S O M M A R I O

The Unknown World of the Maritime Industry

a cura di Bruno Ciceri

Introduction
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of the Maritime Industry

Since ancient times, ships of all kind and shapes navigated the seas and the oceans searching for new territories, carrying products and people, making the fortune of some and the ruin of others. Technological progress has allowed the construction of safer and bigger ships, new waterways are created by digging channels between oceans and new shipping routes are explored and open, but *the power of the mighty waters* remain a force that the seafarers have to face anytime they leave the safety of the harbor.

By transporting 90% of all the goods in the world, nowadays the maritime industry plays an essential role in our daily life and in the global economy. From the petrol for our cars to the clothes that we wear and the appliances we use in our offices and houses, the large majority of all the "things" around us is transported by ships. However, with ports built far away from the cities, short turnaround of ships in ports and crewmembers prevented to go ashore, the seafarers have become "invisible" and people are generally not aware of the significant contribution of the shipping industry to our life. Moreover, the public tends to be unaware of the challenges, problems and difficulties faced by the persons working behind the scene to keep this indispensable industry afloat in a multifaceted and intricate connection that spans from one side of the globe to the other.

A large number of people in our society has become accustomed to the recreational segment of the maritime industry; many have sailed in cruise ships enjoying the luxurious hospitality on board, have admired, in the open sea, wonderful scenarios from the balcony of their cabins. Yet, very few people have grasped the demanding working conditions of the crewmembers laboring long hours with little rest and forced to live for months and months away from their families and loved ones. It is generally when a tragedy strikes with loss of lives, destruction of

natural resources, pollution or a piracy attack, just to mention a few instances, that everyone realizes the far reaching consequences of this industry in the different sectors of our society.

Hence, we can say that the complex operations of the maritime industry, its technological resources and human assets are known to a restricted number of insiders and unknown to the large majority of people in our society. Nonetheless, the shipping industry will continue to play a quite vital role exchanging goods around the world and thus making our life more comfortable. It is therefore paramount that people know and understand more about this "mysterious" business done on waters. This volume of Studi Emigrazione intends to fill such a gap by "revealing" to a broad audience some of the issues and aspects pertaining to the maritime industry.

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The Maritime Industry Today: The Blood Vessels of World Trade

An introduction

Sea transport might genuinely be described as an industry which provides the arteries of world trade, an essential sector which feeds and fuels the globe. It is the ultimate service industry, driven by derived demand from those who use ships to carry their goods. It has thus grown in direct proportion to the expansion of world trade and all forecasts suggest that this growth is set to continue, with estimates suggesting the doubling of global trade by 2040. It is an industry that is increasingly capital intensive, one that has changed out of all recognition because of both scale economies and technological advances, and has seen astonishing increases in efficiency and productivity in recent years.

It has also become relatively "depopulated", with crew sizes aboard ship greatly reduced to the minimum through a combination of automation and intensive cost-cutting. The industry itself has become globalised, this process facilitated by open registers (the "flags of convenience"), international manning and a shift from many of the traditional maritime nations to newer players on the world maritime stage. At the same time, substantial fleets are still controlled by major companies residing in the more traditional shipping nations, albeit under the most "convenient" flags and manned by seafarers from all around the globe, often managed by third party ship managers. These might be regarded as important structural changes, which seem likely to continue.

Despite the importance of the industry, and its continuing and undeniable beneficial effect upon most of the world's population, it has become largely invisible to the man or woman in the street. Even in many major port cities, where there were once quaysides thronged with ships, the growing size of ships and their need for deeper water has tended to see marine activity moving away to less populated areas, the old ports colonised by property development and even leisure usage. Docks, which once would provide direct employment to tens of thou-

sands of people, now are fully mechanised operations, employing only a few hundred. A ship which might have had a crew of fifty or more, perhaps locally employed, may now be ten times the size, but manned by under twenty people, sourced from the other side of the world. In many places, the maritime world is now "out of sight and out of mind".

A general population which does not see the ships, or know anyone who works in the maritime industry, loses all touch with it and, if asked, will appear convinced that the maritime world is no longer important. What ships and marine people contribute to the common wealth will be no longer understood and there will be no general comprehension of ships and shipping. It is indeed not unusual to hear the belief expressed that "most goods come by air".

An analogy might be made with the water or power generation industry in advanced countries, where these services, once regarded as amazing innovations, are taken entirely for granted; only an interruption to the supply occasioning a grudging acceptance of the sector's existence. Thus the media's knowledge of the maritime world is mostly "disaster-driven" and the amazing and more positive things that happen will be acknowledged only in the specialised press, largely un-noticed by the general public who are fed a diet of only disaster and things going wrong. So it is more important than ever to stress that notwithstanding rare accidents which attract the headlines, shipping is safer than it has ever been, with total losses in 2014 being fewer than ever before, although the cost to insurers of those which do occur tend to be greater.

Knowledge of the maritime world is only taught in the schools in terms of the marine environment, its economic importance largely neglected. It has to be said, however, that other than those sectors where the public is directly involved, such as passenger ferries and cruise vessels, the industry itself tends to prefer to keep its operations at a low profile, which seems to suit its retiring nature. Because of this self-inflicted silence, it remains a sector that rarely seems to be covered in contemporary literature, film or other forms of media, which is to be regretted.

Because the maritime sector remains largely "off the radar" in many countries, this has its effect in the lack of general awareness that is needed for recruiting bright entrants into what is undoubtedly an essential and growing industry. This clearly will have an important impact on the future of the industry, as its demographic make-up changes in time and is an important issue that has been recognised, without any sensible consensus on how to become more operationally transparent.

The maritime hardware stores

The whole maritime industry is centred on the ship, which is a unit of transport whose life may be between 20 and 30 years, a significant factor in the supply and demand balance of the world merchant fleet. The shipbuilding industry, which provides this essential hardware, has been increasingly located in the Far East, having largely been developed in the West. Japan, South Korea and China dominate the shipbuilding market, although yards specialising in sophisticated or specialised ships retain a reasonable market share in Europe. Marine design and naval architecture retain their substantial foothold in the traditional maritime nations of the West, although the supply of components for installation in new ships has become largely globalised.

Shipbuilding as an industry is a classic example of a sector afflicted by "lumpy investment", which is itself a factor of the average lifetime of a ship and the "herd mentality" of ship owners, who tend to respond to demand increases, or the stimuli of cheap prices or attractive credit arrangements, *en masse*. Regrettably, such is the time that will tend to elapse between the contracting of a large ship and its delivery, that the market conditions which made the purchase seem attractive, may well have disappeared by the time it can start earning its keep, with the market for that type of vessel then in surplus. The owner may then have to wait for a long time before demand re-establishes itself, with many years of less profitable operations. Shipbuilding as a sector thus tends to oscillate between "feast and famine".

It is an unfortunate fact that shipbuilding tends to be more subject to government intervention than many other parts of the maritime industry. For developing economies, it is an attractive way of producing large-scale employment, with global customers, if the labour component is cheaper than that of more established countries offering better prices for the customers. If relatively simple vessels are constructed at first, the way is open to then progress into larger and more complex vessels. There was a colossal explosion in shipbuilding in China in the first years of the new century, for this very reason, with new yards emerging to satisfy a brisk demand for ship building berths worldwide. Turkey, Vietnam and the Philippines are countries which have also emerged in recent years on the shipbuilding world stage. Unfortunately, governments often do intervene financially to assist their shipbuilders in different ways and distort what is a global market for the majority of ship types.

Tankers, bulk carriers and containerships constitute the three biggest markets for shipbuilders, although paradoxically, more man hours and resources will be expended to produce more specialist types

of vessel. While owners seeking tonnage in the first categories of ship will generally find they have considerable choice, sophisticated vessels for the offshore market or passenger vessels will be the province of far fewer yards. The price of ships, even of the same type and size, greatly fluctuates, mainly because of demand, but is also influenced by the cost of components, not least the price of shipbuilding steel, which tends to volatility.

Ship owners will be divided into those who will buy ships to serve in their own fleets and operate their own routes (or to work in the charter market) and those who treat ships as assets, to be bought and sold in a speculative fashion. Some owners fall into each category. Owners may retain ships in their fleets until they require replacement, until they have become uneconomic or technically redundant, or they may see an opportunity to sell them at the top of the market, when demand is high, sitting on the proceeds until new building or second hand prices are low again. There is a perfectly reasonable and legitimate business case for either policy, although it is hard on the crews of ships sold for their asset value, who may find themselves unemployed.

Shipbuilding technology has itself evolved over time, with modern shipyards being heavy users of computers, robotics (for functions such as welding) and prefabrication in larger and larger units, with the tendency being to "pre-outfit" each unit before it is joined up in a building dock. Efforts are made to constantly enhance efficiency, reduce waste and produce the most ship for the least man hours. As with ships themselves, shipyards have been greatly depopulated over the years, the tendency being to buy finished components for assembly, rather than to try and make them in the yard, which was once the case. As an example, a shipyard which was once employing a workforce of 12,000 and which was largely self-sufficient is now producing twice the tonnage with a permanent workforce of fewer than 600 people.

Ships are financed in much the same way as any other major unit of capital expenditure: owners borrowing from banks and ship finance houses, with an increasing use of the capital markets being seen in recent years. Shipping investments are not for the faint-hearted, with returns so dependent on a very volatile market. Newcomers into shipping investment have included wealth and infrastructure funds. Regular warnings that there will be insufficient capital to replace the current fleet are given, but they invariably fall on deaf ears and in the end, usually prove to be false! Investment in ships may, in some countries, offer favourable tax advantages and this may well exert an artificial or distorting effect upon the market.

Unlike many important global industries, there are few very big players in shipping, most owners operating fleets which average ship

numbers in single figures. Exceptions are to be found in the deep sea liner trades (those operating large containership fleets), in the large Japanese corporations which operate several hundred units in many categories, in the oil companies and a select few independent tanker companies. The dry bulk trades, with ships operating typically in iron ore, coal or grain trades, are a notoriously fragmented sector, with very limited consolidation having taken place over the years.

A feature of ship operation in recent years has been in the growth of third party ship management, with a management company undertaking to operate and even commercially trade the ships owned by another entity. They will usually be able to manage ships more economically than will their owner, capitalising on the scale economies of large fleets, with cheaper purchasing and better control of operating costs.

Manpower is also increasingly likely to be sub-contracted to a manning agent, if the ship manager does not have his own arrangements. Some might suggest that with the crew owing its loyalties to the entity which employs it, rather than the ship owner, this might lead to problems. Ship management is a highly competitive sector, however, and some of the biggest players are said to lead the world in their ship operating standards, often running their own training establishments and ensuring that their manpower is the best available, especially where highly sophisticated specialist ships are involved and require the most motivated and competent professionals.

Managers know that their strengths largely lie in their personnel and are anxious to recruit and retain the best people they can both afloat and ashore, to ensure their own future prosperity. It is a feature of modern shipping that it has become far more specialised, with discrete sectors like chemical tankers or gas carriers, heavy lift vessels and the offshore sector all operating often hugely complex ships requiring crew continuity, so much more effort has to be employed in ensuring that each ship has and moreover retains the right mix of specialised skills.

Ships depend upon ports and the facilities they provide to load and unload ships. Until relatively recent times ships would be built to "fit" the ports they were designed to service, with due attention being paid to the depth in the channels and alongside berths, their draught and overall dimensions being seen as crucial. Today, the situation tends to be reversed, or stood on its head, with the port expected to cope with the wishes of ship owners in the provision of sufficient water in the channel and alongside, regardless of the amount of dredging and civil engineering that might be necessary to accommodate the ships which the owner proposes.

The scale economies that affect virtually every type of shipping have been a major challenge for port and terminal management, with

most ports struggling to keep up with the demands produced by bigger ships needing more expensive cargo handling equipment, longer quays and deeper water. It is, of course, far easier to build a bigger ship than to expand the facilities that will be needed to service it in port. A recent feature is described as "cascading", where the very biggest container ships displace smaller ones, which are re-allocated to other routes and ports, displacing smaller vessels in a process that leaves no ship size or container port unaffected!

Ports, like the ships which use them, have become much more capital intensive with far fewer people being directly employed in cargo handling, this being largely mechanised. The emphasis is on speed of handling and intensity of operations, with round the clock, 24/7, year round operations. Congestion, caused by weather or the lack of cargo handling equipment or berths can still be a major problem in some parts of the world, with ships having to wait at anchor until they can get alongside.

The sheer size of ships may make them less flexible to trade. Increasingly, the science of logistics is employed to streamline the processes beyond the port so that cargo is delivered to its destination "just in time" and is monitored throughout its journey on sea and land alike. This is particularly important in the liner trades, with the "scaling up" of operations that now sees ships of around 20,000 teu (twenty foot equivalent units) on the long-haul routes between North Europe and the Far East.

It has been calculated that just one of these monster containerships can generate 14,000 container moves in a major port like Rotterdam, this exchange of cargo requiring six 800 teu feeder ships, 53 trains each carrying 90 boxes, three giant inland barges and a staggering 2,640 trucks to service this vessel's port call. One of these very large container ships in a far eastern port had no fewer than fifteen enormous container cranes working her cargo, in an effort to speed her departure. Just one of these giant cranes may cost US$12m, and there is a requirement for these to be backed up with similarly sophisticated ground handling equipment. Increasingly, these terminals are turning to automation to fulfil the repetitive job of container handling. Port calls which might have been measured in days or even weeks now see ships turned around in hours. The pressure on people involved in this highly intensive business is considerable.

Terminals handling bulk cargoes are no less spectacular, with loading equipment capable of pouring up to 20,000 tons per hour into a ship's holds not being exceptional. Ports and terminals are also becoming more specialised, with berths reserved for one specific type of cargo, such as vehicles, roll-on, roll-off freight, heavy cargo or bulk, rather than "general user" type operations. The demand on land around ports is considerable as container stack yards and areas to stockpile other

cargoes awaiting collection or shipment are always required. At the same time, environmental pressures restricting their growth produce areas of conflict between port managements and local interests.

The market for ships

We have seen that in this industry of derived demand, there is little that a ship operator can do to increase the amount of cargo flowing by sea. Simply putting a ship on a sea route will not necessarily encourage shippers of cargo to use it. We have also noted that the rewards from shipping depend almost entirely on supply and demand in one of the world's most competitive industries. Freight rates (the price paid by the users of ships) will depend on the balance of the market – a shortage of ships causing a spike in rates and a surplus causing rates to fall. The supply, as we have seen is relatively inflexible, as it takes time to build a new ship or even to bring one from the other side of the world, to satisfy a perceived demand. Similarly, the longevity of the average ship also contributes to the inflexibility of the market, with a surplus of ships acting as a drag on the market for many years.

A "classic" example of how things can go badly wrong occurred in the 1970, when there was a high demand for ships in the early part of the decade, with tankers and bulk carriers scaling up to enormous sizes and new shipyards being built to construct this new generation of supership.

The process of fleet renewal had achieved a momentum of its own, when the first of the two Arab oil shocks quadrupled the price of oil and reversed the upwards direction of world trade. Slowly, in the 1990's this recovered, but the huge over-tonnage of shipping, that had been built in anticipation of the growth that never came, lived on to blight freight rates for the best part of a quarter century. Huge numbers of ships were laid up and many were never to trade again, eventually being scrapped. Fast and thus thirsty ships were often re-engined with more economical power plants.

Human casualties of this situation of endemic over-capacity included large numbers of seafarers and employees from the higher cost end of the industry who were replaced with cheaper colleagues from the developing world, as owners re-registered ships and outsourced their operations in a desperate attempt to stay solvent. Recruitment for both sea and shore-side positions slowed to a trickle in the 80s and 90s, so that more than an entire generation did not enter the industry, greatly affecting its demographic balance and providing problems that continue to this day. Many exceptionally bright individuals, whom the industry could ill afford to lose, disappeared from the maritime world into more promising activities during this grim period.

A similar "shock" occurred in the 2008 financial meltdown, which took place when an enormous tonnage of new ships had been contracted in the anticipation of trade growth, and which, if they could not be cancelled, were eventually delivered. There has thus been an oversupply of dry bulk carriers and, in particular, container ships ever since. Oil prices were (until 2014) creeping higher all the time and operating costs of ships greatly exceeded the revenue they could earn. Indeed, in the spring of 2015, the earnings of a large bulk carrier would scarcely pay the wages of her crew, such was the depressed level of earnings.

The cost of shipping to those who use it has become very cheap as a result of this inability to raise prices, and this has been reflected by shippers regarding the bargain prices as a "normal" situation. It has been described, memorably by one of the industry's foremost economists, as a situation where those who use ships regard them almost as a social service and expect them to be almost "free at the point of use". However, the inability to produce decent returns on capital invested means that the cult of cheapness has become ingrained in the industry, with ships operated by the smallest possible crews and fatigue-related problems a growing concern.

Slow steaming, which greatly reduced fuel consumption and thus costs, has become the main strategy for survival in an era of excessive ship supply. Laying up ships is less of an option than it was in earlier recessions, as modern vessels require a far more sophisticated form of conservation if they are taken out of use and shut down, with the electronics probably requiring expensive replacement to bring the ship back into use. Longer voyages, with far more time spent slowly crossing oceans, is one of the several less desirable consequences faced by seafarers as a result of this downturn in demand.

Trade fluctuates in cycles, but these are difficult to predict with any accuracy and there is an inevitable delay as the shipping market attempts to adjust to fit the demand for shipping space. The demand for ships is affected by weather, perhaps because ports are closed or harvests are lower or higher than predicted. A cold winter in Europe, for instance, will be reflected in the demand for tankers bringing the crude oil to refineries and those distributing it as heating oil. Seasonal demands are at least regular and even if the weather is unpredictable, can indicate to owners that their ships will be needed at certain times of the year to transport harvests, or oil. Shipping space in the liner trades also fluctuates with the seasons, as shippers fulfil the Christmas rush in certain parts of the world.

The supply of ships is also affected by semi- external factors other than that of perceived demand. What has been described as the "eternal optimism" of ship owners seems to encourage a herd mentality that

will see a large number of people contracting for new ships because they believe that the price will soon rise and they will be less of a bargain. They might also take advantage of a bad time in the shipbuilding sector, with empty building berths and yards offering exciting prices to fill up their order book again. It might be thought that more prudent owners would desist from adding to the surplus of ships, and that there might be more consideration of the likely demand for them and the consequences of perpetuating the over-capacity. It seems to be a solution that rarely commends itself to those in shipping company boardrooms.

The march of technology

The drive to increase the efficiency and thus the productivity of ships has been constant, so that today's fleet, in virtually every category of ship type, is hugely more efficient than that of its previous generation. Scale economics and technological advances have facilitated these improvements.

Nowhere can this be better illustrated than in the world of the cargo liner, where containerisation swept away labour intensive break bulk cargo handling in the 1970s and which has continued to scale itself upwards in successive generations of ships. Up to the 1960s, vessels in the ocean liner trades were around 10,000 to 15,000 tonnes carrying capacity, which, if they were in the Europe to Far Eastern or Australasian trades, would accomplish at the most two round trips per year. They would have been manned by a crew of around 50 persons and would spend the lion's share of their year in port, where their cargo was manually handled by hundreds of dock labourers.

Containerisation rendered these ships redundant in a remarkably short time in the 1970s and 80s when the whole structure of liner trading changing to accommodate the technical advanced implied by unitisation. The first generations of container ships were by comparison to their predecessors, very fast vessels, the whole rationale being increased productivity, which was delivered by short time in port and rapid sea passages. A single fast containership carrying about 2000 teu could effectively do the work of half a dozen of her break bulk predecessors, albeit employing the expensive structure of well-equipped container terminals.

Over the years, the ships have responded to demand for greater productivity with increased capacity, effectively doubling in size every five or six years. The size of crews, and the people required to handle cargo in their specialised terminals have remained small, with increased automation aboard ship and ashore. Ships of around 20,000 teu will now

be seen increasingly in the Far Eastern – Europe trades, enormous vessels of around 400m in length with their containers stacked up to 24 across and nine high on deck. A crew of around twenty will operate one of these monsters.

Tankers, curiously, have not generally increased in size, although a small number of half a million tonne capacity vessels were built in the 1970s. These proved inflexible and the Very Large Crude Carrier which dominates the long haul crude trades has settled on something under 300,000 deadweight tonnes, which gives reasonable access to most crude terminals and does not strain storage capacity. Like all today's tankers, these are double-hulled vessels, diesel driven and with a modest speed to minimise fuel consumption. It is a matter of some pride to the tanker sector that it has the very best safety record in the industry and spills very little oil into the seas. Smaller tankers operate where economic or physical restrictions are present or where refined oils are carried.

There has been recent spectacular growth in the number of Lique-fied Natural Gas tankers afloat, this "fuel of the future" finally coming of age and increasingly used in power generating plants. Most of these ships burn gas boiled off their cargo tank contents during the voyage, some of them actually being able to regasify their cargo before it is pumped into the mains ashore. These are very advanced vessels with largely specialised crews operating them, although new players are entering the market.

Scale economies have also entered the dry bulk trade, with the tendency to see "capesized" bulkers predominantly built for long haul iron ore voyages increased in size. Some of these ships are now able to carry up to 400,000 tonnes of cargo, although there are a limited number of ports (mostly in Brazil and China) where these ships can be handled. There is a great deal of interest in the developments in the Panama Canal, where the first expansion since it was built 101 years is soon to be finished. How this will affect global routeing of ships remains to be seen as soon vessels up to 366m in length, 49m breadth with a 15.2m draught will soon be able to transit. Gas carriers and containerships are expected to be big beneficiaries of the new canal, but with expanded trade opportunities between north and south Americas.

Passenger shipping is very much a growth sector, although sometimes spoken of as a branch of the leisure business rather than that of marine transport. Nevertheless, we have seen the same scale economies, with cruise ship owners building bigger and bigger vessels offering more exciting attractions for their "guests": this process seems likely to continue as markets for cruises expand in areas where this type of holiday has hitherto been unknown. The sector is also diversifying into different and discrete areas of cruising, giving employment

to smaller ships able to access more interesting destinations. These ships are heavy in manpower requirements, but with awesome responsibilities for those in charge, should safety be imperilled.

Technology is also very apparent in the ferry trades, where the "ropax" vessel (able to cope with a seasonal passenger influx in addition to year-round freight cargoes) have been introduced in many developed nation ferry routes. Ships are bigger all the time, able to handle their cargo faster, with highly efficient terminal systems and on board arrangements that make it easy to drive vehicle between decks over wide ramps. Hydraulic access equipment has come on in leaps and bounds in this type of ship. Fast ferries too have become bigger and capable of rougher sea crossings.

Other major users of advanced technology can be found in an astonishing array of sophisticated craft in the offshore industry, heavy lift and project cargo vessels and in the vehicle trades. Globalisation, industrialisation and the spread of component manufacture throughout the world have been made possible only because of reliable and regular shipping services.

The technology has been forced to adapt to a number of external pressures. The price of fuel and the lack of profit because of the industry's inability to regulate the supply of ships has encouraged fuel economy, while environmental pressures demanding ships become more sustainable have also been drivers to the same ends.

Technical efficiency has been delivered through more efficient machinery, the use of waste heat to produce electrical power for example, and many more advances in ship design. This process is continuing, with new air bubbling systems reducing resistance, more efficient use of the waterflow around the stern of the ship, operational "tuning" of the ship's trim and other hydrodynamic improvements. People have been encouraged to operate ships in a more optimal fashion, keeping machinery in peak performance and scheduling voyages more scientifically.

The demand to reduce harmful emissions has also had a dramatic effect, with Northern European and North American waters imposing emission control areas, where heavy oil (which has been the most used ships' bunker fuel in the past) may not be burned. Ships have alternatively had to either employ scrubbers to clean the exhaust emissions, or burn marine diesel oil, which is very much more expensive, when in these waters.

Much attention is being paid to LNG as a bunker fuel and increasing numbers of ships are being built with "dual fuel" engines able to burn this when it is available. It does however require heavily insulated storage tanks and its use has largely been confined up to now in ferries or other ships which operate exclusively in ECAs. Others are experimenting with methanol and even sail assistance, battery power

and hybrid systems are under test as shipping "cleans up its act". The industry does however continually stress that of all transport systems, ships are the most environmentally friendly.

The pressure to make ships more sustainable seems certain to continue, even though the result often seems to be more complex vessels with sophisticated systems. Other exciting advances have been made in the fields of safety and navigation with the emergence of "eNavigation" technology, better communications between ship and shore, and as a result a more acceptable level of connectivity for seafarers, who increasingly resent their isolation when compared with the "well-connected" people ashore. The availability of "big data" and the possibility of more monitoring of ship systems remotely are said to have an improving effect upon ship performance.

Might robot, or autonomous, ships emerge onto the world shipping stage? Certain technology companies are suggesting that this is just a matter of time and the technology is surely available today, when it is possible to direct a tracked vehicle around the surface of Mars. It is perhaps worth recalling that in the 1980s a bulk carrier crossed the North Pacific with no seafarers aboard, the ship being controlled by Japanese scientists from an accompanying vessel.

But the sea is dynamic, unpredictable, corrosive and occasionally violent, and while it might be possible to conceive of a freight ferry moving goods across a bay or smooth water estuary under shore control, much would require to be undertaken in changes to maritime law (an unmanned ship is technically a "derelict"), matters of liability and responsibility, and both national and international oversight. It remains a fact that in much of the world's seaways lawlessness prevails, supervision is poor and if anything the world is becoming if anything less stable. Ships with nobody aboard them, it might be thought, implies a certain degree of risk for those who own them, at least in present circumstances.

Seafarers – the people who make it all work

There are some 1.75m seafarers in the global maritime workforce manning the world fleet of some 80,000 ships. They tend to be less visible than some workers, largely because they are generally spread around the overall population and less gathered together in port cities as they were in the past.

Their skills, at least of those who work in international shipping, are governed by international convention which requires them, depending on their rank or rating, to have certain identifiable competencies. Seafaring, however, remains a profession that is very much expe-

rience based, with qualifications being seen as the entry point, rather than as the be all and end all of competence.

Seafaring once tended to be a young man's job, but it is now more evenly distributed throughout the age-range. Efforts have been made to attract women into seafaring, with very limited success. It has become a notably international workforce, with seafarers being recruited from all around the world, although a startling statistic shows that just under one third of the total are now from the Philippines. Seafarers from China, Eastern Europe and India are significant segments in the global workforce.

Attractions of seafaring include travel, early responsibility, reasonable pay and an interesting job, offering prospects to those who gain their qualifications. Less attractive facets of modern seafaring are the small crews on even the largest ships, multi-cultural and multilingual manning which can promote loneliness and isolation and the lack of connectivity, although this may be improving. Accommodation has not improved greatly, being squashed into those parts of the ship where revenue earning is not possible and excessive hours of work, when compared with the average working week ashore, can lead to dangerous levels of fatigue.

Matters may be improved by the important International Labour Organisation's Maritime Labour Convention 2006, which will hopefully allow conditions of work and those aboard ship to be better regulated. It could also be that the demand for greater professionalism, better safety standards and stricter oversight, along with the simple laws of supply and demand, will see conditions improve. Interestingly, maritime employers anxious to recruit good people are now stressing the opportunities for a whole career in the industry after a period afloat. This may lead to a better motivated and informed workforce. However, a large proportion of the world fleet is composed of relatively simple ships, earning low rewards and subject to the rigours of the freight market. A low cost crew will tend to remain the owner's priority in such a sector, for the foreseeable future.

Future shocks

The maritime industry should be able to look forward to substantial growth, although as an industry which responds to external demands it is not in a position to make its own fortune. With world trade still in recovery mode and much residual over-tonnaging in several sectors, short-term prospects look variable rather than promising. As an industry always subject to "events" such as the 2008 financial crash or the closing

of an important waterway, or political action that may affect maritime economics, those who work in this fascinating sector will know the importance of luck just as much as timing in their industry's fortunes.

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Abstract

The maritime industry is largely a service industry and in economic terms one of derived demand and is this subject to external pressures, such as that from the direction of world trade. It is also an industry that has been subject to great economic changes, becoming one of the first to tap into the globalised labour market, when driven by long term recession at the end of the last century. It has seen enormous technical changes, such as containerisation, the rise of the offshore industry and scale economies, which have permeated every maritime sector. It has also seen an eastwards shift in much shipbuilding and ship operation, although the control of much of shipping has remained in a few western nations. The industry is intensely cyclical, but has historically spent much time in a condition of shipping supply surplus, which tends to be a consequence of the over-optimism of ship-owners and the longevity of the ships they buy. Reactions to this include, on the one hand, slow steaming and cost saving, better ship utilisation and efficiency increases, with huge shipping productivity gains. Many of these, however, have diminished the life at sea experience for ships' crews, with crew cutbacks, highly intensive operations and fatigue among the consequences. Manpower policies have also been affected by the last big shipping recession, when there was insufficient recruitment ashore and afloat, and which threatens the health of the sector today, and in the future.

High Tide and Undertows: Filipino Seafarers between the Paradoxes of Development and Imagination

Introduction

Typical discourses and official statements in the Philippine islands picture Filipino seafarers as exemplary men; highly praised among their kin and declared the nation's *bagong bayani* (new heroes) or "sailing ambassadors" to different countries. In the official discourses, it is affirmed that, through national laws and international regulation, Filipino seafarers are protected and the seafaring industry in the Philippines is stable and it does not present major problems[1]. The aspect commonly highlighted, about their contributions to the nation, is of course remittances. The allotment sent to their beneficiaries is, by law, "at least 80 percent"[2] of their monthly salary; remittances from seafarers amount to more than US$ 5 billion yearly. It has been discussed that in the Philippine province seafaring careers became options offered as «an answer to the situation of poverty»[3], and early warnings pointed out how the main profiteers from the "seafaring booming" were the nearly 200 maritime schools already in place 20 years ago[4].

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[1] IOM-SMC, *Country Migration Report – The Philippines 2013*, IOM, Makati-Philippines 2013, p. 74.

[2] Philippine Overseas Employment Administration (POEA), *Standard Terms and Conditions Governing the Employment of Filipinos Seafarers On Board Ocean Going Vessels*, Section 8, A.

[3] Maragtas Amante, *Philippine Global Seafarers: A Profile*, SIRC-Cardiff University, Cardiff 2003, p. 70.

[4] Lennart Johnsson, *Funny Flags: ITF's Campaign – Past, Present and Future*, Brevskolan, Stockholm 1996.

The maritime industry, «the backbone of international trade and a key engine driving globalization»[5], transports between 80 and 90 percent of goods worldwide, and needs 1,400,000 positions onboard. Filipinos occupy around 350,000 jobs on oceangoing ships, or 25 percent. The number of Filipino seafarers deployed in 2011 reached 369,104, but it is not increasing. In fact, it has gone down slowly to 353,898 in 2014[6]. Annually, about 20,000 students graduate just from the 93 accredited maritime schools, when only 5,000 are needed to replace retiring seafarers[7]. New graduates come from the province to the National Capital Region (Manila and contiguous cities) to apply for jobs onboard to recruitment (aka manning) agencies. A good number of them struggle to be deployed, and many obviously will never work onboard, especially if they do not have a "backer" (sponsor) in the agencies. Another difficulty to be deployed is that at least 90 percent of them have not had cadetship onboard as part of their maritime education because most of the schools do not offer that possibility.

Seafarers coming from the provinces, who are applying to work onboard, stay in boarding houses. They are advised to take costly and short-time training programs by the agencies, which have either training facilities or agreements with the abundant existing training centers. Training programs, also required for returning seafarers, are redundant; yet, new graduates take them because they are told that those are part of the requirements to work onboard. Some applicants resolve to work as "utilities" (volunteers, i.e., errand boys) without salary[8], in the agencies where their applications have been lodged hoping to eventually be deployed after several (3 to 8) months. This practice of recruitment agencies for seafarers was revealed to the public opinion by a local TV channel in 2014[9], following the case of a marine engineering graduate doing cleaning jobs and taking care of a sick person in the house of an allegedly impostor in the agency in question.

[5] United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), *Review of Maritime Transport*, United Nations, New York and Geneva 2012, p. xiii

[6] POEA, *Overseas Employment Statistics – Deployed Filipino Seafarers Statistics by Category, 2006-2014*.

[7] Rey Gamboa, «False promise of a dream», *The Philippine Star*, Jan. 29, 2013.

[8] Minghua Zhao and Maragtas Amante, «Chinese and Filipino Seafarers: A Race to the Top or the Bottom?», *Proceedings of the SIRC's Third Symposium*, Cardiff University, Cardiff 2003, p. 80.

[9] Erwin Tulfo, «Marine Engineering Graduate, Ginawang Kasambahay ng Nagpanggap na [Converted into Houseboy by a Fake] Crew Manager» *Tutok Tulfo – News 5 EVERYWHERE*, Sep. 16, 2014.

A Paradoxical Reality

Seafarers perform their work necessarily in secluded conditions onboard. Thus, an average layperson's knowledge on seafaring relies mostly on storytelling, loose passages of history, literature and films that often emphasize the adventurous aspect of, or romanticize, sailing across the seas. Popular images of seafarers in the Philippines depict them as adventurous individuals who travel around the world, earn high salaries, thus being good providers who own houses above average and help with studies and livelihood to their extended families. There are such cases in the Philippines, which are quickly disseminated, but, alas, there are many other issues less known. It cannot be forgotten that seafaring is a hierarchical profession, and wages between officers and ratings are widely disparate, with the latter having the lowest. In this regard, a problem in the Philippines is not only the oversupply of seafarers, but among them the abundance of ratings and shortage of officers.[10] Yet, young people are enticed into seafaring careers with promises of earning brilliant salaries, and recently even women are queuing up at manning agencies trading diplomas and certificates with mops and vacuum cleaners as many are seeking jobs in cruise ships[11].

Filipino seafarers also face several hardships onboard, especially because more than 50 percent of them work under the flag of convenience system (FOCs)[12]; on vessels registered in countries others than the owner's country so as to avoid compliance with strict labor standards. The oversupply of seafaring labor in the Philippines drives its nationals to accept low salaries offered by FOCs vessels instead of being around waiting months or even years without work. Once onboard, seamen endure the hazard of working on poorly-manned ships that do not comply with international labor standards. In such conditions they are exposed also to mistreatment by their superiors, limited food, stressful conditions and delay of salary payment or even no payment. Filipino seafarers seldom complain about these hassles because they fear reprisal from captains, ships owners and manning agencies. In two focus group discussions (FGDs), seamen referred to cases they

[10] Angelica Baylon and Eduardo Santos, «The Challenges in Philippine Maritime Education and Training», *International Journal of Innovative Interdisciplinary Research*, I, 1, 2011, pp. 34-43.

[11] Lucia Papal-latoc-Tangi, *Pinays Abroad: A Study on the General Working Conditions of Filipino Women Seafarers on Board International Vessels*, College of Social Work and Community Development – University of the Philippines, Quezon City 2012.

[12] Evita L. Jimenez, «The Diaspora of Filipino Seafarers: A Look of the Flag of Convenience (FOC) System», *UKTAW*, V, 1, 2011, pp. 205-229.

have either witnessed or experienced. For example, after complaining regarding conditions onboard; when assessing negatively the aboard experience at the end of their contract; and approaching port welfare offices to denounce illegal dismissal, delay of salary or abuse of power, are reasons that lead ship companies to report seafarers to POEA for allegedly misconduct, and they can be blacklisted losing possibilities of future employment onboard.

The trifling rhetoric, repeated by public officials and the media, about why Filipinos seafarers are sought after by ship owners worldwide is always the same. It basically affirms that Filipinos are naturally incline to maritime professions due the archipelagic geography of the Philippines, they have a good command of the English language, they can easily adapt to other environments and to work with people from other cultures, and they are hard-working, disciplined, committed, reliable and loyal individuals. This platitude veils the struggles faced by seafarers onboard, practices of money-making through superfluous training by training centers, exploitation to new graduates by manning agencies and even the delayed bureaucratic processes and mistreatment received by seafarers in the facilities of the Maritime Industry Authority (MARINA).

It cannot be ignored that there are positive experiences of successful Filipino seamen that certainly get high salaries. Indeed, there are experiences of seamen landing in good jobs, for instance onboard European or Japanese vessels, even if they also are burdened with redundant training that defeat the purpose of reaching international standards, and which is also required by MARINA. However, the dominant discourses, using those cases, cover u the problems that the maritime industry faces in the Philippines, which have been summarized here. However, how to present a coherent picture of the seafaring industry in the Philippines that tackles such a paradox? How do seafarers cope with the hardships onboard? Does this reality is shared with other sectors of workers or even other social groups? These are the questions tackled in the next sections of this article.

In Search of a Framework

The disparities in the Philippine maritime industry affecting its seafarers and thousands of young people aspiring for and studying seafaring careers can only be explained within today's historical global context. The analysis though should be put into perspective without losing sight of the particular features of the Philippine society so as to find what is common to the general context and what is characteristic of the local situation. Looking then at the global context, perhaps the worst adversity of our time is a noticeable irony: while there is an impressive progress in different social aspects of the contemporary society brought about by science and technology, it has gone hand in hand not just with the widening of the gap between the rich and the poor, but also with the impoverishment, and deprivation of the means of survival, of thousands of populations and social minorities in the name of development.[13] Such a result affecting global society, despite multiple efforts of groups and individuals for the improvement of peoples' lives, cannot be explained unless it is highlighted, if not a clear insight, at least a sketch of the ways how the overall system holds together when billions of people are marginalized and struggle day after day to make ends meet.

In this line, the fact that so many people experience penury in their lives, when a few others enjoy overabundance, does not lead to other conclusion but to point out what is the most valued today. In the organization of today's society, economy, production and consumption are central values, and look like more important than human beings. This situation leads to think of Marx' affirmation on what he coined the «reification of social individuals», i.e., their transformation into things or objects by capitalism and its economic laws. Talking of Marx, however, Cornelius Castoriadis notices that it is precisely the struggle against reification what has sustained capitalism[14]. As the system tries to dehumanize individuals much as possible, it can only function to the extent that their conversion into objects is not wholly realized. The struggle of human beings against reification and towards the achievement of promises of development is the basic condition for the existence of capitalist society. It was necessary raising the standard of living of workers in order to enlarge the market in consumer goods for the expansion of capitalism.

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[13] Minority Rights Group International (MRG), *State of the World's Minorities and Indigenous Peoples 2012*, MRG, United Kingdom, 2012.

[14] Cornelius Castoriadis, *The Social Imaginary of Society*, Polity Press, Cambridge 1987, p. 16. Born in Costantinople (today Turkey), Castoriadis was raised in Greece, and at the age of 23 migrated to France, where he developed his ideas, which are organized mainly in the volume here quoted.

Despite the impact of the economic analysis of capitalism by Marx, and his conviction that the aim of theory is not just the interpretation of the world but its transformation, Marxism eventually lost importance. The reason, Castoriadis explains, is that it is rooted in the same principles capitalism is rooted in. Castoriadis argues that both, Marxism and capitalism are rooted in pseudo-rationality; it is the presumption of absolute knowledge. Modern theories, including Marxism, depart from a postulate enunciated in a notable phrase by René Descartes, «we are to attain knowledge and truth in order to "make ourselves masters and possessors of nature"»[15]. This sentence is, for Castoriadis, the earliest and clearest formulation of the spirit of capitalism. This basic principle unfolds into two assumptions: on the one hand, modern theories believe and act as if they can tackle and give solutions through rationality to any social problem, what in turn requires the assumption of possessing a totality, or else they cannot undertake the task; on the other hand, modern theories believe to have dismissed mythology and religion. However, Castoriadis notices how society is not really secularized because knowledge and technology have taken the place of religion. Knowledge has succeeded «in setting itself up as the practical equivalent of the sacred»[16], although it is not directly considered sacred.

The way society is currently instituted is the product of human beings' imagination. The organization of human needs and actions is done through the creation of social institutions. The work of Castoriadis is in fact a profound reflection on social institutions, which are sets of tools, procedures, norms and values «that with or without formal sanction»[17] impose ways of acting and thinking. In this regard, all knowledge, representations, significations, meanings and ways of making sense of the social work are what Castoriadis coined as "social imaginaries." Social imaginaries are sets of ideas and perceptions of social reality that are not only based on tangible realities but on generalizations of real cases, popular knowledge, discourses, dreams, illusions, and on desires and fantasy as well. This is the framework used here to tackle issues of Filipino seafarers[18]. Yet, it remains to say that this framework addresses two main concerns: one is the rethink-

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[15] In David Curtis, *The Castoriadis Reader*, Blackwell Publishers, Oxford 1997, p. 149.

[16] *Ibidem*, p. 242.

[17] Cornelius Castoriadis, *A Society Adrift*, http://www.notbored.org/ASA.pdf, Electronic Publication.

[18] The author keeps distance from modern theories and considers his work not a theory, but an "elucidation," namely, the labor through which social individuals attempt to think «what they do and to know what they think»: Castoriadis, *The Imaginary Institution of Society*, p. 3.

ing of *imagination* as the basic asset of humanity to deal with problems arising in the social organization[19], and the other is the issue of *autonomy*[20], considered an aim of any society. It is in other words the conviction that individuals of any society are able to deal with their own organization, trials and tribulations, thus the central problem of historical reflection is the specificity of each society.

"Navigating on Different Waters"

Historical cultures create their own social imaginaries, and their central imaginaries hold together societies providing meanings and purposes to their constituents. The characteristic though of our present historical time is the institution of a dominant imaginary through processes of globalization: the capitalist imaginary that privileges and gives centrality to economy, production and consumption. It is dominant but it is not an imposition because historical imaginaries are instituted through the instillation of a set of needs and a relationship to authority. Social individuals are then not compelled, they adhere themselves to the dominant institution of society, or in other words, the system succeeds in achieving people's adherence to the way society in general is organized. The institutions created in the first place by social imagination for the solution of basic needs of society, in an attempt at their preservation, close their meanings. It follows that social individuals become at the service of the institutions they have created. Even so, radical imagination is deployed in society and while individuals cling to the dominant institution, at the same time, through social practices they open and create possibilities for the transformation of society.

Social individuals cannot only reject institutions because the latter appear already embodied in social creations, for instance, in a bomb, in high-priced goods, in binding contracts, national frontiers, armies,

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[19] Imagination, according to Castoriadis, has been thought of mostly as fantasy. Aristotle indeed talks of *phantasia* in *De Anima*, but it refers to two different ideas. He mostly deals with the normal conception of imagination, or «secondary imagination», which he fixes between the capacities of sensation and intellection. However, in the same treatise, there is a different idea of imagination that has passed unnoticeable: it is the "radical imagination" that is the basis for thought and «possibly precedes any thought». Arguably, Kant also refers to this capacity in the *Critique of Pure Reason* and calls it «transcendental imagination», and in Freud's ideas underlines this conception of imagination but he never mentions the term. In Curtis, *The Castoriadis Reader*, p. 320.

[20] The author finds that society tends to its autonomy, and identifies two moments when society as a whole achieved certain autonomy: in Greece with the birth of philosophy and democracy, and in Western Europe at the end of the Middle Age. Castoriadis, *The Imaginary Institution of Society*, p. 129.

customs, traditions and so forth. In simply rejecting institutions, the subject risks to reject the others and to reject himself altogether as he/she partakes to the same social institutional setting. Instead, at stake is a different relationship to institutions and to the others towards the autonomy of the subject as a condition for the autonomy of society. Autonomy is not detachment from the others, from institutions; it is rather the recognition of belonging to a given society. In front of all what individuals inherit, a language, a history, customs and traditions, the social subject has a reflective, critical and deliberative activity. Facing the dominant institution of society, individuals are not mere dopes. They are constantly looking for ways of dealing with their problems. The critical issue, however, is that individuals have been convinced by the dominant institution of society that their views and concerns have no impact for the fundamental matters of society. It is, for example, significant that during the field work, a young seafarer suggested to better interview the «officials, especially the captains because they know and can explain better» seafaring matters.

Modern theories praise knowledge and articulated discourses for the explanation of the social world. While common people do not produce great discourses, they do partake of social imaginaries and keep reinventing the possibilities to face the closure of institutions that can bring dreadful conditions. Whereas individuals are convinced that they cannot contribute much for the important affairs of society, they still express themselves through their social practices and cultural productions. The social imaginaries notion is a methodological tool to observe the social world and inquire on the ways people deploy to deal with their problems. Thus, in this research, in order to observe cultural practices, to give attention to narratives and other forms of expression of Filipino seafarers, ethnography was used. Social spaces where people constantly relate today are online social networks. A common feature widely used for social interactions therein is photography. It is not an exception for Filipino seafarers who share with collegues, families and friends photos of their journeys.

As a result of these methodological considerations, the research draws on a combination of methods. It starts with an ethnographic approach termed on-the-move. Then it enters the "virtual world," seen as a site for cultural formations. A set of photographs (30 in total) was retrieved from the Facebook network «Seaman OnlinePH» that links more than 60 thousand individuals. The photos retrieved were those with more likes and shares (30 images in total), all of which fall in the album «Funniest Photos of our new Heroes». Other set of photos were 60 entries submitted for the 3rd Photo Contest of the National Seafarers' Day (NSD) 2013, a yearly celebration held in Manila at the end of

September, organized by Apostleship of the Sea (AOS) and partner seafaring stakeholders in the Philippines. The latter set of photographs was analyzed using their captions, while for the interpretation of the former set photo elicitation interviews with 16 seafarers were conducted. In the interviews seafarers provided background information about the depictions and share their own experiences onboard and onshore. Data was also collected from two focus group discussions with seafarers. The data obtained have been selected for this article focusing on imaginaries of gender and progress/development.

Instituted and Creative Imaginaries of Seafarers

The global social context dominated by neoliberal politics and economics is the dominant instituted society where unlimited expansion of production and consumption are more important than concrete needs of peoples. The problems in maritime education, oversupply of seafaring labor, and actual problems that Filipino seafarers face in their attempts to get deployed as well as poor conditions onboard can be understood in this current institution of society. It is believed and affirmed that problems faced by seafarers and especially those related to the FOC system can only be decided on the policy level. This is questionable. First, policies are needed, no doubt, but the increasing problem in Philippine labor migration is the lack of or weak implementation[21] of existing policies. In a second instance, in the Philippine context it is also recognized that «the hands of the government are tied due to its weaknesses» in handling the problems of the local economy[22]. In any case, governments have no much power in a global neoliberal economy.

Besides, a comparison study on practices and strategies of the maritime industry in three countries (United Kingdom, South Africa and Philippines) shows that «shipping capital prefers to hire seafarers of specific nationalities» for characteristics such as «obedience, passivity and ability to integrate,» and the state is «a powerful player (intentionally or not) in global processes and global market formation»[23]. In the Philippines, the government succeeds in advertising overseas and seafaring labor. Ethnographic research and analysis of discourses from the "the top" or "elites" unveil how «Filipino seamen's masculinities

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[21] IOM-SMC, *Country Migration Report – The Philippines 2013*, p. 9, 193, and 206.
[22] Jimenez, «The Diaspora of Filipino Seafarers», p. 225.
[23] Shaun Ruggunan, *Global Transformation of the Contemporary Labor Market for Merchant Navy Seafarers: Case Studies of Filipino, South African and British Seafaring Labor Market*, School of Sociology and Social Studies – University of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa, PhD Thesis, 2008, p. 278, and 309.

and manhoods are imagined […] as hypermasculine and macho, heterosexual and heteronormative, responsible and hard-working, cooperative and devoutly catholic, and heroically patriotic»[24]. Through this social imaginary of masculinity the Philippine state and local companies (including maritime schools and training centers) are involved in promoting low paid labor onboard oceangoing vessels.

Certainly, seafaring careers have been an answer to the situation of poverty in the Philippines, but the matter goes beyond poverty. In a ship visit, chief mate "Ron," working onboard for 19 years, related his experience of getting into maritime education. When his brother in law came for holidays asked to accompany him to change his money. Ron was so impressed when he saw the amount of money his brother in law received that soon after he switched his business administration course for maritime education. After two years, he graduated, even if it took him another two years to be deployed for the first time. These kinds of stories are quickly disseminated because they combine a reality with the desire of reaching the capitalist promise of progress, in this local context, through maritime education. Real cases, needs, dreams, desires and even economic interests are merged and converted into a dominant social imaginary to which people adhere. As it provides opportunities for some individuals, it also constrains the lives of many others as the promise cannot be reachable for all those thousands of maritime students. At the end, maritime education becomes another merchandize sold through promises of jobs onboard as an opportunity to travel the world and earn high salaries.

Filipinos who succeed on going especially onboard FOC vessels «have only their own selves to rely on»[25]. Despite the challenges they face, seafarers are not disempowered individuals. The radical imagination, which makes possible the creation of institutions, opens also the possibilities to challenge the institutions and institute other practices; it is then also an "instituting" or creative imaginary present and functioning in society. Practices and forms of expression of people are often overlooked because common individuals are not always considered subjects of their own history capable of handling their problems and of autonomous decisions and actions. As people relate to others and share their concerns, they are giving account of their social imaginaries and the ways deployed to deal with constrictions and how they make sense of the social world. This includes not only their comprehension of so-

[24] Kale Bantigue Fajardo, *Filipino Crosscurrents: Oceanographies of Seafaring, Masculinities, and Globalization*, The University of the Philippines Press, Quezon City 2011, p. 79.
[25] Jimenez, «The Diaspora of Filipino Seafarers», p. 225.

cial matters, but also simple practices of having fun. Representations such photographs generate data that illuminate subjects and practices that are not always visible to researchers. Through photographs, individuals also manifest their social imaginaries as «the image embodies the observer's imaginaries conceptions rather than any external conditions»[26]. The portion of reality selected in a photograph can capture people's knowledge, concerns and dreams, but also reveal imaginaries of the observers.

The theme proposed for the photo context of the NSD was *Marinog Pilipino: Patuloy ang Pag-unlad* (Filipino seafarers: continuous progress/development). The photographs submitted by maritime students and seafarers onboard include varied representations. Students, for example, focus on the importance of schooling and training, and relate to progress images of the quasi-military orientation of seafaring, such as students in uniforms and marching cadets, thus an image of their "docility"[27]. However, in both cases of photographs sent by maritime students and seafarers onboard, appears an aspect that is not common in the dominant imaginary; the presence of the other, it is the presence of the community as vital for progress.

Photograph 1: Jerick Bacasdoon, «Better when Together», *NDS – Photo Contest*, Sep. 26, 2013

Photograph one captures two seafarers working onboard and Jerick Bacasdoon considers that it is easier to reach progress «when things are done together».

[26] Steven Edwards, *Photography: A Very Short Introduction*, Oxford University Press, New York 2006, p. 25.
[27] Bantigue Fajardo, *Filipino Crosscurrents*, p. 79.

Photograph 2: Donald Hubilla, «Trail to the Future», *NDS – Photo Contest*, Sep. 26, 2013

The caption of photograph two reads: «[It is a] group of fishermen[28] working hard to have the catch for their everyday expenses, ensuring that they can survive the hurdles of life». In other photos submitted, Hubilla also tackles the theme of progress related to a vision of future. Future, though, is not conceived as time far away, but as the caption says, as the fulfillment of everyday needs. In fact, the caption of another photograph that shows a man fishing with the sea and the setting of the sun as background, sent by John Guevara, says:

> *Hawak-hawak ang mahabang bingwit na nakaharap sa maliwanag na kinabukasan ay mahigpit na pinanghahawakan ng matanda ang sumisimbolo sa kanyang araw-araw na pangkabuhayan. Ang pagunlad na hindi mahahanap ng iba.*
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> [Holding the long fishing rod, as if pointing to a bright future, an old man tightly grips what symbolizes his daily means of sustenance. A [satisfactory] progress as no other can be found]

> (Caption: John Guevara, «*Ang Pagbibingwit sa Pwerto* [The Fisherman in the Port]», *NDS – Photo Contest*, Sep. 26, 2013)

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[28] In the Philippines, the term seafarer includes cruise ship personnel, fishermen and those serving on mobile offshore and drilling units on the sea. In addition, entries for the contest could be taken onboard or offshore.

Through these representations, the idea of progress is linked to the community and to an alternative conception of future. Unlike the dominant imaginary that fills up an individualistic ideal with the illusion of unlimited expansion of production and consumption and promises of future success, two different aspects can be highlighted in these representations. One is the presence of the community as necessary for progress. Development or the unfolding of progress in all dimensions of social life, and not only in the economic aspect, is possible if the community is involved. Thus, it cannot be a progress that is unlimited, but a reachable growth where the others are into the picture. The Filipino term *pag-unlad* can be translated as progress or development. In the previous caption quoted, the word *pag-unlad* does not include the adjective *patuloy*, which can be translated as constant or uninterrupted. That is why it makes sense adding "satisfactory" in the light of the previous mention about the *araw-araw* or daily means of sustenance. This is an indigenous conception of *pag-unlad* (development) that seems reachable and not a fantasy as the imaginary idea of unlimited progress of modernity through the unlimited exploitation of nature.

The second different characteristic in the representations is the idea of the future. As a matter of fact, the idea of future, central in the 20th century, is not a natural conception. Future is an implicit belief, or «a true faith, based on the concept of *progress*, the ideological translation of the reality of economic growth».[29] Rather than an idea about the direction of time, it is a "psychological perception" based on the experience of expansion of economy and knowledge in the age of capitalism. Native conceptions of future in the representations instead are related, certainly to the direction of time, but as moments evolving from the possibilities created by concrete practices, actions and relationships in connection with the solutions of real needs.

The 30 photographs retrieved from a Facebook network of seafarers show mainly Filipinos having fun onboard. In the photo, elicitation seafarers informed that in some cargo ships, to divert themselves from loneliness, homesickness, boredom and overcome stressful conditions, a few captains allow and even encourage the crew members to perform some activities like contests during resting time on weekends.

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[29] Franco Berardi, *After the Future*, AK Press, Oakland CA 2011, p. 13.

Photograph 3: Sir Tacba, «Who's your bet?» *Facebook: Seaman OnlinePH*, Retrieved on Oct. 20, 2013; 2,206 likes, 964 shares

In a photo elicitation interview, a young seafarer who had been only five months onboard could not make sense of the depictions, mostly of those showing cross-dressed Filipinos as exemplified in photograph three. He only asserted to say, «Do you know what is kalokohan?» *Kalokohan* means either crazy fun or nonsense as in this case. Other seafarers provided more background information about those photos; for example, Roy says:

> [This] *is "Miss Gay" in the ship, [done] just for fun. When I was an oiler, yeah, I told the captain I will not accept to participate, but I think this one is only for fun, and for camaraderie on the ship* [...] *a way of diverting ourselves from loneliness* [...] *we do everything that we can do, just to forget the loneliness.*

> ("Roy," 9 years onboard, 29 y/o, Interviewed on Jan. 27, 2014)

In human societies, even what is considered as nonsense has a meaning. About any representation, whether amusing or annoying, pleasant or repulsive, there is always a meaning. Yet, through the lenses of the patriarchal dominant imaginary, where attitudes considered masculine, such as superiority, strength, power over others or rationality over sensation and emotions, those representations are surely just nonsense. In addition, in historical societies, masculine and feminine traits are socially instituted. Taking a look at the pre-colonial history of today's Philippines, there are two interesting points to consider.

Firstly, in the indigenous societies of this region of the world, attributes of womanhood and manhood leaned not only on anatomy, as it is the case in different historical societies,[30] but also «on the social elements of occupation and prestige»[31]. Secondly, the sartorial codes for men and women were not strictly different from each other. These two aspects can be confirmed specifically in what was regarded a prestigious occupation, namely, the *babaylan* or priest-healer. The figure of *babaylan* was normally an office of women, but males were also allowed to become priest-healers provided they adapted the dress and demeanor more proper of women. The *bayoguin* was a cross-dressed and cross-gendered biological male partaking of the office of healing spiritual brokenness as the *babaylan*, which actually used to be «a religious and political function»[32].

Photograph 4: Sir Lumjod, «Guess what song they are dancing», *Seaman OnlinePH*, Retrieved on Oct. 20, 2013; 1,160 likes, 90 shares

In photograph four, a group of seamen appears dancing, wearing boxers, sunglasses and tennis shoes. Michel Maffesoli, in his analysis of practices that fall beyond the norms, considers crazy manners of

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[30] Castoriadis, *The Social Imaginary of Society*, pp. 230-231.
[31] J. Neil C. Garcia, *Philippine Gay Culture: Binabae to Bakla, sihalis to MSM*, The University of the Philippines Press, Quezon City 2008, p. 163.
[32] *Ibidem*, p. 166.

having fun and cunning ways that the poorest people employ to deal with everyday problems as catharsis and group therapy[33]. Although, says Maffesoli, from the modern sociology's point of view these practices are "malignant behaviors," they are indeed respites that humanize the brutality of the capitalist society and safeguard a physical and psychological balance.

Concluding Considerations

This study looks at social practices, from below, of Filipino maritime students and seafarers. It shows that while these social individuals, in the first place, adhere to the instituted system that promises success and progress through maritime education and work onboard seagoing vessels, they also defy the dominant imaginary through native conceptions of *pag-unlad* (development) and practices of fun and camaraderie onboard. Although the instituted capitalist imaginary, through rationality and neoliberal politics and economics, mocks, rejects and destroys indigenous imaginaries, it has not succeeded in completely superseding them. Social life is not logical, thus it cannot be grasped only through rationality. The notion of social imaginaries allows reconsidering mythological/religious ways of making sense of the social world as people still organize social chaos creatively; it is investing meaning and emotion, and not only rationally as modern theories and methods. A work on seafarers using as a framework the notion of imaginaries needed at least a couple of metaphors. A caption of an entry of the photo contest reads:

> *No matter how the hard work of a seafarer* [is]*, how high the waves are, they still have the strength and courage to go against the tides*
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> (Caption: Marion Villasis, «David's Reincarnation at Sea», *NDS – Photo Contest*, Sep. 26, 2013)

High tide is a metaphor for the dominant imaginary of capitalism. Undertow, the strong current flowing under water in a different direction to the way the water on the surface is moving, refers to non-visible conceptions and practices of maritime students and seafarers that move away from the high tide. It also refers to the psyche and its capacity of imagination, as well as to indigenous imaginaries that can be identified in creative practices of individuals dealing with the

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33   Michel Maffesoli, *La Tajada del Diablo: Compendio de Subversion Postmoderna [The Devil's Slice: Compendium of Postmodern Subversion]*, Siglo XXI Editores, Mexico 2005.

constrictions of institutions. This research, using photography as data and photo elicitation interviews, is also able to have a hint of practices onboard ships otherwise not easily accessible.

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Abstract

This article explores the disparities in the seafaring industry of the Philippines through the alternative notion of social imaginaries. Modern theories still rely on the pseudo-rationality, or the pretension of giving answers to all problems of societies only through rationality. Instead, the elucidation of Castoriadis considers common knowledge or social imaginaries, instituted through real facts, generalizations, dreams and desires of common individuals as fundamental to understand social dynamics. The capitalist imaginary of today's society succeeds in the adherence of people to this dominant institution of society as individuals seek to reach the promise of progress. However, the same capacity of imagination leads individuals, in this case Filipino maritime students and seafarers, to face their problems, and in doing so, they defy the dominant imaginary and create better possibilities for their lives through social conceptions and practices otherwise dismissed as nonsense or deviant. These social practices lean on indigenous imaginaries and are normally despised by rationality, yet, they are considered a social therapy that humanizes the brutality of neoliberal capitalism.

Criminalization of Seafarers

Introduction

Shipping, one of the most dangerous professions worldwide, is also one of the most international of all the world's great industries with over 90% of global trade carried by sea. It has the lowest public profile amongst the global transport infrastructure sectors, and the least representative public image. Not a single area of our lives remains unaffected by shipping and the seafarers who man the ships[1]. Ironically, while the work of these valuable contributors to the global economy generally goes unnoticed, the few times that seafarers come to the public attention in media headlines are when something negative happens such as the loss of lives or an environmental disaster. Such accidents and incidents need to be investigated, causes identified and criminal charges brought where appropriate. However, a current tendency towards a 'blame culture'[2] means that more often than not, proper investigation is not carried out before there is a rush to judge, and the service of justice is illusory or prejudiced. In the face of maritime catastrophes, it is perhaps easy to blame those who are most visible – masters and senior officers of merchant ships, and even those associated with the salvage of stricken vessels who are often trying to avert a bigger disaster. Television footage of Francesco Schettino, master of the ill-fated cruise liner Costa Concordia, being taken into custody by Italian police on suspicion of manslaughter was a clear signal of the hefty responsibilities today's officers and ratings bear. And it demonstrated

[1] IMO, *International Shipping Facts and Figures – Information Resources on Trade, Safety, Security, Environment*. IMO. 2012: http://www.imo.org/KnowledgeCentre/ShipsAndShippingFactsAndFigures/TheRoleandImportanceofInternationalShipping/Documents/International%20Shipping%20-%20Facts%20and%20Figures.pdf. Accessed 12 March 2015.
[2] Birgitta Hed, «Criminalisation of seafarers. - will this contribute to improving the safety and environment at sea, or could it in fact be counterproductive?», *The Swedish Club Letter*, 2005, pp. 12-16: http://www.swedishclub.com/upload/18/2005-1.pdf. Accessed 10 March 2015.

the spectre of seafarer criminalisation that is constantly hanging over the head of every seafarer during every day he is at sea.

The emergence of criminalization

The term 'criminalization of seafarers' was it seems first used in the pages of Lloyd's List in 2003. It has now entered the industry lexicon to describe what many see as a growing trend towards making seafarers «carry the can» for maritime casualties[3]. Criminalization of seafarers in its contemporary form can be traced back to the case of the Exxon Valdez disaster when the ship ran aground in 1989 spilling vast quantities of oil causing immense environmental damage. It was the first maritime incident that witnessed a case of negligence by a ship operation move from civil liabilities to criminal liabilities.[4] The captain of the ill-fated vessel, Joseph J. Hazelwood, was eventually acquitted of the most serious charges but he was convicted of a single charge of misdemeanour negligence.[5] This created a precedent and since then, the practice has spread. In the US alone, the pressure on the federal and state governments to prosecute environmental crimes vigorously, led to more than two dozen crew members and corporate officers being indicted with environmental crimes, between 1989 and 1999[6].

Prestige

In 2002, the case of the Prestige drew wide media attention. The case gives some insight into the seriousness of the problem. On November 13th 2002, the Prestige, an oil tanker containing 77,000 tonnes of fuel, ruptured one of its tanks while caught in a storm off the coast of Spain. Greek Captain Apostolos Mangouras tried to bring the ship into port but he was refused by the authorities in Spain, France and Portugal. Six days later, the ship broke in two and began to sink, spilling its cargo into the sea off the coast of Galicia. Captain Mangouras was

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[3] David Osler, «Criminalisation casts a shadow over sea careers», *Crewing*, 2012, p. 4: Accessed 23 March 2015.

[4] Michael Grimm, *Lessons learned from Exxon Valdez*, 2014: http://knowledge.allianz.com/mobility/transportation_safety/?2778/lessons-learned-from-Exxon-Valdez. Accessed 20 March 2015.

[5] «Ship Captain Acquitted of Felony But Is Convicted on Minor Charge», *New York Times*, 23 March 1990, p. 14: http://www.nytimes.com/1990/03/23/us/ship-captain-acquitted-of-felony-but-is-convicted-on-minor-charge.html. Accessed 2 May 2015.

[6] David Tyler, *Rising risks to mariners of criminal prosecution*, 2007: http://www.professionalmariner.com/February-2007/Rising-risks-to-mariners-of-criminal-prosecution/. Accessed 10 May 2015.

immediately arrested and handcuffed. He was charged with criminal offences relating to pollution and disobedience of the Spanish administrative authorities pursuant to the Spanish Criminal Code. Under international law[7], the master could only be imprisoned if he was found guilty of an offence involving a «wilful and serious act of pollution». However, he was transferred to a high security jail where he remained for 83 days being released only upon payment of bail of Euros 3 million under strict conditions, including the obligation to remain in Spain and report to a local police station every morning (including weekends). In March 2005, the master was allowed to return to Greece permanently with an undertaking to return to Spain for the trial. His treatment by the Spanish authorities has attracted much criticism, including from the European Parliament, further to a public hearing in March 2003[8].

The Prestige - decision of the national court[9]

It was something of a coincidence that 11 years to the day on 13 November 2013, in a 263 page judgment, Galicia's regional High Court finally acquitted the master of the Prestige Captain Apostolos Mangouras and the vessel's Chief Engineer Nikolaos Argyropoulos of causing criminal damage to the environment. But Captain Mangouras was also charged and he was convicted of the offence of disobedience under Article 556 of the Penal Code. After pursuing the evidence, the Court found that the Master had initially delaying the towing of the vessel as ordered by the National Maritime Authority so that he could contact the ship-owner. Thus the Court found that the three key elements of the offence of disobedience were fulfilled and concluded that:

> [...] *the accused Captain could not delay for even a minute complying with what was ordered because he lacked any margin to question the order unless it was a question of an order that lacked any rationality and which was obviously prejudicial, which was not the case* [....].

The Court found the disobedience to be «[...] serious not only given the emergency context in which it occurred which did not allow for any doubt hesitation reticence and/or evasion but rather required a prompt reaction of compliance and obedience even in the case that

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[7] United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea of 10 December 1982, Article 230.

[8] Parliamentary report of the European Parliament tabled 15 July 2003, paragraphs 49±50.

[9] *SRI Annual Review 2013*, 2013: http://seafarersrights.org/sri-annual-review-2013/. Accessed 10 March 2015.

there should be disagreement with its full suitability which did not occur but also given its immediate compliance was avoided for an inadmissible reason which was preserving improving or negotiating the financial interests in conflict with the scope for which is provided by the provisions of the salvage team and the usual clauses for this class of activities of towing and salvage».

The judgment raises many issues some of which do not appear entirely consistent. What might be said, however, is that given the clear findings of the Court that «no one knows exactly what was the cause of what happened or what should have been the appropriate response to the emergency situation created by the catastrophic failure of the Prestige», the Court might have been more sympathetic to the master who on the Court's findings had delayed agreeing the tow because he wanted to discuss the situation with the ship-owner.

But even more problematic is the impossible conflict that a master in such a situation finds himself in. Masters can find themselves overwhelmed by competing obligations to their ship-owner, and to the coastal and flag states, and they have to make profound decisions under stress for which they can then be subject to criminal proceedings over many years. The Master is on the horns of a dilemma because he is subordinate to the ship-owner and to the coastal and flag states, yet ultimately he is personally responsible.

Prestige: European Court of Human Rights and bail

The decision of the regional High Court followed in the wake of the decision of the European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR) to which the question of bail had been referred. Following the casualty, on arrival on shore, Captain Mangouras was immediately arrested and escorted to the police station in handcuffs. He was then taken to a high security prison and bail was set at EUR 3 million. This was the highest bail security ever set in the history of Spanish criminal proceedings. Unable to afford this, he remained in jail for 83 days and was released only when the ship's insurers volunteered to cover the bail. Even then, Captain Mangouras was required to remain in Spain and only allowed to return to his home in Greece after 2 years.

Captain Mangouras challenged the level of bail imposed through the Spanish Courts to the highest Court possible (the Constitutional Court), and before the ECtHR on the basis that the sum set was excessive and had been fixed without his personal circumstances having been taken into consideration. He relied on Article 5 § 3 of the Convention which, in its relevant part, provides:

Everyone arrested or detained in accordance with the provisions of paragraph 1.c of this article [...] *shall be entitled to trial within a reasonable time or to release pending trial. Release may be conditioned by guarantees to appear for trial.*

The ECtHR Chamber gave judgment on 8 January 2009, ruling that there had not been a violation of the ECHR and that the amount set was proportionate and reasonable.[10] Captain Mangouras sought, and was granted, leave to have the case referred to the Grand Chamber of the ECtHR. Numerous industry bodies filed Amicus Brief in support of the master's position.

In 2010, the Grand Chamber ruled by a majority of 10 votes to 7 that there had been no violation of Article 5 § 3 even though the bail of EUR 3 million was recognised by the Court as being far beyond the financial means of Captain Mangouras.

The majority decision emphasised two aspects of the case: first, the gravity of the alleged offence and the growing concerns in Europe and elsewhere in relation to environmental damage which was referred to as the "new realities" to be taken into account in interpreting Article 5 § 3 of the Convention. Second, the majority took the view that the Spanish courts in setting the bail had taken into account the "professional environment" which was interpreted as covering the relationship between Captain Mangouras and the ship-owners. The Court noted that the bail had been paid «as a one-off, spontaneous humanitarian gesture» by the London P & I club.

The majority judgement raises many concerns. The Grand Chamber decided that it would be compatible with the Convention for a national court to assume that the employer or its insurers, in the absence of any legal obligation to do so, would feel morally obliged to come to the employee's rescue. This means that if bail is set beyond the affordability of the seafarer and there is no clear obligation on the ship-owner or insurer to stand surety, then a game of bluff is legally sanctioned.

The ECtHR has a responsibility to maintain high standards in the area of the protection of human rights and fundamental liberties. In marine pollution cases, it has permitted seafarers to be used as hostages in a game of bluff to secure on either a legal or moral basis the involvement of shipowners or their insurers in ensuring witnesses attend trial. To set bail far beyond the reach of an accused person is to render illusory his ability to secure his release from custody.

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[10] Mangouras v. Spain App no 12050/04 (Third Chamber judgment 8 January 2009 para 44).

In future, the ECtHR may be persuaded to dilute the effects of its judgement. A new balance needs to be reached for the setting of bail for Masters and crew given the obvious disadvantages they face as visitors only in ports around the world. Until this is taken into account, then the international community is not delivering equivalent human rights for seafarers.

Escalating legal standards

There are a number of different laws that are considered to be increasing the criminal exposure of seafarers. In 2005, the European Union Directive on Criminal Sanctions for Ship-source Pollution (Directive 2005/35/EC) entered into force. In response, a coalition of maritime interests comprised of INTERTANKO, INTERCARGO, the Greek Shipping Cooperation Committee, Lloyd's Register and the International Salvage Union challenged the EU Directive in the European Court of Justice (ECJ) on the basis that the Directive provided for criminal liability for marine pollution events in the absence of intention or recklessness on the part of the accused in contravention of the obligations of member states to MARPOL and UNCLOS Conventions. The ECJ ruled that the main provisions of the Directive remain valid. Potentially the effect of the judgment is that the scope of criminal liability for accidental pollution may be broader than the international regime. The Court also took the view that UNCLOS regulates issues between states and not individuals, and therefore cannot be applied to test the validity of the Directive. Chairman of INTERTANKO, Nick Fistes, was «very concerned at the Court's ruling and its implications for the shipping industry»[11].

The scale of the problem

There are no comprehensive statistics available on incidents of seafarers facing criminal charges. Between February 2011 and February 2012, SRI conducted a survey of seafarers covering their experiences of facing criminal charges, and their perceptions of the risks and consequences of facing such charges. The survey was conducted in eight languages (Chinese, English, Japanese, Portuguese, Russian, Spanish, Tagalog and Turkish). 3480 valid questionnaires were returned from

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[11]INTERTANKO, *Industry coalition statement on ECJ ruling on EU SSP Directive*. 2008: https://www.intertanko.com/News-Desk/Press-Releases/Year-2008/Joint-Press-Release/. Accessed 18 March 2015.

18 countries and 68 different nationalities of seafarers. Seafarers were asked if they had faced criminal charges and if so what were their experiences[12]. 8% of seafarers and 24% of masters had faced criminal charges. The three most common charges related to incidents of pollution, collision, and fatal accidents.

Seafarers were also asked about their experience if they had faced criminal charges. 91% were not provided interpretation services; 90% did not have legal representation; 88% did not have legal rights explained to them; 80% felt intimidated or threatened; 46% said that they would be reluctant to cooperate fully and openly with casualty inquiries and accident investigations. Overall, 81% of seafarers who faced criminal charges did not consider that they had received fair treatment, and 85% were concerned about criminalization.

Seafarers were also asked for their suggestions on how to improve the situation when facing criminal charges. Seafarers want:
• more information on the risks they are exposed to in relation to criminal charges;
• more information on their rights if they are defendants, complainants or witnesses;
• legal and financial support when facing criminal charges;
• a fair process and fair treatment when facing criminal charges;
• a greater network of support from governments, the maritime industry, international organizations and lawyers if they do face criminal charges;
• more uniform laws and procedures given the wide range of different crimes to which they are exposed.

Seafarers said for example:

> We need to be told clearly what our rights are. It is impossible to know everthing even lawyers do not know about the areas and they are specialised; […] Try to create uniform rules for ships and seafarers or easy to understand rule i.e. info books, leaflets for countries or computer based system to help seafarers understand their rule; […] The pre-departure orientation seminar should be revisited and improved. Seafarers should be informed and made aware of their rights; […] Seafarers are not aware about countries laws. They should learn more before they come to the port; […] Many different rules - each different in each country; […] When a case is filed against a seaman, he should be allowed to leave the ship to look for legal assistance. However, once he leaves the ship, he won't have money to spend for his case; […] What is needed is the help of an upright and helpful lawyer to give the seafarer a fair fight

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[12] SRI, *SRI Survey. Seafarers and the Criminal Law. Edition 2*. 2013. http://seafarersrights.org/wp/wp-content/uploads/2014/10/seafarers_and_the_criminal_law_survey1.pdf. Accessed 10 March 2015.

in the case filed against him; […] They should be provided with lawyers who will take their case pro bono because you no longer have a job and on top of that you are fighting a case and surely you won't be able to work again because you will have been blacklisted; […] There should be somebody from government that should help them because sometimes there's no money anymore; […] There should be an organization that provides free legal service to seafarers who are facing criminal charges; […] Seafarers should have an international legal counsel for assistance in case of criminal charges; […] Legal aid should be provided to seafarer; […] Increased involvement of international bodies to provide justice to seafarers; […] Greater support from unions/company/ government; […] A single international legal body with specialist knowledge of the sea able to investigate and judge the national legal incidents; […] The court and judge must include a panel of seafarers and the seafarer must only be punished for an act of intent of total negligence; […] There must be someone who support and represent the seafarer. As for now the seafarer is a world traveller who is treated by authorities as a second hand citizen which no civilian/businessman/tourist would have experienced without a scandal; […] The IMO has to intervene, as not all governments (states) take full responsibiity for their seafarers.

International efforts

In 2005, a Joint IMO/ILO Ad Hoc Expert Working Group on the Fair Treatment of Seafarers in the Event of a Maritime Accident was established. This resulted in a joint resolution[13] and, in 2006, the adoption of the Guidelines on Fair Treatment of Seafarers in the Event of a Maritime Accident (the Guidelines)[14]. The stated objective of the Guidelines is to ensure that seafarers are treated fairly following a maritime accident and during any investigation and detention by public authorities, and that detention is for no longer than necessary. The Guidelines set out standards to be met by port and coastal states, flag states, seafarer states, shipowners and seafarers in the event of a maritime accident. IMO Assembly Resolution A.27/Res.1056/Rev.1 called for the promotion as widely as possible of the application of the Guidelines and also requested «the IMO Legal Committee and the ILO Governing Body to continue to keep the problem of unfair treatment of seafarers in the event of a maritime accident under review and to assess periodically the scale of the problem».

[13] Joint Resolution of the Assembly of the IMO and of the Governing Body of the ILO, IMO Resolution A.987(24), adopted 1 December 2005.
[14] Resolution of the IMO Legal Committee LEG.3(91), adopted 27 April 2006.

In 2013, SRI carried out a survey of States on their implementation of the Guidelines. A total of 45 responses, representing 26% of the Member States of IMO, were received in the first instance and then analysed, covering the answers and information contained in the responses to the survey, as well as the very large number of implementing laws referred to by Member States in their responses to the survey.

From the analysis of the 45 responses, the following observations can be made[15]:

1. Thirteen Member States (29% of the respondents), representing a wide range of different legal systems, stated that their existing laws already adequately protect human and other legal rights of seafarers contained in the guidelines and that, therefore, there is no need for the guidelines to be passed into their existing laws. The existing laws in these Member States typically cover a wide range of legal areas, including international law, constitutional law, criminal law, commercial law, labour law, merchant shipping law, marine environmental law, and marine casualty and marine incident investigation law. These existing laws are, in most of these Member States, implemented by many different government ministries and/or independent legal entities within each Member State. Analysis of these existing laws shows that they provide information that would be helpful to other Member States wishing to determine the extent to which their existing laws may already give effect to the guidelines.

2. Seventeen Member States (38% of the respondents) have passed the guidelines, either in whole or in part, into their national laws, either explicitly or implicitly. In some of these Member States, the national laws stipulate the mandatory implementation of the guidelines, while in many other Member States it is typically stated that the guidelines "must" or "should" be taken "into account" or "consideration." These national laws take the form of primary laws and/or secondary laws. They cover for most of these Member States only one area of the law specifically defined as marine casualty and marine accident investigation law. Analysis of these national laws shows that they may readily be regarded as providing a range of different model laws that could be adapted without difficulty by other Member States wishing to give effect to the guidelines.

3. Fifteen Member States (33% of the respondents) requested assistance in the form of information regarding the meaning of the guidelines and/or model legislation by the IMO for the purpose of giving effect to the guidelines. The requests for assistance made by these Member States can be met by developing guidance for them to consider, informed by the laws of other Member States and taking into account other appropriate considerations.

[15] IMO LEG 102-4.

Conclusion

The seafaring profession has inherent risks and these have increased with the current trend of masters and crew being held accountable for maritime incidents and accidents. Whilst statistically it can be argued that the chances of seafarers facing criminal charges are low, perception is a powerful drive. A fear of criminalization can discourage young talent from choosing a seafaring career, or remaining in the profession or accepting promotion. Efforts therefore must continue around promotion of the rights contained in the Guidelines so that the threat of criminalization is no longer an undue risk for seafarers, and if seafarers do face criminal charges, they have legal protections in place that will ensure a fair outcome. The message from seafarers is loud and clear. Seafarers are saying that their rights are theoretical and illusory; they need them to be practical and effective.

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Abstract

Although Seafarers make a very significant contribution to the systematic rhythm of our daily lives, they are a largely invisible workforce. Shipping transports over ninety percent of global trade; yet, often it comes to the attention of media, and consequently to the public, only when a serious accident or catastrophic incident occurs. The sea is a dangerous environment. Adding to the inherent challenges it brings, seafarers also must balance between international and port state laws, best practices and the owners' constant pressures to reduce costs. Moreover, seafarers face another big challenge, namely, the threat of criminalization. Seafarers, especially masters and senior officers of ships, are increasingly being investigated and charged when an accident happens, especially where environmental damage occurs. There is inevitably heightened political tension, given the anticipated public and media reaction to such events, and states are often very quick to blame, even before an investigation is conducted. The seriousness of this led to the adoption in 2006 of the Fair Treatment Guidelines in the Event of a Maritime Accident (the Guidelines) by the International Maritime Organization (IMO) and the International Labour Organization (ILO). Yet a survey conducted by the Seafarers' Rights International (SRI) in 2012 strongly suggests that the rights of seafarers, as enshrined in the Guidelines, may often be subject to violation, and that there is widespread concern among seafarers.

The Role of Trade Unions in the Maritime World

The role of trade unions in the world of work goes through many different phases and varies hugely from one country to another. In some countries trade unions support left wing parties, in others they have close links with the church. Some unions group together workers in specific occupations while others represent all kinds of worker in a specific industry. The key thing about trade unions (or labor unions as they are known in North America) is that they are closely linked with national law, political and social practices.

This made sense when national laws determined wages and working conditions. In the world of "globalization" (a term which was only invented in the 1980s) it doesn't work. If employers can choose the most "convenient" nationality, they normally prefer one where unions are weak or non-existent. That is why national unions are increasingly working together in the bodies known as Global Union Federations (or GUFs).

Transport, and particularly maritime transport, has always had to cope with globalization, even before it got that name. Probably the earliest example of "globalization" of the labour market was the decision of a number of (mainly U.S.) shipowners to seek a more convenient nationality under which they could operate their ships. In 1958, this led the International Transport Workers' Federation, the GUF which I had the privilege to lead for 20 years until I retired in 2013, to establish a global action against what we named "Flags of Convenience".

The Flag of Convenience (FOC) Campaign, which was launched by the ITF in 1948, still continues today and the role of trade unions in the maritime sector has evolved to be very different from that in other branches of the economy. The FOC campaign had two wings. As I often had to explain to major maritime gatherings which I addressed as ITF General Secretary, its political wing – designed to eliminate the use of Flags of Convenience and to ensure that all ships were registered in their country of beneficial ownership and control, has been spectacularly unsuccessful. The percentage of merchant ships registered under what the ITF terms a flag of convenience has grown and grown. Today

the majority of large tankers, bulk carriers and container vessels (except those registered in China) fly the flag of an FOC country.

However, the ITF's industrial campaign – intended to ensure that seafarers working aboard FOC ships are covered by collective agreements which meet standards acceptable to the world's seafarers, has been a spectacular success. That success (more than 11,000 such ships are now covered by ITF acceptable collective agreements worldwide) reflects the special nature and role played by trade unions in the maritime world.

This role reflects the unique relationship which has existed for more than a century between the seafarers who work aboard merchant ships and the dockworkers who load and unload them in port. Coming from very different national, cultural linguistic and religious backgrounds, seafarers and dockers nevertheless have a great deal in common. They have always met each other, talked to each other (despite language barriers) and, very often, drunk with each other in ports all over the world. It is no coincidence that the foundation of the ITF itself in 1896 came about as a result of British seafarers refusing to allow their ships be unloaded by strike breaking Dutch dockers in the port of Rotterdam.

The reason why the ITF's industrial campaign has been so successful is due to the solidarity action between seafarers and dockers continues to the present day. In 1896, the seafarers took strike action in support of dockers. Today, it is much more often the other way round. Many ITF dockers' unions are committed to taking whatever action is legally open to them (this is a very important phrase in most ITF policy statement) to prevent any ship which does not meet ITF standards from being loaded or unloaded in their port.

The close seafarer/docker relationship continues today in the leadership of the ITF FOC campaign. All its political governing bodies (The ITF Fair Practices Committee and its subcommittees) are made up of equal numbers of seafarers' and dockers' unions representatives.

As such, maritime trade unions (both seafarers and dockers but particularly seafarers) have a relationship with their international 'umbrella' body – the ITF – unlike that in any other sector of the global economy.

Dockers' Unions

Dockers' unions are still composed of nationals and residents of the port country. These unions normally play an important role in their own wider national trade union movement, but strategic role gives them a position out of all proportion to the small number of workers. A good example of this was the lock out (never a strike) of dockworkers along the West Coast of the United States in 2002. As part of a wage

conflict, just over 10,000 dockworkers were prevented from working by their employers. Within 7 days, more than 250,000 factory workers in Asia were thrown off their jobs. The world had become so globalized that if finished products could not be unloaded from ships and components and raw materials loaded, the factories in Asia which depended on those ships simply had to close down. A similar problem arose with the same union at the beginning of 2015. Within a week, President Obama sent in his Labor Secretary to mediate a settlement.

Their importance means that for the ITF, and for other dockers' unions (to say nothing of seafarers), that strong union role has to be maintained. This led to a series of defeats for the European Commission in Brussels which tried, in the early 2000s, to deregulate the ports and eliminate the key role played by dockers unions. That led to an almost unique event in 2003 when the European Parliament voted down a proposal by its own Transport Committee to introduce what has become known as Ports Package 1. A massive demonstration in front of the Parliament organized by the ITF's European wing, the ETF, played an important role here, but so too did an intensive lobbying campaign supported by the ITF.

Ports Package 2 was since defeated and there are rumours that the Commission is still working on Ports Package 3. However, by now, even the European Commission has learned to appreciate the special role of maritime trade unions.

Seafarers' Unions

There exists an even more unique group of maritime workers-seafarers. We no longer use the word seamen as an increasing number of women work on board ship, particularly in the cruise ship sector.

Seafarers unions are divided into various different groups; yet, the one thing which they all have in common is enthusiastic and loyal membership of the ITF. Unlike dockers' unions, seafarers unions are composed of many different nationalities and, with a few important exceptions, very rarely nationals of the country of registration of a ship (what we call 'the flag state').

Officers and Ratings

The first key division amongst most seafarers' unions is between those which organize ships' officers (those workers who hold qualifications recognized by the International Maritime Organization's Convention). In most cases, officers have their own unions. Sometimes, there is a further

division between deck officers and engineer officers. Yet, the biggest difference is that they are often made up of nationals of the flag state.

With one big and important exception (the United States), the membership of unions organizing ratings (the categories of workers not requiring STCW licenses) is not made up of nationals of the flag state. The US has a very large and powerful ratings union (the SIU-NA) mainly because of a very old piece of legislation called the Jones Act which reserves all cargoes transported between US ports to ships which are flagged, manned and built in the United States.

With the exception of workers on board ferries and cargo ships engaged in the coastal trade and some cases where seafarers' unions have lobbied hard for Jones Act like protections, ratings unions from the traditional maritime nations either have become very small or have accepted membership of non-nationals who now crew their country's ships.

On board Flag of Convenience ships, where ITF policy allocates "negotiating rights" to the country of beneficial ownership, the majority of ratings and often the bulk of officers are members of a union from what is known as the "labour supplying state".

As such, seafarers' unions are divided into officers and ratings but also into "labour supply" and "beneficial ownership" unions. In terms of ITF policy, there is a third group which is "unions which take action" – these are usually, but not always, dockers' unions. ITF operations today involve close cooperation and agreement between all three groups of unions. Since the beginning of the 21st century, this has involved the world's first and, up till now, only internationally negotiated collective agreement – through what is known as the IBF.

Global Negotiations

Since 2003, the 50 year old system of ITF political bodies deciding on the wages and conditions which must apply to FOC ships has been radically modified. The ITF and its key maritime affiliated unions (ownership, labour supply and action countries) play a major role in a body called the International Bargaining Forum or IBF. Every two years a group of ITF negotiators and a group of representatives from the employer counterpart which is known as the JNG (Joint Negotiating Group) meet and reach agreement on the wages, as well as other conditions of employment which will be recognized as meeting ITF standards for those employers. This meeting involves more than 20 seafarer and docker union leaders from every region of the world.

Hence, understanding the role of maritime trade unions means to understand the ITF. The member unions of the ITF have very different values and objectives – which is hardly surprising since jobs from

traditional maritime nations have been transferring to the labour supplying countries over the past 50 plus years. Nevertheless, all those unions have reached agreement between each other on the distribution of jobs and of the very substantial income flows which the ITF agreement system generates.

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Abstract

Throughout its history, maritime transport has been a globalized industry. Hence, the close link between trade unions and national laws, politics and social practices, which is essential for the effectiveness of trade unions in most countries, does not work well in this industry. If employers can choose the most convenient nationality, they tend to do so. To counter this, unions increasingly work together in Global Union Federations (GUFs). The international Transport Workers Federation (ITF) is such a GUF and addresses shipowners' tendencies to flag out to cut costs and consequently affecting the wages and working conditions of the seafarers. The main unions in the maritime transport industry under the ITF umbrella are the dockers' unions and the seafarers' unions which work in tandem complementing each other to protect their own, as well as each other's rights. This cooperation between dockers and seafarers has proven very effective and mutually beneficial. The dockers unions have been very influential in preventing "European Port Packages" intended to decrease the influence of dockers' unions. The seafarers' unions have also seen successes such as the Jones Act. Though the ITF political wing's Flag of Convenience campaign did not generate much success, its industrial wing has been hugely successful. The ITF and its key maritime affiliated unions together (the International Bargaining Forum) with employers' counterpart groups (Joint Negotiating Group) reach agreements on wages and other conditions for seafarers. Considering the practices and the success of the ITF, it is essential to understand the workings of the ITF in order to grasp the workings of maritime trade unions.

History of the Maritime Faith Welfare Organizations

Roald Kverndal traces the organized beginnings of modern Christian outreach to seafarers with the foundation of the Naval and Military Bible Society in Britain in 1779[1]. Structures that had existed for ministry to the maritime community in the medieval and early modern periods up to the end of the sixteenth century had become obsolete with changes in the church following the Protestant Reformation and the Catholic Counter Reformation, and in the seafaring world with the full-flowering of the mercantile era[2]. From a faith based perspective the work of the Naval and Military Bible Society in Britain, which was based around the distribution of Bibles, portions of scripture and tracts to seafarers, has to be seen as a type of welfare work as faith based welfare work is essentially grounded in the concept of spiritual welfare.

The concept of welfare in terms of maritime faith welfare organizations is one which has to be understood on its own terms as including the spiritual, mental, moral, physical and temporal welfare of seafarers and maritime communities. The emphasis on the different aspects of welfare may have changed at different points in the development of maritime faith welfare organizations, but the constant factor is the commitment of the maritime faith based organizations to the seafaring community and the common factor which unites the faith based organizations is precisely that of being grounded in their faith as the source of all their various activities. This understanding of being rooted in a faith commitment to seafarers can be seen as the basis for the faith based welfare organizations cooperation among each other as well as their cooperation with non-faith based organizations for the furtherance of the welfare of seafarers. Without an understanding of

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[1] Roald Kverndal, *Seamen's Missions: Their Origin and Early Growth,* William Carey Library, Passadena CA 1986, p. 71.

[2] Robert Miller, *Ship of Peter: The Catholic Sea Apostolate and the Apostolate of the Sea*, University of Plymouth, Institute of Marine Studies, M.Phil Thesis, 1995, pp. 27-49.

the central role of the concept of faith as the basis for the existence and activities of the faith based welfare organizations, it is impossible to accurately survey the history of the maritime faith welfare organizations from the latter part of the eighteenth century until now.

Twenty five years after the founding of the Naval and Military Bible Society, the British and Foreign Bible Society (BFBS) was founded in 1804 and this society saw itself not as a rival but as a supplement and extension of the work of the existing society. The work of the BFBS would not only include the distribution of Bibles and Bible portions to British sailors but also to the foreign prisoners of war held in prison ships around the coasts of Britain. Many of these foreign prisoners were also seafarers and this is still an era when the lines of distinction between naval and merchant naval personnel were not clearly demarcated as they would become later in the 19th century. Ordinary merchant seafarers could find themselves pressed into naval service and then return to merchant seafaring life once they were discharged from naval service[3]. The activities of the BFBS would also encourage the foundation of local Bible societies in Britain and the USA and the development of Bible societies in continental Europe in the early decades of the 19th century[4]. The work of the Bible Societies may be seen as both a precursor to the eventual establishment of faith based maritime mission organizations and as the establishment of what remains to this day a constitutive part of the world of faith based maritime welfare. The Bible societies also began the work of ship visiting by the societies' agents and the distribution of literature on board ships as well as entering into correspondence with seafarers who wished to actively cooperate with the work of the societies themselves.

While there is no doubt that the work of the Bible societies involved outreach to seafarers and included the activities of ship visiting and literature distribution, the real beginnings of the seafarers' mission story is rooted in the encounter between Zebedee Rogers, a shoemaker and member of the Silver Street Wesleyan Methodist Chapel in Rotherhithe, London, and David Simpson, captain of the *Friendship*, a coastal collier in the early summer of 1814. This encounter led to Rogers leading prayer services on David Simpson's vessel and on other vessels, and in turn this led to the phenomenon known as the Thames Revival in 1814-1815 and following years which featured ship board prayer meetings and other follow up activities[5]. By March 1817,

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[3] Kverndal, *Seamen's Missions*, pp. 81-109.

[4] *Ibidem*, pp. 135-150.

[5] Roald Kverndal, *George Charles Smith of Penzance*, Pasadena CA, William Carey Library, 2012, pp. 50-51.

this new movement had a developed a flag, known as the Bethel flag, which was flown to indicate when a ship was hosting a prayer meeting and invite seafarers from fellow ships. This led to the early seafarers mission movement being also known as the Bethel movement[6] and it is possible to trace a direct connection between the emergence of the Thames revival and subsequent Bethel movement with the development of various seafarers' mission societies including the Sailors' Society and the Seafarers' Christian Friend Society, as well as various smaller local seafarers' friend societies that still play a significant part in faith based welfare work among seafarers today.

The Thames Revival and the Bethel movement attracted various people from across the evangelical spectrum in British protestantism which desired to further this work that had begun among seafarers. One figure who would rise to prominence and take a pivotal role in organizing land based seafarers' welfare and religious outreach was the former seafarer, the Reverend George Charles Smith (1782-1863). Smith, who was an ordained minister in the Baptist Church in Penance in Cornwall in England, had been engaged in a Naval Correspondence Mission with some British Naval personnel from 1809; it was in 1817 that he went to London to observe and participate in the Thames Revival[7]. Smith's dynamic personality and energy, combined with his enthusiasm and commitment for a ministry among seafarers, led him to become the driving force in the establishment of the Port of London Society for Promoting Religion among Merchant Seamen in 1818 and, at the same time, in the promotion of the idea to make a floating chapel from a converted ship as a designated place of worship for seafarers[8]. The dedication of the Thames Floating Chapel established a model of ministry among seafarers that would be emulated in many other ports in places as near as Liverpool and Dublin, and as far away as New York city, Philadelphia and Bombay. Land based mariner's churches would also make their appearances and societies dedicated to the religious and moral welfare of seafarers would be established in many port cities, particularly in the United Kingdom and in North America. The use of the voluntary association structure would typify the way in which individuals interested in and committed to maritime ministry would combine their efforts and organise their outreach to seafarers from this early period in faith based maritime welfare work to the present day.

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[6] Kverndal, *Seamen's Missions*, p. 156 ff. and the note by the Reverend J. Longmuir to his poem «The Bethel Flag» in *Ocean Lays*, Edinburgh, Johnstone and Hunter, 1854, p. 292.

[7] Kverndal, *George Charles Smith of Penzance*, p. XXIX.

[8] Kverndal, *Seamen's Missions*, pp. 175-185.

Although the Bethel movement continued in existence to a greater or lesser extent for some decades, the emergence of land based floating chapels and mariners' churches, associations and societies to administer their activities eventually meant the end of a ministry in which seafarers themselves were active agents with ownership of the ministry as much in the hands of seafarers as in the hands of those who were going on board to preach and worship with seafarers. With the development of the network of societies and associations dedicated to the religious and moral welfare of seafarers, seafarers would become the objects of the work of such societies rather than active subjects engaged in common worship and fellowship among themselves. It is also hard to imagine the place which seafarers held in British society at that time: they were essentially a marginalized group with their own distinctive way of talking and dress, and were relegated to dwell in "sailor town" areas of port towns and cities when ashore. Sailors were often impressed for service at sea at an early age and were victims of the notorious "crimping" system which effectively kept seafarers in lives of poverty and forced servitude. It is perhaps inevitable that "sailors" as a group would become the object of mission for missionary minded people in the context of the evangelical revivals of the first half of the 19th century.

George Charles Smith was in a special position as both an evangelist and former seafarer and as one who had a vision for maritime mission; he saw the need for a ministry that would go beyond the local shipboard fellowships and port societies to a national and world-wide network. This led to the founding of the Bethel Seamen's Union, British and Foreign (BSU) which held its first preliminary meeting on October 22nd 1819. In less than one year, the same organisation had included reference to the "Temporal and Eternal welfare of Seamen" in its committee minutes as well as the "provision of suitable boarding houses for seafarers on their arrival from foreign voyages"[9]. Already by 1820, the issues of temporal welfare and the need for boarding houses for seafarers were being identified as legitimate concerns of faith based maritime ministries alongside the concerns about distributing scriptures, organizing worship for seafarers and spreading the Bethel flag and Bethel prayer meetings on ships in every seaport, presumably throughout the world. An important part of this strategy in the context of the time was the production and distribution of the Sailor's Magazine which was launched by Smith in 1820 under the auspices of the British and Foreign Seamen's Friend Society and Bethel Union[10]. This launch into print media is entirely consistent with the dissemination of information and entertainment in that era when magazines were read and re-read and discussed.

[9] *Ibidem*, p. 637.
[10] Kverndal, *George Charles Smith of Penzance*, pp. 62-66.

The British and Foreign Seamen's Friend Society and Bethel Union would face various internal difficulties throughout the 1820s and 1830s despite the development of a widespread network of maritime ministries in ports across Britain and Ireland. The eventual result was the founding of the British and Foreign Sailors Society in 1833 which also included the successor of the 1818 Port of London Society[11]. This society went on to become the British Sailors' Society in 1925 and was renamed the British and International Sailors' Society in 1995; since 2007 it has simply become known as the Sailors' Society. In the 19th and 20th centuries it would be one of the "big two" British maritime missions along with the Anglican Mission to Seafarers and one of the "big three" global maritime ministries and faith-based maritime welfare organisations in the post World War II world along with the Mission to Seafarers and the Apostleship of the Sea.

The Bethel movement very quickly spread from Britain to North America: the Society for Promoting the Gospel among Seamen in the Port of New York was founded in 1818 and this can be seen as simultaneous with similar developments in England. George Charles Smith encouraged the adoption of the Bethel Flag and the development of an American Sailor's Magazine which began publication in May1821 as a supplement to the evangelical paper, the Christian Herald, which became known as the Christian Herald and Seamen's Magazine until December 1824[12]. Smith also encouraged the Reverend John Truair, British born pastor of the New York Mariners' Church, to found the American Seamen's Friend Society which he duly did in January 1826[13]. The American Society remained in a state of suspension almost from its foundation till 1828, but once it was up and running it developed as originally intended and by 1830 there was even a port missionary of the American Seamen's Friend Society in Whampoa and Canton in China. Smith's vision of a global network of ministries to seafarers was becoming a reality. Yet, a global network is ultimately a collection of diverse local connections. Although the Roman Catholic Church was not represented in the maritime mission movement at this stage, maritime mission included a broad spectrum of people from Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian, Reformed and Anglican churches. In many cases they were working together in interdenominational societies but some works were specifically denominational especially in regard to Anglican initiatives. A specifically Anglican body, the Port of Dublin Society in

[11] Kverndal, *Seamen's Missions*, p. 279.
[12] Kverndal, «George Charles Smith: Founder of the Seafarers' Mission Movement,» *Maritime Mission Studies*, 1, Spring 1998, p. 18.
[13] Taylor Raffety, Matthew, *The Republic Afloat, Law, Honor, and Citizenship in Maritime America,* Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2013, p. 201.

Dublin, Ireland, established its own floating chapel, the Dublin Episcopal Floating Chapel, in 1823[14]. In 1827, the Episcopal Floating Church Society adapted the HMS Brazen as a floating chapel for the Thames in London, while in the same year, the Anglican Liverpool Mariners' Church Society opened a vessel for worship with Hull and Cork following in 1828 and 1830 respectively[15]. At that time, these initiatives did not become a national network in the then United Kingdom of Britain and Ireland. However, they show a specifically denominational contribution to maritime ministry that would develop later in the 19th century with the establishment of the Anglican Missions to Seamen in the United Kingdom and the other maritime ministries emanating from national churches in continental European countries.

While the pattern had been to adapt ships to become floating chapels, in 1843 the Protestant Episcopal Young Men's Church Society of New York decided to use the base of a ferry boat as the foundations for a full Gothic style floating church[16]. This church was to inspire the Young Men's Church Society to reform as the Protestant Episcopal Church Missionary Society for Seamen in the City and Port of New York, subsequently to become the Seamen's Church Institute which continues as a significant stakeholder in faith based maritime welfare to this day, not least through its Center for Seafarers' Rights. However, a more immediate effect of the establishment of an Episcopal Church foundation in New York was the foundation of the Churchmen's Missionary Association for Seamen in the Port of Philadelphia in 1847 which dedicated its own Gothic steepled floating chapel in 1849[17].

From a faith-based welfare perspective, the first half of the nineteenth century saw an increasing amount of effort in the provision of services that provided for the temporal welfare of seafarers. In 1823, the first land based mariner's church was built in Britain in Aberdeen since a floating chapel was considered impracticable in the local context; by 1825, this church had a seamen's school serving seamen and their sons and a School for Seamens Girls was added in 1826[18]. As mariners' churches and Bethels were constructed in more and more

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[14] Kverndal, *Seamen's Missions*, pp. 285-286.

[15] Alston Kennerley, *British Seamen's Missions and Sailors' Homes – 1815 to 1970,* Ph. D. Thesis, Polytechnic South West in collaboration with the University of Exeter and the National Maritime Museum, 1989, p. 63.

[16] Leah Robinson Rousmaniere, «A Highly Interesting Year: The Reverend Benjamin C. C. Parker and the Young Men's Church Missionary Society, 1843», *Maritime Mission Studies*, 1, Spring 1994, pp. 39-43.

[17] Kverndal, *Seamen's Missions*, pp. 506-508.

[18] Kverndal, *Seamen's Missions*, p. 236 and John L. Duthie, «Philanthropy and Evangelism among Aberdeen Seamen, 1814-1924», *The Scottish Historical Review*, 176, October 1984, pp. 156-157.

ports, they inevitably included lecture and school rooms. Duthie reports that seafarers in Aberdeen were taught navigation as well as English, geography, writing, arithmetic and Biblical studies[19]. Kverndal also details the emergence of seafarers libraries located at floating chapels, Bethels and mariners' churches beginning with the Greenock Floating Chapel in 1820[20]; soon the practice of circulating library boxes to ships began, remaining a service operated by many faith based maritime welfare organizations even to this day. Shore side mariners' churches would also provide reading rooms where seafarers could read the papers, magazines, journals and books available in the seafarers' libraries. Hence, some of the features of the latter seamen's institutes became widespread in the 1820s and 1830s.

By the mid-nineteenth century, there is a transition in emphasis from prayer meetings and worship ashore and afloat to the work of paid ministers, missionaries and voluntary workers visiting ships along with the provision of various services. The British and Foreign Sailors' Society offered a range of welfare facilities for seafarers at its new Sailors' Institute opened in London in 1856, including a reading room, a coffee room, a nautical school, classrooms, a bank, a lecture hall with Bethel services, temperance meetings and popular lectures, free tours of the tower to survey the city and the docks, a lavatory for washing and a service for holding letters for seafarers[21]. With the massive developments in industry, technology and commerce and the further development of the industrial working class, of which seafarers were to form an important component, changes in mission and ministry among seafarers and the provision of welfare to seafarers reflected and responded to the changes in the world and in shipping technology, as well as the methods and manner of loading and unloading cargo. The seafarers institute and the modes of operation of faith based welfare ministries among seafarers were essentially set for the coming era until and into the period of the Second World War.

One area that had been highlighted as early as 1820 was the issue of boarding houses for seafarers when ashore. Seafarers waiting to be paid or waiting for ships were often vulnerable targets for unscrupulous boarding house keepers. From the beginning of organised ministry among seafarers various seamen's mission societies offered lists of approved boarding houses for seafarers[22]. George Charles Smith advanced the idea of a sailors' home providing an integrated range of fa-

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[19] Duthie, «Philanthropy and Evangelism among Aberdeen Seamen», p. 160.

[20] Kverndal, *Seamen's Missions*, pp. 315-316.

[21] Kennerley, *British Seamen's Missions and Sailors' Homes*, Appendix 8a, p. XXXVII.

[22] Kverndal, *Seamen's Missions*, p. 330.

cilities for seamen in the Sailor's Magazine as early as 1825[23]. In 1828, Smith was involved in the establishment of the Destitute Sailor's Asylum to provide limited accommodation for 160 seafarers in the winter months when it was often difficult to get a ship. In the same year, Smith was involved in the efforts to construct another sailors' home in London, but the work was mired in controversy and delay. While Smith felt compelled to withdraw from the enterprise, the London Sailors' Home finally opened in 1835. In addition to accommodation, the London Sailors' Home provided banking and facilities for storage of personal effects and even an employment register for seafarers, as well as a library and reading rooms[24]. The London Sailors' Home would prove to be a model for many such establishments and not all sailors' homes were run by faith-based organisations. One such sailors home that remains active to this day is the Queen Victoria Seamen's Rest in London which is under Methodist auspices. Although sailors' homes were partly intended to oppose the practice of crimping in which many boarding houses for sailors had colluded, many seafarers still preferred the traditional boarding houses if they had women housekeepers as they presented something of a home-like atmosphere.

Even though some seafarers churches, Bethels and institutes were run on denominational lines, it took some decades for the national churches to have their own seafarers' missions as such. The pioneering work of Anglican priest, the Reverend Dr. John Ashley, in the Bristol channel from 1835 to 1850 provided the inspiration for the foundation of the Anglican Missions to Seamen which is now known as the Mission to Seafarers. This society founded as a voluntary missionary society within the Church of England became and remains the largest single faith based maritime welfare organisation. Ashley's ministry in the Bristol Channel was essentially a ministry afloat to ships that were waiting off the coast for berths to unload and reload cargo. He purchased and specially fitted out a cutter called the *Eirene* to perform his ministry and is estimated to have visited some 14,000 ships and sold some 5,000 Bibles and Prayer Books in the period when he was active in ministry among seafarers[25]. Within five years of Ashley's withdrawal from ministry, the Bristol Channel Mission was revived and involved two vessels, operating in the roadsteads - the areas where vessels waiting for berths congregated. In 1856, this work would be reorganised by a well placed layman, Mr. W. H. K. Kingston, as the Mis-

[23] Alston Kennerley, «The sailors' home London and Seamen's Welfare», *Maritime Mission Studies*, 1, Spring 1988, p. 29 and note 18, p. 50.

[24] Kennerley, *British Seamen's Missions and Sailors' Homes*, p. 86.

[25] Robert Miller, *From Shore to Shore – A History of the Church and the Merchant Seafarer from Earliest Times*, Nailsworth Glos., By the Author, 1989, p. 53.

sions to Seamen Afloat, at Home and Abroad. Various existing Anglican ministries to seafarers in Britain and Ireland were incorporated into the new body in 1856-1857 and the body took the image of the Flying Angel from Revelations 14:6 as symbol: thus the Mission to Seafarers is often still known as the Flying Angel[26]. It took some decades for the early Missions to Seamen to slowly move from a ministry centred on visiting ships anchored at the roadsteads to more shore based ministry centred on institutes and ship visiting from the dock sides; yet, there was an acceptance of the role of simultaneous shore based ministry from the early 1860s onwards[27].

The Missions to Seamen was not the only Church of England missionary society dedicated to seafarers. The Saint Andrew's Waterside Church Mission was founded by the Reverend C. E. Robinson in 1864 and represented a ministry that worked in and through the parish structure of the local church. Robinson's vision for maritime ministry saw the need for an agency that would encourage, support and coordinate local outreach to seafarers through the parish structures[28]. This work flourished up to and, after the First World War, included assistance given to parishes and dioceses engaged in maritime ministry abroad. The Saint Andrew's Waterside Church Mission eventually declined in the inter-war years and in 1939 the work of the Saint Andrew's Waterside Church Mission was amalgamated into the Missions to Seamen[29]. The activities of this more Anglo Catholic and parochial centred mission is deserving of mention, not only because of its contribution to maritime ministry and seafarers' welfare for almost 70 years but because it saw the importance of incorporating the local church structure into the life and work of maritime mission and the world of seafaring into the life of the local church.

Other important denominational and national church ministries among seafarers were being developed in Continental Europe at this time. In 1864, the Society for the Proclamation of the Gospel to Scandinavian Seamen in Foreign Ports was founded in Bergen, Norway, with the Reverend Johan Cordt Harmens Storjohann as the principal agent in this initiative[30]. This mission would become known as the Norwegian Seamen's Mission (Den norske Sjömannsmisjon) and Storjohann would use his influence and contacts to encourage the foundation of seamen's missions in Denmark, Sweden and Finland to minister to seamen abroad from their respective Scandinavian countries. The Danish

[26] Kverndal, *Seamen's Missions*, pp. 383-391.
[27] *Ibidem*, p. 392 and Miller, *From Shore to Shore*, pp. 59-75.
[28] Miller, *From Shore to Shore,* p. 61.
[29] *Ibidem*, pp. 83-92.
[30] Kverndal, *Seamen's Missions*, pp. 599-601.

seamen's mission society was formed in 1867, with the Swedish mission society following in 1869 and the Finnish society in 1875[31]. These mission societies became a feature of maritime faith based welfare organisations ministering to their own communities in their own languages in many ports in Europe and beyond. Their methods of ship visiting and club hospitality reflected the models that had become current in the wider maritime world mission. However, their distinctive characteristic remained their almost exclusive concentration on their own and kindred nationalities. In a similar vein, the German (Protestant) Seamen's Mission began its work as the Committee for Church Ministry to German Seafarers Abroad in 1886 and established its network in German and foreign ports which continues to the present. Since the advent of ecumenical cooperation among the seafarers' ministries in the period from the end of the 1960s and the early 1970s, the German Seamen's Mission has committed itself to work in ecumenical teamwork, opening its facilities and extending its ministries to non-German seafarers.

With the exception of Roman Catholic ministry among seafarers, most of the societies and the patterns of faith based welfare work among seafarers was established by the mid-1880s. One society which we have not mentioned so far and which still plays an active part in faith based maritime welfare work is the Seamen's Christian Friend Society founded by the Reverend George Teil Hill in London in 1846. Hill was connected with George Charles Smith and was greatly influenced by him[32]. The Seamen's Christian Friend Society operated ministries in various ports in Britain and Ireland in the latter part of the 19th century and has a presence in eleven countries around the world at present. In general, the chaplains of the Seamen's Christian Friend Society operate a ministry of ship visiting and hospitality with a clear commitment to sharing faith as well as practical help. In 2012, the Seamen's Christian Friend Society joined the International Christian Maritime Association, the ecumenical umbrella body representing the Christian faith based maritime welfare organisations.

The period between the 1860s and the 1880s saw a great expansion in shipping and this was reflected in the expansion of maritime mission activity. In 1860, the Missions to Seamen had eight honorary chaplains (voluntary part-time), ten mission chaplains and twelve lay readers (all full-time); moreover, it possessed nineteen facilities whether vessels afloat or institutes ashore from which to base its operations. By 1880, the Missions to Seamen had seventy-one honorary chaplains, twenty-four paid mission chaplains, forty-three full-time lay leaders,

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[31] *Ibidem*, pp. 600-609.
[32] *Ibidem*, p. 375.

twelve boats and vessels, eight churches and institutes, thirty-six home stations and ten foreign stations. In 1860, the British and Foreign Sailors' Society had sixteen home stations and three foreign stations and, by 1880, this number had risen to twenty-four home stations and ten foreign stations[33]. Even the small Seamen's Christian Friend Society increased from working at two locations around London to six locations around Britain and Ireland in the same period[34].

The 1880s also saw the founding of the Mission to Deep Sea Fishermen by Ebenezer Maher; the mission was originally attached to the Thames Church Mission. Maher's original insight was to «preach the word and heal the sick»: religious and social outreach were to be the major features of this ministry to fishers and their families[35]. While the work of the Royal National Mission to Deep Sea Fishermen continues to this day and plays an important role in the provision of faith-based welfare to fishers, other initiatives rose and faded away.

The Reverend Charles Plomer Hopkins was an Anglican priest ordained in Myanmar (then Burma) in 1884. Hopkins operated as port chaplain in Rangoon supported by a locally organised Seamen's Friendly Society; later, Hopkins became involved in a court case concerning the death of an English apprentice and an overloaded ship. He was transferred by his Bishop to the remote coastal port of Akyab[36]. Hopkins took religious vows with a small Anglican religious community, the Society of Saint Paul, when he was on sick leave in Britain in 1888 and began to develop his work among seafarers along the lines of a religious order, the Order of Saint Paul, with his appointment as port chaplain in Calcutta. In 1894, Hopkins left India for England and his work in Calcutta wound up some two years later, although his order continued its work among seafarers in England up to and including the period of the First World War. Like Smith, Hopkins saw the importance of publishing a magazine and wanted to provide the absolute best for seafarers in terms of hospitality and quality facilities. His publication *Prayer Book for Catholic Seamen* and the ministry of a religious community dedicated to seafarers influenced Peter Anson in his vision for the Roman Catholic Apostleship of the Sea[37].

[33] Kennerley, *British Seamen's Missions and Sailors' Homes*, pp. 140-141.

[34] Kverndal, *Seamen's Missions*, p. 376.

[35] Stanley Prichard, *Fish and Ships: Royal National Mission to Deep Sea Fishermen 1881-1981*, London: Mobrays, 1980, pp. 19-21.

[36] Miller, *From Shore to Shore*, p. 116; Id., «Charles Polmer Hopkins (1861-1922): The Gaps», *Maritime Mission Studies*, 2, Autumn 1995, pp. 57-58; Id., *Charles Polmer Hopkins and the Seamen's Union with Particular Reference to the 1911 Strike*, MA Thesis, University of Warwick, 1992, pp. 31-32.

[37] Miller, *From Shore to Shore*, pp. 117-121 and Peter Anson, *The Church and the Sailor*, London, John Gifford, 1947 pp. 44-45 and p. 99.

Hopkins was in many ways treated as an outsider by the Church of England: he was considered a priest in colonial orders and was not given permission to officiate in England. Him and his order were seen to belong firmly on the Anglo-Catholic wing of Anglicanism. However, his concern for seafarers' welfare led him to deep involvement with the National Seamen's and Fireman's Union: it was Hopkins who announced the 1911 Seamen's Strike. He was granted the decorations of OBE and CBE (Order of the British Empire and Commander of the British Empire) in 1916 and 1918 respectively and sat on the National Maritime Board during the First World War[38].

Hopkins' vision progressed from pastoral care and hospitality to concern for justice and action on behalf of seafarers' rights, to seeing the possibilities of a religious community dedicated to the care of seafarers as the vehicle for expressing such holistic pastoral outreach. It is tempting to view Hopkins' contribution to maritime mission as a footnote or something away from the mainstream; yet, he did plant seeds in the mind of Peter Anson and pointed out the link between pastoral care, hospitality and concerted action for seafarers' rights and safety at sea.

One other initiative in faith based maritime outreach in the period from the mid-1880s till the First World War was the extension of the ministry of the Salvation Army onto the high seas as the Salvation Navy. Like the Mission to Deep Sea Fishermen and the early Missions to Seamen, the Salvation Navy operated seagoing vessels and had some four vessels in operation around the year 1900. The work of the Salvation Navy has not been documented outside Salvationist sources and there is little known of its beginnings or ending, except that there seems to have been some concentration on the development of small group of Christian witnesses on board ships[39]. Meanwhile, another "mission afloat" was to be the harbinger of Roman Catholic work among seafarers. In a work that seems to have derived its immediate inspiration from the Mission to Deep Sea Fishermen, the French Augustinians of the Assumption began work among French cod fishers off the coasts of Newfoundland in 1894. This endeavour was to become known as the Société des Oeuvres de Mer, combining, in some way, the type of ministry of the Mission to Deep Sea Fishermen with that of a religious community dedicated to seafarers. The vessels of the Société des Oeuvres de Mer incorporated facilities for both medical care and religious ministry; the Vatican instruction *Jam Inde* of December 21, 1905 gave special facilities to the

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[38] Miller, *Shore to Shore*, pp. 121-122 and «Charles Polmer Hopkins (1861-1922): The Gaps», p. 58.

[39] Robert Miller, «The Salvation Navy», *IASMM Newsletter*, Spring 1996, pp. 12-14.

Assumptionists to exercise their ministry across various ecclesiastical boundaries, seemingly giving control of the whole Roman Catholic Sea Apostolate to the Assumptionists[40]. Despite this wide scope, the activities of the Assumptionists remained localised and, due to the changes in the technology of fishing vessels and the fishing industry, their work became more land based. Again and again, it becomes clear that faith based maritime welfare work has to be constantly adaptable to changes in technology and seafaring practices, as well as related changes in commerce, industry and the wider transport sector.

While work was going on afloat off the coasts of Newfoundland, the first signs of concern for a ministry among Roman Catholic seafarers by Roman Catholics were beginning to surface in Britain. In 1890, an English Jesuit priest, Fr. Francis Goldie S.J., proposed that Catholic reading matter be sent to ships in an editorial in the popular Catholic magazine *The Messenger of the Sacred Heart*. This proposal initiated Roman Catholic literature and naval correspondence work. Goldie prepared a prayer book for Catholic seafarers *The Guide to Heaven for Use of those at Sea*[41]. Cardinal Vaughan opened a Catholic Sailors' Club in London in 1893 and some ship visiting was beginning in 1895[42]. Even at this early stage, Goldie was beginning to advance the idea of an apostleship of seafarers, rather than simply a mission to seafarers. In his thought, Roman Catholic ships' officers in the navy and merchant services should be apostles in the cause of Catholic seafarers. In 1894, the Apostleship of the Sea was formed as a seamen's branch of the Apostleship of Prayer[43].

A special branch of the Apostleship of Prayer devoted to ship visiting and literature distributing began its activities in 1899 under the direction of Swiss Jesuit, Fr. Joseph Egger S.J. Among its various volunteers was a young Irishman called Daniel Shields who went on to become a Jesuit Brother, playing a significant role in the development of the Apostleship of the Sea in the years following the First World War[44]. The Roman Catholic endeavours in Glasgow were really putting into practice Goldie's vision for a Catholic confraternity for seamen working on similar lines of the voluntary religious association known as the Society of St. Vincent de Paul which was, and still is,

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[40] Miller, «The Catholic Sea Apostolate and the Apostolate of the Sea», p. 108 and «Augustianians of the Assumption», *IASMM Newsletter*, Spring 1994, p. 8.

[41] Miller, *From Shore to Shore*, pp. 107-108.

[42] Anson, *The Church and the Sailor*, p. 64.

[43] Miller, *From Shore to Shore*, p. 109 and «The Catholic Sea Apostolate and the Apostolate of the Sea», p. 83.

[44] Miller, *From Shore to Shore*, p. 110 and «The Catholic Sea Apostolate and the Apostolate of the Sea», p. 85, and Vincent A. Yzermans, *American Catholic Seafarers' Church*, Washington DC, National Catholic Conference for Seafarers in the United States, 1995, p. 76.

active in bringing assistance to the poor and needy[45]. Although in its infancy, compared to the work of the Protestant bodies among seafarers, by the outbreak of the First World War, there were eighteen ports where Roman Catholic ministry for seafarers was being served from a building and four ports served without a building. In addition, there were seven full or part-time chaplains, about ten salaried lay staff and some ninety volunteers[46].

Although much of the development in Roman Catholic activity among seafarers was curtailed during the 1914-1918 conflict, the Roman Catholic Chaplaincy service in the (British) Royal Navy was greatly expanded and developed at this time: it was in the context of reviewing a list of Roman Catholic naval chaplains and services for Roman Catholic naval personnel in 1917 that brought Peter F. Anson into involvement with the Catholic sea apostolate. Originally an English Anglican, Anson was a member of the Anglican Benedictine community on Caldey Island who converted to the Roman Catholic Church in 1914. Anson, who was known as Brother Richard, wrote an article about the state of the Roman Catholic sea apostolate in the British Catholic paper the *Universe* in April 1920, leading Brother Daniel Shields to become connected with Arthur Gannon. This in turn led to the revival of the work of the Apostleship of the Sea in Glasgow which had been dormant since 1907[47].

There is no doubt that this was decidedly a *kairos* moment in the establishment of a new presence in faith based maritime welfare. With the permission of the Apostleship of Prayer, the organisation that was coming into existence could use the title Apostleship of the Sea and with the work on the ground, as well as Anson's formulation of a vision and framework for a Catholic sea apostloate, the new body rapidly took shape. Like Smith, Anson possessed a global vision for maritime ministry, readily acknowledging influences such as the Seamen's Union in the British and Foreign Sailor's Society, Hopkin's Society of St. Paul, as well as the early pioneering thought and efforts of Fr. Goldie and Fr. Egger and the structure and work of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul[48]. Anson not only combined much of what had been developed in outreach to and service for seafarers in other non-Catholic faith based bodies, he also included the concept of apostleship and fellowship that had been present from the beginning of the Catholic initiatives, as well

[45] Anson, *The Church and the Sailor*, pp. 58-61.

[46] Miller, «The Catholic Sea Apostolate and the Apostolate of the Sea», p. 122, and Yzermans, *American Catholic Seafarers Church,* p. 78.

[47] Yzermans, *American Catholic Seafarers' Church,* p. 80.

[48] Anson, *The Church and the Sailor*, pp. 98-99, and Yzermans, *American Catholic Seafarers' Church,* pp. 80-83.

as a structure of parochial committees, central committees, diocesan committees and even a supreme council, giving the organisation both vertical and horizontal dimensions[49].

The Apostleship of the Sea was envisaged as an international institutionalised movement, with the approval of both the British Bishops and the Vatican. Its work expanded in scope and organisation throughout the 1920s and 1930s. An important factor in this expansion and in the consolidation of the movement was the role of a series international congresses held between 1927 and the outbreak of the Second World War. Eleven of these congresses were held during this period; in 1931, the Apostolatus Maris International Concilium was founded following the 1930 congress held in Liverpool, England[50]. Anson was able to report that in 1920 there were twelve ports in the world that counted Roman Catholic provision for Roman Catholic seafarers, while by 1932 he could list forty institutes and six hostels, as well as fourteen honorary port chaplains. In addition, over twenty-five thousand seafarers of various nations had been enrolled as members of the Apostleship of the Sea[51]. Although the institution of the Apostleship of the Sea was still smaller than either the Missions to Seamen or the British and Foreign Sailors' Society in terms of facilities, stations and representation around the world, its growth in the inter war years was impressive and this growth would be consolidated and further advanced in the years following the 1939-45 conflict.

The period between 1890 and 1915 witnessed great growth in both the Missions to Seamen and the British and Foreign Sailors' Society. In 1890, there were fifty four churches and institutes belonging to the Missions to Seamen; and by 1915, the number had expanded to one hundred and forty eight. In terms of global outreach, the number of foreign stations increased from eight to thirty nine. Meanwhile in the period from 1891 to 1906, the British and Foreign Sailors' Society increased its number of missionaries from fourteen to twenty nine, its number of Bethels and institutes from thirty six to one hundred and twelve[52]. The period after the First World War saw a slump in shipping, while the faith based maritime welfare organisations did much to provide aid for destitute seafarers seeking assistance. The Seamen's Church Institute in New York opened a relief shelter capable of housing 500 seafarers per night in the winter of 1921-1922, but still 27,000

[49] Miller, «The Catholic Sea Apostolate and the Apostleship of the Sea», p. 167.
[50] Yzermans, *American Catholic Seafarers' Church*, pp. 84-85.
[51] Anson, *The Church and the Sailor*, p. 107.
[52] Kennerley, *British Seamen's Missions and Sailors' Homes*, pp. 140-141.

seafarers had to be turned away in 1922 because of lack of space[53]. While there was some contraction in the number of buildings and institutes during the great depression in the 1930s, by 1939, the seafarers missions had become the principal providers of accommodation for seafarers in Britain with the mission bodies providing 2537 beds compared to the 1542 beds in sailors' homes[54].

One other notable development in the period before the Second World War was the provision of some facilities for non-European seafarers in European ports. In 1930, 52,000 of the estimated 200,000 seafarers in the British mercantile marine were Asian seamen, known at that time as Lascars, and a further 15,000 seafarers were of non-British nationalities[55]. From 1887 to 1932, the St. Andrew's Waterside Mission sponsored the St. Luke's Church Lascar Mission in the parish of St. Luke in London's docklands. Some of the chaplains involved in the work were of Indian origin and others were English clergy who had served in India[56]. Gollock reports on the Institute for Asiatic Seamen in Liverpool and the St. Andrews Waterside Mission was involved with work among Japanese seamen in London, while a Japanese Sailors' Home was run in London by a Miss Palmer, in conjunction with the Missions to Seamen[57]. The Apostleship of the Sea also opened a special club for African and coloured seafarers in Antwerp in the 1930s; special work among African seafarers in Antwerp continued for many decades[58]. However, such works remained very much in the background of the "normal" activities of the faith based welfare organisations, operating among seafarers in this period.

The Second World War brought in major changes in terms of the operation of faith based maritime welfare organisations that could not even be fully apprehended at that time. Many seamen's institutes and mission stations were closed or suspended in Axis occupied areas during the War, while in the Allied countries, maritime mission societies had to work in cooperation with government operated welfare agencies in an unprecedented manner. The Apostleship of the Sea had expanded its facilities in many ports in Allied countries in the War years and the network of Roman Catholic seafarers' clubs and ministries in the

[53] Leah Robinson Rousmaniere, *Anchored Within the Vail: A Pictorial History of the Seamen's Church Institute,* New York, The Seamen's Church Institute of New York, 1995, p. 59.

[54] Kennerley, *British Seamen's Missions and Sailors' Homes*, pp. 174-177.

[55] Gollock, *At the Sign of the Flying Angel*, London, Longmans, Green and Co., 1930, p. 26.

[56] Miller, *From Shore to Shore*, pp. 133-135.

[57] Gollock, *At the Sign of the Flying Angel*, p. 221, and R. Miller, *From Shore to Shore*, pp. 135-136.

[58] Anson, *The Church and the Sailor*, p. 111.

United States had grown extensively[59]. The primitive facilities in many of the seamen's institutes in Britain had received harsh criticism from the wartime Seamen's Welfare Board in the United Kingdom[60]. The Report of the Committee on Seamen's Welfare in Ports published in London in 1945 went so far as to envisage a limited, consultative and supervised role for the voluntary sector in regard to seafarers' welfare in the future[61]. The recommendations of the 1945 Report were quite modified by the time of the founding of the Merchant Navy Welfare Board in 1948 when the voluntary sector had to accept control on a voluntary basis. Facilities were to be upgraded to modern standards and funds were be available to help with this[62].

In the post War world and in the decades to come, the desired base of operations for faith based maritime welfare organisations in ports was a well-equipped modern seamen's club with a chapel and a range of recreational facilities. The seafarers' institute was now upgraded to a more comfortable clubhouse, chaplains and staff at seafarers' mission centres visited ships as well as hospitals and prisons, if necessary, providing transport for seafarers to visit seafarers' centres as well as offering a range of recreational activities for seafarers ashore. The emphasis of the ministry offered by chaplains centred on pastoral care and hospitality, as well as providing religious services[63]. Many seafarers clubs also offered accommodation and the various mission bodies operated a number of seafarers' hotels as seafarers often spent significant time ashore while ships loaded or discharged cargo, as well as waiting to join or change ships.

The networks of the major faith based maritime welfare providers did not only grow and expand in terms of facilities in the 1950s; the period saw a strengthening and consolidation of the mission organisations and their networks. An international secretariat was established for the Apostleship of the Sea in the Vatican in 1952; in 1957, the Vatican published the *Leges Apostolatus Maris* as the canonical constitution for the Apostleship of the Sea which was updated in 1977, following the Second Vatican Council[64]. The Anglican Missions to Seamen remained a centralised body with close cooperation with some kindred societies, notably the Mersey Mission to Seamen in Liverpool and the Mediterranean Mission to Seamen. As early as 1954, the Arch-

[59] *Ibidem*, pp. 190-226.
[60] Kennerley, *British Seamen's Missions and Sailors' Homes*, pp. 198-199.
[61] *Report of the Committee on Seamen's Welfare in Ports,* London, H.M. Stationery Office, 1945, Sec. 16, Nos. 97-103.
[62] Kennerley, *British Seamen's Missions and Sailors' Homes*, p. 243.
[63] Strong, *Flying Angel*, London: Methuen, 1956, pp. 113-124.
[64] Yzermans, *American Catholic Seafarers' Church*, p. 129.

bishop of Canterbury pointed out the need for increased cooperation and consultation between the various seafarers' missions under Anglican auspices[65]. Yet, only in 1979, an identifiable Mission to Seamen network emerged in the United States with the cooperation of the various Seamen's Church Institutes and honorary chaplains. In 1988, the world-wide Anglican Bishops' Lambeth Conference endorsed the ministry and mission of the Missions to Seamen as the mission of the churches of the Anglican Communion to all seafarers[66]. In April 2014, the Mission to Seafarers in London announced the reorganisation of the activities of the Mission to Seafarers into global regions: Europe, Africa, the Middle-East, East Asia in order to better respond to the changing world of seafaring and seafarers' welfare.

By the 1950s, most of the small independent non-Anglican Protestant seafarers' missions and Bethels in England had either affiliated with the British Sailor's Society or ceased to be ministries to seafarers, with the Seamen's Christian Friend Society being the notable exception[67]. However in North America, another type of network was developing among the Protestant seafarers' ministries and welfare agencies that would be the precursor of the major ecumenical breakthrough that was still just beyond the horizon. The National Group of Seamen's Agencies was founded in 1932 and incorporated as the National Council of Seamen's Agencies in 1951. In 1967, the name of the body changed to the International Council of Seamen's Agencies (ICOSA) in respect of the mainly Canadian non-USA members of the body[68]. This body was founded to promote closer cooperation between the seamen's agencies and act as an agent for sharing information of common interest as well as to present a common front in pursuing matters relating to seafarers' welfare and the promotion of a spiritual emphasis[69]. In the 1960s and 1970s, a number of Roman Catholic port chaplains joined ICOSA as associate members; it was in 1979 that the US National Catholic Conference for Seafarers began to hold their conferences in tandem with those of ICOSA. In 1991, ICOSA was renamed as the North American Maritime Ministry Association (NAMMA) and managed to span the ecumenical spectrum from Roman Catholic to Southern Baptist in terms of its membership in the common pursuit of faith based seafarers' welfare.

[65] Strong, *Flying Angel*, p. 179.

[66] Bill Down, *On Course Together*, Norwich, The Canterbury Press, 1989, p. 180.

[67] Kennerley, *British Seamen's Missions and Sailors' Homes*, pp. 225-226.

[68] Down, *On Course Together*, p. 50, and Yzermans, *American Catholic Seafarers' Church*, p. 212.

[69] Roald Kverndal, «Partnership in Maritime Mission: A Contribution to the History of Cooperative Maritime Ministry in North America», *Occasional Papers of the International Association for the Study of Maritime Mission*, 1, June 1992, p. 3.

ICOSA and the Division of World Mission and Evangelism of the World Council of Churches jointly sponsored the 1969 Rotterdam Consultation on Services to Seafarers that would lead to the founding of the International Christian Maritime Association (ICMA). ICMA was to be an association to «foster collaboration and mutual aid among the constituent bodies and to further common interests», as well as «to be the collective and respected voice of the association within the industry and outside it: which can offer counsel and be heard within the councils of those bodies whose deliberations in any way affect or influence the lives of seafarers»[70]. From the very beginning, the Roman Catholic Church was part of ICMA and the first ICMA Plenary Conference was held in London in 1972. In his survey of the work of the Missions to Seamen written in 1973, Michael Jacob wrote that «increasingly the various societies are working together, and it is rare now for the Missions to Seamen to act in isolation from one or other of its partners where possibilities for cooperation exist»[71]. Such a statement would have been impossible to imagine only five years before.

If ICMA represented a sea change in ecumenical cooperation, the world of seafaring was about to experience the advent of what would become known as globalisation in the seafaring world. Changes in shipping technology, particularly containerization, combined with computerization, came with changes in finance and opportunities for deregulation, encouraging the flagging-out of ships and consequent changes in the employment of seafarers and the recruitment of crews. Soon the world of seafarer's chaplaincy would have to contend with multinational crews working for agencies rather than ship owners in circumstances where the turnaround time for ships in port was getting shorter and shorter while ships were getting bigger and bigger with smaller and smaller crews. Moreover, new port terminals for the bigger ships were built further and further away from the location of the new seamen's clubs that had been opened just years before. At the same time, the number of ships and seafarers with problems of injustice and safety concerns was increasing.

Justice and advocacy were to become niche ministries with the faith based welfare organisations, now working closely with the International Transport Federation (ITF) on behalf of seafarers in situations of injustice. In 1978, ICMA was ready to participate with the ITF in the formation of the International Committee for Seafarers Welfare (ICSW) which later would merge with the International Seafarers' Assistance Network to become the International Seafarers Welfare and Assistance Network (ISWAN). ISWAN still has ICMA and the ITF as its core members.

[70] Yzermans, *American Catholic Seafarers' Church*, p. 214.
[71] Michael Jacob, *The Flying Angel Story*, London, Mobrays, 1973, p. 53.

The Seamen's Church Institute of New York and New Jersey established the Center for Seafarers' Rights in 1982, combining, in an innovative way, structural analysis, advocacy, consciousness raising and a proactive stance on seafarers' rights in a specialised ministry that is still as necessary nowadays as it was when it was founded thirty-three years ago[72]. In 1989, agreement was reached between ICMA and the ITF regarding cooperation, their respective roles and functions; the agreement was ratified at the ICMA Plenary Conference in Lagonisssi, Greece held in that year.

The period of the 1980s and 1990s represented a transition period for maritime mission: it took some time to fully recognize the profound nature of the changes in almost all aspects of work among seafarers that was taking place. Changes in crews and crew compositions, drop-off in use of buildings and facilities, coping with abandoned ships and abandoned crews, the rise of piracy and the problem of stowaways that has now become the issue of mass migration by sea coupled with issues of people trafficking. Considering faith based ministries, various initiatives in this period took place, including worker priests, priests working as seafarers[73], sailing chaplains who, in some cases, joined ships doing general duties and offering support to members of the crew[74] and the Ministering Seafarers' Project, started by the late Ray Eckhoff of the Tacoma Seamen's Center in Washington, State, USA[75].

New denominational and interdenominational mission agencies have come on the scene of maritime ministry and are now active participants in faith based maritime welfare. Korea Harbour Evangelism was founded in 1974 to evangelise seafarers regardless of colour, creed and nationality. This agency operates as the maritime agency of World Concern, Korea. Despite its strongly evangelical emphasis, Korea Harbour Evangelism welcomes seafarers with hospitality and has supported many abandoned crews, as well as seafarers in difficulty. The Korea International Maritime Mission, founded as Korea Seamen's Mission,

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[72] *A History of Seafarers' Rights*, Special 1994 Annual Issue, *The Lookout*, Summer 1995.

[73] Roland Doriol, «Among Filipinos and Other Sailors: A Jesuit Worker Priest's Account of Life Among Seamen», translated by Edmund Ryder S.J., French original published in *Christus*, April 1990; Bernard Vincent «Spirituality on board a Vessel or better Our Life in God»; Guy Pasquier, untitled submission on Seafarers' Spirituality, Papers Presented at the ICMA Europe Conference, Antwerp, September 18-22, 1996.

[74] Kurt Edlund, «Sailing Chaplains», *ICMA 8th Plenary Conference, South Africa 1999 – Into Christ's New Millennium,* Southampton, England: International Christian Maritime Association, 1999, pp. 32-33.

[75] Ray Eckhoff, «Maritime Follow-up Ministry», *Maritime Mission Studies*, 1, 1994, pp. 17-22.

has concentrated more on Korean seafarers and their families, providing centres for seafarers and active groups that support seafarers' families[76]. The number of Korean seafarers has declined significantly in recent years with the increase in Korean living standards and salaries. Korean Protestantism has also had to face difficulties of numerical stagnation. Nevertheless, the Korean seafarers' ministries have strongly emphasised the role of ship board lay seafarer activists as agents of maritime mission and full members of the mission agencies.

An unexpected arrival in the world of maritime ministry was the emergence of Southern Baptist seafarers' ministries in the United States. This work began in New Orleans in 1965 with the establishment of the New Orleans Baptist Seamen's Service and within twenty years there have been a network of thirty-five Southern Baptist international seafarers' ministries in the United States. The Southern Baptist agency in Baton Rouge became an associate member of ICOSA in 1979 and Southern Baptist agencies are well represented in NAMMA at the present time[77].

The period since 2000 has brought many challenges for maritime mission, the full impacts of globalisation have gone from being a shock to the system to the "new normal" to the context in which maritime mission operates. New advances in satellite technology may mean that seafarers will normally access internet from mobile devices at sea. Security issues and port access issues will remain important factors. In 1779, there were many who thought that seafarers were beyond reach, yet there were those who made the effort to cross boundaries and reach out to those who go down to the sea in ships. Nowadays, many people reach out to the same people who work under the radar to bring us the goods we use in our daily life.

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[76] Jonah Won Jong Choi, «Asian American Cooperation in Maritime Ministry: Past, Present and Future,» presented at Tacoma Seafarers' Center, June 20, 1999 as part of the North American Maritime Ministry Conference, Seattle, June 19-22, 1999.

[77] «The Southern Baptists made Maritime History in New Orleans This Year», *Watermarks,* No. 3, September 1983, p. 12.

Abstract

The organized outset of modern Christian outreach to seafarers can be traced to the foundation of the Naval and Military Bible Society in Britain in 1779. Yet, structures existed for ministry to the maritime community in the medieval and early modern periods. The concept of welfare in terms of maritime faith welfare organizations includes several dimensions, such as, the spiritual, mental, moral, physical and temporal wellbeing of seafarers and maritime communities. The emphasis on the different aspects of welfare may have changed at different points in the development of maritime faith welfare organizations. Nevertheless, along the history of such an outreach, the constant factor is the commitment of the maritime faith based organizations to the seafaring community.

Seafarers' Ministry
in Ecumenical Perspective

Introduction: Seafarers in Liminal Space

The life of a seafarer has always been different. Even with modern standards and technology it continues to be demanding and a lonely work. Since ancient times, the seafaring life was known to have special challenges. Consider the classic saying attributed to the Greek philosopher Anacharis quoted on the wall of the newly built museum for seafaring history in Helsingør, Denmark: «There are three types of people: The Living, The Dead and Mariners»[1]. From Early Modernity, another classic maxim: «Qui nescit orare, discat navigare» which translated means: «He who does not know how to pray, let him learn to be a sailor». Moreover, the Puritan John Flavel echoed this opinion by saying that seamen were neither living nor dead, being in continual suspense between the two categories[2]. These sentiments formed the frame in which modern seafarers' welfare ministries were developed, but also continue to shape those efforts to our time.

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[1] See www.mfs.dk.

[2] As cited in Brent S. Sirota, «The Church: Anglicanism and the Nationalization of Maritime Space», in Philip J. Stern and Carl Wennerlind, eds., *Mercantilism Reimagined: Political Economy in Early Modern Britain and Its Empire*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2013, p. 199. Compare also with the comments of Roald Kverndal who stated that until the 19th century seafarers lived in "subhuman" socio-economic situations: *Seamen's Missions: Their Origins and Early Growth*, Pasadena: William Carey Library, 1986, p. 57. Although without the pejorative edge of earlier literature, a modern book on merchant seafarers still makes much the same case: «A seaman's life is a lonely one. In a world where alienation and anomie are becoming commonplace words, the seaman's life has always been one of loneliness and alienation. The major part of his life must be lived at sea, must be lived in a world which automatically cuts him off from the world ashore; and so home, friends, and family all fade into time as soon as the stern of a ship disappears into the horizon», Mariam G. Sherar, *Shipping Out: A Sociological Study of the American Merchant Seaman*, Cornell Maritime Press, Cambridge MD 1973, p. xi.

Concerning the relation between Church and seafarer, historian Brent Sirota has recently written: «Seafaring and transmarine people seemed to inhabit a morally and ecclesiologically liminal space beyond the ken of traditional sources of pastoral oversight, discipline, and charitable relief».[3] Though claiming seafarers must exist in suspense between Church, society and life is no doubt pejorative, in practice it is hard to deny that ministry among seafarers has always existed in the "liminal" space or the fringes of the majority of Christian service. Yet, this kind of fringe work has still attracted many faithful and joyful servants. As many will testify, doing ministry on the boundaries of society and the Church is both exhilarating and challenging - though having limited resources and uneven institutional support, the flexibility and intensity of serving new people from the whole world every day make it attractive. It is also in this setting of flexibility that ecclesial bodies can construct — whether intentionally or unintentionally — points of contact between each other that would not traditionally have been possible, yet are deemed necessary for service to seafarers.

From the beginnings of organized seafarers' ministry in the early 19th century, the movement has recognized its privileged position in ecumenical conversation. First, it was a mission to the whole world, seafarers having experienced the world in ways many others had not, but also, increasingly, seafarers being from all parts of the world. Second, the practical realities of seafarers' ministry, especially pressures from shipping companies, ports and market realities, meant that seafarers' ministries were increasingly driven together by forces far beyond theological ideals. Evidenced already in the first years of seafarers' ministry, but more acutely in the latter 20th century, seafarers' ministries could often claim to be some of the most practically ecumenical ministries in the world. Indeed, even those ministries that would feel uncomfortable joining one of the traditional maritime ministry associations for theological or missiological reasons still tend to have a much wider circle of ministry partners from other denominations than their denominational colleagues.

History of Ecumenical Work in Maritime Ministry

Though seafarers had been accompanied by chaplains and had specific spiritual literature destined for them in the previous centuries, more robust and structured welfare work has only happened in the last two centuries. Seafarers' welfare historian Paul Mooney helpfully notes that «Medieval and post-Reformation work among seafarers was based

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[3] Sirota, «The Church», p. 199.

on the "Christendom" concept of Church that saw seafarer as primarily a member of his local parish rather than part of an occupational based "people group" for whom a special type of mission work was needed»[4]. Nonetheless, it was in that era that a certain literature was produced for seafarers, though not in a focused manner: both in English language and various Continental European languages, devotional literature became available to help seafarers in daily prayers. For example, in 1662 the re-established Church of England produced a *Book of Common Prayer* including *Forms of Prayers to be Used at Sea*[5].

Even though some focus came to literature ministries in the late 18th century, at least as early as the Naval and Military Bible Society started in Britain in 1779[6], it was only at the beginnings of the 19th century that seafarers as a people group became objects of more organized concern[7]. In his major study on *Seamen's Missions*, Roald Kverndal denotes several phases in the early history of this increasingly ordered maritime ministry in the early decades of the 19th century[8]. During the first phase, preceded by precursors, we see initial experimentation, with literature ministries and seafarers themselves playing a larger role. The most notable examples were the "Bethel" movement and the work of George Charles Smith of Penzance[9]. "Bosun" Smith was a well-known early pioneer of land based maritime ministry work.

Pioneering individuals such as Smith began much of the work in local areas, but, as Kverdal notes, subsequent phases in this early period of seafarers' ministry saw centralizing factors leading to the establishment of national societies and increased denominational work[10]. Various regional and international bodies were created to extend the impact of local successes. Kverndal noted a generation of denominational and diaconal

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[4] Paul G. Mooney, «Serving Seafarers Under Sail and Steam: A Missiological Reflection on the Development of Maritime Missions from 1779 to 1945», *Occasional Papers of the International Association for the Study of Maritime Mission*, 2, June 2000, p. 2.

[5] Kverndal, *Seamen's Missions*, p. 12. On these added prayers Sirota, «The Church», p. 196, writes: «Most importantly, the additional prayers signaled a new cognizance on the part of both Church and state that English national life now comprehended both land and sea, and that the subjects of the reestablished confessional state might require the consolations of its public worship far beyond the traditional demarcations of the parish, diocese, and kingdom».

[6] Kverndal, *Seamen's Missions*, p. 535; See also Sirota, «The Church», p. 200.

[7] For a survey of how seafarers were viewed and cared for by the Church from the Middle ages to the 19th century, see R.W.H. Miller, *The Church and the Merchant Seafarer: An Introductory History*, Lutterworth, Cambridge 2012.

[8] Kverndal, *Seamen's Missions*, p. 71.

[9] Roald Kverndal, *George Charles Smith of Penance: From Nelson Sailor to Mission Pioneer*, William Carey Library, Pasadena 2012.

[10] Kverndal, *Seamen's Missions*, p. 71. See also Mooney, «Serving Seafarers», pp. 2-5.

differentiation. In this period, many institutions developed and continued into the 20th century, both among Protestants, but also increasingly among Catholics. Moving into the 20th century, seafarers' welfare agencies saw much closer work with government and union agencies, in advocacy and lobbying, but also in the practical help for seafarers[11]. That is, concern now included the intellectual and social improvement of seafarers, along with the religious dimension. Seafarers' ministry was not so much focused on Church, but on housing and social welfare. With the notable exception of the disruption of work because of two World Wars, the models of religious and practical concern for seafarers developed in the late-19th century, continuing until the mid-20th century[12].

In the immediate post-WWII era, regarding seafarers' welfare, much more emphasis was put on the seamen's club as hub for social services. Paul Mooney describes this development well:

> *Once the privations of the immediate post-war period had passed and the structures of the new period began to take shape, chaplains and mission staffs found themselves operating in structures and ministries that offered a mixture of religion, welfare and recreation. For most Christian seamen's missions, the desired centre and base of operations was a well-equipped modern seamen's club with a chapel and a range of recreational facilities. From this base, the chaplain and mission staff would daily visit seafarers on board ships, in hospitals and in prisons if necessary. In the evenings launches and buses would collect seafarers from ships at anchor or on the dockside and transport them to the seamen's club and return them to their vessels later that night. Ships' crews were still large and time in port was still measured in days or even weeks and many sailors had time to frequent the "mission"[13].*

By the 1970s, however, in an increasingly globalized and deregulated maritime industry, the model of seafarers' center was no longer easily tenable. Most widespread was the move toward a seamen's club and away from a large hotel complex that catered uniquely to seafarers. Yet, as the century progressed, even the seafarers' centers themselves would undergo changes.

Through the last decades of the 20th century and into the 21st century, many within maritime ministry would need to reevaluate the

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[11] Mooney, «Serving Seafarers», p. 17. See also Alston Kennerley, «Writing the History of Merchant Seafarer Education, Training and Welfare: Retrospect and Prospect», http://www.cnrs-scrn.org/northern_mariner/vol12/tnm_12_2_1-21.pdf.

[12] Mooney, «Serving Seafarers», pp. 17-29.

[13] Paul G. Mooney, *Maritime Mission: History, Developments, A New Perspective*, Uitgeverij Boekencentrum, Zoetermeer 2005, p. 61.

"welfare-recreation-chaplaincy" approach to ministry[14]. Indeed, as the turn-around time of ships in ports decreased dramatically and mobile communications technology became more readily available on ship, seafarers' centers were no longer attractive as they once were.

Ecumenism and Maritime Ministry

The ecumenical impulse in maritime ministry did not happen in a void. Rather, contact between Christian groups closely mirrored what was happening in many other ministries and on national or international levels. Though the idea has developed in different ways in various Christian traditions, it tends to mean the task of making visible, once again, the unity that Christ seemed to have given to the Church at its beginning[15]. In the last several centuries, there has been an increasing push towards a common witness among Christians, especially for the reason of facing the embarrassment of division and specific problems that could not be dealt with suitably alone[16]. Though the merger of the Faith and Order Movement and the Life and Work Movement in order to have the World Council of Churches (WCC) in the 1930s and 40s brought together a number of Churches, the movement's impact was felt far beyond. The Catholic Church has never formally joined the WCC, being official observers since Vatican II. In a similar manner, although many Evangelical Protestant groups did not join, and have been vocal critics of the WCC, they have not remained entirely independent. Rather, they have been drawn together into what is now the World Evangelical Alliance. Indeed, the 20th century did see a stupendous rise in the number of denominations and independent Churches, but also a general sense that theological traditions ought to be at least aware of each other, if not also find ways to work together.

As Churches learned more about each other, they explored how common work would be possible. A good deal of resistance was inevitable on levels of basic understanding of Scripture, Theology and Ecclesiology. However, it was soon clear that many Church leaders and especially individuals did have deep motivation to realize shared ethical objectives[17]. Even though individuals arrived at these objectives in very different ways, it was clear that working together across confessional boundaries meant projects could proceed with a great deal of more structure and support.

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[14] Mooney, *Maritime Mission*, p. 69.
[15] «Ecumene», in Hans Dieter Betz, Don S. Browning, Bernd Janowski and Eberhard Jüngel, eds., *Religion Past & Present*, Brill, Leiden 2008, p. 286.
[16] *Ibidem*, p. 288.
[17] *Ibidem*, p. 288.

From the Roman Catholic side, for example, this desire came out already in *Unitatis redintegratio,* but especially in John Paul II's *Ut unum sint* (1995). This encyclical evokes the traditional dividing issues of tradition, sacraments, ordination, magisterium, and the virgin Mary, but above all the strong call for ecumenical commitment: «The Catholic Church embraces with hope the commitment to ecumenism as a duty of the Christian conscience enlightened by faith and guided by love».[18] Such an ecumenical desire is expressed in continued spiritual fellowship and dialogue, as well as ongoing practical cooperation. The Pope writes: «This cooperation based on our common faith is not only filled with fraternal communion, but is a manifestation of Christ himself. Moreover, ecumenical cooperation is a true school of ecumenism, a dynamic road to unity. Unity of action leads to the full unity of faith»[19].

Though cooperation in common work does not necessarily resolve all theological problems, it does lead to an increase in solidarity and a shared voice:

> *It happens more and more often that the leaders of Christian Communities join together in taking a stand in the name of Christ on important problems concerning man's calling and on freedom, justice, peace, and the future of the world. In this way they "communicate" in one of the tasks which constitutes the mission of Christians: that of reminding society of God's will in a realistic manner, warning the authorities and their fellow-citizens against taking steps which would lead to the trampling of human rights. It is clear, as experience shows, that in some circumstances the united voice of Christians has more impact than any one isolated voice.*[20]

Though voices might still be divided on various confessional or ecclesiological issues, the united voice in service of other human beings is a critically important part of modern ecumenism. This united commitment in service of humanity despite theological dissonance has resulted in a clear impact in the world of maritime ministry. John Paul II's comments might stand in for many others from any Christian denominational tradition: we might yet disagree on basic theological points, yet we find ways to work together for specific humanitarian or moral purposes.

In an article on the early days of the International Christian Maritime Association, Jan Ørner wrote: «The persons who undertake this work are out-going, interested in human beings, quick in thought and action. They refuse to be bogged down in administration and bureaucracy. They

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[18] John Paul II, *Ut unum sint*, 25 May 1995, §8.
[19] *Ibidem*, §40.
[20] *Ibidem*, §43.

want action and they get things done»[21]. Besides saying something debatable about the lack of interest in paperwork by those in maritime ministry, the quote does highlight the kind of attitude typical of those in modern maritime ministry, namely, the desire to serve seafarers typically outweighs strict denominational allegiances. Even if no formal relationship exists, maritime ministry tends to lend itself informal partnerships in ways that would not be possible in other parish ministries.

Ecumenical Friction

Having sketched the growth of ecumenical partnerships, especially how maritime ministry lends itself to *practical* ecumenism, it is important to realize that ecumenism is not always an easy reality. Indeed, though ecumenical work has existed in practice around the world, there are many notable exceptions of tension and division in local settings. Some evidence suggests that many seafarers' welfare workers note an increase in tension across ecumenical lines, when care is not taken to cultivate partnerships: «Two extremes can easily sabotage ecumenical cooperation: (1) Reducing it to a superficial form of camaraderie; (2) Preventing it altogether by an arrogant lack of respect for reconciled diversity»[22]. On the one hand, newer chaplains or ministries might not fully understand the time and effort put into historic agreements; on the other, established chaplains or ministries might not have the patience to incorporate yet another tradition or chaplain into their group.

Friction arises for theological and confessional reasons, but also for social, cultural and personal reasons. Many ecumenical ventures flounder not for lack of solid structure or support; but rather for clash of personality and cultural expectations. Further, the perceptions one has of his or her own denominational group color the ability to view the other. When groups affiliated to large or historic denominations seek common cause with those from regional or new denominations, the relationship can be difficult, even if those of the new denomination bring more experience and resources to the table. So much work in structuring ecumenical relationships has to do with managing perceptions and reality about oneself and those around the table.

It is in this prism of perception and reality that we find the most contentious of all issues facing ecumenical collaboration, i.e., "proselytism". Understanding what this word does, should, and can mean has formed the strongest partnerships and caused the deepest divisions. For

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[21] Jan Ørner, «Missions to Seamen», *International Review of Mission,* July 1971, p. 397.
[22] Kverndal, *Way of the Sea*, p. 245.

any ecumenical endeavor in seafarers' welfare to succeed, the partners need to have some kind of agreed working definition of the word. Moreover, should maritime ministries seek to remain committed to working together, it is of utmost importance to study this point in depth.

Of Greek origin, the word "proselytism" meant in the world of the New Testament to "come over" to another religion or opinion. Yet, the emphasis at that time was placed on the action of the person. For example, one would consider himself a proselyte by "going over" to another religion. However, in modern usage the word focuses more on the action of convincing another person to convert. In popular usage, the term is viewed negatively, even by those who engage in what others would call proselytism.

All Christians would consider announcing the Gospel and encouraging discipleship as key parts of the Church's mission. However, defining these ideas, especially what they mean in practice, has long been deeply controversial. The nub of the debate is not just on what "announcing" the Gospel or "encouraging" discipleship means in relation to people of other religious faiths or none, but also what it means in relation to those of other Christian traditions or denominations. Indeed, divergent opinions on the Church's mission have been at the heart of many of the debates in Christian history, often leading to formal divisions in Churches.

Within Christian traditions or associations that are now significantly involved in maritime ministry, the various ways to understand "proselytism" have both energized the push for common bonds and created division that will be hard to heal. A defining moment in that push came when ICMA created a "code of conduct" in which proselytism was a key word. Adopted by the Annual General Meeting in Amsterdam on Oct. 19, 2001, membership in ICMA now carried an obligation to abide by the constitution of the Association and this code of conduct:

ICMA – Code of Conduct[23]

The Mission of ICMA: *The seafarers of the world remind us of the ultimate purpose of all God's plans: «And this gospel of the kingdom will be preached in the whole world as a testimony to all nations, and then the end will come» (Matthew 24,14 NIV). In a fragmented and divided society, it is ICMA's mission to promote unity, peace and tolerance. ICMA was founded for promoting and co-ordinating Christian ecumenical co-operation in maritime ministry.*

[23] http://icma.as/wp-content/uploads/2013/04/12a-Code-of-Conduct-2010.pdf.

Chaplains and staff of all ICMA Member Societies at local, national and international level are therefore to:

a) Show an unconditional love to the seafarer as a human being, created in the image of God, and a sincere respect for her/his personal values and beliefs;

b) Serve seafarers and their dependants of all nationalities, religions, cultures, language, sex or race;

c) Fight prejudice, intolerance and injustice of any kind;

d) Respect the diversity of ICMA Members and Churches and to develop that which unites them;

e) Respect the loyalty of those engaged in maritime ministry to their particular ecclesiastical discipline and tradition and refrain from proselytising seafarers;

f) Co-operate with persons, organisations and institutions, Christian or non-Christian, which work for the welfare of seafarers.

Signature: _____

Name and position: _____

Organisation: _____

Date: _____

Though it is only one among a number of points, point "e" is about respect of others involved in maritime ministry and refraining from proselytizing seafarers. It would appear as if ICMA member organizations did not entirely agree on what this word means in practice. For example, it is an open question among members how proselytism differs from mission, evangelization and discipleship. Many ICMA members still engage in activities that others might consider proselytism. ICMA itself is in a process of discovering how this word can be used with both clarity and flexibility. Should it be defined more rigidly in one way or another, some members might find it difficult to continue their membership. Should it be defined with more flexibility, it might undermine the whole *raison d'être* of the Code of Conduct. Even if ICMA members are generally committed to the Code of Conduct, there are still points of friction that have not entirely been rectified.

Proselytism in a Network of Practice

To offer some perspective on the issue, we suggest that it is best to understand proselytism in a *network* of ideas and practices. That is, proselytism is seen in practice, not just in theory or on paper. In other words, we suggest that the Code of Conduct be read as a whole, not just with the focus on point "e". More specifically, we propose that prose-

lytism is most clearly seen when compared with the practice of points "a" and "b". Hence, it would be much more important to question a member ministry on those first two points than on the last ones – if love and service to seafarers are present, the actions normally associated with proselytism become easier to judge.

To give an example: in one particular port with which I am familiar, one religious group frequently visits ships to distribute religious literature. Though they do not push for conversion to their religion, they are very direct about their interests in boarding ships. I am uncomfortable with their work, but always refrained from comment due to the fact that I also had Bibles and other literature available for seafarers. They are not members of ICMA, nor is this an organization they would every aspire to join. Yet, I have often thought about how to compare the work for seafarers. Were the debate only about the amount or content of literature, it would still be very subjective. Yet, it is precisely here that the ICMA code of conduct gives a way to make an objective distinction. Rather than enter into debates about the relative value of religious conviction or the nature of "proselytism", the Code of Conduct allows us to see whether the chaplain or ship visitor "loves" and "serves" seafarers. That is, "proselytism" needs to be viewed in the prism of the relationship and concrete acts of service provided to seafarers. Though individual acts of sharing religious literature, for example, can look identical with two different people, it can be shown as positive discipleship when linked to respect and service, and negative or even coercive proselytism when no relationship is cultivated or service rendered[24]. To paraphrase the Scripture, you shall know it is not proselytism by their love.

Conclusion: Ecumenism and the Future of Maritime Ministry

So, what is the future of ecumenical endeavors in maritime ministry? To link the introduction of this essay to its conclusion, ecumenism in maritime ministry works when we realize that our ministries too exist in the "liminal" space like seafarers - indeed, we can embrace the concept as people on the move. In a certain way, the movement of seafarers can teach us a great deal about how we can continue to encourage and strengthen our ecumenical ties.

A story: when I was a college student I had the fortune of spending a year in Paris, France. The rich culture and beautiful architecture made the experience unforgettable. However, the trip was also my first experience in a totally foreign country with a different language and

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[24] See also Jason Zuidema, «Holistic Thinking for Maritime Ministry», *Revue Farel*, 3, 2008, pp. 64-74.

customs. As many immigrants, I learned that adapting to life in a new setting is not always an adventure.

In my first week there, I broke down in tears not finding milk in my local supermarket. Looking back, I get a chuckle when I think of my frustration (I found out later that it was in a different aisle and packaging than my milk at home in Canada), but the deeper truth was the realization that I was different vis-a-vis those around me: I was a stranger. In the subsequent weeks, it was relatively easy for me to adapt, but after many years working with travelling workers and immigrants I know that it can take much longer for the fear and stress to subside.

Seafarers ministry can learn these same lesson, especially by learning from the life of seafarers, constantly on the move. As individuals and organizations, so often in life we think we are heading in the general direction of our goal, but still end up being lost. We might have started out well, but have lost interest in seriously considering the next actions we must take.

Remember, however, that it is not only those who physically move, like seafarers, that are strangers in this world. A scripture verse tells us that all faithful people are strangers in this world, moving towards a destination that is beyond this life. Yet, simply because we recognize that we are all on the move rather than just being static does not mean that we are going in some particular direction. There is a difference between being a wanderer and a pilgrim. A wanderer is on the move without a destination, a pilgrim moves with a goal in view.

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Abstract

From the beginnings of organized seafarers' ministry in the early 19th century, the movement has recognized its privileged position in ecumenical conversation. First, it was a mission to the whole world, seafarers having experienced the world in ways many others had not, but also, increasingly, seafarers being from all parts of the world. Second, the practical realities of seafarers' ministry, especially pressures from shipping companies, ports and market realities, meant that seafarers ministries were increasingly driven together by forces far beyond theological ideals. Evidenced already in the first years of seafarers' ministry, but more acutely in the latter 20th century, seafarers' ministries could often claim to be some of the most practically ecumenical ministries in the world. Indeed, even those ministries that would feel uncomfortable joining one of the traditional maritime ministry associations for theological or missiological reasons still tend to have a much wider circle of ministry partners from other denominations than their denominational colleagues. This essay traces the origins of ecumenical work among seafarers, how it built structures for practical work together and why the concept of 'proselytism' continues to elicit questions. The essay concludes with a practical way to discern proselytism and suggestion for understanding ecumenical conversations in the light of seafarers as "people on the move".

I rifugiati in Italia e in Brasile: sfide e buone prassi

Introduzione

A causa dei conflitti e delle crisi internazionali, milioni di persone sono costrette ad andare via dalle loro residenze abituali e a cercare protezioni umanitarie in un altro paese. Il regime internazionale di protezione per i rifugiati è stato creato dopo la Seconda Guerra Mondiale per aiutare, soprattutto, gli europei che erano appena usciti dal loro stato. A fondamento vi è la Convenzione delle Nazioni Unite di Ginevra del 1951, relativa allo status dei rifugiati, che definisce, nell'articolo 1 A, un rifugiato come qualcuno «che temendo a ragione di essere perseguitato per motivi di razza, religione, nazionalità, appartenenza a un determinato gruppo sociale o per le sue opinioni politiche, si trova fuori del Paese di cui è cittadino e non può o non vuole, a causa di questo timore, avvalersi della protezione di questo Paese; oppure che, non avendo cittadinanza e trovandosi fuori del Paese in cui aveva residenza abituale a seguito di tali avvenimenti, non può o non vuole tornarvi per il timore di cui sopra». I due principi fondamentali di questo trattato sono la non-devoluzione o non-refoulement (avendo ratificato il documento, uno stato non può rinviare un richiedente asilo al suo paese di origine, anche nel caso che questa persona sia entrata in maniera irregolare) e la non discriminazione secondo la quale un rifugiato deve essere trattato ugualmente a un cittadino nazionale.

La Convenzione di Ginevra fu pensata per rispondere a un problema temporaneo dei rifugiati della Seconda Guerra Mondiale; dunque, aveva un limite sia geografico che temporale: solo le persone uscite dell'Europa in conseguenza ad un atto successo prima del 1º gennaio 1951 potevano ottenere lo status di rifugiato. Il numero crescente delle popolazioni con bisogno di protezione internazionale in seguito alle guerre di indipendenza e o civili in Africa e in Asia ha costretto gli Stati ad affiancare il Protocollo di New York alla Convenzione di Ginevra nel 1967. In questo accordo erano tolte le restrizioni appena menzionate.

Inoltre la crescita dei rifugiati nel mondo ha spinto all'elaborazione di documenti regionali su questa tematica. Nel sistema europeo dei diritti umani, abbiamo per esempio un'armonizzazione delle legislazioni sull'asilo dei paesi membri dell'Unione Europea. Nel sistema interamericano dei diritti umani, la Dichiarazione di Cartagena del 1984 segna un intendimento comune dei paesi del Nuovo Mondo sul tema del rifugio ed espande il concetto tradizionale di rifugiato per includere colui che fugge per una grave e generalizzata violazione dei diritti umani.

Dunque è interessante studiare due paesi, l'Italia ed il Brasile, che hanno il tema dei rifugiati all'interno delle loro costituzioni. Infatti, quella brasiliana dichiara che le relazioni internazionali del paese sono disciplinate dal principio della concessione dell'asilo politico (articolo 4-X). L'articolo 10 della Magna Carta italiana dice che «lo straniero, al quale sia impedito nel suo paese l'effettivo esercizio delle libertà democratiche garantite dalla Costituzione italiana, ha diritto d'asilo nel territorio della Repubblica, secondo le condizioni stabilite dalla legge». Questi due Stati sono inoltre entrati nel regime internazionale di protezione per i rifugiati. L'Italia ha ratificato la Convenzione del 1951 con la legge n. 722 del 24 luglio 1954, e il Protocollo aggiunto nel 1972 con la legge n. 95 del 14 febbraio 1970 (la legge Martelli - L 39/90 - ha abolito la riserva geografica). Il Brasile è stato il primo paese del Cono Sud a ratificare la Convenzione nel 1960 e, il Protocollo dopo la dittatura militare; ha abolito le limitazioni geografiche con la legge 9474 del 1997.

Secondo l'Alto Commissariato delle Nazioni Unite per i rifugiati (UNHCR), la legislazione nazionale brasiliana è una delle più moderne sulla tematica del rifugio. Però, essendo un paese lontano dalle principali crisi internazionali (l'Oceano Atlantico lo separa dall'Africa) non riceve un numero elevato di richiedenti asilo. L'Italia, pur essendo un paese più piccolo del Brasile e con una popolazione minore, deve fare i conti con decine di migliaia di persone bisognose di protezione internazionale. Questa nota intende offrire un breve riassunto di come ognuno dei due paesi si pone nei confronti della problematica dei rifugiati ed evidenziare le buone prassi sviluppate in ognuno.

Secondo l'UNHCR, in ogni singolo giorno del 2013 circa 23 mila persone sono state obbligate a lasciare le loro case e a cercare protezione in un altro stato. All'incirca 46,3 milioni di esseri umani (fra questi 26 milioni di dislocati interni e 13 milioni di rifugiati) sono stati aiutati dall'organizzazione nel 2014, una crescita di 2,1 milioni di persone dal 2013[1]. Questo numero raggiunge i 51,2 milioni se si considerano tutti

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[1] Cfr. UNHCR 2014, *Mid-Years Trend 2014*. (http://www.unhcr.org/54aa91d89. html, accesso il 03 marzo 2015) e UNHCR 2013, *UNHCR Global Trends- Displacement: The New 21st Century Challenge,* (http://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/ UNHCR%20GLOBAL%20TRENDS%202012_V05.pdf, accesso il 16 luglio 2013).

coloro che sono stati vittime di dislocamento forzato come risultato di persecuzione, conflitti, violenza generalizzata e violazione dei diritti umani. In uno scenario di aggravamento delle crisi in Mali, Republica Centro Africana, Siria, Egitto, Nigeria e altri paesi, gli stati devono prepararsi a rispondere alle sfide contemporanee poste dai rifugiati. Un buon modo per imparare qualche lezione su questo argomento è studiare i diversi sistemi nazionali di risposta a questa problematica, specialmente fra paesi diversi come il Brasile e l'Italia[2].

I rifugiati in Italia

L'Italia, con una popolazione di circa 60 milioni di abitanti, ha circa 78.000 rifugiati secondo l'UNHCR[3]. Con il Decreto legislativo n. 251 del 19 novembre 2007, il paese identifica come rifugiato una persona che fugge dalla sua casa per motivo di persecuzione di razza, "nazionalità", "particolare gruppo sociale" e "opinione politica". La politica di asilo è basata su una legislazione nazionale che è stata modificata dalle direttive e normative comunitarie in materia di rifugio che puntavano a costruire un sistema di Asilo Comune Europeo. Il primo elemento giuridico è la legge Martelli (L 39/90) che ha abolito la riserva geografica e ha, in seguito, regolato in parte la procedura di asilo istituendo, insieme al Decreto del Presidente della Repubblica 136/15 maggio 1990, la Commissione Centrale per il riconoscimento dello status di rifugiato. A settembre del 2002 questa normativa è stata modificata con l'entrata in vigore della legge Bossi-Fini (L. 189/02), che regola la decentralizzazione della procedura di asilo e l'istituzione di Commissioni Territoriali. Nell'aprile del 2001, l'UNHCR, il Ministero dell'Interno e l'Associazione Nazionale dei Comuni Italiani (ANCI) hanno ideato e messo in atto il Programma Nazionale Asilo (PNA), poi istituzionalizzato nel Sistema di protezione per richiedenti asilo e

[2] Ulteriori informazioni sull'argomento dei rifugiati cercare: Arthur C. Helton, *The Price of Indifference: Refugees and Humanitarian Action in the New Century*, Oxford University Press, New York 2002; André de Carvalho Ramos, Gilberto Rodrigues e Guilherme Assis Almeida, a cura di, *60 anos de ACNUR: Perspectivas de futuro*, Editora CL-A Cultural, São Paulo 2011; Alexander Betts e Gil Loescher, *Refugees in International Relations*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2011; Jeff Crisp, *«Who has counted the refugees?» UNHCR and the politics of numbers*, New Issues in Refugee Research. Working Paper nº 12, 1999. (http://www.unhcr.org/3ae6a0c22.pdf, ultimo accesso il 10 luglio 2012); Dennis Gallagher, «The Evolution of the International Refugee System», *International Migration Review*, (23), 3, 1989, pp. 579-598; Guy S. Goodwin-Gill, «Refugees: Challenges to Protection», *International Migration Review*, (35), 1, 2001, pp. 130-142.

[3] La Delegazione dell'UNHCR/ACNUR fu aperta in Italia il 15 aprile 1952 con sede a Roma. Cfr. *UNHCR Italia*. http://www.unhcr.it/ (ultimo accesso il 03 marzo 2015).

rifugiati (SPRAR) attraverso la legge n.189/2002. Tra gli scopi del PNA e dello SPRAR è centrale la realizzazione di interventi di "accoglienza integrata" che prevedono, oltre alle misure di vitto e alloggio, servizi di assistenza, orientamento, informazione e accompagnamento. Queste iniziative, nei limiti delle loro disponibilità ricettive, sono fondamentali per il supporto di tipo alloggiativo e aiuto all'avvio di un percorso d'integrazione sul territorio nazionale.

Le normative europee hanno cambiato il modo in cui l'Italia risponde alla situazione dei richiedenti asilo. La direttiva comunitaria 2003/9 recante norme minime relative all'accoglienza dei rifugiati negli Stati membri è stata incorporata con il decreto legislativo di attuazione della direttiva (D.lgs. 140/2005) che stabilisce le norme sull'accoglienza degli stranieri richiedenti il riconoscimento dello status di rifugiato nel territorio nazionale, in linea con gli standard europei e con il diritto internazionale dei rifugiati. La direttiva "qualifiche" (2004/83), recepita nell'ordinamento con il decreto legislativo D. lgs 251/2007, regola i criteri che gli stati membri dell'UE devono utilizzare per decidere se un richiedente asilo ha diritto alla protezione internazionale e quale forma di protezione debba ricevere (lo status di rifugiato o una forma di protezione sussidiaria). La direttiva "procedure" (2005/85), attuata con il D.lgs. 25/08, introduce norme minime per le procedure applicate negli Stati membri ai fini del riconoscimento e della revoca dello status di rifugiato[4].

In Italia, la domanda di protezione internazionale è individuale e deve essere presentata alla Polizia di Frontiera, al momento dell'arrivo in Italia o alla Questura - Ufficio Immigrazione della Polizia, se la persona si trova già in territorio italiano. Si deve tener presente che, secondo la legislazione europea (Regolamento Dublino II), la persona che ha bisogno di protezione internazionale deve far domanda nel primo Stato europeo, nel quale è entrata anche se irregolarmente, o nel paese nel quale si trova regolarmente un suo familiare, se è minorenne e non accompagnata. Questa rigidezza della normativa è una sfida per i rifugiati in Europa, soprattutto in Italia che, essendo il punto più vicino all'Africa, costituisce l'entrata più facile nell'UE. Nella Penisola rimangono molti rifugiati che vorrebbero essere raggiunti da loro familiari, ma non possono farlo perché la legislazione europea non lo permette.

L'organo responsabile per valutare la domanda di riconoscimento dello status di rifugiato è la Commissione Territoriale per il Riconoscimento della Protezione Internazionale. La decisione sul tipo di protezione che una persona riceverà dallo Stato Italiano è presa dopo un

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[4] Tutta la legislazione italiana, con i decreti legislativi delle normative europee, è disponibile alla pagina http://www.unhcr.it/news/dir/155/legislazione-nazionale.html (ultimo accesso il 18 luglio 2013).

processo di intervista e verifica delle informazioni ricevute sui paesi di origine. In Italia, esistono dieci Commissioni: GORIZIA (competenza sulle regioni Friuli-Venezia Giulia, Veneto, Trentino Alto Adige); MILANO (competenza sulla regione Lombardia); ROMA (competenza sulle regioni Lazio, Abruzzo, Sardegna, Toscana, Marche, Umbria); FOGGIA (competenza sulle province di Foggia e Barletta-Andria-Trani); SIRACUSA (competenza sulle province di Siracusa, Ragusa, Caltanissetta, Catania); CROTONE (competenza sulle regioni Calabria e Basilicata); TRAPANI (competenza sulle province di Agrigento, Trapani, Palermo, Messina, Enna); BARI (competenza sulle province di Bari, Brindisi, Lecce e Taranto); CASERTA (competenza sulle regioni Campania e Molise) e TORINO (competenza sulle regioni Valle d'Aosta, Piemonte, Liguria, Emilia Romagna).

Ogni Commissione Territoriale è composta da quattro membri: un funzionario dell'Ufficio Territoriale di Governo (Prefettura) che svolge il ruolo di presidente, un funzionario della Polizia di Stato, un rappresentante di un ente territoriale, e un rappresentante dell'UNHCR; tutti i membri hanno diritto di voto e la decisione sui casi individuali può essere adottata a maggioranza, o con il voto favorevole di almeno tre membri. Su richiesta di protezione umanitaria, la Commissione, attraverso decisione scritta, può riconoscere lo status di rifugiato (il permesso di soggiorno per asilo ha una durata di 5 anni ed è rinnovabile ad ogni scadenza); può non riconoscere lo status di rifugiato e concedere la protezione sussidiaria[5], se ritiene che sussista un rischio effettivo di un grave danno in caso di rientro nel Paese d'origine (questo permesso di soggiorno ha una durata di 3 anni ed è rinnovabile ad ogni scadenza, dopo che la Commissione Territoriale ha rivalutato il caso, talvolta anche senza una nuova audizione); può non riconoscere lo status di rifugiato, ma ritenere che sussistano gravi motivi di carattere umanitario e, pertanto, dare un permesso di soggiorno per motivi umanitari[6] (permesso di soggiorno di 1 anno con la possibilità di essere convertito in permesso di soggiorno per motivi di lavoro); può non riconoscere lo status di rifugiato e rigettare la domanda per manifesta infondatezza.

[5] La protezione sussidiaria è accordata a un cittadino non appartenente all'Unione Europea, o apolide che non possiede i requisiti per essere riconosciuto come rifugiato, nei cui confronti sussistono fondati motivi di ritenere che se tornasse nel Paese di origine, o nel Paese nel quale aveva la propria dimora abituale, correrebbe un rischio effettivo di subire un grave danno, e il quale non può o non vuole, a causa di tale rischio, avvalersi della protezione di detto paese.

[6] La protezione umanitaria prevede che le questure possano rilasciare un permesso di soggiorno per motivi umanitari nei casi in cui le Commissioni Territoriali, pur non ravvisando gli estremi per la protezione internazionale, rilevino "gravi motivi di carattere umanitario" a carico del richiedente asilo.

La legislazione italiana stabilisce che una persona che contesti la decisione della Commissione può fare ricorso al Tribunale entro 30 giorni dalla data della comunicazione della decisione. E se non ritiene giusta la decisione del Tribunale può anche fare ricorso alla Corte d'appello e chiedere, quando ricorrono gravi e fondati motivi, l'autorizzazione a rimanere nel territorio italiano. Contro la sentenza della Corte d'appello si può fare ricorso alla Cassazione. Il sistema italiano prevede inoltre la Commissione Nazionale per il Diritto di Asilo che indirizza e coordina le Commissioni territoriali, forma e aggiorna i componenti delle medesime commissioni e raccoglie i dati statistici. Ha poteri decisionali in tema di revoche e cessazione degli status concessi. La Commissione Nazionale ha cinque membri; è presieduta da un Prefetto ed è composta da dirigenti della Presidenza del Consiglio dei Ministri, del Ministero Affari Esteri, del Ministero dell'Interno (Dipartimento Libertà Civili e Immigrazione e Dipartimento di Pubblica Sicurezza) e da un rappresentante UNHCR con funzioni consultive. L'Italia possiede anche il Fondo nazionale per le politiche e i servizi dell'asilo, gestito dal Ministero dell'Interno, che assegna contributi a favore degli enti locali che presentano progetti destinati all'accoglienza di richiedenti asilo in attesa della sentenza delle Commissioni territoriali, di titolari dello "status di rifugiato", di titolari di protezione sussidiaria. L'Italia può infine contare sul supporto del Fondo Europeo per i Rifugiati che riguarda le politiche e i sistemi di Asilo degli Stati membri e promuove le migliori prassi in tale ambito. L'obiettivo finale del Fondo è creare un sistema unico di asilo, improntato al principio della parità di trattamento, che garantisca alle persone effettivamente bisognose un livello elevato di protezione, con pari condizioni in tutti gli Stati membri. I rifugiati in Italia hanno il supporto delle Associazioni di Tutela dei Rifugiati che si occupano dell'assistenza legale e amministrativa dei rifugiati e richiedenti asilo. Queste associazioni sono formate dalle organizzazioni della società civile e molti di queste sono legate alla Chiesa Cattolica, come ad esempio la Caritas/Migrantes.

Secondo la Commissione Nazionale per il diritto di asilo, nell'anno 2014, l'Italia ha ricevuto 65.700 richieste di asilo, soprattutto da persone provenienti dall'Africa e dall'Asia - Nigeria (10.100), Mali (9.700), Gambia (8.500), Pakistan (7.100)[7]. Nel 2013, il paese ha ricevuto 27.839 richiedenti asilo. Fra queste, secondo il Ministero dell'Interno, 827 domande erano di minori stranieri non accompagnati. Nel 2014, l'Italia è stata il settimo paese per richieste d'asilo all'interno del gruppo dei 44 paesi industrializzati; nel 2012, il dodicesimo fra gli Stati più sviluppa-

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[7] Informazioni disponibili in http://www.unhcr.it/risorse/statistiche/asylum-claims-in-italy (accesso il 03 marzo 2015).

ti[8]. Nel 2011, le Commissioni Territoriali hanno assegnato lo status di rifugiato all'8% dei richiedenti, in modo particolare a cittadini eritrei, somali ed afghani.

I rifugiati in Brasile

Il Brasile si distingue come un paese che ha interiorizzato quello che è scritto nella Convenzione di Ginevra del 1951 e nella Dichiarazione di Cartagena del 1984. Lo stato brasiliano fu il primo della regione Sudamericana a creare una legislazione nazionale per i rifugiati con la legge federale nº 9.474 del 22 luglio 1997, considerata dall'UNHCR come una delle più avanzate del mondo[9]. Questa legge rappresenta il pilastro brasiliano sulla tematica del rifugio perché definisce il modo in cui il paese intende il concetto di rifugiato e crea il Comitê Nacional para Refugiados (CONARE), l'organo responsabile delle domande di asilo e della promozione ed il coordinamento delle politiche e azioni necessarie per l'integrazione locale e la protezione dei rifugiati. Il CONARE è composto dai rappresentanti del Ministero della Giustizia (con la funzione di presidenza), del Ministero delle Relazioni Estere (vice-presidenza), dell'UNHCR (con diritto di parola, ma non di voto), dei Ministeri della Salute, del Lavoro, dello Sport e dell'Educazione, del Dipartimento della Polizia Federale e da un ripresentante della società civile (Caritas Arquidiocesana de São Paulo e Caritas Arquidiocesana do Rio de Janeiro, che si avvicendano nelle riunioni, e Instituto Migrações e Direitos Humanos – IMDH - che fa il supplente)[10].

Il Brasile riconosce come rifugiato tutte le persone che per fondata paura di persecuzione per motivi di razza, religione, nazionalità, gruppo sociale, opinioni politiche oppure come risultato di gravi e generalizzate violazioni dei diritti umani sono obbligate a lasciare i loro paesi di nazionalità e cercare rifugio in un altro paese (articolo 1 della legge 9.474). Quando una persona arriva in Brasile e ha bisogno di protezione, la richiesta di asilo deve essere inoltrata alla Polizia Federale. Il CONARE, dopo aver intervistato il richiedente e aver condotto una ricerca sul suo paese di origine, decide di concedere o rifiutare lo status di rifugiato. Un richiedente asilo ha gli stessi diritti di un cittadino brasiliano: il diritto al lavoro, alla salute pubblica, all'educazione e se, riconosciuto come un rifu-

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[8] Cfr. UNHCR 2013, *UNHCR Global Trends- Displacement: The New 21st Century Challenge,* p. 12 (http://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/UNHCR%20GLOBAL%20TRENDS%202012_V05.pdf, ultimo accesso il 16 luglio 2013).

[9] Cfr. *UNHCR Brasil*. http://www.acnur.org/t3/portugues/ (accesso l'03 marzo 2015).

[10] Questi informazioni sono disponibili all'indirizzo: http://portal.mj.gov.br/main.asp?View={7605B707-F8BE-4027-A288-6CCA2D6CC1EC} (ultimo accesso 18 luglio 2013).

giato, non ha un limite sul tempo di soggiorno. Se il richiedente asilo riceve una risposta negativa, il ricorso può essere inoltrato al Ministero della Giustizia che decide in proposito; tale decisione è finale e inappellabile.

Una delle grandi innovazioni del modello brasiliano di protezione dei rifugiati è la struttura tripartita che prevede la partecipazione del governo, della società civile e dell'UNHCR alle discussioni e procedimenti. La società civile, sopratutto le organizzazioni della Chiesa Cattolica, svolge un ruolo fondamentale nell'accoglienza, protezione e integrazione dei rifugiati. Questo ruolo è iniziato con l'apporto dato dalle Caritas dell'Arcidiocesi di Rio de Janeiro e di São Paulo nei confronti degli esiliati brasiliani della dittatura militare e ai rifugiati politici di altri paesi sudamericani che arrivavano in Brasile[11]. La stesura e la rapida adozione della legge 9.474 sono state il risultato della consulenza tecnica dell'UNHCR e della pressione sociale attuata da diverse organizzazioni come le Caritas Arcidiocesane di Rio de Janeiro e São Paulo e il Centro Scalabriano de Estudos Migratórios – CSEM e Instituto Migrações e Direitos Humanos – IMDH[12].

Il lavoro dell'UNHCR è basato sulla ricerca di soluzioni durevoli per i rifugiati: il rimpatrio volontario (la più desiderabile, ma anche la più difficile), l'integrazione locale o il reinsediamento in un paese terzo (nei casi in cui una persona sia preclusa dal ritornare nel proprio paese di origine oppure dal rimanere nel primo paese d'accoglienza). Il Brasile ha siglato il primo accordo sul reinsediamento volontario con l'UNHCR nel 1999, quando ha ricevuto i rifugiati afghani. Nel 2004, come parte del Piano di Azione del Messico, il Brasile ha proposto un meccanismo per dare una risposta umanitaria effettiva al conflitto in Colombia e alle conseguenze nei paesi limitrofi che accoglievano il maggiore numero di rifugiati colombiani. Il Programma di Reinsediamento Solidale brasiliano ha assistito più di 460 individui, soprattutto rifugiati colombiani e palestinesi.

Secondo i dati del CONARE e dell'UNHCR, ci sono 7.289 rifugiati di 81 nazionalità diverse in Brasile, di cui il 25% sono donne. I principali paesi di origine di queste persone sono la Siria, l'Angola, la Colombia, la Repubblica Democratica del Congo (RDC) e l'Iraq. Il numero

[11] Julia Bertino Moreira, «Políticas para refugiados nos contextos internacional e brasileiro do pós-guerra aos dias atuais», in *Anais do XVI Encontro da ABEP*. (2008), p. 9, http://www.abep.nepo.unicamp.br/encontro2008/docsPDF/ABEP2008_1951.pdf (ultimo accesso 26 gennaio 2012).

[12] Renato Zerbini Ribeiro Leão, «O instituto do refúgio no Brasil após a criação do Comitê Nacional para os Refugiados – CONARE», *Revista do Instituto Brasileiro de Direitos Humanos*, 5, 2004, p. 201, e Julia Bertino Moreira, «Políticas para refugiados nos contextos internacional e brasileiro do pós-guerra aos dias atuais», in *Anais do XVI Encontro da ABEP*, p. 8.

di richieste di asilo è in crescita: nel 2010, il Brasile ha ricevuto 566 richieste, nel 2012, 2008 richieste (tra le quali vi sono profughi dalla Siria, dal Mali, dalla RDC e dalla Costa d'Avorio) e nel 2014 fino ad ottobre 8302 richieste[13]. La maggiore parte dei richiedenti asilo provengono dall'Africa, dal Sudamerica e dall'Asia e si concentrano nei grandi centri urbani del paese, particolarmente nella città di São Paulo.

Nel 2007, è stato istituito il Comitê Estadual para os Refugiados de São Paulo (CER) con l'obiettivo di promuovere le politiche di assistenza, l'inclusione sociale e garantire i diritti dei rifugiati che risiedono nello stato. In seguito, altre iniziative sono state portate avanti in altri stati, tra cui Rio de Janeiro, Paraná e Rio Grande do Sul. Queste Commissioni Regionali non valutano le richieste di asilo, ma hanno il compito di sviluppare le politiche locali per l'integrazione dei rifugiati. La loro struttura è tripartita con rappresentanti dei governi degli stati, dell'UNHCR e delle organizzazioni della società civile.

Considerazioni finali: parallelismo fra Italia e Brasile

Nonostante il fatto che l'Italia e il Brasile siano parte del sistema internazionale di protezione dei rifugiati e abbiano legislazioni specifiche su questo tema, i due paesi presentano problemi nel lavorare in questo settore: l'integrazione locale rimane una sfida per entrambe le nazioni. Secondo l'UNHCR, in Italia le attuali politiche di integrazione non sono sufficienti per un effettivo inserimento socio-economico dei rifugiati, in quanto questi, a partire da una posizione svantaggiata rispetto ai cittadini italiani, avrebbero bisogno, almeno inizialmente, di un forte e specifico sostegno nell'accesso al mercato del lavoro. In Brasile, come in Italia, l'accesso al mercato del lavoro è complesso soprattutto perché vi sono gli ostacoli della lingua e di convalida dei diplomi. Per questo, i rifugiati nei due paesi hanno grosse difficoltà nell'integrarsi. L'Italia presenta un'ulteriore sfida derivata dalle limitazioni alla libertà di movimento e di soggiorno in altri Paesi della UE per i titolari di protezione internazionale.

Un altro problema deriva dal fatto che i rifugiati non partecipano alle decisioni che li riguardano e non posseggono nessun tipo di rappresentanza politica. Per questo è importante che i due paesi creino meccanismi attraverso cui i rifugiati possano esprimersi ed essere ascoltati. Dare loro voce è essenziale per favorire il processo di integrazione locale. Altre soluzioni durevoli sono possibili. Per esempio, il Brasile

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[13] Questi dati sono in: ACNUR, *Refúgio no Brasil: Uma Análise Estatística Janeiro de 2010 a Outubro de 2014.* (http://www.acnur.org/t3/fileadmin/scripts/doc.php?file=t3/fileadmin/Documentos/portugues/Estatisticas/Refugio_no_Brasil_2010_2014, ultimo accesso il 03 marzo 2015).

ha un programma di reinsediamento volontario seppur piccolo, ma in crescita. Al contrario l'Italia, un paese europeo sviluppato, non ha un simile programma. Forse, la realizzazione di un programma di reinsediamento in collaborazione con l'UNHCR potrebbe essere un modo in cui il paese può diventare più attivo su questo fronte.

L'Italia riceve un numero maggiore di richieste di asilo rispetto al Brasile e per questo ha sviluppato un sistema più efficiente nell'analizzare i casi. L'idea di regionalizzare il processo decisionale è una buona prassi che il Brasile può imparare dall'Italia. La nazione brasiliana deve rafforzare i Comitê degli stati e così decentrare la procedura; questo potrebbe ridurre la burocrazia e il tempo di risposta ad ogni caso. La vita dei rifugiati e richiedenti asilo sarebbe più facile se il processo di riconoscimento fosse più veloce. Un'altra lezione che il Brasile dovrebbe imparare dall'Italia è la categorizzazione dei tipi diversi di protezioni internazionali: in altre parole istituire le categorie di protezione sussidiaria o per motivo umanitario; questo aiuterebbe lo Stato brasiliano ad affrontare coloro che hanno bisogno di protezione, ma non sono considerati rifugiati secondo la legge 9474. La protezione sussidiaria potrebbe essere una risposta alle situazioni di migliaia di haitiani che arrivano in Brasile ogni anno. In ogni caso, le altre forme di protezione internazionale devono essere applicate con prudenza in modo che l'istituto del rifugio non sia leso e le persone che sono rifugiate siano riconosciute come tali dagli Stati firmatari della Convenzione di Ginevra.

L'Italia, dal canto suo, può imparare dall'esperienza brasiliana. La struttura tripartita brasiliana applicata in tutti i livelli decisionali e politici è una buona prassi. Questa struttura istituzionale permette un dialogo costante ed efficiente fra il governo, la società civile e l'UNHCR: importante prassi per dare voce e coinvolgere le organizzazioni che lavorano direttamente nella formulazione delle politiche a favore dei richiedenti asilo e dei rifugiati.

L'origine nazionale dei rifugiati in Brasile e in Italia è diversa ed è spiegata, tra l'altro, dalla posizione geografica di ogni paese e dai conflitti più vicini a queste nazioni. È essenziale per il processo di integrazioni locale che ogni paese conosca la situazione nello stato di provenienza dei richiedenti asilo e dei rifugiati perché questa conoscenza aiuta ad offrire la giusta protezione.

Questo confronto fra Brasile e Italia è importante perché permette lo scambio di buone prassi, facilitando una maggior conoscenza del rispettivo sistema nazionale di protezione dei rifugiati.

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Abstract

In a comparative way, this paper studies the Brazilian and Italian systems of protection for asylum seekers and refugees. These study cases are useful to understand two countries that have national legislation regarding such a matter, and both are part of International treaties regarding refugees. The challenges faced by the two countries concern the integration of the refugees and their lack of political voice. The Italian government may learn from the Brazilian model, i.e., its tripartite structure that allows the civil society's voice to be heard. On the other hand, the subsidiary protection existent in Italy could be a solution for Brazil with regard to the Haitian asylum seekers arriving within its borders.

Le migrazioni nelle società del Vicino Oriente Antico e l'idea di *straniero* nella bibbia ebraica

Nel trattare questa problematica si rischia di fare della Sacra Scrittura una legittimazione delle nostre scelte di oggi, dei nostri comportamenti, dei nostri impegni[1]. I racconti biblici non sono direttamente utilizzabili, come ricette, per risolvere i gravi problemi sociali e politici che suscitano, oggi, i movimenti migratori e non possono essere ridotti a copertura ideologica e religiosa, perché essi sono invece una parola che ispira, dinamizza e provoca le nostre decisioni e le nostre scelte sul piano personale, comunitario e istituzionale, senza però garantirle con una protezione divina. Nella Sacra Scrittura alla categoria letteraria di *straniero* viene dato uno spazio considerevole, trattata prevalentemente come funzionale a disposizione di Israele che l'adopera. All'inizio, Israele è presentato come *straniero*, poi, fuggitivo dalla terra di oppressione, conquista la *terra promessa* per ordine di Dio che ne giustifica il legittimo possesso e di conseguenza per Israele gli *stranieri* sono diventati gli altri popoli[2].

Sguardo sui movimenti migratori in epoca paleobabilonese[3]

Dai documenti cuneiformi si sa che nel Medio Oriente antico esisteva una incessante circolazione non solo di idee e di beni, ma anche, e soprattutto, di persone. La grande quantità di documenti ci permette di

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[1] Cfr. l'interessante studio di T.R. Hobbs, «Hospitality in the First Testament and the "teleological Fallacy"», in *JSOT* (2001), 3-30.

[2] Su questo argomento cfr. G.L. Prato, «"Straniero": verso una definizione analogica del concetto in riferimento al territorio siro-palestinese del "tardo bronzo" e del "ferro I" e all'Israele delle origini», in I. Cardellini (a cura di), *Lo «straniero» nella Bibbia. Aspetti storici, istituzionali e teologici* (RSB 1-2), XXXIII Settimana Biblica Nazionale, Roma 12-16 Settembre 1994, EDB, Bologna 1996, 17-40.

[3] L'uso dell'abbreviazione ARM corrisponde ai volumi di «Les Archives Royales de Mari, Voll. 1 – 27», Paris 1950-1993.

sistematizzare i movimenti di massa che vanno dalle invasioni, alle razzie, motivate dall'approvvigionamento lungo la ricca pianura dei due fiumi (si pensi ai Turukkû, ai Sutei), ai veri e propri movimenti di eserciti di ca. 10.000 uomini, almeno secondo i documenti di Mari, certamente essi sono più imponenti sotto i grandi imperi neoassiro, neobabilonese e achemenide. Per quanto riguarda le invasioni si sa che la Mesopotamia era quasi ritmicamente scandita dall'arrivo di gruppi etnico-linguistici diversi; si pensi ai Lullû, agli Elamiti o agli Amorrei. Questi gruppi provenivano da varie etnie e da diverse località, andavano in ogni direzione e creavano profonde difficoltà per la stabilità delle popolazioni in intere regioni. A ciò si aggiungano le deportazioni e gli ulteriori spostamenti da una parte all'altra per realizzare grandi lavori.

Altri movimenti di persone sono legati alle transumanze periodiche, con tutta la casistica sul diritto di passaggio e sull'uso dei pascoli. Non meno importante era l'emigrazione politica. I cosiddetti *hap/birum*, coloro cioè che lasciavano la propria casa ed emigravano altrove per ragioni politiche, ai quali vanno aggiunti gli *habbatum*, lavoratori itineranti che prestavano il loro lavoro ora qua e ora là. Grande importanza avevano le lunghe carovane di mercanti, i quali aprivano poi empori nelle nuove regioni. I contatti diplomatici, i pellegrinaggi religiosi, i viaggi o le alleanze matrimoniali e gli *harem*, che richiamavano molte donne straniere, davano vita a gruppi plurilingui e pluriculturali. Significativo è l'uso del termine *balâlum* che indica la formazione di popolazioni miste, dovute soprattutto ai massicci inserimenti, il più delle volte forzati, di genti diverse. Grosso modo questo è il quadro, secondo la documentazione cuneiforme. È quasi impossibile concepire l'esistenza, in quelle regioni, di società chiuse, fisse in se stesse, non influenzate da idee e da culture diverse[4].

Tutto ciò vale anche per la Palestina del "tardo bronzo" e del "ferro I" e non è esatto parlare di *stranieri* nel senso di qualche cosa di aggiunto e di marginale rispetto a un assetto sociale stabile e omogeneo. Alcuni fattori caratterizzanti la zona palestinese sono: 1) il fenomeno dei "fuoriusciti" (*hap/biru*), tipico anche in società non centralizzate e negativamente valutato, anche se questi gruppi sono utilizzati come una specie di mercenari, 2) il fenomeno dei "popoli del mare", una presenza egea e micenea nelle coste della Palestina, 3) il fenomeno dei fenici, una presenza commerciale sentita non come estranea in quest'area. La documentazione delle varianti sociali, come emigrazioni, immigrazioni e spostamenti forzati o liberi di molteplici categorie di persone, permet-

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[4] Cfr. la visione d'insieme descritta da H. Klengel, «Soziale Differenzierung und Randgruppen der Gesellschaft im Alten Orient», in V. Haas (ed.), *Außenseiter und Randgruppen. Beiträge zu einer Sozialgeschichte des Alten Orients* (Xenia 32), Universitätsverlag Konstanz, Konstanz 1992, 15-27.

te di affrontare la problematica del concetto di *straniero*, distinguendo il contributo reale, che tali varianti nella storia hanno arrecato ai gruppi umani in ambito sociale, politico e culturale[5], dalla valutazione, quasi sempre negativa di questa gente definita come *straniera*, fatta da storiografi e letterati, i quali hanno tramandato un giudizio distorto ed estremamente riduttivo del concetto di *straniero*. Di fatto le società del Vicino Oriente Antico sono miste e molto stratificate, anche se dalla documentazione storiografica e letteraria esse appaiono unitarie e ideologicamente motivate nel definire come negative e disturbatrici quelle varianti sociali. È importante, quindi, indagare sull'uso del concetto di *straniero*, non secondo la posizione ideologica dello storiografo che lo definisce, ma secondo la realtà storica, spesso dimenticata o addirittura sottaciuta perché in contrasto con il progetto letterario e storiografico.

Situazione storica e sociale

Riguardo ai movimenti di persone i documenti di Mari (città sull'Eufrate a Nord-Ovest di Babilonia) in epoca paleobabilonese[6] parlano di:
• razzie e invasioni. Spesso si tratta di orde spinte dalla fame che scendono dai monti o che provengono dal Medio Eufrate e dal Nord Arabia per razziare bestiame e cereali nella pianura della Mesopotamia[7];
• spostamenti di armate, forse di 10.000 uomini[8]. Un testo parla di 40.000 uomini e ciò significa che per difendere la città di Larsa sono stati mobilitati tutti[9]. Gli spostamenti di questi eserciti hanno creato senza dubbio instabilità; tuttavia, sono stati canali importanti di comunicazione;
• deportazioni che però non raggiungono la vastità di quelle posteriori sotto i grandi imperi assiro e babilonese[10]. I documenti parlano di spostamenti di abitanti[11]:

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[5] Su questo periodo cfr. la sintesi di M. Liverani, *Antico oriente. Storia, Società, Economia*, Edizioni Laterza, Roma – Bari 1988, 629-660.

[6] Cfr. J.-M. Durand, «Unité et diversités au Proche-Orient à l'époque amorrite», in D. Charpin – F. Joannès (textes réunis par), *La circulation des biens, des personnes et des idée dans le Proche-Orient ancien* (RAI 38), Editions Recherches sur le Civilisations, Paris 1992, 97-109.

[7] Cfr. ARM 2,21.22.76; 4,10; 5,23; cfr. anche ARM 4,21.24.25.76.

[8] Cfr. per es. ARM 1,97; 2,21; 5,33; 26/2,440.440bis; 27,14.69.148.

[9] Cfr. per es. ARMT 26/2, 379 r. 31; cfr. anche lo studio di Ph. Abrahami, «La circulation militaire dans les textes de Mari: la question des effectifs», in D. Charpin – F. Joannès (textes réunis par), *La circulation des biens, des personnes et des idée dans le Proche-Orient ancien* (RAI 38), Editions Recherches sur le Civilisations, Paris 1992, 157-166.

[10] Cfr. J.-M. Durand, *Les documents épistolaires du palais de Mari 2* (LAPO 17), Les Éditions du Cerf, Paris 1998, 312-314.

[11] Cfr. ARM 5,27.

> *Le 1030 persone che il re ha dato per compensare la mancanza di personale dei vari palazzi del regno di Mari, attualmente si trovano a Kahat [...] Inoltre ha spostato a Mari le genti di Shimanu e le ha inviate a Hinum e Durum per rimpiazzare il personale.*

Interessante è il cambiamento di residenza per molta gente dovuto alla volontà del re, anche se non si conoscono le motivazioni. Costoro non sono designati come deportati, ma come popolazione spostata (*nasîhum*), trapiantata in altri luoghi per curare bestiame e lotti di terre:

> *Se spostate quella gente sappiate che sono ca. 10.000 persone. A Yabli-ya, Ayyabu e Harbu si ha un raccolto di 3000 ugarum di orzo e 200 ugarum di olio di sesamo (campi che producono ca. 7500 ql di orzo all'anno)[12].*

In questi testi, per indicare una popolazione mista, si usa il termine *balālum* che significa «mescolare»[13]:

> *Inoltre, gli abitanti di N... che tu hai dislocato, falli entrare nella parte bassa della città e "mescolali" fra gli abitanti della città.*

Accanto a questi spostamenti di gente bisogna considerare i rapimenti e le razzie di persone per poi venderle nei mercati[14];
• movimenti stagionali, come le transumanze periodiche, regolati dal "diritto di passaggio" per raggiungere i pascoli lontani. Il capo dei Beniaminiti dice a Zimri-Lim re di Mari[15]:

> *Per 5 anni fino a oggi, [...] dieci volte sono passato per quel cammino per raggiungere la montagna o la valle.*

Si tratta evidentemente di una transumanza annuale; un passaggio per andare e uno per tornare, cioè dieci in cinque anni;
• emigrazioni di tipo politico particolare, come quelle degli *habiru* e degli *habbātum*. A Mari costoro non designano una classe sociale o un gruppo di stranieri, ma gente che abbandona la propria casa[16]. A ciò

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[12] Cfr. ARM 26/2,35 rr. 16-22; J.-M. Durand, *Les documents épistolaires du palais de Mari 1* (LAPO 16), Les Éditions du Cerf, Paris 1997, 286 n. d.

[13] Cfr. J.-M. Durand, «Unité et diversités au Proche-Orient à l'époque amorrite», 105.

[14] Cfr. J.-M. Durand, op.cit., 103.

[15] Cfr. J.-M. Durand, *Le culte des pierres et les monuments commémoratifs en Syrie amorrite* (Florilegio Marianum 8), Paris 2005, 97 nr. 30 rr. 7-12; cfr. anche Id., «Peuplement et société à l'époque amorrite. (I) les clans Bensim'alites», in Ch. Nicolle (textes réunis par), *Nomades et sédentaires dans le Proche-Orient Ancien* (Amurru 3; RAI 46), Paris 2004, 160-163.

[16] Cfr. la precisazione terminologica in J.-M. Durand, op. cit., p. 106 n. 68. Si veda anche la sintesi su questa discussione in G.L. Prato ("Straniero": verso una definizione analogica del concetto in riferimento al territorio siro-palestinese del TB-FI e all'Israele delle origini, 22-24) e il saggio di N. Na'aman, «Habiru-like Bands in the Assyrian Empire and Bands in Biblical Historiography» in *JAOS* 120 (2000), 621-624.

si aggiungano i grandi viaggi intrapresi dai re insieme ai loro accompagnatori (vassalli, ambasciatori e principi ereditari) per conoscere le varie regioni e gli spostamenti delle divinità che determinano zone religiose più vaste del territorio politico e che danno origine ai pellegrinaggi con la presenza di molteplici particolarismi culturali; perfino i principi stranieri si recano per devozione in questi santuari fuori della loro giurisdizione politica[17]. Da questo sintetico sguardo non si può certo dire che si tratta di società chiuse in se stesse.

Sul piano socio-economico le differenze fra Nord-Ovest e Sud-Est (Alta Palestina, Siria e Bassa Mesopotamia) sono dovute a questioni di natura ecologica, storica e ambientale più che etnica. I conflitti non sono causati da diversità etniche; anzi, lo sviluppo culturale del Vicino Oriente Antico avviene attraverso un rapporto etnico e linguistico misto fin dalle origini della documentazione scritta. Non è giustificato, secondo le moderne ricerche, pensare a un impatto migratorio ben definibile nello spazio, nel tempo e nelle appartenenze etniche. È documentato l'intreccio di dialetti e di lingue differenti e risulta anche chiaro il tentativo di giustificare il perché i vari popoli, provenienti da un'unica lingua (modello mitico), in età storica si suddivisero a causa della evoluzione del multilinguismo. Con Sargon di Accad si ha l'affermazione dell'elemento semitico (ca. 2335-2279 a.C.) attraverso un impero che va dal mare superiore (Mare Mediterraneo) a quello inferiore (Golfo Persico). Oggi non si pensa più a quest'epoca come a un momento particolare di emigrazioni, per il fatto che genti semite dimoravano già nel territorio. È, però, plausibile che i normali processi di imparentamento, di diffusione e di spostamento avvantaggiassero i nuovi gruppi di semiti immigrati nell'Alta Mesopotamia, nella Siria e nella Palestina.

Di grande interesse è la situazione degli Amorrei (MAR.TU)[18] nel periodo paleobabilonese. I Martu sono nomadi semiti dell'Ovest in accadico chiamati *Amurru*, insediatisi nella regione esercitando una economia mista, agricola e pastorale. La componente amorrea diventa egemone in Siria dopo la distruzione di Ebla e deve attendere la fine della "rinascita sumerica" (Ur III; ca. 2100-1950 a.C.) per espandersi. Hammurapi (*hammu* = capofamiglia + *rapa'u* = guaritore; ca. 1792-1750 a.C.)[19], il re più importante di Babilonia, è un amorrita, il cui do-

[17] Cfr. J.-M. Durand, op. cit., 107.

[18] Cfr. D.O. Edzard, *Die «Zweite Zwischenzeit» Babyloniens*, Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden 1957, 30-43. Cfr. anche G. Pettinato, «Il regno MAR-TUki nella documentazione di Ebla», in K. von Lerberghe – A. Schoors (edd.), *Immigration and Emigration within the Ancient Near East* (OLA 65), Festschrift E. Lipinski, Leuven 1995, 229-243.

[19] La lettura più tradizionale *Hammurabi* significa invece: hammu è grande.

minio si estende a Sud fino a Larsa, a Nord fino a Eshnunna e a Assur, a Ovest fino a Mari. Hammurapi si definisce un re giusto e retto (*šar kittim u mīšarim*) che avrà cura di creare un equilibrio sociale ed economico per evitare un intollerabile asservimento generalizzato di molta gente. Dalla ricca documentazione sotto questo grande re si può dire qualche cosa sulla gente senza radici: emigrati, rifugiati e deportati[20]. Sugli spostamenti della gente della città di Isin Hammurapi dice di essere il loro rifugio e li chiama «dispersi di Isin»[21]. È probabile che, dopo aver occupato le città di Uruk e di Isin nel 1787 ca. a.C., Hammurapi sia ritornato nella sua regione e sia stato seguito da molta gente di Isin che, ormai compromessa, non poteva più restare nella propria città. Da un lotto di tavolette della famiglia Dada si viene a conoscenza di un fatto curioso: due cittadini della città di Isin, ora stranieri nella regione della *Babilonia*, sono implicati in un caso giuridico, ma i giudici a loro riguardo non dispongono né di archivio di famiglia, né di testimoni e, per dare validità al processo, obbligano i due a giurare sugli dèi della loro città di origine, cioè di Isin; un segno di tolleranza[22]!

In seguito, nel decimo anno del re Samsuiluna (1739 ca. a.C.), gente della Bassa Mesopotamia si rifugia a Nord, nella *Babilonia*. Gli abitanti di Uruk sono fuggiti a Kish e i documenti testimoniano che costoro sono impiegati nei lavori agricoli dei palmeti. Non si sa se si tratta di un esilio di grande portata che riguarda tutta la regione di Sumer; è probabile che una invasione elamita abbia sospinto gli abitanti del sud della Mesopotamia verso la più sicura *Babilonia*. Dalla documentazione si apprende anche che il clero esiliato avrebbe portato con sé nella città di Babilonia gli scritti sacri dei Sumeri. Nella documentazione paleobabilonese si parla anche di stranieri con nomi hurriti; a proposito dei *subarei*[23] spesso considerati come schiavi deportati, bisogna tuttavia fare attenzione, perché dalla stessa documentazione si sa anche della presenza di stranieri hurriti ben integrati nelle società amorrite della Mesopotamia. Alla fine del regno di Hammurapi e durante quello del successore si ha la notizia che molta gente proveniente dalle regioni del Nord vive nei dintorni di Dilbat. La causa potrebbe essere connessa con la deportazione dei Turukkei da parte

[20] Cfr. D. Charpin, «Immigrés, réfugiés et déportés en Babylonie sous Hammurabi et ses successeurs», in D. Charpin – F. Joannès (textes réunis par), *La circulation des biens, des personnes et des idée dans le Proche-Orient ancien* (RAI 38), Editions Recherches sur le Civilisations, Paris 1992, 207-218.

[21] CH II rr.48-50 in M.T. Roth, *Law Collections from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor*, Scholars Press, Atlanta Georgia 1995, 78.

[22] Cfr. D. Charpin, «Immigrés, réfugiés et déportés en Babylonie sous Hammurabi et ses successeurs», 209.

[23] Cfr. J.J. Finkelstein, «Subartu and Subarians in old babylonian Sources», in *JCS* 9 (1955), 1-7; H. Klengel, «Sklaven aus Idamaraz», in *AOF* 5 (1977), 63-69.

di Hammurapi nella campagna militare durante il suo 36º anno[24] fatta nelle regioni a nord del Tigri e ciò confermerebbe la presenza di questa gente nella regione di Dilbat sotto il re Samsuiluna. I documenti dicono anche che i discendenti di questi deportati sono proprietari di campi (YOS 13,256)[25] e possessori di legittime ricchezze (TEBA nr.34; YOS 13,410)[26] e che un secolo più tardi vivono ancora nella regione e pare che siano perfettamente integrati.

La presenza in quest'epoca di società cosmopolite è un risultato abbastanza chiaro. Si pensi, per es., alle alleanze matrimoniali: la corte di Aleppo con quella di Mari; la corte di Ekallatum con quella dei Turukki (Ekallatum sul Tigri poco a nord di Assur e la regione dei Turukku è a Nord-Est di Assur ma molto più distante); la corte di Mari con quella di Qatna (a Nord-Est di Biblos sull'Oronte). Alcuni documenti parlano anche di matrimoni fra le sorelle del re Zimri-Lim di Mari con i principi di Burundum[27]. Anche la popolazione dei cortigiani e quella dell'amministrazione dei palazzi sono esempi di cosmopolitismo, come del resto lo sono in maniera spettacolare gli *harem*, in cui donne straniere di alto rango formavano un ambiente pluriculturale e plurilinguistico, adatto all'educazione dei principi ereditari per l'apprendimento di altre lingue e per la conoscenza di altre culture e di molteplici riti religiosi.

Nei secoli seguenti si ha una diminuzione notevole della documentazione specialmente fra la *Babilonia* antica e la *Babilonia* del periodo kassita, fra l'Assiria di Ishme-Dagan e quella di Ashur-Uballit. Ciò dipende dal fatto che si è in una fase di assestamenti dovuta alle nuove amministrazioni legate agli Hurriti, ai Mitanni e ai Kassiti. L'idea che tali cambiamenti fossero dovuti a emigrazioni barbare indoeuropee oggi non tiene più, in quanto il fatto emigratorio è da porre circa mezzo millennio più indietro, se non più. Amorrei, Gutei, Mitanni, Hittiti, Hurriti e altri gruppi sono presenti nell'area già da parecchi secoli, per cui la teoria dei "popoli dei monti" le cui violente migrazioni avrebbero modificato l'assetto politico della regione non corrisponde alla realtà. Il dominio dei Kassiti su Babilonia non è da attribuire a una immigrazione bellicosa, ma a questioni di tipo socio-politico. Infatti, si tratta di popolazioni già presenti e integrate nel sistema, le

[24] Cfr. H. Klengel, «Nochmals zu den Turukkäern und ihrem Auftreten in Mesopotamien», in *AOF* 12 (1985), 252-258.

[25] Cfr. J.J. Finkelstein, *Late old babylonian Documents and Letters* (Yale Oriental Series 13), New Haven-London 1972.

[26] Cfr. M. Birot, *Tablettes économiques et administratives d'époque babyonienne ancienne conservées ou musée d'Art et d'Histoire de Genève*, Paris 1969; J.J. Finkelstein, op. cit.

[27] Cfr. B. Lafont, «Les filles du roi de Mari», in J.-M. Durand (ed.), *La femme dans le Proche-Orient Antique* (RAI 23), Paris 1987, 113-121.

quali, col tempo, riescono perfino a prendere il potere. Lungo i secoli si è sviluppata l'idea di una coscienza territoriale e solidale. Nel Codice di Hammurapi (CH § 280)[28] è stabilito che, se uno schiavo fuggitivo da un altro paese si rifugia a Babilonia e qui viene riconosciuto come un nativo di Babilonia, costui deve essere liberato senza riscatto. Lo straniero (*lú-kur*), cioè il padrone dello schiavo fuggitivo, non ha più alcun diritto su di lui, perché questi è nato nel territorio babilonese. Le raccolte di leggi però non fanno menzione esplicita di uno statuto dello straniero. In piena cultura amorrita a Mari i Martu possiedono beni e in diversi processi sono ascoltati come testimoni giuridicamente validi; possono ereditare e possono possedere anche schiavi. Tutto ciò significa *assimilazione*.

Alcune tematiche simili ricorrono anche nei racconti della Bibbia Ebraica. Si tratta senza dubbio di reminiscenze amorree che si sperdono nel tempo dato che questa popolazione si trova in Palestina, in Siria e in Alta Mesopotamia. All'epoca di Mari la circolazione di persone assume un aspetto notevole, insieme alla stretta sorveglianza. Interessante a questo riguardo è un testo preso dalla corrispondenza di Zimri-Addu sotto il regno di Zimri-Lim di Mari (1780 ca. a.C.)[29]:

> Dì al mio signore... la città di Qattunan è in ordine. Due stranieri di Numha sono arrivati alla soglia della città senza entrare nel centro di Qattunan.
>
> Ho inviato le guardie che mi hanno portato i due stranieri nella notte. Sono stati messi in prigione senza essere stati interrogati.

Al mattino Zimri-Erah (funzionario mariota), Saggaran e Yakun-Addu (funzionari numhei) chiedono dei due che li hanno preceduti. Zimri-Addu si difende dicendo che non sono entrati nel centro di Qattunan, poi spiega che con la comunità straniera dei Numhei non c'è stato se non rispetto e tolleranza. Zimri-Addu evita il confronto con i due stranieri di Numha messi in prigione e con la donna numhea sposa di un bensimalita di Qattunan che li ha inizialmente ospitati in segreto. Secondo il testo il governatore Zimri-Addu ha fatto imprigionare i due stranieri numhei, perché non si sono presentati alle autorità della città al loro arrivo. Si tratta della questione giuridica riferita allo straniero non identificato. Nel testo citato si tratta di stranieri che nella città di Qattunan chiedono ospitalità senza passare per la *bît napṭarim*, un

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[28] Cfr. M.T. Roth, *Law Collections from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor*, 132.
[29] Cfr. ARM 27,116.

luogo di accoglienza autorizzato per l'identificazione degli stranieri[30]. La polizia, per delazione dei vicini, vuole sapere chi sono quegli stranieri. Fra ARM 27,116 e Gs 2 sono evidenti le seguenti concordanze[31]: l'arrivo di stranieri presso una donna al limite della città senza essere stati prima identificati da parte dell'autorità locale e, quindi, la delazione alla polizia che li arresta in un caso o tenta di arrestarli, ma non li trova, nell'altro. Nel testo di Mari la donna è sposata, ma il marito è assente o morto, mentre nella Bibbia si tratta di una prostituta. Anche la Rahab biblica, però, è straniera a Gerico, come la donna numhea lo è a Qattunan. Qui si ha l'immagine di una società che deve proteggersi non contro lo straniero in quanto tale, ma contro lo straniero non identificato per paura che sia una spia di forze nemiche. Tolleranza sì, ma anche controllo. Gli stranieri albergati nella *bît napṭarim* godono di alcuni diritti, specialmente se fanno parte del corpo diplomatico o se sono mercanti. I mercanti godono privilegi ma non su base statutaria, bensì contrattuale per garantire i commerci carovanieri (*tamkārū*). Se i mercanti non sono tutelati da convenzioni bilaterali fra stati, essi sono trattati come semplici stranieri[32]. Il visitatore normale (*napṭarum*) è sottoposto al potere locale, il quale, però, non può attribuirgli il diritto di cittadinanza, perché tale diritto è determinato solo dall'appartenenza al territorio sottoposto alla giurisdizione del re[33].

Valutazione ideologica e negativa dello straniero nella letteratura

A differenza della vita e dello sviluppo reale delle società del Vicino Oriente Antico la documentazione letteraria e storiografica tramanda, invece, per stereotipi un concetto di *straniero* definito sempre in modo negativo: non fa parte del gruppo politicamente organizzato; non è nato e cresciuto nella regione; non gode degli stessi diritti degli autoctoni. Il termine base *lú-kúr* (uomo delle montagne) indica il diverso, l'altro da sé. Per es. l'amante di una donna maritata è chiamato *lú-kúr*, cioè uno che è al di fuori della comunità degli sposi. L'altro termine *lú-bar*

[30] Su questa sorta di "istituzione" cfr. l'uso dell'espressione in CAD N/1, 325 e la discussione in S. Lafont, «Le roi, le juge et l'étranger à Mari et dans la Bible», in *RA* 92 (1998), 174-176 n. 55, e in B. Lafont, «Cinquième section: La vie diplomatique du Proche-Orient à l'époque amorrite», in J.-M. Durand – D. Charpin (textes réunis par), *Mari, Ébla et les Hourrites. Dix ans de travaux II* (Amurru 2), Paris 2001, 298 n. 344. Cfr. anche R. Westbrook, «The old Babylonian Term *napṭarum*», in *JCS* 46 (1994), 41-46; Id., «The *napṭaru* at Ugarit», in *JCS* 60 (2008), 53-55, in cui conferma la precedente interpretazione di *napṭaru* nel senso di *a visitor*.

[31] Cfr. J.-M. Durand, «Réalités amorrites et traditions bibliques», in *RA* 92 (1998), 9-14.

[32] Cfr. ARM 14,77 e 78.

[33] Cfr. D. Prechel, «Fremde in Mesopotamien», 178-179.

(accadico *ahû*)[34] si trova nella maledizione di Agade r. 19[35]:

> *lú-bar-ra mušen-nu-zu-gim*   (gli stranieri sono come uccelli sconosciuti
> *an-na nigin-dè*   che volteggiano nell'aria).

Facilmente i due termini slittano dall'idea di alterità all'idea di ostilità. Secondo lo stereotipo comune i nemici della popolazione sedentaria della Bassa Mesopotamia sono i montanari, i nomadi (indicati dal termine *kur* = regione montuosa). Termini equivalenti sono (CT 19 pl. 47 iv rr. 16-18)[36]:

> [*lú*]*è-ta-sar-ra* ~ *na-si-hu-ú*   (deportato, obbligato al lavoro)
> [*lú-k*]*i-ᵖᵃbad-du* ~ *a-la-nu-ú*; (colui che vive in terra straniera)
> [*lú-ka*]*r-ra* ~ *mun-nar-bu*   (fuggitivo).

Con questi vocaboli si indica persone sradicate per le quali si aveva più disprezzo che pietà. In questo universo lo straniero è colui che non può godere del supporto del proprio gruppo. Sono stranieri tutti quelli che non provengono da Sumer e da Accad, pur sapendo che in queste regioni le società sono miste da secoli e che proprio coloro che sono definiti come *stranieri* di fatto costituiscono la classe dominante, come per es. i Martu. L'atteggiamento quindi è spesso legato a pregiudizi e a reazioni primarie ataviche proprie dell'immaginario comune, ma non corrispondenti alla realtà socio-politica. Lo stereotipo si riallaccia ad alcuni atteggiamenti:

• paura dell'incognita:

> *è pauroso che sul tuo cammino passino delle persone sconosciute*[37]*;*
> *un cane sconosciuto è cattivo, un uomo sconosciuto è pauroso;*
> *incontrare in un cammino sconosciuto ai piedi della montagna un*
> *uomo sconosciuto è cosa brutta e ancora più pericolosa*[38]*;*

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[34] Per una informazione sintetica sulla terminologia cfr.cfr. D. Prechel, op. cit., 173.176.

35   Cfr.Cfr. A. Falkenstein, «Fluch über Akkade», in *ZA* 57 (1963), 51; J.S. Cooper, *The Course of Agade* (The John Hopkins Near Eastern Studies 15), Baltimore (Md) – London 1983, 50.

[36] Cfr. R.C. Thompson, *Cuneiform Texts from babylonian Tablets*, London 1904.

[37] Cfr. G.R. Castellino, «Urnammu, three religious Texts», in *ZANF* 18 (1957), 17.22, r. 17.

[38] Cfr. C. Wilcke, *Das Lugalbandaepos*, Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden 1969,79 rr. 158-160.

- incomprensione culturale e mancanza di comunicazione (diversità linguistica):

> [...] *I Gutei hanno l'apparenza umana, ma la loro voce sembra quella di un cane* [...][39].

I Gutei scendono dai monti Zagros (Lurdistan) e sono chiamati barbari, nemici degli dèi, dominatori del Diyala, Kish, Akkad; sono accusati di aver trasportato la regalità di Sumer in un paese straniero:

> *Sono gente con intelligenza di cane e aspetto di scimmie scese dallamontagna. Sono come draghi di montagna con corpi di pipistrello e con facce di corvo. Non hanno timore degli dèi e non sanno eseguire correttamente riti e prescrizioni. Non conoscono templi, si accoppiano come animali, non conoscono l'offerta di farina, profanano il nome della divinità e mangiano ciò che è proibito (tabù)[40].*

Gli *stranieri* mancano di organizzazione, sono orde che appartengono ad un altro mondo, gente separata dagli uomini civili, gente che gli dèi hanno scartato dalla civiltà umana:

> *Non conoscono le pietre preziose e l'argento. Sono distruttori perché non apprezzano il bello della vita civile[41].*

Sotto il profilo religioso sono sacrileghi. Essi rischiano di modificare le antiche abitudini e di abolire certi privilegi. Dai testi neosumeri[42] sulla caduta di Akkad e di Ur si legge che

> *i Martu della montagna non conoscono l'orzo; sono forza selvaggia, non conoscono la città; non possiedono né casa né città ma solo tende. Sono un popolo fantasma che vive nelle montagne e mangiano carne cruda per tutta la vita e quando muoiono non hanno tombe.*

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[39] Cfr. A. Falkenstein, «Fluch über Akkade», 58 r. 158;. J.S. Cooper, *The Course of Agade*, 56 r. 156. Cfr. anche P. Attinger, «Remarques à propos de la "Malédiction d'Accad" in RA 78 (1984), 116.

[40] Cfr. la raccolta di testi, nei quali gli stranieri sono ritenuti una sottospecie di umani, in J.S. Cooper, *The Curse of Agade*, 30-33.35-36.

[41] Cfr. S.N. Kramer, *Lamentation over the Destruction of Ur* (AS12), Chicago (Illinois) 1940, 50 rr. 280-281; inoltre, gli stranieri rappresenterebbero un popolo che non conosce né l'olio né il latte, cfr. P. Michailowski, *The Lamentation over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur* (Mesopotamian Civilization 1), Eisenbraun, Winona Lake (In) 1989, 56 r. 336.

[42] Cfr. i testi letterari sui mar-tu in D.O. Edzard, *Die «Zweite Zwischenzeit» Babyloniens*, 31-33.

I Martu sono definiti come dei distruttori dall'istinto di cane e di lupo. In una lettera gli Elamiti sono descritti come insetti neri rispetto agli autoctoni che sono invece bianchi43. Anche l'apparenza fisica è un criterio discriminatorio come la diversità del colore della pelle e la diversità di portamento. Lo *straniero* significa alterità da un punto di vista politico, il *barbaro* esprime alterità da un punto di vista culturale.

Nuova situazione socio-politica fra il II e il I millennio a.C.: Territorialità del diritto - Personalità del diritto

Nella seconda metà del secondo millennio il nuovo equilibrio stabilitosi fra le forze del palazzo e quelle della aristocrazia militare lascerà sempre più in difficoltà la classe contadina; aumenterà il numero degli asserviti e di quelli che tenteranno di fuggire dalla schiavitù. Le zone più importanti sono l'Alta Mesopotamia, la Siria e l'Anatolia. Da un documento si viene a conoscenza di un trattato fra il re Idrimi di Alalakh e il re Pyllia di Kizzuwatna44, nel quale si è giurato dalle due parti di restituirsi a vicenda i fuggiaschi. Con l'ampliarsi dei trattati di alleanze si sono sviluppati concetti come fedeltà, protezione, rispetto delle regole e, al contrario, morte politica, e a volte anche fisica a causa di tradimenti45. Con Shuppiluliuma I, re hittita (1370-1342 a.C.), il baricentro si sposta nel Nord della Mesopotamia e in Siria fino alle sorgenti dell'Oronte, mentre il resto della Palestina costiera rimane sotto l'influsso dell'Egitto (all'epoca di Amenofi IV 1364-1347 a.C.). Negli anni successivi specialmente sotto i re Murshili II (1340-1300 a.C.) e Muwatalli (1310-1280 a.C.) scoppia la guerra tra Egitto e Hatti. In Egitto i faraoni tebani ripresero le redini in mano: Horembeb (1334-1306 a.C.), Ramses I (1306-1304 a.C.), Sethi I (1304-1290 a.C.), Ramses II (1290-1224 a.C.). L'enorme sforzo per mantenere un impero di grandi dimensioni richiede uno spostamento continuo di popolazioni, non solo di eserciti ma anche di deportazioni di massa dai territori sottomessi a quelli dei vincitori, per far fronte al pauroso calo demografico, causato dalle continue guerre per l'egemonia della regione. L'Egitto rafforza il suo potere in Palestina, da Ugarit lungo tutta la costa. Hatti dal canto suo non riesce più a bloccare le armate assire46 che invadono la regione

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43 Cfr. J.-M. Durand, *Les documents épistolaires du palais de Mari 2*, 488.490-491.

44 Cfr. D.J. Wiseman, *The Alalakh Tablets*, London 1953, nr.3.

45 Per un quadro generale sullo straniero in Hatti cfr. J. Klinger, «Fremden und Außenseiter in Hatti», in V. Haas (ed.), *Aussenseiter und Randgruppen. Beiträge zu einer Sozialgeschichte des Alten Orients* (Xenia Heft 32), Universitätsverlag Konstanz, Konstanz 1992, 187-212.

46 Si tratta dell'epoca di Ashur-Uballit I 1363-1328 a.C. e di Salmanassar I 1273-1244 a.C.

di Khanigalbat. Con gli assiri si perfeziona l'idea di deportazioni delle popolazioni vinte per colonizzare nuovi territori e di trasferimento dei coloni assiri nella città conquistate per tenere in mano il governo e l'economia. Nella crisi si accresce in modo incontrollato il fenomeno del fuoriuscitismo, una forza nuova lontana dai poteri palatini, che diventerà sempre più significativa nel grande gioco politico[47].

In quest'epoca avviene un fatto di grande portata emigratoria riferito ai cosiddetti "popoli del mare" che si sono riversati lungo le coste della Palestina e dell'Ovest siriano. Il mondo miceneo intrattiene da tempo rapporti commerciali con l'Egitto e con le città portuali della Palestina e il traffico di questi mercanti avviene per mare; sotto il faraone Mernephta si ha un vero scontro contro queste forze provenienti dal mare (1230 a.C.). I testi egiziani li chiamano Eqwes (Achei), Lukka (Lici). Di altre tre popolazioni, Teresh, Shekelesh e Sherdana, solo l'ultima è conosciuta all'epoca amarniana. Attorno al 1200 a.C. anche i testi di Shuppiluliuma II parlano di questi spostamenti migratori che vengono dal mare. Tuttavia, l'invasione sembra che sia avvenuta quasi improvvisamente. Ramses III nel suo ottavo anno di regno (1190 a.C.) canta la vittoria contro gli invasori e documenta la situazione. Un lotto di tavolette di Ugarit[48] ci parla di preparativi per ostacolare l'invasione. Non sono testi celebrativi delle gesta di qualche re, ma sono documenti amministrativi e quindi più aderenti alla realtà. In essi si dice che gli invasori vengono con piccoli gruppi di navi e che distruggono le coste siriane e dilagano nelle regioni costiere della Cilicia, Cipro, Ugarit e della regione degli Amurru. Anche dalla documentazione di Ramses III si viene a conoscere che "i popoli del mare" (Filistei-Zeker-Shekelesh-Danuna-Weshesh)[49] distrussero e invasero i territori hittiti (Cilicia, Anatolia sud occidentale, Cipro e Karkemish) e penetrarono nel territorio amorreo. Nell'iscrizione a rilievo di Ramses III questi emigranti sono raffigurati con i loro costumi guerreschi e con le armi; sbarcati, tirano i loro carri con le loro cose, presenti donne e bambini, quindi una vera invasione[50]. Le regioni della Palestina e della Siria vengono occupate da queste popolazioni e a Sud si stanzia il gruppo più importante: i Filistei. Costoro arrivano fino a Gaza, Ashdod, Ascalona, Gat e Akkaron, cioè il territorio costiero fino all'altezza di Gerusalem-

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[47] Cfr. M. Liverani, «Il fuoriuscitismo in Siria nella tarda età del bronzo», in *RSIt* 75 (1965), 315-336.

[48] Cfr. G.A. Lehmann, «Die Šikalāiū – ein neues Zeugnis zu den "Seevölker"-Heerfahrten im späten 13. Jh. v. Chr. (RS 34.129)», in *UF* 11 (1979), 481-494.

[49] Cfr. R. Drews, «Medinet Habu: Oxcarts, Ships, and Migration Theories», in *JNES* 59 (2000), 177-182.

[50] Cfr. però il tentativo di ridimensionare la questione in R. Drews, op. cit., 161-190.

me. A nord, nella zona del Carmelo, si stanziano gli Zeker. Alcuni centri importanti come Ugarit e Alalakh sono distrutti per sempre; altri distretti riescono a convivere con i nuovi arrivati[51].

Come conseguenze dirette sull'assetto sociale è da notare la nascita di un altro tipo di società socio-politica. I Filistei subentrano nel controllo della Palestina meridionale. Nella zona Nord della Palestina e della Siria si sviluppano le città-stato, mentre a Est dell'Eufrate rimangono gli stati "territoriali" di antica costituzione come l'Assiria, la *Babilonia* e l'Elam. Caduto il codice palatino con tutta la sua imponenza amministrativa che legava a sé persone e territori, nella Palestina e nella Siria transeufratene si è instaurato a grandi livelli un codice basato sulla parentela, secondo cui i membri si riconoscono come discendenti da uno stesso eponimo. La *magna charta* dello stato è ora la "linea genealogica". I villaggi prendono i nomi degli eponimi e i rapporti sono giustificati sul codice della fratellanza con altri gruppi; si fa ampio uso della etiologia per storicizzare la fondazione del proprio popolo politicamente unito. Non solo i commerci o gli interessi uniscono i vari gruppi, ma soprattutto la discendenza di uno stesso patriarca. Necessariamente fioriscono narrazioni e storie per giustificare sia i luoghi topografici, sia l'arcaicità delle consuetudini. Protagonisti di queste innovazioni in Palestina sono quei gruppi fra loro imparentati, discendenti da un ceppo linguistico comune e legati alle antiche popolazioni cananee. Gli abitanti di Canaan (di tipo amorreo) assorbono gli invasori del mare che diventano parte della popolazione, che però diventerà una nuova entità, pur mantenendo l'antico linguaggio (semitico). A Nord si formano gli stati aramaici e a Sud quelli cananei di tipo "gentilizio". Nei piccoli nuovi staterelli gentilizi a Ovest dell'Eufrate a differenza di quelli imponenti a Est si assume come parametro di

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[51] Su questa complessa questione cfr. gli studi di A. Alt, «Syrien und Palästina im Onomastikon des Amenope», in *Kleine Schriften zur Geschichte desVolkes Israel*, I, München 1953; A. Nibbi, *The Sea Peoples: A Re-examination of the Egyptian Sources*, Oxford 1972; G. Garbini, «"Popoli del mare", Tarsis e Filistei», in E. Acquaro - L. Godart - F. Mazza – D. Musti (edd.), *Momenti precoloniali nel Mediterraneo antico* (CSFe 28), Roma 1988, 233-242; E. Noort, *Die Seevölker in Palästina* (Palaestina Antiqua 8), Kok Pharos, Kampen 1994; O. Margalith, *The Sea Peoples in the Bible*, Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden 1994 e la recensione di T. Schneider, in *LingAeg* 6 (1999), 203-210; A. Nibbi, «Canaanites and Sea Peoples, Alas!», *Discussion in Egyptology* 43 (1999), 27-34. Da ultimo si veda la miscellanea in E.D. Oren (ed.), *The Sea Peoples and their World: A Reassessment* (University Museum: Monograph 108, Symposium Series 11), University Museum Publications, Philadelphia 2000. Questa imponente opera raggruppa 17 studi fra i quali un grande spazio è riservato alla ricerca archeologica. Fra questi saggi si veda per es. I. Singer, «New Evidence on the End of the Hittite Empire», 21-33; D. O'Connor, «The Sea Peoples and the Egyptian Sources», 85-102; S. Wachsmann, «To the Sea of the Philistines», 103-143; I. Finkelstein, «The Philistine Settlements: When, Where and How Many?» 159-180.

appartenenza il codice di parentela. Non bisogna tuttavia dimenticare che la parentela per discendenza può essere formata anche artificialmente; comunque, è sempre il codice gentilizio che ormai in queste zone esprime i rapporti politici attraverso i seguenti punti fermi:

• territori appartenenti agli eponimi (ereditati o conquistati);
• comunanza di lingua, di religione, con il riconoscimento di un dio tribale;
• consuetudini nel vestiario, nelle acconciature, nei comportamenti e nelle abitudini alimentari. In stato di guerra non c'è più un esercito permanente ben addestrato e pagato, ma è tutto il gruppo che si muove spinto dall'entusiasmo tribale.

Il concetto di "straniero" in Israele

Anche i piccoli stati di Israele e di Giuda, secondo i dati epigrafici, fanno parte di questo complesso gioco politico, etnico ed economico che è venuto a crearsi nella prima metà del primo millennio. Nel momento in cui Israele giustifica se stesso come popolo discendente di un eponimo e come signore di un territorio ricevuto in eredità, gli altri gruppi vicini sono diventati *stranieri*. Costoro discendono da eponimi diversi con una propria lista genealogica dai quali Israele deve distinguersi e deve mostrarsi superiore, aspetto costantemente riproposto in linea di principio. Israele è sempre in lotta vittoriosa contro gli altri popoli vicini, richiamandosi a interventi religiosi meravigliosi. Bisogna distinguere l'altro, creato come *straniero* in dialettica con Israele, dall'altro come di fatto risulta dalle fonti. In altre parole, il concetto di *straniero* diventa una categoria ideologica funzionale, elaborata dal soggetto che la esprime, il quale non è, normalmente, interessato alla sua reale consistenza sociale, culturale e politica. Si può dire quindi che in Israele una definizione di *straniero* è possibile, quando gli Israeliti diventano gli unici padroni del territorio e quindi distinti dagli altri, i quali nella storiografia israelita assumono una funzione subordinata.

Una tale riflessione accentua l'atteggiamento di superiorità di Israele a causa della elezione divina. Così si spiega perché nella storiografia l'Israele delle origini è un popolo unitario che ha sempre la meglio sugli altri in maniera realisticamente inverosimile. Si tratta quindi di una creazione storiografica, per legittimare la propria presenza sul territorio. Tuttavia, le frequenti lotte, ben documentate dalla archeologia e dalla epigrafia, lasciano trasparire che di fatto la società palestinese è mista, come del resto le società del Vicino Oriente Antico, e perciò l'idea di un Israele monolitico e padrone assoluto del territorio è dovuta a esigenze storiografiche successive, giustificate teologicamente come il risultato della promessa divina.

A questo punto anche il cosiddetto nomadismo dell'Israele antico va reinterpretato[52]. Esso è presentato come nostalgico richiamo di un deserto che diventa il luogo di rigenerazione e che sopravvive come teologia e spiritualità biblica con le sue forti attrattive romantiche del miraggio, rispetto alla civiltà sedentaria, limitata nell'orizzonte. La narrativa biblica valuta l'Israele nomade, servendosi soprattutto di argomenti religiosi, come per es. delle migrazioni volute da Dio. In questa visione ideologica sta al centro l'onnipresente causalità divina e solo un resto del popolo, purificato con la migrazione forzata, verrà giudicato legittimo possessore della terra promessa. Il concetto di emigrazione, nel suo più ampio significato, riceve nei testi sacri un posto d'onore proprio per la teologia dell'errare del riscatto. Le categorie socio-etniche usate nella Bibbia Ebraica non seguono i nostri schemi e gli stranieri come tali (fuggitivi, pellegrini, avventizi, emigranti d'ogni sorta) suscitano poco interesse, solo la loro piena disposizione ad accettare la Torah diventa criterio fondamentale accettabile nell'economia della Bibbia Ebraica[53].

I vocaboli *nokrî/nokrîm*[54], *nēkār beʾnê nēkār*[55] e *zār/zārîm*[56] sono i termini tecnici utilizzati per indicare gli stranieri etnicamente definiti, gente idolatra e quindi disprezzata, dalla quale bisogna tenersi strettamente separati. Tale idea è presente nei testi del Deuteronomio e viene ripresa ancor più severamente nella letteratura posteriore, in cui il fattore socio-politico scompare e diventa sempre più importante l'aspetto religioso e cultuale. Siccome con questa terminologia si indica gruppi, ai quali non si può imporre l'integrazione, bisogna evidenziare con forza le frontiere di separazione: si tratta di *stranieri* definiti negativamente, perché non rientrano nel progetto storiografico della Bibbia Ebraica. Rispetto alla terminologia sopra elencata merita un

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[52] Cfr. G.-L. Prato, «"Straniero": verso una definizione analogica del concetto in riferimento al territorio siro-palestinese del TB-FI e all'Israele delle origini», 35-38.

[53] Sul tema cfr. M. Görg, «Fremdsein in und für Israel», in *MThZ* 37 (1986), 217-232; F. Crüsemann, «Fremdenliebe und Identitätssicherung. Zum Verständnis der "Fremden"-Gesetze in Alten Testament», in *WuD* 19 (1987), 11-24; I. Cardellini, «Stranieri ed "emigranti-residenti" in una sintesi di teologia storico-biblica», in *RivBib* 40 (1992), 129-181; Ch. Bultmann, *Der Fremde im antiken Juda. Eine Untersuchung zum sozialen Typenbegriff "ger" und seinem Bedeutungswandel in der alttestamentlichen Gesetzgebung* (FRLANT 153), Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen 1992.

[54] Il termine è documentato 27 volte nel Pentateuco; 12 volte nei libri Sapienziali e 6 volte nei Profeti.

[55] Il vocabolo e l'espressione ricorrono 19 volte nel Pentateuco; 11 volte nei Profeti; e 6 volte nei libri Sapienziali.

[56] Il termine si trova 29 volte nei Profeti; 17 volte nei libri Sapienziali e 15 volte nel Pentateuco.

accenno particolare il vocabolo *gēr*/*gērîm*[57], usato quasi esclusivamente in ambito cultuale. Infatti, nella restaurazione dell'Israele dopo l'esilio l'interesse del progetto sacerdotale è volto a chiarire i rapporti religioso-cultuali con quegli «emigrati-residenti» (*gērîm*) che dimorano fra i Figli di Israele. Nel Deuteronomio invece il rapporto fra il *gēr* e l'israelita è definito in ambito sociale[58]; infatti, il *gēr* compare nella lista delle classi più deboli della società israelita insieme alla vedova, all'orfano, al levita, al misero, al povero e al salariato (Dtn 14,17.19.20.21.29; 24,14; 27,19; Lv 23,22; Gd 7,7-13; 19). Si suppone che i *gērîm* di questi testi, in cui si fa appello alla solidarietà e a un trattamento umanitario, non siano veri *stranieri*, ma forestieri israeliti provenienti da altre zone (Dtn 14,29; 16,11.14; 26,11-13), forse da quelle più a Nord per motivi di guerre, rappresaglie, paure d'ogni genere e fame. A questi si sarebbero aggiunti anche altri fuggiaschi non israeliti in cerca di protezione e disposti ad integrarsi presso il nuovo gruppo. Questa confusione del termine *gēr* ha contribuito a creare quel movimento che in seguito si chiamerà "proselitismo" con uno statuto molto elaborato. All'interno di Israele, specialmente in tarda epoca postesilica, le posizioni rispetto agli stranieri sul piano religioso (l'unico preso in considerazione) sono molto chiare: da una parte ci sono gli stranieri in senso proprio con i quali c'è un rapporto di conflittualità e dai quali bisogna essere separati, dall'altra ci sono i *gērîm*, stranieri fuggiaschi, sradicati, emigrati residenti in cerca di protezione e di sicurezza pronti ad integrarsi pienamente nel sistema religioso cultuale israelita.

In epoca seleucide, a differenza di quella persiana, per il principio della *personalità del diritto*, contrapposto a quello della *territorialità del diritto*, le *poleis* godevano più autonomia[59]; ogni città provvedeva a trasferire il pagamento dei tributi (*gazophylákion*) in un luogo ben controllato dal monarca e i sovrani ellenistici non solo rispettarono

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[57] Il termine ricorre 18 volte in disposizioni umanitarie (Dtn 13 volte; Es 2 volte; Lv 3 volte), 28 volte nella sfera cultuale-legislativa (Dtn 4 volte; Es 5 volte; Nm 8 volte; Lv 11 volte) e 24 volte negli altri libri. Cfr. gli studi in proposito di M. Cohen, «Le "ger" biblique et son statut socio-religieux», in *RHR* 207 (1990), 131-158; Id., «Le ger biblique – cet inconnu – de qui est-il l'exclu?», in J. Riaud – G. Verkindère (textes réunis par), *Étrangers et exclus dans le monde biblique* (Théolarge 3), Colloque International à l'Université Catholique de l'Ouest; Angers, les 21 et 22 février 2002, Les Éditions de l' U.C.O, Angers 2003, 29-44.

[58] Cfr. Dtn 1,16; 10,18; 24,17; 27,19; 29,10; 31,12. Cfr. anche P.-E. Dion, «Israël et l'étranger dans le Deutéronome», in M. Gourgues - G.D. Mailhiot (edd.), *L'Altérité. Vivre ensemble différents. Approches pluridisciplinaires*, Montréal-Paris 1986, 211-233.

[59] Il governo centrale seleucide imponeva il tributo alle poleis e non direttamente ai cittadini. Cfr. E.J. Bickerman, *Institutions des Séleucides* (Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique 26), Paul Geuthner, Paris 1938, 106-109. Sulla questione cfr. anche F. Fabbrini, *Translatio imperii. L'impero universale da Ciro ad Augusto*, Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, Roma 1983, 109-117.

l'*eleuthería* interna dei gruppi etnici (eredità persiana), ma concessero alle *poleis* una certa indipendenza anche in politica estera. Questo fatto, cioè la possibilità di trattare direttamente e anche di scontrarsi con gli altri popoli, spiega, in parte, l'indurirsi dell'atteggiamento di Israele contro gli stranieri. Il concetto di elezione e di separazione dagli altri popoli stranieri viene sottolineato con grande risalto a Qumran, si veda per es. la «regola della guerra dei figli della luce contro i figli delle tenebre»[60]. L'asse della discussione è ormai completamente spostato verso due entità: quella dei pagani e quella degli Israeliti. Tentare di ricostruire uno *status* dello straniero in Israele è marginale, perché l'interesse fondamentale sta nell'affermare l'opposizione netta fra gli stranieri (tutti gli altri) e gli Israeliti. Per il problema dello straniero-residente, caso unico fra tutti, si è trovata una soluzione unilaterale nel proselitismo, come già detto.

Nel Nuovo Testamento il contrasto con il giudaismo si pone non solo sul piano religioso e teologico, ma anche su quello storico, sociale, culturale e civile. L'accentuazione della visione universalistica, che tra l'altro è logica conseguenza dell'affermazione dell'unicità di Dio, tenta di ristabilire l'equilibrio con il concetto dell'elezione che troverà il completamento sulla croce, quando *tutti* gli uomini saranno «eletti». Mi sembra importante, a questo punto, sottolineare che nella letteratura neotestamentaria rispetto a quella giudaica coeva, è stato inevitabile recuperare la categoria di straniero, in senso etnico e sociale, e tematizzare la rispettiva giustificazione teologica, perché, di fatto, a questa categoria avrebbe dovuto esser rivolto, in particolare, il messaggio evangelico.

Riepilogo

Sulla base di quanto è stato detto, in Israele il confronto con gli altri popoli va letto in chiave ideologica, anche se si è dovuto parlare, usando i termini presi dal vocabolario sociale dell'epoca. Si può dire che ci sono due categorie di stranieri: da una parte ci sono stranieri pericolosi per Israele, dall'altra ci sono stranieri soli, possibili proseliti, in cerca di sopravvivenza. Con la prima categoria sono rappresentati tutti quei popoli, contro i quali Israele si scontrerà e che sono pericolosi, perché minacciano l'unità di Israele o lo riducono in schiavitù, come

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[60] Cf per es. il saggio di J.M. Baumgarten, «The Exclusion of "netinim" and Proselytes in 4Q Florilegium», in *RQ* 8/29 (1972), 87-96; cfr. anche lo studio di D. Hamidovic, «"La destruction des nations" selon les écrits de Qumrân», in J. Riaud – G. Verkindère (textes réunis par), *Étrangers et exclus dans le monde biblique* (Théolarge 3), Colloque International à l'Université Catholique de l'Ouest; Angers, les 21 et 22 février 2002, Les Éditions de l' U.C.O, Angers 2003, 159-172.

per es. gli egiziani. Costoro rappresentano una forza malefica contro la quale è necessario l'intervento divino. Tale categoria non appare nella storiografia soltanto come potenza bellica, ma, soprattutto, come potenza seduttrice che può allontanare Israele dalla presenza di Jhwh. La lotta diventa imponente a livello culturale più che militare ed ecco quindi l'ineluttabilità, in epoca tardiva, delle leggi di purità e della endogamia. Insomma, questi *stranieri* sarebbero *ontologicamente* impuri e comprometterebbero il contatto con la divinità presente in mezzo a Israele. È scontata quindi, come conseguenza, la separazione fisica, culturale e religiosa da costoro. Nello stesso tempo però Israele deve chiarire a se stesso e deve spiegare nell'impianto storiografico dei suoi scritti la posizione di Jhwh di fronte agli insuccessi del popolo eletto. Tali sconfitte sarebbero state volute da Jhwh stesso, come momenti di purificazione per Israele, servendosi dei popoli apparentemente vincitori; si pensi per es. alla figura di Ciro descritta da Isaia II. Come stadio più alto di un pensiero benevolo verso agli altri, proprio per la fede nell'unico Dio, gli *stranieri*, guardando Israele, troveranno la strada per conoscere il vero Creatore dell'universo; si pensi per es. ad Abramo, nel quale sono benedette tutte le genti Gn 12,1-3[61].

Con la seconda categoria di stranieri, sempre in pericolo, Israele è costretto a trovare un *modus vivendi*. Costoro sono i poveri fra i poveri, appartenenti al gradino più infimo della scala sociale. La sensazione, propria in tutte le letterature, che la divinità si prende cura dei miseri, trova nei libri della Bibbia una collocazione privilegiata, per far risaltare la grandezza di Jhwh e della Torah. I sovrani nel Vicino Oriente Antico si vantavano di essere stati scelti dalla divinità, per ristabilire nel loro regno la giustizia e il diritto, prendendosi cura dei più deboli. Ecco quindi il significato di quelle espressioni in Lv 24,22 a difesa degli stranieri privi di ogni protezione, nelle quali essi stessi diventano l'oggetto dell'amore di Dio. Ma in epoche più recenti in Israele, quando la scrittura viene recepita sempre più profondamente come "parola di Dio", anche gli "stranieri-residenti" sono un problema, perché possono essere fonte di impurità e per questo devono osservare i precetti noachiti e poi, come "proseliti", devono rinunciare alla propria cultura d'origine e accettare in pieno la Torah e la circoncisione, come segno di appartenenza a Israele. Nel cristianesimo è evidente il recupero della categoria di *straniero* anche nel senso etnico. Gli stranieri-pagani diventano l'oggetto della predicazione del Vangelo e proprio costoro con i quali bisognava evitare ogni contatto diventano ora i privilegiati della salvezza. Se sul piano etnico e sociale ogni diversità è ormai annullata,

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[61] Cfr. I. Cardellini, «"In te saranno benedette tutte le genti", Galati 3,8b – Genesi 12,38b», in *Lateranum* 75 (2009), 589-596.

sul piano teologico nasce però un'altra forma di alterità fra i credenti e i non credenti in Cristo e si ricade inevitabilmente nella distinzione fra "eletti" e "reprobi", come nel giudaismo intertestamentario. Nel cristianesimo tuttavia l'appartenenza al "mondo", secondo la terminologia giovannea, ha due facce, di cui una è di sospetto e di distanza, perché non si accetta il Cristo, mentre l'altra, proprio in forza della croce, diventa oggetto di attenzione, di rispetto, di preghiera e di intercessione per la conversione. Purtroppo, nel mondo attuale lo straniero è ancora un portatore di *handicaps* non diversi da quelli visti nelle società antiche: difficoltà di lingua, precarietà sociale, sfruttamento economico e non raramente la xenofobia. Di fronte a questa situazione l'accoglienza evangelica si manifesta nella solidarietà verso l'altro, come concreta forma di speranza, perché la Chiesa stessa è un popolo di frontiera, esprimente una forza dinamica di crescita e di innovazione e non di separazione e di ostilità contro le differenze. Il sistema di valori della fede cristiana spinge ogni sua forma di concretizzazione a sorpassare se stessa, continuamente.

In appendice una riflessione antica e attuale sulla comunicabilità[62]

Quando uno straniero comunica troppo con se stesso allora sprofonda nella nostalgia, si chiude nei suoi orizzonti. Non sa parlare se non con chi è come lui, incapace di stabilire un dialogo con il diverso che gli sta davanti. Il difetto opposto porta lo straniero a dimenticare se stesso, perché in una terra che non è la propria egli perde il contatto con la sua identità e quando ci si dimentica delle proprie origini, si dilegua anche il proprio aspetto; infatti, gli amici di Ulisse, nell'oblio della patria, presero le sembianze di porci. Ma anche quando lo straniero cerca di comunicare, rimane per chi l'ascolta un enigma; i malintesi si moltiplicano e prima o poi si arriva alla violenza. Ciò accade (come racconta Virgilio) a Enea e ai Troiani approdati sulle rive del Tevere:

> *cum praevectus equo longaevi regis ad aures*
> correndo avanti a cavallo, agli orecchi del vegliardo re
> *nuntius ingentis ignota in veste reportat*
> un messo riporta che in veste ignota
> *advenisse viros*[...]
> sono arrivati uomini (stranieri)…
> *(Eneide 7,166-168)*

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[62] Questa appendice si basa sul saggio di M. Bettini, «Nostalgia e indiscrezione», in M. Bettini (a cura di), *Lo straniero ovvero l'identità culturale a confronto* (BCM 1032), Laterza, Roma – Bari 1992, 3-17.

La stessa cosa è capitata e capiterà migliaia di altre volte. Se si prova a comunicare di più, forse i malintesi diminuiscono e le cose potrebbero diventare più chiare. Tuttavia, se si vuole comunicare troppo, c'è pericolo di essere indiscreti, ma ciò è sempre un male? Nell'*Heautontimoroumenos* (il punitore di se stesso) di Terenzio Cremete interviene per conoscere e aiutare un altro vecchio come lui, Menedemo, il quale, preso dalla volontà di tormento, si sottopone a un lavoro di schiavi. Cremete però riceve la seguente risposta:

> *Chreme, tantumne ad re tuast oti tibi*
> O Cremete, hai tanto tempo da perdere che non pensi agli affari tuoi
> *aliena ut cures ea quae nil a te attinent?*
> e ti prendi cura di quelli degli altri che non ti riguardano affatto?
>
> *(Atto 1 rr. 75-76)*

Menedemo accusa Cremete di indiscrezione e respinge il dialogo. Allora Cremete risponde:

> *homo sum: humani nil a me alienum puto.*
> sono un uomo e tutto ciò che è umano mi riguarda.
>
> *(r. 77)*

È l'elogio della indiscrezione. L'*humanitas* nasce come invito alla comunicazione, affermando che l'eccesso di comunicazione è un bene; infatti, è un atto indispensabile per stabilire relazioni con l'altro. A questo proposito, nel proemio al *Liber de excellentibus ducibus exterarum gentium* Cornelio Nepote ha delle considerazioni interessantissime:

> *sed ii... nihil rectum, nisi quod ipsorum moribus conveniat, putabunt.*
> ma costoro... crederanno di dover approvare solo ciò che è conforme
> al loro modo di vivere.
> *Hi si didicerint non eadem omnibus esse honesta atque turpia*
> Questi, quando avranno imparato che il criterio circa il ben fatto
> e il mal fatto non è uguale per tutti
> *sed omnia maiorum institutis iudicari*
> e che ogni cosa va giudicata secondo le tradizioni dei propri antenati
> *non admirabuntur nos in graiorum virtutibus exponendis*
> non si meraviglieranno che noi nel trattare le virtù dei greci
> *mores eorum secutos*
> ci siamo uniformati alla loro civiltà.
>
> *(1,2-4a)*

Secondo Nepote non esistono gli *honesta* e i *turpia* (cioè, il bene e il male) in sé, ma tutto è rimandato agli *instituta* dei *maiores* (cioè, alla cultura di ciascun popolo), secondo cui il mondo viene valutato. Bisognerebbe abolire parole come *selvaggio*, *barbaro* e sottolineare invece

il tema della differenza. Quando le divergenze si accentuano nei fatti, allora si passa ai paradigmi dei *mores* (cioè, al diritto consuetudinario proprio a ogni gruppo umano). Nepote mostra di avere una grande umanità; ma oggi, se da una parte, sulla base dei valori cristiani, si è spinti ad evitare l'etnocentrismo e a non prevaricare sull'altro, dall'altra però bisogna criticare anche il relativismo culturale di Cornelio Nepote, perché ciò può portare alla paralisi. Infatti, si può arrivare all'affermazione: ogni cosa, purché fatta da altri, sulla base dei loro *mores* (cioè della loro cultura), diventa ammissibile senza possibilità di giudizio. Ora, se è vero che gli *honesta* e i *turpia* (cioè, le cose buone e le cose cattive) sono valutate in base agli *instituta maiorum* (cioè, alla propria visione della vita), perché non ricercare la possibilità di valutare in modo critico il senso e la bontà di queste differenti culture o visioni della vita? Non potendo, quindi, pretendere che tali *instituta* siano il punto di riferimento assoluto e che vengano sempre prima di ogni giudizio, con quali parametri gli *honesta* e i *turpia* (cioè, il bene e il male) possono essere giustificati e stabiliti? Qui sta il cuore della questione e molte sono e sono state le *humanitates* camuffatesi nelle molteplici culture autoctone (cioè identificazione dell'*humanitas* con la propria cultura). Bisogna, forse, discutere di meno sulle culture, ma molto di più sulla persona umana. Una autentica riflessione deve evitare, da una parte, di identificare la propria *humanitas* (cioè, la propria cultura) con l'etnocentrismo, e liberare, dall'altra, gli umani dalla paura di forzare la sensibilità degli altri (cioè da una errata discrezione). Tale riflessione deve valutare, se sia indispensabile conoscere quali sono gli *instituta* (cioè i vari diritti consuetudinari) e quali sono i *maiores* (cioè, le culture) degli altri, prima di passare dagli *instituta maiorum* (cioè, dalla propria visione del mondo) al *quid humanum* che permette di giudicare con senso critico tutte le culture compresa la propria. Ma, come si può conoscere la visione della vita e del mondo degli altri, se non si è curiosi di sapere? Il Vangelo autorizza una tale curiosità e valorizza l'*humanitas* (cioè, ogni cultura) autentica, sempre esigente e insofferente di fronte ad ogni altra *humanitas* (cioè, ad ogni cultura) storicizzata e, troppo spesso, assolutizzata.

Abbreviazioni:

AoF: Altorientalische Forschungen
ARM: Les Archives Royales de Mari
FRLANT: Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und NeuenTestaments
JAOS: Journal of the American Oriental Society

JCS: Journal of Cuneiform Studies
JNES: Journal of Near Eastern Studies
JSOT: Journal for the Study of the Old Testament
LAPO: Littératures anciennes du Proche-Orient
RA: Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale
RAI: Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale
RHR: Revue de l'histoire des religions
RSB: Rivista storica benedittina
RSIt: Rivista storica Italiana
UF: Ugarit-Forschungen

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Abstract

Movimenti migratori nel Vicino Oriente Antico sono documentati fin dai testi più antichi, fra i quali è opportuno distinguere quelli letterari da quelli descrittivi. Questi ultimi testimoniano una situazione storica e sociale di radicamento nel territorio e, soprattutto, di "integrazione" degli stranieri, tanto da divenire nel tempo personaggi di spicco in quelle stesse società. Nei documenti letterari, invece, la valutazione ideologica sugli stranieri da parte degli autoctoni è sempre negativa.

Anche i piccoli stati di Israele e di Giuda fanno parte della continua e complessa evoluzione politica e sociale delle potenze di quella regione, ma nei loro scritti l'interesse per lo straniero è strettamente limitato all'aspetto religioso, secondo cui gli stranieri sono pericolosi e da tenere lontani, perché sono una potenza seduttrice che minaccia l'unità religiosa di Israele. È accettata, invece, quella categoria di stranieri (i cosiddetti proseliti) che desidera entrare a far parte del popolo eletto, rinunciando in toto alla propria identità.

Dagli Appennini alle Ande:
Edmondo De Amicis' Italy
in South America*

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Composed following a journey to visit and document some of the unique attributes of Italian-South American emigration settlements, Edmondo De Amicis' short story «Dagli Appennini alle Ande» (1886) is remarkable for its assimilation of South America and its inhabitants to geopolitical Italy and members of domestic Italian society. Whereas De Amicis' earlier international travel literature portrayed extra-European locales in terms of insurmountable differences from Western Europe, «Dagli Appennini alle Ande» depicts the primary destinations of Italian emigrants in South America as coextensive and culturally compatible with Italy. Read in its post-Risorgimento context, this study investigates the historical conditions and rhetorical moves that enable the best-selling author's Italian-South American emigration short story to minimize South American alterity and naturalize Italian-South American emigrants as residents of the Italian homeland, thus establishing an expansive territorial as well as cultural basis for Italian national unity. Contributing to existing scholarship on Italian migration and national identity formation, my work demonstrates that «Dagli Appennini alle Ande» is a key locus for understanding constructions of national Italian identity.

Edmondo De Amicis began writing about South America in 1884, after his friend and long-time publisher Emilio Treves sponsored him to visit Italian-South American emigration settlements and record his impressions of some of the primary destinations of Italian emigrants overseas. Between 1872 and 1877, Treves found commercial success publishing reports by De Amicis on Europe, Africa, and the Middle East in the Milan-based, but nationally-circulated, weekly *Illustrazione italiana*. The domestic popularity of these writings helped transform De Amicis into Italy's most read travel writer (Polezzi, 2001). Treves believed that the mass emigration that followed the official consolidation of Italian national unity, as millions of Italians settled abroad to escape growing poverty and conscription, signaled a parallel market for works by De Amicis among an increasingly diasporic Italian readership that would enjoy reflections on the unique attributes of its host nations composed by a known writer in a style with which many were already familiar (Mosso, 1925; Genovesi and Boero, 2009)[1].

However, whereas De Amicis' earlier international travel literature portrayed extra-European locales in terms of insurmountable differences from Western Europe (Bezzi, 2001; Crotti, 2001; Valentini, 2013), «Dagli Appennini alle Ande» (1886), the first publication inspired by the author's journey to South America[2], assimilates South America and its inhabitants to geopolitical Italy and members of domestic Italian society. Most widely known from its inclusion among the monthly readings assigned by protagonist Enrico Bottini's instructor in De Amicis' best-selling patriotic novel *Cuore*, the short story «Dagli Appennini alle Ande», which was contemporaneously circulated in the journal *Nuova Antologia* (Genovesi and Boero, 2009), depicts principal sites of Italian emigration in South America as coextensive and culturally compatible with the Italian homeland.

The following study explores the historical conditions and rhetorical moves that enable «Dagli Appennini alle Ande» to minimize South American alterity. My work demonstrates some ways in which the narrative's identification of landscapes and cultures encountered

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[1] The standard Italian in which it was written would have impeded the comprehensibility of De Amicis' travel literature for a majority of Italians, who were either illiterate or limited to functional literacy in their regional dialects. Nevertheless, scholars agree that the contents of travel narratives, in particular those which meditated upon the theme of migration, would have been conveyed to Italian emigrants by the educators, public officials, missionaries and literate travelers whose advice and intervention were essential to their migration experience (Bernasconi, 1984; Lupi, 1983).

[2] *Sull'Oceano* (1889), De Amicis' travelogue depicting his experiences of crossing the Atlantic aboard an emigration steamship bound for South America, was composed during the same time period as «Dagli Appennini alle Ande» but released three years later in order to maximize combined sales from both works (Fedi, 2011).

by Italian emigrants an ocean away from the Italian peninsula and islands with geopolitical Italy and Continental Italian society extends the imagined territorial boundaries of Italy to include South America. In conversation with existing scholarship on Italian migration and national identity formation, I contend that the portrayal of Italian-South American emigration in De Amicis' «Dagli Appennini alle Ande» represents a key locus for understanding post-Risorgimento constructions of national Italian unity.

«Dagli Appennini alle Ande» features the adventures of a thirteen-year-old Genoese boy, Marco — his same birthplace as Christopher Columbus and apparent eponym, Venetian merchant traveler Marco Polo, reminds readers of Italy's distinguished legacy of exploration and travel writing — who journeys to Argentina in search of his emigrant mother. Marco's family grew accustomed to receiving regular correspondence from the mother, who settled in Buenos Aires to work as a domestic servant and remit her surplus wages to repay the family's financial debts. When they no longer hear from her, Marco and his relatives suspect she may be in danger. Since Marco is the only family member without conflicting responsibilities, he and his relatives agree that, despite his young age, Marco should cross the Atlantic to locate his mother and ensure her welfare. As his ship exists the port of Genoa, the normally lionhearted youth is overcome with homesickness:

> Povero Marco! Egli aveva il cuor forte e preparato anche alle più dure prove per quel viaggio; ma quando vide sparire all'orizzonte la sua bella Genova… un improvviso scoraggiamento lo assalì. (De Amicis, 1920, «Appennini», p. 208)

However, Marco's symptomatic nostalgia subsides as the cultural and geographic landscapes that he encounters in Argentina mirror those to which he is accustomed at home.

"Dagli Appennini alle Ande" first likens South America to Italy as a result of the large number of Italian citizens who previously undertook the transatlantic journey to settle in the Argentine Republic. Of the at least 13 million Italians who emigrated from newly-forged Italy before the start of the First World War, over a third of this total number traveled to South America (Rosoli, 1978)[3], where, along with Brazil and Chile, Argentina had particularly favorable immigration policies and placement programs for Italian workers. En route to the Argentine Republic, Marco comforts himself with the knowledge that «[c]i sono

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[3] Reliable figures on Italian emigration date from 1876, when the Direzione Generale della Statistica started to record the international movements of Italian migrants. For an explanation of the historical variables that affected ways in which Italian emigrants were counted, consult Favero and Tassello, 1978.

tanti italiani, qualcheduno m'insegnerà la strada» (De Amicis, 1920, «Appennini», pp. 207-208). Not unexpectedly, the first person Marco stops to ask for directions after his arrival in Buenos Aires is Italian. «Arrivato all'imboccatura della prima via fermò un uomo che passava e lo pregò di indicargli da che parte dovesse prendere per andar in via da *los Artes*. Aveva fermato per l'appunto un operaio italiano» (p. 211). And, although Marco fails to find his mother in the first location where her presence is anticipated, a fellow Italian emigrant urges him to take solace in the fact that «qui hai da per tutto dei compaesani, non rimarrai abbandonato» (p. 215). In Argentina, Marco appears surrounded by *compaesani* or countrymen.

As Donna R. Gabaccia notes, «the modern Italian word for country is the same as for village (paese)» (Gabaccia, 2000, p. 3). Within «Dagli Appennini alle Ande», the term "compaesani" assumes both meanings. Throughout the narrative, Marco's countrymen include pan-Italian emigrants as well as past residents of regional Ligurian enclaves that recall his native Genoa. The former are sometimes designated as *patrioti* or patriots in reference to their greater Italian *patria* or fatherland. Examples include patrons of the Estrella de Italia inn who help fund Marco's journey. In a scene that evokes the Risorgimento ideal of unification on the Italian peninsula and islands, their Lombard leader urges the men gathered at the hotel tavern, all of whom hail from different Italian regions, to collaboratively sponsor Marco's passage to Cordoba, one of the principal Argentine destinations where Marco searches for his mother.

> «Camerati», disse senz'altro il Lombardo, restando in piedi, e presentando Marco; «c'è qui un povero ragazzo nostro *patriotta* che è venuto solo da Genova a Buenos Aires a cercare sua madre. A Buenos Aires gli dissero: "Qui non c'è, è a Cordova." (…) È qui solo come un disperato. (…) Non ha da trovar tanto da pagare il biglietto per andare a Cordova a trovar sua madre? L'abbiamo da lasciar qui come un cane?»
>
> «Mai al mondo, perdio!» «Mai non sarà detto questo!» gridarono tutti insieme, battendo il pugno sul tavolo. «Un *patriotta* nostro!» «Vieni qua, piccolino.» «Ci siamo noi, gli emigranti!» «Guarda che bel monello.» «Fuori dei quattrini, camerati.» «Bravo! Venuto solo! Hai del fegato!» «Bevi un sorso, *patriotta*.» «Ti manderemo da tua madre, non pensare.» (…) [E] in meno di dieci minuti il contadino lombardo, che porgeva il cappello, ci ebbe dentro quarantadue lire. (…) «Bevi!» gli gridò un altro, porgendogli un bicchiere di vino: «Alla salute di tua madre!» Tutti alzarono i bicchieri. (De Amicis, 1920, «Appennini», pp. 219-220, italics in original)

Like the geographically diverse schoolchildren in *Cuore*, inter-regional gatherings in «Dagli Appennini alle Ande», in which Argentina is idealized as a place where one encounters Italians from all corners of Italy, personify unified Italian society.

The assistance that Marco receives from regionally diverse Italian emigrants in Argentina on behalf of his mother, specifically, also reflects the portrayal of post-unification domestic Italian society in *Cuore*. Paraphrasing the description of *Cuore* in Bruno Traversetti's introduction to De Amicis, Daria Valentini notes that in this text «not only patriotism, but also a social-anthropological devotion to the mother figure engage the reader in the place of more traditionally observed religious practices» (Valentini, 2013, p. 341). Like the emergence of modern European nations during the eighteenth century, as historicized by Benedict Anderson (1991), the secular national identity suggested by the fraternal bonds that unite regionally diverse Italian citizens in «Dagli Appennini alle Ande», and also schoolchildren in *Cuore*, as the result of their communal descent from a matriarchal Italy, speaks to the supplanting of existing religious authorities by the lay, post-unification, Italian government and assimilates the territories peopled by Italian-South American emigrants in De Amicis' short story to those inhabited by citizens of the Italian homeland.

The protection of Marco's mother by pan-regional Italian patriots who rally to ensure her continued wellbeing in Argentina correlates the emigrants in «Dagli Appennini alle Ande» with domestic Italian schoolchildren from across the Italian peninsula and islands in *Cuore* whose safeguarding of Italy-as-mother unites them as citizens of geopolitical Italy. Contextualized in terms of the long tradition recounted in Stephen Gundle's *Bellissima: Feminine Beauty and the Idea of Italy* (2007), in which, since the birth of the Italian literary tradition, Italy has been personified as a female figure, and, following Petrarch's *Canzoniere*, which compares Italy, «la patria in ch'io mi fido», to a «madre benigna e pia» (Petrarch, *Rvf*, 128.84-85), as a benign and pious mother, Marco's search for his mother may be understood as a search for his mother country, the Italian *madre patria* or motherland.

The destinations of Italian-South American emigrants in «Dagli Appennini alle Ande» also appear culturally Italian as the result of Marco's presence in regionally homogenous departure-specific immigrant neighborhoods, such as La Boca in Buenos Aires, which «Dagli Appennini alle Ande» describes as «una piccola città mezza Genovese» (De Amicis, 1920, «Appennini», p. 214), that are the products of chain migration. As Mark I. Choate (2008) explains, this practice, the result of following in the footsteps of migrant family members and acquaintances, led to the formation of Italian communities the world over that mirrored those the immigrants left behind. Although Italian emigrants traveled up to thousands of miles to reach their destinations, chain migration ensured that many nevertheless remained within the ambit of their local Italian cultures. Italian emigrant communities that resulted

from chain migration were correspondingly called *colonie*, or colonies, suggesting their intrinsic link to regional and national Italian society.

In addition to imported elements of Italian culture, «Dagli Appennini alle Ande» also invokes Argentine traits that disavow geographic distance between South America and Western Europe and societal differences between the people of Argentina and Italy. Marco's movements in search of his mother, whose conditions of employment change throughout the narrative, take him through Buenos Aires, Rosario, Cordoba, and Tucumán. As Marco moves from city to city, he admires their modernity and notes their resemblance to one another. Buenos Aires is described in terms of its gridded urban plan extending as far as the eye can see.

> Era una via diritta e sterminata, ma stretta. (…) A ogni tratto di cammino, voltandosi a destra e a sinistra, egli vedeva due altre vie che fuggivano diritte a perdita d'occhio… La città gli pareva infinita; gli pareva che si potesse camminar per giornate e per settimane vedendo sempre di qua e di là altre vie come quelle, e che tutta l'America ne dovesse esser coperta. (De Amicis, 1920, «Appennini», p. 211)

«Dagli Appennini alle Ande» portrays the city of Buenos Aires as a synecdoche for the Americas.

This image is reinforced by the narrative's equivalent descriptions of subsequent South American cities in Marco's Argentine itinerary. Rosario, for instance, is characterized in terms of its similar gridiron plan. «Entrando in Rosario gli parve d'entrare in una città già conosciuta. Erano quelle vie attraversate in tutte le direzioni. (…) La testa gli si confondeva: credette quasi di rientrare a Buenos Aires» (De Amicis, 1920, «Appennini», p. 217). Marco's experiences of Cordoba («Entrò in città. E gli parve d'entrare in Rosario un'altra volta, al veder quelle strade diritte, fiancheggiate di piccole case bianche, e tagliate da altre strade diritte e lunghissime») and Tucumán («Marco entrava nella città di Tucuman. (…) Gli parve di rivedere Cordova, Rosario, Buenos Aires: erano quelle stesse vie diritte e lunghissime») (pp. 224, 236) evoke a corresponding déjà vu. By constructing Argentine cities in terms of a singular landscape ideal, «Dagli Appennini alle Ande» disavows differences between South American metropolises.

Given the gridding of cities in the Americas by Spanish colonial authorities beginning in the Renaissance and the Beaux-Arts urbanism that flourished under the Francophile «generación del 80» governing elite in pre-WWI Argentina[4], it is unsurprising that De Amicis'

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[4] For a history of gridiron planning in Spanish America, including a case study of its development in Cordoba, Argentina, one of the primary cities informing the characterization of the Americas in «Dagli Appennini alle Ande», consult Foglia, 1987. For an authoritative study of Beaux-Arts architecture that considers the significance of its tenets for urban planning in the Americas as well as Europe, see Chafee, 1977.

stereotypical descriptions of turn-of-the-twentieth century Argentine urban centers recall the author's earlier characterizations of metropolises in Western Europe. In his work on Paris, for instance, De Amicis references the city's boulevards as they would have appeared following the renovations undertaken as part of the Second Empire reforms, the famed Parisian urban planning project begun under the direction of Baron Georges-Eugène Haussmann, that replaced dense medieval-era construction with the rationally designed open spaces and expansive streets associated with urban modernity. Among them, De Amicis describes the boulevard St. Denis as «la grande strada … [che] si stende davanti a noi, a perdita d'occhio» and the boulevard Montmartre, «quella strada ampissima di cui non si vede la fine», where «l'occhio non trova spazio dove riposare» (De Amicis, 1887, pp. 8-9, 14, 13). As Danna (2000) observes, similar descriptions are a frequent refrain throughout De Amcis' writings on Spain.

The depiction of Argentina in terms of cities populated by modern rectilinear thoroughfares corresponds the South American sites featured in «Dagli Appennini alle Ande» to cities in De Amicis' Western European travelogues in a manner that is unprecedented among the author's writings on other extra-European metropolises, in particular his characterizations of the urban spheres of Morocco and the Ottoman Empire. De Amicis described these more immediate sites of Western Imperialism in terms of tangled labyrinthine streets, «un labirinto inestricabile di stradicciuole tortuose, o piuttosto di corridoi… [che] paiono fatte per nascondervisi» (De Amicis, 1878, p. 5), that he interpreted to symbolize the backwardness of their inhabitants. In Tangiers, for example, the author shudders to imagine a lone European traveler «gira[ndo] solo in questo labirinto, in mezzo a questi barbari» (p. 45). In contrast, De Amicis' descriptions of distant Argentine locales connect urban South America with the rationality and panoptic visibility that the author associated with hegemonic European capitals. Unlike his exotic depictions of non-Western European metropolises in African and Ottoman territories, De Amicis' «Dagli Appennini alle Ande» depicts South American cities in consonance with urban modernity in Western Europe.

De Amicis would have encountered gridded urban planning in Italy as well as abroad, especially in his home city of Turin. As Cristina Della Coletta (2009) notes, during the nineteenth century, urban reforms to purge Turin of its slums rendered the city's urban sphere largely homogenous. De Amicis captures this feature of late 1800s Turin in *Torino 1880. Il racconto di una città* (1880). This domestic Italian travel guide follows a local resident of Turin as he introduces an Italian visitor to the city. Anticipating De Amicis' descriptions of built Argentine environments in «Dagli Appennini alle Ande», *Torino 1880*

depicts Turin, at least upon first glance, as an assemblage of indistinguishable houses that appear to extend indefinitely.

> Tutte le strade, a primo aspetto, si rassomigliano: tagliano tutte un lunghissimo rettangolo di cielo con due file di case color uniforme, su cui lo sguardo scivola dal cornicione al marciapiede, senza trovar nulla che l'arresti. (De Amicis, 1991, p. 15)

Although during the late nineteenth century drives for modernization through urban reform are most commonly identified with northern European cities, in particular with Paris, *Torino 1880* attributes the rectilinear plan that enables Turin to be readily traversed by the gaze of its observers to the city's more local Italian past. The work compares the linearly ordered houses of Turin to old Piedmontese military regiments ("allineate come lo erano i vecchi reggimenti piemontesi") and portrays its streets in terms of the discipline that the narrative associates with the ancient Sardinian army («Passando per quelle strade si ricorda involontariamente la disciplina dell'antico esercito sardo») (p. 16). Indeed, as Della Coletta observes,

> Turin's topographical layout, with its framework of rectilinear streets running parallel or perpendicular to one another predates the advent of the bourgeois order. […] The core of Savoy's military might, Turin was, first and foremost, an army town. (Della Coletta, 2009, p. 42)

In *Torino 1880*, the gridiron plan of Turin, «[che] par fabbricata sopra un immenso scacchiere» (De Amicis, 1991, p. 15), reflects the city's Italian military heritage. Similar characterizations of Turin in *Torino 1880* and urban Argentine centers, including Buenos Aires, Rosario, Cordoba and Tucumán, in «Dagli Appennini alle Ande» suggest that De Amicis' Italian-South American emigration short story assimilates specific ideas of Italy as well as Western Europe.

The resemblance that «Dagli Appennini alle Ande» depicts between the South American and Italian countryside further naturalizes Argentina as Italy. Although Marco initially feels lost during an arduous trek from Cordoba to Tucumán through the pampas, the sight of the Andes comforts Marco because it reminds him of home.

> Una cosa, per altro, lo riconfortò un poco, fin da principio. Dopo tanti giorni di viaggio… egli vedeva davanti a sé una catena di montagne altissime, azzurre, con le cime bianche, che gli rammentavano le Alpi, e gli davan come un senso di ravvicinamento al suo paese. Erano le Ande, la spina dorsale del continente Americano, la catena immensa che si stende dalla Terra del fuoco fino al mare glaciale del polo artico per cento e dieci gradi di latitudine. (De Amicis, 1920, «Appennini», pp. 230-231)

The geographic similarities that «Dagli Appennini alle Ande» envisions between the Andes and the Alps reconcile the Argentine and Italian landscapes and quell Marco's feelings of estrangement by creating the impression that, despite his distance from Genoa, in South America Marco is nevertheless in the presence of iconic elements of his native environment.

De Amicis' representation of the Andes as a symbol for Italy recalls similar territorial references that, since the beginning of the Italian literary tradition, have been called forth to project a unified Italian identity. In the *De vulgari eloquentia*, Dante refers to the Apennines as a "rain-gutter" that «irrigate[s] the whole country» (Dante, *Dve*, I, 10). Citing the Apennines as a common geographic feature of Italy enabled Dante to disavow regional Italian cultural differences. In his patriotic sonnet «Italia mia», Petrarch describes the Alps as a screen or «schermo» nature placed «[f]ra noi et la tedesca rabbia» (Petrarch, *Rvf*, 128.34-35). He invoked the Alps to construct a civilized Italian identity in contrast with the culture of Italy's northern neighbors. Whereas the Apennines are a connective feature of culturally diverse regions of Italy, the Andes span the vertical length of South America, joining politically independent nations Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, and Venezuela. By equating the Alps with the Andes, «Dagli Appennini alle Ande» relates Italy not only to Argentina but also to the South American continent at-large. De Amicis' comparison of Italy to pan-South American nations magnifies the former by enabling readers to imagine each individual Italian region as a country united to form an expansive Italian continent.

In addition to geographic similarities, "Dagli Appennini alle Ande" relates Argentina and Italy on linguistic grounds. Native Argentine residents converse with Marco in proficient Italian. Examples include an Argentine woman at the former home of his mother's employer who answers Marco's query regarding her whereabouts in his native language.

> Marco diede una strappata al campanello. Comparve una signorina. «Qui sta la famiglia Mequinez, non è vero?» domandò ansiosamente il ragazzo. «Ci stava» rispose la signorina, pronunziando l'italiano alla spagnuola. «Ora ci stiamo noi, Zeballos.» (De Amicis, 1920, «Appennini», p. 213)

The woman's hispanized Italian suggests that Spanish is her mother tongue. However, she nevertheless adapts to speaking the national language of Italy. Argentine residents who seem to speak Spanish exclusively are also shown capable of switching into Italian. As Marco seeks his mother in Buenos Aires, a woman he interrogates at the former shop of his cousin, Francesco Merelli, whom Marco learns has passed away, begins speaking with Marco in Spanish. However, as he responds

in Italian, she addresses him in kind: «'Che volete, ragazzo?' gli domandò quella, in spagnuolo. 'Non è questa' disse il ragazzo, stentando a metter fuori la voce, 'la bottega di Francesco Merelli?' 'Francesco Merelli è morto' rispose la donna in Italiano» (p. 212). Throughout «Dagli Appennini alle Ande», native Argentinians demonstrate varying degrees of Italian fluency. The pervasive use of Italian by native as well as non-native residents of Argentina in De Amicis' South American travel narrative helps characterize this principal destination of Italian-South American emigrants as culturally Italian.

While the Italian language of native Argentine residents connotes pan-national Italian culture, the Genoese dialect spoken by Italian emigrants in «Dagli Appennini alle Ande» evokes Marco's regional Ligurian roots. When Marco sails from Buenos Aires to Rosario, Genoese sailors on board the ship comfort him with songs in his native dialect.

> [Marco] si trovava a poppa d'una grossa barca a vela (…) che partiva per la città di Rosario, condotta da tre robusti genovesi abbronzati dal sole; la voce dei quali, e il dialetto amato che parlavano gli rimise un po' di conforto nel cuore. (De Amicis, 1920, «Appennini», p. 215)

Their shared language not only reminds Marco of home; it also causes his feelings of homesickness to subside, transporting him back to a place and time when his mother sang him Genoese lullabies: «Uno dei barcaiuoli cantava. Quella voce gli rammentava le canzoni di sua madre, quando l'addormentava bambino» (p. 216). The Genoese dialect of his fellow travelers translates Marco from an ostensibly foreign setting into the familiar surroundings of home.

The fact that both linguistic as well as geographic features repatriate Marco suggests the territoriality acquired by the Italian language in light of Italian national unification. In «An Italian Literary History of Travel», Theodore J. Cachey, Jr., argues that in the absence of Italian national unity, Italian identity hinged upon «idealized territories of language» that symbolized an «uncannily disembodied and deterritorialized» Italian culture (Cachey, Jr., 1996, pp. 57, 56). Following the Risorgimento, De Amicis' writings exploit the potential of Italian language to signify geopolitical Italy and its continuing regional cultural fragmentation as exemplified by the ways in which standard and dialect Italian compensate for Marco's geographic dislocation. Consonant with its use by post-unification irredentist activists, who lobbied for territorial expansion into Italian-speaking regions that remained outside the Kingdom of Italy[5], the Italian language of native Argentine residents and

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[5] For a history of Risorgimento-era and post-unification Italian irredentist movements, consult Gatta, 2007.

Italian emigrants in «Dagli Appennini alle Ande» establishes Argentina as a phonetically and, therefore, geographically Italian territory.

Marco's experience of Argentina as geographically and linguistically Italian acquires special significance in the context of *Cuore*, in which Enrico's father quantifies Italian patriotism in terms of Italian territory and language. In a letter to his son, Enrico's father states that he loves Italy «[perché] la città dove son nato [e] la lingua che parlo … è italiano» (De Amicis, 1920, *Cuore*, p. 95). According to Enrico's father, Italian patriotism is constituted retroactively. It results from returning to the Italian homeland after a prolonged absence. Speaking to Enrico, who has never left Italy, his father explains,

> Tu non puoi ancora sentirlo intero questo affetto! Lo sentirai quando sarai un uomo, quando ritornando da un viaggio lungo, dopo una lunga assenza, e affacciandoti una mattina al parapetto del bastimento, vedrai all'orizzonte le grandi montagne azzurre del tuo paese. (p. 95)

The previously cited image of Genoa receding on the horizon in «Dagli Appennini alle Ande» («Povero Marco! Egli aveva il cuor forte e preparato anche alle più dure prove per quel viaggio; ma quando vide sparire all'orizzonte la sua bella Genova (…) un improvviso scoraggiamento lo assalì») (De Amicis, 1920, «Appennini», p. 208) symbolizes an analogous departure for Marco to that recounted for his son by Enrico's father. Since Marco's homesickness is counteracted by Italian geography and language, his Italian identity, like that of Enrico's father, appears predicated on territorial and linguistic variables. Unlike the travelers described by Enrico's father, however, Marco's nostalgia is assuaged abroad. By comparing Italian and Argentine geographic and linguistic landscapes, «Dagli Appennini alle Ande» relates Marco's destination to the place he left, ultimately negating his departure from Italy.

The depiction of Marco's journey abroad as a restorative return to Italian lifestyles in a coextensive Italian landscape contrasts with the portrayal of travel in narratives by De Amicis' contemporaries, which frequently represented the practice as a disruptive force that interfered with the everyday lives of their protagonists. An essay by Antonino Musumeci in *The Motif of the Journey in Nineteenth-Century Italian Literature* (1994) highlights ways in which Italian literature from the *Ottocento* underscores the dangers of travel. In the patriotic poetry of Ugo Foscolo and Alessandro Manzoni, for instance, Musumeci notes that the vocabulary associated with travel overwhelmingly suggests suffering. Examples include the words *partenza*, *fuga*, *lontananza*, *addio*, *commiato*, and *errare* (which Musumeci translates as: departure, flight, absence, farewell, and leave-taking) (Musumeci, 1994, p. 78). Those authors' characterizations of travel may be unsurprising given,

as Luigi Monga (1996) explains, the fact that «the idea that travel is a painful chore, a torture of one's body and mind, appears in the etymology of the word travel. The Anglo-French verb travailler meant both 'to travel' and 'to torment'» (Monga, 1996, p. 11). What Musumeci's inventory of the travel terms used by Foscolo, a writer displaced by the Austrian occupiers of the Veneto whose overtly political writings often meditated on the theme of patriotic exile, and Manzoni reveals is the extent to which their works classified the hardships of travel in terms of geographic dislocation. Perhaps due to its similar emphasis on involuntary migration rather than leisure travel, this is also the central theme of late-nineteenth century writing by Giovanni Verga, as may be noted of works like *I Malavoglia*, in which all who depart from the Malavoglia family's ancestral home in Aci Trezza, Sicily, come to their ruin.

In the early twentieth century, nationalist poet Giovanni Pascoli related the plight of Italian emigrants to that of famed Italian exiles Dante and Virgil. Like De Amicis, Pascoli attributed a territorializing function to the Italian language. However, whereas De Amicis depicted Italian-South American emigrants speaking Italian, Pascoli's work restricted Italian proficiency to residents of geopolitical Italy. In «Italy. Sacro all'Italia raminga» (1907), a poem that illustrates Pascoli's belief that emigration weakened the Italian nation, the Anglicized Italian of Italian emigrants in Cincinnati, Ohio, renders their correspondence unintelligible to relatives in Caprona, Tuscany. The distorted Italian of emigrants in the work by Pascoli symbolizes their geographic displacement. De Amicis was not alone in using language to symbolize Italy. However, his emigration writing is unique in its application to domesticate Italian emigrants as organic members of geopolitical Italian society.

Concluding when Marco is reunited with his mother, who is referred to as both «[l]a *jenovesa*» (in Spanish, a woman from Genoa) and «l'italiana» (in Italian, a woman from Italy) (De Amicis, 1920, «Appennini», p. 237, italics in original), De Amicis' «Dagli Appennini alle Ande» allegorizes emigration to South America as a return to local and national points of origin in the Italian homeland. Demographic, geographical, and cultural affinities between Marco's ostensibly foreign South American destination and familiar Italian point of origin remedy the youth's sense of expatriation and reincorporate Italian-South American emigrants as ongoing residents of their native Italy. By portraying regional and national Italian attributes diffused as the result of mass emigration as signifiers for geopolitical Italy, De Amicis' «Dagli Appennini alle Ande» establishes an expansive territorial as well as cultural basis for post-Risorgimento Italian national unity.

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Recensioni

Dario Basile, *Le vie sbagliate. Giovani e vita di strada nella Torino della grande migrazione interna*, Unicopli, Milano 2014, 200 p.

La fotografia di Mauro Raffini, che illustra la copertina di questo volume, rievoca in modo davvero efficace lo scenario della periferia urbana nel quale si muovono i protagonisti della ricerca di Dario Basile, le seconde generazioni degli immigrati meridionali a Torino. L'immagine – che mostra tre adolescenti, dietro i quali si possono vedere solo i grandi palazzi di un retrostante scenario urbano – non solo sottolinea l'assenza del tessuto sociale (caratteristica dei grandi complessi abitativi destinati agli immigrati), ma fa risaltare almeno due dei nodi esistenziali che ricorrono nelle tante testimonianze autobiografiche sulle quali è in gran parte costruito il libro. Da un lato è lo spirito di gruppo, che gli ex adolescenti intervistati dallo stesso Basile hanno messo costantemente in rilievo, e dall'altro è il loro senso di sfida nei confronti della società: un atteggiamento che soprattutto il ragazzo al centro della fotografia sembra ostentare nel suo stesso modo di mettersi in posa, con il capo eretto e con lo sguardo sfrontato puntato verso l'obiettivo.

Le "vie sbagliate" del titolo sono quelle delle aree dell'edilizia popolare che furono la risposta fornita dalle istituzioni torinesi alla grande immigrazione meridionale degli anni postbellici. Questo provvedimento ebbe sicuramente il merito di offrire case più adeguate a chi spesso si era insediato in abitazioni di fortuna, ma ebbe anche la responsabilità di creare dei ghetti staccati dalla città, sia perché abitati solo da immigrati, sia perché isolati dal restante contesto urbano in quanto privi di collegamenti. In questi quartieri, per circa tre anni, Dario Basile ha incontrato i giovani di allora, li ha fatti parlare e ha posto loro domande mirate. Usando gli strumenti teorici ed euristici dell'antropologo, ha fatto proprie alcune delle metodologie d'indagine di noti e lontani studi dell'antropologia urbana anglosassone dedicati alla criminalità nei quartieri di immigrazione delle grandi città americane. E si è anche confrontato con le più recenti analisi sulle seconde generazioni degli immigrati nei quartieri periferici di grandi città europee, come Parigi. Oltre a questo bagaglio teorico-metodologico, più congeniale alla sua formazione di antropologo, Basile ha utilizzato anche fonti diverse da quelle orali, setacciando in particolare l'archivio del Tribunale dei Minori di Torino, il Ferrante Aporti, analizzando i fascicoli giudiziari e le sentenze. E ha ricostruito così, per alcuni anni significativi, anche un quadro sociologico del rapporto tra migrazione interna e criminalità minorile.

Che cosa emerge da questa ricca e approfondita ricerca, condotta nell'ambito di un progetto interuniversitario (tra la capofila Università del Piemonte orientale e l'Università di Torino) sulle seconde generazioni degli immigrati meridionali e degli stranieri a Torino? I risultati di questa interessante indagine mettono a fuoco quattro aspetti significativi di quel mondo giovanile. Come primo dato emergono innanzi tutto le notevoli cifre della presenza minorile: i censimenti dal 1951 al 1981 registrano una crescente percentuale di ragazzi di età inferiore ai 14 anni sul totale della popolazione residente a Torino. Una crescita che nei quartieri di recente immigrazione è ben registrata anche dal forte aumento delle iscrizioni scolastiche. In secondo luogo risalta il processo di socializzazione e di aggregazione giovanile che si sviluppò in questi quartieri: la totale autonomia dal mondo adulto e la mancanza di attività organizzate (fatta eccezione per l'opera delle varie parrocchie). Nei quartieri urbani di recente insediamento – a differenza di quanto capitava nei paesi di origine dove grazie alle reti di parentela gli adolescenti erano in stretto contatto con gli adulti – i giovani non ebbero alcuna forma di controllo. In questa situazione si creò così un mondo giovanile del tutto separato nel quale gli adolescenti organizzavano la propria giornata in un modo in cui il confine tra il lecito e l'illecito penale diventava sempre più sfumato, fino ad arrivare ad atti di vandalismo e alla vera infrazione della legge.

Questi ultimi elementi introducono anche il terzo risultato significativo della ricerca: la ricostruzione dell'entità della criminalità giovanile. Certo, Basile ha ben presenti i limiti della fonte giudiziaria che è alla base della sua ricostruzione; presenta i suoi dati con molta cautela e fa anche notare come i quartieri periferici fossero ben più presidiati dalla polizia, con la conseguente maggiore possibilità, per i giovani, di essere arrestati. Sta di fatto però, che nel solo anno campione 1979, risulta che quasi il 78% dei ragazzi arrestati, in massima parte con un'età compresa fra i sedici e i diciassette anni e residenti a Torino, aveva un'origine meridionale. Dai dati di due anni prima si ricava anche che la maggior parte dei ragazzi presenti nel carcere erano residenti in due dei quartieri di immigrazione: le Vallette e Mirafiori Sud. Mentre per quanto riguarda i reati, dalle sentenze emerge come fossero generalmente commessi in concorso fra due o più minori e talvolta anche con maggiorenni, secondo le regole di quello spirito di gruppo, o di banda giovanile, a cui mi riferivo descrivendo la foto di copertina. L'altro dato che risalta è inoltre il reato più comune: il furto, di vario tipo ed entità. Altrettanto interessante è infine la ricostruzione del rapporto dei giovani arrestati con la scuola: un ragazzo su tre, di quelli in carcere, aveva raggiunto al massimo la licenza elementare e ben pochi avevano continuato dopo la scuola media. Non solo, ma più della metà non studiava né lavorava.

Questi ultimi dati ci fanno arrivare al quarto risultato della ricerca: la residenza nelle vie sbagliate, e in particolare le reti sociali stabilite in quelle strade, furono un vero sbarramento che impedì a questi giovani di avere successi scolastici, di trovare un lavoro e so-

prattutto di migliorare la propria condizione di vita. Su quei ragazzi, in altri termini, il retroterra sociale delle strade in cui vivevano pesò come un macigno non solo per la maggiore possibilità di cadere nelle reti della devianza, ma anche per l'impossibilità di accedere a quella mobilità sociale che era stata la molla per spingere le loro famiglie a trasferirsi nelle città del nord.

Oltre ai risultati specifici sull'immigrazione meridionale, appena sintetizzati, un altro risvolto rilevante della ricerca di Basile è la comparazione che viene stabilita tra la vicenda storica dell'immigrazione delle seconde generazioni e la nuova realtà dell'immigrazione straniera, così come si riscontra oggi in un quartiere torinese (Barriera di Milano) contrassegnato dalla duplice presenza di vecchi e nuovi immigrati. Nell'ultimo capitolo del libro Basile affronta in modo specifico il confronto che è stato l'obiettivo di fondo del progetto collettivo sulle seconde generazioni; e dalla comparazione emergono aspetti di estremo interesse sia sulle divisioni che attraversano vecchie e nuove immigrazioni, sia sulle vicinanze. Ma soprattutto risalta come un certo tipo di musica (quella *rap,* nata nel Bronx) sia capace di avvicinare i giovani delle due immigrazioni in quanto strumento di affermazione identitaria e di recupero del rapporto con il proprio quartiere.

Paola Corti

Michele Colucci e Stefano Gallo, a cura di, *L'arte di spostarsi. Rapporto 2014 sulle migrazioni interne in Italia,* Donzelli, Roma 2014, 172 p.

È noto che l'attenzione degli studiosi nei confronti delle migrazioni interne è stata sempre minore rispetto a quella rivolta ai movimenti verso l'estero. E ancora oggi, nonostante i numerosi mutamenti impressi agli studi da alcune recenti pubblicazioni d'insieme, da progetti collettanei o da ricerche territoriali più mirate – che hanno puntato ad avvicinare e ad analizzare in modo congiunto le varie forme di mobilità presenti nella nostra penisola – il divario numerico tra le indagini su emigrazione e immigrazione da un lato e migrazioni interne dall'altro non è affatto colmato. Il libro curato da Colucci e Gallo è quindi una delle non tante e apprezzabili pubblicazioni che puntano ad ampliare l'analisi su terreni tuttora poco scandagliati, centrandosi sulle fasi migratorie più recenti e, come illustrano i curatori nella conclusione dell'ampia introduzione storico-metodologica, sottolineando anche il ruolo illuminante che la mobilità assume per la comprensione della realtà italiana nel suo complesso. Il libro si presenta del resto come un primo "Rapporto di ricerca" e fa quindi ben sperare nella continuazione di questi studi nell'ambito di un più esteso progetto d'indagine promosso dal CNR di Napoli sulle migrazioni nel Mediterraneo.

L'interesse teorico-metodologico per l'esame parallelo delle varie migrazioni presenti in Italia si riscontra in modo più marcato in due dei saggi pubblicati nel volume. Nel primo Ercole Sori analizza

il classico studio-inchiesta di Goffredo Fofi sull'immigrazione meridionale a Torino alla luce dei mutamenti intervenuti negli studi e nella realtà delle migrazioni prima e dopo l'ormai cinquantennale inchiesta, interrogandosi sulla continuità-trasformazione dei modelli migratori tra passato e presente, e affermando la necessità euristica di superare i confini territoriali tra le diverse forme di mobilità. Nel secondo Michelangela Di Giacomo passa in rassegna gli studi storici e sociologici sulle migrazioni interne evidenziando come il punto di arrivo delle ricerche più recenti sia proprio il superamento dei modelli migratori basati su nette divisioni tra e-migrazione, immigrazione, e migrazioni interne. Tali considerazioni si trovano tuttavia anche in altri saggi, che mettono in risalto sia come i protagonisti delle migrazioni interne siano oggi soprattutto gli stranieri, ossia i migranti già coinvolti in movimenti di ben più lungo raggio (Bonifazi, Heins, Tucci), sia come esista – in conseguenza dell'accordo Schengen e della nuova circolazione migratoria messa in moto dal trattato – un sostanziale continuum tra la mobilità interna e quella all'estero (Perrotta).

Nelle analisi degli altri autori uno dei quesiti comuni investe un nodo tematico di indiscutibile rilevanza storiografica già sollevato da Sori: il rapporto tra il passato e il presente delle migrazioni nazionali. Il saggio di Stefano Gallo si sofferma in particolare sulla differenza che sul piano giuridico-istituzionale distingue i movimenti interni attuali da quelli postbellici, regolati dalla nota legge fascista antiurbanesimo, e quindi clandestini fino al 1961; quello già citato di Domenico Perrotta esamina in questa prospettiva il lavoro salariato nelle campagne, ponendo in risalto analogie e distanze tra ieri e oggi nella lunga durata di una mobilità strutturalmente organica alla stessa organizzazione agricola italiana; lo studio di Davide Bubbico mette invece in rilievo le diverse motivazioni (non solo economiche, ma qualitative ed 'etico-politiche') che rispetto al passato incidono attualmente, anche dopo la forte crisi degli ultimi anni, sulle migrazioni interne dal Sud; mentre l'indagine di Anna Badino riprende l'ultimo tema di ricerca condotto dalla giovane studiosa sulle seconde generazioni degli immigrati meridionali a Torino appartenenti ai due generi, confrontandosi con quanto emerge dall'analisi dell'attuale situazione degli stranieri delle stesse fasce d'età.

Nell'ampio saggio di inquadramento socio-demografico dei già citati Corrado Bonifazi, Frank Heins ed Enrico Tucci, che apre il volume, oltre alle tendenze quantitative di una mobilità interna che, già in aumento a partire dall'ultimo scorcio del Novecento assume nuove e più ampie dimensioni proprio negli anni più recenti, gli autori disegnano un aggiornato quadro dei nuovi itinerari e dei nuovi modelli di comportamento che caratterizzano gli spostamenti interni nelle rilevazioni del 2011-2012: la già osservata presenza di lavoratori stranieri anche in questo tipo di mobilità, la prevalenza di movimenti di carattere quotidiano e il conseguente diffuso pendolarismo (tendenze a loro volta legate alla riduzione delle distanze geografiche degli spostamenti). Si tratta di comportamenti che per la loro entità numerica, e per la compresenza di differenti soggetti

interessati, non solo influiscono sulla realtà sociale italiana nel suo insieme, ma hanno anche altri risvolti normativi correlati alla registrazione anagrafico-residenziale degli stessi migranti. Come fa ben notare Enrico Gargiulo in un saggio centrato sulla gestione amministrativa delle concessioni di residenza nel Nord Italia, la non coincidenza tra sede di residenza e di lavoro si rivela particolarmente dannosa soprattutto quando gli attori interessati sono i lavoratori stranieri, ossia quella parte della popolazione "italiana" che proprio sul piano giuridico e legislativo si trova nelle maggiori difficoltà di accettazione e perfino di riconoscimento identitario.

Paola Corti

Morena La Barba, Christian Stohr, Michel Oris et Sandro Cattacin, a cura di, *La migration italienne dans la Suisse d'après-guerre*, Éditions Antipodes, Lausanne 2013, 390 p.

La storia dell'emigrazione italiana in Svizzera negli anni successivi alla seconda guerra mondiale è diventata oggetto di numerose ricerche e di una crescente attenzione da parte degli studiosi. Possiamo parlare di una nuova stagione di studi, che riempie una serie di lacune davvero notevoli che per lungo tempo hanno limitato la comprensione e le interpretazioni del fenomeno.

Il volume curato da La Barba, Stohr, Oris e Cattacin rientra a pieno titolo in questo contesto. Si tratta di una pubblicazione collettanea, divisa in tre sezioni: *politique*, *identités* e *travail*. La prima sezione è la più ricca e occupa circa la metà del volume. D'altronde la questione politica è uno scoglio inevitabile per chiunque voglia approcciarsi alla ricostruzione delle migrazioni italiane in Svizzera nel dopoguerra. Le istituzioni della Confederazione hanno infatti ideato, sperimentato e costruito un articolato sistema burocratico, amministrativo e poliziesco pensato per piegare lo sviluppo dell'immigrazione alle esigenze delle classi dirigenti, *in primis* il mondo dell'impresa seguito dalle élites politiche, preoccupate di mantenere il controllo del fenomeno e il consenso della popolazione. Il saggio di apertura, di C. Stohr, si sofferma proprio sulle procedure di ingresso nel paese e ricostruisce in modo rigoroso il reticolo di disposizioni, vincoli e permessi in vigore fino al 1959, segnalando anche le limitazioni alla libertà dei lavoratori e delle lavoratrici una volta giunti nel paese. Il contributo di M. Hirt analizza le relazioni tra l'amministrazione federale e l'universo dell'immigrazione italiana, con particolare attenzione alla percezione dell'immigrazione nel linguaggio e nell'organizzazione dell'amministrazione e al ruolo delle associazioni italiane, inizialmente escluse dai tavoli di coordinamento e pianificazione della politica migratoria. C. Maire propone un approccio molto originale e potenzialmente promettente anche al di fuori del caso svizzero: si concentra infatti sulla propaganda politica e la rappresentazione degli italiani nei manifesti. Concorrenti, compagni, nemici, profitta-

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tori: il ventaglio è davvero ampio e il saggio testimonia la presenza costante dell'immigrazione italiana nel dibattito politico nella Confederazione negli ultimi 60 anni. Anche A. Maiolino si sofferma sul dibattito politico ma declina il suo contributo rispetto al tema della formazione delle identità e del modo con cui il sistema politico ha di volta in volta creato immagini e rappresentazioni destinate a entrare con forza nell'opinione pubblica: la retorica dell'invasione e della sovrappopolazione, la "mediterraneizzazione" della Svizzera solo per citare alcuni esempi. In questo contesto il ruolo delle comunità straniere ha oscillato tra inclusione e marginalità, alla ricerca di una difficile collocazione utile al riconoscimento dei propri diritti. G. Fonte si sofferma sul caso di Losanna, ricostruendo le varie fasi che hanno definito un percorso di integrazione in cui hanno giocato un ruolo le autorità municipali, le associazioni legati al mondo dell'immigrazione, i sindacati dei paesi di provenienza degli stranieri. L'autore si spinge fino a considerare gli anni novanta e Duemila.

Nella seconda parte del libro – dedicata alle *identités* – M. La Barba racconta in un lungo saggio l'esperienza culturale e politica dei cineclub organizzati dalle Colonie libere italiane. Una forma di intervento militante e di formazione dedicata all'universo dei lavoratori e delle lavoratrici, oggi più che mai interessante da esaminare per le modalità della proposta e i risultati conseguiti. A un regista italiano cresciuto nell'ambito dell'immigrazione in Svizzera, Alvaro Bizzarri, è dedicato il successivo contributo, redatto dalla stessa La Barba. P. Barcella e M. Pelli nei rispettivi contributi si dedicano al racconto dell'emigrazione da parte dei protagonisti: il primo alle scritture autobiografiche, soprattutto di carattere scolastico, il secondo alle testimonianze orali, con particolare attenzione alle Acciaierie Monteforno. L'ultimo saggio, che chiude il volume, è dedicato al dibattito sull'immigrazione in seno al sindacato svizzero ed è opera di C. Stohr.

Alla fine di ogni capitolo gli autori esplicitano le fonti archivistiche, bibliografiche o orali utilizzate e questa attenzione agli strumenti di lavoro arricchisce il volume di materiale prezioso.

Michele Colucci

Ying Lu, Ramanie Samaratunge and Charamine E. J. Härtel, *Skilled migration, expectation and reality. Chinese professionals and the global labour market*, Gower, Farnham 2015, 220 p.

It is to date widely accepted that skilled immigration is a powerful mean to improve the economic growth of a nation aspiring to develop a "knowledge economy". This is even more true when this nation has a skill shortage in critical areas, such as science, engineering, ICT and medicine. This is the situation of Australia, and thus Australian migration policy is presently mainly focused on skilled immigration. However, there are still few studies on the actual impact of this policy and their results are contradictory: actually, some

of those holds that skilled immigrants are integrated into their new country without much difficulty, while others argue that often these migrants suffer from discontent and frustration.

This book fills this gap with the analysis of one of the most important group of skilled immigration in Australia, the China-born professionals, accounting for the 13 per cent of all professionals in Australia.

This book presents the results of a three year long empirical research on the acculturation process (i.e., the changes in an individual who is a participant in a culture-contact situation) of the Chinese-born professionals in Australia, performed in 2009, 2010, 2011 by a mixed method approach, including quantitative questionnaire surveys (with 1050 answers) and qualitative interviews on a selected sample of these migrants.

The main result is that the most popular strategy of acculturation among professionals China-born immigrants is the "separation", i.e., they assimilate Australian culture when they are at work, but speak Chinese and keep their traditional values, traditions and Chinese lifestyle at home. They keep in touch with family and friends at home and develop social ties with other Chinese in Australia, but also with immigrants from Taiwan, Singapore and Malaysia. However, they rarely spend time with Anglo-Australian people outside of work.

The authors analysis ascribes this behavior to various reasons. The strong ethnic identity of Chinese people and the pride of their national culture is an important one. However, a significant role is also played by the knowledge of English: the China-born professionals often have enough proficiency of the technical English to communicate in the workplace, while their knowledge of the everyday language is not so good to easily express emotions and deep feelings, hampering the possibility to establish social networks. A further reason is the dissimilarities between the highly individualistic Anglo-Australian and the collectivistic Chinese cultures: some Chinese immigrants are so reserved and cautious that they are reluctant to make the first step to socialize also with their local colleagues, because they are afraid of any improper conduct when socializing with people from other cultures. The last two factors have also consequences in the workplace: scarce English proficiency is a crucial factor affecting the China-born professionals possibility of career development and success, while the tendency of Chinese people to work silently and without ostentation leads to fewer promotion opportunities compared with their Australian colleagues.

In conclusion, this book is the first study giving a deep view of this specific important case of skilled migrations, not only from an economical point of view but also on the cultural one. Furthermore, it includes a very complete survey of the recent literature on the acculturation processes associated with migrations and a detailed description of the methodology, that can be employed in similar studies. Its reading is thus suggested to all scholars interested in skilled migrations.

M. Carolina Brandi

Segnalazioni

Emma Bond, Guido Bonsaver e Federico Faloppa, a cura di, *Destination Italy. Representing Migration in Contemporary Media and Narrative*, Peter Lang, Bern 2015, 467 p.

Il bel libro curato da Bond, Bonsaver e Faloppa, allarga il tema dell'arrivo in Italia di immigrati dalla storia alla letteratura e ad altri media e forme di espressione (cinema, giornali, televisione). L'accento è posto sugli autori in arrivo in Italia e sulla loro ricezione, nonché sull'immagine che di essi e del loro gruppo è data dai media italiani. Vi è, inoltre, un saggio di Loredana Polezzi che affronta la possibilità di una lettura transnazionale della letteratura sulla e nata dall'emigrazione. In questo contributo è discusso il caso di Giose Rimanelli, che dalle prime opere in italiano e pubblicate in Italia si muove verso un pastiche plurilinguistico, dove accanto alla lingua natale, al dialetto e all'inglese troviamo parole e frasi in altri idiomi. Inoltre Rimanelli lavora anche come traduttore e traduce in molisano o in italiano opere latine, provenzali, spagnole, inglesi, oppure traduce se stesso dall'italiano all'inglese e viceversa. Una produzione similar varca qualsiasi confine, geografico o letterario, e anche nelle sue prove minori testimonia comunque di uno spazio letterario sovranazionale. Lo stesso superamento delle frontiere migratorie è segnalato dalla terza e ottima parte dedicata più specificamente al cinema, in essa si veda quale sia l'apporto di cineasti e scrittori provenienti da fuori che influenzano la stessa produzione italiana, tanto che non abbiamo più una riflessione italiana sugli altri, ma una visione italiana influenzata dalla produzione di altri. Vedi ad esempio il saggio di Alessandro Jedlowski sull'influenza della cinematografia italo-nigeriana e sul suo impatto su registi quali i Manetti Bros (MS).

Emmanuelle Bribosia e Isabelle Rorive, *L'accommodement de la diversité religieuse. Regards croisés – Canada, Europe, Belgique*, Peter Lang, Bruxelles 2015, 370 p.

Patrick Imbert, a cura di, *Rencontres multiculturelles. Imprévus et coïncidences: le Canada et les Amériques*, Université d'Ottawa, Ottawa 2013, 266 p.

Klaus-Dieter Ertler e Patrick Imbert, a cura di, *Les défis culturels de la migration au Canada*, Peter Lang, Frankfurt a.M. 2013, 460 p.

Da decenni è ormai forte l'attenzione per gli sviluppi multiculturali del Canada, che in questi due volumi sono analizzati in una prospettiva soprattutto letteraria. Nel primo, Imbert sottolinea come il caso canadese non sia unico, ma debba essere visto nel contesto americano: in particolare non possa soltanto essere comparato a quanto accaduto nei vicini Stati Uniti, ma anche alla vicenda latino-americana, in particolare sud-americana. In questa prospettiva si può leggere lo scambio di autori e di idee fra Americhe ed Europa, lo scambio di lingue di autori che nati in una determinata regione adottano l'idioma di un altro, la ricerca di creolizzazione particolarmente importante secondo il curatore

perché buon antidoto al nazionalismo: in nome di quest'ultimo si può infatti uccidere, in nome della creolizzazione si tende a restare vivi.

Il parallelo fra Vecchio e Nuovo Mondo è portato avanti dal secondo volume, più incentrato sul Canada, ma portato avanti soprattutto da studiosi europei, asiatici e sudamericani. In esso continua a primeggiare la prospettiva letteraria, ma ad essa si affianca la curiosità per le scienze sociali e per una serie di minuti processi di adattamento alle nuove regioni di emigrazioni: Masako Iino mostra per esempio come molti immigranti asiatici pieghino la loro prospettiva religiosa alla realtà del nuovo paese e si chiedano come essere al tempo stesso buoni cittadini canadesi e buoni buddisti.

La questione religiosa risalta anche dal terzo volume, anch'esso frutto della riflessione di studiosi europei sul caso canadese. In questo volume il centro è l'approccio degli aggiustamenti ragionevoli suggerito dalla Commissione Bouchard-Taylor (2007-2008), già studiata in questa rivista (Patrick-Michel Noël e Martin Pâquet, «Un filosofo e la società. Charles Taylor e la "Commission de consultation sur les pratiques d'accomodement reliées aux différences culturelles», *Studi Emigrazione*, 173, 2009, pp. 87-103) e degli studi dello stesso Charles Taylor sulla secolarizzazione del mondo contemporaneo. La prospettiva del grande filosofo cattolico montrealese è applicata sia ai diversi contesti canadesi e soprattutto quebecchesi (la regione canadese di lingua francese), sia ai due maggiori paesi francofoni europei.

Nel complesso, i tre volumi in questione non soltanto offrono una buona prospettiva della convivenza fra diverse culture immigrate e locali nel Canada, in particolare nel Québec, comparandola ad analoghi sviluppi europei ed americani, ma suggeriscono anche la possibilità di verificare se alcune "ricette" canadesi (per esempio, quelle del multiculturalismo e degli aggiustamenti ragionevoli) possano essere applicate in altre parti del mondo (MS).

Vittorio Cappelli, Giuseppe Masi e Pantaleone Sergi, a cura di, *Calabria migrante. Un secolo di partenze verso altri mondi e nuovi destini*, Supplemento alla *Rivista calabrese di storia del '900*, 1 (2013), 285 p.

Calabria dei migranti. Partenze, rientri, arrivi, a cura di Vittorio Cappelli, Giuseppe Masi e Pantaleone Sergi, Supplemento alla *Rivista calabrese di storia del '900*, 2 (2014), 220 p.

Il Centro di ricerca sulle migrazioni dell'Università della Calabria lavora da alcuni anni allo studio della regione come luogo al contempo di partenza, di arrivo e di transito. Il primo dei due supplementi alla *Rivista calabrese di storia del '900* affronta soprattutto il primo aspetto, sistematizzato nel saggio programmatico di Giuseppe Masi sulla mobilità calabrese fra il 1870 e il 1970. Nel fascicolo, al quadro generale delle grandi partenze verso l'estero in questi cento anni, segue poi una serie di ritratti delle esperienze in singoli paesi e una serie di specifici *case studies*, in genere dedicati alle migrazioni da un solo paese calabrese a una specifica località oppure a singoli emigranti o a gruppi di mestiere. Si prosegue poi con la discussione del passaggio dalla grande emigrazione verso l'estero alla grande migrazione verso il Nord della Penisola. Nel secondo fascicoli sono approfonditi ulteriori aspetti della diaspora calabrese: arrivi in luoghi particolari, esperienze individuali, mobilità interna verso la Liguria. A questi stu-

di si aggiungono le riflessioni sul ritorno degli emigranti negli anni 1970 e 1980, e il quasi contemporaneo iniziare delle migrazioni dall'estero verso l'Italia, con particolare attenzione alla dimensione femminile e al caso dei rifugiati. Seguono infine alcune testimonianze sulle partenze dalla regione e sul trapianto all'estero. Nel complesso la ricerca sull'emigrazione, iniziata da più tempo, è particolarmente solida e i due fascicoli sembrano costituire la miglior sintesi sull'argomento, anche se forse c'è ancora qualcosa da dire sulle migrazioni interne, soprattutto quelle di oggi. La parte sull'immigrazione sembra invece ancora da approfondire, ma possiamo sperare che ciò venga fatto in un futuro fascicolo monografico (MS).

Caritas e Migrantes, *XXIV Rapporto Immigrazione 2014. Migranti, attori di sviluppo*, Tau Editrice, Todi 2015, 400 p.

Negli ultimi anni, il *Rapporto Immigrazione* di Caritas e Migrantes e il *Rapporto italiani nel mondo* della sola Migrantes sono stati sottoposti a un deciso restyling che li ha resi al contempo più leggibili e più accurati. In particolare, questo volume è stato ripartito in due parti, rispettivamente dedicate al quadro dell'immigrazione nel 2014 e ad uno speciale Expo, a sua volta suddiviso fra una sezione sul cibo come causa di migrazioni e sul cibo come occasioni di sviluppo. Ci interessa qui la prima parte perché, grazie a lungo lavoro di Claudio Marra, quasi un piccolo libro, ha sistematizzato, anche se con una qualche frettolosità soprattutto sul piano della scrittura, il quadro delle migrazioni contemporanee nel contesto internazionale e in quello italiano. In pratica Marra riprende in mano i materiali dei vari rapporti sin dal lontano 1990 e tira le conclusioni dopo questo quarto di secolo. Appare così che paradossalmente il Nord (cioè i paesi avanzati) riceve meno emigrazione dal Sud di quella che quest'ultimo vede circolare al suo interno. Inoltre è robusto anche il flusso interno allo stesso Nord, cioè da paese avanzato a paese avanzato, mentre è molto più ridotta, ma non inesistente quella dal Nord al Sud. In conclusione l'emigrazione dal Sud al Nord non supera il 35% dei movimenti globali. In compenso ha alcune caratteristiche che la distinguono, per esempio una componente femminile pari al 52%, soprattutto in Europa. Nel caso italiano poi questo elemento è ancora più forte, infatti le donne sono il 53,7%. La loro presenza favorisce quindi un arrivo continuo di famiglie, che praticano strategie articolare d'inserimento. Queste sono seguite con attenzione dallo studioso, riprendendo e aggiornando quanto già tracciato nel suo *La casa degli immigrati. Famiglie, reti, trasformazioni sociali*, Franco Angeli, Milano 2012 (MS).

Piero Cingolani, Roberta Ricucci, a cura di, *Transmediterranei. Generazioni a confronto tra Italia e Nord Africa,* Accademia University Press, Torino 2014, 156 p.

"Transmediterranei" è una ricerca promossa da FIERI nel 2011 all'indomani della Primavera araba, quando si cominciò a prestare attenzione alle comunità magrebine da tempo immigrate in Italia e poco studiate. Cingolani e Ricucci coordinano uno studio delle comunità egiziana e marocchina presenti sul territorio torinese, considerate "comunità mature" per la presenza di una seconda generazione ormai adulta, di cui vengono indagati i percorsi di inserimento, le dinamiche intergenerazionali, le relazioni con i paesi di origine. Il quadro che emerge dalla ricerca,

condotta con metodi qualitativi, risulta complesso ed articolato: vi si intrecciano punti di vista diversi sul piano generazionale, incertezze per il futuro e instabilità del progetto migratorio per la crisi economica e, soprattutto, i rapporti con i paesi di origine in seguito ai recenti eventi politici. L'interesse del libro, oltre che per gli importanti rilievi su comunità poco studiate, risiede nella prospettiva transnazionale, un punto di vista destinato ad assumere una rilevanza sempre maggiore negli studi, con la necessità di condurre ricerche anche nei paesi di origine e di avere a disposizione corposi investimenti di tempo e di mezzi (MG).

Flavia Cristaldi, *E andarono per mar a piantar vigneti. Gli italiani nel Rio Grande do Sul*, Todi, Tau Editrice, 2015, 131 p.

Nel solco degli emigranti. I vitigni italiani alla conquista del mondo, a cura di Flavia Cristaldi e Delfina Licata, Milano, Bruno Mondadori Editore, 2015, 205 p.

In preparazione dell'Expo milanese dedicato alla tavola, la Fondazione Migrantes ha proposto una serie di ricerche sul cibo e le bevande dell'emigrazione culminate nella pubblicazione di questi due contributi. Ovviamente il centro dell'interesse non è tanto nel consumo alimentare dei nuovi arrivati, quanto nel tipo di produzione di cibo e bevande che essi offrono alle società di accoglienza. La diffusione della viticoltura italiana è seguita sia come indice della presenza stessa di emigranti, vedi a proposito come Cristaldi ricostruisce l'arrivo in Brasile e le successive migrazioni interne a questa nazione, ma anche come l'adattamento dei nuovi territori in modo di renderli simili al paesaggio che i nuovi arrivati sentivano più congeniale. Di

qui la riscrittura del territorio occupato, nonché il tentativo di marcarlo dal punto di vista agricolo e da quello monumentale: si pensi ai monumenti a forma di bottiglia, di vitigno, persino di botte. Il legame con il vino e l'utilizzo di questo come segno identitario traspare inoltre da sagre e feste dedicate alle viti. Cristaldi esplora in entrambi i libri la dimensione brasiliana, e gli altri autori del volume di Bruno Mondadori estendono il quadro ad altri continenti e ad altre nazioni. Complessivamente i due libri sono un'ottima introduzione al tema, nonché una grande pubblicità alla necessità di visitare l'Expo milanese (MS).

Gian Carlo Perego, *Uomini e donne come noi. I migranti, l'Europa, la Chiesa*, Editrice La Scuola, Brescia 2015, 76 p.

In una temperie, nella quale i mass media italiani ingigantiscono i nuovi arrivi e soprattutto sottintendono che sono gravidi di pericoli, monsignor Perego rilegge quanto è accaduto nel Mediterraneo dal 2010. Spiega dunque i fermenti e i drammi nordafricani, mostra come abbiano nutrito sempre più forti flussi migratori, illustra quanto si è fatto in Italia per ricevere i rifugiati. Suggerisce quindi come il Mare Nostrum debba diventare un laboratorio d'incontro e come gli italiani, anzi gli europei, debbano guardare ai rifugiati senza timore e senza astio. Infine si chiede quale sia il ruolo della Chiesa e della fede cattolica e come i fedeli si debbano comportare. Il libretto è piccolo di dimensioni, ma grande di contenuto, perché l'autore vi sa spiegare quelle storie importanti: «Storie inascoltate dalla politica e dalla stampa. Storie isolate dai processi culturali. Storie dimenticate anche dalla Chiesa, talora» (MS).

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