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## De-Bordering Narratives on Tourism and Migration. A Participatory Action-Research on Two Innovative Italian Practices

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# De-Bordering Narratives on Tourism and Migration. A Participatory Action-Research on Two Innovative Italian Practices

Pierluigi Musarò\*, Melissa Moralli\*\*

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*Abstract:* In a world where freedom of movement becomes the main factor of social stratification, tourism and migration can be analysed as two sides of the same coin. These interrelated phenomena are often linked to opposite and conflicting images, stereotypes and emotions. Polarized narratives, stigmatizing migrants and asylum seekers as invaders or victims, and tourists as bearers of economic benefits. This perception denies a holistic vision of the impacts on territories and communities. Examining the link between narratives, representations and actions, this article sheds light on how alternative representations of migration and tourism can be co-constructed by social actors. Analysing the narrative turn in social sciences, this paper presents participatory action-research on two innovative practices, inviting a reflection on the rhetoric and policies related to tourism and migration. More specifically, it explores how the Festival of Responsible Tourism *IT.A.CA migrants and travelers* and the *Experiential Course on Tourism Development and Intercultural Hospitality* – adopt, de-construct, re-construct and enact alternative narratives concerning migration and tourism, while also promoting social coexistence between citizens and newcomers.

*Keywords:* transformative narratives, tourism, migration, intercultural education

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## **Introduction: changing world, challenging representations**

Many of today's most pressing issues, from climate change to the refugee crisis to the growth in mass tourism, feature multilateral perspectives with different stakeholders, belief systems and complex interrelations that challenge traditional ways of narrative representation. News and other media organizations are keenly aware of the growing gap between the increasing complexity of the stories that need to be communicated to the public and the limitations of traditional formats (print or online articles, TV news broadcasts, documentaries). As a form of globalized cultural experience (Tomlinson, 1999), media plays a crucial role in sustaining the public sphere and furthering democratic discourse and is therefore in need of innovative approaches that can nevertheless be integrated into current organizations. These approaches must be mindful of existing patterns of production and consumption. In this context, narratives are a crucial way to organise knowledge about the world into meaningful structures, helping individuals and societies make sense of the world (Fiss & Hirsch, 2005).

The need to create and construct alternative narratives is particularly important in a social sphere that, over recent decades, has become increasingly challenging: that of human mobility. In a world where freedom of movement becomes the main factor of social stratification (Mezzadra & Neilson, 2013) – within a globalization that creates exciting experiences for some (tourists) and frustrating experiences for others (migrants and asylum seekers) –, tourism and migration can be analysed as two sides of the same coin. Travel, escape, wandering, pilgrimage, are just some of the words that express human movement. They are different words that emphasize specific narratives behind which hides a hierarchical gaze. One that discriminates as it neglects consideration of the disparities and inequalities in travel for different categories of people (Musarò & Parmiggiani, 2017).

These words are associated with often opposed and conflicting images, stereotypes and emotions. Negative portrayals of migrants by the media not only neglect reporting the impact of migration on communities, they also transform migrants into nameless “invaders”, outsiders, subjects and objects of fear: fear of being rejected, on their part, and fear of being invaded, on the part of the resident population (Georgiou & Zaborowski, 2018).

Such language deliberately dehumanizes the estimated 65 million people caught up in the global refugee crisis. It naturalizes the use of stereotypes, helping to legitimize the imperialist gaze of those who established the rules of the game of mobility (Mirzoeff, 2011). It also masks the unjust treatment reserved for those who are not part of a hegemonic group, are not one of ‘us’, and therefore are not entitled to move easily through space (Dal Lago, 1999). On the other hand, human beings portrayed as tourists or expats enjoy a

different status: invited as ‘special guests’, as carriers of immediate benefits, primarily of economic nature, they travel regularly by plane or cruise ship and are usually welcomed in comfortable places,

The representation of the migration phenomenon is often influenced by the dynamics of “agenda setting” (McCombs & Shaw, 1993), and has become one of the most discussed themes in both mass and digital media. This refers to a specific narrative for which migration is not handled as a structural phenomenon, but as a conjunctural one. Terms such as “migration or refugee crisis” or “migration or refugee emergency” as well as “big wave of refugees and non-EU citizens” continue to define the daily lives of individuals without the possibility of investigating the causes and the real dynamics underlying their movement. A movement that is a state of fact, a natural phenomenon that has always characterized the history of humankind, but whose definition is primarily political. And it often results from a media logic that represents newcomers without any historical or political framework, while the issue of irregular migration flows is construed as a tragic game of fate (Musarò, 2017).

Furthermore, due to “filter bubbles” (Flaxman, Goel & Rao, 2016), the informative process of new media generates ideas that reinforce preconceived knowledge and perspectives of reality, causing forms of polarization of thought and structuring social action. Narrative universes in which divergent visions are not considered (Sunstein, 2007), because users themselves prefer to adopt perspectives similar to their own visions of the world (Pfeffer, 1981; Garrett, 2009; Munson & Resnick, 2010) and because digital media work through algorithms that often do not allow for the consideration of a plurality of points of view (Chen & Fong, 2010). People are, therefore, becoming socially and intellectually isolated through filter bubbles cultivated during their on-line experience. These filter bubbles show users only limited content, based on analyses of their likes, dislikes, and behavioural characteristics.

Drawing from the need for innovative approaches aimed at challenging the social imaginaries on tourism and migration, the first part of this paper focuses on the concept of narratives in social sciences. Meanwhile, the second part of this article presents a participatory action-research (Trombetta & Rosiello, 2000; Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2013) concerning two innovative practices that invite people to reflect on rhetoric and policies related to tourism and migration – while sharing the real-life experiences of different travellers. In doing so, these practices propose alternative imageries aimed at challenging the mainstream linkages between political discourse, media logic, and moral imaginary.

Finally, adopting the conceptual framework that considers narratives as both metaconversations and actions, we present the limits and potentialities

of these innovative narratives that rework, or disrupt, mainstream representations while promoting social coexistence between citizens and newcomers. As such, the analysis of these practices and related narratives provides insight into other methods of engaging and educating citizens in diversity and human dignity.

### Narratives in social sciences

Between the 1970s and 1980s, narratives began being taken in consideration by the social sciences and, “by the 1990s, the narrative analysis had become a common approach in science studies” (Czarniawska, 2010, p. 59). As Brown (2006) suggests, this change occurred in different disciplines: from history (White, 1973), to psychology (Bruner, 1986; Sarbin, 1986; Polkinghorne, 1987), from anthropology (Geertz, 1988) to philosophy (MacIntyre, 1981), from political sciences (Fisher, 1984) to economy (McCloskey, 1990).<sup>1</sup> As for sociology, we could identify two main traditions of influence. On the one hand, the narrative perspective was inspired by a range of paradigms, such as structuralism (Barthes, 1977), post-structuralism (Foucault, 1972) and critical theory (Habermas, 1984). These perspectives suggested a complex vision of the narratives produced by social actors, considering divergent modalities of representing the world and collective identities. On the other hand, the constructivist theory, focusing on the process of externalization, objectification and interiorization (Berger, 1969), provided useful insights for better understanding the relation between narratives and sensemaking. From this point of view, the social representations conceptualized by Moscovici (1984) explain the nature of these dynamics. According to Moscovici, given the complexity of the social world, human beings need to resort to cognitive processes capable of simplifying social reality. These processes are expressed in *objectification* –that is the transformation of the abstract into concrete images–, and *anchoring* –, which can be explained as the process connecting the unknown to a conceptual category already known within the socially shared system of knowledge (*ibidem*).

The ways in which knowledge is elaborated collectively through processes of simplification of social reality can be determined not only by images, concepts and categories but also by narratives, as narratives are instruments for organizing human cognition (Boland & Tenkasi, 1995). If narratives can be defined as “discourses with a clear sequential order that connect events

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<sup>1</sup> As explained by Czarniawska (2010, p. 59), the ‘narrative turn’ in the humanities and social sciences was legitimated, at a first instance, by a claim that narratives represent one of the main bearers of knowledge in contemporary societies (Lyotard, 1986). This was followed by the focus on the enacted narrative as the most typical form of social life (MacIntyre, 1981). Thirdly, narratives were studied as modes of communication (Fisher, 1987).

in a meaningful way for a definite audience and thus offer insights about the world and/or people's experiences of it" (Hinchman & Hinchman, 1997, p. XVI), they can shape our vision of the world, as Di Fraia (2004) suggests, through the concept of "socio-narrative representations". In fact, constructions of meaning around social facts can also be influenced by the narrative dimension, and particularly by ritualized narratives capable of conveying strong symbolic meanings. Narratives should be therefore questioned through their three main characteristics.

"First, they are *temporal* in that they represent events as part of sequences which have a beginning, a middle, and an end. Second, they are *meaningful*. One important way in which they convey meaning is by ordering events into a temporal sequence that relates them to a definite resolution or conclusion. This is why narratives can be said to have a causal dimension. Thirdly, they are inherently *social* as they are produced for specific audiences. Consequently, they are only meaningful for those audiences" (Beyers, 2006, p. 2).

Narratives are therefore intimately linked to the concept of "imaginary", which refers to the symbolic patrimony that a social system uses to communicate (Abruzzese & Borrelli, 2000). Narratives and imageries are expressed in images (visual or symbolic), as well as in interpretative categories. Images and categories that reveal a specific vision of the world represent simplifications of social life, influencing common sense.

However, narratives do not only act at the level of *common sense* (Jedlowski, 2005). Narratives "are performative" (Brown, 2006, p. 734), they are speech-acts that "bring into existence a social reality that did not exist before their utterance" (Ford & Ford, 1995, p. 544) and they even become "practices" (De Fina & Georgakopolou, 2008). According to this vision, narratives not only influence the ways social complexity is selected, interpreted and interiorized by social actors but also intervene directly at the level of social action, structuring the relation of human beings with the world (Boccia Artieri, 2015; Longo, 2012) as well as determining new practices.<sup>2</sup> In fact, as the practice theory suggests (Bourdieu, 1980; Giddens, 1984; Schatzki, 1996; Reckwitz, 2002), practices – considered both as performances and representations – can be negotiated through social activities. When narratives are performative, social practices can be therefore de-constructed and re-constructed through the performance – and "regular enactment" (Warde, 2005, p. 132).

<sup>2</sup> Here, the concept of "narrative infrastructure" (Deuten & Rip, 2000; Bartel & Garud, 2009) can give a further understanding of narratives as actions. In particular, it is related to the idea that narratives not only influence retrospective and prospective sensemaking, but it also considers how the process of sensemaking operates to channel activity (Fenton & Langley, 2011).

The performative dimension of narrative is particularly important for the study of human mobility, and specifically concerning tourism and migration. The “new mobilities paradigm” (Sheller & Urry, 2006) is thus interesting for this analysis. This approach focuses on the relationships between the different forms of movement that take place between people, places and human activities. According to this perspective, narratives intervene within these symbolic negotiation processes, influencing the representations of tourism and migration and the consequent modes of action that derive from these dynamics (Rojek & Urry, 1997). As a result, it is necessary to analyze not only the discursive traits that are socially built around these two phenomena, but also how the social performances that are produced influence the narratives themselves, as narratives can also be read as active negotiations between narrators and audiences (Plummer, 1995).

Drawing from the perspective that “a story is a frame – a frame that emerges and is tried out, a frame that is developed and elaborated, or a frame that can easily absorb the new event” (Czarniawska, 2010, p. 61), we analyse tourism and migration as interrelated phenomena, linked to opposite imaginaries but, at the same time, influencing other narratives. This means building new collective visions of the world, challenging the stigmatization of the migrant and ending the excessive sanctification of the tourist. If ‘realities’ are fluid, discursive constructions being constantly made and re-made within the conversations between insiders and between insiders and outsiders (Brown, Stacey & Nandhakumar, 2008), the production of alternative narratives could construct new symbolic imageries through images (Durand, 2015) as well as socially innovative practices (Moulaert et al., 2013).

How is it possible to construct alternative narratives that move beyond this dichotomist representation? How to de-border these imaginaries through alternative practices of integration between tourism and migration? To answer these questions, we will present two innovative practices capable of de-bordering such narratives and re-presenting the stories of travelers, refugees, tourists and migrants in more complex and inclusive ways. Practices that include the voices of the subjects in order to shape alternative narratives and social imageries on tourism and migration, while trying to open common sense to broader perspectives, as well as influencing behaviours and actions.

### **Narratives as transformative agents**

The two innovative practices we investigated through participatory research-action<sup>3</sup> (Trombetta & Rosiello, 2000; Cohen, Manion & Morrison,

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<sup>3</sup> Action-research is a scientific methodology based on the idea that there is a link be-



2013) aim at challenging mainstream narratives while proposing alternative imaginaries to those usually conveyed by media and political discourses. The first case study refers to the Festival of Responsible Tourism *IT.A.CÀ\_migrants and travelers*<sup>4</sup>. This collaborative experience is the only responsible tourism festival in Europe and engages a network of over six hundred local, national and international organizations. It is an itinerant project involving fifteen territories from southern to northern Italy, where meetings, debates, book presentations, urban and naturalistic trek, intercultural events and social activities become accessible thanks to the collaboration of social actors and non-profit organizations dealing with different themes: from the promotion of cultural heritage to sustainable mobility, from social innovation to urban regeneration.

The second case study refers to the *Experiential Course on Tourism Development and Intercultural Hospitality*<sup>5</sup> that was carried out in the Bolognese Apennines between July and September 2018 in continuity with the IT.A.CÀ Festival. The training course included nine asylum seekers and nine Italians and was promoted by Yoda<sup>6</sup> (the same association that has been promoting the IT.A.CÀ Festival for ten years) in collaboration with Asp Città di Bologna<sup>7</sup>, SPRAR<sup>8</sup> and Open Group<sup>9</sup> – non-profit organizations active in the field of local welfare. Drawing on the premise that, in an increasingly mobile world, tourism and migration are complementary phenomena –giving rise to hybrid realities through which we define the world we live–, the main aim of this innovative training course was to challenge the traditional and opposing imaginaries and stereotypes associated with migration and tourism,

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tween knowledge and action - overcoming this dichotomy and connecting the concept of knowledge to everyday life practices (Zuber-Skerrit, 1992). It promotes an innovative idea of knowledge applied to social relations. In this perspective, knowledge is linked to the process of representation and symbolization of things, facts and people, and it plays a role in identifying and developing abilities, competences, procedures. Finally, it represents an auto-reflexive and collective research that should lead to the understanding of those practices and processes where the activities of the communities take place (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2013). According to this perspective, the analysis developed in this paper results from our double role: as researchers in the investigation of the Festival and the Experiential Course as well as our active involvement as practitioners. In particular, Pierluigi Musarò is one of the founders and director of IT.A.CÀ Festival and scientific supervisor of the Experiential Course, while Melissa Moralli is the scientific director of the “Migration” section in the Festival and co-organizer of the Experiential Course.

<sup>4</sup> <https://www.Festivalitaca.net/it-a-ca-migrants-and-travelers-Festival-of-responsible-tourism/>, last access on 22/12/2018.

<sup>5</sup> In Italian: “Corso di formazione esperienziale su turismo responsabile e ospitalità interculturale”, <https://www.Festivalitaca.net/2018/05/corso-di-formazione-esperienziale-su-sviluppo-turistico-e-ospitalita-interculturale-nellappennino-bolognese/>, last access on 22/12/2018.

<sup>6</sup> <http://www.gruppoyoda.org/>, last access on 17/11/2018.

<sup>7</sup> <http://www.aspbologna.it/home1/asp-citta-di-bologna/about-us>, last access on 17/11/2018.

<sup>8</sup> <https://www.sprar.it/english>, last access on 17/11/2018.

<sup>9</sup> <http://www.opengroup.eu/eng/>, last access on 17/11/2018.



while creating a symbolic and physical space of meeting and collaboration between ‘foreigners’ and ‘residents’.

Inviting the participants to live together for 4 weekends –in which they had the opportunity to share their personal stories, meet professionals and reflect on the different aspects of the local territory – the course created a pragmatic opportunity to connote tourism, and in particular sustainable tourism, not only as an innovative form of social and economic inclusion but also of intercultural encounter and dialogue.

In so doing, both practices propose alternative narratives that attempt to de-construct widespread conceptual categories –that of the tourist and that of the migrant–, re-constructing them according to new experiential geographies modelled from below (Bonadei & Volli, 2003). Narratives developed in a shared way can then be transformed into concrete projects capable of affecting local sustainable development. Giving *voice* (Couldry, 2010) to those who are usually not heard – civil society in the first case and asylum seekers in the second –, these experiences not only convey other, different and unusual narratives, they also produce new ones. New narratives that consider diversity and heterogeneity as an added value, enriched not only by a strongly ethical and political but also by an educational dimension when they are communicated to an external public. These self-narratives are “worked on by situated actors” (Brown, Stacey & Nandhakumar, 2008, p. 1037) to provide an alternative vision of migration and tourism. Giving voice to the ‘voiceless’ newcomers, commonly portrayed in our media and in the streets of our cities, as victims or threats, these two practices challenge popular opinion and push people to think beyond everyday stereotypes. Here, narratives are not only an instrument for analyzing representations on tourism and migration, they become a transformative tool for affirming an interpretation of the world that comes from those subjects that are not usually allowed to speak up. Narratives, therefore, can be understood not only as important instruments for social sciences (Stutt & Barker, 1999) but also as transformative agents.

In our research, narratives have been adopted both as tools for empirical analysis and instruments of action. In particular, this study focuses on three main levels of analysis:

- discourses enacted by the participants – which, thanks to the voices from the field, enable stories as alternative representations of tourism and migration (Bakhtin, 1985);
- processes of negotiation and conflicts in spoken and enacted storytelling (Brown, 2006);
- narrative as performance (Ford & Ford, 1995).

How are the notions of migration and tourism negotiated by the social actors involved in these processes? How are these concepts performed and

enacted? In what ways can refugees, migrants, tourists and local communities speak up in order to challenge common sense?

Being directly involved in the creation and realization of the two innovative practices – the festival and the experiential course –, we will try to answer these questions, both considering the role of alternative narratives in shaping the projects and investigating the process and dynamics that occurred during the experiences.

Here, the narrative approach has been used to investigate the shared, consensual nature of group sensemaking (Brown, Stacey & Nandhakumar, 2008) as well as the innovative ways in which reality can be shaped by social practices. The action research has therefore allowed us to interweave the routes of migrants with those of tourists in order to explore if and how responsible tourism can play a central role in the processes and policies for the development of these territories. It promotes social integration and inclusion, enhances local resources as well as cultural diversity, enriching the relationships between tourists and citizens through alternative, multiform narratives and tells the complexity and hybridization of contemporary mobility flows. In this sense, sensemaking narratives are not just about explanation and communication but also about transformation and action.

### More than a Festival?

*IT.A.CÀ\_migrants and travelers: Festival of Responsible Tourism* can be considered a good practice in which tourists and local communities give life to socially innovative projects, contributing to the development of the territory in a sustainable way. Focusing on the issue of responsibility in tourism, the festival has evolved over ten years of programming, with more than 400 events organized every year, intended as opportunities to encourage participants to reflect on alternative ideas of tourism and local development. The festival aims to create a network of different organizations involved in responsible travel and to engage participatory experience. Among the main events, the festival includes guided tours aimed at promoting the cultural and historical heritage of the area, debates and meetings with experts in the field, seminars, “zero kilometer” lunches, experiential dinners, writing contests, illustration and photography exhibitions, concerts and theater. Yet, the festival is the result of a long process of collaboration among different local organizations (e.g. associations, NGOs, social enterprises, cooperatives, etc.), supported by regional, national and international institutions. In 2018, IT.A.CÀ was selected by the UNWTO as one of the most innovative projects in the world working in the responsible tourism field.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>10</sup> [http://know.unwto.org/content/itaca-migrants-and-travelers-Festival-responsible-tour-](http://know.unwto.org/content/itaca-migrants-and-travelers-Festival-responsible-tour)

The Festival was originated in Bologna in 2008 by three non-governmental organizations (NGOs): YODA, COSPE<sup>11</sup>, and NEXUS Emilia Romagna<sup>12</sup>, with the support of AITR (Italian Association for Responsible Tourism)<sup>13</sup>, the Municipality of Bologna, and the Emilia-Romagna Region. In Bologna, it currently involves more than two hundred organizations operating on the territory within the fields of responsible tourism, international cooperation and social inclusion. Last year, the festival took place in ten cities and reached fifteen different territories (from Trentino, Pavia and Monferrato, regions located in the northern part of Italy, to Monti Dauni, Salento and Naples in the south). It now includes more than 600 actors: local organizations, universities, municipalities, national and international institutions. Last year, these actors organized more than four hundred events that involved tourists – what the festival considers as ‘temporary citizens’ – and local communities. What draws these numbers? How did the festival engage so many volunteers? As the festival co-founder affirms:

“We do not ‘export’ the festival, we just engage and support the people (always increasing in number) who decide to adopt the format because they share our philosophy and the friendly atmosphere of our events. Passion, enthusiasm, ethical values and the pleasure of sharing local authenticity. These are the keys of our success!”<sup>14</sup>

In ten years, a bottom-up festival has become an innovative platform where people meet, debate, discover, and experience what responsible tourism means. The events are opportunities to live in a place hand-in-hand with local communities. More specifically, the festival has created a system of synergies among different territorial actors that continues even after the events are over. A grassroots festival developing the social capital in the region, it receives more and more national attention; but, also, it operates at the international level, involving citizens and tourists in a process of co-development. It presents an approach based on the idea that being a tourist or a citizen is not a *condition*, a state of permanence in time, but a *situation* (D’Eramo, 2017). This temporary circumstance is therefore capable of questioning those principles of rationalization of space which, according to Bourdieu (1993, p. 167), would have favored the “construction of homogeneous groups on a spatial basis”.

Reflecting on the philosophy and impact of the festival, the manager of ITA.CÀ national network underlines the “daily work with local actors, en-

ism-associazione-yoda-italy, last access on 18/11/2018.

<sup>11</sup> <https://www.cospe.org/>, last access on 17/11/2018.

<sup>12</sup> <https://www.nexusemiliaromagna.org/>, last access on 17/11/2018.

<sup>13</sup> <http://www.aitr.org/>, last access on 17/11/2018.

<sup>14</sup> Interview with Sonia Bregoli conducted in March 2018. All quotations have been translated from Italian by the authors.

couraging them to cooperate and promote their territories in a simple and authentic way, telling their stories, sharing their traditions, including guests in their daily life”.<sup>15</sup> The same vision and methodology is expressed by the co-founder of the festival: “We do not aim at attracting tourists to visit, buy souvenirs and sleep in a place. For this reason, we usually say that we don’t do incoming but becoming!”<sup>16</sup>

The philosophy of IT.A.CÀ moves from the consciousness that the democratization of tourism, starting in Europe in the 1960s, generated several inevitable negative consequences. Among these, the exploitation of natural resources brought on environmental problems, the exclusion of the local community from tourist development processes led to social and cultural issues, while the whole system lacked solid mechanisms of income redistribution. As a consequence, the festival encourages a new understanding of the holiday following the main critical reflection on mass tourism that led the UNWTO, in 1988, to promote ‘sustainable tourism’ as a form of travel that meets the needs of tourists and of host regions, while preserving development opportunities for the future. It creatively promotes a new “ethics of tourism” (Turco, 2014; Del Bo’, 2017) aimed at raising the awareness of institutions, travelers, the industry and its operators for a sustainable and socially responsible development of the territory. The innovative approach of the festival moves from the idea that exoticism is just around the corner (Urbain, 1990). This means that, to feel responsible, tourists do not need to participate in long organized trips: even the do-it-yourself traveler, who does not like fixed itineraries, can internalize and practice the values of respect and dialogue. In other words, tourism is considered as part of daily life routines: experiences and tensions towards the elsewhere, which is not reduced to a precise period of mobility or a precise localization but can also be here and now.

Specifically, the festival is configured both as a network of actors – that in the wake of responsible tourism interact in an innovative and creative way, co-designing content and participation methodologies as well as synergic and integrated communication practices –, and as a promotional occasion for the actors themselves and the city – capable of enhancing the diverse projects related to sustainable tourism. All these actions take place in a context of sharing, co-planning, dialogue and experimentation. IT.A.CÀ symbolizes an open and inclusive holistic code, concerning formats, themes, ways of involving the actors, relationships with stakeholders and institutions, and budget. Everything is decided together, and the different territories usually adopt the festival because they recognize themselves in its values and

<sup>15</sup> Interview with Simona Zedda conducted in May 2018.

<sup>16</sup> Interview with Sonia Bregoli conducted in October 2018.

principles and feel the need to be part of processes of re-appropriation of their territories. The common aim is to organize the program through a bottom-up approach that respects the *genius loci* and recognizes local identities and traditions. A modality of participation through the re-appropriation of space (Lefebvre, 1968) and in which the voices of different subjects actively participate in local development processes. This is demonstrated by the fact that the festival has spread from the south to the north of Italy, involving hundreds of subjects who promote leisure, scientific, educational and sporting events throughout the country. They are communities of interest and action linked to the place they decide to support by imagining and depicting new narratives for their territories.

Beyond the Festival, IT.A.CÀ has become an innovative platform of information exchange, debate, collaboration and networking in the field of responsible tourism and sustainable local development. The specific assets of the project concern social innovation and place branding, home sharing, sustainable mobility, cultural events, green destinations and accessibility in tourism. Among these assets, intercultural exchange and the social inclusion of refugees and migrants have become important areas where the partners of the network collaborate and develop good practices. Within the last years of the festival, different projects have focused on intercultural heritage linked to migration, also considered as a tool for better understanding local dynamics; projects that foster a *de-bordering* of the barriers between tourism and migration. Less significant in their materiality and corporeality than the ideological narratives created around them, today these barriers appear as markers of a “moral geography of the world” (Smith, 2000), in which openness and closure, universalization and exclusion coexist. They are concrete signs of the paradoxes of a globalization that bears, in its very identity localization, the other side of the coin. A wall-being built on the rubble of well-being (Musarò, 2018b).

The narrative analysis of tourism and migration is particularly important in a world that is increasingly becoming a “global village”, creating exciting experiences for some (tourists) and frustrating experiences for others (migrants and asylum seekers). Here, the distinction proposed by Bauman (1996) between tourists who benefit from globalization and vagabonds – including migrants, asylum seekers or other vulnerable people forced into partial or non-existent mobility –, one the alter ego of the other, is enlightening. Narratives that primarily concern the manner in which tourism and migration are usually represented: a vision that frequently describes tourism as a positive opportunity and migration as a social problem. While tourism is often associated with local development, multicultural encounter, and the creation of income and jobs, politicians and national media recurrently represent migration through a double narrative: humanitarian and securitarian.

With the aim of challenging the borders between the imaginaries related to migration and tourism, the festival has organized public debates on mobility and geopolitical relations, intercultural dinners and guided tours of ethnic neighbourhoods, as well as concerts, exhibitions and film screenings related to the issue. An example is the conference “Innovative Practices of Integration and Intercultural Hospitality”, organized in Bologna in 2018, where international actors working in this field presented their good practices, along with a laboratory of intercultural writing that took place in 2017 and 2018.

As the communication strategist of the festival underlines:

“Our aim is to explore the visible and hidden sides of the journey, and migrants and travelers is our subtitle. Thousands of years ago, there was no distinction between migrants and travelers. Our name, IT.A.CÀ, recalls Ulysses’ island and his return voyage: a hard and long journey. Like Ulysses, the pilgrims and Christopher Columbus were neither migrants nor tourists! Nevertheless, nowadays these phenomena – migration and tourism – are presented as completely distinct and we have lost the awareness that they are just part of global human mobility.”<sup>17</sup>

### **In-between tourism and migration**

Moving from the reflection on the infinite possible encounters between tourism and migration and on the potentials of responsible tourism for local development and social inclusion, the *Experiential Course on Tourism Development and Intercultural Hospitality* represents the second case study explored by our action-research. The course was created with the aim of combining the theme of human mobility and a dialogue with diversity (Wood & Laundry, 2010; Baraldi, 2009) in an innovative way. The course took place between July and September 2018 in a large house managed by Open Group, located in Montefredente, an area of the municipality of San Benedetto Val di Sambro, located in the Bolognese Apennines. It involved eighteen young participants, Italians and foreigners (asylum seekers and/or international protection holders), of different origins, gender, training and with different professional experiences.

One of the innovative elements of the course concerns the educational structure, conceived as an experimental laboratory that alternated theoretical and technical teaching in the classroom with experiential modules in the field, in order to draw new trajectories of sustainable and intercultural tourism development (Moralli, 2016). An experiential training that lasted sixty

<sup>17</sup> Interview with Ivana Celano conducted in September 2018.



hours, where the participants had the opportunity to get to know each other, meet different experts and deal with innovative projects that base their activity on the potential of the mountains, sustainable development and the enhancement of local resources. In the words of one course participant:

“In my opinion, the most obvious thing was the perspective of observation of the territory, with large panoramic insights – sometimes philosophical – on broad, theoretical aspects and strong information concerning concrete objectives. Always with a bit of detachment, enough to go beyond parochialism and cultural barriers, but remaining in contact with the local inhabitants who take care of their territory.”<sup>18</sup>

In fact, the educational path was divided into three connected sections, which characterized all four training weekends. Firstly, there was a theoretical framework built on the theme of tourism and migration, with the aim of critically addressing the issue of human mobility. This ensured the ability to recognize that migration and tourism are complex phenomena (Williams & Hall, 2000) that must be analyzed in an integrated way from sociological, geographical and anthropological point of views. The various topics covered included territorial marketing, sociology of tourism, public communication and cultural events planning. Secondly, there was an experiential training element on the field. This aimed at launching new professional figures linked to slow and sustainable tourism and to a responsible and collaborative development of the territory through the participation of experts and professionals working in cultural promotion, marketing, and sustainable tourism development. During this part, the students went “on the field” to meet and discuss with those who have decided to stay or return to the Apennines working on projects of tourism, culture and community development (Teti, 2011). The participants of the course were able, for instance, to get a close experience of the Lagolandia Festival<sup>19</sup> and its desire to revive cultural events around the Apennine lakes, where dozens of families once gathered to sunbathe and swim, enjoying the unusual view. During other field visits, they met the Foiatonda cooperative<sup>20</sup>, originating from a group’s enthusiasm to promote their territory through laboratories, workshops and unusual itineraries thanks to the voluntary work of the local community that protects the territory by uncovering ancient mule tracks and integrating them with orientation signs. The participants also had the chance to walk with Appen-

<sup>18</sup> Interview with Erica Mazza conducted in September 2018.

<sup>19</sup> <http://www.lagolandia.it/2018/>, last access on 13/12/2018.

<sup>20</sup> [http://www.foiatonda.it/?fbclid=IwAR2CF6XmC\\_k5ioVENPbHWkkFqWiSWPRc-YHM-RcPaCnV9IVGSZGOC2IV\\_Tdo](http://www.foiatonda.it/?fbclid=IwAR2CF6XmC_k5ioVENPbHWkkFqWiSWPRc-YHM-RcPaCnV9IVGSZGOC2IV_Tdo), last access on 13/12/2018.



nino Slow<sup>21</sup> and Officina15<sup>22</sup>, which organized a trek covering part of the Via della Lana e della Seta<sup>23</sup>, a route through the mountains, similar to the more famous Via degli Dei<sup>24</sup>, located between Bologna and Florence.

Finally, with the support of a professional expert of mapping and touristic marketing, the participants elaborated a collective analysis of the local area to identify its potentials and limits, as well as to create a network of local actors willing to cooperate on a common aim: the sustainable touristic development of the area. As a participant suggested, “the course was interesting and useful for understanding the territory and meet local people, even during the trek. I enjoyed having new possibilities for dialogue, relation and collaboration with different people!”<sup>25</sup>

Through the enhancement of intercultural competences (Baraldi, 2009), in collaboration with local stakeholders, tools to support innovative projects concerning the welcoming of tourists, migrants and asylum seekers have been identified. Specifically, this part involved the actions of analysis of the territory and tangible and intangible resources (geographical analysis, network analysis, historical research, etc.), SWOT analysis, digital marketing, storytelling, destination brand design, communication analysis, marketing of tourism and analysis of markets and targets to which the communication of the intercultural offer should be addressed. In collaboration with some experts, the participants mapped the cultural, economic, social and environmental resources of this specific area of the Appennines, analysing its potentialities and challenges for local development. Afterwards, the group developed a project work focused on transforming a (potential) reception center in a tourist hostel.

The aim of the course was to activate not only a training experience, but also collective and active moments of discussion between local and non-local actors, focusing on specific projects that could combine tourism and migration (Williams & Hall, 2002). This is, in fact, a premise of the paradigm of new mobilities, stating that tourists and migrants actively participate through the performance (Schatzki, Knorr Cetina & von Savigny, 2001) in the processes of spatial and symbolic negotiation that characterize human mobility (Rojek & Urry, 1997). This perspective was concretized during the course thanks to the collaboration of young Italians and non-Italians with different backgrounds, working together for the sustainable touristic development of an area characterized by growing levels of depopulation. As underlined by another course participant:

<sup>21</sup> <https://www.appenninoslow.it/apenninoslow-english>, last access on 13/12/2018.

<sup>22</sup> <http://www.ofcn15.com/>, last access on 13/12/2018.

<sup>23</sup> <https://www.viadellalanaedellaseta.com/discover>, last access on 13/12/2018.

<sup>24</sup> <http://www.viadegli dei.it/index.php?lang=en>, last access on 13/12/2018.

<sup>25</sup> Interview with Amin Sumah conducted in October 2018.

“Having the opportunity to stay for four weekends to reflect, learn, meet, discuss and plan together with other people of different profiles, paths, and backgrounds is, especially in these times, a great opportunity. Being able to do it in the Apennines – so much beauty and authenticity in a single territory –, thinking about new ways of seeing, living and promoting sustainable tourism has been a wonderful opportunity!”<sup>26</sup>

It is worth noting that the residency course was held in a small hamlet of a town located in the mountains near Bologna, whose inhabitants were contrary to the construction of a SPRAR structure for asylum seekers.<sup>27</sup> Fears linked to the sensationalist and stereotyped images of migrants and refugees, shown on a daily basis by media which neglect to report the impact of migration on communities, and correctly inform audiences on the rights migrants are due under international, regional and national law. Opposition to the construction of the SPRAR clearly shows how these representations also no longer depict ‘extra-communitarian residents’ as just any foreigners, in a simple legal sense, but as ‘absolute strangers’ or ‘aliens’ (Balibar, 2004). Migrants are therefore transformed into subjects and objects of fear, experiencing the fear of being rejected and eliminated, and inspiring fear in resident populations (de Wenden, 2013; Musarò & Parmiggiani, 2017; Agier, 2016).

Although the course was held in the very building that was supposed to host the SPRAR, the local community proved to be open and welcoming to the initiative. The mayor of the town, at first skeptical towards the presence of asylum seekers, welcomed the course and officially gave the sponsorship of the municipality. Aside from the short duration of the course (four weekends) and the fact that “this case is different because you are offering the same opportunities to asylum seekers and local residents, often excluded from the benefits of the SPRAR system”<sup>28</sup> – as the mayor affirmed – , other reasons can be linked to the capacity of this innovative course to disrupt mainstream narratives. On the one hand, it challenged the representation of asylum seekers as non-persons, including them as potential professionals through creative work projects. On the other, it hinged on the co-construction of different narratives among local citizens, young professionals and asylum seekers through collaborative methods. This represents an op-

<sup>26</sup> Interview with Serena Miccolis conducted in October 2018.

<sup>27</sup> Established in 2002 by Law 189/2002, the SPRAR is a publicly funded network of local authorities and NGOs, which host asylum seekers, and beneficiaries of international protection. It is made up of small reception structures where assistance and integration services are provided. SPRAR accommodates those destitute asylum seekers that have already formalized their applications. Recently (November 2018), the “Security and Immigration Decree” has modified this system.

<sup>28</sup> Interview with Alessandro Santoni, mayor of San Benedetto Val di Sambro, conducted in June 2018.

portunity, as mentioned above, that could positively affect territories, such as the Bologna Apennines, which are located outside conventional tourist tracks. In fact, despite the aforementioned problems, these places are rich in traditions, natural and anthropic resources as well as typical products (Manella, 2017), but often lack the storytelling to promote these peculiarities. The course, thus, represented a physical space where citizens and non-citizens interacted and performed both commonality and diversity, perceiving themselves as part of the same symbolic universe, while elaborating new products, services and narratives useful for the promotion of a different and original perspective on the local territory.

### **Metaconversations and actions**

Working on imagination and creating alternative spaces of dialogue, the action-research shows the potentialities of these practices at three different levels of analysis. The first level refers to the discourses enacted by social actors (individual or collective), which enable stories of alternative representations of tourism and migration. Through the analysis of what Bakhtin defines (1985) as “voices from the field”, the two case studies have shown how it is possible to challenge the dominant and stigmatized modalities of representation of these two phenomena as promoted by both traditional and new media. In fact, in the first case, the images and discourses promoted by mass media, and particularly by television, present tourism as a positive and fruitful resource for territories and communities, while migration is a negative phenomenon, one to be avoided, and is often included in “agenda-setting” mechanisms that depict the arrival of newcomers as a cyclical crisis. In the case of new media, these representations become more fragmented due to the presence of different sources of information. Nonetheless, algorithms and “filter bubbles” contribute to the polarization of the processes of framing according to specific and prior values and visions of the world.

Moving from these premises, the case studies show how both the festival and the intercultural experiential course were able to foster narratives alternative to the mainstream images of tourism and migration. In the case of the festival, for example, tourism is not only promoted as a tool to cultivate incoming and economic benefits, but as a collaborative dynamic useful to enhance a more holistic local development. The conferences, itineraries and exhibitions organized during the festival therefore become instruments for promoting collaboration, synergies, and intersections of values and actions among different local actors, while encouraging social inclusion of citizens and newcomers. The co-founder of the festival highlights the impact of the initiatives:

“[...] in raising awareness on the role of sustainable tourism as an instrument of local development, in reducing the gap between institutions and bottom-up initiatives, in building stronger local communities, in empowering institutions and citizens, and in creating new economic opportunities.”<sup>29</sup>

Similarly, asylum seekers and refugees involved in the course were enabled to express some of their personal and intimate life experiences. Working on imagination and representation, the course was able to give life to a hybrid space of collaboration among participants and the local community. Concurrently, the local community recognized the group of participants as belonging to its territory. This participatory process not only contributes to re-shaping the daily practices of cohabitation in the same space, but it also helps to mediate between citizens and newcomers, while promoting a new definition of politics, public space, and practices of citizenship (Musarò, 2018a).

Drawing on the premise that, in an increasingly mobile world, tourism and migration are complementary phenomena, the two practices here presented show how tourists and migrants can intervene in the creation of new stories and narratives, giving life to hybrid realities that define the world in which we live (Williams & Hall, 2002). From this perspective, the course has presented tourism, and in particular sustainable tourism, as an innovative form of social and economic inclusion, as well as intercultural dialogue. On the one hand, working at the level of imagery (Abruzzese & Borrelli, 2000) -expressed through images as well as interpretative categories of the world-, both the course and the festival have promoted an idea of tourism that is not limited to incoming or job creation but can become a stimulus for local transformation of more equitable development (*becoming*). In the case of the experiential course, aimed at making migrants and refugees the main protagonists of local development, while also creating a bridge with local communities, this educational experiment entailed itineraries on the field and meetings with local social actors, becoming an opportunity for inclusive participation and enhancement of skills for those taking part in the process. Finally, tourism is seen as a tool to stimulate new opportunities of encounter, dialogue and collaboration between people of different cultures and backgrounds. On the other hand, migrants and asylum seekers are delineated as social actors, endowed with *agency* (Giddens, 1981; Nussbaum & Sen, 1993) and able to express themselves through their own *voices* (Hirschman, 1982; Appadurai, 2004; Couldry, 2010). Thus, newcomers are no longer conceived as invaders or victims but as potential professionals for local development.

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<sup>29</sup> Interview with Sonia Bregoli conducted in March 2018.

The alternative representations given by the actors involved in these two projects can be read in terms of *metaconversations*, as opposing views that are both individual and collective, that are at the same time 'pluralistic and unitary, multivocal and univocal, polyphonic and monophonic, many and one' (Robichaud et al., 2004, p. 618). Through these metaconversations, the subjects involved in the two projects enact a new process of sensemaking, de-constructing the mainstream imaginaries promoted by mass media and new media and re-constructing new imaginaries. This also implies understanding, as sustained by Brown, Stacey and Nandhakumar (2008, p. 1039) "that sensemaking involves processes of narrativization (narrative-making) permitting nuanced investigation of the extent to which individuals in a work team agree, share, disagree and contest understandings". As the authors argue, in fact, sensemaking is a narrative process. The same vision is suggested by MacIntyre (1981) through the concept of man as "storytelling animal", or by Fisher (1984) through the figure of the *homo narrans*.

A further step of our analysis concerns the study of the processes of negotiation and conflict in spoken and enacted storytelling (Brown, 2006). Both in the festival and the intercultural course, the processes of negotiation and conflicts were linked to processes of identity construction. This reflects self-identity as migrant, as citizen, as tourist and as collective identities in the case of associations, NGOs, groups of asylum-seekers or students. In fact, as Brown (2006, p. 748) suggests, "identities depicted as discursive constructions, which may be unstable, are often contradictory". In both analyzed cases, these processes of identity construction were particularly felt during informal moments, which allowed the majority of participants to promote integration processes *au quotidien* (de Certeau, 1980). These processes have been facilitated by doing things together (e.g., cooking, walking, cleaning, etc.) and sharing common goals and activities, while enhancing the local territory and the skills of people from different backgrounds. This last aspect was indicated by the totality of the participants as a resource and as a fundamental factor for stimulating new "collective identities", here conceived as "how individual identities can come to be discursively incorporated into the expression of collective identities" (Fenton & Langley, 2011, p. 1187).

As a course participant sustained:

"I am very happy about this course. For me, the meetings were useful for making new experiences, especially in the tourism sector, and for meeting new people. I am pleased to have this opportunity for two main reasons: the intercultural exchange and the possibility to learn so many new things. The people I met during the course were very

nice and, for this reason, I had such a good experience. Finally, talking to people helped me improve my Italian.”<sup>30</sup>

Hybrid identities were built on the basis of mutual comparison, emerging from the enactment of the same narratives produced by the participants. Most of them appreciated the chance to practice their Italian and to inter-relate with people different from those they meet in their daily life (in the case of the migrants), and the possibility to deal with people from different parts of the world (in the case of the Italian students). These statements were also confirmed by the participant observations, useful for understanding the integration processes facilitated within the intercultural course. As reported by another participant:

“The experience in Montefredente was an excellent opportunity to deepen the issues concerning social inclusion and sustainable tourism, the connections between these worlds and co-thinking future possible projects to be built and explored. The course was also a very stimulating experience that allowed me to meet other dynamic young people interested in engaging in tourism on a “human” scale.”<sup>31</sup>

Thanks to the dialogue with individuals outside their daily rituals (Aime & Papotti, 2012), the participants of the course were able “to grasp the meanings constructed by research participants while telling their life-stories” (Beyers, 2006, p. 22), giving the “practical means to understand oneself as one entity, but also as an entity living and changing through time” (*Ibidem*).

The course entails an original processual perspective of identity that has also involved the many organizations and actors engaged in the festival. Working across boundaries, the festival represents a cultural platform for shared values and identities, where different subjects (associations, individual citizens, volunteers, etc.) collaborate to nurture alternative narratives of tourism as an instrument of local development and social inclusion. For example, in 2018, during the festival in Naples, an association of migrants and a high school proposed an itinerary to discover the areas of the city characterized by intercultural heritage.<sup>32</sup> During the same year, in Trento, an environmental association collaborated with primary schools, individual citizens and local touristic agencies, organizing five days of natural and cultural activities promoting local heritage.<sup>33</sup>

Thirdly, the alternative narratives produced by local actors – in the case of the festival – and by the participants of the course became performance (Ford & Ford, 1995) and actions themselves. In this perspective, “represent-

<sup>30</sup> Interview with Haroon Nawaz conducted in September 2018.

<sup>31</sup> Interview with Jonathan Mastellari conducted in November 2018.

<sup>32</sup> <https://www.Festivalitaca.net/portfolio-articoli/it-ca-napoli/>, last access on 21/12/2018.

<sup>33</sup> <https://www.Festivalitaca.net/portfolio-articoli/it-ca-trentino-2/>, last access on 21/12/2018.



tation does not only reflect; it creates” (Czarniawska, 2010, p. 68). The capability to de-construct and re-construct social imageries – considering that “deconstruction is a *hybrid*” (*Ibidem*) – together with the construction of individual and collective identities thanks to moments of open dialogue and confrontation, have facilitated the creation of new actions, co-constructed by social actors. For example, in the case of the festival, being part of a network focused on representing tourism beyond the neoliberal mass tourism perspective, has reduced the borders among professionals, designing new forms of collaboration among individuals or organizations who had never imagined collaborating before. For example, it is due to this process that an association of responsible tourism that organizes journeys for blind people has started collaborating with an association of second-generation migrants to promote an accessible and intercultural urban route for discovering religious sites in Bologna.<sup>34</sup> Alternatively, to cite another example, a cooperative of people working in the field of sustainable mobility has started organizing tours through sites of innovation in the city of Bologna.<sup>35</sup>

In the case of the intercultural course, this double mutual movement between narratives and actions resulted in a specific More specifically, project-work elaborated by the participants thanks to their different backgrounds. the project-work consists in the realization of a tourist information center and of (inter)cultural activities in the same building that hosted the course. The project – which is now in the process of fund-raising for its realization – aims to transform the building into an intercultural center in the Bolognese Appenines, promoting the local territory and its products, while fostering the social and economic inclusion of asylum seekers (e.g., creating job opportunities, organizing intercultural workshops, etc.). Here, narratives worked as ‘legitimizing devices’ (Mumby, 1987), not only promoting alternative representations and identities of tourism and migration, but also becoming transformative agents, permitting local communities and newcomers to work together on specific projects on the territory.

## Conclusion

This article examined two interrelated and complex phenomena, tourism and migration, through the lens of narratives. Starting from the premise that the more complex phenomena become, the less effective traditional linear narratives seem to be at performing this organising function, the societal impact of complex interrelated global phenomena, such as migration

<sup>34</sup> <https://www.Festivalitaca.net/evento/itinerari-it-ca-piedi-dentro-porta/>, last access on 22/12/2018.

<sup>35</sup> <https://www.Festivalitaca.net/evento/bike-me-to-the-moon-speciale-it-a-ca/>, last access on 22/12/2018.



or tourism, is not understood in its full complexity. Given that knowledge neither is never without a specific point of view nor without a particular frame (Czarniawska, 2010), the contemporary challenge is to find a way to present different narratives of specific content and to do so in an accessible and engaging way.

Although the representation of complex issues such as migration and tourism requires a medium that affords both a comprehensive representation of vast amounts of information and the sustained engagement of contemporary audiences, mainstream media do not always have the temporal capacity to sustain such debates. In addition, even if some researches have demonstrated the generation of different interpretations and representations of the same social phenomena – if extrapolated from stories and content narrated by a larger number of media and through fragmentary channels such as digital ones – current digital media forms are still not a solution (Morgan, Shanahan & Signorielli, 2015). However, today's most pressing societal issues require in-depth coverage and representation of multiple, often conflicting voices and perspectives. It is therefore necessary to find innovative ways to represent tourism and migration through narratives that engage the audiences, re-shaping conventional and "filtered" (Flaxman, Goel & Rao, 2016) imaginaries on human mobility.

Drawing on this reflection, the action-research concentrated on two innovative practices able to represent and enact alternative narratives on migration and tourism. Considering that there are always competing versions of the world (Latour, 1999), the action-research has shown how these practices become narrative themselves (Fenton & Langley, 2011), enacted and negotiated by social actors (e.g., associations, asylum seekers, tourists, citizens, researchers, migrants, etc.). They are practices that impact sensemaking processes (Geertz, 1980), identity and the way migration and tourism are represented and performed. As part of a process of negotiation and continuous dialogue, these practices influenced personal and collective identity both through alternative representations and everyday life practices (de Certeau, 1980) and "conversations" (Silverman, 2000).

As shown, both the festival and the experiential course influence and re-configure narratives at three different levels. Firstly, they enable alternative representations of tourism and migration, challenging mainstream narratives produced by media and political discourses. Secondly, they promote hybrid identities on the basis of a process of conflict and negotiation. Thirdly, part of the narrative produced within the festival and the course become actions themselves.

This broader perspective of narrative extends beyond its origins in language and discourse and directly involves the agency of the participants included in the projects, as well as other subjects who directly and indirect-

ly share the values and imaginaries depicted through these narratives. As Fenton and Langley (2011, p. 1186) sustain, this idea “concerns the relationship between narratives and human agency”. Deuten and Rip (2000) build on Czarniawska (1995) to argue that not only does narrative describe action but also narrative is constitutive of action. In other words, stories shape the organizational landscape as individuals and organizations become actors in their own stories. The narratives enacted by social actors included in the festival and in the intercultural course have contributed to creating a new narrative infrastructure. Actions became narratives and vice versa.

From this perspective, narratives and actions could contribute to a transformative process (Fals-Borda & Rahman, 1991) of communities and territories, challenging stereotyped imaginaries on migration and tourism. Transforming into collective actions (McTaggart, 1997) and stimulating collective daily utopias, these two case studies resulted in “pragmatic means of framing their experiences in ways that built up coherent ‘repertoires of understanding’ (...), legitimating a set of perspectives, and anchoring their selves” (Brown, Stacey & Nandhakumar, 2008, p. 1053).

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