Network Society

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Chapter 4

Network Society and Public Space. Latin American Migrants and the Linguistic Landscape of Rome

Laura Mariottini

1. Introduction

An application of the theory of the Social Network (from now on SN), as theoretically described in the first chapter of the present volume, is the analysis of Latin American Migration in Rome. The topic is presented like a case study showing how the de-spatialization and re-spatialization, namely the processes of dematerialization of the space(s) and its reconstruction through specific relational dynamics and forms is reached. In fact, as Iannone previously underlined in this volume, the NS “connects and creates bridges through an intelligence that is more collective than connective. Thus, the NS comes through the 'space of flows' and the 'space in-betweennes'”.

“The space of flows is the material organization of time-sharing social practices that work through flows” (Castells 2010, p. 442). Contemporary societies are being constructed also on flows of people and interactions (see Marchetti in this volume).

Therefore, a phenomenon contributing to the transformation of the public and social space in the contemporary cities is that of the international migration. The conspicuous presence of foreigners in the urban centers gave birth to the debate on the multiethnic and multicultural society; two key attributes and analytical tools for the description and the
understanding of the complexity of modern societies connected to the multilingual aspect.

Space is intrinsically linked to language and the transdiomatic practices alter the perceptions of the public space. Places are no longer defined in terms of scale and size, but instead in terms of interconnections and networks. Places become interational hubs, charged with the linguistic organization of social and cultural flows in the context of global capitalism (Castells 2007). Identities, but also reality are constructed through discourses, namely through relationships and networks, that is, through linguistic practices (see Ian noe in this volume).

The migration involves sociolinguistic changes relevant not only because language is a means of communication but also because it is primarily a tool for individual and group’s identity construction (De Fina 2003; Bamberg, De Fina, & Schiffrin 2007). “The very notion of identity – as Calvi writes (2014, p. 8) – does not refer to a clearly defined set of traits, but rather defines a process winding through the interaction and the discursive practices”. Language, identity, interaction, speeches are categories and processes with soft edges (still in Calvi 2014) and hybrid character, defined and describable only by those theories that were equipped with the tools given by the prefix trans- (transnationalism, Vertovec 2009; translagauing, García 2010), and that are interested in acting through the national borders, languages, identities and cultures.

These actions can be observed especially in the exploration of the urban space: the contemporary multiethnic and multicultural cities dropped the assumption that there is only a compact and uniform public; on the contrary, different lifestyles, different concepts of community to which they belong and of the host communities are activated in them; different ways of imagining the space, to represent it and live it (see also Lefebvre 1996) are constructed through the language.

Pennycook (2010) introduced the term metrolinguistics to refer to the various ways through which language forms
shape the city: images, sounds, designs, objects, visuals, parks, etc. work together to create meanings, information and interpretation (Shohami & Waksman 2012).

The study of the linguistic landscape therefore consists in the collection and the discursive analysis of the communicative signs of a city, a neighbourhood or an area, present in the form of toponymy, signs of commercial shops, billboards, information in the public buildings, etc. The study of such a macrotext is a relevant indicator of the space management and of the linguistic and cultural diversity. It is a trace of the presence, vitality and openness to different languages and cultures and their salience in the symbolic construction of space (Backhaus 2007), in particular the urban space (cityscape; Gorter 2006), since the greatest number of (macro) texts tend to appear in it.

“To reflect on the linguistic urban space means in fact to confront both with the role of language in the construction of the social bond, with the variability of the language system, with new language issues arising from the increasing multilingualism of the urban areas (cities of languages), and with the making and the collapse of the city in the communication process of the speakers (city of speeches). For this reason, the city imposes itself as a complex communicative space in the linguistic research” (Tani 2014, p. 10; translation is mine).

The exploration of the urban landscape tells many stories to the observer, as different as the groups that participated in its construction: the signs that compose it are loaded with symbolic meanings and permeated with expressions of identity. The contribution to the creation and, at the same time,
the self-recognition in the signs of the linguistic landscape implicates a new attachment to the places, i.e. “a positive affective bond between an individual and a specific place, the main characteristic of which is the tendency of the individual to maintain closeness to such a place” (Hidalgo & Hernández 2001, p. 274) because the migration process causes the interruption of the relation with the place of origin and the consequent uprooting (Papotti 2001). The migrant, catapulted into an unknown landscape with no reference points, tends to reproduce his “inner landscape” – that is “the geographical and environmental characteristics significant for his life, the spaces that he psychologically and emotionally inhabited, the territory as a source of identity and as a connection with the ancestors” (Dal Borgo & Gavinelli 2012, p. 91; translation is mine) – in the space of the host country. Migrants, therefore, tend to depute the public spaces of the country they live – as streets, squares and parks – to meeting places with their compatriots, in order to rebuild the network, connecting the here and the there. The consequence of this phenomenon is the projection of a third space: the transnational one, where the migrants are protagonists and precursors of a new way of being metropolitan, “that carries in it this contradiction between belonging and otherness” (Tani 2014, p. 11; translation is mine).

This work falls into the same methodological and theoretical analysis above outlined and, in particular, in the linguistic landscape of the city of Rome related to the Latin American migration.

The data of survey have a dual nature: the secondary data, which are statistical and demographic information published by the Istat and by the Statistical Bureau of the City of Rome on the presence, distribution and incidence of Latin American migrant population in the Roman municipalities; the primary data derive from field research conducted by the writer in collaboration with the graduate Ottavia Trecca in the years 2014-2015, with the aim to collect the linguistic signs – seen as complex units consisting of a verbal text
combined with other codes of communication – appeared in the public messages (advertisements, notices, posters, etc.) in the city of Rome.

The primary data show, among the other things, that Spanish is the fourth most spoken language in the population of foreigners in Italy; its presence and importance in the linguistic Roman landscape has already been ascertained in the studies conducted by the Center of Excellence of the University of Siena in 2005 and by Bracalenti et al. (2009).

Therefore the study of the Latin American linguistic landscape of Rome is not only relevant for the sociolinguistic research purposes, but also to measure the diversity and the inclusion in terms of cultural-linguistic practices implemented by the communities and the institutions to (re)construct identity and sociality.

“The study of the linguistic landscape can contribute to the understanding of cultural diversity as it reflects the population of the city, either the languages in use among the permanent inhabitants and immigrants or the way information is provided to visitors or tourists. In this way, the linguistic landscape can reflect the main features of a city's linguistic and cultural diversity. Several languages can be found on buildings in city streets. The visible coexistence of different languages (and sometimes different scripts) can be explained by the different functions each may have” (Gorter 2009, p. 21).

Linguistic signs are considered both as top-down and bottom-up; as proposed by Ben Rafael et al. (2006), the former are created from the top – the name of the roads or of the official buildings – the latter, from below, through the initiatives of the
citizens, such as the commercial signs of shops, restaurants and bars, the posters and the billboards of a national holiday, the theme of the religious and musical evenings.

The city is the ideal place to incorporate the public spaces as it is available and belongs to everyone, to be collegially administered and protected. It is the place where communities perform, meet, interact and dialogue, manifesting their urban practices; they express the way they conceive the space and live it (Innerarity 2008). As written by Gorter (2006, p. 86)

“The highest density of signs can be found in cities and towns, in particular in the main shopping streets and industrial areas. The average number of signs per stretching metre can be rather high. Roadsides, in particular motorways, also have a lot of signs. In the countryside and in natural areas which are largely uninhabited, there are no, or only a very small number of, signs. In our world today there is little pure nature in a literal sense left because almost every spot has been ‘touched’ by human beings and traces of their presence have been left behind and with it linguistic tokens”.

The urban public space, therefore, is the expression of the indissoluble relation between the physical place – delimited space – and social space – made up of relations, exchanges between individuals living together and sharing the same territory.

The specific questions this study tries to give answer are the followings:

1. What is the relation between the network society and the linguistic landscape?
The assumptions of the sociolinguistic correlation proposed by several studies (among others, Labov 1972; Milroy 1980) is summarized by Tempesta (1998, p. 9; translation is mine):

“A social network with a dense relational structure, with small net size, has a strong characterization of the norms within the group, a high degree of loyalty to the cultural and linguistic diversity; a social network with low density, with wide nets, with more less interconnected bonds, is less cohesive and promotes the diffusion of innovations, including those that are not considered as a symbol of identification and loyalty to the group. The study of the interaction as a ritual moment where the material relationships between the actors, their social image and their right to the inviolability of their territory and their actions indicates the positioning in the network as one of the most important factors for the linguistic choice”.

It is therefore legitimate to ask:

2. What kind of social networks emerge in the analysis of the linguistic landscape of the Latin American migration in Rome?

3. What is the role language plays in the definition, building and maintenance of these networks?

2. Theoretical background: the Linguistic Landscape

The linguistic landscape is

“the language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, com-
commercial shop signs, and public signs on government building combines to form the linguistic landscape of a given territory, region or urban agglomeration. The linguistic landscape of a territory can serve two basic functions: an informational functions and a symbolic function” (Landry & Bourhis 1997, p. 25).

The public, business and personal announcements, the written texts and the advertising posters, the business cards, the shop signs, the informational signs, the menus, the texts on the vehicles, etc. denote the conformation and the complexity of the Linguistic Landscape (from now on LL) which is the most obvious indicator of immediate observation of the power and of the conditions of the linguistic communities inhabiting a given territory. For those reasons, the LL performs the symbolic and informative function.

The first is the possibility to have access, through the observation of the LL, to the number and type of languages spoken in the territory, which, presumably, will match with the different linguistic communities. The information provided by the observation of the LL concerns the socio-linguistic complexity of the territory and its expressive potential. Moreover, its morphology tells us the power acquired by the linguistic group considered also from an economic, political and cultural perspective.

The symbolic function, on the other hand, is related to the conception of language as a factor of ethnic identity: the use of their own mother tongue in social communication demonstrates a positive attitude towards their cultural origins (Bagna, Barni, & Vedovelli 2007). The different degrees of visibility of the language in a defined context, in the first place refer to the concept of ethnolinguistic vitality (Giles 1977), then manifest the will of the linguistic groups to establish themselves in the physical space they live. This process is
part of the mechanisms of territorialization implemented by the community in the space in which it is acting. By reflecting on the complexity of the linguistic landscape, what emerges is the predisposition to include in itself two key indicators of ethnic identity: language and space. Therefore, to include their own idiom in the public space means to declare its presence, its role and its power. In the same way, the linguistic sign assumes significance in relation to the space in which it is included, in order to give a meaning to the space considered (Backhaus 2007).

The visibility of a language within the urban public space, therefore, influences – strengthening them – the social bonds within the community sharing the language used, but also the attitudes and behaviours of the other sociolinguistic groups existing in the territory.

A final consideration concerns the dynamism, the fluidity and the constantly changing landscape. Even if the analysis concerns the written and the static forms of the language (commercial signs, billboards, etc.), representing the most enduring elements of the LL, the latter should always be interpreted within a temporally determined communicative situation.

The LL is observable in an urban landscape experiencing multilingualism (Shohamy & Gorter 2009); it is no coincidence, then, that the studies developed within this theory have been inspired by those cities characterize by bilingualism: the first researches, in fact, have been carried out in Brussels, Montreal, Jerusalem, and in two smaller urban centers in Holland and Spain.

The phenomenon of the multilingualism is not new in Italy: dialects and minority languagessafeguard themselves and remain alive in bilingual and diglossic communities, and in the dialectal and regional linguistic repertoires. Besides them, new languages – although with different status – populate the landscape: immigrant languages, languages of migrants, vehicular and curricular. As rightly pointed out by Bagna (2007, p. 501), “the source languages of the immi-
grants in Italy are far more numerous than the minorities of ancient settlement”, but they are not equally protected. They are particularly dynamic, vital and visible within the Italian linguistic space and it seems they are giving new impetus to the linguistic diversity of the peninsula to the point that we can speak of neo-multilingualism (see still Bagna 2007).

According to data published by the Istat on linguistic diversity among the foreign citizens, for the year 2011-2012, updated to the 25th July 2014, the Romanian is the more common language of origin among foreigners living in our country. It is estimated that about 800,000 people, or the 21.9% of the foreign population, is Romanian mother tongue. The second most common language among the foreign population in Italy is Arabic. Over 475,000 people, i.e. the 13.1% of immigrants, speak it. The Albanian ranks third among the most common foreign languages among the migrants, reaching the 380,000 speakers, while in the fourth place we find the Spanish, a language spoken nearly by 225,000 people, primarily from the Andean countries of Latin America.

2.1. The Linguistic Landscape of Rome: the state of the art

One of the first studies on the Rome’s linguistic landscape dates back to 2004. It was made by Griffin in the wake of the new bilingualism induced by the globalization. The purpose of his research, in fact, was to record the use and the incidence of the English language in the commercial signs outside or inside the windows, the writings on the public buildings, the museums and the monuments, on the posters and the billboards of 17 Roman streets located in seven different urban areas.

The analysis of the data show that the use of English in the commercial signs is greater than in the road signs or writings exhibited by the public entities; English is used to communicate the main message, while the more elaborate concepts continue to be expressed in Italian; and that the main recipients of the English writings are the tourists.
The visibility of the English language in a city like Rome – a non-English speaking metropolis – contributes in its positioning in an international context and to confer prestige to it.

A second study of this theory of the LL was carried out by the Center of Excellence of the University of Siena (Bagna & Barni 2006), which applied, for the first time, the detection model of the immigrant languages of the Esquilino in the landscape of the homonymous district chosen for its ethnic diversity: the district is both the place of residence of a large number of foreigners, and the heart of the business activities whose owners are the immigrants. In the first phase of the research we wanted to understand the multilingual potential of the district; for this reason, starting from the demographic data published by the Municipality of Rome we were able to trace back the number of languages potentially present. In the second phase, we exclusively focused on the language of the texts with social communication finalities, in order to highlight the visibility of immigrant languages. The research showed the presence of 24 visible languages; with the exception of the Italian, the languages that repeatedly appear are, in order, Chinese, English, Bengali, Sinhala, Spanish, Hindi, French, Russian, Arabic, Romanian, German, Punjabi, Korean, Japanese, Albanian, Tagalog, Turkish, Farsi, Polish, Portuguese, Ukrainian, Urdu. These languages were further classified according to the parameters of the presence, domain and autonomy. The first parameter detects how many times a language appears in the linguistic landscape of reference; the domain indicates how many times a language prevails over the other in the multilingual writings; the autonomy shows how many times an immigrant language appears in the monolingual writings.

Finally, the research carried out by the University of Siena includes one further consideration, which is in common with another study whose object was the city of Rome (Bracalenti et al. 2009): it was observed that a greater impetus in the variety of the LL has been fueled by the linguistic attitudes of the individuals. Both studies indicate that the greatest num-
ber of cases of multilingualism in selected writings or in lin-
guistic signals of a language other than Italian are bottom-up rather than top-down. This element supports the thesis con-
sidering the neo-multilingualism of the immigrant languages a driving force for our country.

In 2009, Bracalenti et al. conducted a study on the linguistic landscape of Rome, in the urban center in particular, with the aim to highlight the contribution that the empirical re-
search on the LL can make for the understanding of the mul-
tilingual situations and the cultural diversity, and specifically to evaluate and measure the visibility, distribution and fre-
quency of the detected languages. The researchers selected four different districts, chosen for their variation and their linguistic diversity, selecting 12 streets. The results show that, despite the widespread monolingualism, the Esquilino dis-
trict has an important linguistic heterogeneity and a diversi-
ty, which is more pronounced compared with the others. On the contrary, it does not have the same frequency in the use of the English, both isolated and in combination with the other languages – as happens downtown and in near the Termini station.

3. Data analysis and discussion

3.1 The Latin American migration in Italy

The Latin American presence in Italy exhibits a number of characteristics, common to the rest of Latin American mi-
grants living in other European countries.

The first peculiarity is its predominantly female composi-
tion. Those who are ready to leave are mainly young women, married and in working age. Very often, these are migration pioneers paving the way for the subsequent arrival of other family members. This feminization of the Latin American migration corresponds to the precise needs of the Italian and international labor market, to the point that we label the phenomenon as the “importation of care and love from poor to rich countries” (Hochshild 2004, p. 22).
As a result of the emancipation of Italian women and to their integration in business world, and in front of the dismantling of the welfare we are facing, families are increasingly turning to the help of foreign women to which they entrust the task of the home care, the care of the elderly and of the children. In most cases, as evidenced by the sociological research in this ambit (Ambrosini 2010), women employed for such tasks live in cohabitation with the employers.

A predominantly female migration brings two phenomena: the first involves the construction of transnational families, whose members are physically distant but trying to maintain emotional closeness as much as possible, through messages, phone calls, video calls, etc. or even by sending money and products; the second, the family reunions. This means that husbands and minor children of migrants can arrive in Italy later. The wide use of the opportunity of reunion with the family members is a feature that distinguishes Latin American migration from other female migrations, like the Philippine, which instead almost exclusively involves the pink part of the population (Lagomarsino & Torre 2007).

The second characteristic is the concentration of the foreigners primarily in some cities. Genoa, Milan and Rome are the cities that recorded the highest number of Latin American migrants. This element is connected with the greater chance of inclusion the big centers offers compared to smaller urban realities.

The third feature is the ability of the Latin American community to create a solid network among its members, irrespective of the particular nationalities. In addition to the solid support given to newcomers, the networks highlight the profound connection between the decision to undertake the trip and the knowledge of people who already settled in the country of arrival. The vast majority of women who leave the country already knows what the accommodation of arrival will be, at least for the first period, in the new State of reception. The networks compensate the faults in the regulatory system: the Latin American community has been able to get
that for Ecuador and Peru the visas to enter Italy are no longer need. Besides this, the tolerance towards the women involved in housework and personal care has facilitated the reticular arrival of Peruvian and Ecuadorian female citizens, if compared to other categories of migrants.

At the same functional level of relational networks, we find the Catholic and Evangelical religious institutions (Yépez del Castillo & Herrera 2007). The services offered range from the provision of space to facilitate the meeting and the socialization among the worshippers, to the advice for the bureaucratic procedures, to the organization of Italian language courses, to the listening, the counseling and the mediation between the demand of labor of Italian families and the offer of the Latin migrants. The Latin American community is particularly active in terms of associations and organization of cultural and recreational activities; much more than the other communities present in our country. There are several magazines and national and local television broadcasts addressed to the Latinos with the aim of informing the migrants on the inclusion and the opportunities in Italy, as well as to announce concerts, events and events involving the community. Among the magazines, we mention Expreso Latino and Guía Latina, while among the television programs we can mention Onda Latina, Sentir Latino, broadcasted both in Rome and in its province.

The last census carried out in Italy that dates back to 2011, indicates that the Latin Americans regularly present are 314,671, 115,304 (36.6%) of them are males and 199,367 (63.4%) females. Consequently, the Latin Americans represent the 7.8% of the foreign population in our country.

The fact that Latin Americans are perceived as related to our reality, to our history, culture, language and religion, certainly encouraged their integration into our country. Moreover, it must be said that some aspects of the Latin world, such as music, dance and cuisine, are particularly appreciated by the Italian public. This aspect, despite having given birth to especially consumeristic forms of use of Latin entertainment, en-
couraged more opportunities of meeting between the Latin American and the Italian communities, favoring the access of skilled labor (Ambrosini & Queirolo Palmas 2005).

3.2 The Latin American migration in Rome

Until 31st December 2013, 37,882 of the 383,464 foreigners who reside in Rome were citizens of Latin American countries. The Latin American migration in Rome thus represents the 9% of the foreign presence in the capital city. The largest community seems to be the Peruvian with 14,762 members, followed by Ecuador boasting 8,480 presences. The graph in Table 1 indicates the composition of Latin American migrants in Rome divided by nationality.
### SOURCE Statistics Bureau of the city of Rome

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Citizenship</th>
<th>Number of people</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Peru</td>
<td>14572</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ecuador</td>
<td>8480</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brazil</td>
<td>3838</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colombia</td>
<td>2731</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cuba</td>
<td>1378</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dominican Republic</td>
<td>1213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>1190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Argentina</td>
<td>899</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bolivia</td>
<td>891</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>El Salvador</td>
<td>571</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venezuela</td>
<td>545</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chile</td>
<td>424</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honduras</td>
<td>350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paraguay</td>
<td>236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nicaragua</td>
<td>191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guatemala</td>
<td>186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uruguay</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Costa Rica</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panama</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>37882</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Tab. 1. The Latin American community residing in Rome until 31 December 2013**
Fig. 1 detects the way the Latin American migration to Rome remained constant in the past decade, with the exception of Peru and Ecuador, and of the period between 2011 and 2012 when there was a decrease of the presences on the territory.

SOURCE data retrieved from Immigra.Stat

Fig. 1. Population coming from the Latin American countries and living in Rome on 01/01/2014
In analogy with the Italian context, what emerges from the analysis of the presence of Latin American migrants in Rome is a significant difference in the numbers between the male and the female part of the population (tab. 2).

**SOURCE** Statistics Bureau of the city of Rome

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Citizenship</th>
<th>male</th>
<th>female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Peru</td>
<td>5544</td>
<td>9028</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ecuador</td>
<td>3279</td>
<td>5201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brazil</td>
<td>1113</td>
<td>2725</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colombia</td>
<td>1148</td>
<td>1583</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cuba</td>
<td>410</td>
<td>968</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dominican Republic</td>
<td>411</td>
<td>802</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>577</td>
<td>613</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Argentina</td>
<td>401</td>
<td>498</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bolivia</td>
<td>310</td>
<td>581</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>El Salvador</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>394</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venezuela</td>
<td>210</td>
<td>335</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chile</td>
<td>187</td>
<td>237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honduras</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paraguay</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nicaragua</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guatemala</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uruguay</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Costa Rica</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panama</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>14075</strong></td>
<td><strong>23807</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Tab. 2* Foreign population registered by sex and citizenship at the Register office until 31 December 2013
The Latin American migrants, as the majority of immigrants coming in Italy, are in the ranks of the employees. A large portion of the Latin American population, especially the women, finds work in the domestic and personal care, the remaining is used for cleaning companies, gardening, transportation and catering. Only a few of them try to undertake the road of self-employment.

The overall data available on the foreign entrepreneurship in Italy date back to 2008. They show that the majority of the companies with Latin owner belong the larger communities and with long time settlement in Italy, namely the Peruvian, the Brazilian, Ecuadorian, Argentinean, Colombian, Cuban and Venezuelan.

More recent studies on Rome’s situation show that most of the Latin American holders (437, 26.8% of the total area) are engaged in commerce. In the second place, there are the construction companies with 301 entrepreneurs (18.4%), while in the third place, there are the support services for the companies with 179 people (11%). From an economic point of view, the most enterprising communities are those coming from Peru, Argentina and Brazil, which correspond to the total number of the South American holders i.e. the 62% (with 1021 business). What stands out is that in Central America and in the Caribbean the number of holders born in Cuba (65), Dominican Republic (43) and El Salvador (11) is a majority. Finally, the fourth larger nationality of origin among the foreigners employed as nurses in Rome is the Peruvian.

It is not easy to observe the way the Latin American migrants settle in the Rome’s urban space because the community is not characterized by a spatial concentration based on their ethnic origin. Indeed, what is striking is their homogeneous distribution throughout Rome.

The flourishing of Latin American presence in the Rome’s urban space is facilitated by the type of work undertaken by migrants, who often, as mentioned above, live in the homes of employers dealing with their domestic care. Even when in
front of a part-time employment contract instead of the more common full-time, often the migrant employee decides to establish his legal residency at the employer. This is a factor that distorts the statistics on the spatial behavior of the Latin Americans.

As shown in Table 3, no Roman municipality can be identified as a favorite residential area for the Latin American community.

**SOURCE** Statistics Bureau of the city of Rome

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Citizen-ship</th>
<th>Municipality</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>IV</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>VI</th>
<th>VII</th>
<th>VIII</th>
<th>IX</th>
<th>X</th>
<th>XI</th>
<th>XII</th>
<th>XIII</th>
<th>XIV</th>
<th>XV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Peru</td>
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Tab. 3. Latin American Citizens resident in Rome on 31 December 2013 classified by municipality and citizenship

The municipalities with a greater presence of Latinos are the XV and VII with 4,578 and 3,587 inhabitants respectively.

But, if we compare the percentage of Latin American citizens with the total population at a municipal level, we note that the XV municipality ranks first with 3% of Latin residents; then follows the I, II, the XIII and XIV municipalities with their 2% of Latin Americans. In all other Roman municipalities, the Latin part of the population is only 1% of the totality.
A living reality so dispersed throughout the municipalities does not enable the members of the Latin American community to know each other, to maintain relations or deepen their relations. The absence of a neighborhood identifiable as Latin, both by the community and by the rest of Rome's population, ensures that the residential space does not match with the social one (Aureli 2011).

A first conclusion arising from the data is that the numerical-statistical indicators are not sufficient to determine the Latin American distribution and their visibility in the city of Rome. Therefore, we need to combine this data with a field research in order to find the signals of the Latin American presence.

In fact, the lack of a proper space, combined with the fact that many Latin Americans live with their employers or in
little houses, determine the mainly outdoors weekly appointments in public spaces such as squares or parks. These meetings become regular appointments especially on Thursdays and Sundays, or during the rest periods of a working week and during the public holidays.

In these occasions, what the eyes of the citizens and of the analyst capture is an alternative city, a new Rome in geographical and social terms. The meetings, which are weekly rituals, become regular appointments that transform the urban landscape of Rome, reshaping it not only visually, but also soundly (soundscape) and olfactory (smellscape) and contributing to create an ethnoscape (Appadurai 1996; see also Gavinelli & Santini 2014).

On Thursdays and Sundays, the Latinos scattered throughout the capital, move through the city to reach the squares and the parks where they spend most of the day in the company of their compatriots. On these occasions, they usually consume traditional food, usually prepared at home, drink beer or fruit juices stored in special cooling containers and listen to Latin American music. During the Sunday meetings, Rome’s squares and parks are scattered with plastic tables, folding chairs and umbrellas.

The park of Colle Oppio is the meeting point of the Latin Americans living in Rome. It is a purely tourist area of the capital near the Colosseum, served by the line B of the subway. Here, since 1993, the Sunday appointments are enriched by a sport event that takes place in the football field with a view of the Flavian Amphitheater ironically dubbed as “The Powder keg”: the Campeonato de Fútbol organized by the Ecuador Amazónico Association with the participation of numerous football teams mainly composed by Ecuadorians, Peruvians, Bolivians and Colombians. However, there are also some participants with Italian nationality. Some of the teams enrolled in the competition are the Perú Colosseo, Perú Chango, Siempre Amigos and the women’s teams Latin Girls and Perú Unidas. The teams are recognizable by the official jerseys worn by the players. The championship takes
place from March until November, during this period the matches begin at eleven o’clock in the morning and finish in the late afternoon. On the contrary, during the winter months, a minor competition takes place. It is organized mainly to avoid that other communities occupy the space left free.

The football championship of Colle Oppio is an example of the way a meeting of a migrant community, normally characterized by spontaneity, has been regulated through the negotiation between the Capitoline administrations and the sports associations of migrants. Although the championship has been regularized, the association Ecuador Amazónico continues to denounce the insufficient attention of the institutions towards this crucial meeting moment for the Latin Americans living in the capital city. Because of the lack of changing rooms and toilets – repeatedly requested to the competent authorities – the teams that follow each other in the games during the day are, in fact, obliged to change and use of the outdoor fountain of the park to wash or drink.
Concomitantly with the football games, the area adjacent the field is transformed into a sort of ethnic market where to socialize, eat and buy typical food and drinks at the many street vendors who came with their gazebos, tents or umbrellas brought from home.

The cars parked along the field echo Latin rhythms; the continuous loud music provokes discontent among residents. Similarly, alcohol abuse and the unauthorized sale of
foods and beverages cause malaise and conflict between the residents and the Latin American community.

The other gathering places for the Latin American community are the gardens of the Baths of Diocletian and the area in front of the church of St. Mary of the Angels at Piazza della Repubblica and Piazza Mancini, where Ecuadorians and Peruvians meet on Thursday. Those who frequent this square are mainly Latinos employed in the domestic care who reside in the Northern areas of Rome. The square, in fact, is located in a strategic position for those who live in the northern part of the city which registers the largest number of Latin Americans living in Rome.

In the 90s, the square was a reference point especially for the Filipino community, but nowadays, without any doubt, they are the South Americans those who populate and intensively live those places. On Sundays, we see a steady stream of migrant Latinos who distribute in groups over the entire surface of the square. Here, as elsewhere, the Latin Americans usually spend the whole day eating and listening to music. Vendors who sell pre-cooked meals typical of their countries of origin are positioned near the circular low walls of the square. This illegal sale of food, drink and cigarettes sparked the protests of the historical residents who, in several occasions, saw the intervention of the police. In this regard, because of the resonance it had in Rome’s press, see the anti-
degradation intervention of Rome's Local Police in November 2011. After the intervention some foreigners have been identified and denounced and the alcoholic drinks, foods and cigarettes that were sold without authorization have been seized.

Religion represents a fundamental motivation for the meetings of the Latin American community: Sunday Mass is a regular event for many worshippers and becomes an occasion of aggregation and socialization among compatriots involving entire families; it extends beyond the time needed for the celebration of the religious functions. The Catholic and the Evangelical Church are very active: some celebrate Mass in Spanish; others provide space for recreation, training (such as courses in Italian) and information. One of these, located in the heart of Rome, in the Trastevere district, is the church of Santa Maria della Luce, where Sunday Mass in Spanish at 12:00 o'clock always collects a large number of worshippers.

![Sunday Mass in the church of Santa Maria della Luce](image)

It is during the summer, that the cityscape of Rome becomes the background of initiatives involving the community of the Latin American migrants. We refer to the celebration
of Fiestas Patrias, and the commemorations of independence of the Latin American countries.

National holidays take place on Sunday during the summer months of July and August. The event is called Festival Latinoamericano. This is one of the few situations the Latin American migrants affirm their national identity. In the examples used in this research we saw, in fact, that in the various events of the Latin American community in Rome’s urban areas it is not possible to distinguish people basing on their country of origin. The fact that the Latin American communities meet regardless of their different nationalities can be explained by their cultural, linguistic, religious and historical affinity that led us to refer to the people and the countries of that area with the name of Latin America.

The memory of the independence from the Spanish rule, however, affects each nationality. The event – that in the year this research was carried out (2014) was held at the Rome Vintage, in the Casilina Street, – saw the mobilization of many participants, who spent all day in the place dedicated to the feast. Given the season, the umbrellas brought from home to shelter from the sun multiplied while under some gazebos were provided the sale of national dishes. Moreover, during the event several folk bands follow one another on stage, sometimes accompanied by dancers in their traditional dress, performing their national dances.

Fig. 8. Peru’s Independence Day
3.3. The Latin American community in Rome’s linguistic landscape

Latin America arouses great interest among associations, public authorities and institutions, contributing to the dynamism of the LL through top-down writings. As already said, the religious institutions, constituting a key reference point for the Latin American community, play a special role. This role is reflected in the traces left in the linguistic landscape.

Fig. 9. Latin American Church

Fig. 10. The Listening Center of the Scalabrinian missionaries
The Latin American culture, i.e. its history, its cinema, its music and its art are central in various cultural events held in the capital. Some examples of the intense Capitoline calendar of events addressed to the Latin Americans that took place during this research investigations are: the Fiesta Argentina that took place in February 28, 2014 at the Angelo Mai Altrove Occupato and was organized by the non-profit organization Progetto Sur which deals with the bottom-up cooperation between Italy and Argentina (fig. 11); the exhibition of Frida Kahlo that took place from March 20 to August 31, 2014 at the Scuderie del Quirinale (fig. 12), where more than 40 works by the Mexican artist were exhibited; the Primavera Latinoamericana a Roma (fig. 13) held from June 6 to July 4, 2014, an event characterized by a film festival held at the New Latin American Cinema Aquila, a series of concerts of Latin music at the Palladium Theatre, the presentation of a book of Mexican short stories at the Rispoli Library, an exhibition of twelve Venezuelan artists at the Pietro Canonica Museum and during which the visit to the embassies of Argentina, Brazil and Mexico was possible; the day Dalle Ande agli Appennini (fig. 14), organized by the non-profit organization SAL – Solidarity with Latin America at Piazza Cesare Baronio, renamed for the occasion Appio Latino Americano; and finally, Scoprir, an Ibero-American film exhibition held at the Casa Cinema from 6 to 10 October 2014 (fig. 15).

Fig. 11. Fiesta Argentina
Fig. 12. Frida Kahlo’s exhibition

Fig. 13. Primavera latinoamericana: billboard and poster
The pictures show the character of the monolingual linguistic signals. Italian is the only language used in them: in fact, those are messages of the public authorities and of the Capitoline institutions addressed to a particular type of Italian public, an educated public, highly cultured, interested in
Latin American issues and in its cultural expressions, arts and films. The initiatives, sponsored by Roma Capitale, Biblioteche di Roma, Roma Tre University, but especially by the IILA – Italo Latin American Institute – and the Cervantes Institute, are not intend for the Latin American community of migrants or the Spanish speakers living in Rome, but to promote and raise awareness of the Hispanic and Latin culture in Italy within what we might considered as institutional practices of soft power.

An exception is the Fig. 11: the poster signaling the Fiesta Argentina is a combination of Italian and Spanish language. The first has an informative function – conveys ad coordinates space and time – while the second fulfills a descriptive and symbolic function.

A frequent characteristic in the bottom-up signals that we can also find in the top-down is creativity. Fig. 15, in fact, shows the pseudo-hispanic scoprir, that gives the title to the initiative. The term seems to have the function to immediately recreate a Hispanic context in the decoding process by those who do not know the Spanish language.

The cases of bottom-up writings where we find monolingualism, plurilingualism, forms of interlanguage and translinguistic creativity are well distinguished. Let us see some examples.

Fig. 16. Festival Latinoamericano
The Figures 16, 17 and 18 are the billboards of the celebrations of independence of the Latin American countries that are celebrated during the Sundays of July and August with dances, gastronomy and music performances. In the occasion of those meetings, realized during in the Latin American
Festival (fig. 16), posters signaling other events related to the individual country (Figures 17 and 18) have been put up all over the city of Rome.

In all three images is predominant the Spanish language. Italian is absent in the 16, while in the 17 and 18 is only present in the indication of the place, campo sportivo. However, the frequency with which the term is found in posters and flyers, seem to constitute a need loanword (Bonomi 2010), almost like nona, badante, permiso de sodyorno, described in her work.

In addition to the choice of Spanish as the only language, the singular linguistic-discursive choices denote an internal communication among the members of the community: the majesty and the grandeur of the celebration enclosed in the adjectives majestuoso [escenario] and gran [homenaje], the choice of the punctuation, specifically the recurrence of exclamation marks (!!! QUE VIVA LATINOAMERICA !!!), and the choice of the capital letters indicate the participation, the descriptive, evaluative and emotional compromise of this author’s message. Also the phrase !!! QUE VIVA LATINOAMERICA !!! is a performative ritual (De Fina 2014) since it is intended as a celebration of the identity and the supranational unity of the latinos.

Another explicit strategy of identity construction can be found in Gran homenaje a nuestro Perú, where it is possible to note the use of the possessive deictic nuestro, whose referent is the group of Peruvians to which the author and recipient belong. In that case, a national identity is built and this produces an ingroup or endogenous communication activating a double exclusion: in relation to those who do not share the selected language code (Spanish), and those who geo-socio-culturally disagree with the Peruvian traditions. Therefore, the following invitation/exhortation “ven a celebrar con las mejores orquestas” addresses to a concrete and specific you.

The same exhortation “ven a celebrar” can be found in Figure 19: a flyer of the party for Ecuador’s independence.
The reverse of the flyers used to promote Latin music nights or Fiestas patrias, as the already illustrated Ecuadorian, is occupied by the sponsors of the events. The analysis of the advertising –that De Fina (2014) includes in the implicit strategies of identity construction – enables us to understand what are the traits implicitly associated with the Latin identity in Rome and the social network in which this identity is included. In fact, the ads are mostly related to Latin American cuisine restaurants, clubs, agencies that deal with money transfers or paperwork, telephone companies with affordable rates and routes that provide links to central and southern American continent and, finally, personal services (hairdresser, dentist) at affordable rates and unusual times/opening days (eg. Multident open in August). Let us consider other examples.
What emerges from the study of the flyers is that their authorship is connected to the migrants and that their messages are directed to the members of the group: the reverse of the flyer shows that the Latin American community is speaking for itself. Many of the products and services advertised, in fact, are offered by companies or by the private sector to serve the comunidad (community) (eg. Fig. 20: El Mundo Latino Multiservice: ¡con mas de 19 años at servicio de la comunidad latinoamericana!). The use of terms such as comunidad, latino, etc. is an implicit strategy with referential character helping to build identity in terms of inclusion (De Fina 2014). In addition to the enriching of the linguistic landscape, therefore, the flyers are intended to consolidate the network relationships of the community. A community presenting itself as transnational – since it keeps strong and meaningful connections with their country of origin – and belonging to a lower class – an aspect deducible by the type and favorability of the products and services offered, as well as the hours and opening days of the offices.
The presence of the Latin American community in Rome supported the proliferation and the supply of goods and services from the Americas. Initially aimed only for Latinos migrants, they are now appreciated and requested by the native population. This refers to handicrafts products, food, cooking and music typical of the Latin American countries. Restaurants serving Latin American food and clubs where to dance at the rhythm of Latin music abound, but the linguistic signals used on the posters and signs indicate distinct and distinguishable recipients.

Fig. 21. Musical evening: Sahiro

Fig. 22. Live music: Latin Madness
If we compare the two posters of figures 21 and 22, the first immediately noticeable difference pertains to the choice of language: the musical evening – the Sahiro – is exclusively in Spanish (except for the address that show a combination of Spanish and Italian), while the other, is both in Italian and in English. The adoption of the Spanish language as predominant language in the linguistic signals is both a symbol of ethnic loyalty, and an index of the type of recipient identified through a language selection: the phrase Porque recordar es volver a vivir as the term Riminisencias appeal to a shared memory consisting of written texts and speeches, spoken and sung speeches designating as recipients all those involved in these memories with the exclusion of the others. Sahiro is an Ecuadorian group who became famous since the late 80's for baladas románticas and songs that have accompanied, and thus evoke the childhood or youth of many Latin Americans.

What emerges from this analysis is a collectivity that shares a memory and recalls that past belonging.

However, in the second poster the presence of the Latin American element is relegated to the adjective latina that in these cases, and unlike what just said in relation to the term comunidad, accompanies the noun follia in the title of the event and scena in the description (Latin folly, all the protagonists of the Latin scene of the Capital are reunited in an unique event). The Latin Folly echoes notes of a night life connected to an entertainment which is often associated with being Latin, in the same way the Latin scene is nothing more than a portion of a reality related to the representation of some typical traits of the Latin American identity in Italy.

Another difference can be found in the space-time coordinates and their indication: in the first, these are indicated in both languages Domingo 2 de noviembre, 12 a.m. Las Peñas Discoteca. Via Tuscolana 695 [Fermata Metro A Numidio Quadrato]; in the second, in italian and english Friday October 10th 2014. Qube. Via di Portonaccio 212.
The same coordinates are an implicit indication of the identity of the recipient. In fact, the first poster, by indicating the beginning of the concert at 12 a.m. and by giving the explicit information of the metro station A, is intended for Latin American migrants (especially Ecuadorians) of young age, who work in Rome during the whole week, who are free on Sunday and Thursday afternoon and who use public transportation to get around the city.

On the other hand, the second poster refers to an event that takes place at the Qube, a famous disco in Rome, open at night (from 23.30 onwards) and not directly served by the subway. As the event takes place on Friday and is directed at those who are not involved in daytime work on Saturday: mostly Italians interested in the most in vogue Latin music.

As pointed out in a previous work (Mariottini 2014), the Latin music – salsa, merengue, bachata, reggaeton – created a transnational practice community, as it aggregates people with very different ethnic and cultural-linguistic backgrounds around the world. The relocation of Latin music, however, takes specific contours that may differ in some traits from a community to the other. Nevertheless, some features are worldwide constants: the being and the self-definition as aficionado, a category to which belong those who listen to the same music, attend concerts and festivals organized in the area (in Rome, for example, the Fiesta), attended the same local (examples always refer to Rome, El Palacio de la Salsa, Barrio Latino, Pala Cavicchi, and El Caraibe, etc.), share travel experiences (eg. salsa cruise organized by Radio Mambo) and speaks Spanish. Even the use of the Spanish language, in fact, is a means of affirmation and construction of identity within this kind of communities of practice, where the majority of the people belong to the Italian-speaking community. Spanish, in these cases, as well as in 23 and 24, is neither a functional tool for ethnic aggregation nor to the preservation of a shared memory, but the marketing of a transnational product.
The interest of the wider Roman community towards commercial, ethnic and cultural goods led to the opening of shops and businesses in whose signs the national products are denationalized is in order to facilitate there construction.
of an ethnoscape where anything that is not European can be considered ethnic. Evidences can be found in the sign of the figure 25, which reads “Latin American, Asian and African products” under the name “Mollah food” evoking an Arab environment and two basic guidelines that reinforce this interpretation: “Halal food”, i.e. food prepared in accordance with the precepts of the Islamic law and “no alcohol” which presumably refers to the fact that alcoholic beverages are not for sale.

The case in figure 26 is similar. It represents the sign of a tropical food store in the Esquilino district. The sign is exclusively in Spanish “GOMBO Paraiso...de los productos alimentarios tropicales” and seems to be a shop of Latin American tropical products for the Latin American consumer. If we do not consider the presence of the main term Gombo, the choice of the ingroup language guarantees the authenticity of the food sold. Gombo, in fact, is the name of a tree, native of tropical Africa, which has been cultivated and has become part of the culinary tradition of other hot countries, such as Asia, India and Brazil. The shop is located in the Esquilino district, in an area with a majority of immigrants coming from Africa.
Figure 26. Tropical food store

Therefore, the adjective “tropical” generically used in the signs, finds its specification in the name of the shop “Gombo”, which is decodable by those who are in possession of the adequate tools of knowledge. The linguistic hybridization, the cultural blends and the reconstruction of the identities can be also frequently found in the restaurant offer. Let us consider some examples.

Figure 27. Latin American Restaurant
Chapter 4

Figure 28. A Menu of Latin American restaurant

Figure 29. Restaurant El Norteño
The image 27 indicates a “unique restaurant” of “Latin American cuisine” and, next to it, a Chinese lantern.

Figures 28 and 29 are both related to the restaurant El Norteño, whose sign on the sunshade shows the typical quotation “Latin American”. The fact that the adjective is in quotation marks denotes an approximation especially designed for Italian customers and foreign tourists. In fact, the name of the restaurant indicates the origins of the owners who come from the northern area of a country in Latin America (Mexico or Peru), where the adjective is primarily used to distinguish customs and traditions, including the culinary. The menu, then, orients us towards this country: the dishes prepared by the restaurant the papa a la huancaína, the tamal, the ceviche, the choros a la chalaca, etc., are typical of the Peruvian tradition. In the menu of Figure 28 we see that Spanish is the first language used, followed by Italian and English. Given the centrality of the restaurant, located near
the Termini station, the use of the three mentioned languages can reach every type of potential customer, starting from the Peruvian compatriots, until the Latin Americans, the Italians, and the tourists.

Another example is shown in Figure 30, where the name of the restaurant Inka Chicken has a language combination between the well-known adjective Inka (because of the Inka cola drink) and English Chicken, the translation of rooster, the Spanish name of Atahualpa, the thirteenth emperor considered last ruler of the Inca Empire. Therefore, the symbolic function is assigned to the image of the rooster and the language combination of Spanish-English; the descriptive function carried out by the English language (Grill Restaurant Peruvian), while the informative function is delegated to the Italian in a handwritten text (Monday weekly closing).

4. Conclusions

The existing relations between network, language and identity in the examined case study, enables us to stress some features related to both the specific and general implications of network society in the LL.

The presence, the visibility and the construction of the Latin American identity in the city of Rome.

From the reflection on the secondary data, it emerged that the statistical element alone did not help to understand the complexity of the Latin American presence, as this community, for working and demographic reasons, is characterized by an “orderly disorder” that causes the absence of a Latin district in Rome. Hence the need to carve out, to create their own spaces within the city.

The unconventional use of the public spaces made by the migrants is an element of flexibility that belongs to the city and that transforms it in a great laboratory in which to experiment new forms of citizenship, able to meet the needs of contemporary life. Migrants are implementing a different form of construction of the public space: they are building it
from the bottom, basing on associations and on mutually supportive cooperation. In this way, they become active protagonists of the contemporary city, suggesting new ways of being in the city and of networking.

As Chambers (2003, p. 36) stated, “the modern metropolitan figure is the migrant, an active formulator of the aesthetics and of the metropolitan life style, reinventing the languages and taking possession of the streets”. The movements of the migrants creates spontaneous urban practices awakening their full potential. Particularly the relational potential of the public spaces in which a peculiar panorama is built through linguistic, olfactory, auditory and ethnic signals. They are, in my opinion, exactly the opposite of “no places”, because people who stay there are re-appropriating of the space through new social interactions and personal adaptations. This is a prove of the empowerment of the social actor and of the self-organization of the inter-organizational networks, stressed by Iannone (in this volume).

What kind of SN emerges from the analysis of the linguistic landscape of the Latin American migration in Rome? What role the language plays in the definition, construction and maintenance of such a network?

We found different answers in the multiplicity of the linguistic signs examined, with particular reference to the bottom-up signals in which we can observe the reconstruction of the identity produced by the needs generated by a diasporic situation.

The emerging SN are at the same time local, national, supranational and transnational, that is to say that they tend to reconstruct memories, traditions, customs, past practices of the country of origin, both by a national point of view (Peruvian, Ecuadorian, Bolivian, etc.) and by a supranational point of view (Latin American), through a linguistic-discursive selection linking the “community”. Language plays a major role because it conveys the lexical-semantic object, gives information about the author and the recipient of the messages, implements discursive practices of implicit and explicit iden-
tity construction, helps to strengthen the endogenous links and to define the limit with the exogroup.

For the Latin American community, which has no area of reference in Rome, the time of the meetings with the compatriots is also the time of the creation of a physical, identitarian, linguistic and social space. We stress the need for shared spaces, the demand for proximity, the willingness to have a deeper and more meaningful link with the territory able to lead them to rediscover in the urban space they live the traces of their identity. Where the proximity is not possible because of the orderly disorder and the geographical distribution of the community they belong (as in the case of the Latin American community in Rome), the urban landscape saw the birth of temporary meeting points that constantly mutate it revealing the variety and the centrality of the public spaces for the migrant communities.

In conclusion, it is possible to highlight the fact that for the migrants, especially for those who have the characteristics of the Latin American migration “the relation with the city is developed on the basis of a variety of urban places that become spaces of reference rather than spaces of belonging, paradoxically the space of belonging of the immigrant is the whole city” (Caradonna 2001, p. 20).

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