ESF Exploratory Workshop on

PROMISED LANDS:
INNER COLONISATION IN 20th CENTURY MEDITERRANEAN HISTORY

Rome & Sabaudia (Italy), 7-10 October 2013

Convened by:
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and Cristobal Benito Gomez

SCIENTIFIC REPORT

1. Executive summary

General picture: Practical Organisation and General Arrangements:

The ESF exploratory workshop on *Promised Lands: internal colonisation in 20th century Mediterranean history* was held over four consecutive days (from 7th to 10th October 2013) in three different venues in and around Rome, Italy.

Participation numbered 28 people from 11 different countries (Belgium, Egypt, Germany, Greece, Israel, Italy, Morocco, the Palestinian Authority, Portugal, Spain, the United Kingdom): the three convenors Axel FISHER, Simone MISIANI and Cristóbal GOMEZ BENITO, the local organizer Gaetano SABATINI, the ESF representative Cristina MARRAS, the participants Taoufik Ahmed AGOUMY, Yazid ANANI, Micaela BORDIN, Manuel BORUTTA, Manuel CALZADA PÉREZ, Vittoria CAPRESI, Zvi EFRAT, Mirko GRASSO, Vilma HASTAOGLOU-MARTINIDIS, Joanna KOSTYLO, Maria Helena MAIA, Isabel MATIAS, Francisco Javier MONCLÚS FRAGA, Cristina PALLINI, Leonor PEÑA CHOCARRO, Heleni PORFYRIOU, Christine ROELS, Zeev ROSENHEK, Bertrand TERLINDEN, and Manuel VILLAVERDE CABRAL, and the two observers Antonio PENNACCHI and Mario PANIZZA. Unfortunately, there were two last-minute cancellations: Fernando GARCÍA SANZ and Francesca Fausta GALLO could not join us because of conflicting work obligations.

In accordance with the declared aim to foster a transdisciplinary approach to the workshop topic, participants presented 16 contributions reflecting state-of-the-art research on the topic from the fields of history, sociology, economy, philosophy, architectural design and history, urban and regional planning, geography, art history, archaeology, literature.

In the weeks and months leading up to the event, participants had been advised on travel arrangements by the organizers. Accommodation was provided in one hotel centrally located in relation to the city and the workshop venues, except for Vittoria Capresi, which travelled with her newborn child and was therefore accommodated separately within walking distance of the main venue. In most cases, participants arrived either on the first day of the workshop, or on a day in advance, and they left on the last day of the event, or a day later, depending on individual circumstances and destination.

Before the workshop, the convenors assembled an abstract book of the workshop contributions. In addition, a number of presenters forwarded draft or final papers to both convenors and session chairs, to allow for careful preparation.

On the first evening (October 7), participants gathered at the ANIMI-*Associazione per gli Interessi del Mezzogiorno d'Italia*, where they were able to get to know each other and exchange expectations on the workshop during a walking dinner and drink.

The workshop itself consisted in a series of thematic working sessions, chaired by appointed participants. Sessions took place on day 2 and 4 (October 8-10) in a spacious, well-equipped classroom at *Roma Tre University*'s new *Ostiense 139* Campus, and on day 3 (October 9) in the conference hall of Sabaudia's *A. Mazzoni documentation centre*. Both venues provided the appropriate facilities for PowerPoint presentations, screenings of film clips, and a conducive environment for focussed and intense discussions.

On day 2 (October 8), the convenors introduced the workshop's program and topic, proposing an analytical framework to foster further discussion during the workshop.

This was followed by three working sessions with 3 to 5 presentations by participants, limited to 30-40 minutes. This first workshop day had a tight program, running from 9.00 and scheduled to wrap up by 19.00, and had to accommodate for the invited talk by novelist Antonio Pennacchi, originally planned on the next day. Therefore, the initial response to each participant by a designated discussant for each session, and extensive time for Q&A and plenary discussion had to be dramatically shortened. Fortunately enough, intense discussions could take place during informal breaks during the same day and in dedicated spaces during the following days.

On day 3 (October 9), we travelled in the morning to Sabaudia, where we had a working session with five presentations. After lunch, we had a walking tour of the city, as an example

of interwar new towns planned and realized during the implementation of the Pontine Marshes' reclamation and colonisation. We could appreciate the extent and importance of such experiment in the afternoon, by travelling across the countryside and visiting a local museum with a full section dedicated to the Fascist regime's rural colonisation campaigns throughout Italy, before dinner at a local restaurant run by a settler family since the 1930s.

The last day (October 10) was devoted to a general joint discussion about various issues that had emerged during the previous days, and about plans to take the research agenda further. The workshop concluded by mid-afternoon.

Sessions were broken up by comfort breaks, during which coffee, tea, and other refreshments were served. Lunches were provided at *Roma Tre University* in a location on-campus by one of the university's official catering firms, and consisted of a buffet selection; while at Sabaudia lunch was provided in a wine bar within walking distance. On both day 2 and 3 (October 8-9) a communal workshop dinner was organised at two local restaurants (in Rome and the Pontine Marshes), with pre-arranged transport to and from the workshop venues. These more informal occasions, alongside the conversations during the designated breaks, facilitated a relaxed and friendly atmosphere throughout and permitted additional informal interaction; all the delegates reported to the local organisers, during and after the event, how much they had enjoyed the convivial and mutually supportive ethos of the workshop.

On day 4 (October 10), after the convenors presented an informal wrap up of the prior two day's proceedings, we had a long and intense plenary discussion which entailed a brainstorming around the issued raised by each single paper and working session, and triggered an interesting debate on the workshop's key outcomes and research agenda. A short presentation by the ESF-delegate followed, presenting the ESF activities and programmes, as well as funding opportunities for research and networking at a pan-European and regional level. In the afternoon, after the *Roma Tre University*'s rector, Mario Panizza, delivered a short and encouraging address, another plenary session was dedicated to plans for publication, and to future collaborative activities. It was agreed that that the group could work towards publishing the workshop proceedings in an Open Access journal, and eventually for a special issue of a suitable journal containing dedicated papers addressing specific issues that had crystallised from the workshop. Besides, the opportunity to organize an additional meeting emerged as an attractive opportunity, and the consolidation of an international network under a COST-Action scheme appeared as an appropriate project to be pursued.

Summary scientific objectives and agenda of the meeting including overall conclusion.

As stated in the program, the workshop dealt with experiments of internal colonisation (IC) implemented during the 20th century in the Mediterranean area, compared from a trans-disciplinary perspective combining both retrospective explanatory theories and prospective reflections around issues such as: mechanisms of nationalisation, macro-regional identities, forms of political government and economic development, town and country planning policies in regard to architectural expression.

Its objectives were manifold:
- to establish the international relevance of research on ICs;
- to provide an opportunity of exchange on the workshop topic between fields of research traditionally distant;
- to explore the methodological framework for research on the workshop topic;
- to verify a number of research hypothesis in terms of:
  - retrospective explanations:
    - which are the common features and differences of ICs, and their key issues?
    - what can an international perspective add to the locally or nationally developed research around the topic?
    - what can we learn about the modern Mediterranean area looking through the lens of ICs?

- o prospective reflections:
    - what is the legacy of ICs, in ideal, intangible, and physical terms?
    - are internal colonisations to be considered heritage? How is it enhanced as such and how should we deal with it?
    - what is the topicality of ICs in the face of present-day societal challenges?
- to lay the foundations for further collaborative networking, research and teaching activities.

Despite an uneven coverage of case studies, major differences between more scholarly and more critical contributions, and a flawed interaction due to the ESF's requirement of English as the sole official language during the workshop, the event appeared as a general success to all participants, both in terms of organization, contents, and results. Its most prominent outcomes were:

- the sense that the workshop strongly contributed to establish ICs as an research topic of international relevance;
- the agreement on the focus on the Mediterranean area as a consistent geographic delimitation for research on the topic;
- the expression of different tracks for setting up a shared research agenda on the topic, both in terms of research methodology and in terms of specific issues to be dealt with within and across the scientific disciplines involved.

A number of concrete actions were planned as follow-up of the event, including:

- *establishing the workshop's outcomes*: preparation of a White paper;
- *dissemination of workshop's outcomes*: publication of proceedings;
- *networking*: planning for one or more meetings/events and applying for funding of a COST-Action;
- *advancing research*: applying for a collaborative research project under the Horizon 2020 or other international funding scheme.

Needless to say, the fragile appointments and funding which many of the participants (both junior and senior, UE and non-UE) can individually rely on appeared as the major impediment to future development of the event's agenda.

The large body of information, knowledge, and directions for the future explored during the event, required an important effort to summarize and synthesize. The final version of the present report was prepared by Axel Fisher, with the decisive help and support of Simone Misiani and Cristobal Gomez. It could not be reviewed by other participants. All due endeavour has been made to reflect as faithfully as possible the event's contents and its participants' contributions. The convenors apologize for any mistake or misinterpretation, which should be ascribed to them alone.

2. Scientific content of the event

The convenors opened the workshop with short introductory address that presented a general framework for an effective comparison of the workshop's sessions and contributions, consisting of five propositions: (1) common features of; (2) differences between; (3) relevance of; (4) questions raised by; (5) topicality of *internal colonisation in 20th century Mediterranean history*.

Morning session (1), Tuesday 8th October: **Agrarianism, totalitarianism and democracy in the Mediterranean Countries. An Italo-Iberian paradigm?**

> This first session offered a comparative perspective on the ideological and theoretical background for IC in the Italian, Spanish and Portuguese contexts, raising the question whether these case studies could represent a paradigm for other IC experiments.

Cristóbal Gomez's paper showed that, in Spain, the precondition for IC was the intrusion of the State in rural affairs, which only the Francoist regime could sustain in modern times. However, Gomez showed that during Franco's dictatorship, the colonisation policy was not monolithic, oscillating between different beneficiaries (landless peasantry versus well-to-do landlords), between different productive and social goals, and between different patterns of settlement. Albeit the scale of the required efforts, this policy had much less influence than expected. Some key features in its successes and failures were pointed out, but also some present-day issues, which are still awaiting to be dealt with, forty years after the dictatorship's end.

Manuel Villaverde Cabral showed how the topic of IC was central to the Portuguese dictatorship's political discourse and policies. Starting from the country's traditional "demographic unbalance", and from the much-debated irrigation and land reforms, *Villaverde Cabral* introduced the question of Portugal's means of subsistence and procurement in food, which was to lay the foundation for the *Estado Novo*'s "Wheat campaign". However, the *Junta de Colonização Interna*'s schemes undertaken in the early 1930s were practically not implemented, but left a perduring heritage of debates, writings, and plans, not to mention important surveys of the Portuguese countryside and rural architecture.

Simone Misiani's contribution established lines of continuity between the interwar IC campaigns undertaken under the Italian Fascist regime, and the land reforms implemented in the Italian *Mezzogiorno*, which informed the emergence of regional planning policies from the 1960s onwards. He argued that, albeit common ideological and practical features can be traced, the substantial difference between each single campaign stands in its relation to the central State and the so-called national interest. In particular, those campaigns which effectively achieved local development goals, bettering the settler's social condition and establishing new collective identities, did so when they focused on the local scale's needs and interests. Instead, whenever they served the central State's interest, they ended up funding improperly warfare (as in the *Opera nazionale combattenti*'s Sicilian scheme, 1939-1941) or in squandering public funds into influence peddling benefitting political parties established in Rome (as in the *Cassa per il Mezzogiorno* – Fund for Southern Italy, 1950-1984).

Mirko Grasso's paper added to these broad pictures an account of an interesting episode: the foundation in the mid-1920s of a village in Apulia to host Armenian exiles, promoted by a philanthropic association (the ANIMI-*Associazione per gli Interessi del Mezzogiorno d'Italia*). The settlement followed the planning and a management principle already experienced in other IC schemes in Southern Italy, and shows how grass-roots initiatives leveraged the idea of IC to compensate with the central State's weakness in addressing both rural underdevelopment at the national scale and the fate of oppressed minorities at the international scale.

> The case studies investigated in this session defined a very distinct and multi-faceted pattern of IC, setting a broad conceptual framework to stimulate parameters for subsequent discussions around variations in other countries bordering the Mediterranean.

Afternoon session (2), Tuesday 8th October: **Unfolding ideology on the land: the contribution of architectural design, planning and landscaping to inner colonisation policies in the Italian and Iberian peninsulas.**

> This afternoon discussion echoed the morning session with three papers discussing the physical expression of IC in both Spain, Portugal and Italy.

Manuel Calzada Perez illustrated the urban models implemented by the Francoist National Institute of IC from the 1930s to the early 1970s, which he defined as a "qualified laboratory of housing and urban form". He showed how designers and planners faced – through the means of formal expression and spatial organization – the tensions between the apparently opposed values carried by the modernisation of the countryside, by Franco's rhetoric of tradition, and by the influence of the *Pax Americana*. With this paper, *Calzada* opened a central issue in rural urbanism, i.e. the tension between tradition and modernity, but also

raised the issue of innovation and transgression within a context of political and cultural censorship.

María Helena Maia and *Isabel Matias* traced back to 1925 the first of the only six colonies effectively implemented by the *Junta de Colonização Interna* (JCI) during the Portuguese dictatorship. Notwithstanding this meagre figure, *Maia* and *Matias* interestingly evidenced how Portuguese colonies were generally realized on common lands, where the JCI parallely undertook a large (and successful) campaign of forestation. Besides, they highlighted how the JCI practised a severe selection of would-be settlers, turning IC into a social engineering device, which served the nation-building process. Finally, *Maia* and *Matias* added a new element to understand the concern of modern architects in Portugal for a form of modernity rooted in tradition, by underpinning the debates started at the JCI around the architectural expressions of housing and collective facilities in the rural colonies.

Micaela Bordin focused on the urban design and architectural lexicon of the settlements founded under the Fascist rule within the frame of large land reclamation campaigns, highlighting how their physical design conferred a symbolic and meaningful expression to ambitious socio-economic reforms. Bringing the coeval examples of the American New Deal's Tennessee Valley Authority and the planning debate in Soviet Union, *Bordin* showed how IC experiments represented a tool to pursue peaceful yet radical reforms, combining economical, welfare, demographic, and environmental concerns. In this sense, *Bordin* claimed that their topicality stands in their underlying development scenario and renewed city-countryside relationships; inspiring examples in the face of today's increasing urbanization, which is deemed to be irresistible but results in a dramatic shrinkage of resources, and in growing social and geographical inequalities.

> A short discussion followed this session, with the audience specifically addressing *Manuel Calzada* and questioning the emphasis placed on the democratic values conveyed by the physical design of public spaces in late Spanish rural *pueblos*. *Calzada* qualified his previous statements, recalling the wider political, socio-economic and cultural context, but insisting specifically on the importance to consider the physical design of such villages in relation to the agrarian system they supported and were produced by, collecting a general agreement among the assembly.

Social event (1), Tuesday 8th October: **Antonio Pennacchi's carte blanche**

In the afternoon, the Italian novelist Antonio Pennacchi, a former metalworker born and raised in a settler's family in the Pontine Marshes, gave a short talk about his understanding of interwar IC policies in Italy, with a focus on their architectural and urban expression. Pennacchi authored the novel *The Mussolini Canal* (Dedalus books, 2013), "the story of a generation of poverty-stricken peasants from the Veneto and Tuscany, who were enticed south in the 1930s by the promise of land in the dreaded Pontine Marshes, near Rome" (R. Goring, *Sunday Herald*, 26/10/2013), and the travelling novel *Fascio e Martello. Viaggio per le città del Duce* (Bari, Laterza, 2008) where he presents his recent survey of the 147 cities founded during the Italian Fascist regime. Pennacchi's talk raised some important issues. He pointed out the paradox of the undeniable social, civic, environmental and architectural quality of Fascist new towns and IC policy, in the face of the Regime's violent and authoritarian nature. Seen as an exceptional effort of modernisation, these experiments question the *cost of modernity*: how can we learn from such past case studies to plan and create welfare and wealth for large strata of population, while overcoming the different forms (explicit or implicit) of violence entailed by such policies?

> With his peculiar picaresque style, oscillating between a layman's and a more literary approach, Pennacchi animated the afternoon, harvesting – as expected – contrasted reactions among the participants.

Evening session (3), Tuesday 8th October: **European agricultural colonisation strategies in North Africa and their reception after independence**

> This evening session expanded the issues raised in the previous sessions by exploring North-African case studies, questioning the concept of internal colonisation in areas with a colonial past.

Vittoria Capresi offered a thorough overview of the rural centres founded in Libya under Italian rule during the interwar period. Despite some original aspects, such as the foundation of settlements addressing not only Italian settlers but also the local population, *Capresi* claimed that the Libyan experiment had more to do with propaganda than with an authentic commitment to the region's rural development. Finally, presenting her own original survey of the present state of preservation and development of some rural colonies', *Capresi* questioned the post-colonial reception of Fascist policies and built heritage.

Manuel Borutta explored the conflicting and shifting relationships between French Algeria and Southern France scrutinizing the issue of viticulture from the mid-19th century to the late 20th century. *Borutta* questioned the blurred distinction between "internal" and "external" colonisation and the recoils of such policies over the long period, in post-independent Algeria and in post-imperial France itself. Explaining how Corsican secessionist movements found their roots in the reaction to the new agricultural and wine-growing developments introduced by Algerian repatriates, *Borutta* raised the issue of decolonisation implicated by any colonisation project, whether it be "internal" or "external".

Taoufik Agoumy examined the flipside of agricultural colonisation and the consequence of its absence or failure: the housing issue in urban Morocco. Starting with the "trame sanitaire" (or sanitary planning grid) followed by the "trame sanitaire améliorée" (or improved sanitary planning grid) under French rule, by the World Bank's recommendation to "up-grade shanties" and by the State's "relocation process" of shanties after independence, Morocco implemented various large scale social-housing policies to cope with ever increasing rural-to-urban migration and the sprouting of shantytowns. Across the century, *Agoumy* claimed, such policies could barely absorb the growing demand for housing in the cities and the unavoidable existance of shanties and informal settlements had to be acknowledged. All in all, *Agoumy* placed in historical perspective the dramatic side effects of a lacking rural development policy.

Bertrand Terlinden presented an ambitious planning scheme implemented by the French modern planner Michel Écochard and his team in the Gharb – a fertile plain in Morocco – to tackle with the massive rural exodus provoked by a large State-driven mechanization scheme adopted in the mid-1940s by the French authority. This scheme entailed the foundation of a complex network of rural and agro-industrial settlements closely bound to railways and irrigation infrastructures, in parallel to the decentralization of industry to the countryside for the sake of local welfare and development. *Terlinden* claimed that this experiment represents a valid option in terms of resilience at the regional scale, and an alternative to present-day's dominant planning and development models: on one side, the unlimited expansion of urbanization and of the consumers market in the face of growing environmental risks and social inequalities; on the other, the grassroots social and environmental movements advocating "degrowth" or "transition town" models.

The session was followed by a short "Travelling movie across the Gharb" and a "Diaporama of Michel Ecochard's rural planning schemes" taken from the graduation master thesis of *C. Frassinelli, B. Malinge, J. Nicod, F. Saraò & A. Tronchet*[1] (Université libre de Bruxelles, Belgium). This work presented an unconventional and fresh approach to architectural and planning history, entitled "prospective archaeology". Combining archival research and on-site surveys with design proposals, this method uses research-by-design as both a descriptive practice and a tool to understand the considered case study. Therefore, this contribution showed the teaching and education potential of the research topic addressed by the workshop.

> Session 3 raised the issue of the failed reception of ICs in formerly colonized countries. Notwithstanding the authentic developmental efforts sustained by colonial powers, in both Morocco, Algeria and Libya, the newly independent nations rejected – or at least, neglected – the positive and progressive potential

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[1] Since this thesis was completed and discussed only in late September 2013, and due to ESF-exploratory research workshop regulations concerning the limitation and provenance of participants, these students could not attend the workshop.

of former ICs, even if rural settlement policies were eventually pursued later on by postcolonial governments.

All in all, day 1 was very densely – probably too densely – planned. Contributions and panels ran over time, and discussion had unfortunately to be narrowed down. Besides, several speakers had trouble with presenting their contributions in English (few participants, if any at all, are native English speakers), even if they had prepared a typewritten speech and video slides accordingly, leading to a lack of rhythm and eloquence, which affected the workshop's effectiveness. Nevertheless, this day set the tone for the entire workshop, stimulating the participants' attention and interest. The wealth of case studies, disciplinary perspectives, and inspiring research approaches raised during the day arouse informal debates, which went on until late in the night after the evening dinner, in a multilingual and multicultural atmosphere.

Morning Session (4), Wednesday 8th October: **Variations on inner colonisation in the Eastern Mediterranean**

This last session broadened the horizon to case studies from the Eastern Mediterranean, with a special focus on the Israeli experiment, raising challenging issues.

Vilma Hastaoglou-Martinidis and *Cristina Pallini* focused on the Northern Greece refugee settlements (1922-1940) established as a consequence of the "Convention concerning the Exchange of Greek and Turkish Populations" (1923) after of the Greco-Turkish War (1919-1922). Drawing a large picture of what appears to be the largest 20th century IC scheme in the Mediterranean area and in Europe as a whole, *Hastaoglou* and *Pallini* highlighted its impacts in terms of land reform, reclamation works, landscape patterns, village layouts, and provision of collective facilities and housing. The authors explained how this experiment entailed dramatic geographical shifts in terms of urban network hierarchies and of ethnic balances. However, *Hastaoglou* and *Pallini* claimed that the Northern Greece refugees resettlement scheme was guided by an ambitious regional planning scheme which favoured the revival of the countryside and of rural economy around the city of Thessaloniki, marking a conscious attempt to use IC as a means to achieve territorial cohesiveness at the regional scale and to balance the mutual influence of a city and its productive hinterland.

Axel Fisher focused on ideal Zionist village models for the Jewish colonisation of Palestine, which were debated during WWI. After recalling the roots of Zionist agrarianism, as both a solution to a modern demographic issue and a by-product of nation-building processes in 19th century Europe, he highlighted the importance of agricultural productivity as both an economic and a political goal within Zionism. He also insisted on the profile of this peculiar case of IC's recipients: to-be settlers with no means nor experience. Reviewing four different planning schemes for the ideal Zionist village, *Fisher* questioned the role of architectural and urban design in the face of concrete agrarian issues, introducing a basic methodology for a comparative and systematic approach to the study of IC schemes through graphic mapping in relation to underlying agrarian systems.

Zvi Efrat echoed the previous contribution, tracing the evolution of Zionist village patterns from the aftermath of WWI to early Israeli statehood. Looking at the roots and at the evolving physical patterns of the two peculiar Zionist settlement types – the co-operative village, or *moshav*, and the communistic village, or *kibbutz* –, he highlighted the uniqueness and singularity of Zionist agrarianism. *Efrat* explained that rural villages were not only key elements in settling a Jewish population in Palestine and in establishing borders and frontiers of the future Israeli State, but also powerful nation-building devices, claiming that special attention should be paid to the shifting ideological values they conveyed from one historical period to another.

Zeev Rosenhek approached the Zionist experiment from the perspective of the welfare institutions and policies developed within the frame of the Jewish colonisation of Palestine, focusing on labour and housing policies in relation to the state-building process. *Rosenhek* emphasized the lines of continuity between the pre-state and the statehood eras, showing how proto-national institutions and policies eventually influenced the Israeli polity and state

apparatus, how it shaped the national constituency. He also highlighted how such institutions and policies were devised and still contribute to manage conflict with the local Arab population according to ethno-national criteria, underpinning how past IC experiments have shaped politics up to the present-day.

Yazid Anani explored – through the critical reading of visual arts, architecture, and real estate commercials – the shifting representations of land and of the rural, scrutinizing their importance in moulding Palestinian national identity. Looking back to progressive experiments undertaken in the 1940s, which entailed the foundation of Arab rural colonies, and farming schools, *Anani* showed how rural landscape and especially the traditional village were turned into founding icons of the Palestinian liberation movement in the 1970s and of its official narrative. *Anani* then highlighted how, within the frame set by the Oslo Accords and the PA's neo-liberal economic policy, an abstract concept of rurality has been seized by realtors as qualifying landmarks and status symbols for housing ventures awkwardly mimicking the architecture of Israeli illegal settlements. Finally, reviewing present-day civil society's and artistic initiatives aiming to deconstruct and raise awareness around the uncanny representations of the rural in Palestine and their unrighteous entanglements with politics, *Anani* claimed that rural colonisations and their side-effects represent a effective arenas for the arts and design in building democratic communities and open citizenships.

> This last session introduced an important counterpoint to session 3, showing how some countries born from the Ottoman Empire's collapse adopted IC as a tool to establish or consolidate a self-determined nation-building process, whose influence can be measured up to the present day.

Social event (2). Wednesday 8th October: **Walking tour of Sabaudia and visit to the interwar improvements of the Pontine Marshes** including visit of the Piana delle Orme museum (rural culture and large reclamation works divisions)

In the early afternoon, participants took a walking tour of Sabaudia guided by a local historian. Starting from the former post-office, where the morning sessions were held, participants moved to the central plaza: a vantage point for the appreciation of Italian rationalist planning principles and architecture. Participants could grasp the buildings' aesthetic qualities as well as their entanglements with Fascist politics, and measure the peculiar relations of this new town's urban landscape with the surrounding reclaimed countryside and natural features. Beyond the city's physical design, participants could also observe the official signs of the Fascist past still in place, preserved as cultural heritage, but also more popular indicators of a still vivid nostalgia of Fascism and a sentimental adhesion to present-day neo-Fascist leaders and politics. This concerning persistence of Fascist sensibility among the city's inhabitants was, however, placed in perspective when the group walked across representatives of the local Punjabi Sikh community; the largest foreign population in town, well integrated both in socio-cultural and economical terms. Such striking contradictions were experienced as the living expression of the same sort of contradictions encountered across other IC case studies, between their colonial-authoritarian and emancipating nature, offering an opportunity to reflect upon the research agenda in the field.

Later in the afternoon, we took a drive across the countryside, during which we could appreciate the wealth and neatness of the surrounding productive landscape. We then visited the *Piana delle Orme* museum. This private museum, established by a local horticulturist and modern history fan, comprises different thematic divisions (ancient toys, El Alamein battle …), two of which are dedicated to the Pontine Marshes' rural culture and large reclamation works. The visit raised several issues discussed among participants. First, the question of IC campaigns' memory and heritage: the fact that this venture is run without any financial support from public institutions shows how a local community, otherwise marginalized by the grand national narrative, expresses the need to display and self-represent itself as active stakeholder in contemporary history. Second, the choice of the exhibition arrangement which, eschewing from a rigid scientific display, sets a sequence of living scenes engaging the visitor in a promenade in which he feels to be an active actor of the ongoing action. Third, the museum's original physical layout – a unique blend of modern farm buildings (hangars), farmyards (complete of farm animals), and gardens reflecting the

vegetation of the surrounding productive landscape – suggesting unforeseen architectural developments in the design of rural museums.

Finally, in the evening, a communal dinner took place in a local restaurant, founded by Northern Italian day labourers in the mid-1930s. Although less than one hour ride from Rome, the proposed dishes illustrated the local cuisine's peculiarity in the face of the neighbouring ancient metropolis' cultural influence. Besides, the owner enthusiastically offered us a long speech, digging in his own memories and proudly flaunting a number of epoch photographs and documents to recount his family saga and the pioneering venture of colonisation across seven decades, a living sample of the surviving sense of identity created among settlers' communities that was discussed with more detachment during the workshop sessions.

Plenary roundtables, Thursday morning 9th October: **Q&A discussion, key outcomes, workshop conclusions**

> This morning session was introduced by a short wrap-up of each contribution presented during the workshop, and a brief summary of the five propositions presented by the convenors as an introduction to the workshop. A lively collective brainstorming followed by an attempt to define the workshop's key outcomes and conclusions.

The assembly, contributors and assisting participants expressed both their general and specifically addressed questions, around a number of issues, which may be summarized around two main areas of interest:

- Methodological issues:
    1 - *Defining internal colonisation;*
    2 - *Italo-Iberian paradigm*
    3 - *Architecture and ICs*

- Research questions:
    4 - *Missing case studies*
    5 - *Mapping international transfers of expertise, ideas, tools and commodities across IC experiments*
    6 - *IC and social conflict*
    7 - *IC as cultural heritage?*
    8 - *Impact evaluation of IC experiments.*

1 - *Defining internal colonisation*. Although the workshop's programme and the convenors' introductory address attempted a precise delimitation of the research topic and objectives, some participants expressed perplexities around the possibility of effective comparisons in the face of the variety of case studies and research approaches presented during the event. *Borutta* and *Efrat* argued that the discussed case studies took place in radically different political systems (within established nations, empires, colonized countries, or even areas in the process of becoming nations) and forms of government (democracies and dictatorships alike). In particular, the partial or even total overlapping of some IC experiments with colonialism raised the issue of drawing the line between "external" and "internal" colonisation. The first part of discussion focused on a negative definition of IC, as opposed to colonialism at large. The convenors argued that, unlike colonialism, colonisation *always* involves the settling of people on a land other than the one they originate from, but not *always* under the guidance of a colonial power. Besides, the topic can be addressed from two distinct perspectives: in terms of international and political relationships (i.e. focusing on the triangular relations between settlers, local population and colonial powers involved), or in geographic terms (i.e. focusing on the settlement process, and therefore on the relations between settlers and land). To be sure, the workshop's focus was on the latter perspective, but a general agreement emerged on the need to sharpen the definition of IC. *Villaverde Cabral* questioned the use of the term *internal* rather than *inner* colonisation, opening a discussion about the many classifications of colonisation and colonial experiments offered by an abundant existing scholarship, making it clear that IC ought to be better located within this frame. Besides, *Borutta* argued, the nature of a colonial or colonisation experiment is a matter of perspective and is related to the subject considered (local, settler or colonial power); whether an IC experiment can be considered as *internal* (fundamentally as a settlement process) or *external* (a settlement process overlapping with a colonial project)

depends on who's perspective is being considered, as the Libyan, Zionist, Moroccan and French case studies showed.

While summarizing the workshop's contributions and preparing the present report, some basic research was conducted on this topic. It emerges that the term "internal colonisation" has its own genealogy. The idea of *planned* resettlement within the boundaries of an existing sovereign territory was traced by *Villaverde* as far as 14th century Portugal (with the "Lei das Sesmarias", a law for the emphyteutic lease of land to unemployed farmers), and *Misiani* suggested to look into 15th century Italian Renaissance urban utopias too. Across the 17th and 18th century, *Villaverde* and *Gomez* showed, different proposals were put forward – some of which were even implemented – by economists, politicians and agronomists in Spain and Portugal, considering resettlement and agricultural development to strengthen poorly populated areas and weak local economies. From the mid-19th century onwards, a number of agricultural colonisation schemes were devised and implemented in Spain[2], Portugal[3], Italy, while pre-Zionist Jews put up their first colonies in Ottoman Palestine as soon as the 1880s. By the end of the 19th century, the body of knowledge and experience was such that effective doctrines of colonisation[4] were developed for the use of both emerging nations and colonial empires. In parallel, however, the idea of colonisation was developed by socialist thinkers in the first half of the 19th century, as a way to reform society on social and economic grounds. Sant-Simonianism considered Algeria as the ideal location for such undertakings, but ended up fuelling the ideology and expertise of French colonialism. Robert Owen, on the contrary, argued as early as 1841 for the "internal colonisation" of Britain for the relief of the working class, through the creation of "Self-Supporting Home colonies" or, in other words, of agricultural colonies organized along cooperation principles. To be sure, we find two different schools of thought resorting to *inner* or *internal* colonisation for different purposes across the early modernity, depending on the nature of the agency promoting it: a statal/reformist school of thought, which looks at the consolidation and development of existing powers and institutions; and a socialist-cooperativist one (often retraceable to subsidiary organisations, NGOs, guanos, or even opposition groups), which aims at solving the problems of underprivileged social groups. However, both schools of thought overlap on more than one aspect. They both conceived colonisation as a practical means to transform society through an economic instead of political way, i.e. producing new wealth instead of simply redistributing existing wealth. Both consider modern techniques (engineering, agronomy, urban planning, but also social and economic sciences) as the precondition for such policies, implying a tight interplay between some sort of power (central or peripheral), technocracy, settlers and land. Besides, the diffusion of Owen's and other socialist's (Fourier, Cabet, …) ideas within the German[5] and Dutch[6] cooperative movements proved influential in inspiring experiments standing at the borderline between "internal" colonisation and colonialism[7].

Through discussion, the distinction between internal colonisation and colonialism appeared as transient as the legal and political status of the colonial territories. Whether or not a

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[2] *Gomez* cited the case of:
Joaquín Costa Martínez, *"Misión social de los riegos en España"*, 1880, republ. in J. Costa, *Política Hidráulica*, Madrid. Biblioteca Costa, 1911, pp. 177-192.

[3] Villaverde cited the case of:
Caballero, F. "*Fomento de la población rural*", 3ª ed. Madrid, Imprenta Nacional, 1864
Joaquim Pedro de Oliveira Martins, *"Projecto de Lei sobre o Fomento Rural"*, 1887

[4] Often cited works in the field are:
W.G.F. Roscher, *Kolonien, Kolonialpolitik und Auswanderung* (Colonies, Colonial Policy, and Emigration) (1856)
P.P. Leroy-Beaulieu, *De la colonisation chez les peuples modernes* (On Colonisation among Modern Peoples) (1874)

[5] See for instance: Victor Aimé Huber, *Die Selbsthilfe der arbeitenden Klassen durch Wirtschaftsvereine und innere Ansiedlung*, Berlino, 1848; Franz Oppenheimer, *Die Siedlungsgenossenschaft. Versuch einer positiven Überwindung des Kommunismus durch Lösung des Genossenschaftsproblems und der Agrarfrage*, Lipsia, Duncker & Humblot, 1896.

[6] See for instance: Fredrik van Eeden, *Binnenlandsche Kolonisatie*, 1901; Tjerk Luitjes, *Theorie en pratijk van binnenlandsche Kolonisatie*, 1902.

[7] This was the case of Zionism, where Franz Oppenheimer played a key-role in diffusing the principles of cooperative economy, see: Franz Oppenheimer, *A first program for Zionist colonisation*. Address at the sixth Zionist Congress in Basle (26.8.1903), republic. in: I. H. Bilski (Ed.), *Means and Ways towards a Realm of Justice. A Collection of Articles dedicated to the Memory of Professor Franz Oppenheimer (1864-1943)*, Tel Aviv, 1958, pp.71-82.

colony would fall under the home country's legal frame, granting the same rights to its inhabitants (whether settlers or locals) was a highly disputed issue all along colonial history (as illustrated by the case of French Algeria, where citizen rights shifted over time depending on the person's ethnic status: French settler, foreign settler, local Arab, or Jew).

The discussion held during this session around the use of appropriate terms reflected a confusion, which may also have been fuelled by the different uses of the IC concept in scholarship. In the field of post-colonial studies, for instance, the term "internal colonisation" (or self-colonisation) has been introduced by authors such as Frantz Fanon to describe how colonized populations adopted the colonizers' ideology and way of life. Similarly, the same terminology is used in philosophical investigation (Foucault[8], Rabinow[9]) and critical theory (Habermas[10] and Jameson[11]) to demonstrate how structures of power and techniques of control have been repatriated by former colonial powers to rule over their own population, after having tested them in their own colonies.

As a consequence, it appears clearly that the terms "inner" and "internal" colonisation are still object of confusion among scholars, reflecting the past and present uses of the terms. It is not clear yet whether 18th-19th century thinkers introduced the concept of IC as a smokescreen to cover up hidden colonial agendas. It is also not clear yet who and when the term was first introduced and how it disseminated across the 19th century. Similarly, depending on the scientific field of reference, present scholarship uses the concept both in a straightforward and in a metaphoric way. To avoid such confusions, it appeared from the workshop that the definition of IC still needs to be placed in historical perspective, and that an international approach is unavoidable. The present report already sets a few tracks to start such inquiry. A major outcome which needs to be discussed is whether it would be the adoption of the term "agricultural colonisation" – eventually adding explanations to frame it relations with colonialism – in order to place the focus on what appeared to be the phenomenon's specific significance: a planned policy of settling underprivileged people on uninhabited or scarcely habited land for the development of agriculture through modern techniques. Along this line of thought, which was widely shared by participants, the interest for agricultural colonisations can focused primarily on its character of socio-economic reform policy, or to put it in Gramscian terms (as *Bordin* pointed out) on its being a form of "passive revolution".

2 - *An Italo-Iberian paradigm?* By opening the workshop with a twin session dedicated to IC experiments in Italy, Spain, and Portugal, the convenors' intended to look at these case studies as paradigmatic examples for the study of ICs. Not only are these case-studies among the most widely treated within the field, they also show common features:

a. a longstanding tradition of thought and experiments preceding ICs proper, still awaiting for a thorough mapping;
b. similar evolution patterns and lines of continuity between late-19th century, interwar, and post-war experiments;
c. constant exchange of ideas and expertise during the conception and implementation phases of IC experiments at the international scale;
d. a conscious conception and implementation of IC campaigns as a territorial planning tool to foster the renewal of traditional rurality and address unrestrained urban growth;
e. use of IC as a reform policy addressing the structure of land ownership and of agricultural labour, in particular in upgrading wage-farmer to sharecroppers, tenant-farmers, smallholders or the like;

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[8] Michel Foucault (2003), Society must be defended. Lecture at te Collègede France 1975-1976, Londres, Allen Lane/Penguin, p. 103.

[9] Paul Rabinow, *French Modern: Norms and Forms of the Social Environment*, MIT Press, 1989 .

[10] Jurgen Habermas, The theory o communicative action, 2 vols., Boston, Beacon Press, 1984 (german edition 1981), vol. 2, pp. 332-73.

[11] Fredric Jameson, *The End of Temporality*, "Critical Inquiry", 29, 2003, p. 5.

f.   an important role of religion as a form of symbolic covenant binding the different actors (and social classes) involved in an IC campaign;

g.   a dialectic of IC campaigns within the socio-economic divides between home countries and overseas territories, and between underprivileged and developed areas within a same country;

h.   a co-presence of state-driven and subsidiary IC experiments;

i.   a dialectic between authoritarian and emancipation stances in IC experiments, where the analysis of each ICs' agrarian system appears as a key factor to assess its actual socio-economic significance;

j.   a consistent body of architectural and urban design knowledge and achievements associated to the implementation of ICs;

k.   an uneven acknowledgement of ICs' achievements as cultural heritage, with a wide array of present-day issues to be dealt with;

Participants agreed on the recurrence of such features across the other case studies examined during the workshop, but questioned the consistency of the proposed paradigm from two standpoints. First, *Monclus* argued, the "Italo-Iberian" adjective appeared naïve and lacking sound foundations within this frame. Secondly, a general agreement emerged on the fact that the general socio-political context (IC taking place within a within established or an emerging nations, areas in the process of becoming nations, empires or a colonial power's home country, colonized or former colonial areas …) implied different hierarchies of the mentioned issues. All in all, the interest of attempting the identification of a paradigm within the field was acknowledged, but as *Capresi* and *Villaverde* argued, the scientific process should not be speeded up. A general agreement emerged on the need to keep up with the workshop's exploratory nature and not pursue a normative approach to the topic for the time being.

3 -   *Architecture and internal colonisations*. Some participants active in the field of planning and design (*Efrat, Anani*) questioned the role of architecture and physical design at large within ICs. Is there anything such as a peculiar IC architecture in terms of conception, representation, production and/or reception? What does the architecture of IC experiments add to the general course of 19th-20th century architecture and planning?

Common physical features emerged across the considered case studies. While very few farm and productive buildings were scrutinized, residential buildings generally showed a modest architecture, resulting from a rational approach to architecture, where basic comforts were met with very little means. Instead, the impressive architectural expression of public buildings and facilities struck all participants, both in terms of the effort placed by designers in the invention of new functional programs (people's houses, Fascist party headquarters, productive public gardens …), and of architectural styles (with variations of eclecticism, regionalism, classical modern and avant-garde modernism recurrently dealing with the attempt to balance values of tradition and modernity). The settlement layouts of the reviewed case studies showed, despite different patterns, common concerns for the settlement's overall shape, and for the relation between access, productive dwelling areas, collective facilities, public space, gardens, and surrounding landscape. Most case studies also showed settlements planned as part of a larger scheme, up to the scale of regional planning, inviting to consider ICs as early experiments with systemic planning.

However, apart from these physical similarities, each case study had different significance. While *Capresi* showed how architecture and rural planning in Libya represented a physical support for the Fascist political propaganda in Italy, other contributions pointed at the built expression of IC experiments as powerful devices within nation-building processes, acting at different levels. In some cases, architecture and rural planning provided symbolic expression to national (self-)representations and imaginations (*Anani*, *Fisher*, *Efrat*), and contributed to define within each national context the peculiar sense of values such as tradition or modernity (*Calzada*, *Maia* and *Matias*).

In fact, as *Pennacchi* pointed out, the relationship between the progressive values and hopes invested by architects and planners in their schemes and the more conservative –

sometimes even violent and authoritarian – values promoted by ruling powers through the implementation of IC experiments, is an entangled one. *Calzada* showed how architects and planners anticipated and even opposed, through the *means of design*, some of the political aims underlying IC campaigns. In this sense, even if this is not an exclusive feature of IC experiments, ICs show to be a fertile ground to explore the social responsibility of planners towards the end users of their designs and towards the authority they respond to.

In other case studies, architecture and rural planning– as means to organize the daily activities of individuals and groups – directly acted upon the social and economic organization of social groups at the scale of housing (*Hastaoglou* and *Pallini*, *Terlinden*, *Efrat*, *Calzada*, *Maia* and *Matias*), of the settlement (*Fisher*, *Efrat*, *Calzada*), and even at the scale of entire regions' economy (*Hastaoglou* and *Pallini*, *Terlinden*, *Bordin*). In these latter cases, the reviewed IC experiments showed a common feature: an authentic commitment on behalf of architects and planners towards the implementation of agrarian utopias and of alternative development models.

IC experiments can be read within the frame of the Modern Movement in architecture and planning as one of the very few fields were a consistent theory and practise of rural planning and design was developed and put into practice. To be sure, many 19th and 20th century architects and planners showed interest towards the rural realm, especially in the Mediterranean area, but mainly as a home to well-preserved vernacular environments, which would serve a source of inspiration to a diffused quest for more authentic built expressions. However, issues such as the decline of peasant societies and of productive landscapes were seldom addressed by Modern Movement architects and planners. Apart from mid-19th century urban utopias (such as Ebenezer Howard's *Garden City* theory), and some marginal 20th century episodes (one could mention Le Corbusier's *Ferme radieuse*, or Gaston Bardet's doctrine of *Ruralism*), the modernization of the countryside and the redefinition of the rural realm's roles within advanced societies, were concerns given up to agronomists, sociologists, or economists. Instead, the workshop helped to shed a light upon IC experiments as a dense, consistent, and diversified cradle of valuable examples of *agrarian urbanism*.

All in all, the workshop discussions focused more on defining the object of study and drawing a picture of existing critical approaches, rather than on exploring the importance of past ICs within the fields of design. Nevertheless, an implicit question stretched across the talks of some participants: what would be the agenda for a research-by-design approach to IC's today? A few trails emerged from single workshop contributions. First, the so-called "prospective archaeology" introduced by *Frassinelli, Malinge, Nicod, Saraò* and *Tronchet*, proposed an approach to design within existing IC areas, where design is used as a tool to reveal and make visible existing or potential architectural and urban qualities. A second approach was instead illustrated by *Anani*, and consists in using art or design interventions as means to subvert the totalizing values and to transfigure the physical expression of IC experiments, and ultimately stimulate more reflective and inclusive community-building processes around the sense and value of IC's. A third approach, still to be explored, would be to take ICs' societal agenda seriously and test how design can actually contribute to their implementation within a changed political and historical context.

4 - *Missing case studies*. The discussion around the definition of IC also brought up the question of which case studies may not have been treated during the workshop. The Turkish case, symmetrical to the resettlement of Pontic Greeks in Northern Greece, was mentioned, along with coeval experiments in the Balkanic area. Some participants pointed out that the study of IC experiments in the Mediterranean area gained insight from the comparison with more distant case studies, as some contributions showed (*Bordin* and *Misiani* mentioned coeval schemes in Soviet Union and the TVA-experiment in the USA). The geographic and chronological boundaries of the research field were discussed: what about *Soldier settlement* schemes in Australia, Nazi schemes for the Germanization of Eastern Europe, or religious Utopian communes in the USA? Should they be considered within a global frame of IC? This

discussion indirectly raised the question of the focus on the Mediterranean; its sense and purpose, which was addressed later the same day.

5 - *Mapping international transfers of expertise, ideas, tools and commodities across IC experiments*. *Agoumy*, and others after him, underlined that several single contributions made reference to the mutual influence of IC experiments on one another. For instance, Fascist Pontine Marshes improvements influenced the TVA scheme in the USA, the IC schemes in Francoist Spain, and the planning debate in post-war Britain (see *Bordin*, *Misiani, and Gomez*). Zionist experts looked for inspiration in French colonial agriculture in Algeria, in the Prussian colonisation of the Posen province, in German colonial agriculture in Central Africa, in the experience of reclamation brigades in Fascist Italy, in the establishment of intensive citrus culture in California, and also invited TVA experts to express their views upon the development of Jewish colonisation (see *Fisher*, *Efrat*). As *Pallini* & *Hastaoglou* remembered, the Labour Zionist leader David Ben Gourion visited Northern Greece before WWII and, conversely, *Anani* showed how the Palestinian representation of land and rurality mimicked Israeli examples.

As discussion went on, it was made evident that a systematic mapping of such mutual influences and transfer of expertises and models is still lacking, and would be very open up to interesting outcomes. Indeed, it is already clear that on one side there is an interesting paradox in the fact that IC experiments, highly instrumental to nation-building processes, made use of expertise and models imported from abroad. On the other hand, it also appears evident that the range of influences is broader than the sole Mediterranean area: not only was the Mediterranean receptive to the most advanced techniques and knowledge, but also gave birth to original experiments which in turn had a large influence in the so-called advanced countries, but also in colonial, post-colonial, and developing countries, questioning the presumed backwardness of the Mediterranean.

6 - *IC and social conflict*. As underpinned by *Rosenhek*, an important issue related to ICs was not addressed during the workshop, although often evoked by contributors: IC experiments were generally interwoven with conflict (whether social – ethnic, class, military, etc. – or environmental – as a man/nature conflict). The Zionist case is perhaps the most blatant, but lurking conflicts were inherent in the Spanish, Italian, Turko-Greek or Franco-Algerian case studies as well. The discussion brought to outline three basic questions to be addressed:

  a. were IC experiments implemented as a tool to address existing conflict(s)?
  b. did the implementation of IC experiments actually create previously absent conflict(s)?
  c. in accordance, how do we deal today with the conflicts created/addressed by IC (whether past or present)?

Question a) may involve additional questions: was IC a successful tool to address such conflict(s)? Which kind of conflict(s) was being addressed? Who were the conflicting stakeholders and how did they eventually express their resistance to IC? Similarly, answering question b) requires understanding how conflict was tempered or managed at the time it emerged. To answer both sets of questions calls for the use of oral history to illuminate the shifting perspectives of the actors involved. Answering to the two first sets of questions strongly influences the possible answers to question c), but interestingly different attitudes emerged among the participants, ranging from cultural/political action (through the writing and re-writing of histories, both in terms of contents and modalities), to intervention by design (through physical transformation or artistic installations in spaces created by ICs).

Exploring the relation between IC and conflict also raised a fourth research question:

  d. can IC be implemented today to solve or neutralize existing conflicts?

This daring question draws on the critical assessment of past IC experiments by eminent figures cited during the workshop (one for all, Antonio Gramsci's definition of IC as a form of

"passive revolution" reported by *Bordin*) and looks at IC as a potential tool to address present-day societal challenges in Europe (i.e. mass-immigration from the global South; the dismissal of the agricultural sector from its traditional role in environmental stewardship; the apparently ineluctable crisis of European countrysides under the combined pressure of the CAP and urban growth; the consumer's crisis of confidence in the food industry…) which involve at once urban/rural and South/North conflicts.

7 - *ICs as cultural heritage?* The workshop discussions implicitly assumed that IC experiments are cultural heritage, as appeared self-evident after the visit to the Pontine Marshes. However, *Porfyriou* stressed the need to clarify this point of view, triggering an interesting discussion. The need to distinguish between different types of heritage within ICs emerged the tangible heritage (material culture, applied art, built heritage, cultural landscape), the intangible heritage (oral history, literature, poetry, cuisine), and the ideal legacy (IC as policy and technique). Moreover, participants discussed whether the term "European" would fit to the cultural heritage of ICs. Part of the discussion led to point 5 (*Mapping international transfers of expertise, ideas, tools and commodities across IC experiments*), but most interventions argued around the different heritage values of ICs across the Mediterranean area. In fact, the reviewed case studies showed that ICs have been acknowledged as cultural heritage wherever they contributed to the achievement of the nation-building processes they supported. On the contrary, wherever ICs have been implemented by a colonial power, their heritage value has been wiped away by the post-colonial nation, which followed. As a result, it emerged that two questions should be addressed by further research:

- wherever an IC experiment has contributed to an existent national or regional identity, what kind of values and identities are being conveyed by its enhancement as heritage?
- Wherever this heritage is neglected, because of its association with the colonial past, what would be the reasons to revaluate it as heritage and which values would it serve?

In both cases, it emerged that the enhancement of IC as cultural heritage raises an exquisitely political (i.e., cultural) issue, which may be seen as peculiar to this kind of heritage. How do we deal with a heritage that was most of the times conceived to serve former nationalist agendas, sometimes imbued with totalizing dimensions?

8 - *Impact evaluation of IC experiments*. Among the workshop's declared objectives stood the retrospective assessment of IC experiments. Which ones were successful and which ones failed, and why? What were their outcomes? It emerged from discussion that in order to attempt an answer to such questions, distinctions had to be made between different planes of assessment, for instance:

a. Were ICs experiments in a larger trajectory in history, perhaps at a more global or at least international level? (as a phase in human settlement's conquest of earth surface, for instance)
b. What was the impact of IC's:
   - at the national level?
   - on the urban / industrial development at the regional level?
   - on the environment?
c. Did ICs set up solid foundation for further social and economic evolutions in the involved areas?
d. What was the Social impact of IC's on local inhabitants and on settlers' lives?
e. on the development of architectural, planning, landscaping ideas and works ?

It also appeared that participants did not systematically addressed the different moments in IC history, for instances distinguishing between *historical precedents*, *conception*, *representations-narratives-discourses*, *production-implementation*, *reception*, and *present-day legacies*. All in all, some key figures were outlined during the workshop, but it appeared clearly that a systematic answer to such questions needs a more clear definition of the methodological approach, and of the relevant levels and thematic issues to address.

As a conclusion, the morning sessions showed intense and very fruitful. The workshop appeared as a general success to all participants, both in terms of organization, contents and results. The most prominent outcomes were:

- the sense that the workshop strongly contributed to establish ICs as an research topic of international relevance;

- the agreement on the focus on the Mediterranean area as a consistent geographic delimitation for research on the topic;

- the expression of a research agenda, both in terms of refining the analytical framework to apprehend the topic, and in terms of specific issues to be dealt with, both within and across the scientific disciplines involved.

Plenary roundtable (2), Thursday afternoon 9th October: **Presentation of FP7 and/or COST and/or ESF/other European/nationally funded international research programmes; Planning for workshop publication; Planning ahead: Exploring agendas for future cooperation.**

Under these premises, a general interest emerged to pursue further collaboration. A short presentation by the ESF-representative Cristina Marras of ESF and COST-funded programmes, the convenors pointed at different funding opportunities both at the national, European and international level, developed in short-, mid-, and long-term objectives.

In the short-term, participants agreed on the need to set up a common background for research, perhaps with the writing of a White paper. The convenors proposed to prepare a raft of such document after concluding the workshop's scientific report that could be included as an introductive essay to the publication of the workshop's proceedings. Concerning the workshop's proceedings, it was agreed that it was very important to collect the workshop's contributions and head toward publication as fast as possible. It was agreed that an open access publisher would be identified[12], and that the review process could be managed among the workshop participants, according to an open peer-review process.

In the mid-term, participants expressed their wish to convene another meeting to strengthen and extend the network, and to build a larger overview of research ongoing on the topic. It was largely discussed whether there should be single event, or a series of events, which might focus on issues that are more specific. For instances, some participants supported the idea of focusing more deeply on the exploration of IC experiments within smaller geographic area: southern Europe, the Balkans, Middle East, and North Africa. Other advanced their interest to see a focus on the mapping of cross-transfers within ICs and the contribution of ICs to the history of the Mediterranean. Whether a single or more events, the aim would be to deepen the research agenda established during the workshop. Convenors agreed to search for national funding opportunities (through national research agencies for instance: FNRS, CNR, GIF- German Israeli Foundation …) in order to organize a larger meeting such as a participative conference. However, the opportunity to work towards a consolidation of the network was also discussed, and the COST-programme appeared as the ideal platform for this purpose[13]. Apart from networking, the assembly discussed the opportunity to foster teaching activities, for instance through staff-exchange opportunities under the Erasmus programme, but also through the Erasmus Intensive Programme. Another opportunity discussed was that of putting up an exhibition on ICs across the Mediterranean.

In the long-term, a general interest also emerged for the fostering of more intense cooperation through the participation to a shared research programme. It appeared that the short- and mid-term objectives would be functional to devise and refine the contents and aims of such research programme, but some ideas already emerged in terms of actions to be undertaken. In particular, the request for a common communication and documentation

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[12] In the meanwhile, convenors have taken preliminary contact with Accademia University Press, a scholarly open access publisher based in Turin-Italy, distributed under the OpenEdition platform (http://www.openedition.org/), which offered to publish both an electronic open access book and a paper-printed book out of the proceedings.

[13] During the preparation of the present report, a preliminary COST-Action was introduced under the March 2014 call.

platform (i.e. through a wordpress, google, europeana.eu, or other internet-based platform) to share and increase the impact of existing knowledge (documentation, research papers, grey literature, links, …) on the advancement of research on the topic. It was also pointed out that a simple mapping of IC experiments is still lacking, and could interestingly be prepared through a GIS-tool if the basic information was provided. Participants agreed on the fact that the issue of cultural heritage represented a relevant entry point for the topic, as an issue of European relevance, which would easily allow pursuing the workshop's interdisciplinary approach. In this sense, *Gomez* and *Porfyriou* proposed the establishment of a "Documentation centre" on ICs in the Mediterranean, as a place where materials could be gathered for further studies, but also as an agency to foster the acknowledgement of ICs' legacies as cultural heritage and work out specific preservation and enhancement policies. *Capresi* insisted on the interest to collect also oral history on the topic, which raised the problem of building up a collecting and treatment methodology to meet up with commonly acknowledged standards.

The most adequate instrument to fund such a programme appeared as the European Horizon 2020 program, the ERC grant program, and the ENPI (EU Neighbourhood policy). At the time of the preparation of the present report, steps had been taken already to prepare for the 2015 Horizon 2020 call, under the 6th Societal Challenge.

3. Assessment of the results, contribution to the future direction of the field, outcome

What was learned

The workshop's primary aim was to establish the international relevance of ICs as a research topic, along an interpretive frame which entailed a focus on the Mediterranean area as a consistent geographic locus, and the hypothesis that a only a transdisciplinary perspective would allow for major outcomes. Despite fundamental differences in the research approaches presented during the event, and despite some confusion in terms of defining with precision the study object and its distinctive nature in the face of colonialism at large, it appeared that these basic objectives were met.

In fact, the workshop's international comparative approach highlighted how ICs were constituent factors, and not merely by-products, of nation-building processes. The careful examination of different case studies showed how each IC experiment illuminates the understanding of the past and present nature of State power (democratic or authoritarian, centralistic or federal). It was possible to sense the role of ideology within each IC experiment, in relation to nation-building issues such as tradition, modernity, and national culture. Some contributions allowed to measure how ICs, as a sector-specific policy, entailed general economic and development models at the regional and national scale. Many case studies showed how the confrontation of politics with real people (whether settlers, locals, experts or technocrats) and local needs gave birth to important tensions, whose outcome was that an IC policy would influence the general course of politics. The role of bureaucracy and technical expertise in many different fields also appeared as an important feature of ICs. As a matter of fact, the workshop's original outcome was to establish the importance of settlement processes and the construction of national identities, where the interplay between the contributions from the Humanities and from architectural and urban studies showed critical. The workshop's topic showed critical in establishing this transdisciplinary perspective. In fact, ICs always entailed a physical expression on the land, where architectural design played a crucial role. In this sense, it appears that IC is not just one among other modernization and social engineering policies, but a comprehensive societal reform policy, allowing to consider IC as a form of culture planning (in the sense established by Itamar Even-Zohar[14]).

More specifically, the agrarian issue emerged from the workshop as the central issue in the study of ICs, as comprehensive socio-economic development models fuelled by physiocracy and agrarianism. ICs can be read within the history of the agrarian question and the land

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[14] Itamar Even-Zohar, *The making of culture*, in Id., *Papers in Culture Research*, Tel Aviv: Unit of Culture Research, Tel Aviv University, 2010, pp. 77-174. [http://www.tau.ac.il/~itamarez/works/books/EZ-CR-2005.pdf]

reform debate, with alternate answers given within authoritarian and democratic contexts. ICs also appeared as a an experimental laboratory for the development of design and planning theories and techniques, with a special involvement with agrarian urbanism, but whose achievements also influenced the development of housing and urban design models, as well as the emergence of national styles.

The workshop's focus on the Mediterranean area, which could have been a very slippery ground, appeared to be a correct intuition. The consistency and continuities of the IC case studies examined showed how societies usually considered as underdeveloped and atavic responded positively to the societal challenges faced within the frame of the global modernization process, both during the 19th century construction of European nation-states, after the Ottoman empire's collapse, and at the aftwermath of WWII. ICs were devised and implemented as a voluntary break in the face of evolutionist theories of history and development, allowing the Mediterranean area to recover an influential place in modern history. However, the workshop also showed that the Mediterranean cannot be seen as a monolithic space. Instead, within this macro-area, different families could be delineated according to the stage of development within which ICs were implemented:

- a north-western group of established or consolidating nation-states (Italy, Spain, Portugal, France);
- an eastern group of emerging nation-states resulting from the collapse of the Ottoman empire (Greece, Israel, Palestine, but also Turkey, Lebanon, Syria, Egypt);
- a north-african group of areas with a colonial past and peculiar post-colonial developments (Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya).

This provisional classification obviously needs to be confronted with the case studies that were not examined during the workshop, especially in the Balkans, in areas formerly under influence of the Soviet Union, and former British colonial territories. However, the interest of opening up to a global comparison was generally considered as a promising objective to pursue. The surprising extension of little-known case studies such as in Greece and Morocco, showed how important it is to keep to avoid definitive delimitations of the research topic.

The chronological frame proposed for this event also showed to be consistent, although it appeared very clear that the roots of IC should be looked for much ahead in history, up to the late 17th-early 18th century, if not further in early modernity and the Renaissance.

Single contributions shared an interest for the legacies of ICs: ideas, histories, buildings and places, but also knowledge (especially surveys). Many participants looked at IC not only as a research topic, but also as a teaching topic. Among the many different themes which emerged from single contributions, a common pattern could be traced: the interest for ICs as a tool to rethink the relations between city and coutrnyside in the face of present-day societal challenges, both in terms of environmental risks, of welfare and of immigration.

New research objectives

First of all, all participants acknowledged that research's present state of development implies that exploratory activities should still be pursued, and that it would be preferable not to hurry towards a normative approach to the topic.

Within this frame, different research objectives can be outlined, mainly in terms of methodology and of research questions.

Concerning the methodologic framework, a first issue to be dealt with is the development of a more precise definition of the object of study, in relation to the mapping of case studies. A definition of IC needs to retrace the genealogy, emergence, dissemination and uses of the concept and associated terms (inner, internal, agricultural colonisation) over time and across the different fields involved, which needs to be tackled from a broad international perspective. The proposal of adopting the term agricultural colonisation should be scrutinized and submitted to discussion, against the background of existing classifications of colonialisms and colonizations. However, the issue of definitions should be based on concrete evidence. It is therefore necessary to extend the mapping of:

- IC examples and case studies;

- their mutual influences;

- the international transfer of expertise, ideas, tools, machinery and commodities;

- present-day issues of IC (for instance, abandoned *pueblos* and *colonies*);

- actions dealing with the legacies of ICs (for instance cultural heritage policies, local museums, documentation centers …)

A second issue to deal with is the analytical framework for the study of ICs, in order to allow for international comparisons and allow for an impact evalution of past IC experiments. Such objective requires to address distinctively the historical precedents, conception, representations-narratives-discourses, production-implementation, reception, and present-day legacies of ICs. Besides, IC needs to be questioned against a wider background of economical theories and development models.

More specific questions, are:

- the interest of exploring the relation of ICs to social conflict along different directions:
    a. were IC experiments implemented as a tool to address existing conflict(s)?
    b. did the implementation of IC experiments actually create previously absent conflict(s)?
    c. in accordance, how do we deal today with the conflicts created/addressed by IC (whether past or present)?
    d. can IC be implemented today to solve or neutralize existing conflicts?

- the specificity of IC as cultural heritage, entailing the following questions:
    a. wherever an IC experiment has contributed to an existent national or regional identity, what kind of values and identities are being conveyed by its enhancement as heritage?
    b. Wherever this heritage is neglected, because of its association with the colonial past, what would be the reasons to revaluate it as heritage and which values would it serve?
    c. As a result, what would be the specificity of a cultural heritage policy for the preservation and enhancement of ICs?

- the development of the peculiar issues linked to the architecture and design of IC schemes, which requires:
    a. the development of discipline-specific analytical tools (mapping, representations codes, quantitive indicators …);
    b. the study of present-day design examples addressing the legacies of ICs;

    c. the experimentation with different design approaches to ICs: description, transgression-decolonizing, implementation.

Finally, the workshop's implicit but fundamental question should be addressed: can past ICs inspire new policies to be implemented today as an original and fresh approach to similar issues in terms of environment, food production, welfare, citizenships and immigration? This question would require the definition of such policies' place of application, objectives, recipients, agencies, and financial sustainability.

Concrete actions planned as follow-up

The concrete actions planned as follow-up were already discussed in depth in the previous summary of the event's scientific contents. They include:
- *establishing the workshop's outcomes*: preparation of a White paper;
- *dissemination of workshop's outcomes*: publication of proceedings as an open access, open peer-reviewed collection of essays;
- *networking*: planning for one or more meetings/events; applying for funding of a COST-Action;
- *advancing research*: applying for a collaborative research project under the Horizon 2020 or other international funding scheme.

4. Final programme

FINAL PROGRAMME

Monday 7 October 2013

<u>Venue 1:</u>   *Meeting Room*, ANIMI, Piazza Paganica 13, Rome

18.00-21.00   **Welcome drink – walking dinner**

Tuesday 8 October 2013

<u>Venue 2:</u>   *Aula Verra Hall*, Roma Tre University – Faculty of Humanities, FILCOSPE Dpt.
                         via Ostiense, 234-236, Rome

09.00-09.15   **Welcome word by Convenors**
                         Axel Fisher (ULB, Brussels, Belgium), **Simone Misiani** (UniTE, Teramo, Italy),
                         Cristobal Benito Gomez (UNED, Madrid, Spain)

09.15-09.35   **Presentation of the European Science Foundation (ESF)**
                         Cristina Marras (ILIESi-CNR, Rome, Italy / ESF Science Review Group for the Humanities)

09.35-9.50   **Introduction of participants, workshop objectives and plan, administrative paperwork**
                         Axel Fisher (ULB, Brussels, Belgium), **Simone Misiani** (UniTE, Teramo, Italy),
                         Cristobal Benito Gomez (UNED, Madrid, Spain)

09.50-10.20   *Coffee/Tea Break*

10.20-12.30   ***Morning Session:* Agrarianism, totalitarianism and democracy in the Mediterranean Countries. An Italo-Iberian paradigm?**
                         Chair: Gaetano Sabatini (Università degli Studi Roma Tre, Italy)

10.20-10.40   **Internal colonization policies in Spain during Francoism (1939-1975). Between agrarian reform and water resources policy.**
                         Cristobal Benito Gomez (UNED, Madrid, Spain)

10.40-11.00   **«Internal Colonization» (IC) in 20th century Portugal**
                         Manuel Villaverde Cabral (University of Lisbon, Portugal)

11.00-11.20   **Land Reclamation, internal colonization and Unification of Italy: new towns during Fascism ("città di fondazione") and rural villages and settlements from the Great War to the Fifties.**
                         Simone Misiani (Università degli Studi di Teramo, Italy)

11.20-11.40   **Foundation of rural villages and fight against genocides in the 20th century: the escape of the Armenians to Apulia and the birth of Nor Arax.**
                         Mirko Grasso (Università degli Studi, Bologna, Italy)

11.40-12.30   **Discussion**

12.30-14.00   *Lunch*

14.00-16.00	***Afternoon Session:* Unfolding ideology on the land: the contribution of architectural design, planning and landscaping to inner colonisation policies in the Italo-Iberian peninsulas** **Chair: Francisco Javier Monclús Fraga** (University of Zaragoza, Spain)
14.00-14.20	**Spain's inland colonization: between picturesque and modern in Franco's isolated dictatorship** **Manuel Calzada Perez** (ETSA – University of Seville, Spain)
14.20-14.40	**Settlers and peasants. The (re) construction of the Portuguese landscape** **María Helena Maia** (CEAA - ESAP, Oporto, Portugal) & **Isabel Matias** (CEAA – ULP-Universidade Lusófona do Porto, Portugal)
15.00-15.20	**Architectural design, modern rural planning, macroeconomics and regional planning policies** **Micaela Bordin** (Politecnico di Milano, Italy)
15.20-16.00	**Discussion**
16.00-16.30	*Coffee / tea break*
16.30-17.00	***Evening Session:* European agricultural colonisation strategies in North Africa and their reception after independence** **Chair: Heleni Porfyriou** (CNR – ICVBC, Italy)
16.30-16.50	**The affirmation of the Italian State in Libya. The newly-founded rural settlements and the interventions on the existing cities, different forms of an identical content.** **Vittoria Capresi** (GUC – German University in Cairo, Egypt)
16.50-17.10	**Empires of Wine: Viticulture in Algeria and Southern France, 1830s-1970s** **Manuel Borutta** (Ruhr-Universität Bochum, Germany)
17.10-17.30	**The housing issue and urban protest in 20th century Morocco** **Taoufik Agoumy** (Mohamed V University, Rabat-Agdal, Morocco)
17.30-17.50	**In the Moroccan "Far Gharb": notes for a research program** **Bertrand Terlinden** (Université Libre de Bruxelles, Belgium)
17.50-18.30	**Discussion** with a ***Travelling movie across the Gharb*** and a ***Diaporama of Michel Ecochard's rural planning schemes*** by **C. Frassinelli, B. Malinge, J. Nicod, F. Saraò** & **A. Tronchet** (Université Libre de Bruxelles, Belgium)
18.30-19.00	**Antonio Pennacchi's carte blanche** with **Giorgio Muratore** (Faculty of Architecture Valle Giulia, Sapienza University of Rome)
20.30	*Dinner*

Wednesday 09 October 2013

08.00-09.00	*Bus transfer from hotel lobby to Sabaudia*
<u>Venue 3:</u>	A. Mazzoni Documentation Centre / Ex-Palazzo Poste e Telegrafi Corso Vittorio Emanuele III, Sabaudia
9.00-9.20	*Coffee/Tea Break*
9.20-9.30	**Greetings by local institutions' representatives** **Maurizio Lucci** (Mayor of Sabaudia) & **Marilena Gelardi** (Assessor for culture, tourisme and theatres)
09.30-12.00	***Morning Session:*** **Variations on inner colonisation in the Eastern Mediterranea** **Chair: Vilma Hastaoglou-Martinidis** (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Greece)
09.00-09.30	**Colonizing the 'New Lands': rural settlement of refugees in Northern Greece (1922-1940)** **Cristina Pallini** (Politecnico di Milano, Italy) & **Vilma Hastaoglou-Martinidis** (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Greece)
09.30-10.00	**The Haunt of the Rural: Zionist Colonization and Space Planning** **Zvi Efrat** (Bezalel Academy of Arts & Design, Jerusalem, Israel)
10.00-10.30	**Farming models, settlement patterns and social behaviours: the battle of ideas for the definition of the Zionist village (1913-1921)** **Axel Fisher** (Université Libre de Bruxelles, Belgium)
10.30-11.00	**A Schizophrenia of Postcolonial Architecture in a Colonial Reality** **Yazid Anani** (Birzeit University, West Bank, Palestine)
11.00-11.30	**State-building and welfare policy in contexts of colonization: The Israeli Case** **Zeev Rosenhek** (Open University of Israel, Ra'anana, Israel)
11.30-12.00	**Discussion**
12.00-12.30	**Walking tour of Sabaudia**
12.30-14.00	*Lunch*
14.00-19.00	**Visit to the interwar improvements of the Pontine Marshes** including visit of the Piana delle Orme museum (rural culture and large reclamation works divisions)
19.00-21.00	*Dinner*
22.00	*Return to hotel*

Thrusday 10 October 2013

<u>Venue 2:</u>   *Aula Verra Hall*, Roma Tre University – Faculty of Humanities, FILCOSPE Dpt.
                     via Ostiense, 234-236, Rome

09.00-10.00   **Roundtable: Q&A discussion session**

10.00-10.30   *Coffee/Tea Break*

10.30-12.00   ***Morning Session:* workshop conclusions**

10.30-11.30   **Roundtable: Key outcomes of day 1 & 2**

11.30-12.00   **Presentation of FP7 and/or COST and/or ESF/other European/nationally funded international research programmes**

12.00-12.30   **Planning for workshop publication**

12.30-14.00   *Lunch*

14.00-14.15   **Greetings by Roma Tre University's Magnificent Rector**
                     Mario Panizza (Roma Tre University)

14.15-15.30   **Planning ahead: Exploring agendas for future cooperation**

15.30-16.00   **Convenors' words of leave-taking**

5. Final list of participants (name and affiliation is sufficient; the detailed list should be updated on-line directly)

Convenor

1. Axel FISHER
   Faculty of Architecture LaCambreHorta
   Université libre de Bruxelles-ULB

Co-Convenors

2. Simone MISIANI
   Dpt. of History and Political criticism, Faculty of Political Sciences
   University of Teramo (UniTE)

3. Cristóbal GÓMEZ BENITO
   Dpt. of Sociology II (Social Structure), Faculty of Political Sciences and Sociology
   Spanish Open University (UNED-Madrid)

4. Gaetano SABATINI
   FILCOSPE: Dpt. for Philosophy, Communication studies and the Performing Arts
   Faculty of Humanities, Roma Tre University

ESF Representative:

5. Cristina Marras
   Istituto per il Lessico Intellettuale Europeo e la Storia delle Idee
   National Research Council, ILIESI-CNR

Participants:

6. Taoufik Ahmed AGOUMY
   UFR «Architecture et Urbanisation des Territoires», Dpt. Of Geography
   Faculty for Humanities and Social Sciences, Mohamed V University Rabat-Agdal

7. Yazid ANANI
   Department of Architecture, Faculty of Engineering
   Birzeit University

8. Micaela BORDIN
   Dpt. of Architecture, Built Environment and Construction Engineering (ABC)
   School of Civil Architecture, Politecnico di Milano

9. Manuel BORUTTA
   Historical Institute – Cultural History of the Mediterranean, Faculty of History
   Ruhr-Universität Bochum

10. Manuel CALZADA PÉREZ
    Research Group "Contemporary Architecture, City and Heritage"
    Superior Technical School of Architecture (ETSA)
    University of Seville

11. Vittoria CAPRESI
    Architecture and Urban Design Program
    German University in Cairo

12. Zvi EFRAT
    Architecture Department
    Bezalel Academy of Art & Design

13. Mirko GRASSO
    Dpt. of History, Cultures and Civilisations
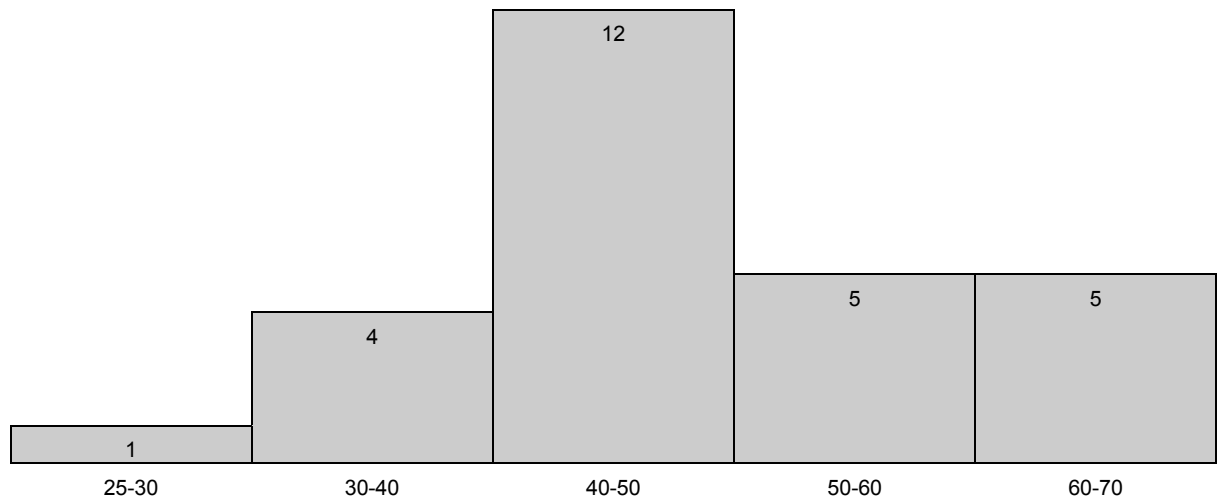   University of Bologna (UniBo)

14. Vilma HASTAOGLOU-MARTINIDIS
School of Architecture
Aristotle University of Thessaloniki

15. Joanna KOSTYLO
The British School at Rome
The BSR at the British Academy

16. Maria Helena MAIA
Centro de Estudos Arnaldo Araújo
Escola Superior Artística do Porto-ESAP

17. Isabel MATIAS
Centro de Estudos Arnaldo Araújo
Escola Superior Artística do Porto-ESAP

18. Francisco Javier MONCLÚS FRAGA
Department of Architecture, School of Engineering and Architecture
University of Zaragoza

19. Cristina PALLINI
Dpt. of Architecture, Built Environment and Construction Engineering (ABC)
School of Civil Architecture, Politecnico di Milano

20. Leonor PEÑA CHOCARRO
Escuela Española de Historia y Arqueología en Roma (EEHAR)
Spanish National Research Council (CSIC)

21. Heleni PORFYRIOU
Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche –CNR
Istituto per la Conservazione e la Valorizzazione dei Beni Culturali –ICVBC

22. Christine ROELS
Faculty of Architecture LaCambreHorta
Université libre de Bruxelles-ULB
École doctorale en Art de Bâtir et Urbanisme

23. Zeev ROSENHEK
Dpt. of Sociology, Political Science and Communication
Open University of Israel

24. Bertrand TERLINDEN
Faculty of Architecture LaCambreHorta
Université libre de Bruxelles-ULB

25. Manuel VILLAVERDE CABRAL
Social Sciences Institute
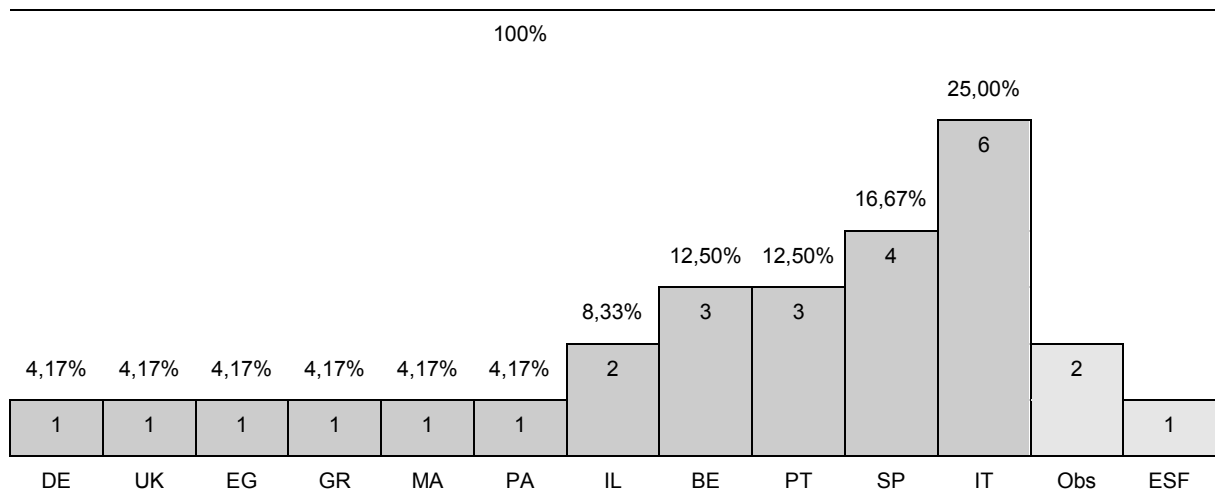University of Lisbon

<u>Observers:</u>

26. Antonio PENNACCHI

27. Mario PANIZZA
Università Roma Tre

6. Statistical information on participants

Age brackets

		12		
1	4		5	5
25-30	30-40	40-50	50-60	60-70

Countries of origin

100%

4,17%	4,17%	4,17%	4,17%	4,17%	4,17%	8,33%	12,50%	12,50%	16,67%	25,00%		
1	1	1	1	1	1	2	3	3	4	6	2	1
DE	UK	EG	GR	MA	PA	IL	BE	PT	SP	IT	Obs	ESF

M/W repartition

41,67%	58,33%	40,47%	59,26%
10	14	11	16
Women	Men		

| Only | Includi |