni e oltre per settore di attività economica e cittadinanza. Anno 2013

CITTADINANZA	Agricoltura, caccia e pesca	Industria in senso stretto	Costruzioni	Alberghi e ristoranti	Altri servizi collettivi e personali	Attività imm., servizi alle imprese e altre attività prof. e imp.	Commercio	Istruzione, sanità ed altri servizi sociali	Trasporto e magazz.	Altri settori	Totale (=100%)
Italiani	3,5	20,4	6,4	5,1	5,2	11,3	15,6	15,7	4,7	12,3	20.064.334
UE	6,0	14,9	16,3	8,3	28,4	6,8	6,6	7,0	4,6	1,1	783.657
Extra UE	4,1	20,1	11,8	9,9	29,2	6,8	9,5	3,6	4,6	0,5	1.572.266
di cui: Albania	6,1	19,6	33,7	10,2	11,2	6,6	4,7	3,4	4,3	0,3	234.241
Marocco	4,6	30,0	13,4	5,5	9,2	8,3	18,4	2,2	8,1	0,2	146.996
Ucraina	1,5	6,4	5,8	5,6	68,8	2,8	3,9	2,4	2,7	0,0	143.188
Filippine	0,8	8,6	0,4	9,0	65,5	8,5	3,8	1,3	2,0	-	135.743
Moldavia	1,4	10,7	10,9	9,4	49,8	4,0	4,3	3,2	5,6	0,7	98.808
Perù	-	11,3	1,8	4,3	52,2	9,4	3,8	12,4	4,8	-	79.723
Rep. Popols	0,2	32,2	0,7	25,7	2,7	2,5	34,5	0,7	1,0	-	77.994
India	29,8	35,8	1,9	5,2	9,6	5,3	4,6	5,3	1,8	0,7	64.414
Ecuador	0,1	10,2	12,8	8,0	40,6	9,3	6,7	3,5	8,3	0,5	63.275
Sri Lanka (C	0,4	9,4	0,1	17,0	55,6	11,5	3,9	0,4	1,3	0,3	44.342
Bangladesh	-	22,1	2,3	23,1	14,0	5,2	27,8	-	3,8	1,7	43.826
Tunisia	19,3	22,5	26,8	4,6	7,6	5,5	8,4	1,5	3,7	-	33.354
Pakistan	5,4	44,4	5,5	9,7	4,7	5,2	16,4	1,6	7,1	0,1	24.963
Egitto	1,4	12,5	28,3	28,2	2,8	12,4	10,5	-	3,9	-	22.901
Ghana	3,8	53,7	4,8	5,5	14,8	10,6	2,0	2,1	2,7	-	19.004
Totale	3,6	20,2	7,1	5,6	7,7	10,8	14,8	14,5	4,7	11,1	22.420.256

Fonte: elaborazioni Staff SSRMdl di Italia Lavoro su microdati RCFL - ISTAT

Percentage of the non-EU nationalities and the labor industries they work in (Eds. Direzione dell'Immigrazione e delle Politiche di Integrazione 2014:78).

Table E:

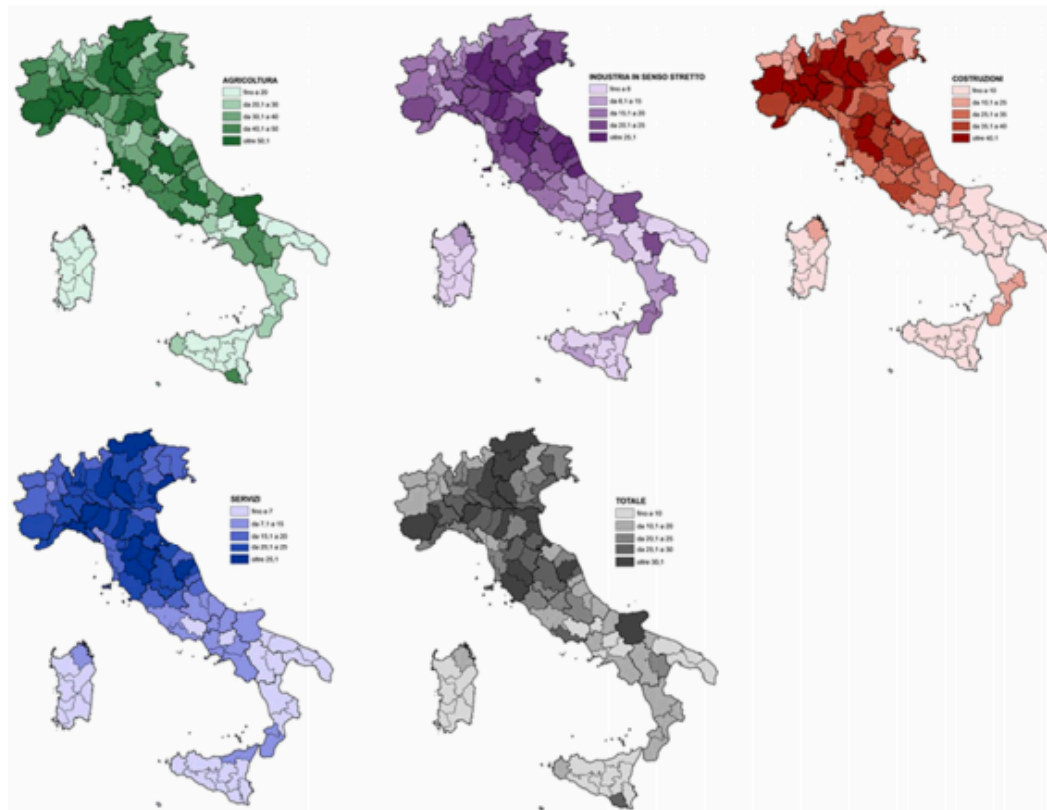
Type of Project	Percentage received from Emilia-Romagna grant funds
“one-stop-shops” for foreign citizens ( <i>sportelli informazione</i> )	20%
Social integration initiatives in schools	13%
intercultural associations	11.5%
cultural mediators	10%
socio-economic projects	10%

Describes how funds for volunteer organization and social service projects are distributed (Cozzi 2003:57).

Index of maps:

Map A:

**Figura 3.3. Incidenza percentuale del numero di rapporti di lavoro attivati che hanno interessato lavoratori stranieri <sup>(a)</sup> sul totale dei rapporti di lavoro attivati per provincia e settore di attività economica. Anno 2013**

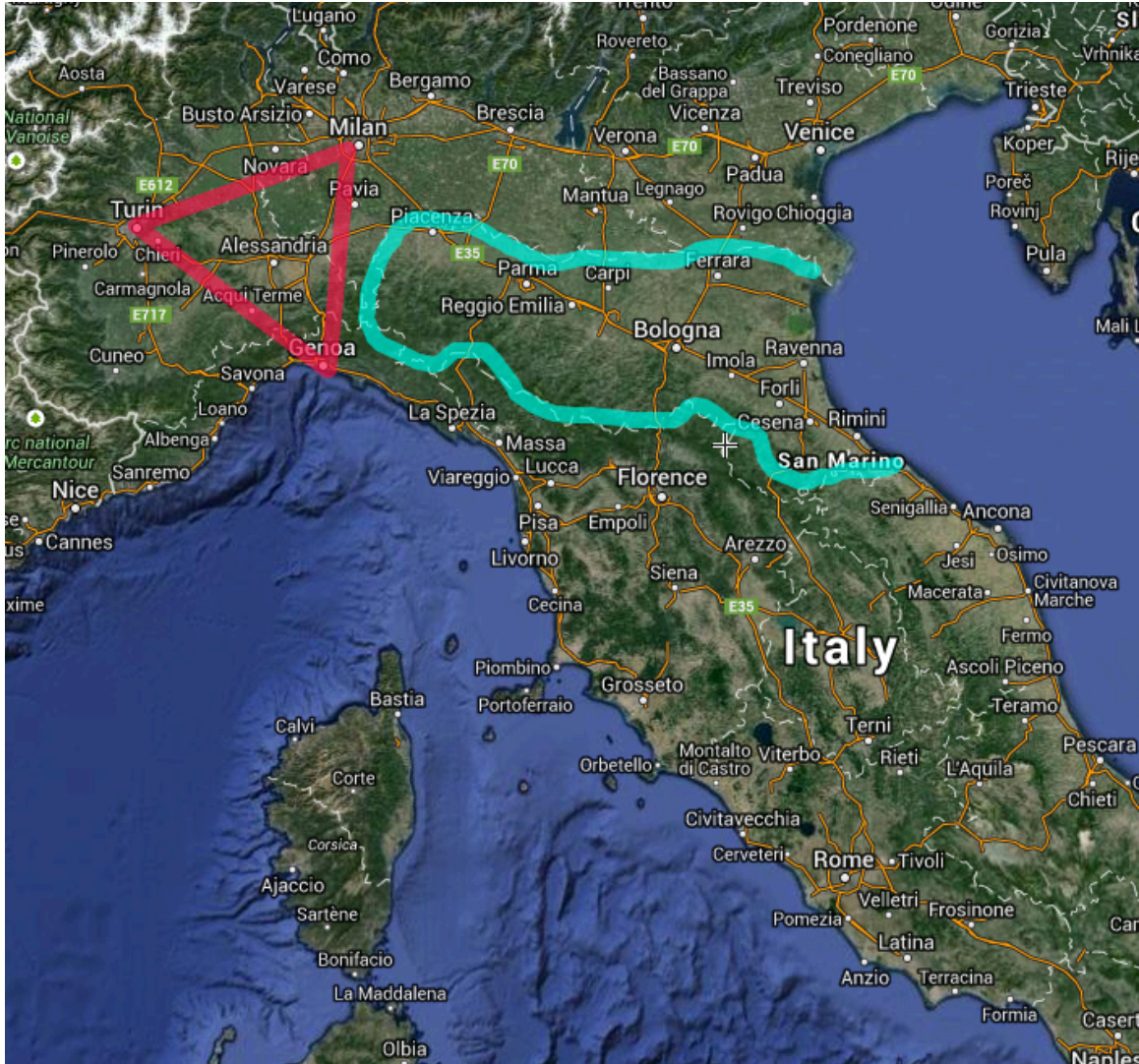


(a) Lavoratori nati all'estero e di cittadinanza non italiana

Fonte: Ministero del Lavoro e delle Politiche Sociali - Sistema informativo delle Comunicazioni Obbligatorie

(Eds. Direzione dell'Immigrazione e delle Politiche di Integrazione 2014:104)

Map B:



The red triangle outlines the Industrial Triangle, and the blue shape traces the Emilia-Romagna (scribblemaps.com).

Map C:

Figura 1.14. Numero di stranieri per provincia al 1° gennaio 2013

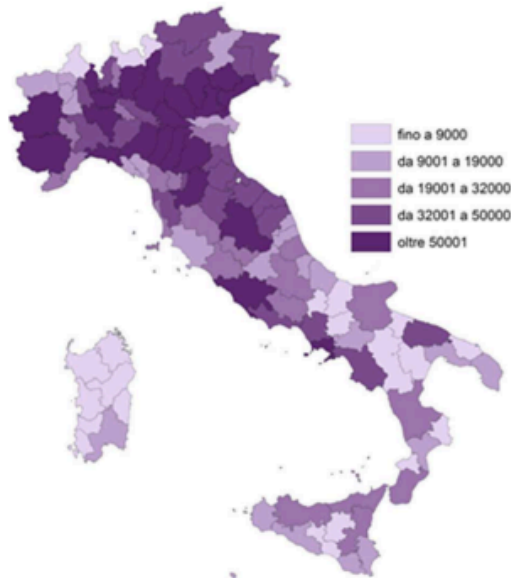
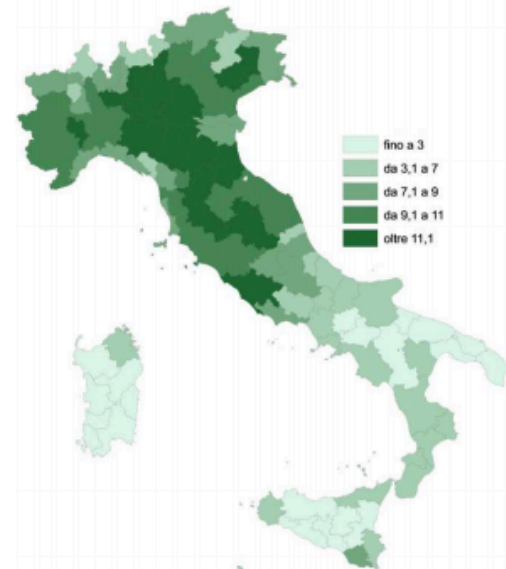


Figura 1.15. Stranieri per 100 residenti per provincia al 1° gennaio 2013



Fonte: elaborazioni Staff SSRMDL di Italia Lavoro su dati ISTAT (*Bilancio demografico nazionale*)

The purple map demonstrates the number of foreign residents per province, whereas the green map illustrates the ratio of foreigners per province. The data from both images are from January 2013. (Eds. Direzione dell’Immigrazione e delle Politiche di Integrazione 2014:34).

Map D:



In this image, Via Emilia connects the major industrial cities of the Emilia Romagna  
([http://www.cicloclubestense.it/sito\\_emilia\\_romagna/sito/](http://www.cicloclubestense.it/sito_emilia_romagna/sito/))

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