

Special Issue Roots Tourism

FUORI LUOGO

Rivista di Sociologia
del Territorio, Turismo, Tecnologia

Guest Editors

Tullio Romita

Antonella Perri

Philippe Clairay



Direttore Fabio Corbisiero
Caporedattore Carmine Urciuoli

ANNO VI – Volume 14 – Numero 1 – Gennaio 2023
FedOA – Federico II University Press
ISSN (online) 2723 – 9608 – ISSN (print) 2532 – 750X

Special Issue Roots Tourism

FUORI LUOGO

Rivista di Sociologia
del Territorio, Turismo, Tecnologia

Guest Editors

Tullio Romita

Antonella Perri

Philippe Clairay

Direttore Fabio Corbisiero
Caporedattore Carmine Urciuoli

ANNO VI – Volume 14 – Numero 1 – Gennaio 2023
FedOA – Federico II University Press
ISSN (online) 2723 – 9608 – ISSN (print) 2532 – 750X



Il volume è stato realizzato con il sostegno del Centro Ricerche e Studi sul Turismo (CREST) del Dipartimento di Scienze Aziendali e Giuridiche dell'Università della Calabria.

Sommario

9. Editorial

Travelling Back by Roots Tourism

Fabio Corbisiero

11. Roots Tourism and Emotional and Sustainable Enhancement of Places. An Introduction

Tullio Romita, Antonella Perri, Philippe Clairay

Contributi

15. Rebuilding Hometowns: Religious Worship as an Identity and Tourist Strategies of Place-Making
Letizia Carrera, William Calvo-Quirós

29. Roots tourism: history and experiences in France

Philippe Clairay

41. Multiple Identities: Roots Tourist's Perception in the Host Communities

Tullio Romita

51. Roots Tourism, Second Homes and Terraphilia in a Portuguese Context

José António Oliveira, Maria de Nazaré Oliveira-Roca, Zoran Roca

67. The Dilemma of Tourism Moral Economy and the Turismo delle Radici: Reflections on the Italian Diaspora in Brazil and Experiences of the Italianità as Authenticity

Dimitri Fazito de Almeida Rezende

81. Ethnic Tourism: Preservation and Valorisation of Identity and Opportunity for the Development of Roots Tourism

Andrej Bertok, Moreno Zago

93. The Sacred Value of the Root's Journey

Antonella Perri

103. Cultural and Archaeological Heritage, Landscapes and Roots Tourism:

Developing the Enhancement of Territories

Stefania Mancuso

SEZIONI A 3T - INCONTRO FUORI LUOGO

119. Emigrazione Giovanile e Viaggio delle Radici Intervista a S.E.R. Mons. Vincenzo Bertolone

Giuseppe Sommario

SEZIONI A 3T - LETTURE FUORI LUOGO

129. Simone Corami legge Emilio Casalini *Rifondata sulla bellezza. Viaggi, racconti, visioni alla ricerca dell'identità celata*, Spino Editore, 2016.

131. Nausica Tucci legge Mariangela Palmieri *Profondo Sud. Storia, Documentario e Mezzogiorno*, Liguori Editore, 2019.

135. Carmine Urciuoli legge Antonella Perri *Il Turismo delle Radici*, Aracne, 2020.

SEZIONE FUORI LUOGO

139. Life at the Margins: Chronicles from Inner Areas of Calabria

Elena Musolino

151. When Tourism is too Much. Tourist Carrying Capacity of the Vesuvius National Park
Massimiliano Agovino, Fabio Corbisiero, Ilaria Marotta

DIRETTORE/EDITOR IN CHIEF

Fabio Corbisiero (Università degli Studi di Napoli Federico II)

✉ direttore@fuoriluogo.info

CAPOREDATTORE/ EDITORIAL MANAGER

Carmine Urciuoli

✉ caporedattore@fuoriluogo.info

COMITATO SCIENTIFICO/SCIENTIFIC COMMITTEE

Fabio Amato (Università degli Studi di Napoli L'Orientale), Enrica Amato (Università degli Studi di Napoli Federico II), Francesco Antonelli (Università degli Studi Roma Tre), Biagio Aragona (Università degli Studi di Napoli Federico II), Elisabetta Bellotti (University of Manchester), Erika Bernacchi (Università degli Studi di Firenze), Kath Browne (UCD - University College Dublin), Letizia Carrera (Università degli Studi di Bari Aldo Moro), Gilda Catalano (Università della Calabria), Matteo Colleoni (Università degli Studi di Milano Bicocca), Paola de Salvo (University of Perugia), Abdelhadi El Halhouli (Université Sultan Moulay Slimane – Beni Mellal – Maroc), Fiammetta Fanizza (University of Foggia), Domenica Farinella (Università degli Studi di Messina), Mariano Longo (Università del Salento), Fabiola Mancinelli (Universitat de Barcelona), Luca Marano (Università degli Studi di Napoli Federico II), Mara Maretti (Università degli Studi di Chieti Gabriele d'Annunzio), Giuseppe Masullo (Università degli Studi di Salerno), Pietro Maturi (Università degli Studi di Napoli Federico II), Antonio Maturo (Università di Bologna Alma Mater Studiorum), Claudio Milano (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona), Khalid Mouna (Université Moulay Ismail – Mèknes - Maroc), Pierluigi Musarò (Università di Bologna Alma Mater Studiorum), Katherine O'Donnell (UCD - University College of Dublin), Giustina Orientale Caputo (Università degli Studi di Napoli Federico II), Gaia Peruzzi (Università degli Studi di Roma La Sapienza), Jason Pine (State University of New York), José Ignacio Pichardo Galán (Universidad Complutense de Madrid), Tullio Romita (Università della Calabria), Emanuele Rossi (Università degli Studi Roma Tre), Elisabetta Ruspini (Università degli Studi di Milano Bicocca), Sarah Siciliano (Università del Salento), Annamaria Vitale (Università della Calabria), Anna Maria Zaccaria (Università degli Studi di Napoli Federico II).

COMITATO DI REDAZIONE/EDITORIAL BOARD

Amalia Caputo (Università degli Studi di Napoli Federico II)

✉ amalia.caputo@fuoriluogo.info

Rosanna Cataldo (Università degli Studi di Napoli Federico II)

✉ rosanna.cataldo@fuoriluogo.info

Linda De Feo (Università degli Studi di Napoli Federico II)

✉ linda.defeo@fuoriluogo.info

Monica Gilli (Università degli Studi di Torino)

✉ salvatore.monaco@fuoriluogo.info

Ilaria Marotta (Università per Stranieri di Perugia)

✉ ilaria.marotta@fuoriluogo.info

Salvatore Monaco (Libera Università di Bolzano - Freie Universität Bozen)

✉ salvatore.monaco@fuoriluogo.info

Santina Musolino (Università degli Studi Roma Tre)

✉ santina.musolino@fuoriluogo.info

Francesco Santelli (Università degli Studi di Trieste)

✉ francesco.santelli@fuoriluogo.info

Redazione di Fuori Luogo

✉ redazione@fuoriluogo.info tel. +39-081-2535883

English text editor: Pietro Maturi

Copertina a cura di Fabio Improta. Elaborazione su foto di delfi de la Rua da Unsplash

EDITORE



FedOA - Federico II University Press
Centro di Ateneo per le Biblioteche "Roberto Pettorino"
Università degli Studi di Napoli Federico II

Responsabilità editoriale

Fedoa adotta e promuove specifiche linee guida in tema di responsabilità editoriale, e segue le COPE's Best Practice Guidelines for Journal Editors.

Autorizzazione del Tribunale di Napoli n. 59 del 20 dicembre 2016.

Direttore responsabile: Carmine Urciuoli

ISSN 2723-9608 (pubblicazione on line)

ISSN 2532-750X (pubblicazione cartacea)

Articles

In evaluating the proposed works, the journal follows a peer review procedure. The articles are proposed for evaluation by two anonymous referees, after removing any element that could identify the author.

Propose an article. The journal uses a submission system (open journal) to manage new proposals on the site. <http://www.serena.unina.it/index.php/fuoriluogo>

Rights and permissions. For each contribution accepted for publication on "Fuori Luogo", the authors must return to the editorial staff a letter of authorization, filled out and signed. Failure to return the letter affects the publication of the article.

The policies on the reuse of articles can be consulted on <http://www.serena.unina.it/index.php/fuoriluogo>

Fuori Luogo is one of the open access journals published under the SHARE Interuniversity Convention.

Fuori Luogo is included in the ANVUR list of Area 14 scientific journals, class A for the sociological sectors 14/C3 (Political and Legal Phenomena) and 14/D1 (Economic, Labor, Environmental and Territorial Processes)

Fuori Luogo is indexed in: DOAJ Directory of Open Access Journals - ACNP Catalogue code n. PT03461557 - Index Copernicus International ID 67296. The journal is part of CRIS Coordinamento Riviste Italiane di Sociologia.

Fuori Luogo is included in the LOCKSS (Lots of Copies Keep Stuff Safe) network of the Public Knowledge Project (PKP PLN).

The contents are published under a Creative Commons 4.0 license.

Fabio Corbisiero

Editorial

Travelling Back by Roots Tourism

One of the earliest manifestations of travel is the roots tourism (also called “Visiting family and friends tourism”), that is the practice of traveling to familiar or unfamiliar places for the purpose of meeting people who are personally esteemed or valued. Albeit this form of tourism has been an under-researched topic until the end of last century (Griffin, 2014; Perri, 2020), it is not surprising that a large body of research is recently studying the phenomenon of roots tourism. Several major research journals have devoted entire special issues to roots tourism, such as *The Journal of Tourism Studies* (Issue 1 in Volume 6 published 1995); *Tourism Geographies* (Issue 3 in Volume 15, published in 2000); *International Migration Review* (Issue 4 in Volume 27, published in 2003); *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* (Issue 7 in Volume 33, published in 2007); *Mobilities* (Issue 4 in Volume 6, published in 2011), *Tourism Analysis* (Issue 18 in Volume 3, published in 2013); *Tourism Culture & Communication* (Issue 15 in Volume 3, published 2015). The reading of this special issue of *Fuori Luogo* represents a unique opportunity to better understand this growing social phenomenon and to update the previous debate. Notably, the phenomenon of roots tourism attracts attention not only from different Journals but also from a variety of disciplines. In addition to tourism and hospitality scholars, roots tourism has been a popular topic of research in different social sciences, such as sociology (Carrera, Perri & Romita, 2020), geography (Abramson, 2017), anthropology (Skipper & Davidson, 2018). Roots tourism has its origin in the “Back-to-Africa” movement involving African Americans in the early 1970s (de Santana Pinho, 2008). Alex Haley’s bestseller *Roots: The Saga of an American Family*, which was published in 1976 and subsequently broadcast as a television mini-series, appears to have provided the impetus for travel to Africa. The search for roots is not exclusively an African American ritual of course. Many people in the diaspora travel to their ancestral homeland in search of their roots and to reconnect with their kith and kin. Examples include Italian (South)Americans travelling to Italy, Armenian Jews travelling to Israel, or Chinese Americans travelling back to their homeland in China. Roots tourism is undertaken by members of migrant communities in the diaspora who seek to return to their country of origin or ancestral homeland. Roots tourism involves notions of movement, dispersion, and distancing. By implication, therefore, such travels are undertaken with the explicit intent of maintaining and/or strengthening far-flung relationships. Even in a world where communications and technologies permeate almost all settings of contemporary life, journeys to places where family, friends, and relatives have relocated can serve to reforge these important social connections.

The growth and popularity of genealogical research and, especially in Europe, of the application for citizenship by foreigners of European origin, has led to a corresponding increase in the number of people who travel to return to the identifiable “point of origin” of their family or distant relatives who were “discovered” during their searches. Whatever the motivations, undertaking a genealogically related journey is a means to recover or recapture a form of “deep kinship” that extends beyond living memory and possibly even across national, ethnic, religious and cultural boundaries. Obviously there are different variants of roots tourism which can focus in more general ways on a return to the original homeland by people who emigrated for the diaspora, or to places that have a specific role in the collective memory and history of a social group.

There are many reasons for “traveling back” to where one or one’s family is, from rediscovering one’s roots, searching for identity and belonging, visiting friends and relatives, exploring family history, reliving past memories, exploring the places from stories shared by family members or history books, or simply because of practical convenience or familial obligation. In studies on this subject, some scholars have also analyzed the relationship between the host and the visitor in term of co-experience and considering how many expatriates often learn more about the

destination in which they reside when they host these specific visitors (Dutt *et al.*, 2016). This growing type of tourism has also a massive economic impact. As Harper (2017) puts it « ancestral and emigrant tourism is a money-spinner» (p. 33). Above all in rural areas that can attract roots tourism, this development can help to contribute to the maintenance of a local service supply by generating a marginal income that enables local entrepreneurs to continue to run their businesses. According to Müller *et al.* (2004), planning should aim to maximize the positive impacts of roots tourism which may lead to rural depopulation and poverty instead of preservation in its current state.

As social research suggests, modern societies are today increasingly characterized by mobility and multiple place attachments (Pucci & Colleoni, 2019). Roots tourists increasingly tend to spend their time in multiple locations, and this is also manifested in increasing numbers of second homes, or nodes in the landscape of spaces and flows (Williams *et al.*, 2004). Despite the economic prospects, promoting roots tourism is a tall order for most governments because this form of tourism is not conventional but fraught with complexities, contradictions and challenges. Public policies and future social research should aim at managing and studying both the ambiguous effects and the opportunities related to roots tourism.

References

- Griffin, T. (2014). Regional travel behaviour of international VFR travellers. *Travel and Tourism. Research Association Canada Chapter Conference-Travel and Tourism Research on the Edge*.
- Perri, A. (2020). *Il turismo delle radici*, Roma: Aracne.
- Carrera, L., Perri, A., Romita, T. (2020). *Riflessioni intorno al viaggio turistico delle radici. Esperienze, strategie e scenari post COVID-19*, Bruxelles: Etqua.
- Abramson, Y. (2017). Making a homeland, constructing a diaspora: The case of Taglit-Birthright Israel. *Political Geography*, 58, 14 - 23. DOI: 10.1016/j.polgeo.2017.01.002
- Skipper, J., Davidson, S. R. (2018). The big house as home: Roots tourism and slavery in the USA. *International Journal of Tourism Anthropology*, 6(4), 390-410. DOI: 10.1504/IJTA.2018.096372
- de Santana Pinho, P. (2008). African-American roots tourism in Brazil. *Latin American Perspectives*, 35(3), 70-86. DOI: 10.1177/0094582X0831579
- Dutt, C., Ninov, I., Haas, D. (2016). "The effect of VFR tourism on expatriates' knowledge about the destination". In *Tourism and Culture in the Age of Innovation: Second International Conference IACuDiT, Athens 2015* (pp. 253-273). Springer International Publishing.
- Harper, M. (2017). "Homecoming Emigrants as Tourists: Reconnecting the Scottish Diaspora". In Maschall, S. (edited by) *Tourism and Memories of Home*, (pp. 32-52). Channel View Publications.
- Müller, D., Hall, C., Keen, D. (2004). "Second Home Tourism Impact, Planning and Management". In C. Hall., D. Müller (edited by), *Tourism, Mobility and Second Homes: Between Elite Landscape and Common Ground* (pp. 15-32). Bristol: Channel View Publications. DOI: 10.21832/9781873150825-004
- Pucci, P., Colleoni, M. (2016). *Understanding mobilities for designing contemporary cities*. New York: Springer.
- Williams, A., King, R., Warnes, T. (2004). "British Second Homes in Southern Europe: Shifting Nodes in the Scapes and Flows of Migration and Tourism". In C. Hall., D. Müller (edited by), *Tourism, Mobility and Second Homes: Between Elite Landscape and Common Ground* (pp. 97-112). Bristol: Channel View Publications. DOI: 10.21832/9781873150825-009

Roots Tourism and Emotional and Sustainable Enhancement of Places. An Introduction

The “Roots tourism” is a very relevant social phenomenon at national and international level and has ample potential for development.

In the Italian case, for example, according to some recent estimates (2020) highlighted by the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation, focused only on people of Italian origin living abroad, the potential tourist base would fluctuate around eighty million Italian-descendants. Furthermore, fifteen years ago there were already around six million roots travelers to our country with an economic impact estimated at several million euros (Italian National Tourist Board).

In the last decade there has been a renewed international interest in the study and analysis of the phenomenon, because it is connected to the international debate and reflection on the themes that characterize contemporary society, and for the important role it plays in the field of analysis of the recovery of local identity, of the enhancement of the history of places and of memory, of attachment to places and of living those places with renewed intensity and through experiential contacts.

However, the production of scientific activities, with in-depth studies and research, does not appear able to fully support the understanding of crucial issues such as, for example: the actual motivations that drive people to implement this type of travel; the perception of the roots tourist by the native host population; the type of relationship that is established as a result of the meeting between the tourist of the roots and the local community.

Furthermore, the phenomenon of roots tourism shows a limited presence of ad hoc products within the tourism industry, and the same happens in the context of public policies aimed at their reevaluation. With this goal in mind, it should be noted that for destinations that intend to compete in this tourist segment, at a national and international level, traditional actions, also those dedicated to the construction of what is usually called place branding, must necessarily be added. In other words, they must activate public governance mechanisms capable of bringing out the emotional and experiential qualities of places, which can be summarized in a system of values with an easily identifiable meaning. It does not seem meaningless to argue that this may, to a large extent, depend on the fact that the prevailing view is that this phenomenon is only a “form of travel” and not also a “form of tourism”.

Taking into account all that has been highlighted up to now, this publication aims to add knowledge that will help to fill, even if only partially, some of the deficiencies underlined, through mainly sociological contributions and insights that do not only concern the Italian case.

Romita’s work is part of the studies that address the theme of how host communities perceive the traveler of the roots. Romita addresses the question of the condition of belonging / non-belonging to the community of origin of the traveler of the roots. To the condition of extraneousness, which by definition belongs to all tourists, in the case of those of the roots, an identity is added which is the result of an uncertain and complex individuality, which sometimes manifests itself by exalting the prevalent belonging to the original culture and others times praising the one connected to the places where they habitually reside. For the roots tourist, the concept of “place” brings with it a constant redefinition of the concepts of attachment and belonging. Such situation has a significant repercussion on the perception that the host communities of origin have of this social figure, which as a result of the multiple identity that therefore characterizes the traveler of roots, cannot rationally understand the fact that the presence of these fellow

¹ Tullio Romita, University of Calabria, tullio.romita@unical.it
Antonella Perri, University of Calabria, antonellaperri@unical.it
Philippe Clairay, University of Rennes 2, clairay.philippe@orange.fr

countrymen has a predominantly touristic nature, and this generates cultural, economic and social problems for the host community itself.

In his contribution, Moreno Zago proposes a reflection on how ethnic and roots tourism can affect the protection and enhancement of ethnic-linguistic communities in border areas.

A thorny issue can jeopardize all this, namely "national identity. The issue is important because it highlights the nationalist pitfall and the risk of ethnicization of a tourism that cannot be reduced to a "self-reflective" community. But this risk can be overcome by working in synergy around an asset shared by two nations, such as vernacular language (for example the Istro-Veneto dialect, which is now on the list of the intangible heritages of humanity). The article focuses on what the Italian national communities of Slovenia and the Slovenian of Italy, through the various cross-border programmes, have achieved when promoting a roots tourism in terms of sustainability, recovery of traditions, renovation of the architectural heritage, involvement of ethnic-linguistic communities and the creation of multi-sensorial itineraries.

Antonella Perri, in her contribution, delves deeper into the theme concerning the sacred value of travel, especially in contemporary society. It is highlighted how the roots tourists evaluate and perceive the physical and cultural place of their origins, and the sacred value that they attribute to the journey towards these places, for the purpose of reconstructing their personal and family identity. In fact, the very purpose of the trip is not the holiday itself but the experience that one has and that has to do with oneself, with one's ego, with one's family history, with one's reason for existence.

Letizia Carrera and William Calvo-Quirós, in their work, propose a reflection on how religious rites can be a powerful lever for roots tourism where "churches and processions" are bearers of identity. The religious ritual is, therefore, a point in common between natives and emigrants, and this symbolic bond can, in itself, allow a return to the roots. Religion works, in many cases, as a glue that holds together the pieces of a life shattered and recomposed by the experience of migration. It acts as a suture to simultaneously imagine and "remember" the past, as well as to tie it to the community of origin. Roots tourism, unlike what is postulated by the "sightseeing" theory, makes the tourist experience palpable and sensitive, made up of scents, sounds, real experiences.

The contribution of José Oliveira, Zoran Roca, Maria de Nazaré Oliveira-Roca, highlights the link between tourism of the roots and the phenomenon of "second home tourism". As demonstrated by the analysis of the Portuguese case, the relationship between the two phenomena generates important consequences on the real estate market in the territorial areas involved. This relationship represents a relevant factor for the "temporary repopulation" of those areas (especially internal ones) that have experienced the emigration phenomenon more intensely. The intensity of repopulation is correlated with the geographical distance between the place of current residence and the place of origin. Among other things, these investments made by these "native foreigners" support and develop an economy linked to the revaluation of real estate which, however, generates a rise in house prices, creating difficulties for the native population to access property.

Stefania Mancuso's contribution aims to participate to the debate on the roots tourism and the ways through which it is possible to build a cultural offer for the development of this particular form of tourism. When it comes to tourism of the roots, the reference to the cultural heritage attachment, connected above all to the architectural one – churches, palaces, castles – is what is evoked and almost becomes the emotional and sentimental call for those who have left their own native village and, once returning, desire to re-immers themselves in the architectural context of which they kept the memory. From the point of view of enhancing the cultural heritage, this requires particular care and attention for the protection and conservation of the architecture and building characterizing the small centres. In the case of archaeological heritage, it is necessary to build adequate enhancement strategies, which take into account on the one hand the new methodology of "public archeology" and, on the other hand, create a "heritage communi-

ty" to which roots tourists could also belong to, becoming an active part of the local community which takes responsibility and actively participates in the promotion of archeology and its value. Philippe Clairay, in his work, underlines the relevance of the phenomenon of roots tourism and how, in some countries of the world, as in the case of France, is not addressed directly, despite the large potential pool of tourists. This contradiction is only apparent, as there is a form of tourism that somehow masks the true weight of roots tourism, which is in fact incorporated within cultural tourism. Be that as it may, in this country we may focus on the development of two types of roots tourism: an endogenous type, perhaps the most evident (linked to the rural exodus of the 19th century and the rediscovery, today, of the countryside for a return effect) and an exogenous type linked to France's longer history and its ties to Quebec and its former African colonies. Finally, Dimitri Fazito, in his contribution, highlights how roots tourism, linked to diasporic mobility, has become a fundamental mechanism of community integration in postmodernity. It has greatly contributed to the re-signification, and strengthening, of a sense of belonging that invigorates communities and their members. Roots tourism, as in the proposed case of the Italians in Brazil, is important not only for its direct economic effects both in Italy and in Brazil, but above all for the necessary contribution to the persistence of Italianness, to the conservation of affections that interconnect generations and distant places, to the possibility of an existential experience in the constitution of the Self and its positioning in the globalized world. Furthermore, this integrative and experiential mechanism is strongly associated with a moral economic logic of productive interdependence, which inspires people to enter a network of close relationships, consolidating social participation and involvement in activities that strengthen existential life.

Rebuilding Hometowns: Religious Worship as an Identity and Tourist Strategies of Place-Making²

1. Introduction: on Religious Migration and Religious Tourism

This paper is about the processes migrants use to create a “home” in exile. It is also about the imaginaries of an “ancestral” home for those that live far away. This paper focuses on how religion works, for many, as a glue agent that holds together the pieces of a life shattered by the experience of migration and displacement. Here religion serves as a suturing thread that simultaneously imagines and “remembers” the past and re-attaches the members (limbs) of a collective body that has experienced social violence. Finally, this paper is about the drama of carving, through the religious experience, a space within a nation that does not always recognize your humanity because of your migrant or undocumented status.

Religion has become increasingly essential to understand the phenomenon of global migration, (re)settlement, and state-building processes, including the limitations in western nations’ sovereignty as they try to “manage” religious plurality within their territories. Moreover, spiritual migration has evidenced the fallacies of many western states that, despite their constitutions and secular external character, struggle to fully embrace the religious diversity in their inhabitants. For example, let us remember the resistance in Europe to fully embrace Muslims during the refugee crisis of 2015, as many city mayors emphasized Europe’s “Christian” nature. Let us also remember the “Muslim Ban”³ signed by US President Donald Trump in 2017 and the most recent efforts to regulate women’s use of hijabs in France (Lang, 2021), confusing religious and cultural values. All these current examples emphasize the failure (and incapability) of the Enlightenment’s promise of separating State and religion.

Moreover, the migration of faith (and religious practices) manifests the limitations (and ruptures) on the boundaries between State, culture, and religion, as they affect our imaginaries (and understandings) around governance, gender, education, aesthetics, performance, and our expectations of citizenship and civility. For example, in the U.S., the narratives (and myths) around Separatist Puritans, or pilgrims escaping religious persecution in Europe, during the 1600s, have become a central theme within academic and popular narratives about the nation’s origins.⁴ The notion of freedom of religion has been embedded into constructing a national ethos of exceptionalism. At the same time, that expectation of a melting pot favored an implicit assimilation model toward mainstream religious institutions and groups (Omi & Howard, 1986).

As our research shows, the religious performance of “home” is an essential element along the migration experience and journey, one that continues beyond the arrival and extends into the settlement process and can involve several generations. Building a piece of an *old* home within a *new* homeland using religion allows many migrants to endure the process of (un)rooting and remaking new roots by the creation of “Religious Intrastates,” or the reconstruction of a nation-home within another nation that it is held together by religious practices (Calvo-Quirós 2022, 20). Migrants do not only carry with them hopes and expectations about their future. They also bring religious beliefs, spiritual practices, and faith devotions. In this case, the biological metaphor of rooting in plants implies the transferring and the permanency of some “DNA”

1 Letizia Carrera, University of Bari Aldo Moro (Italy), letizia.carrera@uniba.it. ORCID: 0000-0002-7160-347X
William Calvo-Quirós, University of Michigan (USA), wcalvo@umich.edu. ORCID: 0000-0002-8555-4779

2 Received: 11/06/2022. Revised: 30/12/2022. Accepted: 30/12/2022. Letizia Carrera contributed to the sections 2, 3, 5 Conclusions; William Calvo-Quirós contributed to the sections 1 Introduction, 4. All authors contributed to the article and approved the submitted version.

3 ACLU, (2020) “Timeline of the Muslim Ban.” <https://www.aclu-wa.org/pages/timeline-muslim-ban>

4 J. Meacham, *American Gospel*.

among living organisms. In this sense, it also relates to how migrants, for the most part, reconstruct a “new” self without fully eliminating their origins in their “new” place of settlement. In our experience, of all the many repertoires of cultural tools available to migrants, religion provides them with a transferable familial narrative that is reliable and consistent within the dramatic shifts created by migration, as it can allow for a reading of the experience of suffering and pain created by the experience. Religion can also work as a shield to individuals (and communities) to slow down the unavoidable transformations created by the new nation. In this sense, remaining whole (as an Italian, Mexican, Irish, etc.) can become, in many cases, synonymous with remaining, for example, Catholic after migrating to a predominantly protestant nation such as the U.S.⁵ In the last century, the experience of migration has deeply transformed the religious landscape in the U.S. Institutional faith affiliation in this nation has been declining and, at the same time, it has become more diverse as many demographic shifts, due to migration, are taking place. As the Public Religion Research Institute (PRRI), a nonprofit organization that studies the intersections of culture, religion, and public policy, explains. “Over the last few decades, the proportion of the U.S. population that is white Christian has declined by nearly one-third” (PRRI, 2021). America is changing around religious tectonic plates. This massive spiritual migration is moving in all directions, affecting all main religious groups. It is transforming both the nations receiving migrants and those from where they are departing. For example, the U.S. Catholic church’s growth in the last decades has been almost exclusively the product of the migration of Latino Americans into the country.⁶ In this sense, we are experiencing a dual transformation of the religious landscape. Migrants are transforming the places where they are settling, both because of their numbers and the way they confront many of our assumptions about normalized religious beliefs, practices, and state privileges. Simultaneously, anti-immigrant rhetoric has populated religious spaces and has been used to promote violence against vulnerable migrants. Religion is intimately interconnected with how the West has and continues to approach migration. However, migrants are also transforming their hometowns and places of origin, both when they physically return to their hometowns through religious tourism but also when they send money (and goods) via remittances or when they send other people to religious sites to fulfill promises and ex-votos they cannot keep because they are unable to leave a nation, for example, because of their lack of travel documents, or their immigrant status.⁷ This also happens when they sponsor religious festivities and events from their new homes. They are reshaping their hometown beliefs and practices because of their own migrating experience, for example, around gender relationships, the inclusion of sexual minorities, or even because of class power dynamics. This complex process of religious transformation connects both sides of the migration experience. In other words, religious tourism happens between and within nations, linking people with their place of origin and their new spaces of arrival or settlement. Therefore, its analysis should include its impact, beyond merely religious terrains but also on the economy, local politics, gender, class, and racial relations within all communities touched by the migration of a community. For us, a comprehensive study of religious tourism by exiled communities can only be approached by considering the historical, political, and social conditions that generated their migration in the first place. Including the conditions of forced assimilation, xenophobia, and/or religious segregation imposed on them, and the impact of how religious expressions continue to be defined as foreign and non-normative by the mainstream groups or the resistance to perceive migrant religious practices as part of the nation’s new makeup. In this sense, ethnoreligious enclaves work as a site where nationhood and cultural affiliation are re-inscribed and reinforced consistently within migrant communities.

5 For those persecuted, excluded, or ostracized within a particular religious group, the process of migrating can allow for the reconstruction of a new self also religiously.

6 Cray 2020; Funk and Martínez 2014.

7 Calvo-Quirós, *Undocumented Saints*, 35.

1.1 On our Theoretical Framework

For us, political borders are not fixed lines or spaces limited to the Mediterranean Sea, the Atlantic Ocean, or the Rio Grande in Texas. Borders move and are carried on by migrants on their bodies, backpacks, and religious practices. Because borders are epistemic, aesthetic, and spiritual, they can be located also in the parking lots outside the retail stores where migrants gather looking for work or in the classrooms where different groups of children study. Borders are also located inside churches and open religious festivals organized by communities in exile that question state-sanctioned norms and practices. Borders are everywhere. They are also created by the definitions and categories around national vs foreigners, and/or expatriates. Overall, we view migrant religious devotions (and practices) within the processes of social storytelling and the making of nation states, moreover, using James Scott's terms, they are part of a larger network of mobile "hidden transcripts." (1990, 27). Here, the spiritual becomes a site to manifest the "infrapolitics" (Scott, 1990, 19) that permeates the "everyday [existence in] resistance" (Scott, 1990, 195) of migrant communities. We understand many of these migrant religious expressions within the Américo Paredes's framework of "sabidurías populares" or vernacular knowledges (Saldivar, 2006, 59), Michel Foucault's (1997, 7) notion of "subjugated knowledges", and Walter Dignolo's (2000, 13) concept of "subaltern modernities". They are more than spiritual entities. They are also socio-political figures that require a unique set of cultural (and research) codes (Madrid, 2008) to unveil their meanings and functions as they connect present oppression with the past, and the possibilities for the future.

1.2 On Shifting Methods and the Site

Our research in this paper is located within the city of Chicago, Illinois, in the U.S. We studied two migrant communities from Italy and Mexico. Both manifest the unique characteristics of the migration experience of Catholics to the U.S., the struggles to construct a place for themselves in a foreign land, and the anti-Catholic sentiments around them within two different moments in the U.S. history. In this sense, they are similar but also very different because of the nuances created by the discourses around race that today frame both groups. As we know, the evolution (and characteristics) surrounding both groups' relationship to the U.S. within the Catholic Church has been marked by shifting categories that at one moment perceived Mexicans as white, as manifested in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (1848) and Italian as non-white during the years of The Great Arrival (1880-1924). Today these perceptions have shifted dramatically, but just as before, the categories around race and ethnicity remain central to the political discourses defining the religious terrains in the U.S. Let's also remember how the integration of Italian migrants into the U.S. was used to justify assimilation models of a "melting pot" while Mexicans were framed as a "problem" because of their resistance and limited assimilation. As Omi & Winant (1986) have explained, race and systemic racism are central to understanding their different outcomes.

As the influential Italian American researcher of religion and migration, Robert A. Orsi (1985) explains, our research, just like his, is about the "study of religion in the streets" (xiii) and the many processes involved in the mobilization of religious practices amount, migrants, within the U.S. As his work unveils, "nothing [is] irrelevant" (xix) in studying religious practices, celebrations, and expressions of popular devotion. For Orsi, there is no distinction "between the 'religious' aspect of the festa –the praying and penitential devotions, the religious sacrifice – and what outside observers felt were inappropriate, 'profane' characteristics of the celebration –the food, noise, dancing, partying" (xviii.). Everything is unified by the religious experience, in ways that "at the center of both the devotion and the annual celebration were many hopes

and fears, conflicts, expectations and disappointments and ambivalences in the lives of people of the community" (xxi). Consequently, we see religious sites, as the two we have studied, as historical archives of migrant communities' struggles, expectations, and hope for a better life. The churches, festivals, and shrines we encountered during our research are 'loud' cultural artifacts (and religious products) that map-out migrants' shifting journeys and lives as exiles. Because "nothing [is] irrelevant" (xix), we used multiple methods to approach the communities from different angles. We conducted open-ended interviews, systematic ethnographic visits, and participatory observations over several years, in addition to the more traditional historical archival work. All with the aim to access (and unveil), as much as possible, those "hidden transcripts" (Scott 1990, 27) or *nascosti* pieces of social knowledge embedded in these sites. In this sense, we approached each site as an independent entity, and the methods changed to adapt to the need of each community and the possibilities to engage directly with them. Therefore, in the same way that migrants are always forced to shift and change, we adapted and changed with each site.

2. Roots Tourism and Identity Belonging

As Bauman explains, the concept of identity is particularly attractive because of its promise of certainty and stability against the present model of a *fluid modernity* (Bauman, 2000; Remotti, 2010). However, this promise cannot be fulfilled because, as Pietro Rossi (2007) observes, the identity of a subject, (like a community) is in a constant process of change. This apparent stable self-representation (of our identity) is particularly called into question when we encounter different cultures and social models. This is particularly evident when a group is forced to migrate and it is confronted with racism, xenophobia, or forced exploitation. In search of an indispensable sense of belonging and rooting, the gaze can be turned to the past, to the territory in which people were born. Here the past can be perceived (or imagined) as safe because of the promise of continuity concerning the imposed "dislocated identity" created by the effects of migration (Ambrosini, 2019).

We argue that the tourism of roots plays a central role in the complex dynamic of identity experienced by displaced communities. On the one hand, it is characterized by the desire to (re) find places connected to their past, the history of their family, or their community. They can be individual, collective, or even national.⁸ In this process, identity is created by the intersection of spatial, material, and memory roots beyond the real. In other words, (re)finding roots can be based on actual or imaginary events.

On the other hand, migrating subjects pursued their root-identity through their proximity to the places of their history and/or the physical experience of those spaces (Josiam & Frazier, 2008). As we had explained, this quest for root-identity sometimes takes shape by the recreation of a fragment of one's "mother" nation in the place of arrival and settlement,⁹ or through the re-proposal of religious and civil rituals that recalls or replicates those rituals taking place on their place of origin. Sometimes this need for root-identity happens by the "decision" of maintaining preferential relations with other migrants from your nation or region. In this case root-searching and affirmation becomes collective and relational. This signifies the relevance of ethnic migrant enclaves in the preservation of collective history and the construction of imag-

8 Ireland and Scotland have started real roots festivals with the programs "The Gathering Ireland" opened in 2013 and "Homecoming Scotland" opened in 2014. Referring to Italy, in the XX Annual Report on Italian Tourism of 2016 a particular emphasis is given to the tourism of the roots (De Marchi and Mingotto, 2016) and the Italian Foreign Ministry has recognized the value of this type of tourism by launching a program to encourage "roots travels" - the travels of the roots - with a guide and a site.

9 This theme will be discussed in the next section 3 focused on the community of Ceglieasi presents in Chicago that celebrates the Patron of the city of origin, Our Lady Maria SS. of Buterrito, on the same date and in the same way as the origin town in Puglia (Italy).

inary roots (Ambrosini, 2019; 2020a; 2020b). In these cases, root affirmations happen by the implementation of a combined simulacra of aesthetic and urban elements toward the reproduction or alteration of physical spaces.¹⁰

People's engagement with their roots can take the form of traveling to the places of one's history or their family. Very often these modalities are combined with economic forces that promote capitalistic forms of tourism. Here is important to distinguish the many forms of traveling, including tourism of roots from other forms that resemble them, such as genealogical tourism and the tourism of origins¹¹ (Perri, 2020).

Roots tourism refers to a tourism model that Cohen describes as "existential"¹² because it is at the core of people's identity. It involves both first-generation migrants who "return" in different ways to their country and places of origin (Gallino Giani, 2007), as well as their second and third generation, who decide to embark on a journey to rediscover their family (real or imaginary) place of origin. This tourist sees their roots as an opportunity for an identity process, a recovery of a part of their or their family history, and a possibility to rebuild or strengthen their cultural and historical bonds. As Ward & Styles (2003) explain, these connections can also be emotive and symbolic, as their places of origin no longer exist, have dramatically changed, or have been re-created within the marketplace of capitalism.

As we know, tourism is a central sector in the economy of a growing number of countries that invest in marketing strategies of their territories (Aime & Papotti, 2012; Avallone, 2019; Calzati & De Salvo, 2012; Carrera & Barbuti, 2020; Salazar, 2009, 2011; Savelli, 2004, 2012). Roots tourism always begins as a kind of private *imagination* formed first within a person, their families, and the stories they tell about their past. In their collective imagination, these roots are interstitial, niche ones, often defined as "minor," from the main traits of the classic mass tourism destinations. In this sense, as Romita & Perri (2006; 2011) explain, root places are transformed and presented as "spontaneous tourist contexts" since they ignore the logic and criteria of classical tourist attractions. In other words, root tourism is not always part of mainstream tourism in place today, even though, in many cases, both mass tourism and root tourism may intersect in particular places.

Therefore, it is important to point out that the paths of roots tourism always have a strong emotional character, looking both for "intentional monuments" linked to the narration of a personal (or national) history. Root tourism is linked to a territory and has "intentional" emotional value attached to it (Basu, 2005). Root journeys are envisioned as rediscovery journeys to a *place of the mind* more than just a physical place. They are meant to reclaim people's sense of history and the 'roots' of their own identity (Giani Gallino, 2007; Carrera, 2022b). In many ways, we can argue that root tourism is part of a long journey that begins because of people's migration.

Moreover, root tourists move beyond a search for specific historical-artistic elements but rather for the stories of the places and people who live there, of the atmosphere in which they can *dive in*. In this sense, their walking among their root sites weaves a narrative that enriches those engaged in the journey. Memory and direct experience merge until both can be almost indistinctive from each other, giving shape to the dynamic character of their journeys. Here, the places visited are always «much more than simple settings with certain physical characteristics: rather, they should be understood in terms of fluid, changing, dynamic contexts of social interaction and memory» (Arace, 2007, p. 101). As Gozzoli & Regalia (2005) explain, the self-representing

10 Here we have to recognize that many internal and external factors promote the creation of these enclaves, with both positive and negative consequences for migrants.

11 The tourism of the origins indicates the movement towards the origins of the descendants of the emigrants but does not include that of the immigrants themselves and their children (Perri, 2020). Genealogical tourism is defined as «all the activities and organizations relating to journeys and stays undertaken to search for the origin, descent, traces of families and to investigate the possible links of kinship and affinity between the tourist and other persons, things and territories» (Caputo, 2016).

12 This kind of tourism «takes on a place and a meaning in the life of a modern person that varies according to his image of the world, according to its greater or lesser adherence to a cultural or symbolic "center" and according to the location (inside or outside) of this center with respect to the society in which the person himself lives» (Cohen, 1979: 181).

identity of displaced people is always complex, as it denotes a sort of *suspended identity*, as the individuals may feel that they inhabit an in-between space, or that they belong to multiples places all at once, their homeland and where they live now (Basu, 2004; Josiam & Frazier, 2008). In this sense, root tourist manifests the concept of «multiple trans-local attachments» developed by Clifford in 1997. After their settlement, they may move in search of an authenticity-home not only of their current living places but also through the knowledge of the places of their family's history. Unlike mainstream tourists who may move in search of what it is new, migrants may travel to the heart of their own culture and traditions to re-find their past (Meethan, 2000; Coleman & Eade, 2004).

We argue that among the factors that have favored the spread of root tourism in recent decades are (a) the massive displacement taking place globally, (b) the role of social media and their virtual communities on the web that have encouraged the search of people's origins¹³, in addition to the (c) emergence of DNA testing services that promise to trace and map of people's biological genealogies. This is in conjunction with (d) the private and public state-sanctioned processes meant to strengthen capitalist multiculturalism and ethnic consumption. All these rituals reproduced in the territories (and communities of arrival) a sense of forced dual integration toward imaginary "distant citizens" within the daily life of the cities of arrival and origin (Huang *et al.*, 2016). This type of event, especially those with religious connotations, often promotes periodic returns of those in exile living abroad (Ferrari & Faenza, 2015).

3. The Polygamy of Place: the Role of Religion in the Process of Establishing Identity

Although institutionalized religion has experienced significant changes in the last decades (Palmisano & Pannofino, 2021; Scotti, 2018), it maintained an important element within our social scenarios as it continues to represent a strong factor in the self-representation of the subjects by themselves or the states. Even though some argued that its weight had been diminished as a criterion for explaining the world (Berger, 2000), this does not necessarily have led to the loss of its ability to act as a referential meaning to understand and explain the events of people daily life, their self-definition and sense of belonging. Even within *spiritual laicity religious* forms, characterized by what Grace Davie (1994) calls the "believing without belonging", religion retains an important factor for many in defining one's feeling of identity, even only by reference. Moreover, as Ulrich Beck notes, we may be experiencing the progressive revival of religiosity, as he argues, towards a post-secular process of privatization of beliefs. A new kind of subjective religiosity, as defined by Bressan (2016), is spreading not only among younger groups but also because of the new mobility patterns in place by them. This shift is happening outside traditional institutional canons, and it is deeply problematizing the type of religious education (and norms for defining affiliation) these entities have been using. It is common for people to say *I am spiritual but not religious* (Palmisano & Pannofino, 2021),¹⁴ differentiating both experiences.

As mentioned, religion as a category continues to have a fundamental role in creating (and promoting) social integration and collective identity for many. As Emilé Durkheim (1912) describes, the interconnection between the sacred and the profane happens through collective ritual forms above the material ones. Here, the cohesion of a group is ratified through the mix of religious beliefs and rituals, as well as individual emotions (Sciolla, 2012), in such a way that people can connect and strengthen their social bonds by confirming their religious affiliation (and identity) as a group within a nation or a territory. It is in this complex scenario, that we intended to investi-

13 The number of agencies and sites specializing in tracing family members to their territories of origin, within the framework of the so-called "genealogical tourism", is increasing.

14 Formula that identifies those who engage in a search for meaning, following paths that are usually placed outside of organized churches and historical confessions, then outside of formal religions, with which there is no clear opposition.

gate, using a qualitative methodology, how (and in which way) religious worship could strengthen the feeling of belonging to one's own community of origin. The subject of this specific part of the paper is the community of Italians from Ceglie del Campo, one of the oldest districts of the city of Bari (Italy), who emigrated to the city of Chicago in Illinois (USA) at the beginning of past century. Semi-structured interviews were used,¹⁵ both to first and second generation of emigrants, and in particular to the leaders of two associations "Kailia"¹⁶ and "CI-AMA."¹⁷ These interviews took place from March to September 2022, focused on two specific themes: a) the feeling of belonging to the place of origin; and b) the role of religious rituals in strengthening the link with their self-defined "mother land".

During our research interviews, these four themes emerged as salient and deeply interconnected, manifesting, what Laura Zanfrini describes (2007; 2014), as the «polygamy of place». First, it shows how religious rituals play a key role in creating or strengthening the feeling of belonging. In the statements by the subjects interviewed, family memories, stories, material objects, and photographic materials collectively define a sense of identity continuity that links them to their homeland and, in the case of second-generation immigrants, to their own families' past. Many respondents said that they rarely return to their hometown of Ceglie, Italy, because of their work, the school commitments of their children, or the high cost of travel. Nevertheless, they strongly express the desire to return one day or more often to a place they feel is a fundamental part of their roots and their identity. The interviewees also affirm how the religious cult of Our Lady Maria SS of Buterrito and the rituals and celebration around her veneration represent an occasion to experiment with the "feeling of been" in Ceglie, while they are actually in Chicago. In other words, religious celebration allows their city of origin (Ceglie) to be re-lived within Chicago, at least for a few days, within their daily exiled/migrant experience.

As the interviews clearly showed, religious practices by Ceglie migrants in Chicago work on consolidating the feelings of belonging to their distant homeland despite their migration limitations. In other words, despite the distance, Ceglie feels close to them because of the ritual perform in their community. Here, reproducing as a simulacrum, many religious celebrations and rituals performed originally in Ceglie del Campo (Italy), as some kind of "twin rituals", become central components in reproducing Ceglie in Chicago today. For example, during the religious festival, which falls in the third week of October, the district of Ceglie (in Bari) transforms its appearance, starting with the redecoration of the public spaces to reflect their local territoriality and connection with means of production, their popular culture and the traditions that have been handed down over time.

One of the most important events is the procession of the Triumphal Chariot and the Medieval Palio, dedicated to the town's patron, at the center of the celebration. This moment is preceded by the Investiture of the Captains, during which the captains of the six districts in the region, each characterized by specific colors, swear loyalty to the Virgin Mary before battling each other through a series of tests and the various games of Palio, or horse racing and cavalry. Certainly, not all of these rites are replicated in Chicago, but plans are in place to facilitate their implementation of most of them over time. In 2004, the original icon depicting the Madonna of Ceglie was brought to Chicago as a sign of 'twinning', allowing Ceglians (from overseas) to venerate the original icon. This event manifests the role that religious rituals and sacred objects can have in confirming the feeling of identity rooting of immigrants' communities by reconstructing pieces of the motherland in the new place of settlement.

15 Some of the interviews were conducted by Dr Marco De Palma.

16 Dr Giuseppe Laricchia was an important and valuable source of information and analysis of the investigated processes.

17 On the Association site: «La CI-AMA è un'organizzazione no-profit dedicata alla conservazione e alla promozione del patrimonio e della cultura degli americani di discendenza italiana del Comune di Ceglie del campo (Bari), in Puglia. (...) L'Associazione opera esclusivamente per eventi caritativi e culturali. È stata fondata oltre 30 anni fa da un gruppo di italoamericani di Ceglie del Campo, ora parte della Città di Bari in Puglia. CI-AMA tiene una Cena Danzante della terza domenica di ottobre per la celebrazione della patrona Santa Madonna di Buterrito. (...)».

The Ceglia migrants' devotions taking place in Chicago have very specific features. A large hall has been built, and within it, every year, the image of the Our Lady of Buterrito, Virgin patron of Ceglia is celebrated as an event that links both sides of the migration journey from Italy to the U.S. However, while the rite in Italy takes place along the neighborhood's streets and the private homes, in Chicago, the doors of the adjacent rooms to the large hall are opened to create a single common space that becomes the center stage where the whole community gathers around. Tables are set together for people to eat traditional food and listen to music from their homeland. The celebration becomes a tool to strengthen their bonds of belonging. Our Lady of Buterrito holds them together beyond the limitation of distance and time.

Ceglians living in Boston and Miami often travel to Chicago during these celebrations on the third Sunday of October. Families travel long distances to participate in these communal lunches. Eating together and speaking the language of origin - identified in the Ceglian dialect more than in the Italian language - represent a possibility to emphasize a collective identity and the value of being Ceglian. These religious events also work as a way to reaffirm people's belonging, create networks of support and mutual aid, and socialize among the youngest. In these moments, the other generation learns the performance of their history and the duality of their migrant experience beyond citizenship, as many of them were born in the U.S. The sculpture of Our Lady of Buterrito is another simulacrum of Ceglie that links both places and stories. Religious celebration by exile communities do more that connect with the spiritual, they also create the conditions for a community to recognize itself within a common history beyond the limitations of distance and time.

4. The Politics of Building a Home: St. Toribio in Pilsen and La Villita. "Tu Voto es Poder. Hazlo por mi!" / Your Vote is Power. Do it for me!

In the weeks leading to the U.S. elections of 2020, emotions and anxieties were high among the members of the parish of *Saint Agnes of Bohemia* in Chicago. Their old chapel, across from the main church, would be closed on Election Day, as is one of the designated voting sites of this predominant Latina/o community, located in the neighborhood of the La Villita in Chicago. With the prospect that Donald Trump will be reelected as president, the old chapel has been used as a non-stop prayer site, where a constant recitation of rosaries is held for the forthcoming elections. For a few months, the Society of Saint Toribio Romo (SSTR) had been busy following the divine inspiration of their spiritual patron. They are dedicated to helping Latina/o immigrants. However, they are not involved in assisting them as they cross the U.S. – Mexico border by providing shelter, medication services, education, legal assistance, or by trying to convert them to Christianity, as the spirit of Saint Toribio has been doing along the border. On the contrary, their mission is different. They are looking for U.S. citizens. They want their Latina/o and ally neighbors to register and vote. Under the slogan, "Tu voto es poder. Hazlo por mi" / *Your vote is power. Do it for me.* The Society of Saint Toribio Romo members consistently gathers at the Church of Saint Agnes to be blessed by their local pastor before they embark on their militant evangelic mission... along the streets of Chicago. They have registered thousands of new voters for the incoming elections. But who was Father Toribio Romo? He was a Mexican Catholic priest killed by government troops in 1928 during the anticlerical conflict known as the Cristero War.¹⁸ Since the 1990s, US and Mexican newspapers have covered undocumented immigrants who have reported seeing the spirit of a priest assisting those in distress (by providing water, food, money, or transportation) as they moved to the US.¹⁹ Known as El Santo Pollero, the Holy Coyote, or the smuggler saint,

¹⁸ This conflict was a reaction to the secular and anti-clerical policies implemented by the Mexican state against the Catholic Church.

¹⁹ In 1990 several American newspapers, including the *Chicago Tribune* and the *Dallas Morning News*, reported on multiple cases of undocumented immigrants that survived the Arizona Sonora Desert after receiving help from by Saint

Toribio Romo was beatified by Pope John Paul II in 1992 and canonized in 2000. His devotion has exploded in the last decades as the issue of migration from Mexico and Latino America has reached huge numbers.

The Catholic church of Saint Agnes of Bohemia is located on the West Side of Chicago, known by its inhabitants as the "Mexico of the Midwest." Eastern European and Irish immigrants settled in this city area in the late 19th century. By the mid-20th century, Little Village experienced the arrival of Polish immigrants, and by the 1970s, the neighborhood shifted its population to a predominantly Mexican settlement. The first church's building was erected in 1904 and dedicated to Saint Agnes of Bohemia or "Prague" by its parishioners, who were mainly Czech immigrants at that time. As the population increased, the need for a new church became imperative. In 1926, the current edification was erected across from the old building. According to the parish records, over 10,000 members attend weekend Sunday services. Today the population of La Villita is over 80% Latina/o, mostly Mexican immigrants and/or Mexican Americans. To accommodate many attendees, the church has nine services on Sunday alone, seven of which are in Spanish.

The Society of Saint Toribio Romo (SSTR) is a religious-based organization that expanded several parishes, mostly in the La Villita and Pilsen barrios. On that particular Sunday, the service that I attended at *Saint Agnes* ended with three announcements; (a) an exhortation to vote, (b) the announcement that the city will be collecting guns to reduce their circulation on the streets, and (c) a healing mass to remember those that have died because of police brutality and gang-related violence in the last months. To the left of the main altar, there is a provisional Día de Los Muertos altar with photographs of loved ones and the list of community members that have been killed recently by the police and gangs.

The celebration of El Día de Los Muertos, or The Day of the Dead, is an example of a religious veneration that has migrated to the U.S. from Mexico (Castro 2001, 79). This Christian-based holiday is celebrated around All Souls Day. It originated in Mexico, and its celebration has, for the most part, become part of the U.S. mainstream marketplace of celebrations. Mexican immigrants, their descendents, and friends celebrate this holiday by honoring and remembering their deceased with home and public altars. The announcements of that day at church show us the precarious and unique situation of this immigrant community. In this sense, *Saint Agnes* is not that different from many other migrant-centered parishes in the U.S. They are connected by the intersections of state violence, discrimination, and oppressive policies that regulate their immigrant experience and premature deaths.

These altars to El Día de los Muertos do more than just remember loved ones. They recreate a piece of Mexico in the U.S., all around the religious. In this regard, Deborah E. Kanter, in her book *Chicago Católico: Making Catholic Parishes Mexican*, asks a crucial question: "How had Mexico re-created itself so faithfully every weekend at St. Francis?" (Kanter 2020, 2). To answer this question, Kanter examined Catholic parishes, as St. Francis, where the majority of its members are Mexicana and Mexican descendents in Chicago. She argues that these parishes "served as refugio (refuge) ... had an Americanizing influence ... [and provided] a sense of mexicanidad ... The parish acted as a glue that connected immigrants parents and their US-reared children." (Kanter 2020, 4). In other words, these parishes are more than religious sites. They are also constructing social identities around what it means to be a Mexican (or Mexican American) in the U.S.

As explained by Conchita Rodríguez, the president of The Society of Saint Toribio, this lay base organization was created with the scope to "accompany [...] the most vulnerable, the immigrant."²⁰ They are inspired by their Catholic ethos in which society is interconnected as "one

Toribio Romo (similar reports were also made in the *Arizona Republic* in 2008). Mexican newspapers also reported similar accounts. Ginger Thompson, "Santa Ana de Guadalupe Journal: A Saint Who Guides Migrants to a Promised Land," *New York Times*, August 14, 2002, sec. The World; "Migrantes Reportan supuestas apariciones de San Toribio en Sonora," *Excelsior*, May 12, 2012, <http://www.excelsior.com.mx/2012/05/12/nacional/833534> (last access 20/12/2022).
20 Concepción Rodríguez, president of SSTR, interview with the author, Chicago, IL, November 7, 2016. This and all subsequent translations of Rodríguez's interview are from the author.

single body”²¹ unified mystically in the Eucharistic with Christ. For them, immigrants are the most helpless within the body of society, and therefore the Society of Saint Toribio feels responsible for their wellbeing. As one body, what happens with one of its members affects everyone in the social body collectively. In this case, faith connects those living in the U.S. and those in Mexico, as well as those in transit who are not yet part of the nation. Religions hold all together as one single community in-and-out of exile.

The Society regularly visits people in detention during their deportation procedures, especially as Chicago is one of the flighting-deportation hubs in the U.S., from where people are set back to their country via airplane. There, they organize religious and praying services, provide essential goods for those getting deported, and give support and assistance to their families. Their commitment to immigrants’ welfare is consistent, which is what they describe as Toribio Romo’s vocation to those affected by immigration, in this case, those forced into a retorno/return.

In addition, the group also organizes community town halls, fundraising events, fasting and sponsors social actions in favor of “Comprehensive Immigration Reform.”²² They are expressions of a mix of Catholic devotional practices with civil and cultural elements that reproduce a Mexico-in-movement within the U.S. (Calvo-Quirós 2022, 20). They cook traditional food, play mariachi, and ranchera music, and organize dancing events. People wear their own regional clothes and meet other from their hometowns, gather news, and exchange information about job offerings and services in the city. For many, the drama of migration is blended with the joys of experiencing a community gathered together as Mexicans.

In this sense, The Society of Toribio Romo continues the influence of Toribio within the immigration cycle, in this case, as the people are experiencing the retorno. The worship of Saint Toribio, as a Saint of Retorno, deeply connects those deported with those left behind and those in the homeland. Many migrants return and visit the original Toribio Romo’s hometown of Santa Ana in Jalisco, Mexico. The devotion to Romo has transformed the small town of Santa Ana, with around three hundred permanent residents, into a religious tourist site and a spiritual service provider with multiple amenities centered around those searching for migration favors, where between fifteen thousand and eighty thousand pilgrims visit every week.²³ During the month-long celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of Toribio’s beatification more than three hundred thousand pilgrims visited Santa Ana.²⁴

The humanitarian intervention of the Society of Toribio Romo in Chicago must be understood as part of a broader immigration spiritual journey experienced by Toribio Romo’s believers. On the one hand, it interconnects the immigrants’ early requests for protection from Toribio during their immigration to El Norte. It is now linking them again to the Saint as they receive support on their forced relocation back into Mexico. Saint Toribio becomes a companion of the drama of immigrants between Mexico and the United, regardless of the direction. The deportee’s desire to be back with their families and friends in the U.S., the cruel reality of violence and poverty perpetuated by international and national policies in Mexico and the need for a cheap labor force in the U.S. created a never-ending revolving cycle, where Saint Toribio Romo remains deeply connected to the spiritual assistance of those moving back and forth.

21 Rodríguez, interview with the author, November 7, 2016. Translation by author.

22 Society of Saint Toribio Romo (SSTR), *bylaws*, Chicago, IL.

23 “Santo que no es conocido”. Data are from Rogelio Martínez-Cárdenas’s keynote presentation, “El turismo religioso, de la fé al product turístico,” at the *XXXIII Congreso de Religión, Sociedad y Política: Dinámicas geográficas del patrimonio, el turismo y lo religioso*, Ciudad Guzman, Mexico, November 9, 2018, which I attended. See also Martínez-Cárdenas, R. 2013

24 “Esperan más de 300 mil” 2019.

Conclusions

As discussed here, root tourism can be essential to many migrants' sense of identity and self-worth. For many, constructing a piece of their homeland in their new living places is possible through the intervention of religious practices in what has been defined as "Religious Intra-states" (Calvo-Quirós, 2022, 20). In the two study cases analyzed here, it is evident the fundamental role played by religious rituals and spiritual practices in helping migrants to strengthen their feelings of belonging both to their place of origin and to their new places, despite the long distance of departure. Religious practices became useful for constructing a piece of their homeland in the new nation. Moreover, the tourism of people's roots also happens at the immaterial, imaginary, spiritual, and emotive levels, as it allows migrants (and their decedents) to "visit" their place of origin without leaving their new home, in this case, Chicago. Root tourism confirms their belonging to a family and a national history in both places.

As we have shown, here we are talking about a complex process where physical spaces are transformed and embedded (aesthetically and emotionally) to create the conditions for new forms of belonging as a migrant or a family of a migrant. These forms of root tourism are transferred into material objects like religious icons, saint images, the design of an altar, and the food and music used during festivals and religious services. But they are also embedded into immaterial ones like the rituals, or the expectations of citizenship, gender, and class used in place there. This process of identity consolidation, illustrated by Emile Durkheim and Erving Goffman, is an important part of a wider recognition of the religious function of reinforcing the sense of integration and belonging through space and time. The construction of root elements plays a fundamental role in this ongoing process. Among them, public, semipublic, and private spaces have strategic importance in material and symbolic perspectives, as they become "places" with identity significance. As Hanna Arendt explained, every political action always requires a "space of appearance," and in this sense, urban spaces like churches, meeting halls, and even streets along which the processions flow become the spaces where the search (and finding) of identity and community belonging takes shape, and it is reinforced. Enhancing the conditions for root tourism means encouraging the creation of a structured system of travel and hospitality, as well as encouraging and supporting these spontaneous practices of affiliation and the associations that organize them. Based on our research, religion, rather than being seen as an element for exclusion and segregation, should be understood by its potential to promote unity, the recognition of self-worth, and dialogue between generations.

References

- Aime, M., Papotti, D. (2012). *L'altro e l'altrove. Antropologia, geografia e turismo*. Torino: Einaudi.
- Ambrosini, M. (2019). *Sociologia delle migrazioni*. Bologna: il Mulino.
- Ambrosini, M. (2020a). *Altri cittadini. Gli immigrati nei percorsi della cittadinanza*. Milano: Avvenire, Vita e Pensiero.
- Ambrosini, M. (2020b). *L'invasione immaginaria. L'immigrazione oltre i luoghi comuni*. Roma-Bari: Laterza.
- Arace, A. (2007). I legami personali con i luoghi. Processi identitari e dinamiche affettive. In Giani Gallino, T. (a cura di). *Luoghi di attaccamento. Identità ambientale, processi affettivi e memoria*. Milano: Raffaello Cortina Editore.
- Allvone, A. (2019). *Immaginari per viaggiatori*. Città di Castello: Franco Cesati Editore.
- Basu, P. (2004). Route Metaphors of Roots-Tourism in the Scottish Diaspora. In Coleman, S., Eade, J. (a cura di). *Reframing Pilgrimage: Cultures in Motion*. London: Routledge.
- Bauman, Z. (2000). *Modernità liquida*. Bari-Roma: Laterza.
- Berger, P. L. (2020). (a cura di). *Riflessioni sulla religione*. Roma: Armando Editore.
- Bressan, L. (2016). Prove di cristianesimo digitale. La fede dei giovani. In Bichi, R., Bignardi, P. (a cura di) (2016). *Dio a modo mio. Giovani e fede in Italia*. Milano: Vita e Pensiero. (3-13).
- Calvo-Quirós, W. A. (2022). *Undocumented Saints: The Politics of Migrating Devotions*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Calzati, V., De Salvo, P. (a cura di.) (2012). *Le strategie per una valorizzazione sostenibile del territorio. Il valore della lentezza, della qualità e dell'identità per il turismo del futuro*. Milano: FrancoAngeli.
- Caputo, E. (2016). Linee guida per lo sviluppo di progetti di turismo genealogico. Udine: Società Filologica Friulana. E-book.
- Carrera, L. (2022a). Designing Inclusive Urban Place. *Italian Sociological Review*, n. 12 (1) (pp. 141-158).
- Carrera, L. (2022b). *Tornare a casa. I viaggi delle radici degli albanesi residenti in Puglia. Mondi migranti*, vol.103, n.3 (in press).
- Carrera, L., Barbuti, N. (2020). Il turismo esperienziale e le nuove strategie di marketing territoriale. In D'Ovidio, F. D.
- Carrera, L., Perri, A., Romita, T. (2020). *Riflessioni intorno al viaggio delle radici*. Bruxelles: ETQA.
- Castro, R. (2001). *Chicano Folklore: A Guide to the Folktales, Traditions, Rituals and Religious Practices of Mexican Americans*. Oxford: University Press.
- Cohen, E. (1979). A phenomenology of Tourist Experiences. *Sociology*, XIII, 2 (pp. 179-199).
- Coleman, S., Eade, J. (2004). *Pilgrimage and political economy. Translating the Sacred*. London: Routledge.
- Crary, D. (2020). US Hispanic Catholic Are Future, but Priest Numbers Dismal. *Associated Press*, March 14, 2020. <https://apnews.com/article/0cd91a02ad1bfe947d77c3e1a2c313a8>.
- Davie, G. (1994). *Believing without Belonging: Is This the Future of Religion in Britain?* Volume: 37, 4 (pp. 455-469).
- De Marchi, D., Mingotto, E. (2016). Turismo delle origini. Quadro preliminare delle potenzialità in Italia. In IRSS, Rapporto sul Turismo Italiano. Firenze: Mercury (589-596).
- Ferrari, S., Faenza, P. (2015). The rediscovery of an ancient community event in a language minority village: the case of Bova (Italy). In Jepson, A., Clarke, A. (Eds.). *Managing and Developing Communities, Festivals and Events*. New York (NY): Palgrave MacMillan.
- Foucault, M. (1997). *Society Must be Defended: Lectures at the Collège De France 1975-1976*, trans. David Macey. New York: Picador.
- Funk, C., Martinez, J. (2014). "Fewer Hispanics are Catholic, so how can more Catholics be Hispanic?" *FactTank, Pew Research Center*, May 7, 2014. <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2014/05/07/fewer-hispanics-are-catholic-so-how-can-more-catholics-be-hispanic/>.
- Giani Gallino, T. (a cura di) (2007). *Luoghi di attaccamento. Identità ambientale, processi affettivi e memoria*. Milano: Raffaello Cortina Editore.
- Gozzoli, C., Regalia, C. (2005). *Migrazioni e famiglie. Percorsi, legami e interventi psicosociali*. Bologna: il Mulino.
- Josiam, B. M., Frazier, R. (2008). Who I am? Where did I come from? Where do I go to find out? Genealogy, the Internet and Tourism. *An International Multidisciplinary Journal of Tourism*, 3, N.2 (pp. 35-56).
- Kanter, D. E. (2020). *Chicago Católico: Making Catholic Parishes Mexican*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Lang, C. (2021). Who Gets to Wear a Headscarf? The Complicated History Behind France's Latest Hijab Controversy *Times. History and Religion*, May 19, 2021.
- Madrid, A. L. (2008). *Nor-Tec Rifa! Electronic Dance Music from Tijuana to the World*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Martínez-Cárdenas, R. (2013). "Regional Development Through Religious Tourism: San Juan de los Lagos and Jalostotlán in Los Altos de Jalisco, Mexico. *Études caribéennes* (online), August 15, 2013. <https://journals.openedition.org/etudescaribeennes/5352>.
- Meethan, K. (2000). *Tourism in Global Society: Place, Culture, Consumption*. London: Palgrave.
- Mignolo, W. (2000). *Local Histories/Global Designs: Coloniality, Subaltern Knowledges, and Border Thinking*. Princeton, New York: Princeton University Press.
- Omi, M., Howard W. (1986). *Racial Formations in the United States*. Routledge.
- Orsi, R. A. (1985). *The Madonna of 15th Street: Faith and Community in Italian Harlem, 1880-1950*. New Haven: Yale Univ. Press.
- Palmisano, S., Pannofino, N. (2021). *Religione sotto spirito. Viaggio nelle nuove spiritualità*. Milano: Mondadori.
- Perri, A. (2020). *Il turismo delle radici*. Roma: Aracne.
- Public Religion Research Institute (PRRI). *The 2020 Census of American Religion*. 08 July 2021. <https://www.prii.org/re->

search/2020-census-of-american-religion/#page-section-0

Remotti, F. (2010). *L'ossessione identitaria*. Bari: Laterza.

Romita, T. (a cura di.) (2010). *Il turismo residenziale. Nuovi stili di vita e di residenzialità, governance del territorio e sviluppo sostenibile del turismo in Europa*. Milano: FrancoAngeli.

Romita, T., Perri, A. (2006). *La domanda di ambiente del turista fai-da-te*. In Nocifora, E., Pieroni, O.

Romita, T., Perri, A. (2011). The D.I.Y. Tourist. *Tourismos: An International Multidisciplinary Journal of Tourism*, vol.6, 277-292.

Rossi, P. (2007). *L'identità dell'Europa*. Bologna: il Mulino.

Salazar, N. (2011). *Envisioning Eden: Mobilizing Imaginaries in Tourism and Beyond*. London: Berghahn.

Salazar, N. (2009). Imaged or imagined? Cultural representations and the "Tourismification" of Peoples and Places. *Cahiers d'Étu- des Africaines*, n. 193, 194 (pp. 49-72).

Saldívar, R. (2006). *The Borderlands of Culture: Américo Paredes and the Transnational Imaginary*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Savelli, A. (2012). *Sociologia del turismo*. Milano: Hoepli.

Savelli, A. (2004). Gli spazi del turismo nella società globale. In Savelli, A. (a cura di). *Turismo, territorio, identità. Ricerche ed esperienze nell'area mediterranea*. Milano: FrancoAngeli.

Scott, J. C. (1990). *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Scotti, S. (2018). *Viaggi alla ricerca di senso nel tempo della globalizzazione. Logiche trasformative e connessioni*. Milano: FrancoAngeli.

Ward, C., Styles, I. (2003). Lost and found: Reinvention of the self following migration. *Journal of Applied Psychoanalytic Studies*, n.3.

Zanfrini, L. (2007). *Sociologia delle migrazioni*. Bari-Roma: Laterza.

Zanfrini, L. (2014). *Cittadinanze: Appartenenza e diritti nella società dell'immigrazione*. Bari-Roma: Laterza.

"Santo que no es conocido, no es venerado." *El Informador*, July 15, 2012.

<https://www.informador.mx/Suplementos/Santo-que-no-es-conocido-no-es-venerado-20120715-0174.html>

Roots tourism: history and experiences in France²

Introduction

It is significant to note that in the tourism bibliography available in France, there is today (2022) no book or academic work devoted to the topic of roots tourism. Only regional research (in Franche-Comté), some journal articles: Tereos (2010), Diasporas (2009) or a few allusions in general works, Cousin, S., Reau, B. (2009) or Violier, P., Duhamel P., Gay J.-C., Mondou V. (2021) evoke the subject, but in a very allusive way. The question is therefore to understand why France, compared to the Italian experience, accumulates such a delay in the development of roots tourism, when it has both the history, the territory, and a large community of expatriates or descendants of colonists around the world.

We will first review the scientific literature available in French language on the subject. By highlighting the gap between this academic literature that has already well analysed the principles of roots tourism, and the delay in experiences of implementation on the French territory, we will try to understand this paradox. We will examine the structural factors that hinder this development, then we will analyse the available resources and the population concerned by roots tourism. Finally, a regional case study on the development of roots tourism in Normandy will also be presented.

1. Definition

1.1. Academic literature

In France, one of the very first citations about roots tourism can be found in a master study by the University of Lyon, presented in 1998:

«It is symptomatic to note that cultural tourism is developing at a time when globalization and technology seem to be the leitmotifs. An individual, by some sort of compensation, seeks his roots, and this point favors cultural tourism». (Daoud, 1998, p. 43)

Twelve years later, Bachimon and Dério (2010), in an important article on affinity tourism, associate roots tourism to a familial form of cultural tourism:

«Regularly returning to the places of one's proven, supposed or imagined family origins to spend holidays and leisure time there is a form of retroactive mobility - at the margins, admittedly, but significant - to labor migrations directed towards large metropolises, be they regional, national, or international. The fact remains that the phenomenon is diversified, especially in terms of the involvement of the temporary migrant (in general), ranging from the simple genealogical consultation of a parish register to the more permanent settlement of workers or pensioners. If the identity pretext is apparently the same, the variations it takes on are multiple and complex, especially in terms of territorial recomposing». (Bachimon & Dério, 2010 p. 29)

One of the pioneer countries to mention roots tourism in scientific publications is Canada, and in particular Quebec, whose history with France is very fertile. A Quebec tourism specialist, Marie-Blanche Fourcade, gave this interesting definition of roots tourism in 2010:

1 Philippe Clairay, University of Rennes 2 (France), clairay.philippe@orange.fr, ORCID 0009-0001-4459-1442.

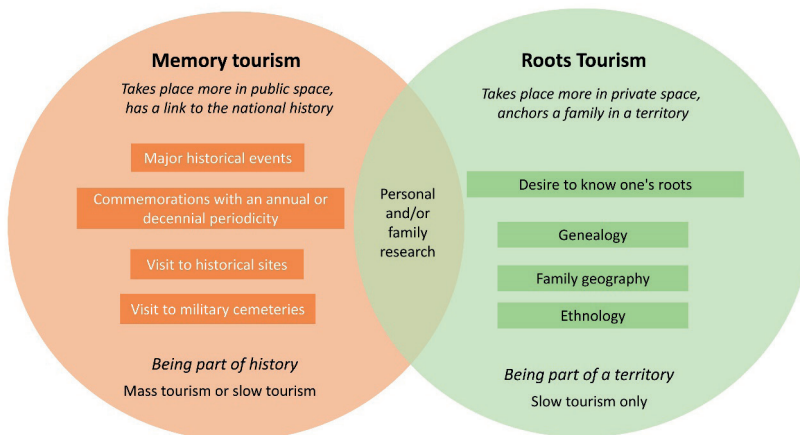
2 Received: 11/07/22. Revised: 11/12/22. Accepted: 30/12/22.

«One thing is certain, behind its apparent simplicity linked to the main vocation of visiting the land of one's ancestors, roots tourism reveals numerous configurations that are shaped by the historical and political context, interpretations, and practices. This diversity is only exacerbated by globalization, which clearly favours travel, openness to others and the redefinition of identities. Return tourism, in addition to its exponential growth in recent decades, is now part of a global social logic that allows us to rethink the relationship of the individual with the territories to which he or she belongs». (Fourcade, 2010, p. 4)

1.2 Roots Tourism is Cultural Tourism

Roots tourism is a cultural form of tourism, that naturally develops in a sustainable and experiential way. Roots tourism is a genealogical tourism too. Families, whether they have done genealogic research or not, are interested in knowing where they came from. Roots tourism is doubly a tourism of discovery with two sides: of one's own family and of unknown geographical connections. Roots tourism is thus diaspora tourism. But to be precise, it is necessary to distinguish roots tourism from memory tourism. If there is an obvious connection between these two forms of tourism, which is the individual and the family, the developmental methods and psychosocial forces in action are different (Figure 1).

Figure 1. Roots tourism: a tourism in search of meaning



Source: own elaboration

To complete this overview, it is worth mentioning the interesting work of Knafou (2017 and 2021), professor emeritus of geography at the University of Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne, proposing another form of tourism called «reflexive tourism». It applies perfectly to tourism of memory, which is a form of stay in which the tourist is at the same time the producer and the actor of what he consumes. This means that the tourist in search of memory or roots, wonders while he acts on the object of his tourism. In addition, the author establishes a link between reflexive tourism and sustainable tourism. It seems that roots tourism fits into both categories.

1.3. Roots Tourism Limits

However, roots tourism can also have disadvantages, like being caricatural in its quest for authenticity. Bachimon and Derioz (2010) have warned in their very important study on affinity tourism, of the risks that roots tourism can deal with. Indeed, in the absence of real authenticity and face to the transformations linked to the natural evolution of villages and towns (i.e. their

modernization), roots tourism and its actors may tend to create stereotyped images, false settings, or even worse, to falsify history. This risk is shared with other types of tourism, especially those that promote historical re-enactments, whatever they may be.

Does this return to idealized sources, i.e., the concretization of the bond of affinity, whether strong or imaginary, through the episodic and lasting return to the country, lead to dead ends? Paradoxically, it mainly results in the transfer of lifestyles, aesthetics and incomes from the issuing space, a transfer to a fantasized place or landscape by «meta-tourists». This dynamic inevitably leads to profound alterations of the social and landscape environment of the host territory, which may lead to its remodeling according to the norms of departure country. The depth of the alteration, or even denaturation, will depend on the extent of the domination exercised and the relative distance (in time and space) of the diaspora concerned.

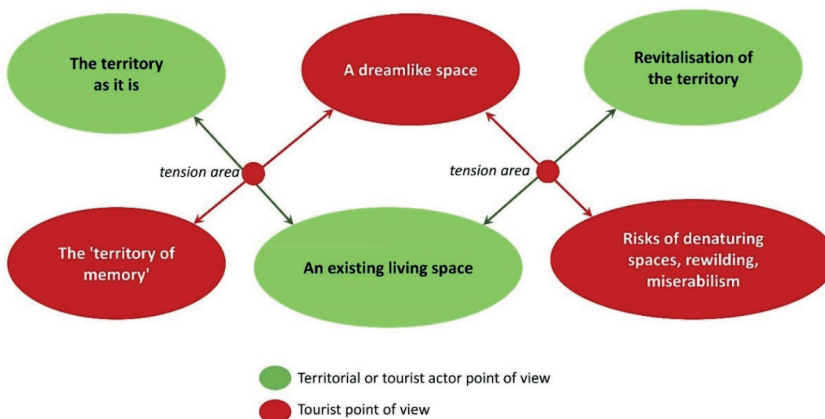
It is a matter of gradients. For some communities, the discovery of family roots in their country of origin is a first step towards more definitive fixations that can transcend the tourist attraction by incidentally or permanently reactivating settlement flows that had previously prevailed. Roots tourism can thus lead to real resettlement in the long term, especially when seasonal tourists become retirees looking for a return to their family origins. In most cases, roots tourism is purely factual and anecdotal, or even go unnoticed by remaining in the private sphere of friendly and familiar reception. However, it is likely to pass from one phase to the next, and thus vary in intensity.

The heritage aspect of roots tourism must also be considered, in the context of population ageing in Western countries. An increase in conservatism, in nostalgia, in the cult of remembrance and the taste for historical heritage is often observed. Those who can afford to invest in homes, buying antiques, making genealogical research to explore their family roots. Today, it is the commodification that marks this phenomenon, which began in amateurism.

This process of relocation, often incomplete insofar when it leads to round trips rather than definitive installation, can thus be defined both as reactionary to globalization, since it overvalues the original localization, but also, and paradoxically, as one of the figures of this globalization, since it supposes migration and travel. And it is this dialectic that maintains the dynamic described and makes roots tourism a very special phenomenon.

One of the main difficulty in roots tourism development is the adaptation to the reality of the terrain and the attention that must be paid to its authentic character (Figure 2).

Figure 2. Roots tourism: contradictory motivations



Source: own elaboration

However, one of the constant paradoxes in tourism history is its capacity to destroy its object, or at least to damage it, through over tourism, pollution, uncontrolled urbanism, or various fal-

sifications in national narratives. The issue is delicate because roots tourism should be the least invasive form of tourism, in search of an «authentic historical landscape». In the following case (Figure 3), roots are created through a staging of a tradition that is not as old as it seems. The company, a biscuit factory, was founded in 1995 in a specially created environment for selling biscuits in a nostalgic decoration. A kind of biscuit Disneyland! This example of true false can of course be multiplied, and one must be wary of promotional advertisements that repeatedly evoke the authenticity or typicality of a terroir, because territorial marketing is then at work.

Figure 3. Maison du Biscuit, 2017, Sortoville (Manche, France)



Source: CC BY-ND 2.0 FR

2. Roots tourism context and experiences in France

2.1. French Paradox

Only a few experiments are being developed in isolation on the French territory. However, France has all the necessary resources to develop this type of emerging tourism. Several factors explain this delay: a centralized administrative and political structuring of tourism, with actors whose missions are sometimes redundant, a slow awareness of this phenomenon, private actors who are only just beginning to take up the issue, and who are more used to mass tourism than to customized programs.

French tourism institutions are somewhat fragmented and can be a brake to the development of tourism experiments (Figure 4).

Figure 4. Tourism institutions in France



Source: OCDE 2020

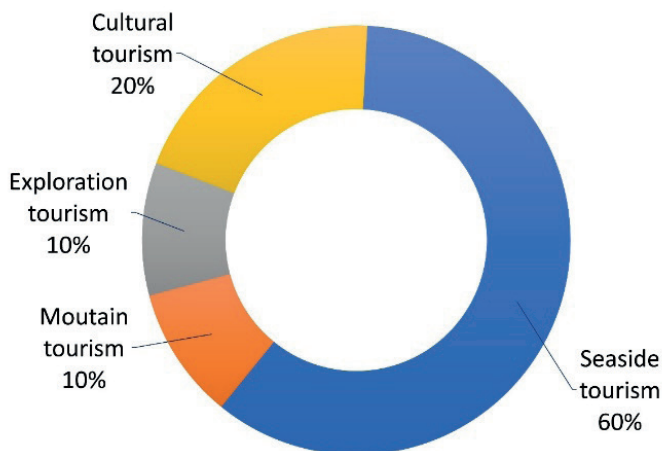
Since 2014, two main ministries guide tourism policies: the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Economy and Finance. To avoid these ministries working separately, an inter-ministerial committee was created to oversee the actions. However, it is clear from this organizational chart that some competences may overlap. This is the case at national and local level. France therefore does not have a ministry dedicated to tourism whose task would be entirely devoted to the development of this activity. The world's leading tourist destination in 2019, France was recently overtaken by Spain.

Another issue appears when interpreting this diagram: it concerns the attempts at decentralization in the 1980s. At the bottom of the diagram, there are regional and local tourist offices. One can therefore fully understand how things can be made difficult by this overlapping of structures. Because if the readability of this organizational chart is not easy for professionals, it is even less so for visitors, tourists, who are looking for clear and precise information. This leads to problems of governance and direction, as each institution tends to carry out its promotional activities independently. To return to the topic we are interested in, roots tourism, there is not even a trace of it in the various publications of the state agency Atout France, which is supposed to give the main guidelines and development axes in terms of tourism policy in our country.

It results of a systematic search that the term «roots tourism» is almost totally absent from the websites of French tourism institutions. Worse, on the website of Atout France, a search for «roots tourism» yields no results! But a search for «memory tourism» gives 27 results. This observation speaks volumes about the forms of tourism favored in France today. Roots tourism seems to be only an academic notion in France, while in Italy it is an operational reality in terms of tourism promotion and organization of stays (Perri, 2020). In France, there is no real hierarchical link between local tourism stakeholders, most of whom are associations, neither at departmental nor at regional level. This is a particularity and a difficulty in the implementation of promotional actions, each one tending to defend its territorial area. Each are placed on the same level in this scheme.

More anecdotally, a recent survey on roots or genealogical tourism in France (Gaujaj and Leininger, 2018) showed that cultural tourism is under-represented in schoolbooks, when seaside tourism is the most illustrated theme (Figure 5). This study is interesting because tourism offers powerful image systems that forge a collective imagination. Here again, roots tourism seems to be relegated to a secondary position in France, reflecting the level of its development.

Figure 5. Types of tourism represented in school textbooks in France (2018)



Source. Gaujaj et Leininger (2018)

2.2 Endogenous Roots Tourism

French history is marked by a very important rural exodus that, from the mid-19th century to the 1950s, moved a large amount of the rural population to the cities that were then booming. Paris, of course, benefited most from this workers influx. For a long time, the French poorest regions provided a cheap labor: Brittany, Auvergne, Savoy, Lorraine and, to a lesser degree, Normandy, were very important areas of intra-national emigration. The countryside emptied and the cities grew (Armengaud and Fine, 1983).

In these various cases, regional communities were formed in Paris, or in Marseille where an influential Corsican community developed. In 1963, the largest immigrant community in Paris came from the Auvergne region. This economic immigration was on a large scale. At the end of their working lives, the Auvergnats from Paris often returned to their native region to live out their final years. The same applies to the Breton community in Paris, which was also very numerous and had a common language: Breton. Nowadays, often settled for more than 100 years in the big French cities, some of their descendants are still travelling on the land of their ancestors, discovering their family origins. Many Parisians, descendants of these communities, return to settle in the Auvergne or Brittany regions (Beauchemin C., Hamel C., Simon, P. 2016). Another phenomenon remains to be explored: that of returning to the land of the ancestors. Indeed, with the Covid-19 crisis, France is experiencing a movement back to countryside life. What was thought to be a Covid crisis effect seems to be turning into a much more important and lasting movement. Abandoned houses in rural regions are now the subject of a real estate boom.

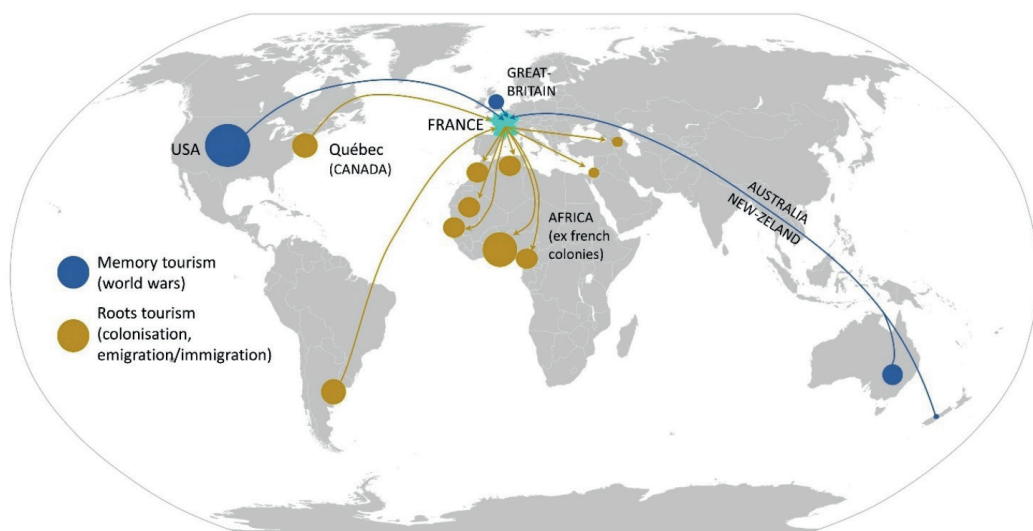
2.3 Exogenous or Extra-National Roots Tourism

In France, exogenous or extra-national roots tourism is developing in two directions. First, in North America: as we have seen, the first sociological research on roots tourism originated in Canada.

Historically, many of the inhabitants of Quebec have French, and more precisely Norman origins (Joyal, Linteau 2008). Thus, in the Orne countryside, there is a museum of Quebec emigration, and in Quebec, tour operators sell trips dedicated to roots tourism in France. But from France, few commercial structures go prospecting these tourists abroad, even if links still exist.

The second major stream of roots tourism in France concerns the historical relationship between France and its former colonies (Figure 6), particularly African ones. Today, many of the descendants of the first African emigrants are questioning their origins. Sometimes links have been broken over time and are being re-established between the African continent and Europe (Algeria). The dynamic African diaspora is organized by communities and often makes individual journeys to the countries of origin. In addition to Africa, we could mention the Armenian or Lebanese diasporas, which are very present and active. As can be seen, large diasporas are established in France, and family exchanges, again, spontaneous, are also a form of tourism of the roots which escapes statistics.

Figure 6. Roots tourism exogenous to France



Source: own elaboration

One region in France has managed to link its history to the desire for roots of some tourists from afar: Franche-Comté. The story begins between 1749 and 1752, when, mainly for religious reasons, Protestants from the Montbéliard region (department of Doubs, eastern France near Switzerland) left for the other side of the Atlantic Ocean. These 431 first immigrants from Montbéliard are the ancestors of approximately 60,000 French-speaking Canadians living today in the Quebec City region. One town was founded by them: Lunenburg, where several waves of French, Swiss and German Protestant emigrants followed. This specificity has repercussions to this day. The town has been designated a UNESCO World Heritage Site by the descendants of this community, and there are still strong links with the French town of Montbéliard. The website of the town's tourist office is one of the few in France to have a website page entirely dedicated to roots tourism¹. The history of this emigrant community is explained and suggestions for a stay in the footsteps of these ancestors are presented.

3. Roots Tourism at a Regional Scale: the Example of Normandy

Today in France, rare tourist companies advertise themselves as specialists in roots and origins tourism, more rarely genealogical tourism. Most promote a memorial tourism, linked to world conflicts. Several French regions are ancient battlefields. For World War I: Les Hauts de France (Nord, Pas de Calais, Somme) The Grand Est (Ardennes, Meuse, Marne) and Alsace; for World War II: Normandy and Provence.

In 2017, 30 per cent of tourist activity in Normandy was directly linked to the Second World War commemorative tourism. In that region where the 1944 landing took place, companies offer services to welcome the families of soldiers who disappeared during the fighting, who wish to visit the places where their ancestor passed away and where he was buried. France was particularly scarred by the two world wars. This history is still alive, and the most significant part of memory tourism is taking place in the regions concerned. Commemorative or memorial tourism concerned over 20 million visitors in 2018, including almost 7 million in Normandy. The official website of the Normandy Tourist Office presents memorial tourism as follows:

¹ <https://www.paysdemontbeliard-tourisme.com/>

«Among the military cemeteries in Normandy, we stopped at the most famous of them, at Colleville-sur-Mer. We invite you to discover this solemn place, a place of history and remembrance. When we arrived at the site, the 9388 white gravestones stretched out before our eyes. With a lump in our throats, we began our visit, with Omaha Beach in the distance. A marked path leads to the beach. You can imagine the soldiers' boats arriving in the distance on 6 June 1944, on Bloody Omaha». ² (Normandie Tourisme website text abstract, 2022) ³

In Normandy, 27 military cemeteries and 52 places (museums, heritage interpretation centers) are dedicated to the D-Day landing and the Second World War. Numerous visits are offered on this theme by the Normandy Tourist Office and local or regional tour operators. Of course, one may find it cynical to commercialize such a moving memory. This regional example clearly shows that memory tourism and roots tourism are often intertwined. Indeed, for the second or third generation of descendants of soldiers killed during the various wars, it is important to know, if not where their ancestors lived, at least where they suffered and died. Thus, a part of their roots is to be found on the battlefields.

Roots tourism in Normandy has a high development potential, due to its history. In the 16th century, the role of the Normans in the formation of the first settlements in what was to become New France, i.e., present-day Quebec. Mainly fishermen, these early settlers settled along the east coast, founding small ports. Many of these early migrants came from Normandy, mainly from its most rural and historically poorer part (such as in Perche region, Orne). Today, this history, orally transmitted on both sides of the Atlantic, is well known to historians, both Canadian and French. One unique museum is specially dedicated to this history: the Museum of French Emigration to Canada ⁴, in Tourouvre (Orne, France). The museum's contemporary and interactive setting invites visitors to a journey to New France (Figure 7). This former French colony covered a territory from the mouth of the St. Lawrence (Quebec) to the Mississippi Delta (Louisiana). 400 years ago, the Percherons were among the first to settle in these then unknown lands, to clear the forests, to cultivate the land, to build houses, in a word: to found a new country: Canada. The museum, opened in 2006, had about 8,000 visitors per year before the Covid-19 crisis. The distribution of its visitors has not been the subject of scientific publication.

Figure 7. Museum of French Emigration to Canada, Tourouvre (Orne, France)



Source: © Muséales de Tourouvre

² <https://www.normandie-tourisme.fr/visite-cimetiere-americain/>

³ *Ibidem*

⁴ <https://www.musealesdetourouvre.fr>

The museum's introductory text is quite explicit:

«Men, women, alone or with their families, artisans, lumberjacks, labourers, 'filles du roi', clergymen, soldiers, sailors, were the first, in the 17th century, to populate Canada. They left from Brittany, Poitou, Ile-de-France, Normandy (etc.) and Perche. They braved a transatlantic crossing, braved winters, cleared land and built their first homes on the banks of the St. Lawrence. With courage, they attempted and succeeded in the adventure of the New World. They settled in Quebec City, Côte de Beaupré, Île d'Orléans from 1634, and then in Montreal. Their names were Tremblay, Gagnon, Juchereau, Drouin or Boucher and they came from Tourouvre, Le Pin-la-Garenne or Mortagne-au-Perche... In the 17th century, they attempted the adventure of New France. Three centuries later, the links between Perche and Canada are still strong, as shown by the many descendants of these illustrious pioneers who return each year to follow in their ancestors' footsteps». (Museum of French Emigration to Canada, Tourouvre, Orne, website text abstract, 2022)⁵.

It is worth noting that since 1996, ten years before the creation of this museum, a Franco-Québec commission on the memory of commonplaces related to transatlantic emigration between these two countries has been created. It promotes memorial sites, research and conference cycles on this history shared by France and Quebec.

In France, the observation is relentless: only one private company, *Racines Voyages* (Figure 8), clearly claims to commercialize roots tourism trips, and it is based in Caen, Normandy⁶. Interviewed, its director, Ms Marie-Claire Prestavoine, shared her experience during a long phone conversation on 24 September 2021. The interview revealed a lack of coordination between public and private actors in an area that is central to the economy of a region like Normandy: tourism.

First, Mrs Prestavoine insists that memorial tourism and genealogical tourism do not correspond to the same definition, nor to the same services. In the first case, memorial tourism is linked to the various battlefields where soldiers of many nations died during the two world wars.

In the second case, it is a more family-friendly and proactive approach. As far as roots tourism is concerned, it is about going further. The services are tailor-made, according to the wishes of the customers. In addition to booking hotels and means of transport, it is a question of proposing the realization of the family tree and the discovery of places, sometimes unknown to the customers, where the family comes from. This is how stage tours are put together, in the footsteps of the ancestors. As Ms. Prestavoine reminds us, Ms. Nathalie Worthington, current director of the Juno Beach Centre (Juno is one of the Normandy landings where Anglo-Canadian troops landed in 1944), was able to prove through genealogical research that many of the Canadians who landed on this beach during D-Day were descendants of Normans who left for the American continent in the 17th century.

Figure 8. Racines Voyages, Carpiquet (Calvados, France)



Source: © Racines Voyages

⁵ Ibidem.

⁶ <https://racinesvoyages.com/>

Conclusion

Will tourism industries, severely affected by the COVID-19 crisis, be resilient enough to reinvent, rethink or create new ways of discovering the world? From this perspective, roots tourism probably has a great future. It really has many qualities: it is an individual or family tourism, and it can be linked to a contemporary form of slow tourism, which has a low environmental impact due to its individualized character. It involves stays that are often longer than those offered by classic tourist circuits. Roots tourism provides a contemplative and emotional experience. But still a paradox remains: roots tourism is aimed at a diaspora throughout the world, and many of these descendants of emigrants now live modestly in distant countries. Individuals and families wanting to find out about their own origins are often held back by a reality that is both stark and commonplace: the cost of the journey. Opening this form of tourism to everyone can lead to the development of digital solutions, to share what cannot be shared through physical discovery of distant places.

In the now deserted villages from which the migrants left, much remains to be done. To promote, one must know, and to know, one must research, collect, and preserve. To accomplish this mission of cultural data collection, it is interesting to mention ethnological museums or interpretation centers that already exist in rural areas. Their long-standing experience, such as that of the French «écomusées», combine both a territorial and ethnological approach, through the prism of folk art and traditions. These museums preserve the memory of the inhabitants of a territory, their practices, and their everyday objects. All these cultural structures will certainly benefit, as will artisans and local people, from the development of roots tourism, both through a physical discovery and a virtual tour.

A great deal of ethnological work was already undertaken in the 1970s and 1980s to make an inventory of the cultural and ethnological specificities of the various French regions, but much remains to be done. This work can be a basis for the development of roots tourism, whatever the country observed. The growing number of demands to UNESCO for the recognition of original cultural practices or crafts in the intangible heritage of humanity is a manifestation of this trend. Another point raised in this research is crucial: the institutional organization of tourism. In France, the creation of a unique ministry would be welcome, to federate, propose and transform the territory's various initiatives into a national tourism attractiveness program. It is likely that, faced with the huge tourist potential that roots tourism represents in France, many companies will be created, following the example of «Racines Voyages». But collaborations between the French central state, local authorities, companies, and universities remains to be reinforced, and in this field, Italian experience is showing us the way.

Today, in a post-pandemic context, some people think roots tourism as an alternative to mass tourism. I am not sure that mass tourism will disappear any time soon. Roots tourism is not an alternative, but another proposal. Roots tourism is a response to a contemporary need: that of human links, of geographical and historical landmarks, in the context of globalization. In a way, it is a question of repairing the broken links, or create new connections between individuals who want to invent a common future together by highlighting their roots first.

References

- Armengaud, A., Fine, A. (1983). *La population française au XX^e siècle*. Paris : Presses Universitaires de France.
- Bachimon, P., Dério, P. (2010). *Tourisme affinitaire: entre revitalisation et dénaturation des territoires*, Téoros, vol. 29, 1, (pp. 8-16), Québec :USG UQAM.
- Beauchemin, C., Hamel, C., Simon, P. (dir), *Trajectoires et origines: Enquête sur la diversité des populations en France* (2016) Collection : Grandes Enquêtes, Paris: INED.
- Boyer, M. (1999). *Le Tourisme de l'an 2000*. Lyon: PUL.
- Boyer, M. (1999). *Histoire du tourisme de masse*. Paris: PUF.
- Carrera, L. (2020). *La flânerie. Del camminare come metodo*. Bari: Progedit.
- Cousin, S., Reau, B. (2009). *Sociologie du tourisme*. Paris: la Découverte.
- Coles, T., Dallen, J. T. (2004). *Tourism, Diasporas and Space*. Londres/NewYork: Routledge.
- Dehoorne, O. (2002). Tourisme et Migration. *Revue Européenne des Migrations Internationales*, vol. 18, n°1, pp. XX-XX.
- Daoud, M. (1998). *Tourisme culturel et politique de communication, mémoire de DEA université de Lyon II Sciences de l'information*. Lyon III: Bibliothèque de l'ENSSIB
- Diasporas*, issue 14, 2009 URL: www.persee.fr/issue/diasp_1637-5823_2009_num_14_1
- Dickinson, John A. (2008). *La Normandie et la construction d'une Nouvelle France. Annales de Normandie*. Caen : Université de Caen. doi.org/10.3406/annor.2008.6205.
- Fourcade, M. B. (2010). Tourisme des racines, expériences du retour. *Téoros* (Université du Québec à Montréal), janvier 2010, vol. 29, (pp. 3-7).
- Gaujál, S., Leininger-Frézal, C. (2018). Le tourisme, entre ordinaires et extraordinaires de la géographie scolaire. *Les espaces du tourisme et des loisirs*, Revue de l'association des géographes français 95-4 (pp. 624-642). doi.org/10.4000/bagf.4325.
- Joyal, S., Linteau, P-A. (2008). *France-Canada-Québec : 400 ans de relations d'exception*. Montréal, Presses de l'Université de Montréal.
- Knafou, R. (2017). Le tourisme réflexif, un nouveau fondement d'un tourisme durable. *Arbor*, 193. 395. 10.3989/arbor.2017.785n3001.
- Knafou, R. (2021). *Réinventer le tourisme. Sauver nos vacances sans détruire le monde*. Paris: Éditions du Faubourg.
- Legrand, C. (2006). Tourisme des racines et confrontations identitaires dans l'Irlande des migrations. *Diasporas, histoire et sociétés*, n. 8 (pp. 162-171). Toulouse: Presses universitaires du Midi.
- Legrand, C. (2008). Marchandisation et réappropriation d'un patrimoine symbolique, *Patrimoines des migrations, migrations des patrimoines*. (pp. 77-91). Sainte-Foy: Presses de l'Université Laval.
- Lepape, M. (2015). *Le tourisme des racines*, mémoire de recherche. Toulouse : université Toulouse Jean-Jaurès.
- Lepape, M. (2016). *Une stratégie marketing appliquée au tourisme des racines : Le cas du Pays de Montbéliard et de la clientèle nord-américaine*, mémoire de Master 2. Toulouse : université Toulouse Jean-Jaurès.
- Mac Cain, G., Ray, N. (2003). Legacy tourism: the search for personal meaning in heritage travel, *Tourism Management*, vol. 24, Issue 6, (pp. 713-717) DOI.org/10.1016/S0261-5177(03)00048-7.
- Perri, A. (2020). *Il Turismo delle Radici*. Roma: Aracne.
- Prestavoine, M. C. (2021). Le tourisme généalogique accompagne l'envie de se redécouvrir, *Revue Espaces-Tourisme et Loisirs*, Cergy: Editions Espaces.
- Violier, P., Duhamel, P. Gay J.-C., Mondou, V. (2021). *Le tourisme en France, approche globale*, London: ISTE Editions.

Multiple Identities: Roots Tourist's Perception in the Host Communities²

Introduction

In this work, we will look at the perception of what is known as "root tourism" by local communities specifically referring to the Italian case. The topic is not only relevant to scientific interest, but of clear national relevance as well. In fact, a specific measure was devoted to this form of tourism in the National Recovery and Resilience Plan (NRRP), a document that has been drawn up by the Italian government in 2020 to find a way out of the global coronavirus pandemic's economic crisis, using the funds allocated to Italy under the European programme Next Generation of the European Union.

The aim of NRRP is to find solutions to facilitate spending the holidays in the places where one's roots reside for the many people of Italian origin present around the world (estimated at about 80 million). Talking about this social phenomenon, according to the ENIT (Italian National Tourism Agency), 15 years ago these tourists in Italy were estimated to be about six million; according to the same study, the income generated was estimated at about €4 million.

However, the tourism industry in Italy has paid limited attention to this phenomenon, and moreover public functions have not produced policies to incentivize and re-evaluate it. The same consideration applies to the scientific literature in Italy on the subject, which is difficult to identify as an organized body of studies and research. In this moment, there is a lack of rigorous studies on the real motivations that drive people to organize this type of journey, as well as on the perception of the tourist of the roots by the local hosting communities. The same happened for the analysis of the relationship that is established between roots tourists and the people of local communities. Finally, the reasons that drive the tourist's roots to return, or not return, to the places of origin.

In other words, the existing body of knowledge makes it difficult to conceptually define the phenomenon, in terms of what enables it to focus on its real essence, and two important features that may help to identify slight differences among different types of root tourism, including, for example, genealogy tourism. Generally, there are few studies and research addressing root travel analysis included in his tourism directorate, or in other words, an analysis of the phenomenon which is approached from the perspective of a specific form of tourism.

We conducted the field research towards this direction, aiming at elaborating on the 'tourist' purpose of this kind of journey. Within the framework of these studies, we wish to offer here a reflection of a specific aspect of the phenomenon in question, which relates to the way the host community perceives and evaluates the social figure of the tourist of the roots. This is a reflection that represents an in-depth analysis of an itinerary of reading about roots tourism who found its appropriate address in a document published more than a decade ago (Romita & Perri, 2009a).

2. Tourism of the Roots: Reading Routes and Development Prospects

In this script, by the expression "tourism of the roots", we mean the social phenomenon which drives migrants and/or their descendants to return, frequently or occasionally, to their place of origin, based on non-instrumental motives, strongly associated with supporting or delving into their family identity. This topic, as already mentioned, does not find a specific and articulated

1 Tullio Romita, University of Calabria, tullio.romita@unical.it, ORCID: 0000-0003-1749-234X.

2 Received: 06/11/2022. Revised: 29/12/2022. Accepted: 30/12/2022.

field for research and scientific studies. However, the theme finds space in different areas of social science analysis, as helpful elements for theoretical reflection and empirical knowledge, which focus on emigration studies, on local communities, and those who place the emphasis on the tourist experience and therefore on the analysis of the motivations and phenomena involved in the behaviour of tourists.

A useful and wide literature about the analysis of the phenomenon of emigration of return can be found about those individuals with a profound desire that leads them to return to their origins, a vital need for the migrant person. Within this scientific context, which is essentially anthropological, the emigration of the return is summarized in a triple direction (Pitto, 1988): return home, as a subjective need of the outmigration phenomenon (Frigessi Castelnuevo & Risso, 1982); return from another country, as appropriation of another reality in the diachronic sense and, therefore, the assumed history in its own cultural specificity (Harrison, 1988); return to the family, as the reappropriation of a cultural space from its own system of values, whether the village or the metropolis (Cerase, 1970).

In this type of study, the necessity of the return inherent in the migrant population is mainly related to family structure. The theme of the return shows itself as a sort of bridge between two familiar places (the present and the origins), two different spaces but unified by interests, kinship relationships or knowledge of traditions. Therefore, the need for return is revived by regular and temporary visits to the place of origin during holiday periods, which have become customary in time. Furthermore, in this same type of study it should be noted that among the factors that push travelers towards the realization of the journey of the roots, it is possible to find, in addition to the instrumental and material reasons such as the necessity to rediscover their family affections, and taking care of their own economic interests, there are also motifs that go beyond instrumental patterns, and really help to understand more deeply the phenomenon of root tourism.

In fact, the return to the place of origin is often the consequence of the need to rediscover one's identity and cultural roots. In this case, the return foreshadows more a spiritual path than a space-time offset. This generates the so-called "emigrant syndrome" a condition of disorientation which, in turn, triggers the constant search for an identity that is both ancient and original. An imaginary place because, in memory, it tends to draw itself as a known landscape, a protected place of its own childhood, more than a real and material place where a person spent a period of their life (Lombardi Satriani, 1976).

Other knowledgeable studies, which can be used for the analysis of the root tourism phenomenon, can be found in the sociological literature on migration. In this context, scientific production has mainly focused on the social and economic transformations generated by migratory flows, both on the places of departure and arrival, also on the social and cultural rehabilitation processes adopted in the "new" places, and finally on the comparison between the living and working conditions acquired with those held at the time. With respect to this part of the study, some perplexities were reported that pertain to subjects of interest to us. In particular, the empirical approach to the phenomenon of international migration, which was seen as not fully encompassing the deepening of some important dimensions, notably: the life led by emigrants before their departure and the socio-economic environment in which they had lived, the less general status of emigration in the analysis of sociocultural integration processes, and the lack of attention to the social changes which produce migration processes (Scidà, 1994).

However, from such studies we draw interesting insights into the analysis of how to determine the interpretation of reality, and the process of identification with the group to which individuals belong, between people with different cultural backgrounds. With that in mind, the analysis which highlight the substantial failure of the melting-pot theory are particularly relevant (Glazer, 1963). According to this theory, the modernization would push "by its nature" towards standardization and uniformity of cultures, and thus of different identities, but instead a variety of research has shown that migrants have not lost their sense of ethnic origin. Whereas on the one hand there are groups of migrants engaged in total assimilation with the cultural context in

which they were welcomed, on the other hand, it has been observed that most of the groups of emigrants tend to keep their original identity as much as possible (e.g., Little Italy).

In this direction, the presence, in the places of migration, and the continuous expansion over time, of social networks made up of individuals belonging to the same ethnic groups, who therefore, share language, traditions and territorial belonging, seems functional (Boyd, 1989), since it also restores a sense of social identity through membership, and support their members in fulfilling symbolic needs (Donati, 1988). In this regard, we can confirm that another factor that has recently played an important role in maintaining and reinforcing the original identity of migrants was the great step forward achieved in the area of physical and virtual mobility of people and ICT technologies (Perri & Romita, 2020). In particular, the latter creates available tools that facilitate a rapid, cheap and frequent verbal and visual connection with friends and relatives living in the communities of origin. To help understand the phenomenon of root tourism, we also have so-called community studies, where the "communities" are considered a form of local territorial organization of human and social relationships. In these cases, the individuals who belong to them work together to try to satisfy their material and intangible needs, creating a sense of community and building a local identity. All this goes beyond the territorial, organisational, psychological and cultural aspects of the community itself (Hillery, 1955).

The local community is defined as a centre of identification of a group and population within a geographical area, sharing a sense of mutual interest, tradition and purpose, and the awareness of the existence of the community itself both among its members and in those of other communities (Mela, 2016). Yet, it is a centre for the building of meaning and the reconstitution of belonging, regardless of the type of community and its contextualization (Piazzini, 1984). In fact, many researchers have based their studies on this essence of belonging and territorial connection, based on the assumption that the intensive processes of modernization and globalization of society (Bauman, 2000) would lead to a growing sense of belonging to a social and universal world and hence to a diminishing sense of belonging to a restricted social world. Furthermore, the field research activities carried out by some scholars (Gubert & Pollini, 2002) have led to surprising results compared to those expected, in fact, despite they were facing with a largely modernized society, the link with limited spaces and with the community has clearly prevailed on the universal.

Other useful sociological contributions in the analysis of tourism roots come from the tradition of studies that have been conducted in Italy since the 80s, and that have concerned the examination of tourism as a mass social phenomenon. Even today, the common approach is to consider the tourist a hetero direct consumer and the host community a passive subject compared to the organization of the tourism industry. In that context, root tourism played a secondary role. However, although we have no specific knowledge of the relevant evaluations carried out, they are indeed useful for our reflection/analysis on this subject: the motivations that drive people to practise tourism; tourism behaviour; existing and potential forms of tourism; the impacts of tourism on local territories and communities. Pertinent to our study is the attention paid by tourism sociologists to the social role of the tourist (Cohen, 1974; Ogilvie, 1933) and with special attention to the factors which affect the definition of the relation between the host and the guest, highlighting the fact that the tourist himself and the host community perceive him as "another" (foreign) subject. In this respect, it may be superfluous to recall that, since the condition of extraneity was well explained in the early definitions of sociological "tourism" (Hunziker & Krapf, 1942), in which tourism is defined as a phenomenon consisting in a set of relations generated by the travel itself and the stay as non-residents (same definition as given by United Nations World Tourism Organisation - UNWTO).

These analyses derive their conceptual origin from the studies on the social figure of the foreigner/stranger, especially in those by Simmel (1908) and Schutz (1944) and in the accurate reconstruction carried out by Tabboni (1993). This perspective highlights a typical situation: the tourist, as an "other" subject, will have mainly formal interactions with the host community since

the main interest will be to satisfy their needs as best as possible, including those who motivated their trip, even those who will show up during the holiday; the host community, indeed, has a certain ambivalence in their relations with tourists. On the one hand, it will show controlling and closing attitudes designed to defend its identity, but at the same time they will have a certain openness towards a subject that is the direct expression of a social phenomenon (tourism) from which the community itself is expected to benefit from. Therefore, what has been emphasized so far provides elements of knowledge that can be used for the purpose of understanding theoretical thoughts pertaining to the phenomenon of root tourism. Moreover, contemporary society compared with modernity (De Masi, 1985; Harvey, 1993) presents ideal conditions for the conscious development of root tourism. In fact, in our current society, we have faced a new tourist offer system, which considers local communities as protagonists in expanding tourism and more as active subjects for its development (Romita & Perri, 2021; Giumelli, 2020) meanwhile, we are witnessing the revitalization of cultural traditions, increased attention to environmental quality resources, the broad diversification of tourism services and the reinforcement of their integration.

In the Italian experience, different territories adapt to these changes, having understood the active and independent role in the development of tourism attributed by the present society, and the need for professional support with relevant skills to improve and promote their cultural heritage and host services.

Tourism has changed, and so has the tourist. The post-tourist is aware of being a tourist and of the fact that tourism is not a unique authentic experience (Urry, 2000), the post-tourist makes spontaneous, specific trips that are out of tourist mass sphere. Destination is the primary reason for this journey and travel is a habit. The quality of services is an essential value, besides going on vacation for the pleasure of doing so, it is important to be active, informal and focused to discover local cultures and traditions. In this new social situation, the relationship between the host and the guest has also changed significantly. In fact, as the holiday tends to become a time of enrichment and genuine cultural growth, the direct encounter between the host and the guest is now an indispensable condition. The guest is increasingly interested and not only for instrumental reasons in highlighting his resources, his territory, his cultural identity, his qualities. The guest for his part, is not only interested in the knowledge that territories and communities offer to the traveller, but also all the special features and relationships that can be established with the local population.

This contemporary tourism scenario represents an overall favourable situation for the proper and accomplished development of tourism roots. In fact, as more recent publications have highlighted (Carrera, Perri & Romita, 2020; Romita, Perri & De Ruggiero, 2020; De Ruggiero, Perri & Romita, 2020) in order to develop the tourism roots, a basic condition is the adaptation to the needs of the modern post-tourist by the territories that aspire to be competitive, which also increases their capacity to attract demand as a result of this type of tourism (it is therefore easy to understand the strategic role of the territorial public government). For this purpose, it should be noted that we have went from an essentially hetero-direct way to enjoy the tourist experience, to methods which largely admit and even nurture self-organized forms of travel and stay (the latter being widely preferred and widespread among radical travellers). In addition, this contemporary society aims at creating conditions of use of tourist places that make the vacation an intense, emotional, sensory, cognitive experience, and it is a relevant aspect that fully meets what the tourist of the roots are looking for during stays in their place of origin (Perri, Romita & De Ruggiero, 2020).

Finally, it is now time that we witness the developments of the hospitality services that enhance the direct encounter between host and guest, and which also greatly meet the needs of roots tourists, whose direct contact with the living people of their places of origin leads to a better understanding of the history of their families.

3. Root Tourism: a Research Path

The theme of this work, the so-called “tourism of the roots”, is a “not expected” result of the research activities of the Center for Studies and Research on Tourism (CREST) of the University of Calabria, carried out on the analysis of the tourism phenomenon. The research process started by trying to understand why some Italian territories have had difficulty in creating competitive tourist destinations, even in the presence of similar or better conditions than the tourist areas considered advanced. In this respect, it was considered essential to broaden the initial knowledge available on the problem in question, since, while it was substantial, it was considered insufficient to formulate a working hypothesis. Therefore, the first research activities were oriented towards a descriptive study through exploring and describing in detail the phenomenon of tourism in its qualitative and quantitative aspects as well as its social and economic impacts. In order to formulate an initial working hypothesis, the consequences of this study were to identify a possible explanation of the problem to be investigated in the process of local tourism development. Consequently, the initial general hypothesis adopted, based on the theories of underdevelopment, and particularly on that of modernisation, took the position that the causes of inadequate local tourism development were due to the simultaneous presence of: infrastructure deficiencies; holders of (local) interests opposed to development; unfinished processes of public governance; cultural models and social structures of the communities that go against the processes of change in the traditional social context (Germani, 1971; Harrison, 1988; Lerner, 1958; Levy, 1966; Hoselitz, 1952, 1960; Rostow, 1960). In other words, it was considered that the delay in developing tourism could depend on the presence of asynchronous modernisation processes, inefficient local development mechanisms in terms of capacity to plan, manage and promote territorial development, that is, to understand and promote the ever more complex and specialized logic of tourist production and its industrial management. The most suitable area to be studied for the purpose above, appeared to be Calabria, the southernmost region of the Italian peninsula, with high tourist potential, but which holds the lowest positions in the Italian national ranking (<https://www.istat.it/it/files//2019/12/C19.pdf>). For the case studies, Calabrian local communities were identified, differentiated into sub-units based on their specificity, territorial, social and cultural diversity, and thus for the typology of potential tourist development (seaside, mountain and inland Municipalities). The research methodology for the analysis of the phenomenon was based on consultation of official statistics and existing literature, direct observation within individual communities and semi-structured interviews with local actors (public administrators, commercial operators, professionals, etc.).

The first data gathered brought forward a certainly surprising situation. The initial working assumption did not seem substantially correct, since when there were shortcomings in the modernization process between local communities, there was intensive local tourism development processes in others, extended to be a significant strategic factor for the economic and social growth of the local community. In other words, the research activities had led to the revelation of an actual tourist situation very different from that which was supposed to be analysed. In fact, we have confronted local communities characterized by a strong presence of «undetected tourism» or «tourism which does not appear» (Romita, 1999), that is, tourism in private houses substantially “submerged” (in the sense that it cannot be officially evaluated), self-organized and often prevailing over conventional official tourism. These areas have been determined independently in the absence of organisational and planning actions for local tourist development, and that we have synthetically called “spontaneous tourist contexts” (Romita & Perri, 2009b), or non-conventional. In this situation, it was important to the local community that the “tourists” got there, not the reason of the trip. For this reason, it was an indispensable a research activity to understand the holiday motivations of these tourists, in particular during the summer. To this end, the above research activities have been supplemented by data collection campaigns which, via structured interviews (questionnaires), aim to find out not only the motivations, but also the

behaviours, needs and evaluations of tourists present in the communities studied. As a result of these activities, we have conducted over “ten thousand” structured interviews with tourists in non-traditional tourism contexts over time (second home tourism). Every year, from 2007 to 2021, mainly during the summer, interviewers trained ad hoc have administered to the tourist population a structured questionnaire composed of over 50 variables. The Calabrian municipalities, different in size and geographical location, where the interviews were carried out were about forty, and in at least ten of them this kind of tourism has been monitored through surveys repeated over time. In recent years, face-to-face interviews have also been joined by web-based interviews. The senior research team has been the same since 2007 and has produced several publications and research reports.

We so encountered the so-called phenomenon of “tourism of the roots”, acquiring that basic knowledge, which since 2009 has made it possible to understand how valuable this phenomenon is for local communities and the dynamics and factors that have affected its evolution over time (Perri, 2020). By digging even further, we managed to carry out an ad hoc survey on the topic of the perception of the phenomenon by the local population, gaining knowledge on the following topics that motivated the writing of this work. However, before continuing our discussion, it should be noted that the materials related to the research activities mentioned and conducted are available at the CREST of the University of Calabria. Moreover, we wish to point out that, in our methodological process, we have started from the idea that the object of interest of sociologists is human relations, and they make individuals into social beings. Based on this assumption, social research appears to be one particular type of social action based on language relations (Bezzi, 2022), so the meaning acquired by the data should therefore be considered in a different way, and thus the meaning is to be ascribed to its faithfulness and the merits of its construction. First, the researcher deals with each empirical problem according to certain hypotheses; has one or more theories on the subject that is analysed (in our case a theory on root tourism); has a knowledge of the context (in our case Calabria, and its deep knowledge as qualified witnesses, even before as researchers); has a “method theory”, that is, the skill required to understand the nature of the data. The conclusion is therefore necessarily hermeneutic: a hundred questionnaires carried out in a tourist centre, are probably only a micro-survey of variables (mainly a syntactic-deductive analysis; Bezzi, 2022); but thousands of questionnaires conducted over fifteen years in a vast survey of the field, plus many biographical interviews, focus groups, personal explorations, interviews with qualified witnesses, become a significant extended document in which the researcher seeks a semantic upon which to produce inductive and abductive inferences. Only these are capable of creating an original and not tautological thought (Peirce, 1989). Our questionnaires are not interesting because their analysis by variables would produce percentages with 2 decimals to support our thesis, but because they are readable as interview protocols (remember that interviews are structured face to face). They built up a relationship, they have therefore produced significance (Hofstadter, 1990), they have hermeneutically induced hypotheticals, confirmations, theoretical declensions. In conclusion, we feel confident that we have a huge amount of data (of different formats, built in different places and times) which they go towards a clear point of convergence, underpinned by a theory we call “roots tourism” which confirms this theory itself and from which obtains its confirmation. The data we have is documentation that has helped us make inductive inferences, and these inductions have roots in the scientific literature which we have partly stressed previously.

4. The Tourism of the Roots: Multiple Identities and its Perception

As already stated, the analysis of the tourist situation in the local communities of Calabria has produced an unexpected result, which has detected a consolidated and widespread phenome-

non which, as we have accurately described on of the second paragraph, is defined "root tourism"; tourism made up of people who, residing elsewhere, stay temporarily in the place of origin of their own family. Specifically, as a result of our search path, the detected root tourism is mainly self-organised and unconventional. Among the travellers of the origins interviewed were first generation emigrants, their sons, nephews and great-grandchildren, and by the analysis of their travel motivations we arrived at the distinction of the tourists of the roots in two groups. The first group consists of travellers of roots among whom instrumental travel motivations prevail, mainly related to the maintenance and construction of social relations with the aim of a possible return in the future. In this regard, some reports have shown (Report Migrantes, 2011) that migrants (themselves or their familiar) who have fulfilled the "dream" to return to live in their birthplace are a very limited percentage. The lower the percentage, the more distant the place of origin is from the place of emigration. The second group consists of root travellers for whom the place of origin is the place to spend a holiday, an environment in which there is an indissoluble historical family bond with their roots, where you are surrounded by the affection of family and/or friends with whom to discuss facts and stories that rekindle a sense of belonging to their family identity. Despite the different travel motivations, both groups have similar characteristics. These are travellers who do not interact daily with the local host community, who choose the specific place to spend the holidays in order to rediscover and/or maintain their identity roots, and that at the same time assume the behaviors and daily attitudes typical of the tourist figure (Romita, 2019). For years now, this type of tourist has helped to revive the social and economic life of the local communities studied, particularly in the smaller inner cities where the importance of their coming is more obvious and easier to follow. Such a presence is sometimes strategic for the economic survival of the local community, as well as for the creation and accumulation of social capital. Even today, for many migrants, it is almost an "obligation" to spend, at least partially, their working holidays in their places of origin, and for the host communities, this is a very important time of the year that must be celebrated through the organization of the "Festival for the Emigrants" (an actual widespread summer event). This event is very important and celebrated mostly in most inland cities of the Italian country.

However, this event sometimes seems unpleasant for the roots tourists, who during a group conversation in the municipality of San Fili, said: "The Feast makes you feel too much like an emigrant and not a 'sanfilese' a local form San Fili. We are not immigrants, but people who have left and who come back every year, or every two or three years, etc." Nevertheless, thanks to the tourism of the roots, the cities, especially the most internal and small towns, during many periods of the year like summer or Christmas holidays, record an increase in the current population, and in addition through special events like baptisms, weddings, engagements, lunches and dinners, construction and/or renovation of estates, can record a thriving economy.

From the information collected, we have deduced that, over time, the dominant motivation that drives the return journey has certainly become that of tourism, whereas the instrumental reason is marginal or impromptu (helping a family member, caring for an economic interest, etc.). In fact, for the majority of the roots tourists interviewed, the return today is almost exclusively a holiday opportunity, in an environment with an inextricable historical connection. In addition to that, new meanings have been added, especially to the travel experiences of second, third and last generations of emigrants. For them, staying in their families' places of origin is not only a holiday, but also the occasion to deepen the oral narratives about the history and the construction of the family identity passed on from generation to generation. Analysing travel reasons is very important for our work. In fact, they are very helpful for understanding the general tourism phenomenon, addressing the question of the perception of tourism and the tourist roots by the local host population, and that is the primary purpose of this document. As a matter of fact, the process of transforming travel motivations, has led to a split in the social role these travellers play when they stay in places of origin: they are not only "emigrants" but they are also "tourists of the roots".

During our research, one of the main observations deduced is the sense of confusion that pervades the travellers of the roots. The emigrant who returns to their origin place, during the stay sometimes feels as a tourist, and other times they don't. This psychological disorder is clearly highlighted in certain interviews given by some Italian-Americans:

Question:

«When you or other family members return to Italy to the place of your origin, do you feel as a tourist going on vacation or people belonging to that community?»

Answers:

A: «This is a very difficult question. Neither one nor the other. We do not feel like tourists, but also not as a local Italian living there».

A: «The truth is, I feel a little outside of the community, but I don't even feel like a tourist. Now that I've come back more often, it's different, but I used to feel like a stranger to the community. Not because they made me feel so, I felt different».

A: «Neither one nor the other, I don't even know how to explain it. You definitely feel connected to Italy, but you are not Italian, although I lived there for 4 years, and I attended primary school. You don't even feel like a tourist, though. I think for every first-generation Italian American, we live with one foot in the U.S. and one foot in Italy».

A: «It depends on whom I'm talking to. Sometimes I feel like a tourist in my city. At other times, I have the impression that I have never emigrated».

A: «I feel like I'm in the community, but I feel like I'm looking from a distance».

In short, as noted in the literature, emigrants often find themselves in a state of suspension and uncertainty, between two histories, two societies, and different forms of culture (Gozzoli & Regalia, 2005). This fact, because of the complex condition of extraneity which belongs to this kind of tourist, nourishes and at the same time confuses the process of perception, among the local host communities, of the multiple identity that characterizes the traveller of the roots. It notably obscures the visibility and social perception of the role of tourism, focusing only on its contours, thereby confusing its understanding among the host population.

This issue had already been raised and reported in the publication "From emigrants to tourists" several years ago (Romita & Perri, 2009a). Based on the research that was done, we found that among the local population surveyed dominates a traveller's perception of the roots that we sum up as follows: if I "know him" I think of him as an emigrant, if I "don't know him" I think of him as a tourist. If I "don't know him" but someone from the community tells me that his family has its origins here, I consider him once again as an "emigrant". In other words, when it comes to the movement of emigrants back to their place of origin, the outcome of our research is that the host community is not always able to differentiate between what is labelled as root tourism and what is not.

This is a very important question. Indeed, the confusion of social roles can only lead to an inadequate enhancement of the tourism of the roots: what for us is clearly tourism (roots), could be something else for the local host communities. In practical terms, this creates a twofold problem. First, it is unlikely that a hospitality model will be put in place to adequately meet the needs of these types of tourists. Secondly, it can create less interest among root tourists to return more often to the place of origin of their own or their family.

5. Final Considerations

This work has enabled us to conclude that the traveller of the roots is today considered mainly as a tourist, because, as we pointed out, its travel and accommodation arrangements are those that, by definition, differentiate the general traveller from the tourist traveller. They

actually actualize a temporary, mostly non-instrumental stay, showing daily behaviours and visitation patterns that make them virtually in-dissociable from other tourist categories (Romita & Perri, 2009b), and like any tourists they are an "other" (stranger) subject because they usually live somewhere else (Romita, 2020; Cohen, 1974, 1979), placing them in a position of extraneity which, even in the eyes of the local host community, grows over time.

Tourism roots is not a niche tourism, nor even a market segment, but a tourism made up of people who travel for the pleasure of travelling to the places of their origins and their family history, to find a relevant piece of their historical identity. Indeed, the main purpose of this journey is the unification of family identity, which in the case of the first-generation emigrant traveller, finds a proper fulfilment already only in the return to physical, social and cultural spaces, already known and experienced. When, on the other hand, a descendant of emigrants is the one that organises this roots journey, which therefore stands ahead along the generational line, the reconstruction of identity finds fulfilment by staying in the places where their ancestors lived-in, worked, and were buried, along with the acquisition and consultation of documents relevant to the reconstitution of their genealogical tree, or by experiential conversations with the people (family, friends, etc.) of the place.

The strength of this experience is nevertheless intense and leads not only to the desired reconstruction of identity, but also to a partial redefinition of the identity status of their family as it is passed on and understood. But we cannot forget the extraneity conditions that belong to all tourists, and in the case of the tourist of the roots it brings to an uncertain, complex and malleable identity which sometimes manifests itself by exalting the predominant belonging to the original culture and other times by praising that one connected with the places in which it now lives. In other words, for the tourists of the roots the concept of "community" leads to a constant redefinition of the notion of attachment and belonging in relation to places.

This situation has a major impact on the perception of this social figure by the home communities that host them, who are confused by feeling like they belong/don't belong to their own community, showed by the same "rootist" as a result of the multiple identity which characterises them, they do not understand that the presence of those compatriots is mainly touristic. When this happens, the flow of root travellers that is determined in these territories is not punctually perceived as a tourism phenomenon, which generates not only cultural but also economic and social damage for the local host community.

References

- Bauman, Z. (2000). *Dentro la globalizzazione. Le conseguenze sulle persone*. Bari: Laterza.
- Bezzi, C. (2022). *La costruzione del dato nelle scienze sociali*. Milano: FrancoAngeli.
- Boyd, M. (1989). Family and Personal Networks in International Migrations: Recent Developments and New Agendas. *International Migration Review*, n. 3, pp. 638-670.
- Carrera, L., Perri, A., Romita, T. (2020). *Riflessioni intorno al viaggio turistico delle radici. Esperienze, strategie e scenari post COVID-19*. Bruxelles: IARC-ETQA.
- Cerase, P. (1970). *Nostalgia o Disenchantment: Consideration on Return Migration*. In Tomasi, S. M., Engel, M. H. (eds.). *The Italian Experience in United States*. New York: Center for Migration Studies.
- Cohen, E. (1974). Who is a Tourist? A conceptual clarification. *The Sociological Review*, vol. 22, n. 4, pp. 527-554.
- Cohen, E. (1979). A Phenomenology of Tourist Experiences. *Sociology*, Vol. XIII.
- De Masi, D. (1985). *L'avvento post-industriale*. Milano: FrancoAngeli.
- De Ruggiero, M., Perri, A., Romita, T. (2020). *Smart Cities in Post-COVID time for root tourism*. In Carrera, L., Perri, A., Romita, T. (a cura di). *Riflessioni intorno al viaggio turistico delle radici. Esperienze, strategie e scenari post COVID-19*. Bruxelles: IARC-ETQA. p. 79-92.
- Donati, P. (1988). Tra Gemeinschaft e Gesellschaft: le reti informali nella società contemporanea. *Annali di Sociologia*, n. 1, pp. 225-248.
- Frigessi Castelnuovo, D., Riso, M. (1982). *A mezza parete*. Torino: Einaudi.
- Germani, G. (1971). *Sociologia della modernizzazione. L'esperienza dell'America Latina*. Bari: Laterza.
- Giumelli, R. (2020). *Turismo delle radici e nuovo sviluppo locale*. In: Carrera, L., Perri, A., Romita, T. (a cura di). *Riflessioni*

intorno al viaggio turistico delle radici. Esperienze, strategie e scenari post COVID-19. Bruxelles: IARC-ETQA.

Glazer, N. (1963). *Beyond the Melting Pot*. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Gozzoli, C., Regalia, C. (2005). *Migrazioni e famiglie. Percorsi, legami e interventi psicosociali*. Bologna: il Mulino

Gubert, R., Pollini, G. (2002). *Turismo, fluidità relazionale e appartenenza territoriale*. Milano: FrancoAngeli.

Harrison, D. (1988). *The sociology of modernization and development*. London: Routledge.

Harvey, D. (1993). *La crisi della modernità*. Milano: Il Saggiatore.

Hillery, G. (1955). Definitions of Community: Areas of Agreement. *Rural Sociology*, n. 20, pp. 111-123.

Hoselitz, B. (eds.) (1952). *The progress of underdeveloped areas*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Hoselitz, B. (1960). *Sociological aspects of economic growth*. Glencoe: Free Press.

Hofstadter, D. R. (1990). *Gödel, Escher, Bach: un'eterna ghirlanda brillante*. Milano: Adelphi.

Hunziker, W., Krapf, K. (1942). *Grundriss der allgemeinen Fremdenverkehrslehre*. Zürich: Polygraphischer Verlag.

Lerner, D. (1958). *The passing of traditional society: modernizing the Middle East*. Glencoe: Free Press.

Levy, M. (1966). *Modernization and the structure of societies, 2 vol*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Lombardi Satriani, L. M. (1976). *Folklore e profitto*. Firenze: Guaraldi.

Mela, A. (2016). Per una nuova generazione di studi di comunità. *Sociologia Urbana e Rurale*, n. 110 (pp. 80-81).

Piazzì, G. (1984). *Teoria dell'azione e complessità*. Roma: Bulzoni.

Romita, T. (1999). *Il turismo che non appare. Verso un modello consapevole di sviluppo turistico della Calabria*. Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino.

Romita, T. (2019). *L'accoglienza turistica sostenibile: il turista esperienziale ed autodiretto*. In Lavarini, R., Mortara, A. (a cura di). *L'accoglienza turistica per un futuro sostenibile*. Milano: LUMI Edizioni.

Romita, T. (2020). *Temi di sociologia del turismo*. Bruxelles: International Academic Research Center (IARC).

Romita, T., Perri, A. (2009a). *Da emigrati a turisti. Turismo delle radici e recupero delle identità locali*. In Ercole, E., Nocifora, E., Palumbo, M., Pieroni, O., Romita, T., Ruzza, C., Savelli, A. (a cura di). *Atti del III Convegno Nazionale: Turismo Sostenibile: Ieri, Oggi, Domani*. Cosenza: Edizioni Pronovis.

Romita, T., Perri, A. (2009b). El turista que se organiza por su cuenta (fai-da-te). In (eds.) Latiesa Rodriguez, M., Puertas Canaverall, I., Paniza Prados, J. L. *El turismo en el mediterraneo: posibilidades de desarrollo y cohesion*. Madrid: Editorial Universitaria Ramon Areces.

Romita, T., Perri, A., De Ruggiero, M. (2020). *La governance pubblica del turismo delle radici: conoscere il fenomeno per decidere*. In Carrera, L., Perri, A., Romita, T. (a cura di). *Riflessioni intorno al viaggio turistico delle radici. Esperienze, strategie e scenari post COVID-19*. Bruxelles: IARC-ETQA. pp. 93-110.

Romita, T., Perri, A. (2021). *Strumenti per un nuovo protagonismo turistico delle comunità locali: la soggettivazione della offerta turistica*. In Cekani, I., D'Ovidio, F., Favia, F. (eds.). *Up to the Roots: Tourism Sustainability, Health, Food, and Culture. UNICART Selected Papers, vol. 2*. Tirana - Bruxelles: IARC-ETQA.

Ogilvie, F. W. (1933). *The tourist movement*. London: Sage.

Peirce, C. S. (1989). *Semiotica. I fondamenti della semiotica cognitiva*. Torino: Einaudi.

Perri, A. (2020). *Il turismo delle radici*. Roma: Aracne (Collana Turismo e Mediterraneo).

Perri, A., Romita, T. (2020). Nuove tecnologie e mobilità turistica. *Fuori Luogo. Rivista di Sociologia del Territorio, Turismo e Tecnologia*, Anno IV, Vol. 7, N. 1, (pp. 117-123).

Perri, A., Romita, T., De Ruggiero, M. (2020). *Lo sviluppo del turismo delle radici: web locali visibilità internazionale*. In Carrera, L., Perri, A., Romita, T. (a cura di). *Riflessioni intorno al viaggio turistico delle radici. Esperienze, strategie e scenari post COVID-19*. Bruxelles: IARC-ETQA.

Pitto, C. (1988). *Al di là dell'emigrazione*. Cassano allo Jonio: Ionica Editrice.

Rapporto Migrantes (2011). *VI Rapporto Migrantes italiani nel Mondo*. Roma: Fondazione Migrantes.

Rostow, W. W. (1960). *The stages of economic growth*. Massachusetts: Cambridge University Press.

Schütz, A. (1944). The Stranger: An Essay in Social Psychology. *American Journal of Sociology*, n. 49 (pp. 499-507).

Scidà, G. (1994). Sociologia delle migrazioni. *Sociologia Urbana e Rurale*, n. 42-43. Milano: FrancoAngeli.

Simmel, G. (1908). *Excurs über den Fremden, in Soziologie. Untersuchungen über die Formen der Vergesellschaftung*. Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot.

Tabboni, S. (a cura di) (1993). *Vicinanza e lontananza. Modelli e figure dello straniero come categoria sociologica*. Milano: FrancoAngeli.

Urry, J. (2000). *Lo sguardo del turista. Il tempo libero e il viaggio nelle società contemporanee*. Roma: SEAM.

Roots Tourism, Second Homes and Terraphilia in a Portuguese Context²

Introduction

One of the features of roots tourism are visits of emigrants or out-migrants to their places of origin that became places of their second home. For people who remained there, the second home is physical evidence of the successful experience among those who left in the search for better living conditions.

In this article, the issue of root tourism connected with the use of second homes is followed by bearing in mind two vital concepts about the relationship between its users and the places where they are located: from a simple attachment perspective i.e., topophilia (Tuan, 1990, 2003), as well as from a more proactive perspective, i.e., terraphilia (Oliveira, Roca & Leitão, 2010; Roca, Oliveira & Oliveira-Roca, 2011), when second home users wish to participate in the local development process.

In the 70s of the 20th century, Yi-fu Tuan developed the concept of "topophilia", that is, "the affective bond between the people and place or setting" (Tuan, 1990:4). It was an anthropological approach by a geographer who highly valued the cosmological and philosophical aspects of people's relationship with space and places. In fact, in another work by the same author published a few years later but still in the 1970s (Tuan, 2003), issues of individual perception and evaluation of geographic space and places are analyzed in more detail and from a behaviorist perspective, in an attempt, as the author himself says in the introduction, to value experience as a tool in planning and evaluating environmental quality, through the understanding of "how people feel about space and place" (Tuan, 2003:7).

For the sake of clarification of concepts, it will be assumed that topophilia is equivalent to the more general concept of place attachment. In fact, Bradley Jorgensen and Richard Stedman (Jorgensen, Stedman, 2001:234) some of which are well established in attitude research. Attitude theory can provide a basis for conceiving of SOP as cognitive, affective and conative relationships with human environments. In this study, Sense of Place was defined as a multidimensional construct comprising: (1, argue that topophilia is just one of the constitutive elements of the concept of attachment to place and develop a systematization of elements to clarify the concepts of *sense of place*, *sense of belonging*, *place attachment* e *place dependence*, foreseeing a segmentation of the concept of attachment or belonging to the place in four dimensions (Chen, Hall, Yu & Qian, 2019). One, more morphological, relates to the place as a reflection of a specific territorial identity. Another, more of a functional dependence between the individual and the place, which can be translated into the possibility of supplying the goods and services necessary for life. A third, more affective dimension explores the reasons for unreserved emotional attachments. Finally, the dimension of relational ties of a family and friendship type, that is, the place as a container of family relationships and coexistence. The concept of topophilia can thus be integrated into any of these dimensions, so it will be taken as equivalent to other conceptual formulations, leaving the discussion of their differences for other investigations.

The concept of "terraphilia", corresponds to an exploration of topophilia but integrating a more proactive view focused on the issues of local territorial development, and can be understood as

1 José António Oliveira, Universidade Lusófona de Humanidades e Tecnologias, jantol.geoideia@netcabo.pt ORCID: 0000-0002-6033-0760. Maria de Nazaré Oliveira-Roca, Università Nova di Lisbona, nazareroca@gmail.com, ORCID: 0000-0002-6449-9766.

Zoran Roca, Universidade Lusófona de Humanidades e Tecnologias, zoran.roca@gmail.com, ORCID: 0000-0002-7213-6180.

2 Received: 25/05/2022. Revised: 17/10/2022. Accepted: 30/10/2022.

«the affective bond between people and territory that encourage local development intervention» (Oliveira *et al.*, 2010:802). With this formulation, the concept of terraphilia complements that of topophilia, as it includes a pro-developmental extension, thus easing its practical application, mainly in the context of planning and territorial development activities, namely through the consultation and involvement of the actors and agents in these processes.

Terraphilia is also an analytical category that can only be operationalized from direct observation, meaning that it is not feasible to analyze it through the design of indicators and measure its intensity levels through statistics. However, through direct observation, namely through the application of interviews or questionnaires, an approximation to the intensity of terraphilia can be made. This can be evaluated, both from the point of view of protecting what is traditional and specific to a place or territory, as opposed to its de-characterization, and by the disposition of people to take part in local or territorial development process.

The second homes phenomenon combine different forms and intensities of connections to the root place, ranging from simple relationships that mostly value physical aspects of the natural and social environment, to the presence of family members wishing to display their social and economic success. This last connection can encourage greater levels of material and immaterial interaction with the root place. Such communication can be reflected in different transformation effects of that same community, from some more economic (Oliveira, Roca, Roca, 2015), to other more social or political ones (Rinne, Paloniemi, Tuulentie & Kietäväinen, 2015).

The initial hypothesis is that second homes users involved in roots tourism will be more connected with higher levels of topophilia and terraphilia.

In Portugal there are no published studies on roots tourism. Despite the abundance of studies focused on foreign tourists, much less frequent are those dedicated to the study of Portuguese tourists and, even less, of their descendants. In the absence of statistical or other information derived from direct or indirect sources related to roots tourism, this phenomenon is contextualized within the more general phenomenon of second homes. It is based on the available and not yet published results of a survey conducted by the authors of this article during 2019 and 2020 by using the internet with the help of Google Forms and spread through social networks.

1. The Relationship between Second Homes and Root Tourism

1.1 A Synthetic View of the Evolution of the Phenomenon of Second Homes in Portugal

The evolution of the phenomenon of second homes in Portugal can be systematized, considering the data from the various Housing Censuses (Fig. 1), as follows:

- in 1970, the phenomenon was present, more clearly, in some municipalities of the Massif Central and Beira Interior, where earlier significant emigration and out-migration movements were registered and, on the western coast, in municipalities such as Sesimbra, in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area (LMA), and Nazaré, traditional summer destinations;
- in 1981, because of the evolution seen in the earlier decade, there was an increase in second homes in the aforementioned areas but which, in general, spreads further in the border municipalities, in direct relation to emigration;
- in 1991, as in earlier decades, the absolute and relative number of second homes was reinforced throughout the interior, but now with a very clear emergence of Algarve, the main summer tourism region in the country;
- in 2001 and 2011, the intensification of the phenomenon was registered, whether anchored in the abandonment of rural areas, or boosted by the attractiveness of many coastal areas, sometimes based on the offer of tourism related real estate.

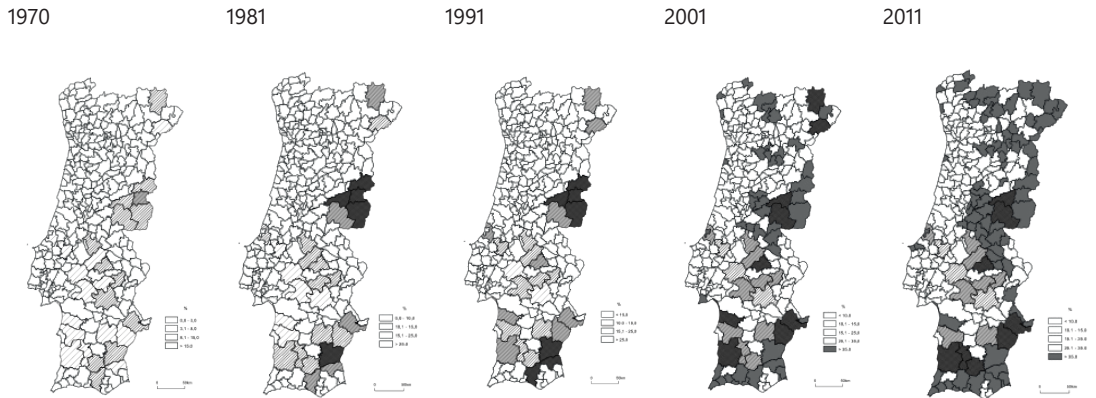


Fig. 1 - Percentage of second homes in the total of homes by municipality, 1970-2011

Elaborated by the author with census data available at Instituto Nacional de Estatística, Censos 2011 (ine.pt)

To obtain a summary view of the evolution of the phenomenon, a hot spot analysis was conducted.³

The maps in Fig. 2, show, in a very simple way, the evolution of two quite important phenomena: i) on the one hand, the consolidation of clusters of second homes in areas previously affected by rural depopulation and, on the other hand, by investments in tourism related real estate and, ii) on the other hand, the formation of large areas of cold spots corresponding to the consolidation of urban areas where permanent residence is concentrated, on the central and northern coast and in the wider surroundings of the LMA.

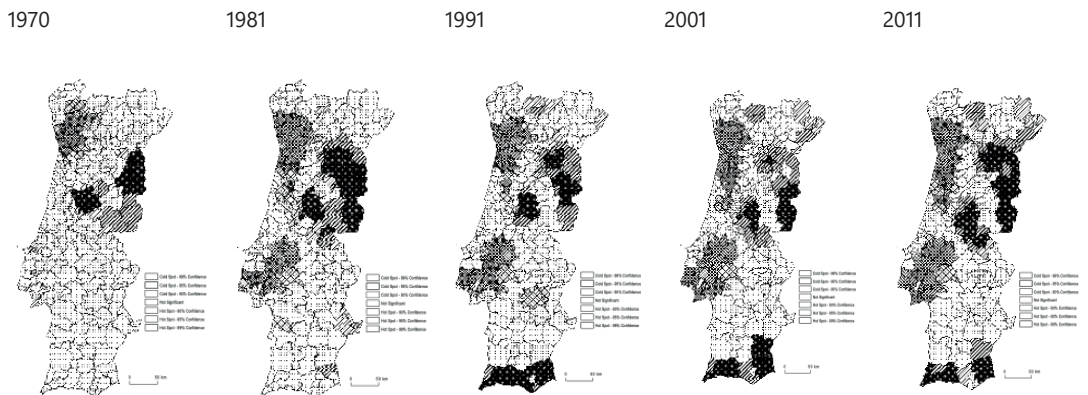


Fig. 2 - Hot and Cold spots (G_i^* statistics)

for the percentage of second homes in the total of homes by municipality, from 1970 to 2011

Elaborated by the author with census data available at Instituto Nacional de Estatística, Censos 2011 (ine.pt)

3 This analysis, known as G_i^* statistic, is provided by the ArcGIS software, and corresponds to the identification of groups of analysis units, or spatial clusters, whose distribution patterns of the variable under study, in addition to its high values, also present a neighbourhood relationship of the same type, that is, it compares with other units of analysis where high values of the variable under study are also recorded. In a very simple way, this analysis technique identifies spatial clusters with statistical significance, regulated by territorial influences of a supra-local dimension, that is, independent of very localized territorial contexts.

In previous studies (Oliveira et al., 2015; Oliveira Roca, Roca & Oliveira, 2011), some conclusions emerged that help to understand the phenomenon of ownership, location and use of second homes in Portugal. These conclusions were as follows:

- the forms of ownership vary according to the typology of the place, with a higher frequency of purchase in areas of greater tourist development or closer to the main tourist emitting centers and a greater frequency of inherited houses in more rural areas or further away from these same centers;
- the variation in the distance between the first and second homes is related to the frequency of use and duration of stays, with a higher frequency being clear with shorter stays when proximity is greater, and a lower frequency with longer stays, when the distance is greater;
- when the house is inherited by the actual owner, family connections in the places are also more important, a fact that also induces a use of leisure more focused on socializing with friends and family;
- as a corollary, in addition to greater topophilic relationships with places, terraphilic relationships are also clearer, that is, in addition to attachment to the place, there is also greater willingness to participate in its development.

1.2 A Systematization of the Relationship between Roots Tourism and Second Homes in Portugal

Both the evolution of the phenomenon of second homes, as well as any of the results presented above, help to understand the relevance of the motivations and practices that underlie roots tourism, understood as a form of travel that privileges some type of relationship of root tourists with their place of origin, with the aim of knowing, consolidating, or reinforcing feelings of belonging or identity, related to the natural environment, population, economy and culture.

It is assumed that this definition is in some way an upgrade of the one presented by Antonella Perri when she deals with roots tourism in southern Italy and which, according to her, is: «the movement of people who spend leisurely stays in the place in which they themselves, and /or their families, were born and where they lived before emigrating to places which, in time, have become the ones where they now live permanently» (Perri, 2013:56, *apud* Perri 2010:147).

Although this definition encompasses several generations of emigrants who progressively lose the ties that bind them to the places of origin of their ancestors, it does not make clear the separation between emigration and out-migration. These two movements may have, for cultural reasons, different consequences, both in terms of the need to socially demonstrate a successful life (construction typologies, architectural morphologies and other manifestations of change in territorial identity), as well as the frequency of interaction with the community, strongly associated with the friction effect of the distance, absolute or relative, between the places of origin and those of destination. The two types of migration have an equal effect on the increase in the number of second homes, with differences arising more in terms of their morphology and frequency of use. In fact, there are significant differences between the two types of migration, not only because of the asymmetries in terms of income achieved in each case, but also because of the greater or lesser difficulties of integration in the areas of permanent residence, with consequences, for example, in terms of educational attainment or in professional skills and, correspondingly, also in cultural change and in the values of social affirmation.

In Fig. 3, roots tourism is seen as the result of the interference of two main dimensions: i) on the one hand, the time elapsed since emigration/out-migration and the distance at which it took place; ii) on the other hand, the intensity of the relationships maintained with the place of origin. These two dimensions are interrelated. That is, as the distance increases, the intensity

of relationships with the place may be lower, in a variation of the distance-decay pattern that Torsten Hägerstrand defined as the mean information field (Hägerstrand, 1968), in the same way that as time passes and different generations succeed, the relationship with the place of origin also tends to disappear. However, both distance and time, despite interfering in the maintenance or progressive degradation of relations of social proximity with the place, can also constitute the reason for the emergence of interest in that same place, at a level of relationship that some authors designate by ancestral tourism, although many other designations may occur (Tomczewska-Popowycz & Taras, 2022). Thus, through the regular use of second homes with the involvement of successive generations of the family, a constant relationship with the origins can be obtained, which often takes the form of relocating the permanent residence for the elders, and in the enjoyment of a home of family members, equivalent to a second residence, by the younger generations.

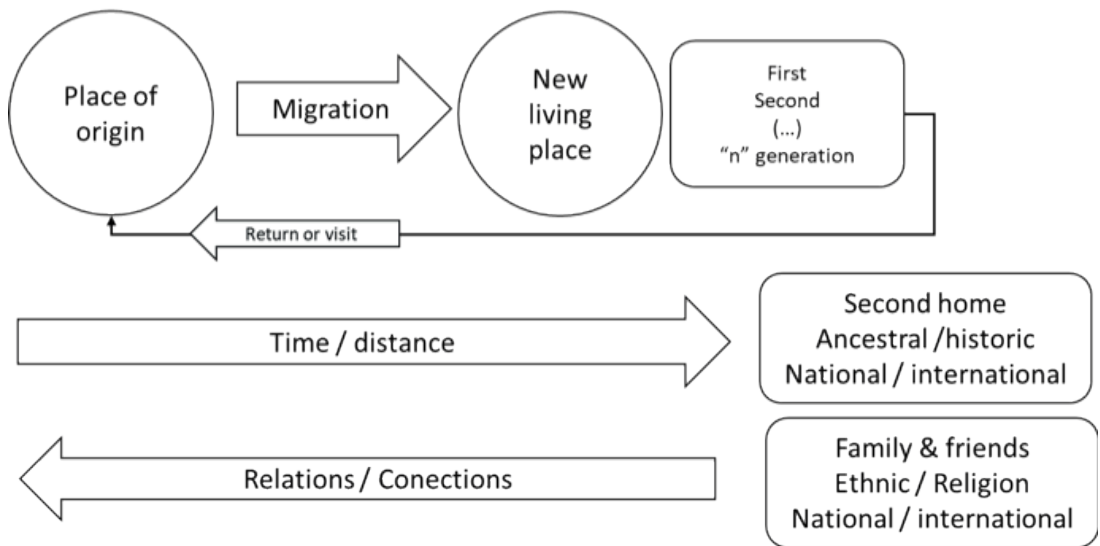


Fig. 3 – Time, distance, and intensity of relations with the original community
Elaborated by the author

Having recognized the importance of second homes in the case of roots tourism, the objective of this article is, in addition to contributing to the knowledge of some of the characteristics of houses and their users and usage practices, to assess the importance of ties and feelings of belonging to places (topophilia), as well as the availability and willingness to participate in their development (terrabilia).

2. Methodological Aspects

First, it should be noted that in Portugal there is no systematic and diversified statistical information on second homes, both in terms of the physical part of the house and its forms of ownership and use. The only statistical information available in the Housing Census refers to their number, which can be disaggregated between those located in buildings with one or several floors or by year of construction. That is, only some characteristics of the buildings where they are located are known, but nothing more about their characteristics themselves.

Thus, any research in Portugal that has second homes as an object of study can only be conducted using direct observation, namely through the application of a questionnaire.

To conduct research on a national scale, an online survey was launched in 2019, the results of which were collected in 2021. The "Google forms" technology was used, and the questionnaire was disseminated through social networks and using email addresses from a vast network of friends and collaborators.

The survey consisted of three large groups of questions with the following aims: i) to learn about the characteristics of the house, that is, its location and morphology; ii) to know the characteristics of users, from demographics to those related to their economic capacity and degree of involvement with the community; iii) finally, to register the use of the second home, from the frequency of use to the type of activities carried out.

In total, 312 valid questionnaires were obtained. Taking into account the number of second homes registered in 2011 (data from the 2021 census are not available yet), in a total of 1,098,336 dwellings, or 19.5% of the total of 5,620,012 family dwellings, this sample results in a theoretical error of 0.0566, that is, a confidence level of 94.34%, although it can be considered that the sample should be more representative of the universe, since there will be some overestimation of the number of second homes, for methodological reasons from the census itself (Oliveira, 2013). The survey results were subject to a simple but robust data analysis, that is, without any loss of information as in the case of multivariate analyses.⁴

In practice, it is a method based on analysis of covariance and determination of commonalities between variables, that is, the extent to which there are mathematical spaces of overlap between pairs of distributions, one being the class of a given variable, and the other, each of the modalities of the remaining variables. In the end, only the crossing of variables that present a high value test and an almost null probability of the relationship being obtained by chance are kept. These crossing of variables of high statistical significance between the answered class and its relations with the other variables are now called characteristic modalities.

From the set of responses to the survey, only those that refer to the existence or not of family members in the place of the second residence, to the ownership of the house, to what they like most and least about the place of their second residence, as well as to the level of participation in community life, mainly in the sense of improving local development conditions will be used for analysis. The choice of these questions or variables is directly related to the topic under study. Although only those questions were chosen, one cannot forget that they will be crossed with all the characteristic modalities that emerge from the relationships with the remaining variables.

4 The applied procedure, supported by the software SPAD (Système Portable pour l'Analyse des Données), consists of the following steps:

- 1 First, all answers must be classified, that is, the scale of measurement of variables intrinsic to the survey questions must be nominal;
- 2 for each question of the survey, the answers given to the other variables are determined by class or type of response, taking into account their respective modalities;
- 3 this crossover (number of individuals who responded to modality x_i to variable X and who responded y_i to variable Y) is considered significant, that is, it is not spurious nor does it represent a simple expression of chance, when for the responses of x_i related to y_i , if there is any overrepresentation;
- 4 this overrepresentation is given, first, by the percentage of individuals who answered y_i in the set of those who answered x_i (percentage of the modality in the class) and, secondly, by the percentage of y_i answer in group x_i compared to the y_i answer in the total surveys (percentage of modality in total surveys); finally, the inverse representations are also considered, that is, the percentage of individuals in the x_i group who answered y_i , in the total of those who answered y_i in the total of the surveys (percentage of the class in the modality).

3. Results

3.1 The Existence of Family Members at the Place of the Second Residence and the Form of Possession

There are two variables that are very important in the identification of roots tourism, mainly when associated with the use of second homes. One is the permanence of family relatives at the place of second home (Table 1 and 2) and the other is the acquisition of the second home through inheritance or donation (Table 3). Each of these variables shows the existence of family ties that can justify the practice of roots tourism.

To the question "are there family members in the place", 149 respondents answered affirmatively, that is, 47.8% of the total respondents, which means that, excluding the non-answers, 51.6% do not have family members in the place. The characteristic modalities of each of these situations are very well adjusted to this distribution.

In the case where the respondents have family members in the place, the characteristics that appear, considering a systematization between the house, its use, and its users, are the following:

- regarding the house, the ones that resulted from inheritance or donation processes, built before 1960 or between 1961 and 1981, being detached or townhouses, with two floors and with areas up to 200 m² and found on land with more than 500 m² prevail;
- regarding the use, the period from 1961 to 1981 stands out as the beginning of use, as well as the frequency of 10 to 30 days of annual use;
- regarding users, only the aspects that the respondents like the most or least appear to be over-represented, with the former stressing peace and calm, as well as attachment to the place and social interaction, while for the negative aspects only the displeasure with abandonment and underdevelopment of the place stands out; however, despite this identification, the predisposition to intervene in the local development process is null;

In other words, the aforementioned characterizes the profile of roots tourists, since all other demographic, social and economic characteristics are not sufficiently discriminative against the total values, that is, of all owners or users of second homes.

Finally, it should be noted that these second homes are preferably found in the more interior regions, whether of Alentejo or Center of Portugal or even of Lisbon. In places where there are family members, the distance of 100 to 200 km between the first and second home is represented in 28.2%, and the relative distance of 1 to 2 hours, in 32.9% of the cases. It should also be noted that, despite not being significant, that is, of not having been constituted as characteristic modalities, 37 and 26 respondents among the total of 149 who reported having family members in the place bought or built a house, respectively.

In contrast, the 161 cases in which there are no family members in the place of the second home correspond to more recent houses, uses and users less attached to the place and more interested in its environmental amenities:

- the purchase of apartments in recent buildings, with 5 or more floors and with areas of 70 to 100 m² is dominant;
- the use is also relatively recent, after 2011 in 28.0% of the cases, but with a higher frequency of visits than among those with family members in the place. In fact, considering the greater representation of absolute and relative distances to the first residence below 100 km and up to 1 hour of travel, respectively, it is not surprising that 55.9% of these respondents travel 5 or more times a year and 13, 7% use their second home once a week;
- the beach is the main attraction in 36.7% of cases, with rest and leisure being the main activity (54.7%);
- the involvement with the place is limited to shopping in large commercial areas.

Finally, it should be noted that the Algarve and the coastal municipalities of the Lisbon region, are the most represented geographical spaces.

Labels of the variables	Characteristic modalities	% of the modality in the class	% of the modality in the sample	% of the class in the modality	Test-Value	Probability	Weight
Family on site of the SH	Yes	100,00	47,76	100,00	20,45	0,000	149
SH: Form of possession	Inheritance, donation	57,05	37,82	72,03	6,66	0,000	118
SH: Year of construction	1960 or before	33,56	22,12	72,46	4,57	0,000	69
Region of SH	Lisbon (Interior)	14,77	7,69	91,67	4,50	0,000	24
SH: Type	Townhouse	36,91	27,24	64,71	3,55	0,000	85
What you like the least	Abandonment, under-development	12,08	6,73	85,71	3,49	0,000	21
Region of SH	Centre Interior	16,78	10,58	75,76	3,27	0,001	33
Distance/time PH-SH	1-2 hours	32,89	24,36	64,47	3,23	0,001	76
SH: Total area	101 a 200 m2	42,28	33,65	60,00	2,97	0,001	105
Region of SH	Alentejo (Interior)	13,42	8,33	76,92	2,95	0,002	26
What you like the most	Socializing	5,37	2,56	100,00	2,81	0,002	8
Absolut distance PH-SH	100-200 km	28,19	21,79	61,76	2,48	0,007	68
What you like the most	Tranquility, calm	28,19	21,79	61,76	2,48	0,007	68
SH: Total land/plot area	> 500 m2	28,19	21,79	61,76	2,48	0,007	68
Participation in local activities	Null	55,70	48,08	55,33	2,47	0,007	150
Since when do you use SH	1961 to 1981	16,11	11,22	68,57	2,45	0,007	35
Number of days per year that SH is used	10 to 30 days	39,60	32,69	57,84	2,37	0,009	102
What you like the most	Place attachment	4,03	1,92	100,00	2,28	0,011	6
SH: Type	Detached house	44,30	37,50	56,41	2,25	0,012	117
SH: Year of construction	1961-1981	30,20	24,36	59,21	2,17	0,015	76
SH: Number of floors	2 floors	38,26	32,05	57,00	2,12	0,017	100

*WTable 1 – Characterization by the modalities of the classes of the variable: family members in the place - Class: Yes (Nr. of cases: 149 - 47.76%)
Elaborated by the author*

Labels of the variables	Characteristic modalities	% of the modality in the class	% of the modality in the sample	% of the class in the modality	Test-Value	Probability	Weight
Family on site of the SH	No	100.00	51.60	100.00	20.46	0.000	161
SH: Form of possession	Purchase	68.94	47.12	75.51	8.01	0.000	147
What you like the most	Beach	36.65	21.47	88.06	6.93	0.000	67
SH: Typology of counties	Tourism properties	32.92	19.23	88.33	6.51	0.000	60
Region of SH	Algarve	31.06	17.95	89.29	6.42	0.000	56
SH: Type	Apartment	47.21	33.01	73.79	5.46	0.000	103

SH: Number of floors	5 or more floors	23.60	15.38	79.17	4.10	0.000	48
SH: Year of construction	2002-2011	17.39	11.22	80.00	3.48	0.000	35
Distance/time PH-SH	<1 hour	36.65	28.53	66.29	3.18	0.001	89
Region of SH	Lisbon (Coast)	39.13	31.09	64.95	3.06	0.001	97
SH: Total area	70 to 100 m2	39.75	31.73	64.65	3.04	0.001	99
Since when do you use SH	2012 and after	27.95	21.15	68.18	2.92	0.002	66
SH: Typology of counties	Urban PH	32.92	25.96	65.43	2.78	0.003	81
Number of times you use SH per year	5 or more times	55.90	48.40	59.60	2.63	0.004	151
What do you use most in the place of SH (local involvement)	High LS	18.63	13.78	69.77	2.43	0.008	43
Number of times you use SH per week	1 time	13.66	9.62	73.33	2.35	0.010	30
Activities conducted in the place of SH	Just rest, leisure	54.66	48.40	58.28	2.17	0.015	151
Absolut distance PH-SH	<100 Km	37.89	32.05	61.00	2.17	0.015	100

Table 2 – Characterization by the modalities of the classes of the variable: family members in the place - Class: No (Nr. of cases: 161 - 51.60%)

Elaborated by the author.

In summary, there is a clear opposition between situations in which there are family members of second home users in the place and those in which there are none. In the first case, the second home is an extension of family ties and attachment to the place, thus a greater diversity of topophilic relationships is present. Inheritance and enjoyment of the house are also of ancient origin and obviously related to the migratory process that triggered root tourism.

In the second case, it is clearly a question of second homes originated only by the desire to enjoy other environments, namely coastal, with sufficient proximity to the first residence to allow a greater frequency of use and located in areas with a higher incidence of tourism related real estate and, therefore, almost no involvement with the local community.

In regarding the acquisition of the second home by inheritance or donation this form of possession is naturally the most significant for the purposes of evaluating and characterizing the roots tourism based on second homes, since the purchase is more clearly connected to the most touristy areas and the houses built by the owner for that purpose covers different situations where coastal areas that have been consolidated as summer resort destinations, namely in the Alentejo coastal municipalities, are even more well represented (Cf. Fig. 1). Thus, in the 118 second homes obtained through inheritance or donation (37.8% of the total of surveys) some characteristics already mentioned for the existence of family members in the place are repeated, such as the age of construction and use. But the clearest are the single-storey buildings and their location in the interior of the Lisbon region, close to the LMA that offers interesting environmental amenities and allows high frequencies of use, despite the very frequent deflagration of fires as it is also a region with large areas of forest.

Variables	Characteristic modalities	% of the modality in the class	% of the modality in the sample	% of the class in the modality	Test-Value	Probability	Weight
SH: Form of possession	Inheritance, donation	100.00	37.82	100.00	20.00	0.000	118
Family in the place of the SH	Yes	72.03	47.76	57.05	6.66	0.000	149
SH: Year of construction	1960 or before	41.53	22.12	71.01	6.24	0.000	69
Region of SH	Lisbon (Interior)	14.41	7.69	70.83	3.20	0.001	24
SH: Number of floors	1 floor	36.44	27.24	50.59	2.69	0.004	85
SH: Typology of counties	Consolidated countryside	18.64	12.50	56.41	2.35	0.009	39
SH: Typology of counties	Decline	26.27	19.23	51.67	2.29	0.011	60
Since when do you use SH	1960 and before	5.08	2.24	85.71	2.23	0.013	7

*Table 3 – Characterization by the modalities of the classes of the variable: Form of possession - Class: Inheritance, donation (Nr. of cases: 118 – 37.82%)
Elaborated by the author.*

3.2 Topophilia and Terraphilia

As it was mentioned earlier topophilia and terraphilia are crucial theoretical concepts that help to comprehend the second home users who wish to recover certain features of territorial identity (Roca, Claval & Agnew, 2011). While the notion of topophilia is more related to place attachment anchored in its physical and social characteristics, terraphilia amplifies a pro-developmental attitude to the topophilia concept. In other words, terraphilia can measure people's willingness to directly contribute to the development of a place or territory.

Regarding topophilia, it was characterized through questions about what respondents most or least liked, in the places where their second homes were found. Regarding terraphilia, it was possible through the analysis of the answers to the question about which local activities the respondent took part in.

The open answers to the question "what do you like the most about the place", in the 149 cases in which there are family members in the place, not considering the non-responses (24 references, i.e. 16.4%) and a wide group of answers that were classified as "others" (28 references, i.e. 19.2%), were divided into three main categories: i) a group that was defined using the keywords "countryside, nature, landscape" (38 references, i.e., 26.0%); ii) another group that was defined by the keywords "calm, quiet, tranquility" (38 references, that is, 26.0%) and, finally, iii) a group that was defined by the keywords "family, friends and local people" (21 references, that is, 14.4%). In the case of 161 respondents who do not have family members in the place of their second home, what they like the most is clearly dominated by the keywords "beach, climate, nature", with 87 references, or 54.0%, followed by 22 (13.7%) of them that answered "calm, quiet, tranquility".

The earlier analysis, considering the total of 312 surveys and a more detailed classification of the open responses,⁵ is reflected in the individualization of three modalities of response to the

⁵ All open answers were previously classified, which in the case of the answer "what do you like most about the place of your second residence", resulted in the identification of the following modalities: peace, rest, calm or tranquility, the characteristics of the locality or region, the landscape (nature, countryside, sea...), environmental quality, the beach, family, friendship and social relationships in general, locational advantages (position, existence of utilities, tourist

question “what do you like the most about the place” (Tables, 4, 5 and 6). The three modalities that emerged with a strong relation with the presence of family members in the place were “quiet, rest, calm or tranquility” (68 references, or 21.8% of the total), “attachment to the place” (6 references, or 1.9% of the total) and “family, friendship and social relationships in general” (8 references, or 2.6% of the total). In summary, in the case of roots tourism, in addition to preferences about environmental amenities, family relationships and social interaction also appear as important traits of connection to the place.

Labels of the variables	Characteristic modalities	% of the modality in the class	% of the modality in the sample	% of the class in the modality	Test-Value	Probability	Weight
What you like the most	Tranquility, calm	100.00	21.79	100.00	17.70	0.000	68
SH: Number of floors	2 floors	48.53	32.05	33.00	3.09	0.001	100
What you like the least	Abandonment, under-development	16.18	6.73	52.38	2.99	0.001	21
SH: Typology of counties	Decline	32.35	19.23	36.67	2.82	0.002	60
What do you use most at the SH place (local involvement)	Basic	48.53	33.65	31.43	2.75	0.003	105
Region of SH	Lisbon (Interior)	16.18	7.69	45.83	2.54	0.005	24
Family on site of the SH	Yes	61.76	47.76	28.19	2.48	0.007	149
SH: Type	Townhouse	39.71	27.24	31.76	2.41	0.008	85
SH: User family type	Couple, children, grandchildren	33.82	22.12	33.33	2.40	0.008	69
Activities conducted at the SH location	Many activities	26.47	16.03	36.00	2.38	0.009	50
Profession	Administrative	10.29	4.17	53.85	2.33	0.010	13
Region of PH	Centre (Interior)	11.76	5.45	47.06	2.16	0.016	17
Owner?	No	64.71	52.56	26.83	2.14	0.016	164

*Table 4 – Characterization by the modalities of the classes of the variable: What do you like the most - Class: Tranquillity, calm (Nr. of cases: 68 – 21.79%)
Elaborated by the author.*

Labels of the variables	Characteristic modalities	% of the modality in the class	% of the modality in the sample	% of the class in the modality	Test-Value	Probability	Weight
What you like the most	Socializing	100.00	2.56	100.00	8.03	0.000	8
Family on site of the SH	Yes	100.00	47.76	5.37	2.81	0.002	149
Professional status	Retired	50.00	12.18	10.53	2.36	0.009	38
What you like the least	Nothing	37.50	8.01	12.00	2.06	0.020	25

*Table 5 – Characterization by the modalities of the classes of the variable: What do you like the most - Class: Socializing (Nr. of cases: 8 – 2.56%)
Elaborated by the author.*

development), traditional activities and products and culture, the climate and weather, the house and, finally, the attachment to the place.

Labels of the variables	Characteristic modalities	% of the modality in the class	% of the modality in the sample	% of the class in the modality	Test-Value	Probability	Weight
What you like the most	Place attachment	100.00	1.92	100.00	7.06	0.000	6
Profession	Qualified workers	50.00	2.88	33.33	3.41	0.000	9
Instruction level	< Secondary level	66.67	8.33	15.38	3.28	0.001	26
SH: Total land/plot area	> 500 m2	83.33	21.79	7.35	2.85	0.002	68
SH: Type	Detached house	100.00	37.50	5.13	2.80	0.003	117
SH: Site	Isolated in the countryside	66.67	16.35	7.84	2.43	0.007	51
Family on site of the SH	Yes	100.00	47.76	4.03	2.28	0.011	149
Region of SH	North Interior	33.33	3.53	18.18	2.15	0.016	11

Table 6 – Characterization by the modalities of the classes of the variable:
What do you like the most - Class: Place attachment (Nr. of cases: 6 – 7.92%)
Elaborated by the author.

When considering the references to what the respondents liked least, despite the fact that non-responses were more frequent (115 out of 312, that is, 36.9%, with a particular focus on people between 65 and 80 years old, which are 55.6 % of non-respondents), there is also a great diversity of aspects that were classified as shown in Table 7.

What do you like the least?	Nr. of answers	% of total
Nothing	25	8.0
Locative disadvantages	25	8.0
Abandonment, underdevelopment	21	6.7
Lack of stores	24	7.7
Tourism pressure	62	19.9
Others	40	12.8
No answer	115	36.9
Total	312	100.0

Table 7 – A reclassification of the answers to the question “what do you like the least in the place of the second home”
Elaborated by the author.

Despite not being significantly linked to the existence of family members in the place, the statement that there was nothing to point out appears more associated with women who use their second home up to 9 days a year and who mentioned social interaction as what they liked the most. From an analytical point of view, this attitude corresponds to the demonstration of attachment to the place, generating difficulties in pointing out intrinsic negative aspects.

However, the main reference made by respondents who have family members in the area is associated with the concepts of abandonment and underdevelopment (Table 8), which result from the agglomeration of references, in addition to these, such as depopulation, aging, isolation and lack of local development.

Although it was less frequent for respondents to point out negative aspects compared to positive ones, the results obtained can be structured into two large sets:

i) respondents who are less fond of very general aspects related to the various types of environ-

ments, from the natural to the economic and social, such as degraded environment, fires, social relations, land abandonment and underdevelopment;

ii) the respondents for whom dissatisfaction with very particular aspects of the places in relation to the use that the respondents prefer during their stays is more important, such as excessive tourism, overcrowded beaches, lack of commerce, night noise, lack of parking space and heavy traffic, elements that are associated with areas with greater tourist pressure.

In fact, in the set of 312 surveys, respondents found negative aspects such as overcrowding, lack of parking space and night noise for the most touristic areas, while references to abandonment and underdevelopment were, in 85.7% of the cases, made by respondents who have relatives in the area. This preponderance is logically related to the ability to make an unequivocal diagnosis on the conditions of local development of the areas where these second homes are located, most significantly represented in the interior center of the country, where peace and quiet are valued, although involvement with local economic activities is weak, even with the existence of family members, since they only use basic activities such coffee shops, cafes or pastry shops, restaurants and traditional retail stores.

Labels of the variables	Characteristic modalities	% of the modality in the class	% of the modality in the sample	% of the class in the modality	Test-Value	Probability	Weight
What you like the least	Abandonment, underdevelopment	100.00	6.73	100.00	11.93	0.000	21
Family on site of the SH	Yes	85.71	47.76	12.08	3.49	0.000	149
What you like the most	Tranquility, calm	52.38	21.79	16.18	2.99	0.001	68
Region of SH	Centre (Interior)	33.33	10.58	21.21	2.74	0.003	33
SH: Number of floors	2 floors	61.90	32.05	13.00	2.70	0.003	100
What do you use most at the SH place (local involvement)	Basic	61.90	33.65	12.38	2.53	0.006	105

Table 8 – Characterization by the modalities of the classes of the variable: What do you like the least - Class: Abandonment, underdevelopment (Nr. of cases: 21 – 6.73) Elaborated by the author.

Respondents were also asked what type of local activities they took part in, having in mind a multiple choice between:

- Festivals and religious feasts
- Associations and/or formal groups of citizens (sports, culture, recreation, environment, ...), as an activist
- Associations and/or formal groups of citizens (sports, culture, recreation, environment, ...), as supporters or sympathizers
- Informal groups of friends that organize events of several types (lunches, tours, games, etc.)
- Public discussion of Plans, Programs and/or Projects of local initiative
- Public discussion of National Initiative Plans, Programs and/or Projects
- Does not take part in anything
- Others

For the purposes of simplification, responses were coded as:

- Very high level of participation - participation as a supporter or sympathizer in local associations, but also in the public discussion of plans, programs, and projects, of local initiative and, in some cases, also in activities of informal groups of friends and at festivals and religious feasts

- High level of participation - participation in local associations as a sympathizer or supporter (in one case he/she is an activist) and, in some cases, also participation in informal groups of friends and in festivals and religious feasts
- Medium level of participation - participation in the public discussion of plans, programs, and projects of local initiative and, in some cases, also in informal groups of friends and in festivals and religious feasts
- Low level of participation - participation in informal groups of friends, in festivals and religious feasts and in other unspecified activities
- Null participation - does not take part in anything.

Table 9 summarizes the frequency calculations, being clear the very weak or null participation of all respondents in activities related to local development.

Level of participation	Nr. of cases	% of the total
Very high	21	6.73
High	30	9.62
Median	4	1.28
Low	107	34.29
Null	150	48.08
Total	312	100.00

*Table 9 – Level of participation in the place of second home.
Elaborated by the author.*

The starting hypothesis of this investigation was that a greater involvement in the local development of people who use second homes as a form of roots tourism would be expected, compared to other second home users whose ties to places would be more tenuous.

More significantly, only the existence of relatives in the place is linked to null participation (55.3% of respondents who have relatives in the place have a null participation, while in the total of the surveys this value is 47.8%), as well as the more frequent use of the second home (22.7% of those with no participation use the second home often, while in the total of the surveys this figure is 17.6%). Thus, the conclusion that can be drawn from these observations, also considering the low levels of participation of most respondents, is the fact that having relatives in the place is not sufficiently discriminating for the emergence of patterns of variation that can allow the distinction between different types of owners or users of second homes.

A calculation only for respondents who have family members in the place, disaggregated for each type of participation activity (Table 10), results in the finding that the people most involved in roots tourism participate, with values above 10.0% of the references, especially in festivals and religious feasts (30.6% of the references of this group of respondents), followed by the absence of participation (21.4%), informal groups of friends (19.0%) and, finally, participation as supporter or sympathizer, in associations and/or groups of citizens formally organized in sports, culture, recreation or environment.

Types of activities	Nr. of references	% of the total of references
Festivals and religious feasts	77	30.6
Informal groups of friends that organize events of various types (lunches, tours, games, etc.)	48	19.0
Public discussion of Plans, Programs and/or Projects of local initiative	17	6.7

Public discussion of National Initiative Plans, Programs and/or Projects	3	1.2
Associations and/or formal groups of citizens (sports, culture, recreation, environment, ...), as a supporter or sympathizer	32	12.7
Associations and/or formal groups of citizens (sports, culture, recreation, environment, ...), as an activist	12	4.8
Others	3	1.2
Does not take part in anything	54	21.4
Don't know / Don't answer	6	2.4
Total of references	252	100.0

*Table 10 – Type and importance of participatory activities in the place of second home
Elaborated by the author.*

It is then shown that participation in local activities that go beyond events that also function as visitor attractions is very weak, either in general or in the case of root tourism practitioners.

Conclusions

There are no known studies on roots tourism in Portugal but the literature in other countries has usually recognized that the main means of accommodation in this kind of travel are second homes (Perri, 2013:56), especially when the objective is to visit family and friends, or just to stay in the places of origin when an emigration/out-migration is involved and may later result in the return and settlement in the same place.

Roots tourism and second homes can only be studied in Portugal through direct observation, namely through surveys and/or interviews. This research was based on a survey that examined the second homes phenomenon. It was found that in 47.8% of the cases the second home residents had relatives in the place, which directly specifies the wish to keep connections with the place as a typical characteristic of roots tourism.

These findings valid for Portugal are not very different from those that Antonella Perri had already obtained for the South of Italy:

«home ownership in the place of origin plays an important role in maintaining ties with the place. (...). Regarding the mode of stay, research shows that the roots tourists look for tranquility and relaxation. They visit relatives and friends, walk and read, spend time in the village square or pubs to socialize with the residents, occasionally visit nearby towns enjoying natural amenities (sea, mountains, and others) and participate in local festivals and fairs». (Perri, 2013, p.58)

Nonetheless, roots tourism is not just about emigration abroad. Out-migration is also very significant. In Portugal, it contributed to the formation of the metropolitan areas of Lisbon and Porto and to the concentration of the population in a large part of the coast.

In terms of topophilia, this study shows that second home users with relatives in the place, like all the other second home users, especially appreciate all proper environmental features, including quietness and peacefulness, but also the attachment to the place and socializing with family and friends.

Regarding terraphilia, despite recognizing that the main problems of most of the places are abandonment and underdevelopment, root tourists end up not having a participating attitude significantly different from the second home users in general. In fact, their low levels of partici-

pation end up appreciating the enjoyment of festivals and religious feasts. Their engagement as sympathizers or activists of different kinds of associations is almost irrelevant. In sum, roots tourism also is a way of keeping ties between the city and the countryside, which in Portugal is also justified by cultural asymmetries which, despite their weakening, still contribute to the attractiveness of rural lifestyles.

References

- Chen, N., Hall, C. M., Yu, K., Qian, C. (2019). Environmental satisfaction, residential satisfaction, and place attachment: The cases of long-term residents in rural and urban areas in China. *Sustainability (Switzerland)*, 11(22), 1–20. DOI: 10.3390/su11226439
- Hägerstrand, T. (1968). *Innovation diffusion as a spatial process*. Chicago: Translation and postscript by Allan Pred. University of Chicago Press.
- Jorgensen, B. S., Stedman, R. C. (2001). Sense of Place as an attitude: Lakeshore owners attitudes toward their properties. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 21(3), 233–248. DOI: 10.1006/jjevp.2001.0226
- Oliveira, J. (2013). Controversies of Second Homes and Residential Tourism in Portugal. In Zoran Roca (Ed.), *Second Home Tourism in Europe. Lifestyle Issues and Policy Responses* (pp. 235–262). Farnham: Ashgate.
- Oliveira, J., Roca, M. N. O., Roca, Z. (2015). Economic Effects Of Second Homes: A case study in Portugal. *Economics and Sociology*, 8(3), 183–196. DOI: 10.14254/2071-789X.2015/8-3/14
- Oliveira, J., Roca, Z., Leitão, N. (2010). Territorial identity and development: From topophilia to terraphilia. *Land Use Policy*, 27(3), 801–814. DOI: 10.1016/j.landusepol.2009.10.014
- Oliveira Roca, M. de N., Roca, Z., Oliveira, J. (2011). Features and Impacts of Second Homes Expansion: the Case of the Oeste Region, Portugal. *Hrvatski Geografski Glasnik*, 73(469), 111–128.
- Perri, A. (2013). Residential roots tourism in Italy. In Z. Roca (Ed.), *Second home tourism in Europe: lifestyle issues and policy responses* (pp. 53–68). Surrey: Ashgate.
- Rinne, J., Paloniemi, R., Tuulentie, S., Kietäväinen, A. (2015). Participation of second-home users in local planning and decision-making – a study of three cottage-rich locations in Finland. *Journal of Policy Research in Tourism, Leisure and Events*, 7(1), 98–114. DOI: 10.1080/19407963.2014.909818
- Roca, Zoran, Claval, P., Agnew, J. (2011). *Landscapes, Identities and Development* (Zoran Roca, P. Claval, J. Agnew, eds.). Farnham: Ashgate.
- Tomczewska-Popowycz, N., Taras, V. (2022). The many names of “Roots tourism”: An integrative review of the terminology. *Journal of Hospitality and Tourism Management*, 50(November 2021), 245–258. DOI: 10.1016/j.jhtm.2022.02.016
- Tuan, Y. (1990). *Topophilia - A Study on Environmental Perception, Attitudes and Values*. New York: Columbia University Press / Morningside Edition.
- Tuan, Y. (2003). *Space and place : the perspective of experience* (3rd print). Minnedapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

The Dilemma of Tourism Moral Economy and the Turismo delle Radici: Reflections on the Italian Diaspora in Brazil and Experiences of the Italianità as Authenticity²

Introduction

Roots tourism is noteworthy due to the strong emotional bond between the tourist and the “place of destination” even before the trip takes place (Barbuto, 2020, p. 60). It is also important to point out that roots tourism is related to the mobility regime of diaspora, qualifying the so-called “diasporic tourism” and many other markers of mobility related to genealogical and affective ties with an original community (Huang *et al.*, 2013; Tomczewska-Popowycz & Taras, 2022). In turn, the diaspora experience is characterized as a long-term process in time and space, usually prompted by an original traumatic event experienced collectively that conjures up for the extension of social ties between individual and collective trajectories through time and space, creating transnational communities and a complex sense of belonging (Glick, Schiller & Salazar, 2012) – in essence, those interconnected communities across different scales enable the experience of place attachment through sensorial-motor and emotive bonds in a unique fluid way, that produce and reproduce experiences of authenticity constituted as “identities in motion” interconnected through time and space. Eventually such mobilities engender many types of tourism experience and social fields in the globalized world.

It can be assumed that the roots tourism (specifically the *Turismo dell Radici* – TdR) is a type of mobility and tourism practice integrated broadly in a social system of multiple space-time scales (the regime mobility across the globe). On the one hand, it allows tourism practices to perform their function of producing senses and reflexivity of the Self based on the experience of different “gaze” upon the others – the experience of *Otherness* (Urry & Larson, 2011, p.17 ff.). On the other hand, it leads us to the paradox of experiencing *authenticity* in the space of tourism where the confrontation between the search for the ‘authentic’ as a legitimate experience of an “original value of reciprocity” and the commodified world of postmodernity (MacCannell, 2011), seems to expose the limits not only of the tourist experience but also each performance of our everyday mobile lives.

We believe that TdR can be understood as an analytically privileged sociological phenomenon, since it is a regular fact that is increasingly widespread in the liquid modernity, whether in its commodified or authenticated, cold or hot form (Cohen, 1988; Cohen, Cohen, 2012). The TdR seems to face paradoxes in a way that confronts critical social dilemmas in the daily coexistence of people, territories, cultural goods and services that “circulate” globally and, consequently, express the main forms of interaction in the formation of the multiscale and crisscrossed territory of contemporary communities and identities – contributing in a decisive way to think about the mobile lives of contemporary tourism and its embeddedness in a globalised regime of mobilities.

In this study we seek to investigate the sociological “mechanisms” that characterize the tourist experiences of TdR through an exploratory case study about the relation of the tourism experiences and the consolidation of the Italian diaspora community settled in Brazil. First, we or-

1 Dimitri Fazito de Almeida Rezende, Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais, dfazito@gmail.com. ORCID: 0000-0003-1720-9559

2 Received: 25/05/2022. Revised: 17/10/2022. Accepted: 30/10/2022. Special thanks to Giovannina Serafini and Silvia Alciati for the conversations about the Italian community in Brazil and Italy; to Prof. Tullio Romita for his interest in my research, care, and patience during editing. Finally I thank my colleagues members of the Com.It.Es of Minas Gerais with whom I share many experiences of Italianità. I declare that there are no ethical conflicts and I guarantee respect for the people and associations from whom I learnt.

ganized the text with the conceptual problematization of the TdR and its consequences for our understanding of the phenomenon of tourist practices and the constitution of communities and identities affected by the regime of mobilities across the globe (the formation of a transnational community and a very particular identity – the representation of the “Italianness”). We argue that the social function of TdR should be understood as a social mechanism associated with the type of diaspora that entails transnational spaces and communities at large (Coles & Timothy, 2004; Huang *et al.*, 2013). Therefore, an important question for understanding TdR today is to consider it as a type of mobility necessarily embedded in the context of multiscale globalisation that supports transnational communities and their territorially incorporated identities – as we will see, this is the foundation of a transnational space that strongly interconnects “two sides of the Atlantic”, the deep roots between Italy and Brazil, between physically and mentally constituted territories (the creation of the Self of Italianness; Croci, 2009).

In a second part, we discuss the TdR and the debate on *authenticity* and the performance in the tourism space (Wang, 1999; Taylor, 2001) highlighting the importance of understanding the interaction between people, places, goods, services, scales and distances under the framing of a “tension” provoked by the *new moral economy* in Modernity (Fourcade & Healy, 2007; Zelizer, 2010). Such discussion becomes relevant since the debate in recent decades about the development of tourist practices in relation to the globalised travel market, products and performances linked to the large tourism industry – especially from the beginning of the 20th century with the conspicuous mass consumption of a new middle class of workers – has led to the confrontation of different positions in the constitution of tourism in terms of its social, ethical, individual and collective development function. We contend the apparently contradictory position defended by MacCannell in sustaining a notion of *essentialized authenticity* of tourism as an “original”, free and spontaneous experience (i.e., a “tourist experience open to all” – 2020, p. 25; Wang, 1999).

The persistent reflections on the TdR tend to put a relational bias in the sense of focusing on the point of view of the “origin”, assumed in the analyses as a fixed and homogeneous territory of “return”, for example (Barbuto, 2020). This fact reflects the empirical phenomenon of “roots tourism” strongly associated with the existential and sentimental search for the places of origin of the ancestors, or the immigrant, refugee or exile person who establishes a real/imaginary emotional bond with an original place. However, as shown by Tomczewska-Popowycz & Taras (2022, p. 248, table 3) in a recent study, the conceptual framework of reference for roots tourism presents semantic complexity, correlating 41 terms with different meanings. We show that the analytical focus on the social mechanisms of TdR as an integrated aspect of the global mobility regime, according to the logic of the new moral economy, reinforces the search for authenticity related to moral feelings of belonging, through genealogies with a territorially rescaled community. TdR should not focus only on the perspective of the “original place”, real or imaginary. Another analysis must be attempted, considering the relational and re-dimensioned aspect of territorial scales according to the historical processes that interconnect origin and destination, local and global, constructed and imagined space, hot and cold.

To this end, we planned an exploratory case study related to the formation of the Italian diaspora communities in Brazil and the accelerated growth (in the last 10 years) of projects characterized as *Turismo delle Radici* connecting both local associations (of transnationalised identities) founded in Brazilian territory to their original communities in the Italian peninsula (*comuni* and *regione*). We highlight the social mechanisms of this moral economy that implies roots tourism as a vector of the *Italianness* – Italianness – that generates self-sustainability at different levels (local-global) balancing authentic experience out of the massive tourism industry. We suggest that *associationism* contributes for strong ties among Italian communities and exert a decisive role in the promotion of tourist experiences of “return” in a transnational social field (Ricciardi, 2018). Then, travelling experiences in the place of destination strengthen the sense of “atemporal” belonging, the *Italianness* feeling that protects one against *overtourism* while simultaneously preserving the moral field of dense ties and transactions to homeland. Methodologically, the

case study of the Italian diaspora in Brazil and the formation of the sense of belonging as Italianness makes it possible to problematize the phenomenon of TdR through the paradoxes of the authenticity of tourism practices in the moral economy of the globalised world.

1. Mobilities, Tourism and The New Moral Economy

1.1 *Tourism, Authenticity and Moral Economy: Experiencing the Self and Otherness*

The sociological literature has long debated the phenomenon of tourism after various perspectives that seek to characterize the tourist experience according to its fundamental ontological elements (such as the identification of *authenticity* and the search for the Self) or those that search for the social and economic functions of tourism (business of the hospitality industry, use of technologies, and structure of globalised tourism spaces). Based on the perspective of an economic sociology of tourism, we seek to define the social mechanisms that make the tourist experience part of the *moral economy* (Zelizer, 2010). It exposes the crucial association between tourism and mobility in a globalized world of multiple space-time scales that reshapes the notion and experience of social distances, as already anticipated by Simmel (Lechner, 1991).

This fact is fundamental to understand the phenomenology of practices in tourism as a genuine experience of *Otherness* and its consequences for the formation of the Self embedded in the network of social interactions and its “multiple gazes” (Urry & Larsen, 2011, p. 23). As Simmel pointed out, variations in the form of human interactions lead to degrees of social distancing, from the proximity of face-to-face relationships to estrangement and extended intermediation in situations of co-presence that sustain social circles and the Self as a reflexive tool for social consciousness development. The spatial-temporal compression in the last century has implied new possibilities for experiencing social distances due to the varied capabilities of moving of people, goods, and services across the natural and the constructed landscapes. The constitution of this global space that allows for integrated displacements, but at different scales, creates a new experience of the territory, materialized, and imagined in social identities and expanded communities (Glick-Schiller & Salazar, 2012). Analytically, tourism as a type of mobility is directly associated with the structure and composition of global migratory flows – we suggest that TdR, as part of this global mobility regime is also integrated in the diasporas and transnational communities as well (Coles & Timothy, 2004; Huang *et al.*, 2013).

In the second point to be highlighted, we must consider the intrinsic phenomenological quality of tourism while experiencing the Self confronting multiple gazes (*Otherness*), whether the tourist practice is massified or self-regulated, standardized or free style, distanced or intimate, cold or hot. This is a heuristic point because it gives relevance to the nexus between the authenticity experienced by the tourist and the limits implied by the global mobility regime in which such tourist practices are located. Thus, the relationship between authenticity and mobility is mediated by a determining aspect in contemporary capitalist societies, namely, the constitution of a global market under new moral principles. As the New Economic Sociology pointed out, sociology has long studied how economic actions are embedded in social relations, in structures that form institutions and social organizations in modernity, integrating culture through the incorporation of moral values and affective ties to the production, circulation, and consumption market – and so, how can we think of tourist activities in terms of their industry and embeddedness in the territory?

According to Granovetter (1985), markets should be analysed as a sociological phenomenon in which the rationality of the economic agent (either atomized or undersocialized) is in fact inserted in a web of social bonds, strong and weak ties, that constitutes a constraining moral force and actually sustains the social institutions and organizations that define the course of exchanges

and their market hierarchies, both locally and globally. Zelizer (2010, pp. 366-7) goes further and states that the market must be analysed as one category of social relations that involves consumption, production, and exchange under a variety of cultural and structural settings. The theoretical and empirical "puzzle" thus turns on determining the social and cultural variation of these "multiple markets." (...) Economic processes should not be set in opposition to extra economic cultural and social forces but understood as one special category of social relations, much as is kinship or religion. Thus, economic phenomena, although partly autonomous, are interdependent with a system of meanings and structures of social relations.

In this study, when analysing the authenticity of tourist practices, we seek to frame it according to the idea of "multiple markets" of a moral economy that is established beyond the purely economic instrumental rationality. In fact, the search for the experience of authenticity involves the circuit of transactions concerning the globalised space of tourism in an integrated perspective (*embedded*) in networks of social relations with different actors, services, and places.

MacCannell initially identified the authenticity of the tourist experience strictly associated with a relational dimension in terms of material and immaterial transactions developed in the context of travel, the feelings of attachment to places and non-places, interactions that involve people, objects, events. The postmodern paradox in neoliberal societies now locates tourism at the core of a disjunctive arena where one's desire to experience *Otherness* confronts the programmed exaggeration of the businesses structures of the tourism industry, which promotes *overtourism*. According to MacCannell (2020) the moral economy in that arena is constantly under dispute since the foundation of the tourism global market. However, as Cohen (1988, p. 376 ff.) warns, the search for authenticity in the tourism experience also tends to occur at gradual levels of intensity according to the contexts of social interaction between visitors and natives, cultural institutions and heritage sites of collective memory, economic structures and tourist products shared and incorporated by the hospitality industry. The tourist experience should not be essentialized in aspects that are apparently self-contained in labelled moral values and hierarchies, as MacCannell seems to hold. Following Cohen, we defend that the authenticity of tourist practices, constructed between the search for the genuine experience of the Self and the performances staged more or less arbitrarily in a context marked by the economic logic of commodification (*staged authenticity*), can be heuristically linked to the mechanisms of the moral economy of "multiple markets" that organize and direct the mobility regime.

TdR should be taken as a special case of tourist mobility in which strong and weak social ties, original institutions and circuits of material and symbolic exchanges promote the embeddedness of tourism practices (such as relaxation, the pursuit of the Self, pleasure and leisure) in deep dimensions of community life, linking the experience of the authentic to the collectively shared trajectories in an emotional process of reinforcing identities. Romita (2021) follows this path by emphasizing the characteristics of TdR as a "mobility of return", often associated with a residential choice – tourists who have private residences, both at the origin and at the destination, which are linked to an affective memory of the place, experienced in childhood or through the genealogical ties of the family history. We can say that the embedding takes place due to the strength of the "proximities" that sustain the authenticity of the tourist experience over time (experiences of mobility in the trajectory of an individual, in the same generation, or the common experiences lived by several people linked between generations) and in space (the distances shortened through the possession of a private or shared residence, defining the borders of an expanded territory). As suggested by Romita (2021, pp. 126-8), the effect of postmodernity on tourism created a mechanism that allows 1) an experience of almost unconscious inauthenticity, when the tourist consumes products, standardized and massified tourist services and places in the hospitality industry, without reflexively evaluating the realization of the Self and *Otherness*; 2) an experience of inauthenticity but in a conscious way, characteristic of the post-tourist who becomes aware of the "staged authenticity" and playfully confronts the Self and the *Otherness* in a creative dialog in which mass tourism can be re-signified in a new moral logic, allowing for

the post-tourist a truly recreational experience with themselves; and finally 3) a conscious experience of authenticity in which the tourist mobility allows them to live the integration of places and the Self through remembered and re-signified affective bonds – as it happens with TdR strongly embedded through family ties and friendship between places and generations. Romita (2021, p. 128) suggests that today tourists can organize their own trip according to two different modalities: «a) acquiring tourist products available under the travel agency or tourist services under one or more wholesalers; b) packaging the holiday self-sufficiently, first deciding where to go and then using flexible services, structures and infrastructures aimed not only for tourism purposes». The Italian TdR, is the type of *fai da te* tourism in which the tourist defines their entire journey and experience of the trip, services, people and places, the type of tourism in which the moral logic of proximity, strong ties and affective experiences takes place. Finally, the TdR implies “andare verso le proprie radici” (*ibidem*, p.128) as a critical practice of embeddedness for the experience of authenticity in a fluid and commodified world.

1.2 The Regime of Mobilities and the Global Connections: Migrations, Diasporas and Tourism

We should note that «mobilities create an integrated system, which can be observed at a range of scales: family/household, community, national, and the constellation of countries linked by migration flows» (Glick-Schiller & Salazar, 2013, p. 2). The empirical connection between tourism and migrations in a regime of mobilities implies the simultaneity of the spatial-temporal scale (migration as a change of long-term residency and tourism as displacement between places without fixation with irregular and usually short duration) and a socio-political and existential scale (when displacement represents a mobility between symbolic borders that characterize the Self experiencing different people and places). With the development of intensive technologies of communication and transport, the global mobility regime has produced more overlaps, interdependencies and modified sociability in terms of social distances between people, groups and places providing new experiences of belonging (Glick-Schiller & Salazar, 2013).

As Huang and colleagues (2013) suggest, travel is directly linked to migrant communities separated by various routes between a place of settlement and the ancestral homeland. The collective experience of “travel” becomes an emotional and existential reference when it confronts the Self, deepening the social bonds in the space-time where communities and people interact ritually. In such an interactive process, that is increasingly diversified and technologically transformed, the overlapping of types of mobility in tourism and migration is entangled in diaspora form, in which the simultaneity of being in-between the homeland and the actual residential place allows new ways of experiencing places and temporalities – migrant communities become transnational, then the transmigrants and the tourists experience new existential possibilities (Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2004). Initially, as pointed out by Huang and colleagues (2013, p. 288), «The relationship between tourism and migration is twofold. On the one hand, tourism can generate two types of migration: (1) labor migration, which provides the labor needed in tourism-related services, and (2) consumption-led migration systems, which consist of tourists moving to their beloved destinations, such as retirement migration and second home development».

In addition to the structuring “economic” fact of this overlapping between forms of tourism and migration, there is also an immaterial and existential development of simultaneous experiences that definitively lead to the forms of the diasporic tourism. As Coles & Timothy (2004, p. 13) note, travel and tourism have crucial roles to play reflexively in the processes of learning and self-discovery that define the fluid, constantly unfolding nature of diasporic identities. Tourism does not just represent a vehicle for straightforward, practically automatic voyages of self-discovery and identity affirmation. Visits to homelands or elsewhere into the diaspora may result in troubling,

disconcerting and ambiguous experiences as well as new-found ambivalences. Tourism contributes to the construction of contemporary narratives of diasporic heritages which articulate to members of diasporas, (...), who they are and how they came to be.

The recent study by Tomczewska-Popowycz & Taras (2022, p. 255) present a conceptual model for defining roots tourism strongly associated with the diasporic mobility. According to the authors who evaluated the different uses and definitions in the literature on the topic of "roots tourism", the analytical categories most frequently associated with roots point to terms such as diaspora, ancestry, genealogy, family, ethnicity, heritage, personal and family memory, nostalgia, sentimental and existential. The varied combination of these terms according to 2 conceptual axes (the degree of emotional connectivity of the person with places, people and objects; and the degree of social proximity of the person in relation to the referential community - ethnic, ancestral, family and personal), allows defining roots tourism in a non-essentialized way, nuanced according to the degree of embeddedness of people, groups and their courses in the territory.

1.3 Italian Diasporas, Transnationalism and the Turismo delle Radici (TdR)

The Italian historiography on the Great Migrations has been systematically updated and revised, opening up major theoretical, methodological and conceptual debates. Perhaps the greatest impact was the idea defended by historian Donna Gabaccia (1997; 1998), who proposes to classify the general phenomenon of Italian migrations – which produced around 27 million international migrants, multiple communities of origin and destination, occupational activities, temporalities and types of travel – as *diasporas* (not just one Italian diaspora but the many and plural diasporas of Italy; Gabaccia, 2005, pp. 141-2).

According to Colluci & Sanfilippo (2010), with the historiography based on a macro-structural interpretation of the Braudelian *longue durée*, we could identify a profusion of life courses in movement, integrating different space-time scales, revealing 3 quite distinct phases in the mobility regime of the Italian peninsula: first, in the long pre-modern period from the Middle Ages until the 18th century with commercial migrations, pilgrimages, military campaigns and travels of exploration, population displacements to short-distance colonization, transhumance between ecological systems and political and diplomatic refugees. The movements were characterized as short, circular, ruled by seasonality and of reduced quantity; in a second phase, in the beginning of the 19th century, in the pre-unitary period, movements made up of revolutionary political activists, dissidents, eventually associated with the poorest and dispossessed workers (*braccianti*), adventurers and street artists, small regional entrepreneurs, artisans linked to specialized manual activities. The period known as "The Great Emigration", included the unfolding of the impact of transport technology (railway networks and expansion of steam naval companies) and communications (telegraph and postal services between Atlantic countries) on the labor market generated a potential surplus of internal and international migrants – added to the economic crises (hunger and segmented unemployment) and European demographics (accelerated population growth) that remained until the end of the First World War. With the establishment of a state bureaucracy politically linked to the new Italian ruling classes (industrialists, bankers and landowners) and a new nationalist liberal ideology, the state turned to the management of emigration as a fundamental policy for the economic and social development of the post-unified Italy; in a third phase, after the Second World War, in the midst of a shattered and republican Italy, Europe had a need for manpower, which led to a new wave of migratory flows, often circular and of short and medium distances, but which gradually spread with globalisation to more distant destinations in the Americas and Oceania. These movements intensified until the beginning of the 1970s and later cooled down, only returning at the end of the 20th century and especially from the beginning of the 21st century, although without the same impetus.

We highlight the continuity of ties between people and groups with diverse origins and destinations, not least because of the intensity and the circular dynamics of exits and returns that allowed a proliferation of *ethnicized identities* in regionalism (*campanilismo* – localist phenomenon in the constitution of the Self based on the strength of kinship and friendship ties established at the level of the most local territorial units), until the gradual consolidation of an *expanded identity* under nationalist tones that came to constitute the very representation of the Italianity (*italianità*), both in the Italian communities integrated in the destinations and even in the original communities in the *regioni*, with the circulation of people, objects and social representations (Devoto, 1994; Luconi, 2011).

The fact is that between 1860 and 1975, approximately 30 million Italians left their homes, travelled for work, migrated (established permanent or temporary residence), returned and re-emigrated to a host of new, often unknown places, with different local characteristics, social organizations and integration processes (Gabaccia, 2005). Furthermore, according to Tirabassi (2005, p. 5, n.8), from those millions of emigrants, there are currently approximately 60 million Italian-descendants – one *Nuova Italia* outside Italy –, around 2 million residing in Europe, 17 million in North America, 40 million in Latin America and just over 500 thousand in Oceania. Many of the Italian citizens residing abroad and registered in the Ministry of the Interior's Anagrafe Italiani Residenti all'Estero (AIRE) are native Italians (3 million), and an increasing category of Italian descent with recognized citizenship (2.5 million) (Licata, 2020, p. 7).

It is not by chance that it has become common to treat the Italian mobility regime in the global world as fundamentally a diaspora encompassing transnational spaces. Luconi (2011, p. 148) states that both terms, diaspora and transnationalism, have come to be used recurrently in studies on Italian migration because they emphasize the simultaneity of “being there” and “being here” that cements the feeling of belonging to one community on multiple scales – temporal (different connected generations) and spatial (local and global territories affectively located). With the intensification of information technologies, material and immaterial transactions in these new territories create the sensation of “overcoming limits” (crossing borders) that allow individuals to feel paradoxically connected even over long distances. Hence, one can understand the stability of a sense of belonging, such as the *italianità* that derives from a traditional *campanilismo* (supported by the kaleidoscope of regional identities from the early times of the Great Emigration, going back to pre-national unification social hierarchies) gradually modified in the direction of a kind of national identity (*ethnicized*) that starts to be negotiated and resignified in contexts of mobility and transactions (of sociability in a moral economy of multiple markets and gazes). Although Luconi criticizes the application of the diaspora concept to the phenomenon of migrations – as focusing on essentialized diacritics of the phenomenon such as the characteristics of self-segregation, strong endogamy and resistance to cultural assimilation (*ibidem*, p. 162) – we must emphasize its heuristic utility, as advocated by Gabaccia (2005).

In the last two centuries, the Italian global mobility regime has paradoxically developed under the axes of innovative economic activities (transnational entrepreneurship as a way of overcoming local poverty), political activities (organization of the state and civil society in the search of recognition of the *Nuova Italia* outside Italy) and cultural activities (appreciation of familism through religious and educational institutions and regional associations). The combination of these activities, responsible for the resignification of the diasporic community and identity, allowed for an expansion of the contexts and experiences of the Self and *Otherness* of the travellers in general, harmonizing globally the feeling of belonging as Italianity constantly experienced through tensions and resolutions (we can think of those radical and paradoxical “ideational campaigns” like the one carried out by entrepreneur Piero Bassetti, the *Italicità movement* – promoting the congregation of a transnational community of “lovers of Italian things”, see Bassetti, 2017). As a crowning achievement of these movements, we understand that *Turismo delle Radici* emerges as a consequence of an experiential search for a solution to the tensions of a globalised regime of transnational displacements, which seeks to mediate paradoxes according to solid

moral principles that integrate characteristics of traditional social life (such as the familism, *campanilismo* and strong associative life) with characteristics of liquid modernity in which authenticity can be experienced through unconventional mechanisms of mobility (whether in person or virtual, ritualized in a strict or creative way, as a journey into self-knowledge).

2. A Case Study – Brazil and the Italianità

2.1 Defining the Case Study

Here we focus on a typical case that expresses one of the many faces of the Italian diaspora to assess the general picture presented in the previous topic. The question to be answered is: how does tourism, and more specifically TdR, work towards the integration of the transnational Italian community and provide meaning to the feeling of belonging even far from home? How does tourism support the management of the territory by creating bonds of identity between origin and destination even across generations and distant places? Our hypothesis is that the TdR achieves a moral force (an emotional and immaterial motivation that links people and groups) that enables the construction of an "identity in motion" (*Italianità*), continuously resignifying the authentic experience of the Self and *Otherness*, reinforcing strong social bonds to overcome distances and regional differences. Therefore, the TdR must be understood as a social mechanism that integrates simultaneously the Italian-Brazilian communities on both sides of the Atlantic, leading individuals and groups to recognize themselves in a common ground of memory and experience. Each tourist activity, cultural goods or services in the hospitality industry linked to Italian communities in Brazil can thus be taken as examples of the performance of these mechanisms.

The emigration that started in the 19th century from the peninsula to Brazil, on the other side of the Atlantic, reveals singularities of a social and demographic context, but tourist activities emerged much later – from the oldest records there is something related to the popular festivities of Italian settlers in southern Brazil, but still a tourist product not elaborated as such (Panis, 2016). Any tourist activity that would connect origin and destination simultaneously on each side of the Atlantic had not been found at least until the beginning of the 1990s (when the FIFA Football World Cup took place in Italy). Thus, it is important to note that tourism only begins to effectively enter the global mobility regime between Italy and Brazil very late.

Anyway, over 120 years (1840-1960) there has been the displacement of millions of people who kept the arteries that connect the two nations alive. Around 1.5 million Italian immigrants arrived in Brazil,³ settling unevenly in various parts of the territory, often without any strategic planning (Trento, 2001). Many immigrants remained settled in the same place and created more stable *colonies* (*Colônias*, especially in the extreme south of Brazil, receiving around 80,000 Italian immigrants who went to the new colonies created in rural areas; Cenni, 2003, p. 131). However, there have been also a great variation in terms of the flows of immigrants from different regions of the peninsula, being initially predominantly peasants and artisans from Veneto (1874-1898), followed by the *braccianti* and artisans from the south (Campania, Calabria and Sicilia) and finally manual and specialized workers (miners, masons and builders) especially from northern regions (Lombardy, Tuscany and Emilia Romagna, 1891-1914 –Maria, 2015).

The destination regions in Brazil also enforced a diversification in the settlement process on arrival due to the uneven territorial development of the country – and this would have conse-

3 It is currently believed that something around 1.5 million Italian immigrants entered and settled in the Brazilian territory (*stock migration*). However, it is estimated that something around 4.1 million Italians "visited" (*flow migration*) Brazil between 1886 and 1934. São Paulo, as the most active urban and industrial centre, as well as the political centre ruled by the coffee industry capitalists, attracted just over 50% of the flows and even more of the migration stock (Trento, 2001, p.107).

quences for the development of tourism as well. In southern Brazil, immigrants quickly adapted to the regional land structure favourable to small entrepreneurs. The immigrants settled there could found agrarian colonies that become later economically successful – this fact would have a strong impact on the conservation of the family system, associationism and the cooperative entrepreneurship (characteristics of the *Made in Italy*, replicated extensively in the culture of the *oriundi* community and its descendants; Colognese, 2004). In São Paulo, Minas Gerais and Rio de Janeiro (three states in the south-eastern region of the country) immigrants met a very different context with very particular regional characteristics and social constraints (it is important to note that the fourth state in this region, Espírito Santo, also developed agrarian colonial settlements very similar to those found in the south).

The State of São Paulo, in 1887, implemented the policy of subsidizing the industry of intensive recruitment of manpower and immigration-directed to the Coffee Farms (Alvin, 1986), improving the management of regional development of territory. Initially, the coffee industry in São Paulo concentrated the demands and resources that attracted the whole immigration. Confronting the context of immigrant colonies, farms demanded another profile of workers and charged a high price in the process of integration in a society still structured on the enslavement of black workers. Many families re-emigrated to urban centres or even farther regions of the expanding agrarian frontier (especially to Minas Gerais) in the expectation of economic success in the agricultural industry. Unlike the colonies in the south, the Italian immigrants who spread across the southeast, centre-west and northeast of Brazil experienced another path of adaptation and regional development, competing for niches in the specialized labor market both in industry and in the service sectors, commerce and even public administrative and political professions (Colbari, 1997; De Oliveira, Tisott, 2011; Bonato, 2013; Pandolfi, 2020). Many immigration centres in these regions promoted contact and interaction between Italian immigrants from different regional origins of the peninsula, the contact of Italian immigrants with other international immigrants and native Brazilians as well. Over time, these interactions and sociability created a melting pot where Italianity developed in a multifarious way.

First, in this heterogeneous complex of individual and collective life courses, the experiences of the Self and *Otherness* that command the formation of identity and the feeling of belonging generated great flexibility and innovativeness regarding Italianity. Second, such Italianity has also developed, over time, representations of Italian nationality through new narrative and instrumental forms in people's everyday lives. The sense of *Italianità* became popular in different regions of Brazil due to the social integration through marriages between Brazilians and Italians, the spread of Italian familism through the religiosity of Catholicism and the political and economic associationism by cooperative entrepreneurial work embedded in the social circles of strong ties (family, friendship and neighbourhood; Colbari, 1997; Colognese, 2004).

The kaleidoscopic character of the *campanilismo* that marked the first phase of Italian emigration, which covers the period before and immediately after the unification, adjusted itself over time according to the different patterns of the Brazilian territorial context that gradually lead to the emergence of an increasingly transnationalised and connected sense of belonging between the two sides of the Atlantic (Croci, 2009; De Andreis & Bernardini, 2018). It should be noted though that the *campalinismo* paradoxically endures in the evolution of the *Italianità* – then, the importance of the TdR that promotes tourist manifestations in different regions of Brazil, expressing authenticity in the experience of the Self enthralling multiple perspectives of Italianity, or how to become *truly Italian* through the shared memory with other people, objects and places of the peninsula.

2.2 TdR and the Italianità in Brazil: in Search of Authenticity in-between

The tourism industry developed slowly in Brazil during the 20th century. Finally, from the mid-1980s post-democratic restoration, the opening of the national market and the reform of financial institutions led to the currency stabilization and administrative reform of the state bureaucracy. From the 1990s onwards, a set of structuring public policies in the field of tourism could be implemented in the following years, generating a positive impact on the massification, decentralisation and expansion of tourism industry (Carvalho, 2016; Lohmann *et al.*, 2022). Tourism activities and products have diversified, taking advantage of existing potential in the country such as natural attractions, and artistic and cultural heritage, complemented by the large investment in global tourism businesses that brought to Brazil a large industry of arts and sports mega-events and business tourism (Lohmann *et al.*, 2022, p. 7). At the same time, more experiential types of tourism were also developed for different audiences, such as adventure tourism (sustainable ecotourism). Thus, various public and private investments intensified in areas that already existed, but were poorly equipped and less standardized, expanding the offer of tourist practices to a heterogeneous public, causing the formation of new tourist niches that became very popular in Brazil, such as the rural tourism in addition to community-based tourism on cooperative work and solidarity. This niche also encompasses the common activities of popular festivities, religious celebrations and return tourism for internal migrants who return to *family reunion parties* in their communities (Castro *et al.*, 2013).

This niche is associated with practices in search of authenticity, such as experiential tourism, and in the last 40 years in Brazil it has become an alternative for economic and social development for several vulnerable communities in rural areas, close to natural sites of environmental protection and cultural heritage as in the case of European colonization regions, especially Italian ones in the south of the country (Panis, 2016). At the onset of the 21st century several inclusive policies of regionalised territorial development were encouraged in the field of cooperative experiential and sustainable tourism. There has been a flourishing of initiatives to rescue cultural heritage that “comes from below”, promoting types of residential tourism that takes advantage of government investments in communication technologies (social media) with market practices that provide innovative infrastructure (such as Airbnb and Coach Surfing) (Rodas Vera & Gosling, 2017). Popular festivities make it possible to plan calendars articulated with religious, gastronomic, cultural and experiential adventure tourism, reinforcing the logic of the moral economy of embedded social ties at multiple scales. The autonomous style of tourism *fai da te* (Romita, 2021) also develops and establishes firmly in the warmer Brazil from deep roots interconnecting identities and communities across the Atlantic. Not only between “twin cities” (movements of official recognition increasingly frequent between regional associations and public authorities) that develop projects encouraging the exchange of cultural and historical experiences, but also tourist projects with territorially elaborated itineraries – such as the “immigrant routes” connecting various cities, regions and businesses. There is an open field to be explored that is heating up the tourism economy in Brazil and the Italianity cultivated also by the TdR unfolds rapidly in Brazil along integrated projects on both sides of the Atlantic.

3. Reflections on the TdR and the Moral Economy of a Transnational Community: a Conclusion

This is a preliminary and exploratory research effort to study an empirical phenomenon that is still incipient and very little understood, and as such it has limitations. First, we restrict our focus to the few examples of genealogical and diasporic tourism in Italian-Brazilian communities that are not yet institutionally recognized (by the government or market). Thus, here

we present a very partial and biased view of the Brazilian perspective on the early formation of a roots tourism market. Second, the deficiency of quantified and systematic data on *Turismo Delle Radici* and the interaction between Italy and Brazil, imposed a limiting methodological decision regarding the analysis of the development of *Italianità* along with the types of mobility and the multiple markets of tourism. Therefore, much of our findings should be taken with caution, suggesting likely trends that warrant further investigation.

We offer a reflection on the development of tourist activities in Italy and Brazil as a process of social integration (in fact, transnational) grounded in the mobility in a broad and unrestricted sense – the embeddedness of people, goods and representations between places of belonging and experience of the Self. We have argued so far that tourism, and in particular TdR, has become a fundamental mechanism of community integration in postmodernity, and that this mechanism has strongly contributed to the re-signification and strengthening of a sense of belonging that re-elaborates traditional customs (the *campanilismo*) in a new view of fluidity and dynamism that invigorates communities and their members through tourist practices. The TdR is important not only for its direct economic consequences both in Italy and in Brazil, but above all for the necessary contribution to the persevering of Italianity, the preservation of affections that interconnect generations and distant places and the possibility of an existential experience in the constitution of the Self and its positioning in the globalised world. Additionally, we sought to show that this integrative and experiential mechanism contained in the TdR is strongly associated with a moral economic logic of productive interdependence that inspires people to become embedded in a network of close relationships strengthening social participation and involvement in activities that reinforce the existential quality of living in the knitted social fabric.

When we observe the recent development of tourist practices that involve Italian-descendant communities in Brazil, from the analytical point of view of an economic sociology of tourism, we realize the formation of a *circuit of exchanges* strongly interconnected between the two sides of the Atlantic, that transversally integrates “multiple markets” of production and consumption of authentic experiences of the Self and *Otherness*. In the last decades, both in Italy and in Brazil, several experiential itineraries, circuits, tourist routes have been projected and created regarding the historical and cultural event of migrations. The Italian diaspora has become a recognized term in the public sphere, and the idea of *Italianità* has become an increasingly referred attribute – both in business and institutional relationships (commercial agreements under auspicious of the Italia System, such as the business of *agriturismo*) as well as in affective ties (search for Italian citizenship in Brazil and genealogical tourism in Italy) – reinforcing the model of a strong moral economy around roots, mobility and tourism (Guida Alle Radici Italiane, 2019; Guida Agli Affari in Brasile, 2020). In an interesting survey, Panis (2016) assessed the overwhelming growth in the last 15 years of roots tourism in Italian communities in several Brazilian states. In general, new circuits are created every year in different regions, based on local initiatives, by public or private authorities, family groups or civil regional associations connected to those in the Italian regions (a lively expression of a *campanilismo* that persists). These circuits move the economy of several small and medium-sized cities, promote cultural and artistic interaction between people from distant places, encourage the learning of Italian language and culture (from literature to enogastronomy), contribute to the strengthening of genealogical or ideological affective ties (religiosity or political activism), and accomplish the dream of many descendants in search for the official recognition of Italian citizenship through genealogical journeys in collective memory - which often leads to the crossing of the Atlantic more than once to visit the places of origin of the families (a phenomenon that deserves to be studied much more properly).

Finally, given the increasing encouragement of the Italian government to projects to rescue the collective memory of the diaspora, the expansion of the recognized population of descendants who enrol in the AIRE every day, we can say that the TdR is a type of ineradicable mobility of Itali-

anity, and supports a deep-rooted sense of belonging. It is a type of mobility that strengthens the conservation of traditions but that is always in motion, through sentimental journeys that lead to self-knowledge and unpredictable encounters between origin and destination, past and present.

References

- Alvin, Z. M. F. (1986). *Brava Gente! Os Italianos em São Paulo 1870-1920*. São Paulo: Ed. Brasiliense.
- Ambasciata d'Italia in Brasile. (2020) *Guida Agli Affari in Brasile – Presenza imprenditoriale italiana, mappatura delle opportunità e strategia di ingresso sul mercato*. Brasília: GM Venture and KPMG, p.341.
- Associazione di Promozione Sociale Raiz Italiana. (2019). *Guida Alle Radici Italiane – Un viaggio sulle tracce dei tuoi antenati*. V.I. Guagnano (Lecce): Raiz Italiana Edizioni, p. 103.
- Barbutto, D. (2020). Dall'Altrove alle origini. Il turismo delle origini in Calabria. In D'Ovidio, F. D., Favia, F., Iaquina, P. (eds.). *Exploring the Roots. Maps of a New but Ancient Tourism*. (pp. 59-72). UNICART Tourism Selected Papers. Tirana-Brussels: IARC-ETQA Publishers.
- Bassetti, P. (2017). *Let's Wake Up, Italics!: Manifesto for a Global Future*. In Calandra J. D. Italian-American Institute.
- Bonato, D. (2013). *L'immigrazione e l'imprenditoria italiana in Brasile ieri e oggi*. Tesi di Laurea. Corso di Laurea Magistrale in Relazioni Internazionali Comparete. Venezia: Università Ca' Foscari, p. 146. <http://dspace.unive.it/handle/10579/3773>
- Carvalho, G. L. (2016). Perspectiva histórico-institucional da política nacional de turismo no Brasil (1934-2014). *Mercator (Fortaleza)*, 15, 87–99. DOI: 10.4215/RM2016.1501.0007
- Castro, C., Guimarães, V. L., Magalhães, A. M. (eds.) (2013). *História do turismo no Brasil* (1ª edição). Rio de Janeiro: FGV Editora.
- Cenni, F. (2003). *Italianos no Brasil: andiamo in Mérica*. 3º Ed. São Paulo. São Paulo: EDUSP.
- Cohen, E. (1988). Authenticity and commoditization in tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 15(3), 371–386. DOI: 10.1016/0160-7383(88)90028-X
- Cohen, E., Cohen, S. A. (2012). Authentication: Hot and cool. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 39(3), 1295–1314. DOI: 10.1016/j.annals.2012.03.004
- Colbari, A. (1997). Familismo e Ética do Trabalho: O Legado dos Imigrantes Italianos para a Cultura Brasileira. *Revista Brasileira de História*, 17, 53–74. DOI: 10.1590/S0102-01881997000200003
- Coles, T., Timothy, D. J. (2004). "My field is the world": Conceptualizing diasporas, travel and tourism. In Coles T., Timothy D. J. (eds.), *Tourism, diasporas and space* (pp. 1–29). London: Routledge.
- Colognese, S. A. (2004). *Associações Étnicas de Italianos: Identidade e Globalização*. São Paulo: Itália Nova Editora.
- Colluci, M., Sanfilippo, M. (2010). Guida allo studio dell'emigrazione italiana. Viterbo: Sette Città.
- Croci, F. (2009). Studiare le migrazioni dal basso? Appunti per un dibattito tra Italia e Brasile. *Revista Interdisciplinar da Mobilidade Humana*, 17(33), Article 33. <https://remhu.csem.org.br/index.php/remhu/article/view/181>
- De Andreis, S., Bernardini, E. (2018). *Italiani in Brasile fra migrazione e tutela della cultura*. DOI: 10.13137/2035-6633/19903.
- De Oliveira, A., Tisott, R. (2011). Places of association and differentiation: The Italian immigration in southern Brazil. Porto Alegre: *Proceedings of 3rd National Conference of Political Science, Brazil*. p. 10.
- Devoto, F. (1994). The Panamerican Dimension of the Italian Diaspora. *Center for Migration Studies Special Issues*, 11(3), 292–298. DOI: 10.1111/j.2050-411X.1994.tb00767.x
- Fourcade, M., Healy, K. (2007). Moral Views of Market Society. *Annual Review of Sociology*. 33(1), 285–311. DOI: 10.1146/annurev.soc.33.040406.131642
- Gabaccia, D. (1997). Italian history and gli italiani nel mondo, part I. *Journal of Modern Italian Studies*, 2(1), 45–66. DOI: 10.1080/13545719708454939
- Gabaccia, D. (1998). Italian history and gli italiani nel mondo, Part II. *Journal of Modern Italian Studies*, 3(1), 73–97. DOI: 10.1080/13545719808454967
- Gabaccia, D. (2005). Diaspora, discipline e migrazioni di massa dall'Italia. In Tirabassi M. (ed.). *Itinera: paradigma delle migrazioni italiane*. Torino: Edizioni Fondazione Giovanni Agnelli. pp. 141-172.
- Glick Schiller, N., Salazar, N. B. (2013). Regimes of Mobility Across the Globe. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 39 (2), 183–200. DOI: 10.1080/1369183X.2013.723253
- Huang, W. J., Haller, W. J., Ramshaw, G. P. (2013). Diaspora Tourism and Homeland Attachment: An Exploratory Analysis. *Tourism Analysis*, 18(3), pp. 285–296. DOI: 10.3727/108354213X13673398610691
- Lechner, F.J. (1991). Simmel on Social Space. *Theory, Culture and Society*, 8(3), pp.195–201. DOI:10.1177/026327691008003013
- Levitt, P., Glick Schiller, N. (2004). Conceptualizing Simultaneity: A Transnational Social Field Perspective on Society. *The International Migration Review*, 38(3), 1002–1039
- Licata, D. (2020) *Rapporto Italiani nel Mondo*
- Lohmann, G. et al. (2022). O Futuro do Turismo no Brasil a partir da análise crítica do período 2000-2019. *Revista Brasileira de Pesquisa em Turismo*, São Paulo, 16, e-2456. <http://dx.doi.org/10.7784/rbtur.v16.2456>
- Luconi, S. (2011). The Pitfalls of the "Italian Diaspora". *Italian American Review*, 1(2), 147–176. DOI: 10.5406/italamer-revi.1.2.0147

- MacCannell, D. (2011). *The Ethics of Sightseeing*. Berkeley: The University of California Press.
- MacCannell, D. (2020). The Moral Economy of Tourism. *Lusophone Journal of Cultural Studies*, 7(1), 21-38. Open Access: <https://rlec.pt/index.php/rlec/article/download/2211/2658/5375>
- Maria, P. F. D. (2015). Chi sono e come vivono gli immigrati italiani in Brasile? Risultati dei censimenti di 2000 e 2010. *Palermo: Proceedings of the 11th Population Days*, pp. 1-23.
- Pandolfi, R. S. (2012). A Força da Imigração Italiana na Construção de uma Cultura Empresarial. *Revista Interdisciplinar de Gestão Social*, 1(2), pp. 91-111. DOI: 10.9771/23172428rigs.v1i2.10062
- Pagnotta, C. (2017). Os italianos no espaço público de Santa Catarina (Brasil). Entre epopeia e festas étnicas. *Confluenze: Rivista di Studi Iberoamericani*. 9 (1), p. 29. DOI: 10.6092/issn.20360967/7078
- Panis, M. (2016). Circuitos turísticos ítalo-descendentes: Novos usos da cultura no período contemporâneo. *Boletim Campineiro de Geografia*, 6(2), p. 407-431.
- Ricciardi, T. (2018). Neo-associacionismo in migrazione: legami forte vs legami deboli. In Licata D. (ed.) *Rapporto Italiani nel Mondo*. Roma: Editrice Tau. Fondazione Migrantes, pp. 162-169.
- Rodas Vera, L., Gosling, M. (2017). Economia compartilhada no turismo: uma discussão teórica sobre o consumo colaborativo e o compartilhamento. *Revista Eletrônica de Estratégia and Negócios*, 10, p. 226. DOI: 10.19177/reen.v10e12017226-251.
- Romita, T. (2021). Unicità ed autenticità nell'esperienza turistica del turista residenziale delle radici. In D'Ovidio F. D., Favia F., Iaquina P. (eds.) *Exploring the Roots. Maps of a New but Ancient Tourism*. (pp. 121-130). UNICART Tourism Selected Papers, IARC-ETQA Publishers, Tirana-Brussels.
- Taylor, J. P. (2001). Authenticity and Sincerity in Tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 28(1), 7-26. DOI: 10.1016/S0160-7383(00)00004-9
- Tirabassi, M. (2005). Transnacionalismo, diaspóra, gerações e migrações italianas. In Tirabassi M. (ed.) *Itinera: paradigma delle migrazioni italiane*. Torino: Edizioni Fondazione Giovanni Agnelli. pp. 3-18.
- Tomczewska-Popowycz, N., Taras, V. (2022). The many names of "Roots tourism": An integrative review of the terminology. *Journal of Hospitality and Tourism Management*, 50, 245-258. DOI: 10.1016/j.jhtm.2022.02.016
- Trento, A. (2001). *Do outro lado do Atlântico: um século de imigração italiana no Brasil*. São Paulo, SP: Nobel: Instituto Italiano di Cultura di San Paolo: Instituto Cultural ítaloBrasileiro.
- Wang, N. (1999). Rethinking authenticity in tourism experience. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 26(2), 349-370. DOI: 10.1016/S0160-7383(98)00103-0
- Zelizer, V. (2010). *Economic Lives: How Culture Shapes the Economy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. DOI: 10.1515/9781400836253

Ethnic Tourism: Preservation and Valorisation of Identity and Opportunity for the Development of Roots Tourism²

Introduction

A political border carries out several functions: it defines the boundaries within which an authority exercises its power and establishes the rules of identity belonging, it regulates the inbound and outbound transits of goods and people, and it defines the ways in which border realities are to be interacted with. The latter can be of maximum closure or maximum openness. That is, they can lead to policies of separation, exclusion, and protection (differentiation from the surrounding environment) or policies of articulation, inclusion, and collaboration (relationship with the surrounding environment). Thus, it is possible to move from a situation of alienation or coexistence (maximum closure) to a situation of interdependence or integration (maximum openness). The first situation corresponds to a reality where the militarization and bureaucratization of the border, strict control practices of cross-border traffic, mutual distrust and continuous hostilities prevent local populations from leading a normal life; as a result, it requires time to forget the acrimonies produced over time and significant cross-border interactions may be delayed. The second corresponds to a situation where the nationalisms of the border realities give way to a new internationalist ideology that emphasizes peaceful relations and the growth of the quality of life of their inhabitants. Consequently, consolidated collaborations at institutional and civil society level are created, leading to the creation of new processes between organizations and citizens (Gasparini, 2016; Zago, 2000). In this situation, border realities develop relationships which, starting from a deepening of mutual knowledge (through an exchange of information) are consolidated in the consultation of the counterpart on important decisions, in the alignment of the areas to make them homogeneous, in the creation of a sense of belonging to a cross-border territory. Thus, border areas develop what Gasparini (1994) defines as "differentiated forms of integration". When a state or a border region does not practice a defensive economic or identity policy, collaboration becomes intense, involving friendships, cross-border work, participation in cultural and recreational events, management of common services (e.g., in health or transport) or environmental emergencies, etc. at different degrees of intensity.

This premise on the role of the border is necessary to contextualise the territory debated in the article and the main context variables, thus leading to analyse the basic conditions for the development of a roots tourism that characterizes the cross-border area also with ethnic connotations. In fact, as is often the case in border areas, even those of the North-East have undergone continuous and significant identity transformations. The presence of different cultures (Italian, Friulian, Slovene, German, etc.) has enriched the identity of the places but their abandonment, in the last century, by choice, for work needs, by constraint (e.g., Julian-Dalmatian exodus) or, simply, due to natural demographic decline, have risked dispersing a significant cultural heritage. In recent years, thanks to the role of ethnic-linguistic communities and cross-border cooperation programmes, projects have been launched to exploit the linguistic and cultural heritage, by creating thematic historical-naturalistic itineraries, promoting opportunities for food and wine collaboration, fostering cross-border mobility, etc. The European funding

¹ Andrej Bertok, University of Trieste, Euroservis srl, mail: andrej.bertok@euroservis.eu; Moreno Zago, Università degli studi di Trieste, moreno.zago@dispes.units.it, ORCID: 0000-0001-8374-5419.

² Received: 25/05/2022. Revised: 17/10/2022. Accepted: 30/10/2022.

in the World, etc.), a tourism addressed to those who have abandoned these lands and to their descendants, in order to re-discover the places so regenerated, the traditions recovered, and flavours preserved, in view of a sense of belonging to family memories and narratives. The article focuses on what the Italian national communities of Slovenia and the Slovenian of Italy, through the various cross-border programmes, have achieved to promote a roots tourism in terms of sustainability, recovery of traditions, renovation of the architectural heritage, involvement of ethnic-linguistic communities and the creation of multi-sensorial itineraries.³ The keywords of roots tourism addressed here are those linked to personal and collective memories, to village festivals and religious rituals, to friendships, to the familiarity of the places, to the pride of territorial and community belonging, to cultural identity, to local knowledge and flavours, to relevant architectural and landscape heritage, etc. The planning has thus increased the tourist attractiveness and visibility of cross-border areas through sustainable models, innovative products and a marketing of cultural heritage and ecotypes of landscapes planned through green technologies.

1. Theme and Literature

The territory under consideration straddles the border between the Friuli Venezia Giulia region and Slovenia. It is an area that, throughout history, has experienced many border changes, becoming a place of encounters and clashes, declining its essence as a crossroads, border between Central and Southern Europe and where, by contaminating each other, the three main European families coexisted: Germanic, Slavic, and Latin. Over the past few centuries, the border has not been equally stable (or shifting) (Bufon, 2002). The Northern area has been more stable; it is the border between the localities of Chiusaforte/Kluže and Cormòns/Krmin which had divided the Venetian Republic from Austria, since the Diet of Worms in 1521 (Valussi, 1972: 73ss.). This border still exists, except for the division of the Italian and Slovenian Collio/Brda which was in Austrian territory. The remaining part of the border is more recent and was affected by the great conflicts of the last century and by the political decisions taken at the end of the Second World War which significantly involved the Gorizia and the Trieste area with Istria. The Treaty of Paris (1947) and the inclusion of Istria and Dalmatia (regions of Slovenia and Croatia) in the Yugoslavia Federal People's Republic, formerly part of the Italian Kingdom, have actually set back the border and the regime established triggered the exodus of almost the entire Italian population (about 250,000 people from the cities of Koper/Capodistria, Pula/Pola, Rijeka/Fiume, Zadar/Zara, etc.) who abandoned their jobs, home, affections and possessions in order to seek refuge in Italy or emigrated overseas (mainly to the United States and Canada, Argentina, Venezuela, Brazil and Australia) (Pupo, 2005). Another important event should also be remembered: the exodus of Slovenes and Croats who, during the two wars and under the fascist oppression, preferred to abandon their lands or were forced to do so under the impulse of the policy of denationalization of the Slavic communities. The quantification of these flows is difficult but, according to the literature, the number of emigrants from Venezia Giulia is around 100,000 units bound to Yugoslavia or South America, in particular Argentina (Kalc, 1996; Klemenčič, 2005; Purini, 2000). Nowadays, the various associations of the exiles (Venezia Giulia and Dalmatia, Julian in the World, of the Istrian Communities, Italians of Pola, and Istria, etc.) have the task of representing and connecting these emigrants, keeping alive the memories, the contacts with the territory and protecting their traditions. A study on the identity of Istrian, Fiuman and Dalmatian exiles in Italy

3 In addition to the Slovenian one, the Germanic and Friulian linguistic communities are present in the Friuli Venezia Giulia region; the latter was the protagonist, during the last century, of a consistent migratory flow whose links with the mother land are kept alive by the *Fogolârs furlans*, associations spread all over the world and made up of emigrants originating from historic Friuli. Despite this, the article focuses on the two Italian and Slovenian national communities, present on both sides of the border.

and around the world highlights some interesting aspects (Gasparini, 2008). For all of them, the belonging to the Italian culture is very strong but if for the overseas exiles the feeling of being Istrian (and less Fiuman or Dalmatian) follows, for the Italian ones the feeling of being European is more important. The memory of the exodus is still well imprinted but one of the risks is its dispersion, the lack of transmission to the new generations, both for the silence of the elders (partly due to the removal of painful memories) and for the lack of interest of the children in learning about the past. This danger is less present in the third generations who rediscover their roots, considering the cultural heritage transmitted to them as a source of wealth. Thus, the problem arises of how to keep alive the sense of belonging in the new generations: through family dialogue, with the remaining natives or, simply, with the legacies of the territories still present or rediscovered and valorised, so that the search for roots becomes a source of richness of cultural belonging. The Julians in the World Association organizes the training and cultural internship called "Discovering one's roots", with the aim of introducing the young generations descendants of Trieste, Gorizia, and Istria emigrants to the territory where their parents, grandparents and/or great-grandparents were born and the "Elderly Stay" aimed at those over 65 who have always lived far away, despite being of Julian or Istrian origin.

Koderman's study (2012) on Slovenian communities in the United States and Australia shows that, for one in four people, the reason for visiting Slovenia is the discovery of the ethnic/ancestral heritage. Interest in family history must be interpreted as a response to multicultural societies that gradually absorb ethnic identities (Basu, 2005). This experience also changes the perception of one's identity: visitors begin to feel a closer connection with their Slovenian ancestors or want to know more about their family history in Slovenia. In fact, as King & Christou (2009) argue, this type of travel is made to articulate the sense of belonging to a historical community and to (re-)affirm one's origins. The study by Ferrari & Nicotera (2021: 80) on Italians in Argentina also shows that the most important reasons for travelling were to visit the places linked to one's family history, to strengthen one's identity heritage and to reduce the sense of loss of roots.

Cross-border collaboration activities are now possible thanks to the changed international geo-political climate, the better living conditions of the populations, the greater weight attributed to regions and border regions in particular, etc. which have overcome the acrimony linked to the Second World War and its consequences on the partition of the border territories between Italy and Yugoslavia. Above all, they are caused by some events that have profoundly affected the relations between the two countries: the Treaty of Osimo (1975), the Alpe-Adria experience, the end of the Cold War and the fall of the Berlin Wall (1989), the independence of Slovenia (1991), its entry into the European Union (2004) and the Schengen area (2007) and, importantly, the European Union's attention to border areas. In fact, since the end of the 1980s, within the economic and social cohesion policy aimed at reducing disparities and increasing regional development potential (Wassenberg & Reitel, 2015), the European Union has begun to pay attention to the peripheral areas of its member states, areas in which almost 40% of European citizens are concentrated and which have suffered from their position of marginalization and structural poverty. The European Commission, with the first INTERREG programme (1991-1993), promoted interventions aimed at solving the main criticalities of the border areas, such as language barriers and historical-cultural reluctance to cooperate with neighbours, differing levels and rhythms of economic development, the weakness of cross-border relations and joint territorial planning. The success of the initiative has led, over time, to transform the programme into one of the objectives of the cohesion policy. Today, the programme has reached its sixth edition (2021-2027), involving a total of 73 border areas, 49 of which within the Union. Specifically in the Italian-Slovenian area, the cross-border INTERREG has brought, during the last two programmes (2007-2013, 2014-2020), funding for over 200 million euros allocated to 145 projects. Projects focused on the consolidation of cross-border *governance*, the innovation capacities of companies and the strengthening of research, the transition towards a low-carbon economy, the protection of cultural and natural heritage, the digitalisation of public administration and on social rights (ed-

ucation, employment, social inclusion, etc.). Because its ability to connect all these aspects, the tourism sector has drawn great attention (Zago, 2015). The border area affected by the presence of the two communities counts 531,000 arrivals and 1,757,000 overnight stays in Italy (tourist areas of Tarvisio and Sella Nevea, Gorizia and Grado-Aquileia and Trieste) (Fvg Region, 2021: 174) and 789,000 arrivals and 2,575,000 overnight stays in Slovenia (Karst and Mediterranean macro-area) (Slovenian Tourist Board, 2021: 13). Foreigners account for about 40% in the Italian areas and 35% in the Slovenian ones. The area can count on significant naturalistic, landscape and historical-cultural attractions (archaeological, religious, etc.), sites recognized by UNESCO, relevant seaside and ski resorts, expressions of local craftsmanship, seafaring, food and wine culture (Gasparini & Zago, 2011). It is an offer that meets the tastes of the modern tourist, cultured, independent and attentive to the themes of sustainability, authenticity, and specificity of places (Clancy, 2017). The good results obtained with cross-border cooperation have been made possible not only thanks to the local economic and cultural institutions and operators but also to the will of the regional and national actors who, over the years, have given life to advanced cross-border cooperation structures, such as European Group of Territorial Cooperation "Euregio Without Borders" between the Regions of Friuli Venezia Giulia and Veneto and the Land of Carinthia and, at a local level, the "GO" EGTC between the municipalities of Gorizia, Nova Gorica and Šempeter-Vrtojba which have launched important projects for the mobility and tourist enhancement of cross-border heritage.

As anticipated, the roots tourism, declinable with multiple meanings (Tomczewska-Popowycza & Tarasb, 2022), is addressed here from the point of view of ethnic-linguistic minorities. In fact, a strong element of authenticity also from the tourist point of view of this cross-border territory is given by the presence of the two national communities living on the distinct sides of the border: the Italian national community residing in Slovenia and the Slovenian national community residing in Italy, more specifically in the Friuli Venezia Giulia region. This specification means that the theme of roots tourism intersects with the ethnic one even if, obviously, there are differences in the type of tourist and in the way of fruition. In fact, on the one hand, there are emigrants – who have lived part of their lives in the place of origin where they are on holiday – and their descendants, born and raised elsewhere but who feel connected to the places of their family origins (Ferrari & Nicotera, 2021; Perri, 2020; Romita & Perri, 2009); on the other hand, there are occasional tourists curious to learn about the history and traditions of an ethnic group and to interact with it (Diekmann & Smith, 2015; Hitchcock, 1999; Neilson, 2016; Rath, 2007).

With reference to the fruition, in the first case, we are dealing with an "existential" tourism where the visitor is totally identified with the centre of value of the host community; in the second case, we are faced with an "experiential" tourism where the visitor gives meaning to the tourist experience while remaining aware of his own extraneousness to the cultural environment (Cohen, 1979). At the basis, there is not only the presence or absence of a "family interest" in visiting a destination; there is a different way of connecting with the destination, linked to distinct modes of attachment: "emotional-familiar" that activates memories of stories and family traditions or of an "aesthetic" and "cognitive-cultural" order where peculiar aspects, mental representations and cultural diversities prevail (Giani Gallino, 2007).

There are, however, two other aspects that do not necessarily distinguish the two types of tourism mentioned: the methods of organizing the tourist offer and the self-representation of the destination community, particularly where this is characterised by ethnic-linguistic specificities as a minority. Attention to tourism as an opportunity for development can push a minority to confront itself with its own identity and what it wants to communicate externally. Indeed, root journeys can be used by ethnic groups to reaffirm and present their naturalistic and cultural heritage (Esman, 1984). The construction of a "themed-based image" in an ethnic-linguistic key, on the one hand, can be an opportunity to rediscover, exploit and strengthen the memory and the sense of belonging to a common history but, on the other hand, it can lead to the "commodification" of ethnic diversity to develop "place branding" mechanisms. The realization of events or

the visualization of one's history and identity through panels, QR codes, etc. which refer to texts, audio, and video, can keep the memory of the community alive and strengthen the feeling of belonging but it should be remembered that the narration implies an interpretation that must be shared with the other communities present in the area. In 2011 (Bezin & Dolhar), the first tourist guide on the city of Trieste/Trst was not limited anymore on Svevo or its Viennese cafes but was aimed at narrating its different souls, from its Slovenian to Jewish heritage, as much as its Serbian and Greek traces. The risks concern the stereotyping of the elements of authenticity which clashes with a definition of dynamic and constantly evolving culture and the possible manifestations of resistance on the part of the population that considers events and tourists as interference in their everyday life and in the use of public spaces (Marzorati & Nuvolati, 2007; Rath, 2007). This point recalls another important aspect: the existence of a willingness on the part of the residents to make their spaces available with a view to promoting tourism. This means preparing and making the *back region* accessible to non-residents as well.

2. Methodology

The offer of roots tourism on the Eastern Italian and Western Slovenian borders is strongly linked to the presence of minorities living in the area whose collaborations have created the conditions for the development of ethnic and return tourism. Therefore, before describing the methodology, it is useful to describe the actors and the main projects carried out within the INTERREG Italy-Slovenia cross-border cooperation program.

The Italian community is present in the four bilingual coastal municipalities of Ankaran/Ankarano, Koper/Capodistria, Izola/Isola and Piran/Pirano and there are numerous organizations involved in keeping the Italian culture and language alive in the area, with the purpose of defending its identity. At political level, maximum political representation is guaranteed with the so-called specific seat of the Italian representative in the State Chamber of the Slovenian Parliament. At the municipal level, political representation in the four bilingual municipalities is ensured by the Self-governing Communities of the National Community. These Communities are gathered at the coastal level in the Coastal Self-governing Community of the Italian Nationality (*Obalna Samoupravna Skupnost Italijanske Narodnosti*), a public body which, according to its Statute, "operates for the protection of the particular rights enshrined in the Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia and the realization of the interests and needs of the Italian national community in the Republic of Slovenia". The Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia, in Articles 5, 11, 64, 80, establishes the rights guaranteed to the community: the use of its own language and national symbols, the establishment of organizations, the development of economic and cultural activities as well as scientific research and activities in the field of public information sector and publishing, etc. "regardless of the number of community members". Based on the 2002 census, the members by declaration of Italian nationality are 2,258, while the members by declaration of Italian mother tongue are 3,762, essentially concentrated in the three coastal municipalities of the Karst-Littoral region (Primorska) of Koper/Capodistria, Piran/Pirano and Izola/Isola.

Cultural expression and the preservation of community traditions are ensured through the invaluable activity of civil society. This is organized in the Communities of Italians, cultural associations which, thanks to Italian and Slovenian public funding, organize concerts, literary evenings, playful-artistic activities for children and sports to create places and moments of aggregation in Italian language. They are the beating heart of the community which, since the Second World War, enliven the territory to keep the Italian identity of the cities alive. The unitary organization of the Italians of Slovenia and Croatia is the Italian Union (*Unione Italiana* in italiano, *Italijanska Unija* in Slovenian and *Talijanska Unija* in Croatian) which brings together under its aegis a total of 51 communities of Italians, of which 7 in Slovenia and 46 in Croatia. Its headquarters are in

Rijeka/Fiume and in Koper/Capodistria. The effective members over 18 registered in the Italian Communities, belonging to the Italian Union, are 31,922, of which 3,254 in Slovenia and 28,668 in Croatia. The Italian Union, through the "Europe" Office located in Koper/Capodistria, inaugurated the participation of the community in European projects whose realization was possible thanks to the collaboration established with the Slovenian community in Italy, first in the context of Slovenian Regional Economic Union (*Slovensko Deželno Gospodarsko Združenje*) – an association of entrepreneurs in Italy – and, subsequently, with the foundation in 2004, of the Euroservis company Srl of Trieste. The projects have a common denominator, namely the protection of their own identity and the development of initiatives aimed at promoting new projects in the area that see national communities as protagonists, based on their culture, identity, and language.

The Slovenian national community is historically present in the Friuli Venezia Giulia region within the three provinces located close to the border with Slovenia: Udine/Videm, Gorizia/Gorica and Trieste/Trst. The Slovenian settlement belt extends from Tarvisio/Trbiž (in the province of Udine) to Muggia/Milije (in the province of Trieste) and is divided into about six *enclaves*, created because of historical, socio-cultural, political, and economic circumstances: Val Canale (Kanalska Dolina), Val Resia (Rosajanska Dolina), Valli del Torre (Terska Dolina), Valli del Natisone (Nediške Doline), Goriziano (Goriška) and Triestino (Tržaška). Law no. 38 of 2001 on "Regulations for the protection of the Slovenian linguistic minority of the Friuli Venezia Giulia region" includes 32 municipalities in the areas considered. These territories have been ethnically mixed for centuries. In fact, even towards the end of the 6th century AD, the Slavic ancestors settled there after having migrated from the Balkan-Danubian area. The territories of Benecia (Benečija) and Val Resia became part of the Kingdom of Italy after the Third War of Independence (1866) while Val Canale and the territories of Gorizia and Trieste were assigned to Italy after the First World War. The advent of fascism led to a policy of forced Italianization of the minority, banning the use of the Slovenian language in public places and abolishing most of the cultural institutions. The Slovenian-speaking population in Friuli Venezia Giulia is currently estimated at around 46,000 people (Jelen *et al.*, 2018).

The tensions exploded during the Second World War and continued also in the following years, facilitated by the presence of a closed border that accentuated the ethnic-linguistic differences (Marušič, 2007). Slovenia's independence and what followed facilitated relations with Italy and brought benefits to the Slovenian community which began to strongly assert its *status* and identity (Bufon, 2019). Younger generations belonging to both communities saw the border as an integral element of the Italian-Slovenian territory and not as a rigid instrument of identity demarcation, as it had happened with the previous generation where collective memories were built on accusations, resentments and claims towards those "on the other part of the border", held directly responsible for what happened (Cattunar, 2019). The minority is seen as a strong identity element of the territory that plays a mediating function in communication between Italians and Slovenes (Zago, 2019: 37). So, ethnic-linguistic diversity becomes an added value for border territories and cross-border cooperation because, as emerges from a study by the European Centre for Minority Issues in collaboration with the European Academy Bolzano-Bozen (2016), minorities are intended as promoters of economic and social development and the strengthening of transnational relations as well, as the activities are not self-referential but benefit the entire population.

The Slovenian community is represented by two organizations recognized by a regional law (No. 26/2007): the Slovenian Cultural and Economic Union (*Slovenska Kulturno-Gospodarska Zveza*) and the Confederation of Slovenian Organizations (*Svet Slovenskih Organizacij*) who act as interlocutors with local, national, and European institutions. Both organizations carry out community protection and development activities in all aspects of political, social, cultural, recreational life, etc. promoting the Slovenian language and fruitful cooperation between Slovenia and Italy.

Unlike the Italian community of Slovenia, the Slovenian community in Italy does not have guaranteed electoral seats and, therefore, despite the presence of the only Slovenian party (the Slo-

vene Union, *Unione Slovena/Slovenska Skupnost*), the electorate is distributed within various political orientations so as to guarantee participation in institutional decision-making processes. However, there are consultation bodies at national, regional, and local levels through which the community interacts with institutions at political level.

The activities carried out within the community are numerous and take place in all productive and cultural spheres both within institutions and professional bodies and in an amateur form, especially in cultural and voluntary associations: from theatre and media (newspapers and magazines in standard Slovenian and dialectal variants, radio and television broadcasts, etc.), to film productions and research, from choral singing to sports, from education to vocational training, from libraries to circles of former partisan fighters, from trade union activities to religious life (Bogatec & Vidau, 2016; Čavdek *et al.*, 2018).

Through the participation in INTERREG programmes and their representative organizations, the two Italian communities in Slovenia and Slovenian in Italy have carried out projects with the main objective of promoting and developing their presence in the cross-border cooperation processes between the two countries and foster contacts with other realities, so as to valorise their identity and roots. There are several projects in the tourism sector that have brought the Italian and Slovenian identity of the territory to the centre, from the point of view of their respective minorities. The visitor and return tourist are thus offered the opportunity to get to know the borderlands through the minority, rediscovering their roots, customs, and traditions as well as the food and wine offer strongly linked to identity and culture. The projects dating from the early 2000s up to now described below represent the most important tourist initiatives for the two communities. Tourism in these frontier lands has always based its offer on food and wine and on the natural and cultural heritage that has attracted tourists from Central Europe and from all over Italy since the times of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. However, rediscovering these lands through the Italian and Slovenian presence is something new, a new trend that these projects want to promote and exploit. Thanks to European funding, roots tourism linked to ethnic-linguistic communities has been able to develop, thus giving the opportunity to present places, people, and traditions also from a tourist point of view.

The MIN-TOUR project – *Minorities and tourism. Development of tourist attractions and joint promotion of the cross-border territory* (INTERREG III-A Italy-Slovenia 2000–2006) represents the turning point in the planning of minorities in the field of tourism, since until then there had been no joint activities for the valorisation of the resources of the area of historical settlement, common reflections, real collaborations with significant economic repercussions on the territories (Tremul, 2007: 8). With an overall budget of € 196,000, the partnership was made up of nineteen subjects, four of which from the Italian community and seven from the Slovenian community. The goal of the project was the enhancement of the tourist offer of the historical settlement area of the two communities, contributing to the promotion of their rich natural and cultural heritage, proposing a joint offer, designing innovative tourist services, and supporting the tourist offer of alternative routes and lesser-known destinations. The experience represented a new opportunity for the communities along the border, a new impetus of their minority role and, above all, the rediscovery of their own languages, experienced in the past as a negative element. Thanks to the attention paid by new tourists, the cross-border area became an important element to be preserved, valorised, and handed down (Negro, 2014). The project made up for a lack of tourist guides at the time: making the tourist who visited these lands aware of the historical presence of the two communities and the significant imprint of their cultures.

The AGROMIN project – *Minorities' agriculture. Detection and enhancement of the cross-border typical products* (INTERREG III-A Italy-Slovenia 2000–2006) focused on the exploitation of the primary resources of the two minorities, with a view to food and wine promotion included in tourist and cultural activities (Agromin, 2007). With an overall budget of € 250,000, the partnership was made up of seventeen subjects, four of which from the Italian community and five from the Slovenian community. As part of the project, fairs and publications were created to

present typical products, producers and traditional recipes, a bilingual Italian-Slovenian dictionary of technical terminology related to the agricultural sector and other promotional material disseminated throughout the reference area. In Italy, an information point has been set up close to the border to create a place where farmers can present their products and promote them for tourism purposes. Traditional productions and territorial specificities have found ample space in the tourist promotion of the roots also through taste and flavours, recognizing the uniqueness of some traditions, such as "Open Osmize" (the possibility, granted in 1784 by the Habsburg Empire, to sell for eight days at home the wine tax-free), "Flavours of Karst" which involves restaurateurs, producers, traders and artisans of the agri-food sector based in the Trieste and Gorizia Karst, the "Majenca" or the "Wedding karst", ancient rites of passage and ceremonies linked to the cycle of life.

In the following programming period (INTERREG IV-A Italy-Slovenia 2007-2013), the two national communities continued their collaboration with the JEZIK-LINGUA – *Multilingualism as a value and importance of the border between Italy and Slovenia*. The emphasis of this strategic project was placed on language and culture. With a budget of € 3 million, the project, through a partnership of twelve subjects, four of which from the Italian community and one from the Slovenian community, has developed a series of services aimed at strengthening the linguistic knowledge of both the majority population and the members toward minorities. The Slovenian community also included the construction in San Pietro al Natisone/Špiëtar of a museum dedicated to the cultural landscape that extends from the Julian Alps to the sea, which takes the name of SMO (*Slovensko Multimedia no Okno – Slovenian Multimedia Window*). It is one of the new forms that thematic and territorial museums are taking on: no longer collection museums but narrative museums. It is a multimedia centre which, through a series of installations, totems, and other digital media, presents the visitor with the culture and traditions of a community that, from a tourist point of view, often remains anonymous in the eyes of the visitor.

In the last programming period (INTERREG VA Italy-Slovenia 2014-2020), the organizations of the two national communities participated in the implementation of two projects in the tourism sector, thus underlining their role in this area. These are the tARTini projects – *Cultural tourism under the banner of Giuseppe Tartini* and PRIMIS – *Multicultural journey between Italy and Slovenia through the prism of minorities*. With a budget of € 1,286,926 and six partners, one of which belongs to the Italian community, the first project aimed at promoting the figure and cultural heritage of the famous Giuseppe Tartini, born in Pirano and who, in the age of the Enlightenment, was one of the most important composers and violinists in Europe, but also a scientist, intellectual and teacher of European fame and prominence. In addition to a multilingual site dedicated to the musician, the Tartini House was the subject of extensive restoration, and a new cross-border musical tourist route was created called "Tartini route" between Pirano, Padua, Trieste, and Ljubljana. With a budget of € 2,823,529 and ten partners, two of which from the Italian community and one from the Slovenian community, the objective of the PRIMIS project was to valorise the common linguistic and natural heritage of the minorities of the programme area to attract sustainable cultural tourism. This valorisation is done using innovative, interactive, and multimedia tools with immersive and virtual reality in the *ad hoc multimedia centres*. One of these multimedia centres was created in Koper/Capodistria in the historic Gravisi building, owned by the Italian Union, where a permanent exhibition on the Italian community is set up. Considering all this, we will now summarize the main answers provided on these experiences by a panel of experts, after fifteen years. Overall, 23 operators from the world of political institutions, economic organizations representing minorities, tourism promotion agencies and associations of both communities were interviewed.⁴ All the interlocutors were able to evaluate

4 The interviews were carried out in the framework of two research projects conducted by the authors for a PhD on Transborder Policies for Daily Life (IUIES): "The Italian-Slovenian cross-border cooperation: minorities and tourism. Analysis and possible future scenarios" (Bertok, 2007-08) and for a research grant: "Ethnotour: the valorisation of ethnic-linguistic identities for tourist consumption in the Italian-Slovenian border area" (scientific tutor: Zago, 2021-22).

the role that minorities play in cross-border integrative processes, with reference to the tourism sector and based on their experiences. In conducting the interviews, a positivist approach was adopted, according to which the interview is considered a source of information on facts and reasoning relating to the subject and his/her environment. Moreover, while following a set of questions, a more open approach was favoured, allowing for lengthy conversations and, above all, giving space for the expressiveness of the interviewees (Della Porta, 2010).

3. Results

The first aspect considered is the role of minorities as a tourist attraction factor. The general opinion is affirmative: minorities represent an added value for the territories. With their linguistic, cultural, and territorial heritage, they are very attractive, especially for a cultural and eco-sustainable tourism which constitutes a profitable market niche. A large part of these border territories would not stand up to mass tourism; therefore, they must turn to those who love nature and the uncontaminated environment, the pleasure of discovery, the direct contact with people and an authentic food and wine and cultural offer. There are also many school groups visiting Val Resia or Trieste from Italy or Slovenia encountering the multiculturalism of these places and not only with their Italian or cultural specificity.

A further aspect analysed is the difficulty of coordination between communities and the creation of networks between operators. There is a lack of collaboration at an entrepreneurial and institutional level. Often, the reasons are to be found in the lack of knowledge of languages or in mutual distrust or in the lack of economic aid. What needs to be improved are the continuity of partnerships, the promotion of specificities in the cross-border area and the economic awareness of identity and multiculturalism. There are events of anthropological interest such as the "Majenca" in San Dorligo della Valle/Dolina or the "Karst Wedding" in Monrupino/Repentabor or more traditional ones such as the "Invitation to lunch" in the Valli del Natisone which have significant development potential but are managed at amateur level or need to be extended to neighbouring municipalities. For example, in 2022 it was possible to organize the Karst wedding again after a long period of nine years when marriages could not take place.

It is therefore also a question of training. The tourist realities of the two communities are small, usually family-run realities that often do not survive the death of their owners: in the Valli del Natisone, many restaurant businesses are closing not for economic difficulties but for the lack of generational handover. These realities do not have the opportunity to be adequately trained. For example, on the Italian side, although tourists appreciate hearing the linguistic differences, operators often do not speak Slovenian or refuse to do so because they are used to speak Italian with Italians. For some time, one of the goals of Slovenian associations was that of creating a network of commercial establishments which make it clear that Slovenian is also spoken there. From another perspective, operators are afraid of "ghettoising" or recalling unpleasant memories, by proposing a product with Slovenian content. Training is therefore necessary so that the communities can become participants in the tourist offer of the place, highlighting its cultural specificities since the tourist who visits these territories is rarely aware of these diversities. The foreign tourist, even if descended from transplanted people abroad, often knows little or nothing about the events of these territories and no one tells them. The success of the MIN-TOUR project has been the creation of a tourist route that valorises the presence of a Slovenian community in Italy and an Italian community in Slovenia, where each one has its own troubled history in the last tragic short century, but ultimately moved past it with the process of European integration.

The other aspect that emerged from the interviews is related to the identity, belonging and self-representation of communities. It is a question of understanding how strong and alive the identity of a community is and how willing it is to open up and collaborate with other commu-

nities in the area. For example, the Trieste Karst/Kras is proposed for tourism as an integrated context and conceived as a homogeneous unit. Proposing ethnic tourism would mean splitting reality along an ethnic line. Thus, in order not to create conflict or fractures, it is preferred to continue to work as if it is the Karst community and not the Italian or Slovenian community. The national identity of many of these Karst communities is not well defined and proposing products with a strong Slovenian content would end up in alienating the Slovenian community. It is a problem of local identity. In Val Resia as in the Valli del Natisone, there is an organized presence of minorities against identification with Slovenia; the linguistic specificities, first of all, have formed communities that are proud of their belonging. More generally, however, the question must be posed in other terms: the ethnic content, beyond very particular contexts, such as the Val Resia or specific events such as the Majenca, is not an exotic product and, in comparison with other realities, the lifestyles are quite comparable. The question must be posed in terms of local speciality. The identity aspect is also linked to the way tour operators describe a territory. Trieste was also the cradle of Slovenian culture; in Trieste there is an organized Slovenian community; beyond the border there is a world that was Venetian, it breathes Venice, every stone of it is Venice. An Italian community has lived here for centuries, developing a culture, and giving a contribution to the Italian and European Enlightenment. Elements that are often not highlighted by the guidebooks and tourist guide.

The last aspect addressed is that of promotion. The general opinion is that there is a lack of adequate and above all joint promotion of the cross-border area. It must be said that minorities do not have adequate structures to deal with tourism promotion. However, they can act to coordinate Italian and Slovenian tour operators, offer them technical support and training opportunities, etc. Promoting a territory, with all it has to offer, presenting it with its authentic face which in border territories is plural from a linguistic and cultural point of view, is instead the task of bodies and institutions. The Friuli Venezia Giulia tourism promotion agency PromoTurismoFVG implements strategies focused on large urban centres and seaside or mountain tourism resorts. This does not mean, however, that through its communication channels it does not valorise or simply does not communicate the activities centred on the multiculturalism that characterises the region. Finally, tourist packages for visits to sites where minorities are present are not sufficiently thought out and promoted, presenting them with their folklore and cultural specificities.

4. Final Discussion and Considerations

Considering what has been written, it emerges that the roots tourism in these border lands can take on two connotations: for tourists the (re-)discovery of their origins and for the residents the confirmation of belonging to an active community proud of its history, culture, and territory. In both cases, it is an opportunity to (re-)affirm one's own identity, keep it alive and transmit it to future generations. The tourism product analysed for the two communities is not yet fully developed but the cross-border cooperation projects are building the conditions for it to be so. The analysis of the interviews has highlighted that the development of ethnic tourism in these border areas cannot ignore the territorial linguistic specificities (Val Resia, Valli del Natisone, Karst, Slovenian and Croatian Istria).

The ethnic-linguistic specificity of a territory enhances a tourist offer based on its heritage, but also strengthens a roots tourism based on the memory of places, sounds, ties that are experienced or told. The territory is at the same time a space, a set of resources and a product of relationships that define the identity of individuals and the community, but also an identifying element for those who visit it and recognise themselves in it. Thus, the territory becomes a product that makes itself known, appreciated, and bought better if it can be recognized and identified. Therefore, all the projects carried out by the ethnic-linguistic communities must be read with

this meaning, aimed at safeguarding the tangible and intangible heritage of their history and keeping the memory of the places alive by attracting occasional or return tourists. Not only to pursue an opportunity for tourism development but also to avoid dispersion and transmit their identity to the next generations. This is, for example, the case of the Italians who remained in the current territories of the Republics of Slovenia and Croatia who continued to cultivate – and still do today – their identity, language, and culture also thanks to European public interventions aimed at guaranteeing a generational *continuum* of the Italian presence in abandoned lands. A great achievement has been the inclusion, in 2021, of the Istrian-Venetian dialect in the Register of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of the Republic of Slovenia and Croatia.

References

- Agromin (2007). *Lungo i sentieri tradizionali alla riscoperta degli antichi sapori*. Koper/Capodistria: Comunità autogestita costiera della nazionalità italiana.
- Basu, P. (2005). *Roots tourism as return movement: semantics and the Scottish diaspora*. In Harper M. (edited by). *Emigrant Homecomings: The Return Movement of Emigrants, 1600–2000*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 131–150.
- Bertok, A. (2008). *La cooperazione transfrontaliera italo-slovena: minoranze e turismo. Analisi e possibili scenari futuri*. Tesi di dottorato, *Transborder Policies For Daily Life (XXI ciclo)*. Trieste: IUIES.
- Bezin, E., Dolhar, P. (2011). *Com'è bella Trieste: guida alle diverse anime della città*. Trieste: Editoriale Stampa Triestina.
- Bogatec, N., Vidau, Z. (a cura di) (2016). *Una comunità nel cuore dell'Europa*. Roma: Carocci.
- Bufon, M. (2002). Slovenia. A European contact and border area. *Annales*, 2, 445–472.
- Bufon, M. (2019). *Lo spazio con/diviso: l'Alto Adriatico: un'area di contatto europea tra conflitti e integrazione*. Canterano: Aracne.
- Cattunar, A. (2019). *L'evoluzione del racconto del confine tra ambito familiare e sfera pubblica*. In Čok, S., Škarabot, A. (a cura di). *Dietro, a ridosso, oltre il confine. Gli Sloveni in Friuli-Venezia Giulia a dieci anni dall'adesione della Slovenia all'area Schengen*. Trieste: SLORI, 74–77.
- Čavdek, J. et al. (2018). *Noi, sloveni in Italia*. Trieste: SKGZ-SSO-SLORI.
- Clancy, M. (edited by) (2017). *Slow Tourism, Food and Cities. Pace and the Search for the 'Good Life'*. London: Routledge.
- Cohen, E. (1979). A Phenomenology of Tourist Experiences. *Sociology*, 2, 179–199.
- Della Porta, D. (2010). *L'intervista qualitativa*. Bari: Laterza.
- Diekmann, A., Smith, M.K. (2015). *Ethnic and Minority Cultures as Tourist Attractions*. Bristol: Channel View Publications.
- ECMI-EURAC (2016). *Dynamics of Integration in The OSCE Area: National Minorities and Bridge Building*. Flensburg: European Centre for Minority Issues.
- Esman, M.R. (1984). Tourism as ethnic preservation: the Cajuns of Louisiana. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 11(3), 451–467.
- Ferrari, S., Nicotera, T. (2021). *Primo rapporto sul turismo delle radici in Italia. Dai flussi migratori ai flussi turistici: strategie di destination marketing per il 'richiamo' in patria delle comunità di italiani nel mondo*. Milano: EGEA.
- Gasparini, A. (1994). *Le città di confine in Europa: forme differenziate di integrazione*. In Bergnach, L., Delli Zotti, G. (a cura di). *Etnia, confini, Europa*. Milano: FrancoAngeli, 213–221.
- Gasparini, A. et al. (a cura di) (2008). *Esuli nel mondo. Ricordi, valori, futuro per le generazioni di esuli dell'Istria-Dalmazia-Quarnero*. Gorizia: ISIG-ANVGD.
- Gasparini, A. (edited by) (2016). *The Walls Between Conflict and Peace*. Leiden: Brill.
- Gasparini, A., Zago, M. (a cura di) (2011). *Relazioni Transfrontaliere e Turismo. Sinergie e strategie di cooperazione e sviluppo turistico nell'Alto Adriatico*. *IUIES Journal*, 1–2.
- Giani Gallino, T. (a cura di) (2007). *Luoghi di attaccamento. Identità ambientale, processi affettivi e memoria*. Milano: Raffaello Cortina editore.
- Hitchcock, M. (1999). Tourism and Ethnicity: Situational Perspectives. *International Journal of Tourism Research*, 1, 17–32.
- Jelen, I. et al. (2018). Tra conservazione e rischio di estinzione: la minoranza etno-linguistica slovena in Italia. *Bollettino della Società Geografica Italiana*, 1(1), 91–107.
- Kalc, A. (1996). L'emigrazione slovena e croata dalla Venezia Giulia tra le due guerre e il suo ruolo politico. *Annales*, 8, 23–60.
- Klemenčič, M. (2005). *Slovenes as Immigrants, Members of Autochthonous Minorities in Neighboring Countries and Members of Multiethnic States (1500-1991)*. In Saacs A.K. (edited by). *Languages and Identities in Historical Perspective*. Pisa: University of Pisa, 97–124.
- King, R., Christou, A. (2009). Cultural Geographies of Counter-Diasporic Migration: Perspectives from the Study of Second-Generation 'Returnees' to Greece. *Population, Space, Place*, 15(2), 103–119.
- Koderman, M. (2012). Selected Characteristics of Roots Tourism in Slovenia. *Tourism*, 4, 385–396.
- Marušič, B. (2007). *Il vicino come amico realtà o utopia? La convivenza lungo il confine italo-sloveno*. Gorizia: Mohorjeva družba.
- Marzorati, R., Nuvolati, G. (2007). Quartieri etnici fra conflitti e city marketing. *Sociologia urbana e rurale*, 83, 61–84.

- Negro, L. (2014). *Lingue e turismo. Le varianti locali delle lingue minoritarie come elementi di richiamo turistico*. Resia: Circolo Culturale Resiano "Rozajanski Dum".
- Neilson, J. (2016). Urban Ethnic Tourism: An Overview of Current Research and Framework for Application. *e.polis*, Fall, 43–63.
- Pupo, R. (2005). *Il lungo esodo. Istria: le persecuzioni, le foibe, l'esilio*. Milano: Rizzoli.
- Regione Fvg (2021). *Regione in cifre 2021*. Regione Autonoma Fvg, Trieste. <https://www.regione.fvg.it>.
- Slovenian Tourist Board (2021). *Tourism in Numbers 2020*. Slovenian Tourist Board, Ljubljana. <https://www.slovenia.info>.
- Tremul, M. (2007). *MinTur. Turismo integrato italo-sloveno: patrimonio culturale e minoranze*. Trieste: Euroservis.
- Perri, A. (2020). *Il turismo delle radici*. Canterano: Aracne.
- Purini, P. (2000). L'emigrazione non italiana dalla Venezia Giulia dopo la Prima guerra mondiale. *Qualestoria*, 1, 33–53.
- Rath, J. (edited by) (2007). *Tourism, Ethnic Diversity and the City*. New York-London: Routledge.
- Romita, T., Perri, A. (2009). *Da emigrati a turisti. Turismo delle radici e recupero delle identità locali*. In Romita, T. et al. (a cura di). Atti del III convegno nazionale Turismo sostenibile: ieri, oggi, domani. Pronovis, Cosenza, 212–222.
- Tomczewska-Popowycza, N., Tarasb, V. (2022). The many names of "Roots tourism": An integrative review of the terminology. *Journal of Hospitality and Tourism Management*, 50, march, 245–258.
- Valussi, G. (1972). *Il confine nordorientale d'Italia*. Trieste: Lint.
- Wassenberg, B., Reitel, B. (2015). *Territorial Cooperation in Europe. A Historical Perspective*. Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union.
- Zago, M. (2019). *Vivere e praticare il confine: identità, convivenze e collaborazioni a Gorizia ai tempi di Schengen. Risultati di una survey locale*. In Čok, S., Škarabot, A. (a cura di). Op. cit. 33–44.
- Zago, M. (2000). *Spazi e identità di confine. L'identità transfrontaliera in sei centri di confine italo-sloveni*. Gorizia: ISIG.
- Zago, M. (2015). *L'approccio di rete nella progettazione turistica transfrontaliera delle regioni dell'Alto Adriatico*. In Romita, T. et al. (a cura di). Scenari e tendenze della mobilità turistica. Canterano: Aracne, 263–278.

The Sacred Value of the Root's Journey²

Introduction

Despite the frequently recurring thought that in 2030 global homogenization will prevail over local identity, some social scientists underline that humans will remain rooted in their own identity, which manifests itself by placing creativity, ethics, collaboration at its centre and critical thinking.³ Therefore, if that is the case, the value of one's own identity will continue, as it has always been, to be resolutely relevant in the history of mankind.

It is evident that for the purpose of analysing the meaning of identity in the social sciences, the theme of the process of creating the identity of people will remain central in relation with the social, cultural, physical, relational spaces connected with the value of the sacred, which the perception of the "Self" has today.

Based on these considerations, the area of reflection chosen for this work was the one in which people believe their identity origin resides. By this we mean the formative process of the individual related to values, behaviours, knowledge, feelings, memories and representations that concern the individual and their own history. In this study we have kept in mind the fact that, "identity is not something stable and lasting over time, but a structural effect produced and re-produced discontinuously in the different ritualistic ballets of everyday life" (Gigliotti, 1969: XVI). The interest in the above-mentioned subject of analysis is the result of the research carried out in recent years that have allowed to observe that the value assigned to the search for one's own identity, is remarkable in a person who searches it through a relationship with the places where it originates their own history and their families'. Those places are full of meaning, where "on one side, it is the person who attributes a meaning to them through the relationships that they establish with it, on the other hand, the places themselves confer identity to the people" (Corbisiero, 2017: 5).

Basically, what we will try to highlight in this work is how the roots tourist, mainly emigrants or children of emigrants, evaluates and perceives the physical and cultural place of their origins, and the sacred worth he ascribes to the journey to these places.

As a preliminary point, it should be emphasized that the concept of "sacral", to which we refer in this work, is the value that the traveller of the roots gives to the journey to their place of origin, for the purpose of rebuilding their personal and family identity, where there are important the rites and rituals, which underline the belonging to a defined sacred order. In that "sacral" sense, it is something that is not judged based on utilitarian and rational criteria, but which evokes emotions and feelings.

This topic deserves a great deal of attention, also because, for all modernity era, today included, it produced an extensive scientific literature which predominantly highlighted the so-called "banality" of the tourism experience (for example: Morin, 1965; Ezensberger, 1962; Boorstin, 1962; Turner, Ash, 1975). A vision that has been widely justified in the social and economic contexts managed by the organized tourism industry. However, some researchers have recognized the existence of tourism forms, sometimes even partial, identified as not trivial. Among these, the most relevant examples are those of religious tourism and pilgrimages.

In this paper, we will propose an approach that will allow us to think about the sacred value that tourism can have for other types of travellers. More specifically, the one developed in the context of research activities which concerned a particular form of tourism, such as, precisely, "roots tourism".

1 Antonella Perri, Università della Calabria, antonellaperri@unical.it, ORCID: 0000-0002-0605-4048.

2 Received: 25/05/2022. Revised: 17/10/2022. Accepted: 30/10/2022.

3 De Masi D., 2022. "Future: instructions for use". Lesson of 01.03.2022 at the Master in "Intelligence" of the University of Calabria.

In fact, the present work originates in a general dissatisfaction about the way the tourist experience has been analyzed which, throughout modernity, has recognized a "sacred" value almost exclusively to the types of travel mentioned above (pilgrimage and religious tourism). Therefore, precisely with the aim of deepening knowledge about the sacred value of travel, particularly in contemporary society, it was decided to propose this reflection which is the result of years of research dedicated to roots tourism, and to the sacred meaning that a particular typology of traveller, such as the roots tourist, assigns to this experience.

1. The Sacredness of the Travel Experience

As we know, during modern times, and during the second half of the twentieth century, a coherent production of tourism surveys was generated from the idea that tourists were essentially consumers of a mass product.

Following this idea and placing the tourist experience at the heart of the discussion, it has come to put in evidence the banality and the superficiality of it and the passive role of the tourist.

Indeed, as we have already had occasion to anticipate in the introduction, in these years a substantial proportion of researchers have shown their critical attitude towards tourism which, as a mass social phenomenon, imposes itself in society by offering individuals a ready-made experiential world, totally heterodirect, or a tourist experience subjected to manipulation and commodification by the tourism industry.

Among these studies a very well-known work is that of the American scholar Boorstin (1962) who, with his "Guide to pseudo-events in America", introduces two concepts that have been very successful and that are still widely used today: the concept of pseudo-events and environmental bubble. According to Boorstin, the tourism experience is not 'direct', but mediated, and events are pseudo-events. The idea is that tourist attractions, made by the tourism industry, are not authentic, reproducing what the tourist, heterodirect and, consequently, naïve, expects. Indeed, because they must hit people's imagination, they are based on increasingly sensational scenarios, which produce bewilderment in the tourists.

In this context, the view-see theory is developing, to which the tourist goes not towards things, but only towards their image, reducing everything to the image. Mass tourism needs sight, and things to see, put in the window, lose their depth and authenticity (Burgelin, 1967). In the same period, apart from critical studies on tourism, there are many others which, sometimes even from critical hypotheses, open to other less critical conclusions and become important points of reference on tourism study and for the purposes of our work.

Such is the case with the famous study of Dean MacCannell (1976), which in tourism notes the presence of features deemed useful also for the formulation of a new theory of the wealthy class, in comparison with the one previously formulated by Veblen (1899).

Indeed, the element of MacCannell's studies that we point out for our purposes is that all people seek authenticity as a constant characteristic of social life, and tourism is nothing more than a case of the eternal search for the sacred, at the level of religious pilgrimage. It is evident the influence of Goffman's (1959) work on daily life, where it stands out between the stage and the backstage (the dramaturgical model of society).

In addition, Graburn (1977) frames the holiday as a modern emerging rite and explains tourism behaviour as guided by adherence to a collective ritual (at a celebration), emphasizing the sacredness of travel. The author sees the summer holiday as a feast of industrial society that sacralizes the secular time of the calendar that "describes the ordinary and the inevitable" (Costa, 1989: 102), has the regenerative purpose to put people in contact and intensify relationships, acquiring, therefore, a relational function.

Consequently, tourism takes a ritual sense within modern societies (Costa, 1989), and participating in a collective ritual typical of modernity, a holiday, would explain the typical behaviour of modern tourists: travel during periods of peak tourist concentration; attend hyper-crowded beaches where it is sometimes almost impossible to find space for your towel and umbrella; waiting long hours in a car queue on the motorways and at the airport check-ins; stay in tourist destinations that are often very noisy and disorganised, etc.. Situations that could often be prevented, by anticipating or delaying the holiday, a day or even a few hours, or by choosing a less crowded beach even in the same destination, or by negotiating a different vacation period, etc.

Cohen's studies also play an important role in our work. He conceives tourism as something that, in the life of a modern person, takes on a different meaning according to the image that one has of the world, which depends on the greater or lesser adherence to a cultural or symbolic 'centre' and on the location (inside or outside) of this centre compared to the society in which one lives (Cohen, 1979).

In this perspective, Cohen identifies five types of tourism based on the degree of "alienation" that tourists have with respect to their "centre" reference. These range from those who fully identify with their society, to those who choose a society or culture different from their own as a "spiritual centre". Amongst them, what interests us most is what he calls "existential tourism", that is the type of tourism in which tourists are fully identified with the "centre" belonging to the holiday community. It is an "elective spiritual centre", and "the only truly meaningful experience for them is to lead them to this "centre". It also supports them in their ordinary lives, passed "into exile" in their respective societies and cultures (Savelli, 2012: 246). It is a "place" to find refuge in need, precisely to obtain spiritual support from it, as in the case of pilgrimage.

When we talk of "sacred", we cannot not talk of pilgrimage. Indeed, the extensive literature available on religious pilgrimage (Jackowski, Smith, 1992; Simonicca, 1997; Shinde, 2008; Nyaupane & Budruk, 2009), considers the pilgrim as a person who goes to the sacred, i.e., to a spiritual centre, expecting an extraordinary and life-changing experience (Turner, 1973; Turner & Turner, 1978). The pilgrimage is considered a rite of passage (Turner & Turner, 1978), in which the pilgrim departs from daily life during the ritual, assuming a "particular social status" (Nocifora, 2010), and comes back transformed in the "centre" of it. Indeed, pilgrimage, as a departure from ordinary life, is often connected to spiritual matters, where the pilgrim goes in search of one's own spiritual realization.

In this context, it must be recalled that, in a society that guides cultural models and behaviours towards the search for a personalized spirituality, subjectively and independently of the precepts of ecclesiastical hierarchies (Zago, 2017), the former paradigm, which exclusively valued the religious elements of pilgrimage, leaves more and more room for studies in which secular travel models have been asserting (De Salvo, 2015).

However, the sacred is "the product of the realization of a ritual" (Fele, 2002: 16). In fact, rituals serve to give a sacred character to the object and have no utilitarian purposes, they do not take place for an instrumental purpose (Fele, 2002) unlike in the case of representative or commemorative rituals through which we pay tribute to the ancestors through narratives and ritual gestures that commemorate them (Durkheim, 1912).

Moreover, in contemporary societies the sacred "is represented by the "worship of the individual", by the recognition of their specific self" (Giglioli, 1969: XIV), indeed "the individual remains persistently a divinity of great importance" (Goffman, 1967: 104) where personal identity plays an important role and "is bound up with the hypothesis that the individual can differentiate themselves from all others" (Goffman, 1963: 74).

2. Working Assumption and Methodological Framework

In contemporary society other forms of travel have also gained value, meaning not only the instrumental ones related to getting to a place where you have fun, that is vacation tourism, but also, those who value both the journey and the destination of arrival differently, that is those where travel and destination are one and of special significance.

This new form of meaning which is given to the experience of the journey, and hence also to the "tourist", is to attribute a sacred value, in the sense that the very purpose of the journey is not the vacation itself but the experience that is made and that has to do with the "self", with your ego, with your family history, with why "you're here", and your life purpose. Consequently, the same departure and arrival at some places acquires a global sacred value.

Included in this type of travel, in addition to those which, by definition, are made for religious and spiritual aims, are those who fall into roots tourism,⁴ or the journeys of migrants and/or their descendants who temporarily return to the place where their roots are.

In this work, we use the journey of the roots as a tool to delve into the study of sacredness, not only on the tourist experience side but on the journey in its entirety. The focus of the research is characterized in the development processes of local communities, with particular attention to the forms of tourism, and the identity of places.

The main theoretical field of reference is what we referred to so far, albeit in part, also bearing in mind the sociological literature on the study of migration, especially the notion of trans-migrant and their double membership (community of arrival and community of departure), and the symbolic bonds that link them to "memories and symbols that connect them to their history and tradition" (Scidà, 2002: 13).

This approach has also stimulated research activities that question the relevance of the journey and stay of the emigrant and their descendants, as well as on an identity and cultural level, also in the process of pushing towards direct contact with their places of origin.

The main hypothesis of this work is that the journey to the countries of origin is not only a physical journey in the strict sense, but also an inner journey, which engages with the identity of people, therefore assigning it a "sacred" value.

In addition, two other hypotheses have been formulated: maintaining the connection and relations with the community and the place of origin, restores a spiritual renewal to the roots tourist, as well as the pilgrim, through an eternal search, in an attempt to maintain the connection and relations with the "divine"; the visit to the place can strengthen or mitigate the sacred value that had been attributed to it by the tourist before completing the journey.

The hypotheses put forward here are, to a large extent, the result of many years of study and research into this phenomenon. (Romita & Perri, 2009; Perri, 2010, 2013, 2020, 2021; Carrera, Perri & Romita, 2020) and above all, by conducting field research using a qualitative/interpretive methodological approach.

The main research activity was launched in 2012, with the aim of studying the behaviour of Italo-New Yorkers, with a specific reference to their touristic behaviour in relation to their place of origin. Specifically, the research activities carried out were structured as follow: - semi-structured interviews with Italo-New Yorkers with the support of the Foundation "The Italian Cultural Foundation at Casa Belvedere" in New York;⁵ direct observation of the lifestyles of New Yorkers Italian American families (1st, 2nd and 3rd generation) in their day-to-day environment; study of doc-

4 By roots tourism we mean «movement of people who spend holidays in places where they themselves, and/or their families, who were born and in whom they lived before emigrating to places that over time have become the places where they now live permanently». The roots tourists are "both the emigrants who were born and lived a part of their life in the place of origin, such as their children, grandchildren, great-grandchildren and family members, who were born and raised elsewhere, but who feel, however, a solid bond with this land where are the roots of their own family» (Perri, 2010: 147).

5 The Foundation also provided the list of interviewees, identified in accordance with the criteria set out by the research group.

uments provided by Italian-New Yorker families, as well by the Foundation itself. The fieldwork was completed in three months.

The interview was divided into eight sections: reasons for emigration, family and social origin, career development in the United States, general satisfaction, life in the U.S., relations with the country of origin, changes and perspectives, basic information. Twenty-eight interviews were conducted, 27 in Italian and one in English, 16 with first-generation Italian-New Yorkers and 12 with second-generation Italian-New Yorkers. Interviews were conducted mainly at the interviewee's home.

The direct approach with the "observation of the participants" consisted of living in homes with a few Italian-New York families, from December 2012 to March 2013, sharing important aspects of day-to-day life, including participation in their events. This experience has been recorded by writing field notes, a field journal and a photographic report.

Moreover, the study of four Italian-New York families continued over time, and continues today, through periodic contacts (mainly video calls, but also telephone calls, every two months) where information about their connection to their place of origin continues to be gathered.

3. Results and Research

The research activities carried out have largely confirmed the conceptual system adopted regarding the "sacred" value of the trips undertaken by the roots tourists.

As the results of the research have shown, these journeys are, for those who make them, a spiritual renewal, and in some cases a sort of spiritual "redemption", providing the roots tourists with a feeling of one's own existence. It may be considered as a sort of philosophical journey, a "journey through time, a trip to the places of the origins whose cultural order made the philosopher traveller feel like a member [...] a search for roots and beginnings, a return to the points of space consecrated as places where the origins have a meaning" (Leed, 1992:163).

Among the people interviewed, especially among first-generation Italian-New Yorkers, there is a recurring desire to return to their home countries, as well as reviving the lifestyle left at the time of departure, also to find friends and/or relatives, their environment and property. This last aspect is relevant, as this is what they do on a regular basis upon their temporary return.

Hence, we clearly perceive a psychological need to be fulfilled, caused by the absence, remoteness or inaccessibility of these places, these people, these objects. This psychological condition makes these people move through time and space, and this movement, the so-called mobility, becomes a kind of "home" for these tourists (Baldassar, 2001). In fact, most interviewees indicate a suspended condition between two worlds, sometimes claiming to feel «strangers in the US, and at home in Italy, yet other times they feel aliens in Italy and at home in the USA» The journey thus represents a continual quest for one's own identity, an «ancient and original identity» (Pitto, 1988, p. 96).

Another important aspect which should be underlined is the stay in the house owned, inherited or purchased. This kind of holiday is very common among first generation Italians-New Yorkers. Indeed, this is a recurring feature in the relevant literature that analyses the tourism in private homes, also known as residential tourism (Romita, 1999, 2010, 2022; Romita, Perri & De Salvo, 2022; Mazon & Aledo, 2005; Huete, 2009; Hall & Müller, 2004; Karayiannis, Iakovidou & Tsartas, 2010; Roca, 2010; Colás & Cabrerizo, 2004; Mazon, 2018).

In Italy, residential tourism and local tourism have often developed in connection, generating flows of returnees as tourists to places where they were born. This happened during some periods of the year or more on a permanent basis at the end of their working life (Romita, 1999; Romita & Perri, 2009). Indeed, the property of a house located in the place of origin is used to keep alive relationships with the original community, and represents a fundamental stage for an

eventual return, which most emigrants dreamed of once they were forced to leave their homelands. However, it's a very difficult objective to achieve (Fondazione Migrantes, 2011).

Thus, the house of origins is used as housing when returning temporarily for a short or long period of time, not only representing an important link to keep alive relationship with relatives, friends, local people but also, and above all, reliving the spiritual dimension associated with important moments in the life of the past. Living such environments, full of evocative force and memories, serves not only to satisfy the reconstruction of identity, but also to feel, in a certain sense, "close" to the people who, over the years, have lived there.

Eventually, those are the reasons why the main purpose of most emigrants was to renovate an inherited home or buying a home in the country of origin (Perri, 2020).

It is necessary to emphasize the role played by *nostalgia*, a distinctive feature of roots tourists specially of the first generation, in ascribing a sacred value to the journey of roots, and the "idyllic" image of the place of family origin that descendants have, especially 2nd and 3rd generation tourists (Perri, 2020). The descendants romanticize the original places, with their lifestyles, the people who live there and everything that revolves in those "worlds", considering them more "real" and more "authentic", up until the point of mythologizing them. In this regard, the route represents the discovery of their mythical world.

From the stories of the Italian-New Yorkers emerged life stories, memories of places, situations, emotions that favour a mythical reconstruction of the country of origin.

Another aspect studied is the ritual, or rather the rituals which the tourists of the roots practise when they go to the place of origin, and which, as we have said before, serve to confer the sacredness of the object, and to attain the purpose for which they undertake the journey.

Indeed, the recorded stories describe the journey itinerary as a kind of spiritual itinerary, including travel stages such as visiting friends or relatives, visiting important places from their past, frequent socialisation places (square, bars, etc.), attend Mass and observe religious practices related to tradition, visit the cemetery, etc.

In conclusion, making this route is nothing but a ritual that contributes to sacralising the very existence of those who make them. What has been said above is confirmed from most of the video productions, which promote the tourism of the roots. Indeed, they portray visits to the land of origin as a form of pilgrimage, with very specific rituals, where the spiritual meaning is symbolized in concrete terms: genealogical research before leaving; visiting archives (municipal, state, parish, etc.) to research as much information as possible about their families; the comparison, through family photographs inherited from their ancestors, of the actual landscapes with those of the past; meeting with relatives in the place of origin; visiting the home of family origin; visiting cemeteries; immersion in traditions; and so on.

In addition, the recorded stories also highlight the importance of the rites that the Italian-New Yorkers practice in their daily environment and which have to do with family traditions handed from generation to generation. Indeed, when such traditions take place in their country of residence, they are infused with rites and rituals. For example, preparing typical dishes at some point of the year, just as in the country of origin, is a ritual that sacralises the dish, as this "process" brings them closer to the places of their roots and therefore their own identity.

The research also led to interesting results especially regarding the spiritual renewal of the person through the connection and relations with the community and the place of origin, which are especially important in the processes of identity search; identity which in the roots tourists is deterritorialized.

Staying in touch with the community of origin, to the individual, means renewing the union with the mythical origins of society and culture (Pitto, 1988), and becomes a bridge between both worlds. Communications are a way of transmitting community life, scenes of what happens in the country. In this sense, new technologies play a very important role that allow the emigrant, quickly, easily and at almost no cost, communication with friends and relatives living in the city of origin. Today, visual communications are quite diffused and bring people in touch with ease.

In fact, from the stories collected emerges a constant contact with the place of origin through the Internet, and communications with local people through phone calls, video calls, social chat and messages. The information requested are mainly about community life.

In addition, contact is also sought by taking part in cultural associations and events related to the country of origin. Emigrants' cultural associations represent a social and cultural space, and serve to reinforce their original individual and collective identity.

In the preface to the Statute of the San Fili⁶ Fraternity Club of Westchester, an association of people originally from San Fili and living in Westchester Country, USA, confirmed the importance to feel connected to the country of origin for a renewal of spirit: "...the more we feel in our hearts the restless *nostalgia* of the faraway Homeland, the greater the desire to gather, to organize oneself to feel less discomfort and bitterness of detachment or to elevate, in a spiritual recovery, the soul of the migrant".

Finally, the research has highlighted how the visit to the place of origin can strengthen or mitigate the sacred value that had been attributed by the tourist before making the trip.

In fact, demoralising situations could arise when the search for authenticity, which is taken for granted guides the journey of the roots, ends in an artificial tourism experience (McCannell, 1976), or a discrepancy between the anticipated authenticity and subjective perception of the experience (Cohen, 1988), or, finally, by the way in which authenticity is manifested with reference to the way in which the individual recognition of one's identity takes place, put in relation to what is considered authentic expression of the culture of the community and the territory of one's origins (Wang, 1999).

In fact, during the discussions with the Italian-New York families that took place in their daily environments, they pointed out the differences found when visiting the place of origin, according to the memories and/or the image created in their mind. Indeed, there have been several criticisms, which concern not only the landscape, but especially the customs and lifestyles, sometimes challenging their authenticity.

They complain that they do not perceive the sense of "community" which accompanies their memories, really the most characteristic element of past life, which intensifies the feeling of belonging to that place. As for instance finding a few people in the 'piazza', or on the street, or at the bar, people to stop by to chat with, and re-establish a sense of community, not being alone and being able to rely on others.

Several criticisms also concern the fact that, especially young people, do not speak and/ or even no longer know the dialect, and the preparation of certain typical dishes. For example, certain ingredients not being used which are considered essential for them, because they characterise a dish; the preparation time for this dish is not as rigid as it used to be due to the fact that today there is no pasta or homemade desserts the way it used to be.

Conclusions

Studies and research over the years have demonstrated the transformation of the travel roots, a travel towards a place that has a very important identity.

In fact, this journey has been transformed from a journey that carefully avoided the "touristy" connotation, and that was seen only and exclusively as a generic form of travel, into a journey where the emigrant temporarily returns to the place where their roots reside and lives it in a tourist way to all intents and purposes (Romita & Perri, 2009), and which is not always perceived as such by the other actors involved in the phenomenon.

What we have tried to do with this work, is to highlight the different values that this type of travel has compared to conventional tourist travel.

⁶ San Fili is a town in the Calabrian hinterland that today has over 2,700 inhabitants and that in 1921 had more than 5,100, almost double.

In fact, we certainly see roots tourism as a form of tourism, but at the same time, we believe that this declaration deserves consideration.

Indeed, we see the danger of escaping the profoundly “sacred” sense of this journey that we underlined in this paper. The preparation of the journey, the transfer, the stay and the departure, are not moments separated from each other but are all connected. Roots journey can also have a consumer value, a technicality, a ready-made tourist product, but it is lived by those who carry it out in an all-encompassing way, to the point of giving it a “sacred” value, because, as underlined, it is a matter of valuing family history and one’s own existence, an inner journey to discover and/or make the most of what one is.

More precisely, the roots journey is sacred, not only for the reasons MacCannell said and which we have already mentioned, but also because the tourist goes in search of their own identity, seeks the origin, the “elective spiritual centre”, and travel to these destinations represents the desire for existential experience.

The emotional charge, the emotions, the feeling of comfort in being in a place that “belongs” to them, are elements that characterize this tourist experience which is thus made sacred through those rituals that serve, precisely, to strengthen the sense of travel.

References

- Baldassar, L. (2001). *Visits Home: Ethnicity, Identity and Place in the Migration Process*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press.
- Boorstin, D. J. (1962). *The Image: A guide to pseudo-events in America*. New York: Harper.
- Burgelin, O. (1967). Le tourisme jugé. *Communication*, 10, 81 ss.
- Carrera, L., Perri, A., Romita, T. (2020). *Riflessioni intorno al viaggio turistico delle radici. Esperienze, strategie e scenari post COVID-19*. IARC-ETQA, Bruxelles.
- Cohen, E. (1988). Authenticity and Commoditization in Tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 15, 371-386.
- Cohen, E. (1979). A phenomenology of tourist experience. *Sociology*, XIII.
- Corbisiero, F. (2017). Manifesto Fuori Luogo. *Fuori Luogo. Rivista di Sociologia del Territorio, Turismo, Tecnologia*, n. 1, 5-13.
- Colás, J.L. Cabrerizo, J.A. 2004. Vivienda secundaria y residencia múltiple en España: una aproximación sociodemográfica. (on line) *Geo Crítica Scripta Nova, Revista Electrónica de Geografía y Ciencias Sociales*. 8, 178.
- Costa, N. (1989). *Sociologia del turismo. Interazioni e identità nel tempo libero*. Milano: Cooperativa libraria Iulm.
- De Salvo, P. (2015). Il viaggio tra spiritualità e territorio: una visione moderna del pellegrinaggio. La via di Francesco. In F. Giacalone, (eds.), *Pellegrinaggi e itinerari turistico-religiosi in Europa*. Perugia: Morlacchi, (pp. 221-234).
- Durkheim, É. (1912). *Les formes élémentaires de la vie religieuse*. Paris. Trad. it. (2013). *Le forme elementari della vita religiosa.*, Milano-Udine: Mimesis.
- Enzensberger, H.M. (1962). *Beiträge zu einer Theorie des Tourismus*, in Einzelheiten, Suhrkamp Verlag, Frankfurt am Mein. Trad. it. (1965). *Una teoria del turismo*, in Questioni di dettaglio, Milano: Feltrinelli, (pp. 66-89).
- Fele, G. (2002). Il rituale come pratica sociale. Note sulla nozione di rituale in Durkheim. In M. Rosati, A. Santambrogio (eds.). *Durkheim. Contributi per una rilettura critica*. Roma: Meltemi. pp. 205-234.
- Fondazione Migrantes (2011). *Rapporto Italiani nel Mondo 2011*. Roma: Idos.
- Giglioli, P. (1969). Introduzione all'edizione italiana. In E. Goffman, *La vita quotidiana come rappresentazione*. il Mulino, Bologna. 2008, pp. IX-XXVII.
- Goffman, E. (1974). *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organisation of Experience*. Harper and Row. New York. Trad.it. (2001). *Frame Analysis: L'organizzazione dell'esperienza*. Roma: Armando.
- Goffman, E. (1967). *Interaction Ritual. Il rituale dell'interazione*. Doubleday, Garden City (NY). Tr. it., (1988) *Il rituale dell'interazione*. Bologna: il Mulino.
- Goffman, E. (1963). *Stigma. Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity*. Penguin Books, London. Tr. it., (2003). *Stigma: L'identità negate*. Verona: Ombre Corte.
- Goffman, E. (1959). *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. Doubleday, Garden City (NY). Tr. it. (2008). *La vita quotidiana come rappresentazione*. Bologna: il Mulino.
- Graburn, N. H. H. (1977). Tourism: The sacred journey. In V. L. Smith. (ed.), *Hosts and guests: The anthropology of tourism* (pp. 17–31). Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Hall, C.M., Müller, D.K. (2004). *Tourism, Mobility and Second Homes: between Elite Landscape and Common Ground*. Clevedon: Channel View Publications.
- Huete, R. 2009. *Turistas que llegan para quedarse. Una explicación sociológica sobre la movilidad residencial*. Alicante: Publicaciones de la Universidad de Alicante.
- Jackowski, A., Smith, V. (1992). Polish pilgrim-tourists. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 19(1), 92-106.

- Karayianis, O., Iakovidou, O., Tsartas, P. (2010). Il fenomeno delle abitazioni secondarie in Grecia e i suoi rapporti con il turismo. In Romita, T. (ed.) *Il Turismo Residenziale. Nuovi stili di vita e di residenzialità, governance del territorio e sviluppo sostenibile del turismo in Europa*. Milano: FrancoAngeli.
- Leed, E. J. (1992). *La mente del viaggiatore. Dall'Odissea al turismo globale*. Bologna: il Mulino.
- MacCannell, D. (1976). *The tourist: a new theory of leisure class*. New York: Schocken Books.
- Mazon, T. (ed.) (2018). *Turismo residencial. Nuevos estilos de vida: de turistas a residentes*. Sant Vicent del Raspeig: Publicacions de la Universitat d'Alacant.
- Mazon, T., Aledo, A. (2005). *Turismo residencial y cambio social. Nuevas perspectivas teóricas y empíricas*. Alicante: Aguaclara.
- Morin, E. (1965). *Vivent les vacances*. In Id. Pour une politique de l'homme. Paris: Editions Du Seuil.
- Nocifora, E. (2010). Turismo religioso e pellegrinaggio. Il caso romano. *ROTUR/Revista de Ocio y Turismo, Coruña*, 3, (pp. 181-194).
- Nyaupane, G.P., Budruk, M. (2009). South Asian heritage tourism: conflict, colonialism, and cooperation. In D. J. Timothy, G. P. Nyaupane (eds.), *Cultural heritage and tourism in the developing world: A regional perspective*. London: Routledge.
- Perri, A. (2021). Viaggi del tempo libero e place attachment. In F. D. D'Ovidio, F. Favia, P. Iaquina (eds.), *Exploring the Roots. Maps of a New but Ancient Tourism - UNICARTourism Selected Papers*. Tirana-Brussels: IARC-ETQA Publishers.
- Perri, A. (2020). *Il Turismo delle Radici*. Collana Turismo e Mediterraneo, vol. 4. Aracne, Roma.
- Perri, A. (2013). Residential Roots Tourism in Italy. In Z. Roca (ed.), *Second home tourism in Europe. Lifestyle issue and policy responses*. Ashgate: Farnham.
- Perri, A. (2010). Alcune riflessioni sul turismo residenziale delle radici. In T. Romita (ed.), *Il turismo residenziale. Nuovi stili di vita e di residenzialità, governance del territorio e sviluppo sostenibile del turismo in Europa*. Milano: FrancoAngeli.
- Pitto, C. (1988). *Al di là dell'emigrazione*. Cassano allo Jonio: Ionica Editrice.
- Roca, Z. (2010). *Landscapes, identities, and development*. Ashgate, Londra.
- Romita, T. (2022). Residential Tourism and Vacation Entitlement. In N. Krivokapić, I. Jovanović. *Slow and fast tourism: travellers, local communities, territories, experiences*. Univerzitet Crne Gore Filozofski fakultet. Kotor: Niksic.
- Romita, T. (2010). *Il Turismo Residenziale. Nuovi stili di vita e di residenzialità, governance del territorio e sviluppo sostenibile del turismo in Europa*. Milano: FrancoAngeli.
- Romita, T. (1999). *Il turismo che non appare. Verso un modello consapevole di sviluppo turistico della Calabria*. Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino.
- Romita, T., Perri, A., De Salvo, P. (2022). Undetected Tourism and Root Tourism: dependencies and reciprocity, in I. Cekani, F. D. D'Ovidio, F. Favia, P. Iaquina (eds.), *Food, Sustainability, Nutrition and Tourism – Proceedings Book*, 5th Unicart Interdisciplinary International Conference. Tirana-Brussels, IARC-ETQA Publishers.
- Romita, T., Perri, A. (2009). Da emigrati a turisti. Turismo delle radici e recupero delle identità locali. In E. Ercole, E. Nocifora, M. Palumbo, O. Pieroni, T. Romita, C. Ruzza, A. Savelli (eds), *Atti del III Convegno Nazionale: Turismo Sostenibile: Ieri, Oggi, Domani*. Cosenza: Edizioni Pronovis.
- Savelli, A. (2012). *Sociologia del turismo*. Milano: Hoepli.
- Scidà, G. (2002). L'Italia e la sociologia delle migrazioni. In G. Pollini, G. Scidà. *Sociologia delle migrazioni e della società multietnica*. Milano: FrancoAngeli.
- Shinde, K. (2008). Religious tourism: exploring a new form of sacred journey in «North India». In J. Cochrane (ed.), *Asian tourism: Growth and change*. Elsevier, Oxford. pp. 245-257.
- Simonica, A. (1997). *Antropologia del turismo. Strategie di ricerca e contesti etnografici*. Roma: La Nuova Italia Scientifica.
- Turner, L., Ash, J. (1975). *The Golden Hordes: International Tourism and the Pleasure Periphery*. London: Costable.
- Turner, V. (1973). The center out there: pilgrim's goal. *History of Religions*. 12(3), 191-230.
- Turner, V., Turner, E. (1978). *Image and pilgrimage in christian culture*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Veblen, T. (1899). *The theory of the leisure class*. Macmillan, New York. Trad. it. (1971). *La teoria della classe agiata*. Torino: Einaudi.
- Wang, N. (1999). Rethinking authenticity in tourism experience. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 26 (2), 349-370.
- Zago, M. (2017). Il viaggio religioso in Friuli-Venezia Giulia: motivazioni e percezione della qualità dei territori e dei luoghi di fede. S. Baldin, M. Zago (eds), *Luoghi dell'anima, anime in cammino. Riflessioni su eredità culturale e turismo religioso*. Milano: FrancoAngeli. (pp. 201-213).

Cultural and Archaeological Heritage, Landscapes and Roots Tourism: Developing the Enhancement of Territories²

Introduction

This paper emphasizes the development of cultural heritage in order to construct a planned, emotional and sustainable use.

Starting from a general reflection on the value and use of cultural heritage for the recognition of the territories and their culture, this work wants to contribute to the debate on roots tourism. In particular on the methods by which it is possible to construct a functional cultural offer for the development of this particular form of tourism, by analysing the territory of Calabria.

Although certain subjects are common to those currently discussed in the specific cultural sphere, the roots tourism may usefully define perspectives, operating practices and methods based on cultural heritage or consolidate and clarify those already in place. Actually, it can draw new attention to cultural heritage by generating the so-called "place attachments", to help identify new approaches and models for 'culture oriented' development (Russo & van den Borg, 2010).

Particular emphasis is placed on the archaeological heritage of the region, analysing the evolution of scientific research through the work of Paolo Orsi (First Superintendent of Calabria) carried out between the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. However, all the organisation results in terms of usability have been achieved since the 1980s of the last century. The analysis about the current system of valorisation of Calabria composed by museums, archaeological zones and parks, of state or local jurisdiction, took into account the entries of state structures in the area along the limited evidence available. So we will attempt to define what type of interest can activate the roots tourism on the archaeological heritage or how much the latter can contribute to consolidate the sense of belonging to the territory, evident in the tourism of the roots.

In many Italian towns not characterised by *over tourism*, the enhancement of cultural heritage, especially archaeological, implies a new awareness in the territories where community participation can contribute to cultural, environmental, political and economic transformation.

The stakes associated with roots tourism converge towards a new logic of valorisation of the archaeological heritage, which is no longer only passive and detached.

The new trend is now to turn every visitor from any origins and social background into actors in knowledge transfer and awareness of the value of cultural heritage; and the tourist of the roots could usefully participate in this process of re-appropriation, rediscovery and enhancement through what is called "public archaeology" form. This appears to be the most appropriate tool for creating new synergies and linkages between the territory and the communities, including the Rootists.

1 Stefania Mancuso, University of Calabria, stefania.mancuso@unical.it.

2 Received: 25/05/2022. Revised: 17/10/2022. Accepted: 30/10/2022. Information on the contribution: attributions, data collection, ethical procedures declaration, funding or funded projects related to the research from which the paper originated.

1. Archaeological Heritage

1.1 Archaeology Research History

Paolo Orsi, "*The origins of archaeology between Calabria and Sicily*" is the title of the catalogue of the exhibition that the National Archaeological Museum of Reggio Calabria in 2019 dedicated to the Rovereto archaeologist, recognising him as the initiator of archaeological research in Calabria (Malacrino Musumeci, 2019).

From the end of the 19th century, Paolo Orsi began a new approach to scientific research for the knowledge of the territory and the collection of data, which has provided an accurate and reliable archaeological framework for some areas of the region, upon which further research was founded. When Paolo Orsi arrived in Calabria, he could count on a very sparse and uncertain complex of acquaintances made through antique-type research and studies, strengthened by the relations of foreign travellers animated by the knowledge of classical antiquities. These travellers are far from being the protagonists of the 18th Grand Tour, which was intended for the formation of the noble descendants of European society, who have left romantic and fictitious descriptions and information of our territory. They have been attracted mainly by the wild and rough scenery, observed by the characterization of people noting physical and behavioural peculiarities and lacking significant archaeological evidence (Liberti, 2018).

Prior to the scientific activity of Paolo Orsi there is a monumental work to mention, *La Grande Grèce* by François Lenormant (Lenormant, 1884). This work was "commissioned" by the French Ministry of Education to investigate southern Italy, beginning from the ethnographic approach travellers and foreigners carried out on the landscape which also combines historical and archaeological knowledge of the places. At the end of the 19th century Calabria had a first frame of knowledge of its antiquity, albeit made up by scholarly and unreliable references, but already oriented towards a new route of enhancement of the territory and awareness of the inhabitants and tourists as evidenced in his own words:

«This is the time for tourists to discover the natural beauty of this wonderful region which the Italians themselves do not know. The admiration which the Calabrian landscapes will arouse in their first visitors will soon attract more and I have no doubt that in a few years' time this region, one of the most beautiful in southern Europe, will become a regular destination for excursions if the government will keep the security as it currently is».

These considerations have been supported by observation of architectural and landscape heritage, and archaeological finds known in different parts of Calabria as: the excavations of Locri begun in 1791 by Domenico Venuti and continued in 1830 by the Duke of Luney, the Francesco Domenico Cavallari researches on the plain, where the unknown Sibari was raised, discovering from the most important plain the Favella della Corte, along Marquess Vito Capialbi's discoveries in Vibo Valentia.

Thus Paolo Orsi, basing his activity on these sporadic and dispersed knowledge, began his activity of protection and knowledge of the Calabrian territory defining a reliable picture of the subsequent discoveries. He visits many places mainly in the south, where he draws attention through direct excavations. His new or continuous search activity carried out between the end of the '800 and the beginning of the '900 concentrated in 34 municipalities with the reporting of 37 sites (Fig. 1) which are different in cultural typology and chronology (very interesting are his considerations on medieval monuments that are outside of current analysis). From 1924, when the Superintendency of Calabria was made independent from Syracuse and was entrusted to the direction of Edoardo Galli, the pursuit of Orsi's activities or the beginning of new investigations on the plain of Sibari entrusted in the 1930s to Umberto Zanotti Bianco and Paola Zancani Mon-

tuoro, will define the location, also thanks to the excavations carried out in the end of 800 on the plains of Cozzo Michelicchio and Torre del Mordillo.



Fig. 1 – The places of Paolo Orsi (Malacrino, Musumeci 2019).

Meanwhile, during these years, on the Tyrrhenian Sea surveys were conducted at Marcellina to identify the city of Laos.

If what is discussed above is the rather fragmented and discontinuous image of archaeological research in Calabria defined before World War II, it is clear that the actual knowledge in Calabria of many sites, cities, settlements, is the result of systematic and planned research carried out by the Archaeological Superintendency especially since the 70s/80s of the last century. Moreover, the discoveries in the 50's and 60's of the Madonna in Praia a Mare grotto and also the Romito in Papisidero enhanced knowledge regarding the specific occupation of the territory, although it is diversified by chronological and cultural domains (Mollo, 2018). Thanks to the archaeological research of the last five years, the towns of the Magna Grecia mentioned by the specific sources are nearly all identified (La Torre, 2011); the native population of Italy has assumed a well-defined appearance in comparison with the scarce written evidence, the occupancy system of Lucani and Brettii has well-studied models on both the Tyrrhenian (Mollo, 2003) and the Ionian (Taliano Grasso, 2000). Italian cities such as Cosenza, Taureana di Palmi, Mella di Oppido Mamertina, Castiglione di Paludi have their own clear urban image - (De Sensi Sestito, 2011; Mancuso, 2017); Roman occupation shows peaks of excellence in urban facilities and establishments in *villae* of residential and productive character throughout the regional territory (Sanginetto, 2012).

1.2 The Foundation of Museums and Archaeology Parks

This dense and articulated framework of knowledge corresponds to an articulated valorisation system in museums, archaeological areas and parks. These are not just sites created to preserve them, as the results of the research and their underlying value are mostly used and promoted. In fact, they represent the tangible sign of the historical and cultural stratification of the region and therefore the places that can help disclose the antiquity of the territory, in which it is appropriate to define strategies for receiving residents and tourists, and therefore to develop a specific application proposal regarding this paper analysis which is Root Tourism. In this respect, there is now a new definition of museum approved by ICOM International in Prague on 24 August this year that reads as follows:

«the museum is a permanent non-profit institution at the service of society, which conducts research, collects, preserves, interprets and exhibits tangible and intangible assets. Open to the public, accessible and inclusive, museums promote biodiversity and sustainable development. They operate and communicate in an ethical and professional manner and with the involvement of communities, offering varied experiences for education, pleasure, reflection and knowledge sharing».

With the establishment of museums and archaeological parks in Calabria it is possible to monitor the progress of interest for archaeology in the region, and above all the growing contribution to the awareness and sense of belonging to the cultural heritage by the organizations responsible for protection and also the communities that have favoured it over the years (Lattanzi, 1994, pp. 839-840). Beyond the purposes with which each museum was created and the path that each structure followed during the various phases of its activity, the regional panorama of museums, archaeological sites and parks is highly diversified, because each structure has its own appearance and a use that varies depending on the context in which it belongs, management policy and the role assigned to it by the political and cultural community.

As research in the area intensified, museums, archaeological areas and parks sprang up to tell the ancient story of the different places of the region. As state offices draw more attention to museums linked to Magna Grecia's specificity, some materials present the complexity of the historical stratification of the Calabria area: the prehistoric population, the protohistorian which referred to the new Greeks in the last part of its attestation, and the *brettio*. This is followed by the Roman presence and the transformation of the territory in the late and medieval phases.

The history of Calabrian museology (Mancuso, 2004) begins with the establishment of the Provincial Museum of Catanzaro inaugurated in 1879 and created by Prof. Domenico Marincola Pistoja. In his speech he points out the purposes as follows:

«to obtain, from the exhibited objects, decorum and civilisation for the inhabitants; expand the museum's small collection with additional materials from donations or excavations, and prevent materials found in the region from being scattered in other museums in Italy as had happened in the past for other objects».

In 1882 the Civic Museum of Reggio Calabria was founded and later, with the advice of Paolo Orsi, it was turned into the Archaeological Museum of the State of Magna Grecia. Now it is called the National Archaeological Museum of Reggio Calabria with autonomous management. The third museum in the region, chronologically, is the Cosenza Civic Museum, which was founded in 1898. Edorado Galli's activity on the province's territory led to the expansion of the collections made in 1970 to organize the structure in the public library. Since 2009, after a new closure and renovation, the museum of Brettia and Enotri is located in the monumental complex of St. Agostino (Cerzoso & Vanzetti, 2014), with the prospect to tell the protohistoric phase of Northern Calabria historized with the materials of the Torre del Mordillo collection, the phase of Brettia

occupation of Cosenza and the surrounding territory, intended to become a landmark in the urban archaeology of the poorly evaluated city.

Although Catanzaro, Reggio Calabria and Cosenza were the first three museums of the region founded at the end of the nineteenth century so remembered by the emigrants who left Calabria in those years, today they also represent for the roots tourism a new cultural proposition which frames the collections in a better historical and archaeological dimension more coherent and scientifically valid.

Even the province of Crotona, in spite of the requests of the baronial families, who from the end of the 800 pushed for the creation of a museum, had an exhibition space only in the 1930s when the 'Lucifer collections' found a place in the Castle, with the contributions of the Berlingeri, Sculco and Sabatini families. It was only in 1968 that the museum was established near the castle, with a temporary headquarters at Morelli Palace. Finally, in 2000, the Crotona National Archaeological Museum was inaugurated in a renovated building in the historic centre.

Some local collectors in the early 1900s were founded in the Locri Civic Museum and created in 1914. It was later closed with the transfer of materials in the *Antiquarium* built in the archaeological site and inaugurated in 1971, then in 1998 was declared National Museum. It underwent an overall restructuring and rearrangement according to modern museography criteria that led to the re-opening to the public in 2022. Over the last few years, the Locri cultural site has been integrated with another public exhibition venue, inaugurated in 2018, Palazzo Nieddu del Rio. It narrates the territory before the arrival of the Greeks, also by the results of investigations carried out in the territory for the purpose of building modern infrastructures and exhibit private collections given to the State.

The decision to establish the Civic Museum of Castrovillari in 1957 rose around the original nucleus of the collection of the Marquis Galli, enriched over time with materials from the modern city area. After having several locations today, it is hosted in the spectacular newly restored Franciscan Protoconvent and become a cultural centre of the city.

The birth of the archaeological museum of Nicotera in 1970, which is currently not usable, is also due to civic initiative.

In the town of Vibo Valentia, the establishment of the museum dates back to 1969, when the collection of the Capialdi family was placed in the Gagliardi Palazzo to be relocated in 1992 in the Norman-Swabia Castle according to a new, more modern layout.

Even in Sibari, at the end of the 60's, the materials of the former site had a temporary arrangement that allowed the use of the objects. Thanks to the modern construction finished in 1992 and inaugurated in 1996, the museum exhibits materials of the ancient site of the city and those of the surrounding area. Today, the museum has an autonomous administration which is also responsible for the museum "V. Laviola" by Amendolara, which was inaugurated in 1992, and is currently in the process of being restored. It will follow a new reordering exhibition which in a general vision, will connect the two museum structures to activate a symbiotic storytelling of the territory, by the cultural specialisation of the two structures.

It should be noted that at the end of the eighties and nineties there was an increase in museum facilities in the region. In fact, in 1985, with the *Antiquarium* of Torre Cimalonga of Scalea and in 1987 the *Antiquarium of Tiriolo*, reorganized in 1995, a process of community awareness has started, which led to the establishment of the Municipal Museum of Praia a Mare in 1995, the Lametino Archaeological Museum in 1997 (rearranged elsewhere in 2010), the Palmi *Antiquarium Comunale "Nicola De Rosa"* in 1997 (reorganized in 2014), the Santa Severina State Archaeological Museum in 1999, the Rosarno Museum in 2014 located in the existing archaeological park following the expropriation in the 80s, the Blanda Museum in Tortora opened its doors in 2015 following the installation in a new place of materials exposed in a temporary exhibition at the Palazzo Casapesenna since 1999, and the newly renovated Civic Archaeological Museum of Cirò Marina in 1999. However, there are also interesting collections of documentation about the protohistory and the indigenous population of the

region (for instance, the Serra d’Aiello museums opened in 2007, Cetraro in 2011 and Calanna in 2017).

The process of creating archaeological parks embedded in the foundation of museums is marked by the evolution of field research. Officially *Sibari* and *Scolacium* have been archaeological parks since 1974 and 1982, and in recent years specific measures have been taken to improve them. The Sibari Archaeological Park (Fig. 2), despite the critical problems associated with the aquifer and the separation of archaeological zones due to SS 106, which in the next period will attempt to come up with a solution, is embedded in a beautiful landscape. The largest plain in Calabria, crossed by the Crati and Coscile rivers, stretches between the Pollino and Sila Greca mountains, defines the majestic contours which emerge from the horizon of the flat arc.



Fig. 2– Sibari (CS)

The park of *Scolacium* (Fig. 3), even at the time of the expropriation, had the salient characteristics of the archaeological park, a shell of naturalistic and landscape archaeological interest. The huge estate owned by Baron Mazza was an element of conservation of the area that had prevented the overbuilding which affected the coast between Catanzaro Lido and Squillace Lido. Thus, today the park, with its thick olive grove, appears to be the only green oasis, from which you can stretch your gaze towards the Serre mountains to its interior, dominate the Isthmian crossing route or wander the coastal part from Isola Capo Rizzuto to Copanello. The archaeological areas where specific interventions have been made in recent years are linked to the public monuments of the Roman city (theatre, amphitheatre, forum, capitolium), and along *Scolacium* it is possible to witness the transformation of the landscape and the colonization between Roman antiquity and the late Middle Ages, seen by the majestic Norman church, today an iconic monument of the region. Since 2005, the park also has an archaeological museum in the manor house of Mazza and an industrial archaeological museum linked to the mill which was the basis of the economy of this territory for some time.



Fig. 3– Scolacium (CZ)

The former city of Locri Epizephyrii extends over 230 hectares and grows between a flat and a hilly area occupying a very large estate. The visit of the archaeological park takes place through various paths which show the private quarters, the sacred areas, the city walls, the theatre. The transformation of the colony between the Greek and Roman eras is set up in the Casino Macrì Estate, a 19th-century residence built on the remains of the Roman baths, today an exhibition place of the occupation of the town in Roman and Late Antiquity.

The Capo Colonna area (Fig. 4) was also the subject of a project to build the park for the preservation of the remaining column of the temple of *Hera Lacinia*. The project was aimed at consolidating the cliff, continuously subject to the constraints of the marine force that undermines its conservation. There is also a large pedestrian area within the temenos that creates a 'protective area' around the column, which is often vandalized. The building of a modern museum complements the creation of the park. Other archaeological parks have been built in Monasterace Marina, known as ancient Kaulonia, where an attempt was made to turn the entire study area into an archaeological study site, which was performed with the opening of the Archaeological Museum in the 2000s.

Another important intervention in recent years is the creation of the urban park of Vibo Valentia which includes the protected zones of Belvedere Telegrafo and Cofino, a good part of the Greek walls, the urban area of St. Aloe town – which is also connected with the Roman phase of the city of Valentia – and the castle of Bivona for the medieval period.



Fig. 4– Capo Colonna (KR)

In recent years in Marcellina of Santa Maria of Cedro, the archaeological area of Laos town (IV century. b.c.) have created a useful path and recently installed a small *Antiquarium*.

It is very important to cover the prehistorical period to highlight the following interventions: the Madonna Grotto of Praia a Mare along the Romito Grotto of Papisidero, that turned them into accessible natural shrines; the realization of an open-air museum at Broglio of Trebisacce; the structuring for the use of the Grottoes of Sant'Angelo in Cassano Ionio and the Grotto of the Monaca in Sant'Agata of Esaro.

In addition, the new interventions will enhance the temple of Apollo Aleo in Cirò marina, the protected areas of Medma in Rosarno, Taureana of Palmi (Fig. 5), Terina in Lamezia Terme, the villa of Palaces in Casignana, the theater and the villa of Naniglio in Gioiosa Ionica, the Baths of Acconia in Curinga, the Archaeological Park of the Ionian Sila as Cariati - Terravecchia, the villa of Larderia in Roggiano Gravina, the villa of Pian delle Vigne in Falerna, the Cozzo Piano Grande in Serra d'Aiello, and will broaden the overview of the structures organized for the archaeology knowledge in Calabria.



Fig. 5 – Taureana of Palmi (RC)

1.3 Management Organization of Archaeological Parks Areas and Museums

The history of archaeological research and its development, briefly described above, provides a broad and varied picture of the different cultural realities investigated in the Calabrian territory. Until 2014 the State had jurisdiction through Superintendencies or local authorities with municipal or provincial structures.

The 2014 marked a major transformation in the legal systems of the Ministry of Cultural and Environmental Heritage, now known as the Ministry of Culture, which defined a new and structured framework from a bureaucratic and therefore operational point of view, or at least that was the intention of the legislator. Who with the D.P.C.M. 29 August 2014, n. 171, presenting the new organization regulation of the Ministry of Cultural Heritage and Activities and Tourism, introduced the Directorate General of Museums (Volpe, 2016).

The DM 43 of 23/01/2016, keeping the amendments to the decree of 23 December 2014 on "Organization and functioning of state museums", reorganised the Ministry of Cultural Heritage, Activities and Tourism into the following offices:

Regional Secretariats

Superintendency of Archaeology, Fine Arts and Landscape

Regional Museums Directorates

Museums, archaeological and parks areas, other places of culture

Archival and Bibliographic Superintendencies

State Archives

Libraries

This paper focuses on the Regional Museums Directorates, the Non-General Executive Offices, which are peripheral links to the Museums Directorate. They ensure the territorial performance of the public service in the use and development of cultural institutions and places delivered to the State or otherwise assigned to the State.

Following the amendments in all regions of Italy, museum structures and parks have a different affiliation and hierarchical organization from those that created them.

Consequently, the museum overview of Calabria is organized as follows:

- 1) Two autonomous structures: the National Archaeological Museum of Reggio Calabria (Reform of the MiBACT of 2014) and the Archaeological Park of Sybaris which also has jurisdiction over the Amendolara museum (D.P.C.M.n.76 of 26 June 2019).
- 2) The Regional Museum Directorate (DRM Calabria) which groups the following structures:
 - San Francesco d'Assisi Church - Gerace (Reggio Calabria)
 - Cosenza National Gallery
 - The Catholic - Stilo (Reggio Calabria)
 - Le Castella - Capo Rizzuto Island (Crotone)
 - "Archeoderi" Archaeological Museum and Antiquarium - Bova Marina (Reggio Calabria)
 - Metauros Archaeological Museum - Gioia Tauro (Reggio Calabria)
 - "Vito Capialdi" National Archaeological Museum - Vibo Valentia
 - Crotone National Archaeological Museum
 - Museum and Archaeological Park of the Ancient Kaulon - Monasterace (Reggio Calabria)
 - Archaeological Museum Lametino - Lamezia Terme (Catanzaro)
 - Capo Colonna Museum and National Archaeological Park (Crotone)
 - Museum and National Archaeological Park of Locri (Reggio Calabria)
 - National Archaeological Museum and Park of Scolacium - Borgia (Catanzaro)
 - Risorgimento Museum - Catanzaro
 - National Museum - Mileto (Vibo Valentia)
- 3) The Superintendence of Archaeology, Fine Arts and Landscape of Cosenza province has competence on the Antiquarium of Scalea and the Superintendency of Archeology, Fine Arts and

Landscape of the Metropolitan Province of Reggio Calabria and Vibo Valentia on the park and archaeological museum of Rosarno and Palmi.

The remaining museum structures or archaeological areas that are protected by superintendents belong to local or provincial authorities, or are private-owned.

2. The Methodology

The current panorama of the Calabrian archaeology systems consists of several varied museums, archaeological areas and parks settled in 47 municipalities of Calabria which can boast improved cultural facilities (Fig. 6). The analysis made it possible to define them in terms of bureaucratic and administrative organization distinguishing them according to the belonging of the Regional Directorate of Museums of Calabria, the Directorate General of Archaeology, Fine Arts and Landscape, the state with autonomous management and local authorities (communal or provincial) or private (Fig. 7).

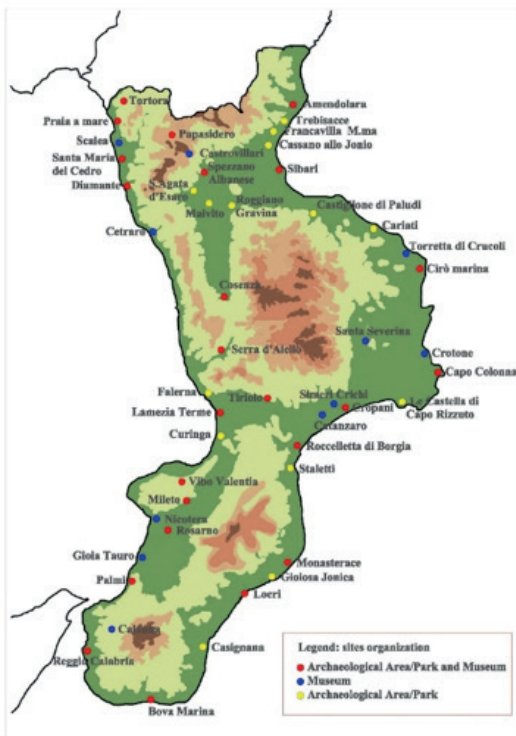


Fig. 6 – Archaeological sites and museums in Calabria

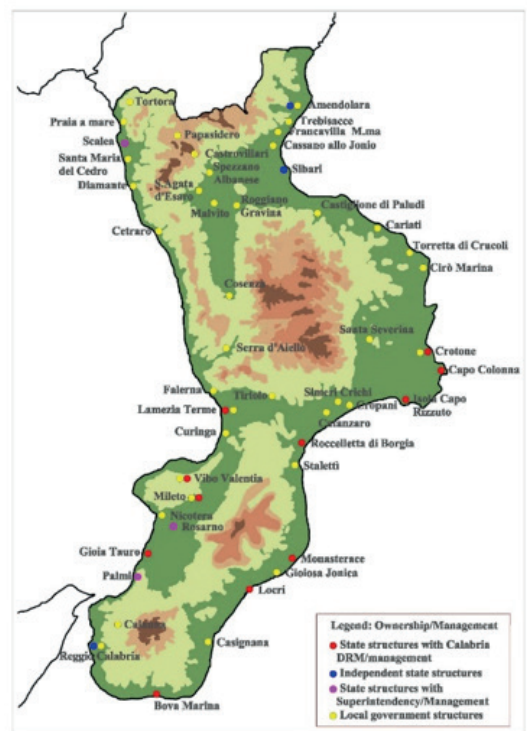


Fig. 7 – The enhancement structures divided by ownership/management

In addition to the observation of the regional organisation outlined above, data on visitor flows were analysed especially for state museums. In fact, the other public or private structures, or universities, are excluded as they do not have a flow detection tool since they do not have a ticket office but just a visitors log.

We analysed the 2021 data flows released by the MIC (Minister of Culture) which was based on the number of tickets that each establishment gives for free or paid entrance. However, there are certain issues with this method. In fact, the data considered loses some of its relevance under an

in-depth analysis: a perfect match between tickets and the number of visitors is likely to distort the total data. Since the same visitor can visit multiple cultural structures, reducing the parity between the tickets given and the people with access to the heritage. Another problematic issue is that the numerical data analysed does not allow the distinction between foreign and Italian visitors, either gender or age group.

As a result, where other data cannot be examined, the considerations that will be considered are helpful in defining macro trends. However, for our present work, these findings are useful for the DRM or peripheral organs of the state for planning and organising systematic host strategies for the roots tourists.

3. Analysis Results

The observation of the bureaucratic administrative organisation has produced a very complex framework which lends itself to very interesting considerations regarding the heritage valorisation policy in relation to the Roots Tourism.

Firstly, of the 56 cultural structures, which are distinguished by museums, archaeological zones and parks, only 17 are public and the remaining 39 are owned by local government or private entities. This examination confirms that in addition to the unitary policies that could be pursued by the State through its peripheral bodies, many initiatives could be activated by the local governments who are even more familiar with the background of the tourist of the roots or so-called Rootists. In fact, they could define specific strategies for knowledge and participation in order to achieve a particular type of tourism.

The analysis of data published by the MIC in 2022, referring to the 2021 survey, with reference to the Calabria region, led to the following considerations. First, obviously, the increase in visitors in Calabria in 2021 over 2020, as in many Italian regions, due to the opening and reduction of restrictions linked to the spread of the COVID-19 virus, and this number is expected to increase in the coming years.

The total number of visits in 2021 was 210,167 with different attendance in different provinces (Fig. 8), among them emerges the province of Reggio Calabria (where there are the National Archaeological Museum and other five autonomous state structures) along other state structures as indicated in the attached table (Fig. 9).

CATANZARO	1	1	2	4.678	3.692	8.370	1.379	9.749	22.418,00
COSENZA	1	3	4	4.002	2.382	6.384	5.313	11.697	19.049,00
CROTONE	1	2	3	3.260	3.184	6.444	54.604	61.048	12.598,00
REGGIO DI CALABRIA	5	4	9	85.884	28.085	113.969	6.255	120.224	544.072,00
VIBO VALENTIA	1	1	2	3.692	2.641	6.333	1.116	7.449	17.713,00
CALABRIA	9	11	20	101.516	39.984	141.500	68.667	210.167	615.850,00

Fig. 8 – Number of visitors by province

CALABRIA	Museo e Parco Archeologico Nazionale di Scotadium	A Pagamento	CATANZARO	BORGIA	4.678	3.692	8.370,00	22.418,00	22.301,30
	Museo archeologico Lamezzano (in gestione al Comune)	Gratuito	CATANZARO	LAMEZIA TERME	0	1.379	1.379,00	0,00	0,00
	Museo archeologico nazionale di Amendolara	Gratuito	COSENZA	AMENDOLARA	0	478	478,00	0,00	0,00
	Museo Archeologico Nazionale e Parco Archeologico della Sibaritide	A Pagamento	COSENZA	CASSANO ALL'IONIO	4.002	2.382	6.384,00	19.049,00	19.049,00
	Galleria Nazionale di Cosenza	Gratuito	COSENZA	COSENZA	0	3.901	3.901,00	0,00	0,00
	Antiquarium di Torre Cimalonga	Gratuito	COSENZA	SCALEA	0	934	934,00	0,00	0,00
	Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Crotone	A Pagamento	CROTONE	CROTONE	3.260	3.184	6.444,00	12.598,00	12.598,00
	Museo e Parco Archeologico Nazionale di Capo Colonna	Gratuito	CROTONE	CROTONE	0	25.764	25.764,00	0,00	0,00
	Le Castella	Gratuito	CROTONE	ISOLA DI CAPO RIZZUTO	0	28.840	28.840,00	0,00	0,00
	Museo archeologico e antiquarium "Archeodol" (fino al 16/06/2021 in gestione ad una cooperativa)	Gratuito	REGGIO DI CALABRIA	BOVA MARINA	0	599	599,00	0,00	0,00
	Chiesa di San Francesco D'Assisi	Gratuito	REGGIO DI CALABRIA	GERACE	0	4.881	4.881,00	0,00	0,00
	Museo archeologico di Metauros	Gratuito	REGGIO DI CALABRIA	GIOCIA TAURO	0	208	208,00	0,00	0,00
	Circolo Archeologico (Museo del Palazzo Naddu del Rio - Musei e Parco Archeologico Nazionale di Locri)	A Pagamento	REGGIO DI CALABRIA	LOCRI	26	0	26,00	156,00	156,00
	Musei e Parco Archeologico Nazionale di Locri	A Pagamento	REGGIO DI CALABRIA	LOCRI	3.445	1.522	4.967,00	16.865,00	16.865,00
	Museo del Territorio di Palazzo "Teodoro Naddu del Rio" - Locri	A Pagamento	REGGIO DI CALABRIA	LOCRI	108	314	422,00	394,00	394,00
	Museo e Parco Archeologico dell'Antica Kaulon	A Pagamento	REGGIO DI CALABRIA	MONASTERACE	1.935	536	2.471,00	7.786,00	5.450,20
	Museo Archeologico Nazionale	A Pagamento	REGGIO DI CALABRIA	REGGIO DI CALABRIA	67.562	23.536	91.098,00	468.507,00	468.507,00
	Museo e Parco Archeologico di Rosarno	Gratuito	REGGIO DI CALABRIA	ROSARNO	0	567	567,00	0,00	0,00
	La Cattolica	A Pagamento	REGGIO DI CALABRIA	STILO	12.808	2.177	14.985,00	50.364,00	35.254,80
	Museo Statale	Gratuito	VIBO VALENTIA	MILETO	0	1.116	1.116,00	0,00	0,00
Museo Archeologico Nazionale "Vito Capalbi"	A Pagamento	VIBO VALENTIA	VIBO VALENTIA	3.692	2.641	6.333,00	17.713,00	17.713,00	
CALABRIA Totale				101.516	108.651	210.167,00	615.850,00	598.288,30	

Fig. 9 - Number of visitors by Calabria state structures

The highest number of visitors is registered in August with 72,366 people, reduced by about 50% in the month of July with 38,998 and September with 38,987, further reduced to 25% in June at 14,454 and October at 1,827. In the remaining seven months of the year, the participation rate is very low and that must be taken into account, especially for cultural structures that have great potential for knowledge not only for the tourists, but also for the residents.

From this analysis based on public structures, some interesting topics emerge that can be used in relation to Roots Tourism. The highest number of visitors during the summer months suggests that some of the attendance may also be traced to the Roots Tourism.

In fact, from the *sample cognitive study on the development and improvement of Residential Tourism in Calabria* (source - CReST 2014), it turns out that 12.3% of Rootist visited museums and/or exhibitions during their holidays, versus 9.8% of other tourists. So, there is a latent demand from the Roots Tourism to the cultural heritage of the area and especially archaeology, that could be usefully expanded by planning a special offer for Roots Tourist. Indeed, their cultural purpose is more than just cognitive but also of awareness and attachment to its own history and the cultural heritage of the region that gave birth to the tourists of the roots or their ancestors.

Conclusions

When we talk about roots tourism (Perri, 2020; Romita & Perri, 2009) the reference to the attachment to the cultural heritage refers mainly to the architecture that includes churches, palaces, castles. These places create emotional and sentimental feelings in people who have left and when they return to their hometowns wish to seek them by delving into the architectural context from which the memory has been preserved. Consequently, the development of cultural heritage requires particular care and attention to the protection and preservation of the architecture and buildings characteristic of these small boroughs.

The consideration above regarding the archaeological heritage loses its meaning once the Calabrian archaeology and its development was brought to light due to research carried out mainly since the 1970s and 1980s. It means that for the people who left their land in the years of the largest emigration, the archaeology with its parks and museums has little *emotional impact* on them because, when they left, a lot of ancient stories had not yet been identified.

The question that follows is: what role can, and should, archaeological heritage play in Roots tourism?

It plays an important role and, consequently, its development must be greatly supported (Manuso, 2021). In fact, for a tourist of the roots who comes back to the country of origin, the encounter with archaeology can represent the opportunity of a path of formation and experience, which is why it must be offered to instill the pride of being a Calabrian. It is necessary to take advantage of what is positive today in the Calabrian region, in order to produce an identifiable territory that can go beyond its borders, which needs to be promoted and become a strong motivation to travel also for second and third generation, thus grandchildren descendants, whose memory is formed through fossilized storytelling related to times and lifestyle that are no longer traceable in the places of origin.

However, it is necessary to develop appropriate exploitation strategies which consider the new methodology of "public archaeology" (Volpe, 2020), as an activity aimed at arousing interest in and participation in archaeological research and communication activities, also with the creation of a "heritage community" as stated in the Convention of the Faroes, to which could also belong the tourists of the roots.

In this way, they become an active part of the local community (Megale & Monti, 2021) which takes responsibility and actively participates in promoting archaeology and its value.

References

- Cerzoso, M., Vanzetti, A. (2014). *Catalogo dell'esposizione del Museo dei Brettii e degli Enotri*, Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino.
- De Sensi Sestito, G., Mancuso, S. (2017). *Enotri e Brettii in Magna Grecia. Modi e forme di interazione culturale II*, Tomi 1-2, Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino.
- De Sensi Sestito, G., Mancuso, S. (2011). *Enotri e Brettii in Magna Grecia. Modi e forme di interazione culturale I*, Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino.
- La Torre, G. F., (2011). *Sicilia e Magna Grecia. Archeologia della colonizzazione greca d'Occidente*, Roma-Bari: Editori Laterza.
- Lattanzi, E., (1994). *Tutela e futuro dell'archeologia calabrese*, in S. Settis (a cura di), *Storia della Calabria antica. Età italica e romana II*, pp.819-857, Roma-Reggio Calabria: Gangemi.
- Lenormant, F., (1884). *La Grande Grece. Paysages et Histoire*, I-III, Paris, (edizione italiana a cura di A. Lucifero, Chiaravalle Centrale 1976: Framasud).
- Liberti R., (2018). *Viaggiatori italiani e stranieri e la Calabria I (1525-1827)*, Catanzaro.
- Malacrino, C., Musumeci, M. (2019). *Paolo Orsi. Alle origini dell'archeologia tra Calabria e Sicilia*. Catalogo della mostra, Reggio Calabria: MARC Edizioni scientifiche.
- Mancuso, S. (2004). *Per una metodologia della valorizzazione dei beni archeologici: analisi e prospettive in Calabria*, Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino.
- Mancuso, S. (2014). *Il Museo dei Brettii e degli Enotri: valorizzazione di un territorio, valorizzazione di una città*, in Cerzoso, M., Vanzetti, A. 2014, pp. 27-29.
- Mancuso, S. (2020). *Musei e parchi archeologici: funzione culturale, sociale ed economica*, in Tagarelli G., Torchia F. (a cura di), *Turismo, Paesaggio e Beni Culturali. Prospettive di tutela, valorizzazione e sviluppo sostenibile - XI Riunione Scientifica SISTUR, Rende – Cosenza, 24-26 ottobre 2019, "Quaderni della Società Italiana di Scienze del Turismo"*, II, pp. 179-194, Roma: Aracne.
- Mancuso, S. (2021). *Valorizzazione del patrimonio culturale e turismo delle radici: alcune riflessioni*, in d'Ovidio F D., Favia F., Iaquina, P. (a cura di), *Exploring the Roots. Maps of a New but Ancient Tourism*, pp. 157-169, Tirana-Brussels: IARC-ETQA Publishers.
- Manacorda, D. (2014). *L'Italia agli italiani. Istruzioni e ostruzioni per il patrimonio culturale*, Bari: Edipuglia.
- Megale, C., Monti, S. (2021). *Manuale di management per l'archeologia. Processi e procedure per l'archeologia nella società contemporanea*, Milano: McGraw-Hill Education.
- Mollo, F. (2003). *Ai confini della Brettia*, Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino
- Mollo, F. (2018). *Guida archeologica della Calabria antica*, Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino.
- Perri, A. (2020). *Il Turismo delle Radici*, (Collana Turismo eMediterraneo, vol. 4), Roma: Aracne.
- Romita, T., Perri, A. (2009). *Da emigrati a turisti. Turismo delle radici e recupero delle identità locali*, in Ercole, E., Nocifora, E., Palumbo, M., Pieroni, O., Romita, T., Ruzza, C., Savelli, A. (a cura di), *Atti del III Convegno Nazionale, Turismo Sostenibile: Ieri, Oggi, Domani*, pp.212-222, Cosenza: Pronovis.
- Russo, P., van den Borg, J. (2010). *An urban policy framework for culture-oriented economic development: lesson from the Netherlands*, *Urban geography*. 31 (5), pp. 668-690.
- Timothy, D.J., Boyd, S.W. (2006), *Heritage Tourism in the 21st Century: Valued Traditions and New Perspectives*, *Journal of Heritage tourism*, 1:1, pp.1-16.
- Sanginetto, A.B. (2012). *Roma nei Bruttii. Città e campagne nelle Calabrie romane*, Castrovillari: Ferrari Editore.
- Taliano Grasso, A., (2000). *La Sila greca. Atlante dei siti archeologici*, Gioiosa Jonica: Edizioni Corab.
- Volpe, G. (2020). *Archeologia pubblica. Metodi, tecniche, esperienze*, Milano: Carocci Editore.
- Volpe, G. (2016). *Un Patrimonio italiano. Beni culturali, paesaggio e cittadini*, Novara: UTET.

SEZIONI A 3T

INCONTRO FUORI LUOGO

Emigrazione Giovanile e Viaggio delle Radici Intervista a S.E.R. Mons. Vincenzo Bertolone

Domanda. *Come studioso e pastore ha sempre destinato attenzioni particolari all'educazione dei giovani, alle loro speranze, ai loro problemi. In una "società liquida" (Baumann, 2000), frammentata, in cui la community sembra prevalere sul senso di comunità, in cui i rapporti fra le persone sembrano essere sempre più affidati all'uso indiscriminato dei social network (Bosticco & Magnoli Bocchi, 2020), i giovani sembrano pagare uno scotto maggiore, non avendo strumenti in grado di orientarne l'essere in relazione con sé stessi e con gli altri. Come pensa che le varie istituzioni presenti sui territori possano contrastare quella che a più riprese la Chiesa stessa ha definito come una vera e propria "emergenza educativa" (Orientamenti pastorali CEI 2010-2020) e qual è o può essere il ruolo della chiesa in tale azione di contrasto?*

Risposta. È evidente: l'emergenza educativa è ormai questione di Stato e di tutte le agenzie educative. E pure di Chiesa. È il segno di un avvenire incerto, di un presente incamminato sul sentiero di un tramonto che viene presagito buio e scialbo. Vincono e prevalgono gli istinti e le parole veloci ma vuote, tanto che, per dirla con C. Taylor: «*Se oggi arrivasse Cristo in piazza e cominciasse ad annunciare la sua Parola – che era fuoco vero – cosa accadrebbe? Al massimo gli chiederebbero i documenti*». Della questione giovanile ciò che più preoccupa non è solo la crisi demografica in atto, ma soprattutto la mancanza di orientamenti chiari e sicuri dinanzi al mondo dei *social*, che sembra determinare scelte secondo modelli generati dalle più sofisticate intelligenze artificiali, seguendo tendenze frutto di automatismi e algoritmi, piuttosto che di un coinvolgimento libero, creativo e consapevole del soggetto. Essenziale come non mai, allora, è ritornare ad avere il coraggio di mettere in luce i grandi valori di cui è piena la nostra storia; ricercare la bellezza autentica; coltivare il senso del dovere e della responsabilità sociale e culturale, osando l'utopia. Dialogo, amore, solidarietà: questo serve. *Dialogo* è da intendere come ragionamento e, ancor più, quale confronto con l'altro, nel reciproco rispetto dell'identità e diversità personali, che può aiutare ad interiorizzare lo spirito dell'essere e dell'esistere. Dal canto suo *l'amore*, quello profondo, aiuta a donarsi genuinamente. E poi, la *solidarietà*, indice di serietà, fatica, profondità nei rapporti interpersonali. Molti, di fronte a questa prospettiva, si ritraggono, ma alle persone non è dato apprendere per osmosi. Per contro, è richiesto l'esercizio dell'impegno, attraverso il quale la fatica degli orizzonti diventa realtà spontanea e creativa. C'è una rivoluzione da attuare, senz'armi né violenza, per costruire un mondo nuovo, di cui coscienza e critica siano elementi basilari e che la Chiesa, in ogni sua articolazione, nel pensiero e nell'azione, è chiamata a sostenere e promuovere. «*Occorre credo una catarsi, / una specie di rogo purificatorio / del vaniloquio cui ci siamo abbandonati / e del quale ci siamo compiaciuti*», ricordano alcuni versi di Mario Luzi del 2011. E aggiungeva, con battute che valgono più di mille discorsi: «*Il bulbo della speranza / che ora è occultato sotto il suolo / ingombro di macerie non muoia, / in attesa di fiorire alla prima primavera*». Di qui si ricava anche la mia risposta alla domanda sul come le istituzioni possano contrastare l'emergenza. In qualunque opera di contrasto, bisogna incidere non soltanto sulla cosiddetta cultura materiale, sull'economia, o sull'incremento delle nuove tecnologie della comunicazione e dell'informazione, oppure sull'accelerazione delle ricerche in robotica o nell'intelligenza artificiale. Piuttosto, bisogna mostrare modelli credibili ai ragazzi e ragazze del Meridione che, pur nelle difficoltà e nel nascondimento, hanno suscitato, e possono ancora farlo, ammirazione e, per quanto riguarda la Chiesa, fama di santità. Il cosiddetto *turismo delle radici* potrebbe contribuire a riscoprire anche i luoghi archeologici-monumentali e turistici. Mi piace, in proposito, ricordare, tra i tanti del Sud (Campanella, Pirandello, Quasimodo, Sciascia, Alvaro, Gatto, Vittorini...), l'esempio di Flavio Magno Aurelio Cassiodoro che, prima sotto Odo-

¹ Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore di Milano, giuseppe.sommario@unicatt.it.

acre, poi accanto a Teoderico, fu un grande teorico e scrittore politico, mediatore tra Oriente e Occidente; poi si ritira nel Chiostro *Vivariense*, in terra di Squillace. Ne ho già segnalato la peculiare "scuola" che egli istituì in Calabria: una *milizia*, prima che un luogo di cultura e di copia di codici, in analogia con quanto prevederà san Benedetto per il laicato occidentale. In questo senso, da vera *persona di cerniera tra due mondi*, il santo Senatore può dire molto alla ricostruzione e al ritrovamento delle radici.

Domanda. *La condizione giovanile presenta problemi ancora maggiori nel Mezzogiorno, dove le "mancanze" dello Stato e le difficoltà di sviluppo dei vari territori portano spesso i giovani (ma anche i meno giovani) a cadere nella rete della criminalità organizzata. Di fatto, le mafie vantano una rete relazionale così vasta, articolata e dinamica, un "capitale sociale" (Coleman, 1990²) che permette ai mafiosi di instaurare un dominio capillare e diffuso sul territorio e sulla società civile (Parini, 2017 e 2020): in pratica, a seconda delle circostanze, si pongono «come mediatori, patroni, protettori in strutture relazionali di natura diversa che essi riescono a utilizzare per i propri obiettivi» (Sciarrone, 1998). Eccellenza, Lei conosce bene le realtà del Sud e delle mafie, ci può illustrare qual è il suo pensiero in merito, e quali sono le azioni che la Chiesa ha messo in campo per fronteggiare il problema?*

Risposta. Diceva don Pino Puglisi, martire di mafia siciliana, della cui causa di beatificazione sono stato Postulatore: «È importante parlare di mafia, soprattutto nelle scuole, per combattere contro la mentalità mafiosa. Non ci si fermi però ai cortei, alle denunce, alle proteste». E così dicendo anticipava - anche in questo caso - i tempi, ponendo in evidenza il triste fenomeno dell'antimafia di professione, già denunciato da Sciascia. Puglisi, che non era un eroe né mai ha voluto esserlo, ha testimoniato alla Chiesa, e più in generale all'intera società, un modello, quasi un *metodo*: ha dimostrato che si può far molto, forse anche di più, nel silenzio e con l'umiltà, purché con coerenza e dignità non si rinunci mai a compiere per intero il proprio dovere, in prossimità con i giovani. Ormai non possiamo più confinare il fenomeno mafioso soltanto al Sud o soltanto a un'area geografica. È un fenomeno globale, come a più riprese viene precisato negli Atti della *Commissione parlamentare d'inchiesta*. Se guardiamo nelle linee essenziali la storia delle mafie, conosciamo come privato e pubblico, case e strade, isola e continente, ne vengano letteralmente contagiate. Anche la gente comune viene irretita, oppure fa finta di non sapere o di non vedere per quieto vivere, o per omertà. Del resto, non solamente saggi e *pamphlet* giornalistici, ma le pagine di studiosi, come pure le trasposizioni cinematografiche, fumettistiche e televisive, mettono sempre più in luce un groviglio doloroso, fatto di connivenze, timide complicità, remore inconfessabili, che oggi ci fa parlare di "mafie" al plurale, ormai disseminate in ogni parte del mondo, certamente non solo al Sud. Lei mi chiede perché i picciotti cadano ancora nella rete e io aggiungerei perché dei giovani pervengono ad architettare l'assassinio, nel 1990, sulla provinciale tra Canicattì e Agrigento, del magistrato Rosario Angelo Livatino, del quale ho seguito come postulatore la causa di beatificazione. Egli, morendo, chiama appunto "picciotti" i suoi giovani mafiosi-sicari: "Picciò, che cosa vi ho fatto?". "Che cosa vi ho fatto?", gridano ancora alla generazione adulta i ragazzi del Sud, lamentando di essere stati abbandonati a se stessi. Piuttosto che insistere su una religiosità scimmiottata dai mafiosi, o su una connivenza silente della religione istituzionale, bisogna ricordare che esiste nei nostri territori un *paganesimo mascherato*. Il monoteismo, dichiarato dai mafiosi anche all'ombra dei santuari mariani del Sud, che bisogna liberare dalle mafie, maschera un *politeismo sostanziale*, pur conservando un registro sentimentale vagamente religioso di tipo lugubre e non temendo di pregare. Per quanto riguarda me - membro della *Congregazione dei Servi dei poveri* - dopo pochi mesi dall'insediamento a Cassano all'Ionio, offriro alla Conferenza episcopale Calabria la bozza di un

2 Sul concetto di *capitale sociale*, si vedano, fra gli altri, i contributi di Coleman, Bourdieu, Putnam, Fukuyama, Mutti, Bagnasco, Woolcock.

testo – poi approvato – dal titolo indicativo.³ In esso si legge: «*Le varie mafie temono, più degli apparati giudiziari e dei corpi militari dello Stato, la formazione che Esso fa della popolazione, con attenzione privilegiata alle generazioni in età scolare, Università inclusa*».

Nella seduta primaverile del 2014, fu approvata la mia proposta di avviare specifici corsi sulle mafie a partire dall'anno accademico 2014-2015. S'introduceva così, nei Centri teologici e negli ISSR della Calabria, lo studio istituzionale del tema "Chiesa-mafie". Un anno più tardi, nel 2015, viene pubblicato un altro testo da me proposto, ma rivisto ed arricchito dal contributo di tutti i vescovi: *Orientamenti pastorali per le Chiese di Calabria*,⁴ allo scopo d'incidere, attraverso la cultura religiosa locale, sull'intero tessuto sociale: «*Prevedere e progettare idonei percorsi formativi sul tema dell'educare in contesti mafiosi, utilizzando sussidi specifici affinché i piccoli e i giovani siano aiutati a percepire la gravità del fenomeno, inteso anche come mentalità, su come prevenirlo, difendercene e su come partecipare all'azione privata e pubblica di contrasto*» (n. 37). Viene denunciato un vuoto profondo: «*Un vuoto di certezze, di presenza, di fiducia, di impegno, di speranza, di prospettive, di esempi: un vuoto di "fatti". Questo vuoto, che tocca le stesse Istituzioni, lacera il tessuto della politica, coinvolge a tutto campo il mondo del lavoro, induce la gente a chiudersi nel "privato", diffonde la sfiducia, riduce la speranza dei giovani, favorisce spesso la fuga da questa terra delle intelligenze più vive...*»⁵. In merito, il siciliano don Pino Puglisi, se assunto a modello, può spingere tutti verso un deciso, rinnovato approccio alla considerazione del fenomeno mafioso e, quindi, alla fattiva ricerca degli strumenti ecclesiali e pastorali idonei ad affrontarlo nel modo più corretto, rendendo prioritaria una pastorale attenta ai deboli, diretta ai bambini e ai giovani e che parli direttamente ai cuori.

Il 15 settembre 2021, anniversario dell'uccisione del Beato Puglisi, i vescovi della Calabria, sotto la mia presidenza, hanno promulgato delle *Linee guida*, frutto di diverse consultazioni di tutte le parrocchie calabresi⁶. Quelle che erano soltanto esortazioni morali e appelli, sono diventate delle *norme canoniche* e *Linee guida* per ulteriori interventi che ogni vescovo e ogni prete o educatore assumerà. Nonostante le decine di documenti ecclesiastici, che da oltre cent'anni propongono una nuova evangelizzazione della pietà popolare ed un diverso sviluppo sociale dei territori meridionali, tanto resta da fare e da attuare non soltanto in ambito religioso.

Domanda. *Le numerose difficoltà di cui si parlava prima portano inoltre molti giovani meridionali a lasciare il luogo d'origine per realizzare lontano dalla propria terra il proprio progetto di vita. A tal proposito, nel Rapporto del 2011 lo Svimez ammoniva che «da regione ricca di menti e di braccia il Mezzogiorno si trasformerà nel prossimo quarantennio in un area spopolata, anziana, economicamente sempre più dipendente»: basti notare che, solo nel periodo 2002-2017, quasi 1 milione di giovani al di sotto dei trent'anni hanno lasciato il Mezzogiorno (Svimez, 2019). Una situazione a dir poco preoccupante che continua ad alimentare il fenomeno dell'emigrazione, antica piaga del Sud che interessa in modo particolare i giovani. Infatti, molti giovani meridionali, spesso altamente formati, sono "costretti" a vivere "fuori luogo", ossia lontano dai territori in cui sono nati e cresciuti. Solo nel 2021, secondo gli ultimi dati Istat (2021), elaborati dal Rapporto Italiani nel Mondo della Fondazione Migrantes (RIM 2022), i giovani meridionali che hanno lasciato l'Italia sono stati più di 50 mila: quasi una città come Cosenza. I disagi sociali e antropici che si producono, soprattutto nei piccoli centri delle aree interne, sia in chi parte sia in chi resta, sono evidenti. Qual è il suo pensiero in merito? Quali sono le azioni a sua conoscenza adottate per cercare di sanare le ferite che l'emigrazione genera?*

3 Conferenza Episcopale Calabria, *Se non vi convertirete, perirete tutti allo stesso modo* (Lc 13,5). *Annunciare il vangelo della vita nella nostra terra per un futuro di giustizia e carità*, "Il regno". Mensile di attualità cattolica, 53/3 (2008), 113-116.

4 Conferenza Episcopale Calabria, *Per una nuova evangelizzazione della pietà popolare. Orientamenti pastorali per le Chiese di Calabria*, Grafiche Simone, Catanzaro 2015.

5 Conferenza Episcopale Calabria, *Testimoniare la verità del Vangelo*, n. 2.

6 Conferenza Episcopale Calabria, *No ad ogni forma di mafie! Linee guida per un "sentire e agire comuni" del clero, dei consacrati e dei fedeli laici nelle Diocesi di Calabria*, Arti Poligrafiche Varano (Polistena RC), settembre 2021.

Risposta. Tutto questo *migrare* avviene in una società segnata dal benessere; eppure, a quanto pare, il pianeta che ci ospita, nonostante l'accelerazione del progresso tecnoscientifico, non è affatto diventato migliore. L'educazione socioreligiosa e l'azione morale possono fare molto nell'auspicata comune ricerca delle nuove basi dello sviluppo. Si tratta d'insistere in alcuni campi che potrebbero fare del Meridione un'opportunità in prospettiva mediterranea e di rinnovata politica di sviluppo: le energie rinnovabili, la rigenerazione urbana, artistica, archeologica e ambientale, i settori agroalimentare e agroindustriale, la cultura immateriale, la ricerca e l'innovazione sono volani su cui intervenire tecnicamente, finanziariamente e politicamente, senza dimenticare la visione olistica ed armonica cristiana. E se ai politici, ai detentori dei flussi finanziari e agli imprenditori si chiede di credere ancora nella progettualità per il rilancio del nostro territorio; se allo Stato si domanda di tenere meglio sotto controllo i flussi di risorse destinate al Mezzogiorno; agli educatori e responsabili delle piccole e grandi comunità territoriali non si propone altro che di rigenerare la fiducia e la speranza, in tutte le fasce sociali. Tra i vuoti e le ferite che l'emigrazione giovanile genera, c'è quella della perdita fisica e psicologica dei legami. Urge coltivare, come alcune diocesi del Sud vanno già facendo, il contatto periodico con le comunità italiane all'estero, in modo che divengano dei punti-forza sia nella valorizzazione della nostra offerta turistica meridionale (che non è soltanto marina e montana), sia in un'articolata strategia per invertire il processo di depauperamento dei nostri borghi e l'abbandono dei centri storici. In particolare, occorre aiutare a ritrovare le radici profonde.

Il termine "radici" è carico d'implicazioni. Presuppone un terreno di coltura, un *habitat* che sia ecosostenibile (quanti ritardi sotto quest'aspetto); inoltre, una varietà di semi e di piante da mettere a dimora: sul piano antropico, ciò suppone la conoscenza, oggi assai scarsa, delle opportunità antropiche dei nostri territori meridionali; ancora, richiederebbe l'allestimento di terreni di coltura in cui crescere e prosperare: in merito la conoscenza e la valorizzazione di elementi atavici del folklore, delle tradizioni arcaiche e antiche, delle ricorrenze religiose, diviene indispensabile. Bisogna rendere ordinario un *viaggio emozionale* per riconoscere e promuovere l'elemento identitario del nostro Meridione e sostenere attivamente il rilancio post-Covid del turismo, dell'economia, della devozione popolare. Cambiare, si può e si deve. Autori del cambiamento dovranno essere i giovani. Ad essi, come già osservava Simone Weil, è richiesto anzitutto di costruire e poi di difendere con orgoglio la propria identità⁷. Di sottrarsi alla massificazione spersonalizzante ed annichilente. Di non fermarsi alla realtà descritta dai media e dai social. Di non nutrire un'indignazione incapace di trasformarsi in speranza e generare concretezza. Di non giudicare la Chiesa solo dai suoi errori, ma anche dalle tante espressioni di grazia divina, d'impegno, di solidarietà di cui essa, proprio attraverso i giovani, è capace dietro le quinte della quotidianità. Tale considerazione, se da un lato suona come invito ai giovani a svegliarsi dall'infantilismo, che a volte li pervade, e dalla perdita delle radici, dall'altro esorta le famiglie (laddove, come al Sud, esistono e reggono) a rendersi garanti della trasmissione di un messaggio nuovo, radicato e motivato, parlando coi figli, abbattendo il muro d'incomunicabilità che questa società delle comunicazioni, *incredibile dictu*, sembra aver eretto.

Domanda. *Come Lei certamente ha potuto constatare personalmente, gli emigrati e i loro discendenti tornano nei luoghi d'origine periodicamente, soprattutto durante le vacanze estive o quelle legate al Santo Natale; e/o magari in occasione di altre ricorrenze molto sentite dalla comunità come può essere la festa del Santo Patrono del paese d'origine. Si tratta di "ritorni" che spesso hanno come unica motivazione la ricoperta delle proprie radici, il mantenimento, la ricostruzione della propria identità personale, familiare e collettiva. Quale pensa sia l'approccio che dovrebbero avere la governance pubblica, le comunità locali e anche la Chiesa, verso la valorizzazione delle radici e del ritorno seppure temporaneo verso i luoghi d'origine (i cosiddetti "viaggi delle radici") degli emigranti, dei loro figli, dei figli dei figli?*

⁷ S. Weil, *Lettera sulla responsabilità della letteratura*, in *Poesie e altri scritti*, a cura di Adriano Marchetti, Crocetti, Bologna, 1993, 66-70.

Risposta. «Quando un popolo non ha più un senso vitale del suo passato, si spegne»⁸. Per evitare di rimaner vittime di questo pericolo, che Cesare Pavese descriveva, occorrerebbe un impegno corale e consapevole, anche di tutte le istituzioni, teso a coltivare la memoria in ogni suo aspetto. Il passato è come una sorgente che alimenta il fiume del presente e ci spinge verso il domani: è per questo che il futuro di un popolo non è tanto in una massa di cittadini rumoreggianti, ma scarsamente dotati di valori, di conoscenza, di cultura, bensì in una vecchiaia e una stagione adulta ricche di quel mirabile patrimonio trasmesso da antenati e che ha il nobile nome latino di *traditio*. La memoria è importante, anzi essenziale: essa è utile a costruire un sistema di valori ed a tramandarlo di generazione in generazione, evitando proprio che si spezzi il nesso della *traditio* e che i padri non siano più in grado di parlare ai figli. Nonostante tutto, *legalità, iniziativa, creatività*. Ecco le regole da scrivere e interpretare in senso dinamico, non statico; regole che chiedono non soltanto fondi del Pnnr, ma spirito d’iniziativa e creatività specialmente da parte dei cristiani i quali, pur non essendo *del* mondo, sono *nel* mondo, nei quartieri, nelle periferie, nelle città e negli Stati. Per ribadire ed *educare alla buona notizia del vangelo* e, soprattutto, per superare creativamente la mera logica della semplice *giustizia* – che è necessaria, ma non sempre sufficiente, in quanto suppone un ordinato vivere associato – ed integrarla con altre logiche, quali quelle della testimonianza, della legalità, della pace, della non-violenza, della salvaguardia del creato, del perdono.

Domanda. *Lei più volte ha ricordato la necessità che gli immigrati trovino «cuori accoglienti», e l'importanza dell'integrazione. Pensa che i "viaggi delle radici" e i "nuovi arrivi" di migranti possano contribuire alla rigenerazione dei tanti paesi in via d'abbandono del Sud? E, più in generale, Lei crede sia possibile pensare ad un nuovo modo di essere comunità che metta insieme chi è partito, chi è rimasto, chi arriva e chi ritorna? E, in tal senso, quale ruolo possono giocare le parrocchie delle comunità dell'entroterra che conoscono bene le realtà del margine meridionale, che sono quelle maggiormente colpite dall'emigrazione?*

Risposta L’immigrazione attuale va inserita all’interno del fenomeno dei grandi spostamenti dei popoli del Mediterraneo, che si muovono oggi per motivi sia ambientali (soprattutto carenza idrica e alimentare), sia economici, politici e bellici (focolai di guerra, violenze etniche e dittature disumane). Viviamo l’epoca delle grandi transizioni. Coloro che, come noi, abitanti del Mediterraneo del nord, vivono in terre di approdo o di transito, debbono pensare a tutto ciò non solo come problema, ma come risorsa. Il che richiede anzitutto di *occuparsi con cuore accogliente* di queste persone, sapendo che tante tra esse sono, come tanti di noi, necessitati ad andare altrove per trovare sistemazione lavorativa e benessere. Non ci si salva erigendo muri o estendendo i porti franchi di approdo. Non ci si salva se non insieme. Oltre ogni differenza di sesso, di etnia, di cultura, di religione. Le pagine della cronaca quotidiana ci dicono che l’odio non ha passaporto, e poi – cosa ancora più importante – che la risposta al male è senza bandiere. L’umanità è solidale a prescindere: siamo tutti imbarcati sull’unica arca di Noè, che è il nostro pianeta, come ci ha dimostrato la pandemia globale. È questa la consapevolezza che dovrebbe maturare in tutti ed in ciascuno. Invece, a quanto pare, alla contesa tra bene e male s’è sostituita quella tra vincitori e vinti, alimentata dal superamento dell’etica, anzi della dimenticanza voluta della dimensione morale. Spazzata via l’etica, trionfa una concezione neodarwinista che, se agli inizi del Novecento s’era tradotta nello scontro tra popoli, ora rivive in chiave individualista: il vincente è il giusto, è il modello, e non ha impegni verso il prossimo.

L’antidoto, reale e concreto, è uno solo: considerare ogni essere umano una persona, in quanto tale portatrice di diritti e doveri, e dunque cittadino, anzi fratello in umanità. Proprio la cittadinanza può e deve diventare la base dell’integrazione comunitaria europea, in un momento in

⁸ È una frase di Cesare Pavese (*Il mestiere di vivere*, 12 giugno 1939), scelta dal Governo per gli esami di maturità del 1996.

cui la stessa idea di unione sembra stia andando in crisi. «Accogliere, proteggere, promuovere e integrare» sono – certo non a caso – i verbi che papa Francesco invita a tradurre in concretezza. Essi includono anche il concetto di cittadinanza, quale fondamento di qualsiasi società, da sempre e di cui il nostro Paese, fin dall'Impero Romano, è stato portatore. Serve coraggio. Serve un passo avanti, ad esempio nei riguardi di centinaia di migliaia di ragazzi senza patria che oggi frequentano le scuole del Belpaese: non più stranieri, anche se, sulla carta, non ancora italiani. Una ferita aperta, da far rimarginare con sapienza e ricucire con saggezza ed amore.

Domanda. *In una sua intervista al SIR (Servizio Informazione Religiosa) del 4 dicembre 2017, Lei sostiene che la Calabria è «una terra difficile», una terra, in cui le connivenze fra vari ambiti sono spesso un freno allo sviluppo della regione, alla crescita del singolo e della collettività. Sempre nella stessa intervista, lei afferma che «una terra che non garantisce un presente ai suoi figli non ha futuro». Sono considerazioni che potrebbero estendersi a tutto il Meridione. Allora, in conclusione, Le chiederai come vede il presente e quindi il futuro del Sud, dei suoi giovani, di chi è rimasto, di chi è partito, di chi ritorna.*

Risposta. Il presente calabrese e meridionale è un piccolo spaccato di quanto accaduto nel corso del Novecento, secolo breve e delle idee assassine, nel quale molti punti saldi sembrarono sgretolarsi a partire dall'episodio emblematico delle *Torri gemelle*. Ora si vive nello sfondo di un futuro dai toni incerti, con il timore ricorrente di una guerra fatale, in una società complessa, iperconnessa, che ammannisce post-verità, offrendo notizie scelte, magari da un'intelligenza artificiale, per far leva non sulla razionalità, ma sulle emozioni (parlano alla pancia); che presenta un politeismo di valori, virtuali e non reali, ed in cui la velocità ha eliminato la pazienza, l'approfondimento e favorito la superficialità, a svantaggio dei meno dotati.

Stando a numerose rilevazioni statistiche, tra le giovani generazioni tre quarti delle mamme sognano un figlio calciatore; quasi la metà del totale lo desidera attore o presentatore televisivo; un terzo imprenditore. Queste le risposte per i figli maschi. Per le bambine le cose non cambiano. Insomma, i genitori di famiglie (a loro volta in crisi o spezzate) desiderano soltanto figli emergenti, di successo. Che dire? Il genitore controcorrente ha buon gioco a rispondere: il figlio che ha una madre ed un padre con attese tanto alte, infatti, è destinato al 90% alla tristezza (che è l'altro nome della depressione). Sì, perché, quasi sicuramente, si sentirà in colpa per non essere in grado di realizzare i sogni dei genitori; quasi sicuramente sprecherà il tempo più bello della vita ad inseguire mete impossibili, sempre che la società gli dia qualche opportunità formativa, oltre che di soccorso psicologico. Ma se non tutti nascono per diventare famosi, tutti nascono per essere felici. Oltre un secolo addietro, Charles Péguy (già allora!) lamentava la crisi del «lavoro ben fatto»⁹, dell'attaccamento all'opera delle mani della madre, umile impagliatrice di sedie, che usciva da molte ore di pesante lavoro, soddisfatta per aver creato un pur umile e semplice oggetto che, tuttavia, avrebbe allietato, con la sua nuda bellezza, la vita delle persone.

Il futuro del Meridione è nelle nostre mani. Periodicamente ce ne dimentichiamo, ma poi qualcosa o qualcuno ce lo ricorda. Nelle nostre mani morali e nella nostra forza d'animo vi è, infatti, non soltanto l'andamento demografico, ma anche quello dei modelli economici e finanziari, tenendo conto che la pandemia globale, da una parte, e il movimento economico, messo in moto da *Economy of Francesco*, dall'altro, ci chiedono – come *Ercole al bivio* – di decidere per una strategia del profitto e del mercato a oltranza, oppure per un'economia circolare, o anche, come si dice, un'economia del dono. Inoltre, come ci stanno ricordando le periodiche esondazioni di fiumi e corsi d'acqua, nelle nostre mani è il vero benessere del territorio fisico e delle sue risorse vegetali e idriche. Per non dire poi della pesante orma antropica che questa generazione meridionale sta lasciando sull'ambiente, che il Papa c'invita a chiamare *casa comune*, per sottolineare che le energie pulite, o il cambiamento delle tecniche agricole o degli strumenti al silicio, non

9 Cf. Charles Péguy, *Il denaro*, traduzione e cura di Giaime Rodano, Castelvecchi, Roma 2016.

dipendono soltanto dal naturale corso delle cose. E bisogna appropriarsi di quest'opportunità, prima che lo faccia, o continui a farlo, la criminalità organizzata che, in silenzio, si attesta sulle nuove frontiere delle risorse. Le mafie non sono un'infezione acuta, né un contagio temporaneo, bensì una malattia cronica e i medici ci ricordano che le malattie croniche, che non possono più regredire, dovrebbero essere almeno cronicizzate, ovvero relativizzate e messe sotto controllo con farmaci adeguati, perché non minino totalmente il sistema corporeo e consentano ad esso di sopravvivere in benessere.

Questi farmaci, sul piano politico, finanziario ed economico, sono la fiscalità, il costo del lavoro, il sistema bancario, le risorse finanziarie, il capitale umano, l'agricoltura, il turismo, i beni culturali e gastronomici, il manifatturiero, il digitale, la gestione pro-attiva delle migrazioni facendo del nord-Africa una parte integrante del distretto di sviluppo locale e nazionale del Mediterraneo, una risorsa e non una barriera. La giovinezza è il tempo in cui la vita si schiude (diceva Qoeleth 11,1-6.9-10), è tempo connotato dalla gioia di vivere (Qo 11,10), ma è anche il tempo che prepara alla vita sull'incerto crinale del credere e del non credere. Abbiamo bisogno di qualcuno che prenda la vita di questi nostri ragazzi tra le mani e, con attenzione e tenerezza, sussurri loro che possiamo farcela, che il cammino è lungo, faticoso, ma che si può fare, anche ristabilendo i ponti e i collegamenti (quanti i ritardi e le attese del sistema viario e di infrastrutture al Sud e nelle Isole!) con le nostre radici. La famosissima espressione che San Giovanni Bosco fissò in una lettera del 29 gennaio 1883, l'educazione è "cosa di cuore", svela il segreto fondamentale di un plausibile rapporto educativo. "Cuore" è la parola che compone i termini *cordiale*, *coraggio*; implica, dunque, ascolto cordiale del giovane, fiducia e incoraggiamento nei suoi confronti, anche davanti agli errori. L'educatore è colui che accompagna il cammino, ne fa apprezzare la bellezza, attira lo sguardo sulle piccole cose della strada. Sa qual è la meta, ma aiuta il giovane a non bruciarla; a guadagnare, poco alla volta, la voglia di volare senza paura di cadere.¹⁰ Eccolo, il futuro: sarà come lo stiamo costruendo, con le nostre mani, il nostro cuore, la nostra fede.

Roma, 31 gennaio 2023

¹⁰ Cfr. V. Bertolone, *Paura di cadere..., ...voglia di volare. Un vescovo scrive ai giovani*, Rubbettino, Soveria Mannelli 2020.

SEZIONI A 3T

LETTURE A3T

Emilio Casalini. *Rifondata sulla bellezza. Viaggi, racconti, visioni alla ricerca dell'identità celata*, Spino Editore, 2016

«Dagli atri muscosi, dai Fori cadenti, /Dai boschi, dall'arse fucine stridenti, /Dai solchi bagnati di servo sudor, / Un volgo disperso repente si desta; Intende l'orecchio, solleva la testa/ Percosso da novo crescente rumor»

Una delle sensazioni che si prova dopo la lettura del libro di Emilio Casalini può essere, in maniera provocatoria e sicuramente ironica, raccontata tramite i versi immortali del Coro del terzo atto dell'*Adelchi*, una delle opere più note di Alessandro Manzoni. Emilio Casalini, giornalista pluripremiato e che ha lavorato in trasmissioni televisive come Report su Raitre, realizza un volume particolare nella sua forma, a metà fra il reportage ed il diario di viaggio, sottolineando un fattore cardine dell'italianità nel suo parlare della bellezza e nel dire, parafrasando le tanto usate – e anche un po' abusate – parole del Principe Myskin, protagonista de *L'idiota* di Fëdor Dostoevskij, che "La Bellezza salverà l'Italia". Quale bellezza però? La bellezza che è il fattore cardine, come dicevamo prima, specialmente per quella che è l'industria turistica in tutto il mondo: il senso dell'ospitalità.

Non è assolutamente banale come qualcuno penserà. Pensiamo a come l'ospitalità non sia stata succube e distrutta dalla corsa dei prezzi che ci fu alla fine dello scorso millennio – e che c'è sempre – nel turismo e che proprio l'ascesa dei social media abbia riportato in auge e dato un posto principale. Oggi, prima di fare un qualsiasi acquisto, la grande maggioranza della gente vuole sapere come è stata l'esperienza degli altri! Pensiamo ad un portale come TripAdvisor che raccoglie le recensioni di chi ha soggiornato, mangiato, fatto esperienza in un ristorante, albergo o simile in qualsiasi località. L'ospitalità è sempre stata un tratto distintivo dei popoli mediterranei e maggiormente di noi italiani, formando un legame anche nell'immaginario delle decine di milioni di italo-discendenti sparsi per il mondo. Un legame che voleva dire casa. Non solo però. Sono molti di più gli italian wannabes, coloro che amano il made in Italy non solo nelle sue produzioni più alte, dal design di Bruno Munari fino all'alta moda, ma anche a quelle più popolari come la cucina regionale e la canzone. Sono proprio quelli che mettono la panna nella carbonara e l'anasas sulla pizza, cosa che fa orrore, che costituiscono le legioni di possibili clienti dell'industria turistica del presente e del domani.

Sotto quest'ottica noi dobbiamo ragionare su riscoprire l'ospitalità come legame, come elemento essenziale e soprattutto, mi piace dirlo, come "paesaggio umano". Cosa vuol dire? Vuol dire seguire il ragionamento di Casalini che predica di voler bene al proprio paese scoprendolo e godendolo di più senza doverlo lucidare appositamente per un turista fantomatico che deve venire. Dobbiamo togliere la polvere dalle mensole della nostra storia e far risplendere di luce naturale ciò che vi è sopra. Luce autentica, non artificiale. L'accoglienza è elemento delle tante identità che animano la nostra penisola. L'accoglienza è bellezza e soprattutto costruisce il senso di comunità. Dobbiamo esserne anche pienamente consapevoli, in modo che ci venga spontaneo raccontarlo in modo naturale e affascinante, perché è la nostra coscienza.

Si va, così, alla necessaria ri-comprensione dell'ospite come sacro che va trattato come noi vorremmo essere trattati, tornando così a qualcosa che ha un sapore di passato, di borgo antico e che è legame con le pratiche tramandate da chi ha lasciato il nostro paese ai propri discendenti e vuole ritrovarlo. Un punto di vista interessante e coinvolgente, quello di usare il turismo come perno per risollevarsi dalla crisi e valorizzare la nostra cultura, affrontato in maniera semplice, spigliata e diretta, senza dimenticare quella vena di sarcasmo e di ridicolo paradossale tipico della mentalità, spesso comoda e superficiale, "all'italiana".

Due i livelli di narrazione nel libro: da un lato, all'inizio di ogni capitolo, le esperienze e le descrizioni di luoghi, persone e culture che l'autore ha collezionato nei suoi viaggi, dalla Cina allo

Zambia e dalla Cambogia all'Iraq, fino alla Germania e alla Francia; e dall'altro riflessioni, considerazioni, esplicazioni di dati e situazioni italiane paragonate alle realtà estere.

Sappiamo bene come l'identità sia per le scienze sociali una costruzione culturale e non un concetto dato, quasi come elemento del DNA, soggetto a modificazioni come la storia ci insegna. Il fenomeno del turismo delle radici ci fa compiere un passo in più verso un concetto che sta prima dell'identità e che è l'Appartenenza, filone che anima una ricerca personale proprio su quanto sia importante il senso di comunità per i turisti interessati alla riscoperta delle proprie origini ma anche per chi fosse solamente interessato a scoprire lo spirito di un posto.

Per il turista delle radici è fondamentale, uscire dallo stato d'animo della nostalgia, superando la fase del Nostos, del ritorno, che esiste soprattutto perché gli ricorda il suo passato personale e le tradizioni che gli sono state tramandate dalla famiglia. Una fase che deve essere superata perché è sempre, al livello psicologico, legata all'Algos, che in greco significa dolore. Scoprire l'Appartenenza, esulando dal senso semantico di possesso che troppo spesso è stato attribuito a questo termine, significa scoprire un sentimento di comunità e permette al turista delle radici, o al wannabe, di sentirsi parte integrante del paesaggio umano, della bellezza dell'ospitalità. Appartenenza è "essere parte" ed è questo il vero nucleo del turismo esperienziale che permetterà ad una persona che venga dall'Argentina, o magari dai sobborghi di Londra, di amare più l'imparare a fare i maccheroncini al ferretto, di vedere come si lavora in un frantoio, piuttosto che vedere in rapida successione le città d'arte senza avere una linea di vera continuità e soprattutto senza avere una narrazione. L'appartenenza alla bellezza, all'ospitalità, alla comunità va costruita attraverso una narrazione.

Casalini nella seconda parte del libro mette in risalto come spesso noi italiani non amiamo abbastanza il nostro paese nei gesti quotidiani ed è inutile ripetersi che siamo "il paese più bello del mondo" se poi non sappiamo curarlo. La bellezza come elemento identitario deve essere pratica quotidiana che permette a noi residenti di vivere meglio e godere del nostro paese. La questione di fondo in cui non si può non concordare con l'autore del libro è che non dobbiamo preparare una mèta turistica per altri, ma costruire un paese dove vivere bene noi! Conservare ed arricchire i paesaggi artistici e naturalistici sarà l'ingrediente per rinnovare ed ampliare un paesaggio umano che il mondo vuole vivere. Il "novo crescente romor" del coro dell'Adelchi è la nuova consapevolezza della propria appartenenza, di uscire dalla nostalgia del passato, arricchendo invece l'identità del contemporaneo che include il rispetto per la bellezza, che non è affatto elemento di un'ideologia passatista che non vuole alcun cambiamento, ma che vede nella cura della propria terra, che è cura di sé stessi, la creazione di un senso di comunità più forte. L'appartenenza è quel sentiment per cui, dovunque vado, io chi sono.

Questo è il vero rispetto della bellezza che intende Casalini e solo attraverso di esso incrementeremo il fenomeno del turismo e quindi del turismo delle radici, permettendo che gli italo-discendenti trovino e provino gli odori, le sensazioni, le esperienze che hanno sentito nelle loro case lontane. In caso contrario sarà una cattiva recensioni su Tripadvisor ed una vita più brutta per noi. C'è un esempio semplice e banale che fa l'autore: una strada rotta va riparata per migliorare la vita dei residenti e non solo per migliorare il soggiorno di un turista, ma sicuramente anche lui sarà contento di usarla quando arriverà.

Simone Corami, Consulente in "Comunicazioni e Narrazioni", esperto in "Organizzazione e gestione dei viaggi delle radici"

Mariangela Palmieri, *Profondo Sud. Storia, Documentario e Mezzogiorno*, Liguori Editore, 2019

«Per avvicinarci al Mezzogiorno degli anni Cinquanta e Sessanta, lontano da noi, abbiamo bisogno d'incontrare i meridionali, di sapere che facevano, come nascevano, lavoravano, morivano. Il cinema è, talvolta, uno straordinario ausilio e uno strumento indispensabile».

Pierre Sorlin

Qual è il profondo Sud a cui allude Mariangela Palmieri, giovane ricercatrice salernitana, nel suo ultimo volume? Quello innanzitutto di un ventennio cruciale, il periodo che va dalla fine della Seconda guerra mondiale alla seconda metà degli anni '60, epoca che rappresenta per l'Italia tutta una fase di grande mutamento: il paese si lascia alle spalle il ventennio fascista e il conflitto e si avvia attraverso una difficile ricostruzione verso il miracolo economico. Questa trasformazione investe anche il Sud, ma con ritmi diversi dal resto del paese: i passi avanti convivono con la condizione di arretratezza e così, di fronte alle criticità del Mezzogiorno, la questione meridionale torna al centro del dibattito pubblico italiano, e *anche* del cinema. Il libro della Palmieri si configura quindi innanzitutto come uno strumento di straordinaria efficacia per un uso ragionato del cinema nello studio del Mezzogiorno, e viceversa.

La periodizzazione scelta dall'autrice segna infatti un'epoca in cui il numero, la qualità e la varietà dei documentari girati al Sud (rispetto a quelli del resto del paese), evidenzia l'importanza e l'interesse della questione meridionale. Come sappiamo la riflessione sulla questione meridionale non ha solo carattere politico, ma è alimentata da una vasta produzione culturale che prende origine dal romanzo *Cristo si è fermato ad Eboli* di Carlo Levi, altre opere letterarie, inchieste giornalistiche e le ricerche sulle tradizioni e la religiosità meridionale dell'antropologo napoletano Ernesto De Martino. Il Sud rurale esercita fascino anche all'estero (lo studioso americano Friedmann gira la Lucania per le sue ricerche sul mondo contadino meridionale) e nella fotografia (ricordiamo gli scatti di Seymour e Bresson, ma anche degli italiani Franco Pinna e Arturo Zavattini).

Accade che la (ri)scoperta del Sud e il dibattito culturale che ne scaturisce va a definire quel mito della civiltà contadina meridionale intesa come una realtà immobile, fissata in una dimensione storica, chiusa e impermeabile ai cambiamenti. E anche il cinema di fiction contribuisce alla definizione di questo stereotipo: gli autori neorealisti, infatti, non si occuparono del mondo contadino meridionale, focalizzando la propria attenzione quasi esclusivamente sui contesti urbani del Centro-Nord d'Italia (con significative eccezioni tipo l'episodio siciliano e napoletano di *Paisà* di Rossellini, alcuni film di Germi e Zampa e il viscontiano *La terra trema*). Per il resto negli anni '50 prevale nel cinema italiano l'immagine di un Meridione arcaico e di un mondo contadino chiuso e arretrato, almeno fino agli anni '60.

Fu invece il cinema documentario italiano a scoprire e raccontare il Mezzogiorno di questo periodo: dopo la Seconda guerra mondiale e per circa un ventennio, in una fase non ancora assoggettata al dominio mediatico della televisione, in Italia erano prodotti regolarmente documentari cinematografici (500-600 l'anno negli anni '50 secondo la fonte Amood), in molti casi proiettati nelle sale prima dei film di finzione. Sappiamo che i documentari sono stati a lungo trascurati dagli studiosi perché considerati "fratelli minori" del cinema ma, nel crescente interesse riscoperto negli ultimi decenni – non solo nei confronti del cinema più prettamente documentario ma in generale del cosiddetto "cinema del reale" – rappresentano una fonte di inevitabile interesse per la storia del cinema.

Il cinema documentario di questo ventennio presenta, come evidenziato dall'autrice, una doppia natura: da una parte uno strumento al servizio del potere, terreno di conquista del potere governativo interessato a farne uno spazio deputato alla propaganda, volto cioè a trasmettere al pubblico della sala immagini rassicuranti del Paese in via di sviluppo dopo la guerra; d'altra

parte, invece, troviamo un numero di lavori indipendenti, di registi più motivati che, con tutti i rischi connessi alle limitazioni della censura, colgono l'occasione per trattare, attraverso i documentari, tematiche in genere escluse dai film a soggetto. Si tratta di opere autoriali di maggiore valore che in molti casi portano la firma di nomi illustri del cinema nazionale: hanno realizzato documentari anche Antonioni, Maselli (*La festa dei morti*), Comencini, Risi (*Strade di Napoli*), Damiano Damiani (*Voci di Napoli*), Vancini e Zurlini, Antonio Marchi, Piero Nelli, anche se per questi il documentario ha rappresentato un trampolino di lancio iniziale per il successivo approdo al cinema di finzione.

Più precisamente, dell'enorme corpus di documentari selezionato da Palmieri, si possono individuare 5 tipologie di documentari sul Meridione: il documentario antropologico di ispirazione demartiniana (sulla sopravvivenza di riti e tradizioni antiche nelle realtà contadine, quindi incentrato sull'elemento antropico: le opere di Di Gianni, De Seta, Mingozzi, Gandin, Ferrara, Mangini e Del Fra); il documentario sociale (opere che riflettono sull'urgenza della società meridionale, in alcuni casi con toni di denuncia, da cui emerge l'immagine del Sud come periferia dell'Italia); il documentario istituzionale (lavori commissionati dal governo per raccontare la ripresa economica dell'Italia e gli interventi dello Stato nei territori del Sud Italia); il documentario industriale (incentrato sulle grandi industrie che aprono stabilimenti al Sud); e – arrivando alla tipologia che maggiormente qui ci interessa – il documentario turistico.

Quest'ultima tipologia di documentario – significativamente denominata dall'autrice "Viaggi per il Belpaese" – era destinata ad attrarre i turisti e, pertanto, ricreava un Sud mistificato, da cui emerge una visione da cartolina e stereotipata del meridione, con i suoi paesaggi incantevoli e il suo folclore. Va anche sottolineato, come evidenziato dalla ricerca di Palmieri, che il documentario turistico al Sud è poco frequentato negli anni '50 e '60 perché, sebbene siano gli anni di affermazione del turismo di massa in cui l'Italia assieme agli altri paesi europei diviene meta di vacanze (soprattutto grazie al primato assoluto del turismo balneare), il Mezzogiorno resta a lungo escluso dal circuito turistico: per tutti gli anni cinquanta e sessanta gli itinerari dei vacanzieri si fermano alle regioni del Centro-Nord. La ragione pratica di questo stato di cose la si può facilmente rintracciare nel fatto che, al di là delle sue indiscutibili bellezze, il Sud Italia ancora negli anni del boom dell'economia, non è in grado di accogliere i turisti: le potenzialità non mancano ma le strutture alberghiere sono pressoché inesistenti e le poche disponibili spesso inadeguate, e limiti pesanti attanagliano anche il sistema dei trasporti e la rete stradale. Il documentario turistico interessa quindi in questo periodo solo le due grandi isole – i documentari prodotti dalla Panaria Film in Sardegna e Sicilia – e quelle dell'arcipelago napoletano. Basilicata, Puglia e Calabria restano invece escluse, salvo rare eccezioni come i documentari di Florestano Vancini girati negli scenari boschivi della Sila e sulla costa calabrese, perché queste regioni negli anni interessati non sono nemmeno toccate dalla promessa di sviluppo del turismo.

Il documentario turistico è un genere complesso, sotto la cui etichetta ricadono numerosissime opere, probabilmente la parte più corposa del documentario italiano, un genere ampio all'interno del quale è possibile individuare alcuni elementi ricorrenti: salvo rare eccezioni, infatti, i documentari turistici erano realizzati in poco tempo e a basso costo, spesso al solo scopo di incassare i premi statali, perciò ne scaturivano opere scarsamente ricercate sul piano formale. Si tratta di un documentario orientato al disimpegno e alla suggestione, di cui a fare le spese era il pubblico delle sale, in non pochi casi annoiato dalla monotonia delle immagini (spesso lunghe panoramiche) e dai commenti prolissi e liricizzanti. Come sottolinea Palmieri, al di là dei limiti, se il documentario turistico ha avuto un pregio è stato quello di aver condotto lo spettatore alla scoperta della geografia del Paese, proponendo itinerari e sogni a buon mercato, rispetto al più ambizioso documentario di viaggio in voga nella stessa epoca (realizzato da registi come Folco Quilici, Luciano Emmer e Carlo Lizzani).

Nel documentario turistico il Mezzogiorno ha dei tratti ricorrenti: è una terra di sole e di mare, di una natura incantevole, di tradizioni storiche e di curioso folclore. Emerge quindi uno sguardo fortemente stereotipato e parziale: non c'è traccia della povertà, del sottosviluppo, dei forti

squilibri del Meridione del dopoguerra; nulla che possa offuscare i colori delle belle cartoline del Mezzogiorno trova spazio in queste opere a cui si deve comunque, seppur involontariamente, il merito di aver colto scorci del paesaggio meridionale prima che questo fosse sconvolto dalle grandi trasformazioni innescate dal progresso che di lì a poco avrebbe stravolto la geografia del Sud Italia.

Se infatti, come scrive Pierre Sorlin nella sua prefazione al libro, a Mariangela Palmieri si deve il merito di aver dissodato il terreno, è ai ricercatori che spetta adesso il compito di andare più in là catalogando le riprese filmiche in relazione alle tematiche che illustrano; un tema attraverso cui poter filtrare l'intero libro è quello della storia del paesaggio meridionale e del suo immaginario. Questo paesaggio meridiano che appare come un luogo lontano, remoto, esotico, dove si conservano usi, abitudini, credenze e valori di cui il resto del paese in quegli anni si stava liberando, un paesaggio che porta il segno delle trasformazioni e dei cambiamenti nelle pratiche di vita, nella memoria e nella percezione del Sud. Se è vero, come crediamo, che il paesaggio può diventare la forma simbolica attraverso cui si esprime una società e una cultura, rileggere il libro di Palmieri da una prospettiva paesaggistica diventa allora anche un modo per comprendere il nostro presente e il valore e la centralità, in primis simbolica, di un territorio. Sono questi elementi su cui occorre riflettere profondamente, soprattutto quando si pensa a come più efficacemente narrare il territorio, specialmente il Meridione, agli italo-discendenti che intraprendono o vorrebbe intraprendere un viaggio virtuale, e poi anche reale, verso i luoghi di origine italiani della propria famiglia.

Nausica Tucci, assegnista di ricerca e docente di "Cinema, Territorio e Turismo", presso l'Università della Calabria

Antonella Perri, *Il Turismo delle Radici*, Aracne, 2020

Antonella Perri, guest editor di questo numero di Fuori Luogo, dedica la sua attività di ricerca da più di venti anni al tema del turismo delle radici, dagli studi sulla mobilità turistico residenziale, come forma di neomadismo, e dagli inizi della collaborazione con Tullio Romita, uno dei primi studiosi in Italia, con il volume del «Il turismo che non appare» (Rubbettino, 1999), ad evidenziare la necessità di analizzare il fenomeno come un aspetto rilevante nell'ambito dei processi di sviluppo locale. Il turismo delle radici - genealogico o delle origini - è un tipo di viaggio che coinvolge la ricerca e la riscoperta delle proprie radici familiari o ancestrali, un viaggio per ritrovare le proprie radici culturali, storiche e familiari, per comprendere le proprie origini e per scoprire la propria storia. Il libro si apre con un'analisi del fenomeno migratorio che ne fornisce la comprensione sia rispetto alle motivazioni alla partenza sia sui modi di attaccamento al luogo di origine, che nelle società contemporanee vengono facilitati dalle tecnologie di comunicazione. Per aspetti temporali e generazionali vengono distinte le generazioni di turisti delle radici di prima, seconda o terza generazione, con motivazioni al ritorno differenti per intensità e tipologia.

Il desiderio di tornare si scontra con la più o meno consapevole scoperta di una realtà mutata rispetto a quella lasciata alla partenza, propria o degli antenati, ed il soggetto migrante torna da "estraneo", con il rimpianto malinconico dei luoghi della giovinezza, «parte di quella comunità però è a parte, come se la guardassi da lontano», riferisce un "turista delle origini" in una delle numerose interviste, circa quindicimila effettuate nel corso degli anni, che l'autrice oltre che in Calabria, ha condotto in molti paesi esteri, come Stati Uniti e Grecia.

Questa forma di turismo è diventata molto popolare negli ultimi anni, in particolare tra le comunità migranti che cercano di riscoprire le proprie radici culturali poiché si concentra sulla connessione con la propria storia personale e familiare, e può comportare la visita a luoghi di origine, cimiteri, archivi di famiglia e siti storici. Le ricerche, che l'autrice cita in modo puntale e preciso nell'analisi del fenomeno, si sono concentrate sui motivi che spingono le persone a intraprendere questo tipo di viaggio, sulle attività dei turisti genealogici e sulle attività che svolgono durante il viaggio. Alcuni studi hanno esplorato l'impatto economico e sociale del turismo delle radici sulle destinazioni, e hanno identificato le opportunità e le sfide per il turismo in questa nicchia. Il volume analizza dunque il fenomeno macro, rispetto al dato sulla mobilità, e sull'impatto che questa forma di turismo ha sui territori, sulla comunità locale e sul mercato, stimolando l'economia locale, rispetto ad esempio ai consumi dei turisti, alla manutenzione ed all'acquisto di abitazioni che restano nella disponibilità di queste persone che desiderano tornare periodicamente nel luogo delle origini. L'autrice critica, opportunamente, l'uso leggero del termine "turismo" «uno dei fenomeni sociali più complessi della società contemporanea, che serve, se ben utilizzato, ad individuare nuovi strumenti teorici e concettuali per l'analisi della società in cui viviamo e ad utilizzare teorie innovative che noi consideriamo assolutamente centrali, come ad esempio il *new mobilities paradigm* (Sheller & Urry, 2006)». Lo studio di fenomeni informali e sommersi non trovano forse ancora il giusto spazio nella sociologia italiana, legata a paradigmi concettuali che non avrebbero consentito di studiare il turismo come fenomeno sociale rilevante per le comunità locali. Eppure, come questo volume dimostra chiaramente il "turismo che non appare" determina conseguenze ben evidenti nelle società contemporanee. L'autrice anticipa che il prossimo volume, di respiro internazionale, avrà l'obiettivo non solo di aggiornare alcuni dati presenti in questo del 2020 ma di rendere visibile l'enorme patrimonio di conoscenze e dati maturato dal gruppo di ricerca in venti anni di attività.

Romita, T. (1999). *Il turismo che non appare. Verso un modello consapevole di sviluppo turistico della Calabria*, Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino.

Sheller, M., & Urry, J. (2006). The New Mobilities Paradigm. *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space*, 38(2), 207–226. <https://doi.org/10.1068/a37268>

Carmine Urciuoli, caporedattore di Fuori Luogo

SEZIONI A 3T

SEZIONE FUORI LUOGO

Life at the Margins: Chronicles from Inner Areas of Calabria²

1. Villages

1.1 Inner Areas, the Future in Wrinkles

The international debate on issues of territorial regeneration is mainly based on the need to improve the quality of life of marginalised and degraded areas, both physically and socially. There is no doubt that the logic that governs contemporary societies and economies produces increasing forms of marginalisation and new types of peripheral territories (Harvey 2003; Sassen, 2011; Brenner, 2004). The phenomena of polarisation of economic activities generate social changes of enormous magnitude that are reflected in complex and differentiated forms on the territories, in different scales and typologies even between the different nations of the global North. A heterodox approach, capable of elaborating a critical reflection on modernisation processes that for years have imposed a univocal and ineffective vision of change processes for territories, introduces a method for planning based on socio-territorial organisation. In this sense, the territorial prism is intent on tracing a horizon for settlement models that can ensure the lasting sustainability of contemporary places, taking communities and their relationships with their environments as reference, in order to outline future trajectories of local development. If in past decades the tendency towards extreme urbanisation of production processes ended up relegating the *peripheries* – in the broadest sense, understood as areas peripheral to production centres – to supporting roles, what is needed today is a process of re-territorialisation that favours a community exercise in which a *pact of care* with the territory and the environment can be determined, in open and supportive forms (Magnaghi, 2000). In this sense, we intend to reflect on the inner areas as a component of what Magnaghi (2020) calls an “urban bioregion”, i.e. a system composed of several parts including cities, towns and villages, connected in a synergic and functional manner. But first of all, what are these areas?

The concept of *inner areas*, as it has been identified within the innovative public policy dealing with development and territorial cohesion, defines peripheral areas as areas that are distant from any offer of essential services of mobility, health and education, often characterised by strong depopulation (Partnership Agreement, 2013). The development perspective of inner areas is part of the revision and implementation of urban and urban-rural policies of the Europe 2020 Strategy, of which it represents a particular chapter – the Urban Agenda or “Amsterdam Pact 2016” – which originates from the Territorial Cohesive Agenda 2020. In the vocabulary of the European Union, the term *cohesion* refers to a political vision aimed at reducing the gap between the development levels of the various regions and to contrast the backwardness of less favoured regions, in order to promote social and economic development for all areas. In 2013, in Italy, the debate took the form of a strategy, at the initiative of Fabrizio Barca – Minister for Territorial Cohesion at the time – with a Southern-derived approach (Barbera, 2015), inheriting the assumptions of economists such as Saraceno and Rossi Doria (Zoppi 2002; Bevilacqua, 1998b). The specificity of Italian territories, characterised by a spatial organisation largely based on small centres, motivated the Agenzia per la Coesione Territoriale (Agency for Territorial Cohesion) to

1 Elena Musolino, Università della Calabria, elena.musolino@unical.it.

2 Received: 12/12/2022. Revised: 19/01/2023. Accepted: 23/01/2023. This essay is part of a broader research “La vita nelle aree interne calabresi. Giovani, famiglie, classi dirigenti e innovatori in contesti marginalizzati”, carried out within the framework of the Collaboration Agreement between the School of Science of Public Administration of the Department of Political and Social Sciences of Unical and the Calabria Region’s Nucleus for the Evaluation and Verification of Public Investments.

adopt a specific policy to reactivate these remote municipalities. This is the “Strategia Nazionale per le Aree Interne” (National Strategy for Inner Areas) – called SNAI – introduced in the National Reform Programme (NRP), a policy founded on a place-based approach (Barca, 2012; Angelini & Bruno, 2014), to counteract population decline, employment reduction, declining supply of public and private services, land consumption, hydrogeological instability and degradation of the cultural and landscape heritage (Barca *et al.*, 2014). These are rural places, not easily accessible, often abandoned in favour of urban areas, but which nevertheless express a strong unused territorial, natural and human capital, considered strategic for the relaunch and growth of the Italian country system. SNAI intended to intervene to protect, recover and revitalise inland areas, overcoming the urban-rural dichotomy and giving a new meaning to the concept of accessibility to services (Lucatelli, 2016; Lucatelli & Tantillo, 2018). Therefore, inner areas are defined as areas that are substantially distant from the centres offering services and characterised by processes of depopulation and degradation. The concept of the inner periphery is being defined, starting from the reading of the global centre-periphery system described by Immanuel Wallerstein (1991), to observe a space within the “centre” where new forms of marginality develop. The growing debate on the polycentric form of the national territories has highlighted the presence of centres of service supply around which gravitate areas characterised by different levels of spatial marginality (Carlucci & Lucatelli, 2013; Saccomani, 2014; Pezzi, Punziano, 2017; De Rossi, 2018), affirming the centrality of the concept of accessibility for the reading of the elements that characterise the specificities of places.

From a methodological point of view, the territorialisation of inner areas is divided into two main phases: the first is the identification of poles capable of acting as supply centres for essential services; the second is the classification of the remaining municipalities into four types – peri-urban areas, intermediate areas, peripheral areas and ultra-peripheral areas – based on the travel time needed to reach the poles (Barca *et al.*, 2014; Barbera, 2015). The potential beneficiaries of the policies and funds envisaged by the SNAI, are therefore those municipalities classified as *Intermediate* (between 20 and 40 minutes), *Peripheral* (between 40 and 75 minutes) and *Ultraperipheral* (over 75 minutes) on the basis of the road distance separating them from inter-municipal poles, i.e. those capable of simultaneously offering all secondary schooling, a hospital emergency reception department and railway stations. Interventions must concern the protection of the territory and the safety of the inhabitants, the promotion of cultural and natural diversity and polycentrism, and the revival of development through the use of untapped or poorly exploited resources. The latest ISTAT report (2022) states that “Nearly half of Italy’s municipalities are in the country’s Inner Areas”, without reporting all the new numbers in the paper, but it is sufficient here to point out that a comparison between the 2014 and 2020 maps provides important indications of how our territory presents itself in terms of accessibility to essential services: the most evident result is that the majority of municipalities (5,336, or 67.5% of the national total) have maintained the same classification, although inland areas in Southern Italy are on the rise.

These numbers offer an insight on the scope and centrality of places that cross the entire country, a margin that is not on the margin, where connections must be cultivated and dominant visions decentralised. These so-called “wrinkled areas” (Dematteis, 2015), come to be read as spaces of valorisation of a territorial heritage where we can “reverse the view” (De Rossi, 2018) and where we can look for possible laboratories of innovation and future (Carrosio, 2019).

Within this framework, the paper gives an overview of the situation in the inner areas of Calabria, identifying some elements that seem to characterise the local ruling class today, according to the preliminary results of the research which show a certain discordance between the dominant representations of inner areas and the narratives of the inhabitants of the *margins*, useful to direct future strategy interventions for these places, in an even more place-based perspective.

1.2 A South among the Souths: the Inner Areas of Calabria

Geographical tendencies in international trade have had a strong impact on European territories. In Italy, the shift of the industrial axis towards the North-East has had enormous radical effects on the regions, producing new polarisations. Gianfranco Viesti (2021) describes a “new Southern question”, analysing the demographic and industrial transformations that would have produced the “intermediate development trap”, i.e. *Mezzogiorno* is contextually less competitive than the North in terms of innovation, and less than the East in terms of production costs.

Calabria’s social transformations and political strategies since the Second World War have pursued the mystified belief that the evolution and prosperity of the Southern regions depended on their ability to emulate the production models and lifestyles of the industrial regions. After the political turnaround of 1948, the ruling class called upon to govern the country started a political process to favour industrialisation and modernisation, planning interventions on the economic and socio-cultural conditions of Southern Italy and especially Calabria. A cultural conversion was imposed on social values themselves, everything seemed to have to respond to the demands of interest and profit in order to achieve an economic efficiency capable of restoring well-being, abundance and happiness. *Growth* and *development* were the watchwords, in an emulative ideology to make areas with a traditional economy resemble those transformed by technical and productive innovations and social changes induced by triumphant capitalism (Bevilacqua, 1998). In this way, from the Fifties, the anthropological rubble was accompanied by the emergence of dependency economies that often devastated local ecosystems to make way for phantom infrastructures. Development narratives – in the South, in Calabria, or wherever it was exported – followed one another as authoritarian plans that invested populations and their anthropological and cultural background. Or it has generated forms of capitalism in a hostile environment, characterised by specific practices of social conflict (Arrighi & Piselli, 1987).

In the current world-economy picture, Calabria continues to be a peripheral region, described by macro-economic indicators as a land in a perpetual structural crisis. But if we look at social relations, daily life is in direct contrast to the scenarios proposed by GDP and per capita income, due to informal compensatory mechanisms that have both a positive and a negative side: such as small agricultural activities of self-consumption, remittances from migrants, exchange of goods and services between families; but also regressive adaptations that put large amounts of money into circulation: organised crime, widespread illegal economy, underground economy, undeclared work, tax evasion etc. (Piselli, 2017).

Today, inner areas of Calabria continue to be places structurally deprived of basic collective services, which after the Second World War suffered a demographic collapse, in several cases irreversible. It means that the quality of citizenship remains the essential factor for a person in deciding whether to stay or leave an area: if work and income opportunities offered by that area are an important factor, the absence of infrastructure for daily life – schools, transport, health services, connection networks – is a challenge, especially for the young and for families with children of school age (Cersosimo *et al.*, 2019).

Talking about the South and inner areas thus opens up a new *Southern question*, a South within the South, in which the major demographic issues take on particular importance and the need for investment strategies in infrastructure for the territories and internal mobility becomes more urgent (Fortunato & Gambardella, 2020). There is still the belief that Viesti (2014) calls the “Southern theorem”, according to which the lack of development in these areas is explained by the ineptitude of the ruling class, rather than by ambiguous policies, incapable of recognizing that the economy cannot take off without a significant investment in the social sphere, which is what can definitively bridge those civil gaps that are determinants of development (Cersosimo & Nisticò, 2013; Bianchi & Frascilla, 2020).

Here we intend to focus on how part of the local ruling class succeeds in triggering social practices to manage its present and future, expressing the permanence of social and community ties, together with cultural traditions and a “world of life” resistant to the total economy (Alcaro, 2003).

1.3 If we Need a Village, What Village do we Need?

When talking about villages one always comes across this Cesare Pavese’s quote from *La luna e i Falò* (1950): everyone needs a village to leave from and return to. However, reading the novel in its entirety, the conflictuality of places arises, finally realising that the road to emancipate and transform the community is a long one, however small it may be in a society. It is necessary to fight back those rhetorics that authorise policies based on a state of emergency and the progressive advance of forms of mass touristification, de-territorialisation and development models capable of creating wealth only for certain places, social classes and people.³ The same rhetoric has tended to describe a North where innovative forces, enterprises and laboratories of the future constitute the geography of development, and the South as an eternal place of backwardness, immobility and abandonment (Barbera, 2020).

With the National Recovery and Resilience Plan (NRRP) approved in June 2021, providing for sectoral areas that are rarely crossed with territories, there are some resources earmarked for inner areas. These are financing instruments that will need the leadership of the municipalities to be implemented. However, these same administrations, which are called upon to take action, have suffered in recent years a drastic reduction in staff, which is now of elderly age and with a limited degree of education. The resources will hardly be able to be absorbed and create a real economic and social impact and improve the quality of citizenship in inner areas (Cerruto *et al.*, 2022).

So what village is needed? First of all, we need to deconstruct the folklore of nostalgia-ridden communities and closed identities, bucolic visions of nature and those forms of apologia for the past (Bindi, 2021; Clemente, 2018; Teti, 2022). Instead, there exists a “Bruttaitalia” (Ugly-Italy), made up of abandoned, crumbling places, criss-crossed by conflicts and diatribes and conservative impulses, where one succumbs to anonymity as soon as one takes a wrong turn (Barbera, Dagnes, 2022). However, in these places there are people who do not want to leave, who choose to stay, who deserve and demand policies that enhance the quality of daily life regardless of the beauty and heritage of the land they occupy. So, we return to a vision for planning that disavows places as isolated particles, but sees them as part of a whole, of a system that only works if set up in a synergetic way. The village lives if it is based on the interconnections between housing, production and political systems (Magnaghi, 2020). A good local project can work, from the perspective just described, if it starts from what already exists, and in this sense the research presented here is intended to be useful, providing a first impression of some of these places, namely villages in the inner areas of Calabria.

3 See the important works published thanks to the commitment of the group promoting ‘Riabitare l’Italia’, which animates the scientific and political debate on the theme of inner areas, between abandonment and reconquest, in order to deconstruct all those toxic representations to give back to people the substantial freedom to stay or leave, and to give places the opportunity to be inhabited again. (https://riabitarelitalia.net/RIABITARE_LITALIA/ - December, 2022)

2. Villagers

2.1 Research and Methodology

For over a year now, a large interdisciplinary group of researchers from the Department of Political and Social Sciences (DISPeS) of the University of Calabria, coordinated by Domenico Cersosimo and Sabina Licursi,⁴ has been conducting in-depth research on the living conditions of residents, the ruling classes and the quality of services, in the four SNAI pilot areas of Calabria. The research – *Quality of life in the inner areas of Calabria* – was born out of the collaboration between the DISPeS School of Public Administration Sciences and the Calabria Region's Nucleus for the Evaluation and Verification of Public Investments, and aims to identify possible ways to counter the depopulation of these areas and to find the most appropriate strategies for sustainable local development.

This paper offers a reading of some of the data collected within this extensive research, to which the writer had the opportunity to contribute. A preliminary study was carried out in order to acquire knowledge of the socio-economic context in the inner areas of Calabria, collecting a set of ecological data (Pintaldi, 2003). Thereafter, twenty-four semi-structured interviews were conducted with community members of the places selected as the object of analysis. The questions posed were aimed at exploring the following dimensions: the role played, representations of the socio-territorial context and evaluation of SNAI. The ensuing contents were analysed by encoding the transcription of the interviews to identify recurrent patterns, themes and narratives. Additional information was gathered through a screening of online and offline SNAI-related resources, informal conversations with key actors and the direct participation in a set of meetings and activities.⁵

2.2 Places

Starting in 2015, and once the Partnership Agreement was signed with the European Commission, the State – through the Inner Areas Technical Committee – and the Regions carried out the necessary work to select the territorial contexts for the strategy's intervention under the 2014-20 economic policy, and identified 72 "project areas" or "pilot areas" distributed throughout all Italian regions as well as the autonomous province of Trento. Overall, the areas of intervention concern the *essential services sector* – education, health and mobility – to which approximately 44% of the allocated resources are devoted (509 million euro), and local development, providing for the remaining 56% (658 million euro). The greatest financial weight is allocated to the *mobility* sector, which can be traced back to the upgrading of the road network (Cresta, 2019; Mattarocci, Cerasoli, 2020; Bacci *et al.*, 2021), and to the *nature, culture and tourism* sector, useful for tourism development and the enhancement of the natural-cultural heritage and landscape (Campolo, 2016; Battino & Lampreu, 2017; Epifani *et al.*, 2021). The Regional Operational Programme (ROP) Calabria European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) 2014/2020, adopted by the European Commission in 2015, includes the provision of a Regional Strategy for Inner Areas (SRAI) to be implemented in territories with particular disadvantages through the instrument of Integrated Territorial Investments (ITI). The Regional Strategy, in adherence to the principles and objectives of the National Strategy, has identified four areas of intervention: 1. protection of

4 For more on the approach, perspective and references of this study, see *Riavvicinarsi al paese. La Snai come politica-metodo per l'Italia lontana* (Cersosimo, Licursi, 2022), it is the first essay published as part of the research on inner areas coordinated by the authors.

5 The interviews were carried out between April 2021 and November 2022, a period in which the limitations for the covid-19 emergency imposed the use of alternative tools for research. They were then agreed on and carried out remotely, on a video platform.

the territory, essential services and local communities; 2. enhancement of natural and cultural resources for the development of sustainable tourism; 3. sustainable mobility; 4. manufacturing, craftsmanship, agricultural and agri-food production.⁶ In Calabria, there are four pilot areas: Grecanica (11 municipalities, 435 kmq), Versante Ionico Serre (14 municipalities, 450 kmq), Sila and pre-Sila (19 municipalities, 1058 kmq), Savuto Reventino (14 municipalities, 345 kmq), for a total of 58 municipalities.⁷

2.3 People

Within the complex framework of the above-mentioned investigation, an action has been dedicated to the study of local elites. As we were taught a long time ago, only the “democratic development” of Southern Italy (Villari, 1978) offers the opportunity to activate a significant investment in the social sphere that once and for all unhinges those civil gaps that are determinants of development (Ersosimo & Nisticò, 2013). Therefore, it is necessary to critically question the functioning of local institutions and the quality of the ruling classes and use the lens of social capital, to finally look at those numerous actors that have the capacity to express an aspiration that turns into change and future (Appadurai, 2004).

In the first instance, the intention was to focus the research on the role of the traditional ruling class, but later it was decided to extend the investigation to include other figures capable of influencing local communities, such as the family doctor or the village parish priest: figures of authority who do not hold explicit institutional leadership roles, but who do hold informal power in the local community, economy and culture. This paper crosses the experiences of twenty-four inhabitants of inner area villages: six mayors, six municipal secretaries, six family doctors, six parish priests. We approached these people in order to reconstruct their socio-biographical profile and to understand how they exercise their community role, by investigating their professional mission, the representations and vocations of the area they live in, the idea of innovation and of a possible future, and finally the perception of the sense of responsibility and in the case of parish priests the role of the church in the local community: a very long set of questions was used which produced interviews with an average length of two hours.

2.4 Narratives

The analysis of the interviews resulted in the identification of certain attitudes of the actors involved in the research, for whom a different posture in the role they held led to a different perception of the future for the inner areas. As can easily be guessed, a greater commitment and involvement of the actor on the territory corresponds to an optimistic view of the future of their places, also due to a greater confidence in the opportunities for the realisation of innovative projects. On the contrary, those who describe their role in a resigned manner and just act within the confines of their tasks are more sceptical and rooted in pessimistic and discouraged rhetoric. In the same way, it is characterised by rootedness in the territory, trust and the conditions of belonging and connection to one’s village. With the intention of bringing out some of the cognitive aspects that characterise the members of the community under analysis, below are some narrative postures that emerged, capable of telling certain traits of the inhabitants’ perception and representation.

6 See <https://www.agenziacoesione.gov.it/strategia-nazionale-aree-interne/regione-calabria-aree-interne/> (December, 2022)

7 For an in-depth study on the specificities of the Calabrian pilot areas – resilience, capacity for association of municipalities, presence of lack of development vision, planning maturity, awareness of needs in terms of service development and willingness/capacity to attempt innovative solutions, existence of leadership – see the report on the Istruttoria for the Selection of Inner Areas Region CALABRIA, 2020 https://www.agenziacoesione.gov.it/wp-content/uploads/2020/07/Istruttoria_calabria_DEF.pdf (December, 2022)

Spirit of sacrifice. The analysis of the research material mostly confirmed the assumptions about inner areas in the literature: all those involved referred to a number of discomforts ascribable to the low quality of everyday life in these places. Firstly, men and women interviewed recounted and described a sense of abandonment, both related to depopulation and distance from services. In almost all of these places – country, city, sea and mountain villages – residents are not guaranteed access to basic services, from schools to health facilities, from transport to internet connection. Immediately afterwards, they recall the lack of jobs. They tell us the story of those who decided to stay, people who decide to live suspended in that dimension of “*restanza*” (“staying there”) described by Vito Teti (2014, 2017), in which waiting is mixed with the courage of the alternation between those who leave and those who remain. It is not a dichotomy between leaving and staying, but a symbiotic bond, a contamination between memory, oblivion and a future that is already past and one yet to be built. Futuristic imaginaries that define an identity dimension and belonging to a place and its heritage. Among these *villagers* in many conversations, a spirit of sacrifice is evoked to describe the choice to inhabit inner areas:

M.3 - Living in inland villages means *sacrifice*. When we take roads, we have to know that we have arrived there with *sacrifice*, many *sacrifices* were made by our parents. And equally on our part we face problems.

M.04 - Here, unfortunately, everything is not easy. Who knows, maybe we might all really succeed in making our ability and our *sacrifice* prevail a little.

M.21 - Getting there is a great *sacrifice* even for a priest! [...] To get there is a big sacrifice even for a priest! I do everything with love because the parishioners are very collaborative even if there are inconveniences, they listen to my urgencies, my needs and so we agree on the timetable, on the meetings to be held and so there is a lot of collaboration, a lot of work, a lot of *sacrifice* rewarded by loving them. I love them and they love me.

M.02 - Here people have changed their way of life, the life of their families with the *sacrifices* they have made to stay here, sometimes even building a house for themselves but also for their children.

M.21 - Is a village that has invested a lot and with a lot of *sacrifice* on two things: on the culture of the children and the new generations, all families today study. At the very least, there is a university graduate in the home, if not all the children, and consequently, once they graduate, they have to leave.

The term *sacrifice* derives from the Latin *sacrificium*, which is a combination of the words *sacer*, meaning something set apart from the secular or profane for the use of supernatural powers, and *facere*, meaning “to make”⁸; generally implying an attitude of submission to the sacred and the desire to establish a relationship with it. In our case, it is as if the inhabitants attribute a kind of sacredness to the place, where the choice to stay would mean consecrating their village. Which representation then is closest to the plane of reality? The dominant point of view speaks to us of inner areas as places of nostalgia, closed identity or local folklore (Bindi, 2021), or more recently of an equally toxic narrative of *salvific places*, spaces of refuge from pandemics and climate change (Cersosimo & Licursi, 2022). Those who live in these places recognise their hardships, envy, resentments and loneliness, but continue to celebrate their *sacred* belonging. A strong inner tension that certainly offers us a vision of the *possible elsewhere* (Teti, 2004, 2011, 2017), from which to start in order to orient future initiatives.

Pro-action and self-government. The literature has offered plenty of analyses on the gaps of the *Mezzogiorno*, inner areas, and peripheries, focusing on the historical reasons behind the forms of dependence on public transfers, structural and institutional endogenous elements (Sylos Labini,

8 see: Faherty, Robert L., “Sacrifice”. Encyclopedia Britannica, 30 Jan. 2022, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/sacrifice-religion>. (December 2022).

1974, 1993), the specificities of social contexts and the inadequacy of local institutions, together with cultural and political orientations (Trigilia, 2001, 2019, Magnatti *et al.*, 2005)), and in some cases, forms of independent dynamism (Bodo & Viesti, 1997). Weak and inefficient institutions are often described in economically fragile contexts that discourage and disincentive virtuous and innovative behaviour on the part of local economic actors, with important repercussions from the social point of view and in terms of territorial valorisation (Giannola, 2003). In our chronicles from the inner areas, alongside the pessimists, the discouraged and the sceptics, we encountered an encouraging posture: optimistic men and women with a proactive outlook and a spontaneous dedication to caring for their places. They are the protagonists of self-government – often bordering on the abuse of office, in the case of institutional roles – trying to find effective and immediate solutions to intervene in the territories, who have the desire to imagine fairer futures for them.

M.07 - We currently have a staff consisting of five employees, so one for each office, so you understand that the moment there is a need – the lights don't come on, the water, there's a problem, there's a pothole – that's when the mayor has to intervene himself. Then trivially you have to go and get petrol for the lawnmower and you don't have the employee and who goes? The mayor goes there to do this little task. I do it gladly because, since the doctor didn't order me to do it, I also knew what I was up against.

M.16 - In small communities, the Mayor becomes, especially after so many years, a family figure. So, there are the daily problems, the difficulties of some families at certain times because they may be going through a dark period from an economic point of view, or with regard to health problems, tragedies of various kinds, those the mayor necessarily faces because he is involved.

M.03 - Ours is a municipality that suffers from the problems that all municipalities have, which is that of not having staff, who can support the realisation, let's say translate the objectives of an administration into concrete facts, because then we administrators can only meet our goals if we are supported by offices that have staff. I am lucky, in the sense that there are only a few of us, but as they say, a few but good ones, with a lot of sacrifices, since we are dealing with people, with employees who are from the area and who therefore do their work not only to finish their hours, or to have a salary at the end of the month, but we have created a team, an administrative machine that thinks about what the needs of the community are and works for this reason.

M.24 - In our villages, the figure of the parish priest, as I can say, is still a figure taken as a reference, for whatever reason, whether religious or social. And, for example, we parish priests are a bit like the three institutions. Parish priests, mayors and police forces, let's say no, so religious, political and military. Is there communication between the three of us? Yes, we meet, at least once a month, even to have a coffee at the café, or sometimes I drop by the municipality to say hello to the mayor, to ask how things are going. Or if I know that there is some family in distress, I go to the municipality to say or the other way around, the municipality calls me to say there is this situation. There is cooperation, but there has to be, because we are few and we have to join forces, while in the cities there is dispersion and maybe everyone thinks about their own mill, in the villages there is not. We are tempted to stay closer, we have our difficulties, we have our opinions, it's not like we are the idyllic villages. But we try to join forces, each in our own sphere. We try to discuss. If an event happens, a good or bad situation. Now that we have had the problem of this virus, we have tried to face this difficulty together. This does not exist in the cities, because in the cities everyone rightly pulls the water to their own mill, even the parishes themselves, the associations, each association pulls the water to its own mill. In the villages we try to use a different way of life, to create a form of cooperation between the institutions in the area.

Community members through their own identities are able to recognize the right operational dimension and the most relevant goals and ways to achieve them. They bring a concrete and often innovative vision on how to realise and integrate resources according to the capacity of the territory at a specific time. These are the antagonists of that conservative elite interested in maintaining the stability of the economic and social benefits of marginality (Acemoglu & Robin-

son, 2012); antagonists with counter-narratives made of good practices from which to share and build policies based on everyday life and practical solutions.

On beauty, against beauty. One last narrative that emerged from the analysis of the experiences, choices and attitudes of the protagonists of our research: the beauty that exists and the beauty that is missing. Many of those interviewed, when asked what trajectories of the future they hoped to experience for their village, answered how important it was to start from the enhancement of what already exists. This statement tells us a lot about how much the local communities' awareness of the territorial heritage of the inner areas has grown. What exists, however, is described in terms of beauty or absence of it, i.e. some list the specificities of their villages, their historical, artistic, landscape and natural heritage, while others are conscious of living in fairly anonymous places, incapable of expressing any form of attractiveness. They are an example of the inhabitants of that "Bruttitalia" (Ugly-Italy) described by Barbera & Dagnes (2022), i.e. inhabitants of places that have nothing special to offer to a passing tourist, but which at the same time are rich in meaning and identification for those who live there.

M.09 - *Beauty* also serves to make people better. In my opinion, having a nicer house, living in a nicer place makes people happier because you live in a nice, clean place. [...] *Beauty* improves people because they are happier living in a beautiful area. And therefore it influences the economy.

M.12 - It is an environment where there is tranquillity and serenity. You can live in contact with nature. You live slower away from stress. It is a slow life, made of walking, of landscapes, made to know, to look at the sights. In short, it is a *beauty* to live there and no one bothers you. If, on the other hand, one thinks one wants to live a reckless life, as Vasco Rossi says, then this village is no good!

M.23 - I believe that it would be good to train people capable of knowing how to invest in certain forms that today need to be understood, known and appreciated, to discover and enhance the positive facts. Tourism, for example, should be valued; we have wonderful forests to organise routes that I would classify, perhaps in different ways: nature trails, we have wonderful vegetation, we are right at the beginning of the Sila, discovering *beauty*, knowing how to appreciate it. If we think many times about the work that was done in a certain way but did not produce much, by the way, the first job I did was to work in the forestry department as a farmhand, as a boy, and how much could be done to enhance the forests, to enhance the surrounding areas. To use the old paths, the routes that used to be there and to make a nature trail today, a historical nature trail.

The aesthetics of the place generates pride or frustration, leading to conflicting feelings where the connection to the village struggles between what it is and what it could be. What could be positive would be the attitude of a policy capable of translating this frustration into a political agenda that considers in its narrative not only picture-postcard villages, but also those where the tourist would not spend a moment but where there is still a living population, with its passions, desires and memories.

3. Villages Tomorrow

In conclusion, in this little trip to the inner areas, we got to know some villages and their inhabitants, revealing a few of the narratives that are settling in those places that for too long have been part of the anthropology of abandonment. Mainstream policies now have the opportunity to engage in a debate that is becoming more sensitive every day, ready to break away from those localist and marginalist visions in order to make sense of the changes and mutations of the social body that populates the inner geographies.

However, even in critical debate, we must be careful with certain interpretative tools that can easily turn into potentially toxic narratives for the real improvement of conditions in these places. For example, if we recognise the importance of the depopulation theme, in order to identify

counter-trend strategies, we must not think about how to bring in new populations, but rather question ourselves on the reasons for the abandonment. It is therefore fundamental to analyse the crisis of inhabitation in a functional sense, along with the processes of deterritorialisation, thinking about a renewed balance between humankind and the environment, considering human activities indispensable in fragile contexts (Osti & Jachia, 2020; Tarmino, 2016; Viazzo & Zanini, 2014). Ethnographies capable of intercepting the actual and potential relational system of the regions concerned will therefore be necessary in order to identify those elements useful for defining an endogenous and continuous local project, sustainable both economically and socially (Magnaghi, 2010).

Future research will have to investigate the reality plan of these places in greater depth, and it will be necessary to refine the tools of observation to identify both the innovative processes underway and the social fragilities with their needs. Thinking of the territory as a prism revealing a very strong emotional and identity meaning, will prove useful to intercept in the inhabitants' descriptions an overview of the symbolic representations of the areas under study: the beauties and the misfortunes of the present and, finally, to identify the wealth of the possible (Gorz, 1998). Finally, in sacredness, self-government and search for beauty there is always a strong need for physical and relational proximity that should direct planning towards forms of building community nodes that facilitate socialisation and aggregation practices. In this sense it would be appropriate to direct policies both towards improving services and the relational dimension, favouring civic activism, as a response to the needs of citizenship, capable of triggering inclusive community dynamics of intergenerational and intercultural proximity.

References

- Acemoglu, D., Robinson, J. A. (2012). *Why nations fail: The origins of power, prosperity, and poverty*, New York: Crown Business.
- Alcaro, M. (2003). *Economia totale e mondo della vita*. Roma: Manifestolibri.
- Angelini, A., Bruno, A. (2014). *Place-based. Sviluppo locale e programmazione, 2020*, Milano: FrancoAngeli
- Appadurai, A. (2004). "The Capacity to Aspire: Culture and the Terms of Recognition". In: V. Rao, M. Walton (eds.). *Culture and public action*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Arrighi, G., Piselli, F. (1987). Capitalist Development in Hostile Environments, in *Review*, X, 4, 649-751.
- Bacci, E., Cotella, G., Brovarone, E.V. (2021). La sfida dell'accessibilità nelle aree interne: Riflessioni a partire dalla Valle Arroscia. *Territorio*, vol. 96, 77-85.
- Barbera, F. (2015). Il terzo stato dei territori: riflessioni a margine di un progetto di policy. In: B. Meloni (ed.), *Aree interne e progetti d'area*, Torino: Rosenberg e Sellier.
- Barbera, F., (2020). Crisi della cittadinanza e disuguaglianze territoriali, *il Mulino*, n. 1
- Barbera, F., Dagnes, J., (2022). Bruttitalia: la vita quotidiana dove i turisti non vogliono andare, in: F. Barbera, D. Cersosimo, A. De Rossi (eds.), *Contro I borghi: Il Belpaese che dimentica i paesi*, Roma: Donzelli editore.
- Barca, F. (2012), *Un progetto per le "Aree Interne" dell'Italia. Note per la discussione*. Dipartimento per lo Sviluppo e la Coesione economica, ottobre.
- Barca, F., Casavola, P., Lucatelli, S. (2014). Strategia nazionale per le aree interne: definizione, obiettivi, strumenti e governance, *Materiali UVAL*, n. 31.
- Battino, S., Lampreu, S. (2017). Strategie di valorizzazione e promozione in chiave turistica del patrimonio culturale nelle aree interne. Un caso in Sardegna. *Annali del Turismo*, vol. 6, 83-105.
- Bevilacqua, P. (1998). Riformare il sud. *Meridiana*, 31, 19-44.
- Bevilacqua, P. (1998b). La Storia e Il Mezzogiorno Nell'opera Di Rossi-Doria, *Meridiana*, no. 32, 189-206
- Bianchi, L., Frascilla, A., 2020, *Divario di cittadinanza. Un viaggio nella nuova questione meridionale*, Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino Editore.
- Bindi, L. (2021). Oltre il "piccoloborghismo". Comunità patrimoniali e rigenerazione delle aree fragili, *Dialoghi mediterranei*, 48.
- Bodo, G., Viesti, G. (1997). *La grande svolta: il Mezzogiorno nell'Italia degli anni novanta*, Roma: Donzelli Editore.
- Brenner, N. (2004), *New state spaces. Urban governance and the rescaling of statehood*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Campolo, D. (2016). L'uso sostenibile delle aree interne attraverso il paesaggio culturale e le cultural routes. *LaborEst*, vol. 12, 80-84.
- Carlucci, C., Lucatelli, S. (2013). Aree Interne: un potenziale per la crescita economica del Paese. *Agriregionieuropa*, vol. 9, n. 34, 17-20

- Carrosio, G. (2019). *I margini al centro. L'Italia delle aree interne tra fragilità e innovazione*, Roma: Donzelli.
- Cerruto, M., Cersosimo, D., Raniolo, F. (2022). The policy for Southern Italy's development in the Italian National Recovery and Resilience Plan. *Contemporary Italian Politics* 14.4, 472-486.
- Cersosimo, D., Nisticò, R. (2013). Un Paese diseguale: il divario civile in Italia, *Stato e Mercato*, n. 98, agosto 2013.
- Cersosimo, D., Ferrara, A.R., Nisticò, R. (2019). L'Italia dei pieni e dei vuoti. In: De Rossi, A. (ed.), *Riabitare l'Italia. Le aree interne tra abbandoni e riconquiste*. Roma: Donzelli Editore, (pp. 21-50).
- Cersosimo, D., Licursi, S. (2022). Riavvicinarsi al paese, la SNAI come politica-metodo per l'Italia lontana, in: *L'Italia Lontana*, S. Lucatelli, D., Luisi, F., Tantillo, (a cura di), Roma: Donzelli.
- Clemente, P. (2018). Un Paese fatto essenzialmente di paesi, *Dialoghi Mediterranei*, 31, pp. 320-326.
- Cresta, A. (2019). Mobilità sostenibile e valorizzazione turistica delle aree interne: i treni storici tra identità e paesaggio. *Bollettino dell'Associazione Italiana di Cartografia*, vol. 167, pp. 92-106.
- Dematteis, G. (2015). Aree interne e montagna rurale in rapporto con le città. In: B. Meloni (ed.), *Aree interne e progetti d'area*. Torino: Rosenberg & Sellier, (pp. 58-69).
- De Rossi, A. (2018). Introduzione. L'inversione dello sguardo. Per una nuova rappresentazione territoriale del paese Italia. In: A. De Rossi (ed.), *Riabitare l'Italia. Le aree interne tra abbandoni e riconquiste*. Roma: Donzelli Editore, (pp. 3-17).
- Epifani, F., Pollice, F., Urso, G. (2021), Il paesaggio come vocazione: una disamina nella strategia nazionale per le aree interne in Italia. *Documenti geografici*, vol. 2, 81-103.
- Gambardella, D., Fortunato, V. (2020). Sud e aree interne: lo scenario della nuova questione meridionale. Introduzione. *la Rivista delle Politiche Sociali*, Italian Journal of Social Policy, 4/2020.
- Giannola, A., (2003). Istituzioni, dualismo e mercati. Analisi e proposte operative, In: A. Giannola, C. Imbriani (eds.), *Neo dualismo. Istituzioni, mercati e politiche di intervento*, Soveria Mannelli: Rubettino.
- Gorz, A. (1998). *Miseria del presente, ricchezza del possibile*, Roma: Manifestolibri.
- Harvey, D. (2003), *The New Imperialism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Lucatelli, S. (2015). La strategia nazionale, il riconoscimento delle aree interne. *Territorio*, vol. 74, 80-86.
- Lucatelli, S., Tantillo, F. (2019), La Strategia nazionale per le aree interne. In: De Rossi, A. (ed.), *Riabitare l'Italia. Le aree interne tra abbandoni e riconquiste*. Roma: Donzelli Editore, (pp. 403-416).
- Magnaghi, A. (2000). *Il progetto locale*. Torino: Bollati Boringhieri.
- Magnaghi, A. (2020), *Il principio territoriale*. Torino: Bollati Boringhieri.
- Magnatti, P., Ramella, F., Trigilia, C., Viesti, G. (2005). *Patti Territoriali. Lezioni per lo sviluppo*. Bologna: il Mulino.
- Mattarocci, G., Cerasoli, M. (2020), Territorio e mobilità in Italia. Politiche infrastrutturali ed economiche tra territori veloci e territori lenti. In: Ravagnan, A.C. (ed.), *Percorsi di resilienza. Rilancio e riuso delle ferrovie in dismissione nei territori fragili tra Italia e Spagna*. Canterano: Aracne Editrice, pp. 129-148.
- Osti, G., Jachia, E. (eds.), (2020). *AttivAree. Un disegno di rinascita delle aree interne*. Bologna: il Mulino.
- Pavese, C. (2005) *La luna e i falò*, Torino: Einaudi (ed.or. 1950).
- Pezzi, M.G., Punziano, G. (2017), La categoria di distanza come proxy delle questioni ruralità, perifericità e sviluppo locale nella strategia nazionale per le aree interne. *Sociologia e politiche sociali*, vol. 3, 167-192.
- Pintaldi, F. (2003), *I dati ecologici nella ricerca sociale*, Roma: Carocci.
- Piselli, F. (2017), Postfazione. In: G. Arrighi, F. Piselli, Il capitalismo in un contesto ostile. Faide, lotta di classe, migrazioni nella Calabria tra Otto e Novecento, Roma, Donzelli (ed or. 1987).
- Saccomani, S. (2014), Torino: a Metropolitan City of 315 Municipalities. *Urbanistica*, vol. 153, 102-105.
- Sassen, S. (2011), *Cities in a world economy*, Sage, London.
- Sylos Labini, P. (1974). *Saggio sulle classi sociali*. Roma: Laterza.
- Sylos Labini, P. (1993). *Progresso tecnico e sviluppo ciclico*. Roma: Laterza.
- Tarpino, A. (2016). *Il paesaggio fragile. L'Italia vista dai margini*. Torino: Einaudi.
- Teti, V. (2004), *Senso dei luoghi: memoria e storia dei paesi abbandonati*. Roma: Donzelli, (new ed. 2014).
- Teti, V. (2011), *Pietre di pane. Un'antropologia del restare*. Macerata: Quodlibet Studio.
- Teti, V. (2022), *Restanza*, Torino: Einaudi.
- Teti, V. (2017), *Quel che resta. L'Italia dei paesi, tra abbandoni e ritorni*. Roma: Donzelli.
- Trigilia, C. (2001). *Capitale sociale e sviluppo locale*. Soveria Mannelli: Rubettino.
- Trigilia, C. (2019). L'enigma Mezzogiorno. *Paradoxa* on line, 4.
- Viazzo, P.P., Zanini, R.C. (2014). Approfittare del vuoto? Prospettive antropologiche su neo-popolamento e spazi di creatività culturale in area alpina, in *Nouveaux habitants. Journal of Alpine Research | Revue de géographie alpine* [En ligne], 102-3.
- Viesti, G. (2021), *Centri e periferie: Europa, Italia, Mezzogiorno dal XX al XXI secolo*. Bari: Laterza.
- Villari, R. (1978). *Mezzogiorno e democrazia*, Bari: Laterza.
- Wallerstein, I. (1991), *Geopolitics and Geoculture: Essays on the Changing World System*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Zoppi, S. (2002). *Una lezione di vita: Saraceno, la SVIMEZ, il Mezzogiorno*. Bologna: il Mulino.

When Tourism is too Much. Tourist Carrying Capacity of the Vesuvius National Park²

1. Introduction and background of literature

Tourism plays a very important role in the world, both socially and economically. But it also affects cultural behaviours and the natural environment. Although several scholars have stressed that tourism can create environmental imbalances and “wear out” the places in which tourist flows are anchored (Gosling, 2000), some studies have put forward the possibility of moving beyond the morbid paradigm of a tourist resort’s “life cycle” (Holden, 2016). Indeed, tourism can both conserve and pollute the physical environment. From a non-critical perspective tourism generates economy, employment and can improve service delivery and the overall infrastructure (even digital) about the ecosystem. Thanks to tourism the liveliness and livability in several areas are boosted because services and facilities would not exist without that additional customer base. Vice versa other scholars emphasize the detrimental effects of an out-of-control tourism expansion, with a severe environmental degradation caused by an excessive exploitation of tourism resources (Apergis & Payne, 2012) or by a rise in energy use and human activities such as production, consumption, mobility, urbanization, or industrialization. However, with an eye on the concept of sustainable tourism, it is important to figure out whether and how touristic areas’ annoyances comes about, and, above all, those related to Tourist Carrying Capacity (from now on TCC) in some destinations. In other words, given the many links between the socio-economic importance of tourism phenomena and sustainability concerns, this sector’s growth appears to depend on tourist satisfaction. Quite often such satisfaction depends in turn on environmental (both natural and social) quality. This has been proven even more true for national parks and natural protected areas, where tourism demonstrated to provide jobs and income, attract capital, and avoid outmigration more than other sectors (Sugiyarto *et al.*, 2003).

For this reason, the great interest in environmental tourism, in its forms of sustainable tourism and ecotourism (Ceballos-Lascuráin, 1988; Joshi, 2011; Weaver, 2005) basically reflects an attempt to reconcile production needs of the tourism industry with sustainable development. Buckley (2018, p.47) defined this tourism segment as an “ecologically significant” contribution to the effective conservation of biological diversity, above all in anthropized areas.

In this context, it is necessary to implement strategies capable of firstly providing an opinion on the situation that a particular tourist resort is facing and, secondly, of defining guidelines capable of directing its management towards increasingly sustainable models.

In this study, we concentrate on the impact of tourism in protected areas in an attempt to shed light on the relationship between the expansion of the “culture of the natural protected areas and national parks”, and touristic flow growth accounting for the arising benefits as well as the detrimental effects. If tourism can be a tool matching growth, development, and well-being of local population (Scarlett, 2021) it is important to understand duly to what extent tourist flows guarantee a positive contribution and when the struggle with disproportionate local development needs to start (Hammit & Cole, 1998; Manning & Lime, 2000).

The debate on the role that the tourism should play in the management and development of natural protected areas is increasingly topical and is closely linked to the prevailing definition of protected areas. The most widespread interpretative paradigm assigns to these protected areas

1 Massimiliano Agovino, University of Naples Parthenope, massimiliano.agovino@uniparthenope.it. ORCID: 0000-0002-6278-7000.

Fabio Corbisiero, University of Naples Federico II, fabio.corbisiero@unina.it. ORCID: 0000-0001-7947-2497.

Ilaria Marotta, University for Foreigners of Perugia, ilaria.marotta@unistrapg.it. ORCID: 0000-0001-6091-4814.

2 Received: 27/07/22. Revised: 25/01/23. Accepted: 10/01/23.

a privileged role in biodiversity conservation and the experimentation of best practices (Philipps, 2003). Protected areas are active players in the economic and social development of the territory. Of particular importance in this context is the phenomenon of tourism, which, while it may pose a threat to the conservation of natural and cultural assets, is a key element in terms of knowledge, environmental education and economic and social development.

The Agenda 2030 is also moving in this direction. This plays a crucial role in guiding policies for sustainable tourism. In particular, UNWTO has recommended five key areas in which tourism should focus on to make a significant and systemic contribution to sustainable development: a) inclusive growth and sustainable economy; b) social inclusion, employment, and reduction of poverty; c) resource efficiency, environmental protection and climate change; d) cultural values, diversity and heritage; and e) mutual understanding, peace and security.

Sustainable tourism in protected areas, in accordance with the "European Charter for Sustainable Tourism in Protected Areas",³ can thus be defined as any form of tourism development, planning and activity that respects and preserves natural, cultural and social resources in the long term and contributes equitably and positively to the economic development and full realization of the people who live, work or stay in protected areas.

We refer to activities that can lead to processes such as the enhancement of local natural and cultural resources within specific territories, such as protected natural areas, the promotion of the economy, increased employment, and knowledge and awareness of local products and traditions. At the same time, however, the idea that tourists (even if only by their physical presence) transform the environment around them (Citi, Chitotti & Villa, 1999) is equally widespread. Anthropogenic overuse of the natural protected areas may not only disturb soils, vegetation, and wildlife, but it may cause an unacceptable community conflict" (Corbisiero *et al.*, 2021) if nothing is done on the paradigm of carrying capacity (Pigram & Jenkins, 2006), which means mainly protection of environmental resources (flora, fauna, hydrogeological resources, climate, landscape), and the quality of tourist experience.

Setting the goal of developing such tourism phenomenon, therefore, means finding an answer to such crucial questions as the following, for example: what anthropogenic activities are allowed? Is there a need to apply the concept of TCC to limit the number of entries? Or is it preferable to limit the number of people visiting a given protected area at the same time?

In its most generic form, TCC (World Tourism Organization, 1991) refers to the amount and type of use that can be accommodated in parks and related areas without unacceptable impacts to park resources and/or the quality of the visitor experience (Manning, 2001).

Technically, the TCC is a calculation method aimed at quantifying the optimal number of tourists that a given tourist location can support. At the base of the TCC, there are three different approaches: ecological, economic and social. The first refers to the maximum number of tourists who can be hosted in a particular site before the ecological balance is compromised. The second one, instead, refers to the economic aspect, which becomes optimal for a given territory when it is possible to maximize the net turnover (i.e., revenues minus costs) deriving from the tourism investments. Finally, through the social dimension, the TCC is measured as the maximum tourist density that you can have on a specific site so that the social characteristics of the local community are not compromised (Mondini *et al.*, 2009).

In our case, the concept of TCC is intended as a tool to measure the relationship between environmental protection and conservation and the economic development. The challenge of our field research was to consider a protected area not only in its environmental dimension, but also the touristic dimension in a perspective of participatory and shared sustainable development. Decision support systems such as the calculation of the TCC are in fact tools capable of assisting, facilitating, and supporting the governance processes of the territory (Farhan & Lim, 2010). Both

3 The European Charter for Sustainable Tourism in Protected Areas reflects world-wide and European priorities, as expressed in the recommendations of Agenda 21 adopted at the Earth Summit in Rio in 1992, and by the European Union in its 6th Environment Action Programme and Strategy for Sustainable Development.

environmental and touristic governance take into account local carrying capacities and must be able to satisfy the flexibility and complexity of dynamic systems, as well as integrate multidisciplinary approaches (Farhan & Lim, *op. cit.*).

In this sense, the TCC constitutes the appropriate tool to support touristic policies in environments subject (Marotta *et al.*, 2011). In this regard, the TCC constitutes a more appropriate consultation tool to impose guidelines for a more sustainable tourism, and to support the representation of the decision in the medium and long term (Van Kouwen *et al.*, 2008; Varghese *et al.*, 2008). The determination of the TCC therefore constitutes a very appropriate management tool for regulating recreational use and ensuring a quality tourist experience, without causing destruction of the physical, economic and socio-cultural environment.

In this scenario, the National parks, a specific category of protected natural areas, become the favourite place where to develop sustainable environmental tourism and where it is important to apply a TCC strategy. Nowadays the number of the natural areas tourism sector is very large in all the world. As indicated in the "Environmental certification in parks and protected natural areas" report, in Italy this phenomenon has been growing robustly in the last twenty years, so much that the number of Italian natural protected areas counted 210 locations by 2017 (ISPRA, 2018). Most parks and protected areas need visitor management to enhance values, in particular when tourism has become an integral component of the park (Eagles & McCool, 2002).

To this aim, the paper analyses the growth of tourism in the Vesuvius National Park (from now on VNP) calculating its TCC through the data collected by the Park during 2019-2020. The data used consider two dimensions of the phenomenon analysed: 1) a micro dimension, concerning the characteristics and habits of tourists (choice of the type of tourism, economic possibilities, etc.); 2) a macro component, concerning the economic characteristics and infrastructural equipment of Vesuvius and neighbouring municipalities (presence of parking areas, lawns, bus service, etc.). The micro data are obtained through the administration of 1000 questionnaires to a random sample of Vesuvius visitors, while the macro data are provided by the various institutional bodies involved in the analysis (ISTAT, Vesuvius National Park Authority, Municipal Police, etc.).

Following the hypothesis of tourism-led growth (Balaguer & Cantavella-Jord, 2002; Scarlett, 2021, *op.cit.*) combined with the concept of sustainability of the territory, we propose an analysis of the TCC to assess the degree of tourism pressure on the VNP. Unlike the analyses proposed in other empirical works (see among others Thomas *et al.*, 2005; Santos Lobo *et al.*, 2015; Cupul Magana & Rodriguez-Troncoso, 2017), we distinguish between TCC regardless of the effects of Covid-19 and TCC in the presence of Covid-19. In this way, we define an upper and lower limit of TCC which may certainly be more appropriate than a fixed value since the limits are strictly dependent on technology and on the interaction between physical, economic, and social factors (Carboni *et al.*, 2015; Carboni *et al.*, 2017; Benedetto & Carboni, 2017). The next thing we did was to change the monthly history series of the presence of tourists on the VNP, identifying the months of the year in which the maximum TCC spikes, and the months compared to which it goes lower. Here are the implications of economic policy to consider the two extreme cases.

The paper is organized as follows: *Section 2* provides information on the case study of Vesuvius National Park, the objective is to illustrate the characteristics of the territory studied; *Section 3* refers to the illustration and discussion about the empirical investigation describing the TCC, the dataset and the data analysis; *Section 4* presents the results and the policy implications; this discussion refers to a double calculation of the TCC that takes into account the case of "normality" and that of the health emergency caused by Covid-19; finally, *Section 5* draws some conclusions about the management of the protected area.

2. The case study of Vesuvius National Park (VNP)

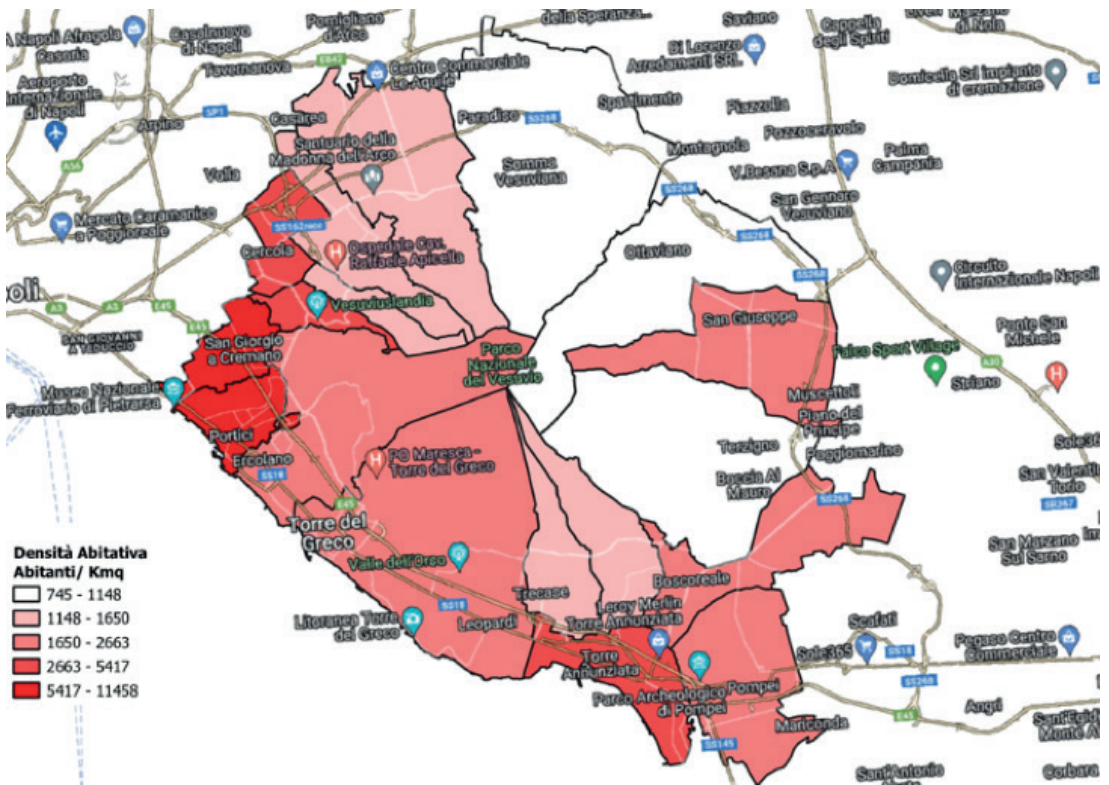


Figure 1 - Vesuvius National Park

Source: Authors

The Vesuvius National Park (VNP) is one of the 24 Italian parks (Ministry of the Environment, 2023)⁴ located in the Campania region, South Italy (Figure 1). It was established on June 5, 1995, to preserve animal and plant species, plant and forestry associations, geological singularities, paleontological formations, biological communities, biotopes, scenic and panoramic values, natural processes, hydraulic and hydrogeological balances and ecological balances of the Vesuvian territory. It occupies an area of 8,482 hectares and is present on the territory of thirteen municipalities.

VNP is one of the most anthropized parks, with 351,018 inhabitants (in 2011) and 72.59 km². A record holder with its urban density of 8% and the hundreds of thousands of residents in the immediate vicinity (Romano *et al.*, 2021).

The area represents an anomalous situation in the panorama of European natural parks, as the VNP also hosts one of the five most dangerous volcanoes in the world. In addition, the context is an area characterized by a deep socio-environmental impairment, so that it was declared in 1990, under Law 349/1996, - "area at high risk of environmental crisis" - due to the phenomena of pressing urbanization, illegal building and criminal activities (Sibilio, 2001).

From the naturalistic point of view, however, the territory of the Park is particularly rich and interesting. From the mineralogical perspective, Vesuvius is famous for being one of the richest territories of minerals of the planet: in the area over 230 different minerals have been catalogued; it is also possible to observe the deposits of different historical eruptions.

As for the vegetational and floristic profile, the trophic richness of the lava soils makes it one of

⁴ <https://www.mase.gov.it/aree-protette/mappa-parchi-nazionali> (last access: 1/02/2023).

the most fruitful areas for the presence of a great variety of species (in relation to the reduced extension). This prosperity makes Vesuvius a fertile land for agriculture. This territory is well known for the Vesuvian apricots, cherries, grapes (from which the DOC⁵ Lacryma Christi wine is obtained) and the famous tomatoes (also known as “piennolo” tomatoes).

The symbol for excellence is Vesuvius, one of the most known and studied volcanoes in the world. Although it is called the “gentle giant”, Mount Vesuvius the only active volcano recently erupted in Continental Europe (1944) and due to its position within a densely populated area, Vesuvius (and Etna as well) has been included in the list of “Volcanoes of the Decade”, a global list of volcanoes to be kept under closer surveillance edited by the International Association of Volcanology and Chemistry of the Earth’s Interior (IAVCEI, 2022).⁶

The presence of small fumaroles on the Great Cone is the sign of its “active rest” state. Vesuvius attracts millions of tourists every year. It is a typical example of a walled volcano consisting of an external truncated cone: the Monte Somma. It has a crater belt largely demolished within which there is a smaller cone represented by Vesuvius itself. Mount Somma and the main cone of Vesuvius are separated by a hollow called “Valle del Gigante”, part of the ancient caldera, where later, presumably during the eruption of 79 AD, the Great Cone or Vesuvius was formed.

There are eleven paths that can be explored along Vesuvius, which every year sees hikers coming from all over of the world. Among these, the most famous is definitely the n.5,⁷ the “Great Cone” (see Figure 2), which allows tourists to live a unique experience, walking along the crater of a volcano, enjoying the view over much of the Campania region and even reaching sometimes the southernmost part of the Lazio region (central Italy).

Figure 2 - The “Great” Cone (Il Gran Cono)



Source: Authors

5 DOC is an Italian certificate of quality, and it indicates “Controlled designation of Origin”.

6 <https://www.iavceivolcano.org/> (last access: 11/12/2022).

7 The other trails:1) The Valley of Hell; 2) Along the Cognoli; 3) The Mt Somma; 4) The Tirone Reserve; 6) Matrone Road; 7) The Profica Valley; 8) The Rack Railway; 9) The River of lava; 10) The Olivella; 11) Terzigno Pinewood. Among these paths, to date, six are not walkable due to maintenance work.

3. Materials and Methods

3.1 *The Tourist Carrying Capacity*

The problems that the tourism activity entails and the need to manage them adequately have led to the development of specific tools capable of providing an answer to the possibility of supporting certain tourist flows for a certain location. In this perspective, the concept of the carrying capacity of an area bears great importance, that is, the limit beyond which the territory is no longer able to sustain the exploitation of internal resources with a consequent loss of autonomy. The node around which we discuss, in order to define the load capacity of an area, is therefore the identification of the critical threshold beyond which it is no longer possible to withstand new pressures of anthropogenic origin.

With special reference to tourism, a well-rated empirical tool is the TCC, which refers to the analysis of the impacts related to tourism and the related consumption of resources. According to the definition of the World Tourism Organization, "the Carrying Capacity of a tourist location is constituted by the maximum number of people who visit, in the same period, a given tourist location, without compromising its environmental, physical, economic and socio-cultural characteristics and without reducing the satisfaction of tourists" (WTO, 2000).

TCC is a concept that can change significantly according to the specific context of reference, as the relationship between intensity of use and user satisfaction changes considerably as the type of "tourist product" concerned varies. It is obvious, for example, that the expectations of a hypothetical tourist who goes to a natural area will not be the same as those of a user of destinations with a strong tourist infrastructure (Coccosis & Mexa, 2002).

Each tourist area is therefore characterized by its own specific "carrying capacity", defined primarily in environmental terms, but also from a social and economic profile (expectations of tourists and residents, suitability of the territory, perception of the tourist phenomenon, of the opportunities and inconveniences that derive from it for the population, etc.).

TCC can also be imagined as an interval within which the sustainable development process of tourism occurs. The upper limit is the intensive development of the tourist resource; in this case it is the classic example of development led by external investors, who only have as their objective the maximization of profit. The lower limit, on the other hand, is defined by the tourism development option on "soft" forms of tourism; in this case the fundamental reference is the hyper-conservative approach of the territory, where tourism is experienced only as a threat and not as a resource. Between these two limits of "maximum" use of resources and "minimum" interest in tourism, there is the carrying capacity approach, understood as the realization of the concept of sustainable tourism (Michelangeli *et al.*, 2006).

The study of the carrying capacity therefore aims at defining the condition of tourist "sustainability" of a locality, understood as the ability to sustain a given influx of tourists over time, and the consequent use of available local resources. In practice, therefore, the TCC consists of a number, that is the number of tourists that can be tolerated by a territory compatibly with the maintenance of environmental standards and the quality of the service offered, by taking into account the "objective" environmental limits, legislation, pre-existing planning and the wishes of the local community. A condition that cannot and must not be forgotten in tourism resource planning is that tourism must lead to economic development, and that this must be programmed to represent a long-term resource.

The methodology for calculating the TCC was formulated by the United Nations Environment Program (UNEP, 2002). We follow an economic approach that is characterized by the maximization of the revenue function resulting from the tourist flow that affects the location but imposing that this does not cause adverse effects on the physical, cultural, and social environment (Costa & Van der Borg, 1988).

The problem of determining the TCC can be translated into a linear programming problem. In particular, the income function obtained will be the objective function to be maximized, which is however subject to a system of constraints.

In the case of the VNP, the definition of the income function to be maximized was made explicit in relation to the three different types of tourists who visit the Park and from which information was collected through a specific questionnaire administered to tourists during their visit to the Park:

- 1) tourists who use hotel facilities (TA);
- 2) tourists who use extra-hotel facilities (TE);
- 3) excursion tourists (ES), who make the visit within a single day, without therefore staying overnight in the Park.

The three different types of tourists have their own average expenditure which allows us to derive the following objective function of the linear programming problem:

$$MaxU = c_1TA + c_2TE + c_3ES \quad (1)$$

where U is the total daily tourist expenditure in the VNP, and c_i the average daily expenditure per capita for each of the types of tourists considered. The maximization of the objective function will be subject to the following constraints:

where:

$$a_{i,ta}TA + a_{i,te}TE + a_{i,es}ES \geq Z_i \quad (2)$$

- Z_i is the maximum tourist reception capacity of the VNP;

- a_i are the coefficients that measure the amount of daily use of the i -th tourist (TA, TE, ES).

The income function to be maximized is then subjected to economic, environmental, and social constraints. In our case, the constraints of the function that maximizes the income derived from tourism spending have been identified by taking into account both the characteristics of the park's territory and the way each visitor uses the resources.

Based on the analyses carried out for the VNP, the constraints are specified with reference:

- A** the number of beds in hotels;
- B** the number of beds in extra-hotel facilities;
- C** the daily bus transport capacity;
- D** the availability of parking spaces for private cars;
- E** the ability to accompany visitors to the crater.

It follows that our function to be maximized will be subjected to as many as five constraints.

3.2 Data Collection

In this section we present the variables used to implement the TCC analysis. In particular: 1) micro variables were taken into account to characterize tourists and derive the income function to be maximized; 2) macro variables to characterize the territory and to derive budget constraints. The micro variables were collected using a questionnaire administered to a sample of 500 visitors. The macro variables were collected using information provided by local police and official statistics sites (e.g., Istat)⁸ and were recorded in 2019.

3.3 The Income Functions

To explain the income function to be maximized, it is necessary to define the average daily expenditure associated with the three types of visitors (micro data). To this end, reference was made to the data of the questionnaires filled in by visitors to the park. The values derived from the answers are the following:

⁸ <https://www.istat.it/it/> (last access: 15/04/2022).

- Average daily expenditure of hotel tourists 80.00 euros;
 - Average daily expenditure of non-hotel tourists 40.00 euros;
 - average daily expenditure of excursion tourists 20.00 euros;
- As for the macro variables necessary for the definition of budgetary constraints, we have considered the following variables:
- A. beds in the hotel. The beds in the 4, 3, 2 and 1 star hotels located within the 13 municipalities adjacent to the Park were considered. In this regard, the overall availability of beds is equal to 1,642 units.
 - B. Beds in extra-hotel facilities. Reference was made to beds in rented accommodation, in agri-tourism or bed-and-breakfast accommodation located within the 13 municipalities adjacent to the Park. The total availability is 410 beds.
 - C. Daily public transport capacity. For the determination of the public transport capacity, reference was made to the public and private bus service that can reach the square located near the crater at an altitude of 1,000 meters.

To quantify the actual transport capacity, we have considered the transport service that allows you to reach the Great Cone of Vesuvius from the neighbouring towns (Naples, Pompeii, Herculaneum). In particular, the estimate was made on the basis of the information made available by the transport companies about the timetables, the frequency of the service and the average transport capacity of the buses used. The survey results are as follows:

Ente Autonomo Volturno s.r.l. Trasporto Automobilistico (EAV). The average transport capacity of the vehicles of the company that carries out the service is equal to 35 passengers per bus, the number of daily trips is equal to 10; therefore, the daily transport capacity is equal to 350 passengers per day.

Busvia del Vesuvio. The average transport capacity of the vehicles of the company that carries out the service is equal to 27 passengers per bus, the number of daily trips is equal to 6; therefore, the daily transport capacity is equal to 162 passengers per day.

Vesuvio Express. The average transport capacity of the vehicles of the company that carries out the service is equal to 16 passengers per bus, the number of daily trips is equal to 10; therefore, the daily transport capacity is equal to 160 passengers per day.

Overall, the number of tourists who can reach the Crater area by bus is therefore equal to: 672 passengers per day. In micro terms, we know from the questionnaire that respectively 22.8% of hotel tourists, 14% of extra-hotel tourists and 63% of excursion tourists use the public transport service.

- D. Availability of parking spaces for private cars
The VNP can also be reached by car. For this reason, we have taken into account the parking spaces made available by the municipality; in particular, the number of blue stripes⁹ located near the square in front of the crater was taken into account. There is an availability of 170 parking spaces. Considering a rotation of two cars per space per day and assigning a maximum number of 4 passengers per car, the maximum number of visitors who can access the Crater using the car is 1,360 visitors per day.
- E. The ability to accompany visitors to the crater
Based on the information provided by the volcanological alpine guides of the Campania Region, which provides the obligatory escort service, we have considered the maximum number of tourists who can safely visit the crater. Taking into account the average time required for the visit (from 1.5 to 2 hours approximately including the stop on site) and the availability

⁹ The blue stripes are the ones that delimit the paid parking areas.

of the daily service provided by tourist guides, the maximum daily number of tourists is 1600 units.

Due to the Covid -19 pandemic, the maximum number of visitors that can access the Great Cone area has been reduced to 15 people every 15 minutes, so the maximum number of visitors per day is 540 people. By varying this value and keeping the other variables constant (because it appears to be reasonable as they are not affected by Covid-19), we can implement a second TCC analysis that takes into account the health emergency triggered by Covid-19.

Taking into account the above data, the linear programming problem to obtain the TCC of the VNP is the following:

$$MaxU=80.00*TA+40.00*TE+20.00*ES$$

subject to constraints:

A) $1.000 TA + 0.000 TE + 0.000 ES \leq 1,642$
B) $0.000 TA + 1.000 TE + 0.000 ES \leq 410$
C) $0.228 TA + 0.140 TE + 0.632 ES \leq 672$
D) $0.110 TA + 0.362 TE + 0.528 ES \leq 1,360$
E) $1.000 TA + 1.000 TE + 1.000 ES \leq 1,600$

4. Results and Discussions

From the previously processed data, it is possible to define the values of the income function in the period of maximum crowding and the TCC for the VNP disaggregated by type of tourists. The results are shown in Table 1 and also take into account the constraint imposed by Covid-19. Our analysis will be based only on 2019 data due to the Covid-19 emergency which had devastating effects especially on tourism. To make the analysis more interesting, we do a double calculation of the TCC that takes into account the case of "normality" and that of the health emergency caused by Covid-19. Covid-19 represents a transitory shock that we use to define a lower limit of the TCC. The definition of a range of variation of the TCC is also important to define a potentially valid rule to reduce the tourist pressure in the VNP. Specifically, Covid-19 has made it possible to introduce rules of conduct to reduce the risk of contagion and among these rules, in the case of the VNP, a new dimension has been defined for groups of visitors who must alternate in defined time slots. In these terms, Covid-19 could make it possible to define a minimum of tourist flow below which it would be appropriate in terms of economic sustainability not to go.

Table 1. Results of the model for the calculation of the Tourist Carrying Capacity for the Vesuvius National Park

Results of the TCC	No Covid-19 constraint	With Covid-19 constraint
maximum possible revenue	128,000.00 € per day	43,2000.00 € per day
<i>Maximum number of hotel tourists</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>540</i>
<i>Maximum number of extra-hotel tourists</i>	<i>87</i>	<i>30</i>
<i>Maximum number of excursion tourists</i>	<i>488</i>	<i>165</i>
Maximum daily visitors	2,175	735

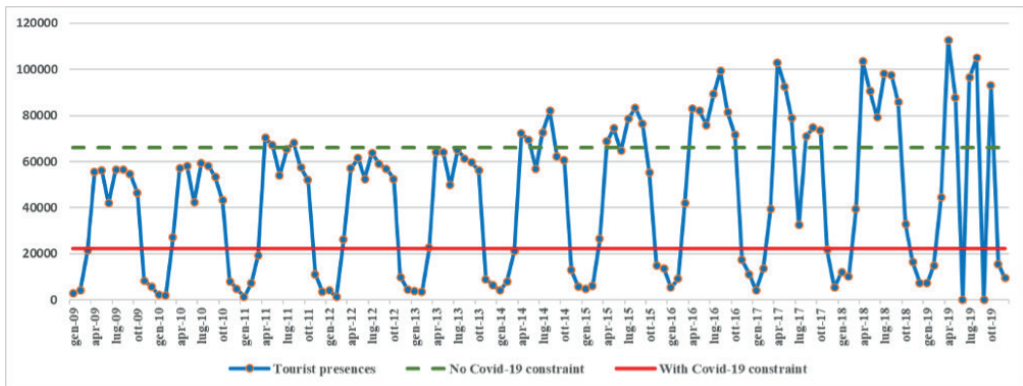
Let's move on to the comment on the results to verify whether the current model of tourism in the VNP is sustainable or not. There is no "magic number" in the literature for comparison to

determine what the actual TCC of a tourist area is; this is due to the fact that each destination has its own peculiarities that imply a different tolerance to anthropogenic impacts and moreover, the actual number of “sustainable” tourists in a location largely depends on how tourist flows are managed. All this leads to the affirmation that the TCC must be interpreted as a dynamic concept and as the starting point for the implementation of monitoring and management projects of tourist flows.

In our case, a numerical reference was obtained for each of the three types of tourists present in the Park. By summing up the three values, the total daily TCC is obtained, which is equal to 2,175 tourists per day in the case of no Covid-19 constraint and equal to 735 tourists per day in the case of with Covid-19 constraint. Tourist income amounts to 128,000.00 euro per day. Tourists who use hotel facilities contribute to this turnover to a greater extent, followed by excursion tourists and tourists who use extra-hotel facilities. Furthermore, by inserting the limitation of the maximum number of visitors to the Crater caused by the Covid-19 health emergency, the revenues are reduced to 43,200.00 euro per day; a daily reduction of approximately 33.75%.

Considering the monthly TCC value in both cases, we obtain that it is equal to 66,156.25 and 22,356.25, respectively in the case of no Covid-19 constraint and with Covid-19 constraint. In this way we obtain a confidence interval with respect to which we define a lower and an upper limit of TCC (Figure 3). At this point, comparing the maximum annual load value of the year 2019 with and without Covid-19 constraint, with the total number of presences recorded from 2009 to 2019, it clearly emerges in the first four years of the tourist presence series (2009-2010- 2012-2013) that the TCC is never exceeded; while the TCC with Covid-19 constraint is always exceeded, except in the winter months (December, January and February). For the years following 2013 (including the year 2011), the TCC without Covid-19 constraint is always exceeded in the hottest months ranging from April to October, while it is never exceeded in the remaining months of the year. Furthermore, the winter months continue to be characterized by a low tourist flow such as not to exceed the TCC with Covid-19 constraint.

Figure 3. Time series of tourist presences in the VNP, maximum number of visitors without the constraint from Covid-19 (upper limit), maximum number of visitors with the constraint from Covid-19 (lower limit)



Authors' elaboration

The results obtained allow us to make a consideration: the flow of tourists in the Park does not need to be numerically reduced, but should simply be managed in a better way, achieving a more homogeneous redistribution throughout the year. A redistribution that presents a more or less constant number of tourists for each month, while aware of the fact that certain periods are more attractive especially for climatic reasons. Other months, on the contrary, have a very low attractiveness which turns out to be so low as to present several tourists lower even than the TCC deriving from an extraordinary situation represented by the pandemic caused by Covid-19.

Another reflection derives from the evaluation of the optimal distribution between the different types of tourists deriving from the calculation of the TCC and the real situation. In particular, from the evaluation of the data in possession, it is immediate to verify how numerous excursion tourists are, with all the negative peculiarities that derive from it: less economic impact, less involvement in the activities organized by the "Park Authority", less interest in eco-friendly tourism.

The "typical tourist" of the VNP generally does not reflect the profile of an eco-tourist ideal-type. Aiming to set up a program to improve the management of tourist flows, it can be said that the main points on which action is required are as follows:

1. seasonal adjustment of tourist flows, with the creation of attractions even for the months of lower turnout and incentives for tourists who decide to go to the Park during the aforementioned periods;
2. conversion of a high share of excursion tourists into hotel and non-hotel tourists;
3. promotion of sustainable tourism, with a tendency to seek out tourists who show interest in the protected area and the naturalistic and cultural activities organized in it;
4. monitoring of tourist flows, in order to have the exact perception of how many tourists are actually present in the Park on a given day;
5. development of some procedures with a lower environmental impact, such as, for example, incentives for public transport compared to private transport, enhancement of routes to be made on foot rather than by car, development of an efficient waste collection system, etc.

The results obtained testify that the VNP area is, on the one hand, of high naturalistic value and therefore very attractive for tourists, although, on the other, it needs some interventions in order to improve its management. Several factors limit the ability of VNP to apply the carrying capacity modeling system proposed in these pages. These include insufficient budgets and personnel, limited technical expertise, frequent changes in park management over time, a very weak governance network and the long times required to get funds by Italian government (Corbisiero *et al.*, 2021, *op. cit.*). Although several factors have improved the ability of Italian National Parks to make such commitments in compliance with the carrying capacities related to sustainable tourism, the empirical analysis shows the presence of major limits linked to the distribution of the tourist flow during the different months of the year. An even distribution of tourists during the months of the year should be encouraged, trying to guarantee a tourist flow within the defined empirical interval with the aim of combining economic and environmental sustainability. To this end, policies aimed at achieving the five objectives proposed above seem appropriate.

5. Conclusions

In conclusion, we can argue that the promotion of sustainable tourism in a protected area brings into question design processes capable of linking the different actors involved and the different goals to be achieved. To this end, it is necessary to know accurate and up-to-date data on tourism flows in parks. It is clear, in fact, that knowledge of the size and characteristics of visitor flows, impacts and benefits generated by tourism from an environmental, economic and social point of view, the willingness to pay for the introduction or improvement of certain services or quality standards, the expectations of tourists and the degree of satisfaction achieved as a result of the visit, are fundamental elements for tourism planning and the achievement of the related sustainability goals.

For this proposal, reconstructing the critical issues that arise in these areas provides food for thought on these policies and TCC. It is indeed evident, according to the field work data research (Corbisiero *et al.*, 2021), that a significant percentage of tourists, when visiting a park, do not

know that they are inside a protected area. From our point of view, it is necessary to raise tourists' awareness to encourage true ecological and nature tourism. In this way, tourists also become interested in the management policies of the protected area. In addition, day hiking is, as we have seen, predominant. The numbers we have illustrated show how the park is interpreted as a "hit and run" product, to be consumed quickly and understood as a stop within a journey that contemplates other destinations.

This article contributes to enrich the literature on TCC applied to a National case study. Unlike other works on TCC, we define two thresholds with respect to standard analyses in order to think about a possible balance between economic and environmental sustainability of tourism. From the empirical analysis, a problem with the distribution of tourists emerges during the various months of the year. We move from a tourist flow greater than the upper limit, generating on the one hand a problem of congestion and on the other promoting the economic growth of the area concerned, to a tourist flow below the lower limit, generating on the one hand greater sustainability of the Park and, on the other hand, a reduction in economic revenues. The objective of the policy makers should be to favor a balance of economic and environmental sustainability, thus spreading the tourist flow in a homogeneous way during the the year. In other words, the flow would need to settle within the sustainability interval generated by the empirical analysis (TCC net of Covid-19 and TCC in the presence of Covid-19).

The case study of VNP is important because it helps the understanding of socio-economic interactions of different drivers in the sustainable growth of tourism. Our findings also show the importance of area conditions in validating specific models of management of natural areas. All in all, for promoting sustainable territorial development, the VNP management model seems to be better suited to achieve this goal, although it presents the weakness of regional and national government about this process. The good results achieved in terms of touristic hospitality and touristic fluxes improvement from the present management of this National Park are only a part of the process of sustainability of the area. A shared planning process should be started that creates new infrastructures and services or enhances those already existing, promoting the tourist potential in each municipality within the area of Vesuvius Park. An action of this type could certainly incentivize the local economy to move towards tourism, favoring, consequently, the strengthening of the accommodation offer and enhancing the multiple attractions present in the territories. To conclude, the VNP still has a long way to go to become a sustainable touristic best practice, but the potential for it exists.

From a closely operational point of view, it is possible to suggest further improvements in the sustainability analysis of tourism in VNP. In particular, following Cifuentes (1992; 1999) it will be appropriate to take into account in the future analysis of TCC also the social factors or qualitative aspects of the visit. Specifically, with social factors we mean the perception of visitors and the quality of the visit. These factors can change in relation to the type of area visited and are conditioned by a certain subjectivity, since each individual has a different perception. However, it is a fundamental component when it comes to protected areas or tourist destinations in general, as it can significantly affect the tourist and economic development of the place. In this regard, Buhalis & Law (2008) try to provide a measure of this fact. Specifically, these scholars affirm that the Internet is one of the most influential technologies that have recently changed tourist behavior. In fact, travelers like to share travel experiences and recommendations with others and as a result virtual travel communities are among the most suitable places to publish travel diaries and comments on a tourist destination. Furthermore, according to Fotis *et al.* (2012), the electronic validity of word-of-mouth present on websites is particularly emphasized since social media content is very often perceived as more reliable than official tourism or mass media advertising. TripAdvisor is among the most successful social networks in tourism as it provides reviews and comments written by its members as well as information relating to satisfied or disappointed visitors (Carboni & Pungetti, 2018). In order to integrate the model and also evaluate the social factors, it would be appropriate to analyze the comments of the visitors of the VNP to define and

understand the reasons for the satisfaction or the grievances of the visitors and what went wrong in their experience of visit, all to propose corrective actions and improve the quality of the visit in the Park (Corbau *et al.*, 2019). Once the social factors related to the VNP have been measured, it will be possible to enrich the TCC analysis to define more targeted policy recipes that take into account the guidelines emerging from the opinions of visitors.

References

- Apergis, N., J. E., Payne. (2012). Tourism and Growth in the Caribbean – Evidence from a Panel Error Correction Model. *Tourism Economics*, 18, 449-456. doi:10.5367/te.2012.0119.
- Balaguer, J., Cantavella-Jorda, M. (2002). Tourism as a long-run economic growth factor: the Spanish case. *Applied Economics*. 34, 877-884. doi: 10.1080/00036840110058923.
- Benedetto, G., Carboni, D. (2017). Capacità di carico del flusso turistico e politica di gestione sostenibile nella Grotta del Bue Marino (Sardegna centro-orientale). *GeoEco-Trop*. 41, 519-528.
- Buckley, R. (2018). Tourism and Natural World Heritage: A Complicated Relationship. *Journal of Travel Research*, 57(5), 563-578. doi:10.1177/0047287517713723.
- Buhalis, D., Law, R. (2008). Progress in Information Technology and Tourism Management: 20 Years On and 10 Years After the Internet - the State of the Tourism Research. *Tourism Management*, 29(4), 609-623. doi : 10.1016/j.tourman.2008.01.005.
- Carboni, D., Congiatu, P., De Vincenzi, M. (2015). Asinara National Park. An Example of Growth and Sustainability. *Tourism Journal of Environmental and Tourism Analyses*. 3(1), 44-60.
- Carboni, D., Corbau, C., Madau, F.A., Ginesu, S. (2017). Capacità di carico turistica, percezione turistica e disponibilità a pagare in alcune spiagge della Sardegna settentrionale. *Studi Costieri*, 25, 129-140.
- Carboni, D., Pungetti, G. (2018). *L'importanza della capacità di carico turistica per una governance condivisa e per uno sviluppo sostenibile delle isole mediterranee*. AGEI: Geotema.
- Ceballos-Lascuráin, H. (1998). "Ecotourism as a World-wide Phenomenon, Ecotourism: A Guide for Planners and Managers". in Lindberg, K., Hawkins, D.E. (edited by), *The Ecotourism* (pp. 12-14). Vermont: North Bennington.
- Cifuentes, A. M. *et al.* (1999). *Capacidad de carga turística de las áreas de uso público del Monumento Nacional Guayabo*. Catie Turrialba: WWF.
- Cifuentes, A. M. (1992). *Determinación de capacidad de carga turística en áreas protegidas*. Turrialba - Costa Rica: Centro agronomico tropical de investigación y enseñanza catie.
- Citi, C., Chitotti O., Villa A. (1999). *Turismo sostenibile. Dalla teoria alla pratica*. Monfalcone: Edicom Edizioni.
- Coccosis, H., Mexa, A. (2002). Defining, measuring and evaluating carrying capacity in European tourism destination. *Environmental Planning Laboratory of the University of the Aegean*, Athens.
- Corbau, C., G. Benedetto, P. Congiatu, U. Simeoni, D. Carboni (2019). Tourism Analysis at Asinara Island (Italy): Carrying Capacity and Web Evaluations in Two Pocket Beaches. *Ocean and Coastal Management*, 169, 27-3DOI: 10.1016/j.ocecoaman.2018.12.004.
- Corbisiero, F. (2022). How to learn to be a sustainable tourist: an ethnographic approach to marine protected areas, *Fuori Luogo. Rivista di Sociologia del Territorio, Turismo, Tecnologia*, 12, 27-50. DOI: 10.6093/2723-9608/9211.
- Corbisiero, F., Delle Cave, L., Marotta, I., Zaccaria AM. (2021). *In Viaggio sul Vulcano. Il turismo nel Parco Nazionale del Vesuvio*. Roma: Carocci Editore.
- Corbisiero, F. *et al.* (2021). *Capacità di carico turistico nel Parco Nazionale del Vesuvio: verso una Parkway sostenibile*. Rapporto di Ricerca.
- Costa, P., and J., Van Der Borg (1988). *Un modello lineare per la programmazione del turismo. Sulla capacità massima di accoglienza turistica del centro Storico di Venezia*. COSES informazioni, 32-33, 21-26.
- Cupul-Magaña, A. L., A.P. Rodríguez-Troncoso. (2017). Tourist carrying capacity at Islas Marietas National Park: An essential tool to protect the coral community. *Applied Geography*, 88, 15-23. DOI: 10.1016/j.apgeog.2017.08.021.
- Eagles, P.F.J., McCool S.F. (2002). *Tourism in National Parks and Protected Areas: Planning and Management*. Cabi Publishing: Wallingford. doi:10.1079/9780851995892.0000.
- Farhan Riza, A., Lim, S. (2010). Integrated Coastal Zone Management towards Indonesia Global Ocean Observing System (INA-GOOS): Review and recommendation. *Ocean & Coastal Management*, 53(8), 421-427. DOI: 10.1016/j.ocecoaman.2010.06.015.
- Fotis, J., D. Buhalis, N. Rossides. (2012). "Social Media Use and Impact during the Holiday Travel Planning Process", in Matthias Fuchs, Francesco Ricci e Lorenzo Cantoni (ed.), *Information and Communication Technologies in Tourism*. (pp. 13-24), Vienna: Springer.
- Gössling, S. (2000). Sustainable tourism development in developing countries: some aspects of energy-use. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*. 8(5), 410-425. DOI: 10.1080/09669580008667376.
- Hammit, William E., D. N. Cole. (1998). *Wildland Recreation: Ecology and Management* (2nd Ed.). New York: John Wiley and Sons.
- Holden, A. (2016). *Environment and Tourism*. London: Routledge.

- ISPRA. (2018). *La certificazione ambientale nei Parchi e nelle Aree Naturali Protette*. Roma: ISPRA.
- Joshi, L. R. (2011). *Eco-tourism Planning and Management On Eco-tourism Destinations of Bajhang District, Nepal*: M. Sc. Forestry. [Available]: <http://www.forestrynepal.org/images/publications/Ecotourism%20destination%20bajhang.pdf>.
- Manning, R. (2001). Visitor experience and resource protection: A framework for managing the carrying capacity of national parks. *Journal of Park and Recreation Administration*, 19, 93-108.
- Manning, R., D. W. Lime. (2000). "Recreation experiences and management: A state-of-knowledge review" in *Wilderness science in a time of change conference*. Cole, David N.; McCool, Stephen F.; Borrie, William T. Rocky Mountain Research Station: Department of Agriculture, Forest Service.
- Marotta, L., Ceccaroni, G., Matteucci, P., Rossini P., S., Guerzoni S. (2011). A Decision-Support System in ICZM for Protecting the Ecosystems: Integration with the habitat directive. *Journal of Coastal Conservation*. 15 (3), 393-405. doi: 10.1007/s11852-010-0106-3.
- Michelangeli, G. S., Sampaolesi, A. Satta (ed). (2006). Capacità di carico turistica della città di Saranda, *Azioni per la sostenibilità del turismo nell' Adriatico*. Adriatic Crossborder: Interreg III A.
- Mondini, G., P. Rosasco, M. Valle. (2009). *Capacità di Carico del Parco Nazionale del Vesuvio*. Ottaviano: Ente Parco Nazionale del Vesuvio.
- Pigram, J., Jenkins, J. (2006). Outdoor recreation research: some concepts and suggested areas of study. *Natural Resources Journal*, 3(2), 250-275. doi:<http://www.jstor.org/stable/24879321>
- Phillips, A. (2003). Turning Ideas on Their Head: The New Paradigm For Protected Areas. *The George Wright Forum*, 20(2), 8-32. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/43599027>.
- Romano, B., F. Zullo F. L. Fiorini, A. Marucci. (2021). The park effect? An assessment test of the territorial impacts of Italian National Parks, thirty years after the framework legislation. *Land Use Policy*, 100. DOI: 10.1016/j.landusepol.2020.104920.
- Santos Lobo, H. A., P.C., Boggiani, J. A de Jesus Perinotto. (2015). Speleoclimate dynamics in Santana Cave (PETAR, São Paulo State, Brazil): general characterization and implications for tourist management. *International Journal of Speleology*, 44, 61-73. doi: 10.5038/1827-806X.44.1.6.
- Scarlett, H. (2021). Tourism Recovery and the Economic Impact: A Panel Assessment. *Research in Globalization*, 3(100044). doi:10.1016/j.resglo.2021.100044.
- Sibilio, R. (2001). Alcuni aspetti sociologici dei rischi ambientali: il caso Vesuvio. *Quaderni di Sociologia*, 25, 125-141, doi: 10.4000/qds.1315.
- Sugiyarto, G. A. Blake, M.T. Sinclair. (2003). Tourism and globalization: economic impact in Indonesia. *Annals of Tourism Research*. 30(3): 683-701. doi: 10.1016/S0160-7383(03)00048-3.
- Thomas, R. N., B. Pigozzi and R.A. Sambrook (2005). Tourist Carrying Capacity Measures: Crowding Syndrome in the Caribbean. *The Professional Geographer*. 57(1), 13-20.
- United Nations. (2015). *UN Agenda 2030 for Sustainable Development*.
- United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP). (2002). *Tourism: a report / prepared by World Travel & Tourism Council*. Paris: UNEP, Division of Technology, Industry and Economics.
- Van Kouwen, F., C. Dieperink, P. Schot, Wassen M. (2008). Applicability of Decision Support Systems for Integrated Coastal Zone Management. *Coastal Management*, 36 (1), 19-34. doi: 10.1080/08920750701682007.
- Varghese, K., Ganesh, L.S., Mani, M., Anilkumar, P.P., Murthy, R., Subramaniam, B.R. (2008). Identifying critical variables for coastal profiling in ICZM planning: A systems approach. *Ocean and Coastal Management*, 51(1), 73-94. doi: 10.1016/j.ocecoaman.2007.03.002.
- Weaver, A. (2005). The Mcdonaldization Thesis and Cruise Tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 32, 346-366. doi:10.1016/j.annals.2004.07.005.
- World Tourism Organisation (WTO). 1991. *Yearbook of Tourism Statistics*. Madrid: WTO.
- World Tourism Organization (WTO). 2000. *Sustainable Development of Tourism, a compilation of good practices*, Madrid: WTO.