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Local Belonging, National Authenticity, and the Foreigner

The encounter between
Bangladeshi and Senegalese
street hawkers and international
holidaymakers in Rome and
Naples, Italy

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Abstract

Building upon the idea that nationhood and nationality are social constructions, I argue that the actors who create these often multiple and contradictory narratives are not only the citizens of a nation-state with officially recognized belonging. Rather, those individuals outside official recognition and the imagined limits of a nation – foreigners and strangers – are also essential to the articulation of the boundaries of national belonging. Focusing on the interaction between immigrant street hawkers and international holidaymakers in Italy, I analyse the ways different foreigners enter into a dialogue of national and local authenticity and belonging. I examine the context of Bangladeshi and Senegalese migration to Italy, establishing how these populations are constructed as foreigners by the Italian nation and its imagined cohesive and authentic embodied community, and analyse how these communities have forged a place for themselves within that context. Then, I break down the interaction between immigrant hawkers and holidaymakers to see how the dialogue between foreigners reshapes the discussion of local authenticity and national belonging as something very different from the Italian national narration but which has parallel lines of inclusion and exclusion.

Keywords: Italy, Street Hawking, Immigrant, Tourist, Authenticity, Belonging, Nationhood, Foreignness

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1 Introduction

Migration, both immigration and emigration, challenges the imaginary of a cohesive national community because in the migrant's case citizenship is divorced from territorial inclusivity (Zolberg 1987). There are citizens of the nation who do not live within the territorial borders of the state. Reciprocally, people live within the territorial borders of the state and belong locally though they are not citizens of that nation. Bridget Anderson (2013) argues that nations are built around the idea of a 'shared community of value' to which foreigners do not belong because being from outside implies 'not sharing the same values' (3 – 4). Anderson suggests that belonging in these communities is announced by quotidian performance of local and national authenticity; but while 'communities of value' are constituted at a local level where belonging is enacted, they are imagined at a national level and the migrant presence ruptures the continuum from local belonging to national authenticity (Anderson 2013). Thus, in the words of Donald Carter, migration often compels the 'uneasy reformulation of the nation-state,' and a redefinition of who belongs (Carter 1997: ix).

A variety of terms is used to refer to people who do not belong to the nation: 'stranger,' 'outsider,' 'other' and 'foreigner.' The term foreigner is particularly interesting as it is the only term demarcating a lack of belonging that necessitates the extra-territorial origin of the subject. To truly understand the formation of national identity, one must also deconstruct how so-called 'foreigners' draw the lines of inclusion and exclusion within a state and redefine the boundaries of the imagined community that constitutes the nation. I analyze how foreigners construct the nation as something to which they do or do not belong.

Not all foreigners are the same and it is possible for people to include themselves, though foreign, within the nation while simultaneously excluding other foreigners. I propose to nuance the figure of the foreigner not only by their inherent extra-territoriality, but also by their mobility and temporality – whether the foreigner discussed is a long-term or permanent immigrant versus a strictly temporary tourist. There is a complicated relationship between different foreigners, between the mobility of the tourist and the immigrant, their respective motivations for travel, and the subsequent role they play as foreigners in the construction of an imaginary nationhood.

A tourist, according to the Oxford English Dictionary, is a foreigner who comes to consume local or national cultural authenticity, 'one who travels for pleasure or culture' (OED 2013); these motivations for travel I argue, necessitate there be some idea of local or national culture to mark the space as unique and worth visiting. Moreover, the motivation for tourism suggests that local identity be performed physically so that tourists can take pleasure in viewing culture as embedded in the local landscape. Tourism allows the image of authentic identity to be recreated in the sale of place.

That is not to say all tourists are one in the same. The tourist, much like the immigrant and the foreigner is a nuanced figure – the foreign student, the sojourner staying for months or years, the businessman or academic coming for a specific non-touristic purpose, but who takes advantage of the opportunity to engage in tourism while abroad, and the holidaymaker (Larson et.al. 2005; Urry 2000) – that individual who stays for only days or weeks, hoping to flee their own world by experiencing the 'exotic other' embodied by local people (Urry 1995). For holidaymakers in particular, their experience is coloured by previously conceived expectations of the authenticity of their destination (Urry 1995).

The figure of the holidaymaker appears to consolidate the idea of national boundaries and shared homogeneous belonging by coming to experience that supposed homogeneity (Larsen et.al. 2005; Urry 1990). In contrast, the immigrant foreigner seems to rupture nation-state boundaries by living

within the cultural space, but not having formal belonging, or having formal belonging while challenging the idea of cultural authenticity by participating in the culture of both host and origin society. In this paper, I examine the intersection between immigrants and holidaymakers to see the way these foreigners construct social belonging in a nation by dissecting the rhetoric they use. I set the figures of immigrant and holidaymaker in dialogue to see what happens to the notions of nationhood, identity and authenticity. I do not investigate formal citizenship; rather I probe the ways people claim social belonging and how they mobilize or ignore notions of authenticity to achieve those belongings.

This theoretical discussion is grounded in the case study of Italy because the country is the 4th largest immigrant-receiving country in Europe: a reported 385,793 immigrants arrived in 2011 (Eurostat 2013) in addition to the estimated 4.8 million foreign-born already resident (Rahman and Kabir 2012; Cesareo 2009). It is also a popular tourist destination. In 2012, over 73.2 million tourists arrived, and foreign tourism accounted for 7.2% of Italy's Gross Domestic Product, employing 13.9% of Italy's national workforce (OECD 2012). Moreover, Italy holds a special place in the tourist imaginary of cultural authenticity; Carolyn Cartier suggests that its appeal lies in tourists' nostalgic imagining of Italy as a pre-industrial socialscape where sensual leisure is privileged over industrial productivity and the content of daily life is transformed into artful delight. Yet, this image is precisely that: an image; and it must be continuously produced anew (Cartier 2005).

I focus on Rome and Naples as places of contested meaning of local and national belonging and authenticity because these two cities are the most prominent tourist destinations in Italy and receive much of the country's immigration. Additionally, they are home to Italy's largest informal hawking economies. Rome and Naples, as tourist destinations, as historic cities, as sites of migrant residence are special places, places Cartier refers to as 'touristed landscapes.' Touristed landscapes are places where history, arts, politics and economy combine in such a manner that they attract viewers from around the world, but though tourism is a substantial part of these places' economies, they were not created for tourist consumption nor are they dependent upon it. Touristed landscapes offer greater complexity, and leisure is only one of the many reasons people are pulled to them (Cartier 2005).

Rome and Naples are ancient cities, centers of trade and governance, historically and culturally rich. While international tourism makes up an important segment of their economies, it does not define them, though I suggest that the tourist gaze encourages the people living in these places to define themselves in relation to mobility, both that of the tourist and of themselves. Part of the appeal of these cities is precisely the life that exists parallel to, and independent from the tourist experience. As the sites of both large-scale tourism and immigration, Rome and Naples have become the centerpieces of the relatively recent discussions of nationhood that are even now being broached in Italian national media.

Because I focus on the encounter between different foreigners, I have chosen to examine public spaces that are shared by migrants, tourists, and native-born citizens, concentrating on street hawking, the most publically visible informal profession in Italy (Harney 2004). The term hawking is intimately bound to the street, gendered as masculine, and tied to the image of the wanderer and migrant. The definition of hawker in the Oxford English Dictionary reads 'A man who goes from place to place selling his goods, or who cries them in the street' (OED 2013). Street hawkers as a kind of trader in goods offer their own theoretical interests as a seemingly perpetual stranger. According to Carter 'in the classical image of the stranger, the trader embodies those qualities of ambiguity that characterize the near, yet far, newcomer' (Carter 1997: 19). Hawking provides a forum for migrants and tourists to interact and approach the question of authenticity and belonging to the national space.

Because of the connection between hawking and informality, hawkers themselves often carry the stigma of illegality. Immigrant hawkers by their very nature challenge the boundaries of state authority and performances of local authenticity and belonging. Harney describes the stigmas associated with immigrant street hawking and the way immigrant hawkers are often cast as illegitimate non-citizens:

[Immigrant hawkers] represent in the popular imagination and the conjectures in the media an immediate and intimate example of those involved in the underground economy. At best, Neapolitans, and Italians in general, describe them as performing undeclared economic activity. At worst, they are presumed to be illegal, undocumented, or permit over-stayers and perceived to engage in transnational criminal activity (Harney 2004: 308).

Specifically, I focus on Bangladeshi and Senegalese immigrant street hawkers. These populations are not the largest immigrant communities in Italy, but they are of particular interest because of their heavy concentration in hawking. Though not Italy's largest immigrant community, the Italian Bangladeshi community at some 135,000 individuals -- registered and unregistered -- in 2010, is the second largest such community in Europe (IRIN Asia 2010). Additionally, the rates of immigrant inflows of Senegalese and Bangladeshis have been increasing since the 2008 economic crises (ISTAT 2012). Bangladeshi and Senegalese migrants are important to anyone studying notions of belonging because as non-white and culturally distinctive populations, they challenge Italian notions of what it means to be ethnically and culturally Italian. As Anderson states, immigrant non-citizens are often racialized, their colour serving to exclude them from the imagined national community (Anderson 2013).

In Italy, the importance of colour as a marker of cultural authenticity and belonging cannot be ignored. A survey taken by the European Commission in 1997 shows the importance of colour when talking about the cohesion of Italian nationhood and the construction of 'authenticity' as a quality of the good (white) citizen: 62% of Italian population believed that Italy had 'reached its limit' in terms of migration and only 35% of Italians defined themselves as 'not at all racist' (Zincone 1999: 47). When asked about the new immigrants, Italians stated that migrants were 'volatile, prone to various forms of criminality, largely illiterate, unable to speak the Italian language properly, and wanting the exercise of proper personal hygiene' (Carter 1997: 11 – 12; Douglas 1983; Fofi 1964; Kertzer 1977; Pellicciari 1970). Carter found that new international immigrants to Italy are thought about in a framework that combines class and colour with nationality to naturalize the 'otherness' of these migrants (Carter 1997). Due to their colour and street presence as hawkers, immigrant communities from the non-Italian 'South' are often branded as gangsters, gypsies and pick-pockets, and the figure of the hawker is tied to that of the criminal on the basis of race and foreignness,¹ in direct contrast with the figure of the tourist who is conceived as the good (middle-class and white) citizen of another nation, come 'legally' to interact 'legitimately' with the nation and the economy.

¹ Rome in 1993, for example launched a campaign to clear the streets of 'hawkers and pickpockets' to make the city safe for tourist consumption (Knights 1996). In 2009 Italy nationally implemented a law to 'protect cultural patrimony and productive authenticity' by fining tourists who buy fake designer labels as well as those who sell them on the streets (BBC News 2009b). With over 16 million tourists arriving in Venice annually, Venetian city mayor Massimo Cacciari decided to clean up the city for tourist consumption, ridding Venice's streets and canals of urban problem causers and pollution: namely hawkers, seagulls and plastic bottles. On 3 August 2012, over 90 National Guard along with 48 local policemen were sent to round up the hawkers in Piazza San Marco, Venice in a taskforce headed by provincial mayor Francesca Zaccariotto with funds supplied by the Italian national government (ADNKronos 2013).

Analyzing the case of Bangladeshi and Senegalese immigrants in Italy is also theoretically relevant because both communities exhibit high levels of undocumented residency and employment in the informal economy, highlighting a profound disconnect between official and social belonging. Finally, the Bangladeshi and Senegalese communities are important because they are both non-E.U. origin populations, which hold the dubious title of ‘extracomunitari,’ meaning ‘those outside the community’ (Harney 2007: 222). Because they are visually distinctive, legally defined as other, and situated in public spaces, both Bangladeshis and Senegalese attract attention in popular and state discourse on national belonging.

Moreover, for all the differences between these two communities in Italy, certain features are strikingly similar: a predominance of young single men (Yeoh et al. 2002; King and Andall 1999), and an Islamic religious orientation. According to Senegalese Ministry of Ministry and Economy in 2005, nearly 68% of emigrants from Senegal are between the ages 15 and 34 (Focus Migration 2007). The mean age of Bangladeshi migrants in Italy in 2009 was 33 years old (Rhaman and Kabir 2012). In 2009, nearly 95% of the Bangladeshi-Italian population was male and 39% was single (Rahman and Kabir 2012). Similarly, according to a 2005 survey conducted by the Senegalese Ministry of Economy and Finance, 84% of the Senegalese emigrant population is male (Focus Migration 2007). Such a concentration of young, single, Muslim men has significant impacts on how these individuals fit into the general cityscape and labour market.

I begin with an empirical exploration of the context for arrival and reception amongst Senegalese and Bangladeshi communities, tracing the development of street hawking within them. Combining primary statistical data, newspaper accounts, and studies done by various academics and practitioners writing in both English and Italian, I conduct a literature review to develop the way Senegalese and Bangladeshi hawkers in Rome and Naples shape the cityscape.

I then move onto the encounter between hawker and holidaymaker, looking at it on three levels, conducting a discourse analysis at each. Unfortunately, the holidaymaker as a person, opposed to a figure, remains understudied and this paper does little to remedy that, though I acknowledge that all encounters between hawkers and holidaymakers are as much determined by the human aspects of the tourist as those of the hawker. Race, gender, and age are equally important when discussing the tourist and that individual’s expectations, temporality and access to power in the international market. Yet, as these details are lacking from the scholarly research, my paper addresses holidaymakers as an archetypal figure seen as homogeneous by the Italian nation-state which designs laws for tourist protection and media for tourist consumption without acknowledging the very real differences amongst individuals.

I examine the presented encounter, the way the Italian state and media define expectations of cultural authenticity and foreignness, analyzing media publications and embodied policies that set migrants and tourists in relation. Evaluating Department of Tourism publications, I juxtapose their words, which help create international expectations of Italian authenticity, with the policies of ‘cleaning up’ cities for tourist consumption, policies that reflect a localized sense of belonging. Then, I move onto the performed encounter, where holidaymakers meet hawkers and the ideas of belonging and authenticity are openly debated in the sale of goods and ideas. I look at the way migrants insert themselves into the cityscape, examining location, language, posture and tone. Finally, focusing primarily on internet narrations, I address the re-presented encounter in which holidaymakers recreate their interaction with migrant hawkers for a larger audience and opening further debate. In this final section, I attempt to bring in the diversity of tourist voices.

2 Senegalese and Bangladeshi migration in Italy

As of 2007, nearly 46% of the emigrant Senegalese population in Europe lived in Italy, France and Spain (Focus Migration 2007). Senegalese migrants in Italy are typically from the northwest region of Senegal (Harney 2010; Carter 1997). The decision to migrate is a family strategy designed to diversify risk and families will sponsor one member, usually a man, to go abroad and send back remittances (Carter 1997; Adepoju 2000). In 2005, a survey conducted by the Senegalese Ministry of Economy and Finance revealed that nearly 70% of households nationally had at least one emigrant family member, which collectively sent back \$563.2 million USD to Senegal (Focus Migration 2007). Most emigrants are young and fairly well educated, according to World Bank statistics in 2004 (Focus Migration 2007). Even those not particularly well educated are likely to be the most educated in their families (Adepoju 2000). These young ambitious individuals seek not only opportunity, but adventure (Carter 1997), and stay in Italy between 10 and 15 years on average (Ruotolo 2011; Ghosh 2011).

Large scale Senegalese migration to Italy began in the early 1980s, a result of Senegal's simultaneous demographic and economic transitions, changing migratory patterns in West Africa (Carter 1997; Colvin et.al. 1981; Baker 1995). For many Senegalese migrants, Italy's 1990 rejection of the Geographical Limitation Clause and creation of the special 'Asylum for Humanitarian Reasons' status, a more discretionary status the state could bestow to people fleeing their country due not only to political persecution but any violation of human rights, provided sound reason to choose Italy as a destination (Zincone 1999). That same year Italy passed the Martelli Law, which allowed any individual present in the country prior to 31 December 1989, regardless of occupation or employment sector, to regularize their status as refugees and labourers before 28 June 1990 (Knights 1996).

The passage of the Martelli law ignited Bangladeshi immigration in large numbers because of its promise of regularized work status, permanent or renewable legal residence, and its easily overcome date of entry clause (Knights 1996). By 2009, the Bangladeshi population in Italy numbered 84,000 registered individuals (Rahman and Kabir 2012; Blangiardo 2009). When including unregistered immigrants, the number reaches an estimated 135,000 people according to ISMU Foundation calculations (IRIN Asia 2011).

Bangladeshi migrants in Italy are generally middle class, from upwardly mobile families, and have professional or tradesmen backgrounds. They are fairly young and well-educated (Harney 2007; Knights 1996). In 2009, nearly 30% of Bangladeshi migrants in Italy held undergraduate or graduate degrees (Rahman and Kabir 2012). Similar to the Senegalese, they tend to be adventure-seeking individuals hoping to make fortunes (Knights 1996). Italy is often a migratory stepping stone, and migrants stay for about 8 years before moving onwards (Rahman and Kabir 2012; Harney 2007). Most Bangladeshi migrants in Italy are sufficiently independent financially that their earnings go to their own livelihoods opposed to being sent back (Harney 2007; Knights and King 1998; Gardner 1996; Mahmood 1993). Nonetheless, remittances continue to be an important priority for Italian-based Bangladeshis (Rahman and Kabir 2012; Ullah 2010; Rahman 2009), just as for Italian-based Senegalese. In 2005, nearly \$4.2 billion USD were sent back according to the Bangladeshi Bureau of Manpower, Employment and Training and by 2011, remittances from Italy reached \$11 billion USD (Rahman and Kabir 2012).

Unlike Bangladeshi migrants who primarily label themselves 'economic migrants' (Harney 2006), Senegalese migrants often come as refugees, asylum seekers, displaced persons, or temporary contract labourers – commonly arriving entirely undocumented or on tourist visas with hopes to change their status once in the country (Harney 2010; FIDH 2005; Black 2003). However, the process of granting asylum is slow and even with recourse to documented residency, many Senegalese

immigrants cannot afford to live without income or on the small pensions granted by the Italian government during the application process (Harney 2010). Many simply disappear into undocumented status once their tourist permits expire or their asylum applications are rejected (Harney 2010; FIDH 2005; Black 2003).

Because work in the formal sector is unavailable to irregular migrants or individuals waiting their asylum applications, Italy's large informal economy offers opportunity for many to find enough money on which to subsist (Reyneri 2004; Reyneri 1999; Carter 1997). The majority of Senegalese migrants in Italy seek employment as day labourers in the agriculture or construction industries (Harney 2007). Some, however, find employment as hawkers (Adepoju 2000). In Italy, the most recent Senegalese hawkers begin on the public transportation system, selling CDs and DVDs to people in small villages outside city centres (Harney 2007). Once they have better grasp of the streetscape and market, including contacts from whom to buy goods both locally and in Senegal, these individuals move to the streets to establish more profitable opportunities. Most buy their goods, generally imitation designer handbags and sunglasses, from Italian wholesalers and their informal entrepreneurship sparks greater production in Italy's informal and formal sectors alike (Ruotolo 2011).

In contrast, Bangladeshi participation in the informal economy is shaped by historical immigration patterns beginning in 1990. Because of the Martelli Law, Bangladeshi immigrants sponsored fellow countrymen, sometimes for reunification and sometimes for pay. Many sponsors became *adam bepari*, 'human traffickers,' realizing the lucrative profits in bringing people over from Bangladesh and establishing them in Rome (Knights 1996). *Adam bepari* and their associates quickly established patron-client relationships with new migrants under the guise of getting them legal residence permits once the cost of transport and establishment was paid off (Knights 1996). In the meantime, money could be earned working in the informal economy: as day labourers or selling goods for the *adam bepari* as hawkers (Knights 1996). Unlike the Senegalese for whom day labour makes up the majority of their participation in the informal economy of Italy and hawking is relatively exclusive (Harney 2010), *adam bepari* encouraged new migrants to adopt hawking as their main commercial enterprise thereby consolidating patron-client relations as hawkers bought their wares from their respective *adam bepari* (Knights 1996). Throughout the 1990s, new migrants incurred new debts in getting established and few were able to pay their *adam bepari* (Knights 1996). Even those who arrived with documentation were encouraged by *adam bepari* and community leaders to become hawkers, rather than learn Italian and find formal employment, and to buy their products from their patron or fellow countryman, which served to reinforce the power hierarchy (Knights 1996). Yet, from 1994 to 1995, the Roman-Bangladeshi *adam bepari* hierarchy began to collapse (Knights 1996). After 1995, the Bangladeshi population dispersed slightly to other areas of Italy, principally large Northern cities and to Naples. Though the physical distribution of the Italian-Bangladeshi population has widened, they remain economically concentrated in street hawking and other informal employments (Rahman and Kabul 2012; Harney 2010).

3 Hawking as a feature of roman and Neapolitan urban landscapes

Italy's provinces are remarkable for their diverse migration policies and independent enforcement mechanisms that substantially impact the opportunities available to immigrants, particularly as the country remains internally divided along a North-South axis (Apap 1999; King and Andall 1999). Rome, as the national capital and a Northern city in attitude if not location, and Naples, Italy's largest

Southern city, have vastly different relationships with their immigrant populations. Nonetheless, Senegalese and Bangladeshi migrants have carved parallel niches in the informal economies of these two cities as hawkers selling goods primarily to holidaymakers.

Rome, Italy's largest city and home to approximately 2,638,490 people (ISTAT 2012), is a place of contradiction, considered a jewel of civilization, but known to be beset with poverty, housing shortages, pollution, urban degradation, violent crime, rising unemployment, and clientelism. 'Rome is the most fascinating city in Italy, which makes it arguably the most fascinating city in the world' opens the Rough Guide tour-book of Italy, continuing to describe the wonder the city offers: 'The former heart of the mighty Roman Empire, and still the home of the papacy, the city is made up of layers of history. [...] And these various eras crowd in on one another to an almost overwhelming degree' (Rough Guides 2013).

Yet, amongst the layers of history and marvel that holidaymakers see in their brief visits lives another Rome, a city plagued with racism, violence, and a declining quality of life. From 2011 to 2012, there were 36 violent killings in Rome alone, principally targeting racial minority immigrants in addition to increased casualties at the hands of right-wing hate groups, increasingly active mafia-like gangs, and individual 'citizen' killers (Squires 2012; BBC News 2009a). The city's unemployment rate of more than 30% overall has reached a staggering 37% for youth ages 15 to 24 (Johnston 2013; Squires 2012). From 2012 to 2013, housing prices in Rome fell by 15% (Anon. 2013), but rates of homelessness are nonetheless on the rise with an estimated 7,000 homeless (ISTAT 2012). Local gangs invest increasingly in Rome's productive and retail economies, gaining more control over the formal and informal sectors, resulting in increased precariousness for both Rome's native and immigrant populations.

Despite the problems, Rome remains a source of fascination, a compelling destination for immigrants and tourists. The Italian National Statistics Institute calculated that in 2012 the city received some 8,900 new residence registrations monthly from international and domestic migration (ISTAT 2012). That same year there were a reported '11,405,160 tourist arrivals in the city,' (ANSAmEd 2012) nearly doubling the 6.03 million tourist arrivals reported in 2006 before the economic crises (Bremmer 2007).

In this landscape, Bangladeshi and Senegalese migrants have created a destination for themselves, bridging the gap between resident and visitor as long-term mobile hawkers on Rome's main avenues, in the city's historic piazzas, and in front of its national monuments. Melanie Knights describes the physical distribution of Bangladeshi street hawkers and their products:

[At] crossroads they clean windscreens, or sell lighters, tissues, car fresheners, flowers and windscreen shields; in the underground they sell contraband cigarettes and pictures; in the streets and parks they sell umbrellas and roses; at the principal tourist sites they sell roses, pictures, good-luck beetles, jewellery, in the supermarkets and open-air markets they sell oil, garlic and cigarettes. (Knights 1996: 113).

However, equally striking to the concentration of goods in specific spaces is the specialization of people from various regions in the same product. The Roman-Bangladeshi community has substantial representation from at least four different regions of Bangladesh: Dhaka, Faridpur, Comilla and Noakhali (Knights 1996). Individuals from different regions tend to specialize in different goods; flower and jewelry vendors are most often from Noakhali while individuals from Faridpur focus in oils, garlic and umbrellas and windshield washers generally come from 'Bhairub in the district of Mymensingh' (Knights 1996: 117). Patron-client relationships account for much of this concentration,

particularly for hawkers from Noakhali and Faridpur whose community leaders tend to be the wholesalers for fellow countrymen whereas those from Bhairub tend to be introduced to hawking by friends and use interregional ties to locate goods (Knights 1996).

Naples, the capital of Campania, is about half the size of Rome with a registered population of 960,640 in 2012 (ISTAT 2012) and the most prominent receiving city of Southern Italy (Carter 1997). In 2012, the city received on average 1,760 new registrations monthly, including international and domestic migration (ISTAT 2012). In 2003, Naples housed nearly 111,000 documented immigrants year round and a fluctuating, seasonal undocumented labour force (Harney 2007; Caritas 2004). The local statistics bureau estimated that the number of migrants living and working in the city, including undocumented immigrants, may be as many as 159,000 (Harney 2010; Caritas 2005; Orientale 2005).

Naples has long been an economic powerhouse in Italy, culturally distinctive from Rome (Schmoll 2012). Naples is often seen as a short-term stopping point on a longer migratory route rather than an end in itself (Harney 2004). The city has the highest out-migration rate in Italy, making it a prime example of the ‘Mediterranean Model of Migration,’ where economic solvency is the direct result of the continuous inflows and outflows of people, each succeeding cohort willing to work in flexible, underground, and often marginalized, occupations (Harney 2007; Harney 2004; Pugliese 2002, Grillo and Pratt 2002; Riccio 2001; Ambrosini 2001; Pellicani 1999; Bonafazi 1998; Colombo 1998; DeFilippo and Pugliese 1996; Zinn 1994; Calvanese and Pugliese 1991). Yet, as the largest metropolis on the Southern coast and Italy’s largest seaport and railway intersection (Harney 2010), Naples is an important stopping point, its long coastline providing the necessary landing spaces for those seeking to enter the country clandestinely (Rhaman and Kabir 2012, Harney 2007; Triandafyllidou 2007; Chaloff 2004). Naples is a city characterized by the continuous entry and exit of people (Harney 2004). Harney summarizes: ‘In their actions and their imaginations about the future, migrants and Neapolitans alike continually speak of migration as short-, medium- or long-term life trajectories to improve their lot’ (Harney 2007: 223).

Additionally, Naples is marked by a strong tradition of transnational business, businesses owned by both local-born residents and migrants, different from the market place in Rome (Schmoll 2012). As Kloosterman and Rath found in 2001, Neapolitan transnational businesses are embodied at several levels: the local neighbourhood, the city and the nation, and, at each level the immigrant businessman must perform a different articulation of embeddedness and belonging to successfully negotiate the socio-political landscape around economic interaction (Kloosterman and Rath 2001). Subsequently, Naples feels like a city tied to the international market and the migrant presence is fundamental to the city’s character (Schmoll 2012), opposed to Rome, which continues to promote a predominantly local aesthetic.

Though Naples has a different feel from Rome, they share some essential characteristics and make it an ideal place for street hawkers to work. Like Rome, Naples is one of the oldest continuously occupied cities in Europe. The city has no coherent plan or central design, having been built and rebuilt along different design principles over the centuries (Harney 2006). Over-speculation and unauthorized property development are common in Naples (Harney 2006; Harney 2010), as in Rome, due to increased cost of living and homelessness. Also, Naples has a strong tradition of clientelism, resulting in organized crime and police corruption that ignores clan and inner-city violence (Harney 2010; Harney 2006). Though Naples is one of the strongest formal economies in Italy, it nonetheless has an incredibly high unemployment rate, over 25% in 2006 (Harney 2010; Harney 2006). The large unemployment rates and patron-client relations mean that informal employment, such as hawking, holds a uniquely privileged place in Naples’ society and Naples’ law officers are well known for their

lax enforcement of immigration laws and employment regulations (Harney 2007; Harney 2006; Harney 2004).

Hawkers in Naples come from four principal immigrant communities: Bangladeshi, Chinese, Pakistani, and Senegalese (Harney 2007; Harney 2004; Dines 2002; Amato 1997). While neither Bangladeshis nor Senegalese are the largest immigrant communities in the Naples area, they nonetheless comprise the majority of its street hawkers and are particularly visible in public spaces (Harney 2007). Like in Rome, they gather along the arteries of the city and in historical piazzas (Harney 2007), and products sold are divided along cultural and ethnic boundaries (Dines 2002; Amato 1997).

Bangladeshi hawkers trade in cheap jewelry and accessories, pashmina scarves, and cell-phone decorations (Harney 2007). Chinese hawkers focus in clothing, inexpensive electronics, and small toys (Harney 2004). Pakistani vendors specialize in sunglasses, accessories and cell-phone paraphernalia (Harney 2004). Senegalese traders offer ‘clothes, caps, designer bags and pirated DVDs and CDs’ as well as ‘traditionally-African’ looking art pieces (Harney 2007; Harney 2004). These street entrepreneurs build on a long Neapolitan tradition of hawking --historically based in books, cigarettes, pirated electronics and sportswear -- which continues side by side with these newest additions (Harney 2004).

Unlike Rome where the hawkers’ market is still marked by close co-ethnic client-patron relationships, Naples is far more democratized (Harney 2007). The Bangladeshi community in Naples does not exhibit the strict hierarchy of the *adam bepari* patronage system (Knights and King 1998; Kwong 1997; Werbner 1990); there are no formalized debts created by migrant sponsorship, and Neapolitan-Bangladeshi hawkers are not dependent on co-ethnic wholesalers for the goods they sell (Harney 2007). Additionally, the international and multi-local character of the Neapolitan marketplace means that ethnic minority individuals have greater access to different types of people, enabling hawkers to buy from a wider selection of wholesalers (Schmoll 2012). Consequently, the Neapolitan hawking scene is marked by a strong inter-ethnic support system, where traders and wholesalers share information and assist one another in selling goods, tending stalls, and avoiding police raids (Harney 2007).

4 The presented encounter: Italy regulates hawking in its urban landscapes

The rhetoric and imagery utilized by Italy’s tourism department shows the first level of presentation of Italian authenticity and nationhood for the outside world. The Department of Tourism website is representative of the materials the Italian government publishes for international consumption and the form of presentation is closely mirrored in travel guides (See *Lonely Planet: Italy* and *Rough Guides: Italy*). What stands out in these presentations is the focus on Italy as a place to discover, explore and to conquer. Italy is presented as a pristine, almost uninhabited land, where people, their social worlds, and their history in the country are naturalized as part of the landscape. Photographs show places – buildings, ruins and natural landmarks – with equal aplomb, but these images are remarkable for the lack of bodies, planting the image that Italy is a land of sites and images, but not of people, though the focus on history most certainly implies that it once was.

Only in two pages of the website are Italy’s modern-day people mentioned: the ‘Italy of Passions’ and the ‘Made in Italy’ pages. In the ‘Italy of Passions’ page, the Department of Tourism describes

‘the Italian Lifestyle’ and highlights ‘Italian life’ as something that holidaymakers can consume. The page opens:

Italy is a land of passions: sounds, colors and perfumes; books, art and music; and nature and landscapes. Many are the opportunities for visitors to enjoy the very lifestyle that has made Italy famous throughout the world (All bolding in the original). (Italy Department of Tourism ‘Italy of Passions’ 2013)

In this description, the ‘passion of the Italian,’ or Italian cultural authenticity, is presented as part of the landscape divorced from the people, an almost-tangible quality that one can pick up by simply making holiday in Italy. This presentation not only removes the people upon whom the ‘Italian lifestyle’ is based, but also codifies authentic ‘Italianess’ as one specific lifestyle with shared characteristics that excludes immigrant cultures and multiple ethnic identities among the absent Italian body. The page continues, ascribing to the country a ‘historic love affair with music,’ a ‘passion for motors,’ a ‘love of competition and team spirit’ personified in great sports, and, of course, a sensual love of land and life. The website concludes that ‘Italy is nothing if not the Italy of Taste, a feast for the senses, and one of the best ways to understand a people, their history and traditions’ (Italy Department of Tourism ‘Italy of Passion’ 2013).

Here, the country itself becomes the embodiment of Italian authenticity and ‘lifestyle,’ person-like in its taste and ‘passions.’ People come into play only during the closing sentence of the page. Yet, these are not individuals but rather ‘the people,’ more specifically ‘the Italian people’ which uniformly share this same high-passion attitude towards life that holidaymakers desire at home, but live only while in Italy. The description paints a picture of authentic ‘Italianess’ that contains neither immigrants nor hawkers.

In fact, the one photograph on the page is the only one on the main site that has a person in it – the individual pictured is a lovely young white woman in her 20s with dark curly hair, leaning against a Ferrari. In black and white, the picture appears to have been taken in the 1930s or 1940s and the only colour on the page is the red, white and green of the Italian flag that streams across the bottom with the word ‘Italia’ written on it. The fact that this picture is clearly dated, taken from an era before Italy became a country of immigration, reinforces the idea that ‘authentic Italianess’ is white, rooted in the county’s pre-immigration epoch and prepares the tourist for an ethnically and culturally homogenous Italian people.

The ‘Made in Italy’ page on the Department of Tourism’s website makes direct reference to Italian authenticity as an object that the tourist can consume, opening

Made in Italy [...] is, by now, an authentic brand symbolizing the excellence of Italian artisanship and manufacturing. [...] Many a tourist visits the Peninsula exclusively to experience the world of Made in Italy: the exploration of the places where culture, industry, history, art and good taste result in unique and beloved cuisines and articles of design, and the exploration of the traditions and methods that lead to their creation. (All bolding in the original). (Italy Department of Tourism, ‘Made in Italy’ 2013)

Interestingly, this page makes no reference at all to the producers of these ‘authentic’ Italian wares that embody the Italian ‘character’ and culture for the tourist to take home. Only when following the links about food, fashion and cars, one comes across the names of the individuals that make up ‘authentic Italian production.’ Armani, Cavalli, Dolce and Gabbana, Prada, and Versace populate the fashion page (Italy Department of Tourism ‘Italy in Fashion’ 2013). In the link about Italian automobiles one finds Ferrari, Maserati, and Alfa Romeo (Italy Department of Tourism ‘Emilia

Romagna' 2013). And the link about Italian cuisine offers a sumptuous feast in photographs in the gallery, hidden at the bottom of the page. Amongst the eleven pictures of hanging hams, fresh mozzarella, parmesan, pasta and the green hills of Italy's wine country, there are three pictures of people in Italy's vineyards. These individuals are the archetypes of the 'authentic Italian' look and lifestyle. They are handsome white men with thick dark hair and flashing smiles. In one photo, the man stands in a wine cellar, illuminated by candlelight offering a bottle of wine; in the second, the 'strong Italian farmworker' carries a barrel of grapes on his shoulder, and in the last, two young men on horseback inspect the fields (Italy Department of Tourism 'Eating and Drinking' 2013).

It stands out that all these critically acclaimed 'authentic Italian producers' are white. Not one of the brands marked as 'Made in Italy' is owned by a non-white or immigrant individual, again shaping tourists' expectation of authentic Italianess as white and non-immigrant, excluding Italy's growing immigrant and native-born coloured populations from the national narrative. The immigrant presence is completely erased from the production of authentic Italian wares. Immigrants – especially non-white and non-E.U. immigrants -- are outsiders, invisible in the presentation of authentic Italy, visually distanced from the racialized image of Italianess, its economic production and culture.

Yet, the absent or non-encounter between the holidaymaker and the immigrant presented by the Department of Tourism's press is different from the embodied encounter regulated by the Department of Tourism's local policy of preparing its cities for tourists' arrival. These policies utilize the rhetoric of 'cleaning up Italy' for tourist consumption, and their implementation at a city level highlights the way national boundaries are redrawn as Italian authenticity and belonging are created.

In 1993, Roman mayor Francesco Rutelli launched a policy of municipal renovation. It is a good example of the link between tourism policy and the exclusion of Roman-based foreigners. He began an unprecedented campaign to modernize Rome's infrastructure and restore its national monuments (Knights 1996). Key elements in the tourism infrastructure of Rome, national monuments and public transportation hubs had become sites of contestation of Italian nationhood, particularly due to the fact that they were home to many non-white immigrant groups, places that Italian citizens wanted to 'free of the encounter with the "other"' (Carter 1997: xi).

Despite the changes made from 1993 to 1995, Rome's assessore for commerce stated in April 1995 that the city was still suffering urban decline, particularly at the Old Roman Forum, the Spanish Steps, Piazza Navona and Piazza Vittorio Emanuele, all the sites with the greatest concentration of immigrant hawkers (Knights 1996). So Rutelli introduced a bilingual police branch designed to deal with urban degenerates – pick-pockets, bike thieves, gypsies and hawkers – and closed down the informal market at the Old Roman Forum just as the 1995 tourist season began. That same month, Rutelli closed the Spanish Steps for a seven-month restoration and authorized the police to raid any hawker who established stalls or lay goods on the ground near any of Rome's historic sites (Knights 1996).

The new municipal policies ruptured the patron-client relationships holding the Roman-Bangladeshi community together and often led to loud disputes between *adam bepari* wholesalers and their hawker clients. Noise restrictions were incorporated in the municipal improvement project and native Italians reported their immigrant neighbours for noise violations. Police raided apartment blocks, found undocumented individuals and deported them in the largest deportation campaign Rome had yet experienced (Knights 1996). Rutelli's policy attempted to recreate Rome as an immigrant-free city, home to 'traditional' and 'pure' Italian culture and national authenticity.

In 1996, Naples launched its own campaign to 'clean the city' for tourist consumption and transform its international reputation. Mayor Antonio Bassolino began revitalizing Naples, restoring

the public spaces and monuments, improving public safety and security, and hosting cultural events to create a sense of belonging (Harney 2007; Bassolino 1996). Like in Rome, the city restoration system included a major expansion and improvement of public transportation (Harney 2007). However, unlike in Rome where immigrants were excluded and deported, in Naples, Bassolino treated immigrants as a major part of the city's cultural heritage and his campaign planned for the integration and incorporation of immigrants into the city's persona (Harney 2007).

The Bassolino administration launched a campaign of train inspectors who served as cultural interlocutors and integration facilitators, rather than immigration police. These inspectors were largely comprised of multi-lingual ethnic-minority individuals, who were trained to speak with both migrants and tourists, and were stationed along the M1 route, which connects the Naples' city center at Piazza Garibaldi to Castel Volturno, a beach resort town some 30km north, equally popular as a tourist destination and transit point for seasonal agricultural workers (Harney 2007). Inspectors did not automatically penalize recent immigrants who rode public transport without tickets; rather they gave newcomers a special ticket and encouraged them to follow Italian laws by appealing to racial pride as ethnic minorities in Italy. As coloured individuals hired by the municipal government, inspectors became representative of a multi-ethnic Naples, where non-white immigrant individuals were given an essential place in the cultural heart of the city (Harney 2007).

The Neapolitan program, unlike the Roman, made immigrants feel a part of society and responsible for ensuring that their fellow migrants also knew the Italian laws and were a part of 'clean' and 'tourist-ready' Naples. Inspectors were dismayed when they realized that the city's many migrants were largely in-transit, staying in Naples for only a few weeks before moving onwards (Harney 2010), but pleasantly surprised to find that their information and integration scheme had broader effects as migrants began to inform one another of what was expected and petty crime rates dropped dramatically, making the entire 'cleaning up Naples' project an internationally acclaimed success (Harney 2007).

The policies of Rome and Naples to reform their cities for tourist consumption highlight the ways in which the state regulates the migrant-tourist encounter by presenting the image of migrants as belonging to the city and nation or not. Roman policy defined migrants as outsiders, resulting in one of Italy's largest deportation campaigns and attracting international attention due to the perceived negative role of immigrants, whereas the Neapolitan policy defined migrants as a fundamental part of the city's heritage and cultural modernity, making the migrant-tourist encounter a part of the 'authentic' Neapolitan experience.

5 The performed encounter: Tourist-migrant meetings

'Without us the Neapolitan economy would be nowhere,' one hawker in Naples proudly informed researcher Nicolas Harney (Harney 2007: 229), bluntly claiming his belonging as a Neapolitan and performing his role as part of the Italian economic nation. This claim does not deny immigrant heritage, but rather suggests that immigrant hawkers generate both authentic foreignness and authentic Italianess simultaneously. Amanda Wise (2009) argues that all spaces where people of different racial, ethnic, cultural heritage meet offer the opportunity to express difference, find similarity, and create a shared local identity and authenticity through that interaction. Wise argues that by understanding the context where people communicate and the performance thereof, one can understand how they make shared meaning and transpose it to larger conceptualizations of belonging and nationhood.

Street hawking is the ultimate contact zone; public space is used as a forum for dialogue between migrants, tourists, and native Italians. Italy's streets and monuments become the backdrop for this

discussion, adding additional layers of meaning and transforming the act of selling goods into the act of creating a shared definition of Italian cultural belonging and national authenticity. In looking at the hawker-holidaymaker encounter, I analyze how authenticity and belonging is performed, embodied, and positioned in the streetscape and why.

Victor Turner (1987) argues that all social interaction is performative in that it is a self-reflective effort to portray meaning for an audience through words and actions. The hawker-holidaymaker encounter in Rome and Naples is particularly interesting as a performative space because it uses the Italian cityscape as a stage for ritual – ‘a “transformative performance revealing major classifications, categories, and contradictions of cultural processes,”’ (Turner 1987: 5) – enacted between two mobile foreign populations for an audience of locals, whether or not of Italian ethnicity or nationality. Harney explains how the everyday encounters between hawkers and the people they live near and work with become the forums for expressing belonging in subtle ways. He writes:

The knowledge of local practice, local social courtesies, bodily movements, postures, the unspoken ways of getting along ... [are] created and reproduced locally [...] knowledge is constituted through very localized social processes of becoming, embodiment and naturalizing (Harney 2004: 317 – 318).

In Naples, belonging is expressed in posture, in quotidian conversation, in knowing where to find coffee for 50 Euro cents as opposed to 80 (Harney 2004). When police look to check hawking licenses, they pick out those who do not use local slang, who do not talk with store owners or their assistants, who do not know the distinctive ins and outs of their street, and who look uncomfortable or “out of place” (Harney 2004; Douglas 1966).

Conversations between hawkers on local conditions or giving warning of petty attacks are conducted in local pidgin and pleasantries are exchanged along with treats recently arrived from home. Talking about local news, the thefts and crime of Naples, family and future expectations binds these hawkers together and helps them demonstrate to one another their local belonging in the Italian streetscape. For example, in 2003, the Neapolitan municipal government decided to clean the streets for tourist safety after a rash of robberies committed by Neapolitan teens targeting foreigners (Harney 2004). Migrant hawkers shared information on how to avoid association with these robberies and allied with local Neapolitan store owners to prevent these teens from targeting them. Hawkers were left alone by youth targeting foreigners because of their mundane ties with ‘authentic Italian’ wholesalers and retailers who corroborated hawkers’ performance of local belonging (Harney 2004).

These ties of belonging are not all inclusive however, and there are limits to the extent to which hawkers can claim locality and be supported in their claims. An example is found in the municipal policy of 2003 when migrants hawkers were forced to leave their usual spaces on the Via San Gregorio Armeno so that white Italian craftsmen could establish the annual Neapolitan Christmas market, selling ‘authentic Italian handicrafts and artisanry’ to holidaymakers (Harney 2004: 321). In this instance, all the performance, the negotiation that happens in everyday interaction, and the backup of native-Italian store owners were not sufficient to translate local belonging to national authenticity, and the municipality refused to allow migrants space in the ‘authentic Neapolitan’ Christmas Market.

The question raised here is one about the links between people and the space they occupy, what meaning that space has, and how it is transformed from mere territory into a place for encounter. Immigrant hawkers are uniquely visible in Italy’s public spaces and monuments and their presence in archetypal Italian spaces creates a unique focus on national belonging. When immigrant hawkers station themselves in publically national spaces, their mere presence as foreigners within the national

territory, both physically and symbolically, forces tourists and nationals alike to challenge the cohesive story constructed by the space itself.

6 The re-presented encounter: Tourists discuss their encounters and reformulate national authenticity

The re-presented encounter when the actors narrate their experience for others, highlights the ambivalences and controversies brought about in the presented and performed encounters, either offering resolution or bringing about a new liminality in the social drama of belonging. When international tourists, holidaymakers in particular, narrate their trips, their narratives highlight the ambivalence of the migrant's role in defining the limits of national authenticity.

While the re-presented encounter often happens in person, it increasingly happens online through blogs, vlogs, chat forums and online discussion groups. I analyze how the performed encounter embodied in a specific locality is re-presented online, in disembodied virtual space that serves as an alternative forum to which hawkers, native-born Italians, and tourists all have access. As George Marcus commented in a seminal 1995 article, even studies based in local perception and performance need to examine how the local connects with the global to see how belonging is constructed both internally and externally by dialogue that occurs outside the locality of interest. The internet can be seen as a multi-sited space, with many different places encapsulated by websites, blogs, online videos or chat forums, and e-mail. As such, any analysis of online dialogue or narrative, of digital performance, necessitates a multi-sited research approach in which not only the dialogue is analyzed, but the forum itself. Thus, I searched for the idea of Italian authenticity and conceptions of immigrant hawking through a variety of online forums and sites to see the way the content changed – or remained constant – across internet medium.

I began with a basic google search of 'street,' 'hawkers' and 'Italy' to see what sort of images, comments and videos were returned. Most comments were made not by Italians, immigrants to Italy, or long-term residents, but by holidaymakers who stayed Italy for only a few weeks or days. The words they used demonstrated their lack of nuanced knowledge of the immigrant context in Italy, reinforcing the idea of the holidaymaker as a stranger coming with preset notions and reflecting on the fact that such pre-held expectations were not met. They commonly used 'Indian,' 'Paki' or 'Arab' to talk about Bangladeshi hawkers and 'African' or 'Black' to speak of Senegalese. Thus, I searched these terms in conjunction with 'Italy,' 'Rome,' and 'Naples' and found that while the venues for the discussion changed, much of the rhetoric remained the same, as did the people commenting. The material analyzed below was selected for its blatant and bold discussion of 'Italianess' and foreignness and chosen in proportion to the negative and positive comments written on the various vlogs and internet chat forums.

YouTube user Lemon020202 -- a Canadian-American holidaymaker in Italy -- posted a comment one year ago under a video entitled 'Street Vendors,' posted by PlasmaWhore on 5 January 2007, which showed hawkers methodically packing their goods and leaving their territories when the Roman tourist police came strolling by, writing:

OMG..all the amount of paki's/indians there in rome made my trip so unpleasant, they really ruined my trip, i'm from canada and wanted a nice vacation instead i had all these indians running up to me to buy useless shit like umbrellas etc.. and they were begging me I'd say no to one and another will follow, it was as if i had to stop my vacation and feed them! they are worse then birds..italian Gov. needs to do something about the

paki's/indians - imgrant control! I hate indians 4 that reason (All original punctuation and grammar maintained) (PlasmaWhore 2007).

Lemon020202's comments reveal the depth to which the national narrative of Italy as an immigrant-free country affects the expectations of holidaymakers who travel to the country; 'I was in shock when i saw them I wasn't expecting them,' he writes (All original punctuation and grammar maintained) (PlasmaWhore 2007). Moreover, Lemon020202's comments clearly show that immigrant hawkers are seen by many holidaymakers as fundamentally un-Italian and different from 'ethnic' Italians, 'u know even though i still had a great time in italy because of the great italians – [but] it would have been better if all these aficans and indians weren't there. (PlasmaWhore 2007). He categorizes hawkers as fundamental outsiders based on two characterizations: their interaction with other foreigners, such as himself, ('I mean its fine if you want to move there and you have a job with a family in a house where you are not bugging tourist!' he writes) and their race – noting hawkers' Blackness and 'Indianness.' This tourist's comments reflect the ambiguity of migrant hawkers' position; although he dislikes their presence, Lemon020202 cannot deny that these hawkers were a definitive part of the Rome he experienced, shaping its streetscape and public character. Additionally, Lemon020202's prejudices reveal his refusal, like that many Italian citizens, to recognize Italy as a country of immigration with a coloured population that could be equally 'authentic' to the Italian nationscape.

Indian YouTube user ecclefechan, from the United Arab Emirates, agrees with Lemon020202 that coloured hawkers are clearly not Italian, but he emphasizes their foreignness as Bangladeshis as well, pointing out that they are not Indian. He responds to a comment posted by Lemon020202 on Spywalla's 2007 video 'Rome street vendors selling fake stuff Police:'

Those people really, really annoy me. [...] Seeing them in historic world cities in Italy is an absolute disgrace. Obviously the police are doing very little to deal with them because they are outside every major tourist site selling their garbage openly. (Spywalla 2007)

Ecclefechan argues that the presence of hawkers makes Italy feel un-Italian; it 'brings down the vibe of the place' and 'makes it feel like you're in a poor country' (Spywalla 2007) which clearly contradicts the pre-set expectations he held as a holidaymaker going to Rome. In short, immigrant hawkers are not mere foreigners, but rather permanent foreigners marked by their color and their occupation.

In contrast to Lemon020202 and ecclefechan, Yahoo user tesorotx writes on a YahooAnswers discussion board: 'Italy is multi-cultural now' ('African Street Hawkers in Rome?' 2006). Fellow Yahoo user Mike comments 'I like them! They are usually quite, modest and friendly. The streets of Rome are much more colourful when they are around' (All original punctuation and grammar maintained) ('African Street Hawkers in Rome?' 2006). For these individuals, Italian authenticity is now defined by the variation found within the Italian population as these diverse people come together to form a national community that engages differences and brings them together in an Italian national framework, marked by the melding of Italian traditions with those from abroad. For example, Mike continues in his comment: 'many of them [migrant street hawkers] are "illegal" and so are the stuff they sell but the producers and suppliers of this illegal stuff comes mostly from Naples' (All original punctuation and grammar maintained) ('African Street Hawkers in Rome?' 2006). Mike finds that immigrant hawkers continue Italian traditions of informality and expand pre-existing Italian networks; thus, migrants are as much a part of authentic Italy as any native-born Italian who engages in the informal economy.

Some holidaymakers find immigrant populations distinctive from Italians; but these tourists feel that migrants moderate and perhaps improve the county's streetscape rather than harming Italian authenticity. One conversation under the video 'A One-Street Tour Shows Why I Like Naples' posted by user RickSteves on 29 September 2011 is particularly revealing; user ss07100ss posted 5 months ago that Naples looks 'like Lahore, and people look pakis' (All original punctuation and grammar maintained) (RickSteves 2011). Yet, while fellow user Gerechtable found the supposed resemblance between Naples and Lahore distressing, posting 3 months ago 'I guess thats because naples government doesnt take it seriously enough to safe locals from those fucking muslim fuckers from pakis afghani etc stan and africa' (All original punctuation and grammar maintained) (RickSteves 2011), ss07100ss found that South Asian and African migrants in Naples actually moderated the city and blunted the worst elements of Neapolitan 'authenticity.' Ss07100ss responded to Gerechtable: 'WTF? Muslims and immigrants are the last problem for Naples. Neapolitans are known for their bad manners, they don't respect any kind of rule, and camorra, the local mafia control everything...these are the reasons why it has become a shithole' (All original punctuation and grammar maintained) (RickSteves 2011). In ss07100ss's comments, it appears that Italian authenticity needs to be moderated for the state to function and immigrants offer the stability lacking in Italian conceptions of nationhood and tradition. Thus, immigrants have a role in the perpetuation and propagation of the state that is only possible because immigrants remain foreigners. These internet conversations may seem farremoved from immigrant hawkers themselves, but the re-presentation has significant consequences for venders' lived realities, such as the creation of multi-lingual police for tourists (Knights 1996) and the new penalties placed on the purchase of imitation goods from hawkers (BBC News 2009a).

7 Conclusion

In this paper, I challenged the idea that nationhood, national authenticity and local belonging are defined principally from within the nation-state, proposing instead that these constructions of identity and belonging are simultaneously formed outside the body-politic of citizens by foreigners. While foreignness is difficult to define, I have grounded the term in the embodied examples of the immigrant and the tourist as two figures who share a perceived extra-territoriality, but whose foreignness is nuanced by their differing mobilities, motivations for travel, lengths of stay, and ways of interacting with local and national economies. There is no black and white binary between immigrant and tourist just as there is not a clear divide between local and foreign. However, I focus on the interaction of holidaymakers, the tourist who comes for just a few days or weeks for the purpose of enjoying their destinations' local lifestyle and authenticity, and immigrant hawkers, as representative of long-term visitors who hold a special and controversial role in the local economy and presentation of national authenticity.

This theoretical discussion is rooted in the empirical example of Italy, where Senegalese and Bangladeshi hawkers use the rhetoric of national belonging and perform local authenticity to sell wares to holidaymakers at the national monuments that bring visitors to view and experience authentic 'Italianess.' In the first half of the paper, I conducted a literature review of the historical development of Senegalese and Bangladeshi migration to Italy, analyzing the context of immigrant reception and unpacking the ways in which Bangladeshi and Senegalese have been included and excluded from the Italian nation-state due to policy, economy and prejudice. I examine the way the boundaries of national authenticity are shaped by citizens and the state itself and the way the Senegalese and Bangladeshi communities in Italy have carved their own parallel niches of local belonging.

In the second half of the paper, I move to a more anthropological analysis of the embodied encounter between immigrants and holidaymakers, utilizing a combination of tools from performance theory and discourse analysis with the insights offered by everyday multiculturalism, the study of encounters, and the human geographical study of touristed landscapes. I argue that when holidaymakers and immigrant hawkers meet in the streets of Rome and Naples, they do more than just exchange goods; they fall into a wider discussion of nationhood and authenticity because holidaymakers seek to find and consume cultural authenticity when traveling, and hawkers utilize the rhetoric of national belonging and local authenticity to sell their wares. Street hawking is that first encounter many tourists have not only with the embodied immigrant to Italy, but with the very idea of a multicultural and non-white Italy.

I show how this encounter occupies Italy's public spaces and monuments, but is an encounter that supersedes physical contact, beginning even before the tourists' arrival and continuing after their departure. Even before holidaymakers arrive in Italy, their encounter with immigrant hawkers is mediated by the rhetoric of national and local tourism press and policies which classify and portray migrants in a certain light, informing local realities and shaping immigrant hawkers' interaction with tourist holidaymakers. If the presented encounter happens before the physical meeting of immigrant and tourist, before the hawker has any chance to show his local authenticity or narrate his national belonging, then the final layer of the encounter, the re-presented encounter when tourists narrate their experiences and define the meaning of that interaction, is also outside the hawker's control. The narration signifies a sense of closure for the tourist who has, in their mind, defined what is authentic and nationally cultural in their experience abroad, but inserts the immigrant figure into a new space of liminality. Tourists open the debate about the immigrant's position in national belonging to a wider forum, a forum that may include migrants' voices, but that also includes voices of other foreigners who have never been to the physical site of encounter, as well as the voices of native Italians who define the boundaries of national and local authenticity in very different ways from either tourists or immigrants.

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