XXIV CICLO DEL
DOCTORADO DE RICERCA IN
POLITICHE TRANSFRONTALIERE PER LA VITA QUOTIDIANA
TRANSBORDER POLICIES FOR DAILY LIFE

THE CONSTRUCTION OF ITALIAN CITIZENSHIP: THE CASE OF
DUAL CITIZENS LIVING IN ISTRIA

Settore scientifico-disciplinare: SPS/10 (prevalente), SPS/08, SPS/11, M-PSI/05, M-DEA/01

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Table of Contents

CHAPTER 1  INTRODUCTION .............................................................................. 10
  1.1 Overview of Context ......................................................................................... 13
    1.1.1 My Personal Case ........................................................................................ 14
    1.1.2 A Historical Overview ................................................................................. 16
    1.1.3 The Mediatic Situation ................................................................................ 18
  1.2 Problem Statement ............................................................................................. 19
  1.3 Statement of Purpose and Research Questions .................................................. 21
  1.4 Research Approach ............................................................................................ 22
  1.5 Researcher's Perspectives ................................................................................... 23
  1.6 Researcher's Assumptions ................................................................................. 24
  1.7 Rationale and Significance ................................................................................. 25

CHAPTER 2  COMPARABLE STUDIES ............................................................... 28
  2.1 Introduction ........................................................................................................ 28
    2.1.1 Research on Dual Citizenship...................................................................... 28
  2.2 Chapter Summary and Discussion ..................................................................... 32

CHAPTER 3  METHODOLOGY ............................................................................. 33
  3.1 Introduction ........................................................................................................ 33
  3.2 Rationale for Research Approach ...................................................................... 34
    3.2.1 Rationale for Qualitative Research Design ................................................. 36
    3.2.2 Rationale for a Case Study Method by Using Ethnography........................ 39
  3.3 Sample and Population ....................................................................................... 41
    3.3.1 The Timespan of the Collecting of the Data from the Informants and the
        Places .................................................................................................................... 49
  3.4 Overview of Methodology .................................................................................. 50
    3.4.1 Data-Collection : Interviews ........................................................................ 50
        3.4.1.1 The Interview Questions ....................................................................... 51
  3.5 Methods and Procedures for Data Analysis and Synthesis .............................. 59
    3.5.1 Overview ..................................................................................................... 59
    3.5.2 Analytic Approach ....................................................................................... 59
3.5.3 Synthesis .................................................................................................................. 60
  3.5.3.1 The Procedure in Detail ................................................................................. 61
3.6 Issues of Trustworthiness ....................................................................................... 65
  3.6.1 Credibility/ Validity ....................................................................................... 65
  3.6.2 Dependability/ Reliability ............................................................................. 70
3.7 Ethical Considerations ........................................................................................... 72
3.8 Limitations of the Study ...................................................................................... 72
3.9 Chapter Summary ................................................................................................. 73

CHAPTER 4  PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS .................................................... 74
4.1 Introduction and Overview ................................................................................. 74
4.2 Finding 1: Culture Matters ................................................................................. 75
  4.2.1 Multiculturalism – Fake and Real ............................................................... 75
    4.2.1.1 The Italian Culture ............................................................................... 78
      4.2.1.1.1 What is Italian Culture?................................................................. 79
      4.2.1.1.2 Italian Culture – A Disappearing Culture ............................... 82
        4.2.1.1.2.1 Belonging to the Anglo-Saxon Culture .................................. 83
      4.2.1.1.3 Components of Italian Culture ............................................... 84
        4.2.1.1.3.1 Architecture .......................................................................... 84
        4.2.1.1.3.2 Food ..................................................................................... 85
        4.2.1.1.3.3 Mass-media ......................................................................... 91
          4.2.1.1.3.3.1 The Italian Television ..................................................... 92
            4.2.1.1.3.3.1.1 Historical Connections Between the Italian Television
                          and Croatia ............................................................................. 92
            4.2.1.1.3.3.1.2 Italian Television – The Most Important Medium .... 94
            4.2.1.1.3.3.1.3 Italianness and Distinction Through Television ...... 96
            4.2.1.1.3.3.1.4 Japanese Cartoons ..................................................... 98
            4.2.1.1.3.3.1.5 Language and Television ........................................ 99
            4.2.1.1.3.3.1.6 Italian Comics ........................................................ 101
          4.2.1.1.3.3.2 Italian Literature .............................................................. 102
          4.2.1.1.3.3.3 Italian Magazines .......................................................... 103
          4.2.1.1.3.3.4 Sports ............................................................................. 104
        4.2.1.1.3.4 Language ............................................................................ 105
4.2.1.1.2.4.1 The Italian Istrian Dialect ............................................... 106
4.2.1.1.2.4.2 Italian Language is Disappearing.................................... 108
4.2.1.1.2.4.3 Music............................................................................... 109
4.2.1.1.2.4.4 The Perception of the Croatian Culture ....................... 111
4.3 Finding 2: Identity Matters................................................................. 112
4.3.1 A Weak National Identity ................................................................ 112
4.3.2 Identities in Ethnically Mixed Marriages with one spouse Italian ...... 113
4.3.3 What Does It Mean to Be Italian in Istria? ........................................ 115
  4.3.3.1 The Census and Italianness.......................................................... 118
  4.3.3.2 Nuances of Italianness ............................................................... 119
  4.3.3.3 Feeling Different(ly) ................................................................... 123
  4.3.3.4 What is in a Surname? ................................................................. 125
    4.3.3.4.1 A Possible Slavicization? ....................................................... 128
  4.3.3.5 The Importance of Education for the Italians in Istria............... 129
    4.3.3.5.1 Non-Italians in Italian Schools.............................................. 130
  4.3.3.6 Italians As a Minority ................................................................. 132
    4.3.3.6.1 Italian Minority – A New Minority....................................... 133
    4.3.3.6.2 A Daily Struggle.................................................................... 134
    4.3.3.6.3 A Disappearing Minority ....................................................... 134
    4.3.3.6.4 A Minority without Rights.................................................... 135
    4.3.3.6.5 An Invisible and Not So “Cool” Minority ............................... 135
    4.3.3.6.6 Double Standards against the Italian Minority....................... 136
    4.3.3.6.7 Italian Communities ............................................................... 137
      4.3.3.6.1 Enrollment in the Italian Community.................................. 137
    4.3.3.6.8 The Italian Communities are in Decline................................. 139
    4.3.3.6.9 Italians From Italy Not Aware of the Existence of The Italian Minority in Istria ............................................................. 140
    4.3.3.6.10 Perceived Differences Between Italians in Istria and in Italy .... 141
    4.3.3.6.11 Italian Authorities Ignoring the Italian Union......................... 143
  4.3.3.7 Istrian Italians as Rimasti ............................................................ 144
  4.3.3.8 Italians That Left Istria................................................................. 146
4.6.4.3 Convinced By the Family ................................................................. 206
4.6.4.4 Reasons for not Applying .............................................................. 208
  4.6.4.4.1 Lack of Time .............................................................................. 208
  4.6.4.4.2 Great Spending ........................................................................ 209
  4.6.4.4.3 Not Applying Because of the Croats .......................................... 209
  4.6.4.4.4 Not Seeing Any Benefits ......................................................... 209
4.6.5 Learning About the Possibility .......................................................... 210
  4.6.5.1 Word-of-Mouth .......................................................................... 211
  4.6.5.2 Italian Community as a Place for Information .............................. 211
  4.6.5.3 An Italian Union Organization .................................................... 212
  4.6.5.4 The Italian Minority Newspaper La voce del popolo .................... 213
4.6.6 The Procedure for Applying for Citizenship ....................................... 213
  4.6.6.1 Difficulty of the Procedure .......................................................... 215
    4.6.6.1.1 Perceived as Easy .................................................................. 215
    4.6.6.1.2 Perceived as Hard ................................................................. 216
  4.6.6.2 The Cost of the Procedure .......................................................... 218
  4.6.6.3 Putting the Documentation Together .............................................. 218
  4.6.6.4 Proof of Italianness .................................................................... 219
    4.6.6.4.1 The Impossibility of Proving Italianness ................................ 219
    4.6.6.4.2 Proving Italianness with the (Grand)parents' Documentation .... 219
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4.6.6.4.3 No Proof Asked</td>
<td>221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.6.6.4.4 Having an Italian Surname as a Proof of Italianness</td>
<td>221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.6.6.4.5 Handing In Extra Documentation to be Sure</td>
<td>222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.6.6.4.6 School Diplomas</td>
<td>223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.6.6.4.7 Extra Activities in the Italian Community</td>
<td>223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.6.6.4.8 Membership in the Italian Community</td>
<td>224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.6.6.5 As a Spouse</td>
<td>225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Registration at the Annagrafe Italiani residenti all'estero (AIRE) –</td>
<td>225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Registry of Italians Living Abroad</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.6.6.6 Filtering People at the Consulate</td>
<td>226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.6.6.6.1 Speculation About Filtering</td>
<td>226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.6.6.6.2 Two Kinds of Applicants</td>
<td>227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.6.6.6.3 The Inter-Ministerial Commission</td>
<td>228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.6.6.6.4 The Interview With the Consul</td>
<td>229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.6.6.7 Applying While Living in Italy (In Trieste)</td>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.6.6.8 Duration of the Procedure</td>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.6.6.9 Problems in the Procedure</td>
<td>232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.6.6.9.1 Injustice</td>
<td>233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.6.6.9.2 Misspelled Surnames</td>
<td>236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.6.6.9.3 Technical Problems with Children</td>
<td>238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.6.6.9.4 Unclear Reasons for Stopping the Procedure</td>
<td>238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.6.6.9.5 Tension of the Applicants</td>
<td>239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.6.7 Benefits From Citizenship</td>
<td>239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.6.7.1 To Study Abroad</td>
<td>240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.6.7.2 Not Need for the Residency Permit</td>
<td>241</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.6.7.3 Border Passing</td>
<td>241</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.6.7.4 Having a Proof of Italianness</td>
<td>242</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.6.8 Previous Requests</td>
<td>243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.6.8.1 During the War in the 1990s</td>
<td>243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.6.8.2 Rejected Because the War</td>
<td>244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.6.8.3 In the 1960s</td>
<td>244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.6.8.4 During the Studies in Italy</td>
<td>245</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.6.9 Speculation About the Law 124/2006 ................................................................. 245
4.6.9.1 Less Spending for The Italian Minority .......................................................... 246
4.6.9.2 Citizenship as Public Relations for the Republic of Italy ......................... 247
4.6.9.3 The Law 124/2006 is a Product of Pressure From the Italian Union ............ 247
4.6.9.4 A Possible Future Annexation ....................................................................... 248
4.6.9.5 Getting Voters .............................................................................................. 251
4.6.9.6 Historical Reasons ........................................................................................ 251
4.6.9.7 Dirty Conscience of the Italian State for the Italians Left in Another Country ......................................................................................................................... 252
4.6.9.8 Care for Italians Abroad .............................................................................. 253
4.6.9.9 Quid Pro Quo ............................................................................................... 254
4.6.10 After Getting The Citizenship .......................................................................... 255
4.6.10.1 Concealing the Citizenship and Passport .................................................. 256
4.6.10.2 Using the Citizenship for Pragmatic Purposes ........................................... 256
4.6.10.3 Accepting the Duties as an Italian Citizen ................................................ 256
4.6.10.4 Nothing Changes With Citizenship ............................................................. 257
4.6.11 The Meaning of Citizenship ............................................................................. 258
4.6.11.1 Citizenship as a Symbolic Victory ............................................................... 258
4.6.11.2 Citizenship as a Symbolic Recognition ....................................................... 259
4.6.11.3 Italian Citizenship Lost Meaning – Everybody Can Have It ..................... 260
4.6.11.4 Citizenship as an Intimate Personal Choice .............................................. 261
4.6.11.5 Citizenship as a Means to Solve Practical Problems ............................... 261
4.6.11.6 Citizenship as a Way to Bypass the Local Italian Communities ......... 261
4.6.12 Sovereignty ..................................................................................................... 262
4.6.12.1 Increased Sovereignty of Croatia ............................................................... 262
4.6.12.2 No Influence on Croatian Sovereignty ...................................................... 264
4.6.13 Envious Others ............................................................................................... 266
4.6.13.1 Jealousy ..................................................................................................... 267
4.6.13.2 Double Standards ....................................................................................... 267
4.6.14 Reality Check At The Consulate ..................................................................... 268
4.6.14.1 The Legal Frame ........................................................................................ 268
4.6.14.1.1 Legal Hierarchy ....................................................................................... 270
6.2.1 Recommendations for the Italian Authorities.................................311
6.2.2 Recommendations for Further Research ........................................311
6.3 A Final Reflection on the Study...........................................................313
CHAPTER 1  INTRODUCTION

In the field of sociology the institution of formal citizenship was neglected until relatively recently (Brubaker 1992:21–22). In 1992 Rogers Brubaker wrote that citizenship was ignored because “[s]ociology has been especially committed to going behind formal, official structures and institutions in order to discover the real working of things” (1992:22), not how formal institutions work. Such was the situation also in political science of the time. In Brubaker's view the problem was that antiformalist sociology neglected “the fact that formalization and codification are themselves social phenomena, with sociologically interesting effects” (1992:22). Other reasons for the sociological neglect were, in his opinion, the tendency of sociologists to take for granted the existence of a bounded national society, so the sociologists would focus on institutions and processes internal to that society. A third reason for the neglect was the fact that they also tended to conceive the state as a territorial organization instead of a membership organization.

Today, a little bit more than twenty years after Brubaker's book Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany came out (1992), citizenship is, as we will see, a pretty much studied concept in sociology and in the other social sciences. A shift in the interest can be connected with the disclosure of what was going on in practice. Citizenship until recently was considered to be an exclusive contract between a state and a person, officially there couldn't be multiple loyalties. In fact, many countries just tolerated situations where some persons had more than one citizenship. Those situations were almost exclusively connected with migrations.
Faist (2007:1) says that dual citizenship is not a new phenomenon, but it became interesting in the last few decades because 1) the majority of the states in the world at tolerate dual citizenship, no matter if they are countries of immigration or emigration; 2) immigration countries tolerate it or even accept it because they see it a way towards naturalization, to close the gap between the resident population and the demos; 3) emigration countries have strengthened the rights of expatriates. Some of them even promote dual nationalism which “connotes practices of emigration countries to appeal to their citizens abroad as part of a national collective beyond borders for purposes of national unity and nationalist goals” (Faist 2007:1–2) . A historical example is Italy that de facto promoted dual nationalism by the act of June 13th 1912, n. 555 (act 555/1912) (see Clerici 2003) , about which we can find an interesting account in Emigrant Nation: The Making of Italy Abroad (Choate 2008) , where the author suggests that keeping a juridical tie between the Italian state and the emigrated citizens was a form of Italian colonialism.

As we have seen, in a world of migrations which bring welfare to the receiving countries, but also to the sending countries, and in which moving people are not seen as enemies multiple citizenship becomes a norm.

Migrations are not the only cause of the proliferation of dual citizenship. The other cause of dual citizenship is the movement of the borders. When the borders move they leave often on the other side of the border “accidental diasporas”, as Brubaker called them (2000) . In order to define the accidental diaspora Brubaker opposed to it the concept of “labor diaspora”, which is usually a result of migrations. In the following table there are presented the main features of both diasporas, adapted
from (Brubaker 2000:2).

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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th><strong>Labor Migrant Diasporas</strong></th>
<th><strong>Accidental Diasporas</strong></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Construction:</strong></td>
<td>Constructed by the movement of people across borders</td>
<td>Constructed by movement of borders across people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Formation:</strong></td>
<td>Form gradually through countless individual migration trajectories</td>
<td>Crystallize suddenly following a dramatic – often a traumatic – reconfiguration of political space</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Constitution:</strong></td>
<td>Constituted through the voluntary actions of those who comprise them</td>
<td>Come into being without the participation, and often against the will, of their members</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Territory:</strong></td>
<td>Tend to be territorially dispersed, and lack deep roots in their host countries</td>
<td>Tend to be more concentrated and territorially rooted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Citizenship:</strong></td>
<td>Typically remain for some time citizens of their home countries</td>
<td>Are citizens of the countries in which they live</td>
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As we will see, the Italian community in the County of Istria has all the mentioned characteristics.

Europe, in my opinion, is particularly suited for the study of accidental diasporas because there are many cases produced by splitting countries, by the birth of new nation-states and by the wars (or all these together). Just the few cases that can come to our mind are those of the Germans in almost all central and eastern Europe, Hungarians in Slovakia, Serbia, Romania, and so on, Croats in Bosnia and Serbia, Serbs in Bosnia and Croatia, Slovenians in Italy, and so on, the list and combinations can become very long.
The situation of an accidental diaspora that I didn't mention above is the one that is the main theme of this work – the Italian community in Croatia. To be more precise, I will talk about the Italian community in the County of Istria in Croatia, but from the dual citizenship point of view. I will try to explain why and how a part of the population of Croatia who declare themselves as Italians want to have another citizenship besides the Croatian one, mostly through their words.

1.1 Overview of Context

Italy, Italian culture and Italian identity have always attracted a great interest from various authors from Italy and abroad, not just in recent times. The interest goes deep into the past, when Italy didn't exist as a unified state, but just as a geographical term. The interest was not just touristic, or just cultural, but also political. In order to not go in ancient past among all the others we can recall Montesquieu who was fascinated by Italy in the eighteenth century (2008), Leopardi in the nineteenth century wanted to understand who were the Italians (2006), then in the 20th century there came the explanations of the Italian “national character” after the Second World War for non-Italians (Barzini 1964), then for the Italians (Bollati 2011). Again, a complete list would be too long.

In the last few years the book market was overflowed by books about Italianness¹, as the Italian national character, the statehood of Italy, and the main

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¹ In the Italian language it is usually used the term *italianità*, that sometimes is translated as “Italian-
reason were the 2011 celebrations for the 150th anniversary of the unification of Italy. In all those books Italianness, or a supposed Italian national character, is analyzed under almost every aspect, from literature, to identity, the law, etc.

Many books are written about the Italian communities in Istria, let alone the great work of Ezio an Luciano Giuricin (E. Giuricin and L. Giuricin 2008a), also many volumes are written on Italian citizenship, but usually connected with social citizenship and citizenship for migrants. We will come to that later.

I wanted to write about the phenomenon of dual citizenship in a territory that was disputed by two countries (Italy and Yugoslavia/Croatia), where the people who get an additional citizenship are not migrants. I didn't find much literature about that.

This work is not about the explanation of Italian culture, nor its aim is the creation of a theory of citizenship, what I wanted to show is the phenomenon of dual citizenship from a point of view of the people who applied for it and belong to an accidental diaspora. The majority of my informants come from the south of Istria, mostly from Pola and the surrounding villages and towns up to Rovigno, so I could say that this research is even more specific, but I will try to prove that it could be generalized for the entire Italian population of the Croatian part Istria.

1.1.1 My Personal Case

Italianness” as, for example, Ballinger uses it (2003). I will use in the text Italianess as Dewhirst uses it (2003).
The motivation for choosing such a topic came from my personal experience. I am a dual citizen, of the Republic of Croatia and of the Republic of Italy. I was born as a Yugoslav citizen, then I was told I was born as a Croatian citizen, and in 2010 I got the Italian passport as a person that belongs to the Italian ethnic group in Croatia. When I started the doctorate course of which this thesis is a part I was in the process of pursuing the Italian citizenship. The whole process in my case started in 2007 and it ended in 2010, so I had the chance to see the whole process and procedure unfolding in front of my eyes while I started to research it. To make the story complete I had to find more cases of persons who were in a similar situation to mine, and they had to be willing to talk to me.

From a personal standpoint as far as I can remember people in Istria that declare themselves as of Italian ethnicity expected a law like the act of 8th of March 2006, n. 124 (act 124/2006). It was a natural continuation of the act of 5th of February 1992, n. 91² (act 91/1992) under which many citizens of Croatia got back their Italian citizenship. As a matter of fact, the act 124/2006 presented just a set of changes to the act 91/1992. In the 1990s many people from Istria that were born in Istria during the period of the Italian jurisdiction on the territory had the possibility to apply for the Italian citizenship, and many people did. If they had underage children they too would get the citizenship.

² Which replaced the older citizenship act, the act 555/1912.
1.1.2 A Historical Overview

To understand fully the dual citizenship in Istria we must go back in the times of the downfall of socialist Yugoslavia at the beginning of the 1990s. The times were charged with rising nationalism from all the ethnic groups that lived in Yugoslavia, and at the same time there was a fall in the numbers of the Italian minority. A then newly formed movement inside the Italian minority – il Movimento per la Costituente (the Movement for the Constituent) (see E. Giuricin and L. Giuricin 2008a:351–354) – in their manifest at paragraph 12 put the need of a dual citizenship for the members of the Italian minority that “in addition of representing an important moral recognition for the fellow Italians [connazionali] of these lands and a significant spur of defense of their national pride and identity, would contribute to ensure, alongside other initiatives and measures, an effective system of international protection of the minority. The appeal was signed in short time by 4.175 fellow Italians [connazionali] of Istria and Fiume” (E. Giuricin and L. Giuricin 2008a:354).

The claim was made because the leaders of the Movement saw the falling numbers of Italians, which was an indicator that the Yugoslav measures of minority protection weren't good enough. The additional Italian citizenship was thought to be a good measure against the possible future bad politics towards minorities in the newly independent countries of Slovenia and Croatia. There had to be a reacquisition of the Italian citizenship by all the fellow Italians and their descendants that had lost it on the basis of the Paris Treaty of 1947, the London Memorandum of 1954, and the Osimo Treaty of 1975.
The first step towards such an act was the act of December 23rd 1991, n. 423 (act 423/1991), also known as “the act Boniver”, named after the then Minister of the Italians Abroad and Immigration Margherita Boniver. That act gave the opportunity to the people that belong to the Italian minority to seek for shelter in Italy because of the war that started a few months earlier in Croatia. The members of the Italian minority not only could seek for shelter, but also could seek for a job in Italy and get reconnected with their family members from Croatia. Because of that act in Croatia there was a massive nationalist mobilization from the mass media, the Croatian catholic clergy, and so on, because they believed it was a way of “denationalization” of the Istrian Croats. In fact, many people that didn't have anything to do with the Italian ethnicity went to enroll in an Italian community in order to get the benefits from the act Boniver\(^3\) (see E. Giuricin and L. Giuricin 2008a:386).

In 1992 finally came the act 91/1992 which was enacted on August 15\(^{th}\) 1992. The new act would return back the citizenship to the ones that lost it according to the act 555/1912 because they obtained spontaneously a citizenship of another country (and on the basis of all the previously mentioned treaties). The most important article of that act was the art. 11 which openly conceded dual citizenship.

The Giuricins state that “[T]he 'restitution' offered also a new lifeblood \([\text{\textit{linfa}}]\) to the identity and pride of the \textit{rimasti}, and it constituted for them an important moral

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3 As the Giuricins write (2008a:388–389), even the then vice-president of the Croatian Government Zdravko Tomac was allarmed. He had heard rumors that there are 70.000 Croatian citizens that wanted the benefits of the act Boniver, but he was reassured by the leadership of the Italian Union in Fiume on May 17\(^{th}\) 1992. There were just given 1.850 membership cards to non-Italians as supportive members or honorary members. All together there were issued 4000 declarations of membership to an Italian community at the date November 5\(^{th}\) 1992. It remains unknown how the people used them.
recognition in a time, that of the Yugoslav dissolution and the birth of the new independent States of Croatia and Slovenia, [and] one of the most turbulent and difficult in the history of the Italian community” (2008a:392). The problem was that the children that were of age when their parents got back the Italian citizenship couldn't get the citizenship. That was rectified just with the act 124/2006.

On February 8th 2006 the act 124/2006 was voted in the Italian parliament in a bipartisan way, all the members voted for it. This law added the articles 17bis and 17ter to the act 91/1992, and now also the descendants of Italian citizens that weren't ever before citizens of Italy could obtain the Italian citizenship.

The new act gave the opportunity also to younger Istrian Italians to not be treated as “extracommunitarians” in Italy and to not have all the problems with the Schengen border regimes (see E. Giuricin and L. Giuricin 2008a:492).

1.1.3 The Mediatic Situation

In 2006 and 2007 there were articles in the Croatian newspapers about the possibility to apply for the Italian citizenship, most of them were scaremongering about the possible high number of people that will apply for the citizenship (for eg. Simić 2006), but the fears have never been fulfilled. After the strangely feeble mediatic attention for the dual citizenship in Istria, for what is in my knowledge, there

4 The Giuricins (2008a:493) write that the fears of denationalization were bogus first of all because the censuses of 2001 showed a decrease of the Italian population of 7% in Croatia and 24% in Slovenia. In their opinion an expansionist politics of Italy is out of question.
hasn't been any mentioning of it in a negative perspective. Not even in the local Istrian media. We can presume that dual citizenship in Istria is not perceived as a menace to Croatness or the sovereignty of the Croatian state.

1.2 Problem Statement

In Croatia there is an authochtounous Italian ethnic group which is decreasing census after census (see Appendix A). Almost the entire group is situated in the County (Županija5) of Istria and in the town of Fiume6. The main organization is the Italian Union (Unione Italiana) with headquarters in Fiume, and it has a widespread network of Italian communities which are cultural and social centers in Istria and Fiume. Lately even in Zara and Spalato.

In the Second World War aftermath there was a great flood of people from the territory of Istria, Fiume and Dalmatia usually called in the Italian literature *il grande esodo* – the Great Exodus (see Ballinger 2003; Manin 2006; see Oliva 2002, 2005; Petacco 1999) . The estimates go from 150.000 to 350.000 people7 who, after the

5 Sometimes in English language is used also “Region.”

6 In this work I will use the Italian names of the towns and villages that have a historical Italian name besides the Croatian one. So, I will use Fiume instead of Rijeka, Pola instead of Pula, Rovigno instead of Rovinj, and so on. But I will use Zagreb instead of the Italian form Zagabria, because it is used in that form in the literature in English language, and because Zagabria is a translation of Zagreb. For most of the Istrian towns and villages in my opinion we cannot say they are translations, but are used equally by two different ethnic groups – the Croatian and the Italian.

7 The figures depend on the side which they come from (see J. E. Ashbrook 2006; see Manin 2006) .
territory passed in the Yugoslav hands, opted for the Italian citizenship and went away, escaped or disappeared, leaving the major part of their real estate and mobile belongings in the new Socialist People's Republic of Yugoslavia (SPRY, later became Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia – SFRY). I must stress that not everybody who left was of Italian ethnicity\(^8\). Just a smaller number of people of Italian ethnicity remained on the territories once belonging to Italy (see Klemenčič et al. 1993) . In the County of Istria it fell to the present 6.03% (12,543) of the population (see also Zupanc 2004) .

The territorial disputes were solved by the Paris Treaty of February 10\(^{th}\) 1947 and by the Osimo Treaty of November 10\(^{th}\) 1975. The Italian community in the SFRY and then in the Republics of Croatia and Slovenia, as we have seen, remained as “accidental diasporas” and as citizens of Slovenia and Croatia.

We have seen the story of the act 91/1992, and awkward situation it provoked in which there was a parent or both of them who had the Italian citizenship, and the children who didn't. As the informants said, and I recall too, there were rumors that there will be a new act which will give the opportunity to younger people of Italian descent to get the Italian passport. That happened, as stated before, with the act 124/2006.

The problem I want to address is why and how some\(^9\) persons in Istria decide

\(^8\) The optants had to prove that they had a) the residence on the Italian annexed territory on June 10\(^{th}\) 1940 (the day Italy got into Secodn World War); b) the Italian citizenship on September 15\(^{th}\) 1947 (the day the Paris Treaty got into force); c) Italian as a spoken language (Zupanc 2004:82) . The same requirements were asked for the reacquisition of the Italian citizenship under the act 91/1992.

\(^9\) We will see that not everybody belonging to the Italian community apply for the Italian citizenship, and that not everybody who applied feels to be an Italian.
to take a second citizenship, knowing that they usually don’t emigrate and that a part of them is not recognized by some10 persons to be of Italian ethnicity, and if such a situation could be a problem of loyalty of dual citizens for Croatia as a sovereign state. In order to understand better the problem we will see how people that have a Slavic sounding surname and others who have an Italian sounding surname11 prove to belong to the Italian culture and how they construct their ethnic identity even though some Croatian nationalists say they are not Italian, but denationalized Croats (we will see that in the part of “false Italians”).

1.3 Statement of Purpose and Research Questions

I entered the field at the very beginning with a grounded theory approach by asking myself “What is really going on here?” I understood later that my intentions were too ambitious, in the sense I wanted to come to a new theory of citizenship and I was curious about the possibilities of the grounded theory approach.

At the end I opted for a multicase study approach to explore, on a purposive and theoretical sample of persons who applied for Italian citizenship under the act 124/2006, their perception about why they applied for the Italian citizenship and how

10 We will see, mostly through the perception of the control informant Željko, that a part of Croats don’t think there is a “real” Italian minority in Istria.

11 I use “sounding surname” because it is not easy to say that a surname in Istria is “truly” Italian or Croatian because in the past there were a Slavicization and an Italianization of the surnames (Parovel 1993; Tasso 2010).
that citizenship affected their lives.

I had to start from scratch with my research, that is, I had to ask myself the initial question, as stated above, “What is going on here?” and “What is this citizenship all about?” After I started to think more about these general (and philosophical) questions the phenomenon started to occupy all my thoughts and then I came to the following research questions:

- What does it mean to be an Italian in Istria?
- What were the reasons to apply for citizenship?
- What does Italian citizenship mean for people in Istria?
- How a newly acquired citizenship influenced their lives?

These questions weren't posed before the research begun, I started to develop them interview after interview. In the methodology chapter there is a detailed presentation of how the questions started to emerge.

1.4 Research Approach

In order to find out how is multiple citizenship perceived in Istria and how is constructed Italian culture I did 32 in-depth interviews with 31 persons who had different experiences and perceptions with and about multiple citizenship (see the sample in the methodology chapter).

My first approach to the problem of multiple citizenship in Istria was based on
my personal experience, and I wanted to find more about the phenomenon using the
grounded theory approach, a qualitative method apt to build theories. Grounded
theory seemed a suitable method because I didn't know much about citizenship in
general, and I had an “itch to scratch” because I was a person with dual citizenship. I
also opted for a grounded theory approach because there was not a study known to me
about the Italian and Croatian dual citizenship in Croatia, and finally, because the
population is hidden. The population is hidden because not all the people that belong
to the Italian community applied for citizenship, the people that applied don't display
that, and the Italian authorities cannot give the list of people with dual citizenship
because of the privacy laws.

1.5 Researcher's Perspectives

As I mentioned before I have personal experiences with the dual citizenship
phenomenon which I researched, which made me being engaged in a constant critical
self-reflection for the whole research process, in that way I brought also my practical
experience knowledge in. Except the “insider” overview of the problem, I had
experiences with qualitative research (mostly action research) in the non-
governmental sector, and in the so called cultural industries. I must say that the
experiences were very different. In this research a lot of reflection was needed,
whereas in action research speed is crucial, and speed doesn't always allow much
reflection because there is not much time. My practical background made me think a
lot about how to make clear the research findings, that is, the accounts of the
informants.

Personal experience is a strength from the point of understanding, which is crucial in qualitative research, but I must acknowledge that at the same time that might be a weakness, because I may have omitted parts that are taken for granted in my living environment. That is why I went back to literature and I discussed the matter with colleagues, which eventually made me change the method of research, in the sense that I partially abandoned grounded theory and that will be further explained in the chapter about methodology.

1.6 Researcher's Assumptions

The following assumptions are based on my personal experiences of being a dual citizen and of knowing people active in the Italian community, but also from my sociological background.

People with dual citizenship in Istria usually don't emigrate from Istria, but use it mostly for a better experience of travel.

The second assumption is that the Italian minority is disappearing in Istria, so is the Italian language (or also the istro-veneto dialect), in spite the good work of the Italian Union, and the conspicuous finances of the Republic of Italy. The Italian citizenship could save it at least for a longer time (it couldn't be defined).

The third assumption is that Italians and Italian speaking persons are perceived as more prestigious in Istria, or better, Istrian students have positive attitudes towards
such persons (Sujoldžić 2008:50). The status of Italians and Italian speaking persons in Istria is high.

The fourth assumption is that many people that declare themselves as Istrian Italians don't have an Italian sounding surname, but a one ending in -ič or -ich, or a different form of a Slavic surname. Such a situation doesn't present a problem to the Italian community in Istria, or to other Croatian citizens living in the County of Istria.

1.7 Rationale and Significance

Once an exclusive contract between a country and an individual, citizenship has become a right, or even a human right (see Spiro 2010), with the possibility of having multiple allegiances to various countries. In Istria that possibility exists on regular basis from the first half of the 1990s with the act 91/1992, which was expanded by the act 124/2006. The peculiarity of the situation is that the Italian community which became a minority remained on a territory that was once Italian, and where there is on power a political option, the Istarski demokratski sabor-Dieta democratica istriana (IDS-DDI12) which wants more autonomy for the County of Istria which covers the major part of the territory of the Istrian peninsula. The problem with such a situation is that dual citizenship seems not to be an option on the territory in which there are claims for more autonomy (see Bauböck 2007b). A second citizenship of a border country that once had that particular part of the territory

12 In order to understand better the political situation in Istria see (J. Ashbrook 2006).
with the claims of more autonomy may look like a claim for secession (see Bauböck 2007b:74), even though the Italians are not claiming a bigger autonomy from the Croatian central government. There is another phenomenon going on, and that is the phenomenon of the Istrians (see Banovac 1998). The youth section of the party IDS-DDI had a campaign for the Croatian census of 2011 “I’m an Istrian”, whose intention was to inform people about the possibility to declare themselves as Istrians, that is, with a local identity. For some Croatian right wing politicians and activists, Istrianness is just a stage toward italianization of the Istrians. It seems logical that in such a situation a dual citizenship of some members of the Italian minority doesn't help the struggle for Istrianness. On the other hand, it seems that Istrian Italians don't declare themselves as Istrians, but mostly as Italian. Istrians are seen in Croatia as denationalized Croats, especially after the big number of people declared as such (see Appendix A). They became the fourth ethnic group in Croatia.

Some of the informants, as a great part of Italians in Istria, declare themselves as Italians but they don't have an Italian sounding surname, and they are sometimes reckoned as Talijanaši or traitors of Croatness.

Another interesting fact is that there is not a recorded mass emigration of people that acquire an additional citizenship. The people that manage to obtain the Italian citizenship usually stay in Istria or in other parts of Croatia. The majority of

13 Unfortunately there are no statistics by surname, so I'm basing this assumption on personal perceptions, as on those of the informants.

14 Sometimes even as unconscious Croats, like there is a particular innate ethnic identity that has to be “awaken”, an often used term by various nationalist movements (Brubaker 2005:13).

15 There are no official data, I base my presumption on the census results (see Appendix A), and on
the research on citizenship is concerned with migrations, but in this case we deal with an accidental diaspora.

In this study we will see how the dual nationals feel about such a situation, what are their perceptions and of the “control” informants to see what is going on on a small scale, on a purposive sample. It is not wise to generalize, but I may say that we can learn something about the perceptions, motivations and identities of our informants that had all the freedom to say what they think, and almost every other informant confirmed the statements of the previous informant.

what the informants told me.
CHAPTER 2  COMPARABLE STUDIES

2.1 Introduction

Since the intention of this work was to explore, on a purposive and theoretical sample of persons who applied for Italian citizenship under the act 124/2006 and are living in Istria, their perception about why they applied for the Italian citizenship and how that citizenship affected their lives, I wanted to find more literature about Istrian Italians and multiple citizenship, and similar cases from around the world that were described before. The only book that satisfied most of the criteria was Fardelli d'Italia? by Guido Tintori (2009).

Seldom the topic of dual citizenship is connected with a situation where the people that enjoy dual citizenship remain in the country of birth.

The literature about ethnic minorities holding another citizenship on the territory of another country is not so widespread. And sometimes it is not even connected with an ethnic minority, as the example of Hong Kong has shown us (Ong 1999).

2.1.1 Research on Dual Citizenship

Since this research is concentrated on the dual citizens in Istria, more precisely
on the ones that applied under the act 124/2006, I wanted to find more research about that topic, but there is not really one. An excellent research about dual Italian citizens in the world is that of Guido Tintori Fardelli d’Italia? Conseguenze nazionali e transnazionali delle politiche di cittadinanza italiane (2009), which in just 128 pages manages to show the entire problem of the dual citizenship conceded to foreign citizens who are the descendants of Italian citizens that emigrated long time ago. So long ago, that their descendants don't speak the language.

Tintori wants to see in his research what are the repercussions of the citizenship laws of Italy on the other countries in the world which are affected by those laws. In his opinion the Italian citizenship laws, which permit to a great number of persons in the world to acquire the Italian citizenship if they can prove to be of Italian descent, make big problems not just to the countries that are affected, but also to the people who acquire that citizenship.

According to Tintori (2009:83) there are three types of people that apply for citizenship in Argentina, and all of them are applying for an instrumental reason:

1. medium-low and medium classes – they apply because they felt the crisis the most, and they want to emigrate in order to find a better job

2. those who apply in order to travel easier, because travel is a status symbol

3. those who apply por las dudas – the “you never know” reason (these are the majority)

We can notice, that the reasons are similar to the ones that emerged in the present research. The difference is that I couldn't find persons from the first category,
that is, emigrants. There is also no evidence that people emigrate *en masse* from Istria because of the citizenship.

Another interesting finding from Tintori is that those Italians don't really speak well Italian. That is also not the case in Istria. According to him the problem at heart is that some people on the other side of the world can get the Italian citizenship just because an ancestor of theirs came from Italy, and on the other hand the more than four million of immigrants in Italy cannot get the Italian citizenship that easily. He reconstructed the numbers and found out that between 1998 and 2007 over 785,000 descendants obtained the Italian citizenship. It is also interesting that the new citizens who decide to leave Argentina usually go to Spain or the United Kingdom, and not Italy. In my opinion is also interesting that not the majority of them decide to leave. The majority uses the citizenship to get special benefits for Italians, as medical care in a private medical system, and so on.

Another great problem is related with elections. The new citizens in South America can vote on the Italian elections, as the new citizens in Croatia. But, the participation is pretty high (56,3% in Argentina, 63,5% in Uruguay in 2006), and that is a problem when the results in the elections are tight. In Croatia there is a similar percentage of voters (see Appendix C, in 2013 the percentage has decreased), but that cannot change the results really.

Another great difference is that Italians in Istria are not emigrants, so they don't benefit from the incentives that some regions in Italy, the Region Veneto above all, give to the sons and grandsons, and grand-grandsons to make them return. The “returnees” get free Italian language lessons, housing assistance, etc. For the Italians
from Istria there were benefits just under the act “Boniver”, and those, as I stated in
the first chapter, weren't used en masse. What looks very strange is the fact that just
about 30% stay in Italy, the others go, as already mentioned, to Spain and UK. In
short, the South American Italians are taking a chance in life with a new EU
citizenship. That is partially similar to the Istrian case, but not completely, because, as
stated above, Istrians don't emigrate.

At the end, in Part Four, Tintori presents the findings of 74 interviews, but
which are exposed in a classical quantitative research way, with just some statistics.
Although he wanted to present the perceptions of some of the new Italian citizens, but
really that is not evident.

What impressed me is the photo on page 111 of an arm of a young person with
the tattoo “radici italiane” (sic!). Tintori says that that person doesn't even speak
Italian, nor has ever been in Italy, but wants the citizenship for an imprecise reason. In
my opinion someone that puts a tattoo on his arm with that kind of message must feel
something for Italy, or at least it can be interpreted as a way to rise the social status of
the holder. In my opinion, Tintori's goal wasn't to give voice to that population, but to
prove that *ius sanguinis* has lost any meaning, and that Italy should turn to *ius soli* as
a country of immigration.

In another piece of Tintori coauthored with Gallo (Gallo and Tintori 2006),
there again they criticized the way Italy gives citizenship on the *ius sanguinis* basis.
There is also a negative short overview of the then new act 124/2006 (2006:136). In
their view citizenship shouldn't be a way of protection of minorities. In my opinion, it
depends on the circumstances. Emigrant minorities are one case, and autochthonous
minorities are another case. From my research doesn't emerge any particular problem for Italy, Croatia or anybody else related to the act 124/2006.

2.2 Chapter Summary and Discussion

There is not any reasearch on the Italian citizenship for the Italian minority in Slovenia and Croatia, but there is some research on the Italian citizenship for the descendants of Italian migrants, as the one of Tintori (2009). Tintori's book was read after the ethnographic research presented here, and it was useful for a comparison. The research is about South America, mostly Argentina where there is a large Italian community.

In my opinion there should be a distinction between transnational autochthonous minorities/ accidental diasporas and labor migrant minorities. Accidental minorities often keep at least the language as a distinctive symbol of belonging to a particular ethnic group, and usually they want to keep their ethnic features.
CHAPTER 3 METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter there will be described in details the methods and the procedures I had used in my research because in that way I want to augment credibility of the research findings and interpretations, as is it a usual procedure in qualitative research in order to assess validity and reliability.

At the very beginning of my research, as stated before, I wanted to try a qualitative method like the grounded theory because I wanted to find out if it was possible to build a new theory or of identity (in general), or of ethnicity/ ethnic relations, or of citizenship about which I didn't know much at the time. I had already experiences of qualitative research, but grounded theory was new to me and it sounded quite interesting the possibility of theory building. Because of such a choice I almost got stuck that much that I almost gave up the entire research.

After a while I understood I had an overwhelming amount of data, and that a method like grounded theory could last very long, so long that I would lose the possibility of getting a doctoral degree. Since I used the classical case study and ethnographic techniques I decided that I would continue on that. So, what the readers have in front of them is a grounded theory turned into an ethnography and a case study.
It is an ethnography because I went deep into the culture of a people that belong to an autochtonous minority, or better, an accidental diaspora, and it is a case study about the choice of a second citizenship that some people that belong to the Italian minority in Croatia pursuit even though they don't use the achieved rights and possibilities. As the Italian minority is concentrated almost entirely in the County of Istria, my research was focused on that situation.

3.2 Rationale for Research Approach

My initial intention was to do a Grounded Theory (GT) research because the resulting theory should be, as Tarozzi summarizes (2008:19–21), fit (to the data), relevant (for the area of research), it works (it has a high conceptual density and can be used for decision making) and modifiable (new data can bring modifications).

The essential GT methods are “initial coding and categorization of data; concurrent data generation or collection and analysis; writing memos; theoretical sampling; constant comparative analysis using inductive and abductive logic; theoretical sensitivity; intermediate coding; selecting a core category; theoretical saturation; and theoretical integration” (Birks and Mills 2011:9). I followed the majority of the GT prescriptions like writing memos, theoretical sampling, the way of coding etc., which are used almost in all qualitative research, but the constant comparative analysis, as I found out in practice, takes too much time for a PhD research. At some point I started to doubt about the GT method itself, some parts of it,

34
like the theory generation, started to look like a kind of magic, not science. Especially when the researchers have to deal with the emergence of categories, what also Kelle noted (2007:191).

I realized how time consuming it was after having read the Holton's chapter in the *SAGE Handbook of Grounded Theory* (Holton 2007) who spent on her PhD research project about six years (from what I could understand from the text). That was two years more than I could ever afford, with the prolongation year included. Obviously, in such a situation I was caught by panic.

After having bought a large amount of books about GT and qualitative research in general I started the field research by interviewing two informants in a short timespan (one on February 04th 2011, the other on February 11th 2011) to get an idea of what the field was. As I mentioned in a previous chapter I myself belong to the population studied here so I had already an idea of the whole situation, but I wanted to see how interviewing works in the field, how will the chosen informants answer to my questions, will there be something interesting because I had no idea where will the research lead me. After all, I admit it, I wasn't acquainted with the concepts of “Citizenship” and “Ethnicity” beyond what is needed in sociology in general.

My intention was to use a Computer Aided Qualitative Data Analysis Software (CAQDAS) package even though some researchers who use GT on regular basis don't recommend it (see Holton 2007:287). I had two trainings in the use of Nvivo package, but at the end for some circumstances linked to the access to

software I opted for the MaxQDA\textsuperscript{17} package. Before I started to use it I just saw the screenshots of MaxQDA used in \textit{Basics of Qualitative Research} (Corbin and A. Strauss 2008).

After choosing the CAQDAS package and after I did the two initial interviews (see the sample section) I had to start with the initial coding, or first cycle coding, and that is in fact open coding that should ignite the research (see Saldaña 2009:81–85).

After having collected a big amount of codes (see Appendix D) I started to categorize them in categories which eventually had become themes. In my opinion such a procedure resembles a kind of “hand crafted” factor analysis where there are no numbers. The difference is that it starts inductively and can be changed along the way.

The concepts and ideas start to “emerge” from the field, but the problem consists in that it is really difficult to come up with a brand new formal theory, that is, with the expected result a GT research should bring. But, now, let us see how the story ended.

\subsection*{3.2.1 Rationale for Qualitative Research Design}

The choice of a qualitative research design was based mostly on the fact that the population of the Croatian citizens that applied for the Italian citizenship, or

\textsuperscript{17} See \url{http://www.maxqda.com/} (visited on March 14\textsuperscript{th} 2013).
obtained it, is hidden. This alone was not enough to support the choice of a qualitative method, there could be implemented a quantitative approach by using the snowball sampling method, but the problem was that I personally wasn't aware of any research about the case of dual citizenship based on the act 124/2006, that is, the Italian citizenship for the people that could prove to be of Italian origins in Istria, Fiume and Dalmatia, former Italian territories. Just later I found out about Tintori's research (2009) on Italian citizens mostly in Argentina, but those citizens are a product of migrations, and in my opinion that is a different case.

What made me choose a qualitative method (or a set of them) was the peculiarity of the case of which I was personally a part of too. I could try to test some reasons as opportunism, or status achievement, and so on, but I started from myself – I could not say that I applied for a second citizenship just for one reason, or a definite set of reasons, or that I had a plan. I couldn't say in what exactly consists my Italianness too, and I know other people who don't have any strong ethnic identity. It was also interesting that not all the people that are of Italian origins in Istria applied for the citizenship and not all the people that are of Italian origins who applied obtained it. Some of the Istrian Italians don't care about the possibility to get a second citizenship, and some others weren't eligible mostly because of the lack of the documentation needed to obtain it. Since I couldn't have a representative sample I had to base some assumptions on my experience with my personal case and of the people around me, in my community.

As far as I knew, the people that obtained the Italian citizenship didn't move from Istria, or Croatia, or at least not in an evident, numerous way. That is why I
wanted to know why people apply for a second citizenship. It couldn't be just opportunism. I wanted to see how they construct their ethnic identity in order to get the Italian citizenship under the act 124/2006 which is a kind of *ius sanguinis* act with added the proofs of cultural belonging. The “culture” component of the act 124/2006 was extremely interesting for me as a sociologist, but also as an applicant when I needed the information about how could I prove to be of Italian culture. In order to do that I believe that qualitative in-depth interviews were the only possible choice, because there wasn't much material on which a quantitative study, that is usually confirmatory, could rely.

As I stated above, another reason was that I was in a situation in which I didn't have much theoretical knowledge about dual citizenship in general, but I had access to the “field”, and that “ignorance” mixed with access was suitable for an inductive research, that is why I chose grounded theory as a methodology (what I abandoned later partially).

The last reason was also economic, in the sense, I thought that interviews would be a cheap way\(^\text{18}\) to gather deep understanding of the motivations of people who apply for a second citizenship which I didn't find in the literature. At the end it was cheaper, but it cost a lot of time, but there is the return of quality of the data which I didn't find in the existing literature.

\(^{18}\) An online survey could also be cheap, but many of my informants wouldn't ever fill an online questionnaire.
3.2.2 Rationale for a Case Study Method by Using Ethnography

The choice of the case study method was based on the already mentioned peculiarities of the case of dual citizenship in Istria. It is more suitable for non-confirmatory studies, or better, it is suitable for a deep inductive exploration of a phenomenon. Social scientists with a quantitative inclination usually see case studies as not really scientific because, in their opinion, it is not possible to generalize on a single case or just a few cases, but that has not to be so (see Gobo 2004, see 2008). For example, Flyvbjerg (Flyvbjerg 2006) dispels the most common misunderstandings about case study research in general, which are: 1) context-independent knowledge is more valuable than context-dependent knowledge, 2) because it is not possible to generalize on a single case, case studies cannot contribute to scientific knowledge, 3) case studies are good only for hypotheses generation, 4) case studies are biased toward verification and 5) it is difficult to summarize and develop general propositions and theories on the basis of specific case studies (Flyvbjerg 2006:221). In his opinion many scientific discoveries in general were based case studies, because they generate knowledge, and do that in real life from real life. Well, it also depends from the case.

Case studies are suitable for theory building also because they have “strengths like novelty, testability, and empirical validity, which arise from the intimate linkage with empirical evidence. Second, given the strengths of this theory-building approach and its independence from prior literature or past empirical observation, it is particularly well-suited to new research areas or research areas for which existing
theory seems inadequate” (Eisenhardt 1989:548–549).

Abbott goes that far to say that “[a] social science expressed in terms of
typical stories would provide far better access for policy intervention than the present
social science of variables” (1992:79). That is true in my opinion it is impossible to
make predictions in the social sciences like in the natural ones.

Ethnography is suited for case studies if we define a case study as “a holistic
investigation of some space- and time-rooted phenomenon” (J. Lofland and L. H.
Lofland 1995:21). It is also suitable for studying identity in general, but it takes much
more commitment and time than other kinds of methods (Adams 2009:319).

There are three kinds of indicators that ethnographers look for when they do
research about identity (Adams 2009:319):

1. boundaries (what is inside and outside, permeability) – for example, how a
group defends itself from impurity that comes from the outside

2. changes in and contestation over boundaries and the content they encapsulate

3. narratives that express implicit or explicit cognitive content of a group's
identity

Adams also warns the possible researcher how difficult is to synthesize the
data, and then how difficult is to theorize out of inductively found data (2009:330).

As it is evident I use the “I” form, in that way I put myself at least partially in
the research. So in Van Mannen's (1988:73) sense I did more an ethnography that
resembles his confessional tales because I went deep in the description of the
problems encountered in the field, but I also wanted to keep the tale realist by taking
myself out of the accounts of the informants.

### 3.3 Sample and Population

I had a very hard time to find interlocutors for my research. The sample was purposive, and theoretical, in the sense I would finish with one interview and then I would start to think about the kind of informant I should find next, based on what I heard in the last interview (see Glaser and A. L. Strauss 1967:45). The sample was mostly based on my acquaintances and friends, and on “snowballing” through them. The difficulty was in that the population is hidden and usually people don't show off with their second citizenship. So I started with the people for whom I knew or presumed they had obtained a second citizenship. It happened often that I would contact a person for whom I was sure s/he obtained or at least applied for a second citizenship, just to find out that they didn't apply.

I started with Luka whom I accidentally heard mentioning he got the Italian citizenship, and I continued with people from my leisure and work environment for whom I was aware they belong to the Italian community. Then I contacted many people from my facebook friend list who went with me in the school for the Italian minority in Pola, for whom I presumed that could have applied for the Italian citizenship.

Something that I perceived during my preliminary contacts, and that is visible in the list of the interviewed people, is that people without a university diploma, or
who are not working in the service sector told me that they didn't think about applying
for the Italian citizenship, even though they reckon themselves as Italians, they have
Italian sounding names and surnames, speak a quite broken Croatian language, and so
on. I'm confident that they didn't lie to me, because I know them very well\textsuperscript{19}. I even
wanted to interview some of them as cases of people who didn't want to apply for a
second citizenship, but at the end I didn't manage to do that for the timing and because
the analysis based on coding didn't lead me there. That could be considered a flow of
this research endeavor, although I think it is a minor one, an maybe that could had
been a major problem, because it could had opened more front lines. It is sure a good
topic for a future research.

A part of the interviewed people I knew from before (23 of them), but even
though I knew them, they were usually indicated me by other informants. The other
informants showed up as a result of snowballing.

The demographic data about the informants is exposed in the table below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interview Date yyyymmdd</th>
<th>Name\textsuperscript{20}</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Year of Birth</th>
<th>Citizenship\textsuperscript{21}</th>
<th>Interview Language</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 20110204</td>
<td>Luka</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>1974</td>
<td>124/2006\textsuperscript{21}</td>
<td>Croatian\textsuperscript{22}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{19} It is not the most valid and reliable excuse, but there is not any other way I could put this. So, the
readers have to believe to my words as I believed to the contacted persons.

\textsuperscript{20} The names are changed in order to maintain the anonimity.

\textsuperscript{21} This means that the informant applied/ obtained the Italian citizenship under the act 124/2006.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Language</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>20110211</td>
<td>Riccardo</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>1974</td>
<td>124/2006</td>
<td>Istro-veneto(^{23})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>20110310</td>
<td>Lidia</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>1982</td>
<td>stopped(^{24})</td>
<td>Istro-veneto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>20110609</td>
<td>Lina</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>1980?</td>
<td>124/2006</td>
<td>Italian(^{25})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>20110615</td>
<td>Mauro</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>1972</td>
<td>naturalized(^{26})</td>
<td>Istro-veneto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>20110616</td>
<td>Lana</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>1979</td>
<td>stopped</td>
<td>Croatian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>20110907</td>
<td>Ina</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>1977</td>
<td>check(^{27})</td>
<td>Croatian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>20110927</td>
<td>Giuliano</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>1952</td>
<td>124/2006</td>
<td>Istro-veneto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>20110930</td>
<td>Alberto</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>1975</td>
<td>124/2006</td>
<td>Istro-veneto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>20111019</td>
<td>Giacomo</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>124/2006</td>
<td>Italian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>20111027</td>
<td>Željko</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>1977</td>
<td>check</td>
<td>Croatian</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{22}\) Stands for the Croatian standard language.

\(^{23}\) The Italian dialect spoken in Istria, but it is usually connected with the Venetian language spoken in Veneto (Italy), parts of Friuli Venezia Giulia, Istria, Fiume, and once in Dalmatia. I kept the name “istro-veneto” because also Ballinger uses this term in her book (see Ballinger 2003).

\(^{24}\) Persons who applied under the act 124/2006, but stopped the process for some reason.

\(^{25}\) It refers to the standard Italian language, but it means also that I had a more formal approach.

\(^{26}\) Obtained the Italian citizenship through naturalization as an underage child. His father obtained the citizenship while working in Italy as a person of Italian origins.

\(^{27}\) Under “check” are present different cases, negative cases, or really different cases which are based on some reliable data, that is, data that can be checked.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Status</th>
<th>Origin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>20111103</td>
<td>Franco</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>1979</td>
<td>Ius sang.</td>
<td>Croatian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>20111112</td>
<td>Leonardo</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>1980</td>
<td>Ius sang.</td>
<td>Croatian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>20111124</td>
<td>Livio</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>1972</td>
<td>124/2006</td>
<td>Croatian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>20111201</td>
<td>Mario</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>1959</td>
<td>124/2006</td>
<td>Istro-veneto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>20111207</td>
<td>Augusta</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>???</td>
<td>problem</td>
<td>Italian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>20111214</td>
<td>Marla</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>???</td>
<td>124/2006</td>
<td>Italian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>20111219</td>
<td>Fausta</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>1965</td>
<td>problem</td>
<td>Italian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>20111219</td>
<td>Daniela</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>1953</td>
<td>124/2006</td>
<td>Italian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>20111227</td>
<td>Federica</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>1974</td>
<td>124/2006</td>
<td>Croatian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>20120119</td>
<td>Vedran</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>1983</td>
<td>124/2006</td>
<td>Croatian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>20120125</td>
<td>PERSON1</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>check</td>
<td>Italian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>20120125</td>
<td>PERSON2</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>check</td>
<td>Italian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>20120131</td>
<td>Marietta</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>1956</td>
<td>124/2006</td>
<td>Italian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>20120202</td>
<td>Dario</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>1971</td>
<td>124/2006</td>
<td>Croatian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>20120426</td>
<td>Davor</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>1982</td>
<td>124/2006</td>
<td>Italian</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In the following table there are the frequencies of the used languages in the interview. It is interesting that about 2/3 of the interviews where done in a form of the Italian language (11 in dialect, 10 in standard Italian), and what is maybe even more interesting, 1/3 was done in standard Croatian.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interview Language</th>
<th>N Interviews</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Istro-veneto</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard Italian</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In the next table we can see other characteristics of the sample. The population for which I had more concern is the one that applied for the Italian citizenship under the act 124/2006, and they present the majority of the informants.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>TOT</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N with citizenship act 124/2006</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N act 124/2006 with Slavic sounding surname</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N act 124/2006 with Italian sounding surname</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N citizenship <em>ius sanguinis</em></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N citizenship as spouse</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N no citizenship, renounced act 124/06</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N applied act 124/2006 but not received</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N consulate clerks</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It is difficult to tell how many informants are enough, and, first of all, which informants should a researcher choose for the interviews in an ethnography. Especially in an ethnography which contains elements of autoethnography, as this one. In quantitative studies reliability is achieved with replicability, and in that sense ethnography doesn't need to be far behind. Even in the “hard” sciences replication is not something that is done often, because it doesn't lead to fame (J. C. Johnson 1990:15).

Often in qualitative studies there is an attitude that some interviews with some people are always better than nothing, but that isn't always so (Small 2009:15), there are problems of generalization. In this sense, since I gave up to formal theory building in a GT fashion, I have taken more a road of understanding better a situation of a population that managed to prove to belong to a diaspora, and some of the informants had research experiences, so, somehow they were anticipating my questions. Then, I believe I reached data saturation because I heard similar stories a few times. It depends on the case, but usually saturation may be reached just after twelve interviews (Guest, Bunce, and L. Johnson 2006).

On the final grouping of codes, or categorization, I saw that I could have used much less codes to code the interviews, and that a great part of the codes were created at the beginning of my research process.
By coincidence the number of the interviews, as presented in the demographics table, is 32, and the number of people is 31. 31 interviews is the mean sample size of interviews that Mason found in a non-random sample of 560 studies for qualitative PhD dissertations (Mason 2010). Mason found through literature review that various authors suggest samples from 5 to 60 interviews, depending on which kind of qualitative method a researcher uses, but seldom they explain why they stopped at some point. That is because, concludes Mason, it is difficult to understand when the saturation is reached, because if we continue to interview there will come always more information. It might seem that the decision to not import new information in our work at some to be an arbitrary decision.

The qualitative method and the sample size of my research it is not apt to generalize about all the people with multiple citizenship in the world, but it is quite consistent with the population of dual citizens in the County of Istria in Croatia. Or even more precisely, how do dual citizens of southern Istria perceive their dual national belonging. The claims of this research are quite modest, so it was normal that saturation was achieved earlier (see Charmaz 2006:114). Future research, in my opinion, can add new features of such a population, or new details, but it cannot overthrow the findings that emerged in this one. A quantitative study could show how many findings from my research are perceived by a statistically representative sample of the population, and in what measure. I hope I will be able to do a study like that in the future.

What can this research do on a more general scale is to add up more support to the Weber's status theory (Weber 1944), the optimal distinctiveness theory (see M. B.
Brewer 1991; Leonardelli, Pickett, and M. Brewer 2010) from a sociological point of view, and Bourdieu's theory of distinction (Bourdieu 1984).

3.3.1 The Timespan of the Collecting of the Data from the Informants and the Places

As it is visible in the table with demographic data, the first interview took place on February 4th 2011, and the last one on July 20th 2012, so I can say I've spent almost a year and a half in the field, but the whole preparation went on for almost a year before because I didn't know very much about citizenship studies. If we take in consideration that I personally applied for citizenship in 2008, I may say that I'm observing the developments for more than five years. I had my personal experience of a person who applied for and obtained the Italian citizenship. In my nuclear family of origin I was the only one who didn't have a dual citizenship until 2010.

The interviews were made on various places, some in an office at the University Juraj Dobrila in Pola, some in the office of an NGO to which I had access in non-working hours, some on the workplaces of the informants, one in the premises of an Italian community, one on a playing ground with kids running around me and my informant, one by e-mail. So, the experience was pretty interesting, what wasn't interesting was the transcription, but which in my opinion must be done by the

28 I took an appointment in 2007 to be called to hand in my documentation a year later.
researcher alone in order to get more acquainted with the data. After the transcription the analysis was done with MaxQDA, but that wasn't the end of analysis. The real analysis came later when all the chunks had to be assembled in a meaningful text. The problem was that I made interviews in Italian, Istro-veneto, and Croatian. The translation was sometimes painful because I wanted to keep the meaning of the narrative as close as possible to the original. In the data reduction process there come to mind thousands of ideas, sometimes something that seemed a key part became stupid and trivial in the last reading or during the translation in English.

3.4 Overview of Methodology

3.4.1 Data-Collection : Interviews

In order to get an overview of the phenomenon of dual citizenship in Istria I selected the in-depth interview method (Guest, Namey, and Mitchell 2013:113) as the main source of data collecting. The strengths of such a method are the possibility to gather personal views, to ask for clarification, to understand the world from the informant's point of view. It is also good to ask sensitive, confidential and personal topics (Guest et al. 2013:117).

I wanted to start with the interviews with a person that I knew well, who would concede me a lot of time without too much pressure and whose case presented
some interesting anomalies for the phenomenon of ethnicity and dual citizenship. For that reason I started with Luka who I knew from before, I knew he got the Italian citizenship from personal tales, he was willing to give make an the interview, and he had a Croatian sounding surname which was interesting to hear how he proved to be of Italian culture. Since at the beginning I wanted to make a grounded theory research, I thought it would be useful to analyze such a case to build on it the following interview.

After having transcribed verbatim the interview with Luka, I inserted it in MaxQDA and started to coding it inductively.

The second interview had to be with someone that didn't present peculiarities in the sense, it had to be a person who speaks the Italian language in her or his everyday life and lives a life that could be characterized as an Italian lifestyle in Istria. That is, that uses regularly the language with his or her family members, speaks Croatian with a strong Italian inflection, or not a too good Croatian, watches the Italian television more than the Croatian one, is active in the premises of an Italian community, has Italian sounding name and surname. So I found Riccardo, as a person with all those characteristics and he was willing to answer to an interview.

3.4.1.1 The Interview Questions

29 See the part about Italian culture and identity in the Findings. My thoughts and the perceptions which emerged from the interviews are very much consonant.
As I already wrote, I started my research with a very foggy idea. I really asked myself “What is going on here?”, “Why people from Istria want to have an additional citizenship?” It seemed clear to me when I applied for it as well, but I understood that it wasn't so clear at the end after some reasoning. So, my initial questions were just few generic questions which I had to develop along the way.

I had some information though. I knew that persons who wanted to apply for Italian citizenship had to prove to be of Italian culture (a very blurred concept), they had to prove to have an Italian ancestor too, and to be enrolled in an Italian community. I was also aware from my personal experience that there is needed a lot of patience, let alone money, for all the waiting in various administrative offices, for the travels to Fiume, etc. Based on that information I made a few questions for my initial interviews. The questions where the following:

- How did you (decided to) apply for the Italian citizenship? (HOW)
- What was your motivation for applying for the Italian citizenship? (WHAT, WHY)
- When did you apply for citizenship? (WHEN)
- What does it mean to be of Italian culture in Istria? (WHO, WHERE)

Of course, there were the questions about demographics which weren't so important at the end. All the other questions were developed in the field, and were based on the informants' answers. There was a mutual building of the themes, categories and questions.
I would start with the “CITIZENSHIP SET” of questions. The first question would usually be “How did you (decided to) apply for the Italian citizenship?” which would trigger the talk. That would produce a subset of questions which I put in the PROCEDURE SET:

- How did the whole procedure go?
- When did you learn about the possibility of applying for citizenship?
- Which was the family line you followed?
- Was the procedure difficult?

Then I would ask about the MOTIVATION:

- What was your motivation for applying for the Italian citizenship? (sometimes I teased with a “Wasn't the Croat one enough?”)
- Were you an opportunist?

This set would usually open a UTILITARIAN set or the cultural set I called Italianness set (bear in mind that it wasn't everything so clear, the questions were usually all intertwined). Let's see the UTILITARIAN set first:

- What did you get from this citizenship? How did you use it until now?
- How much does this citizenship help the Italians in Istria?
• If you didn't use your citizenship yet how do you think you will use it?

I will come to the Italianness set of questions later. When talking about citizenship we would always come to some SPECULATION about the act 124/2006. These were the mostly used questions:

• What is behind the act 124/2006? Why it was enacted?

• What gains Italy out of this act?

• Are there territorial pretensions from Italy towards Croatia? (made on the field)

• Should Croatia be afraid of people with dual citizenship?

• Is Croatian sovereignty shrinking because of the dual citizenship?

We would also come to MOVING TO ITALY:

• Why people with dual citizenship don't go to live in Italy or somewhere else?

• Have you ever thought of going to live in Italy?

I wanted to hear some ANECDOTES about interesting that happened during the procedure ("Do you have some interesting anecdotes?"). It would usually came out that they met FALSE ITALIANS. And these were the questions for that part:
• Have you seen people that in your opinion are not of Italian ethnicity but applied or obtained the Italian citizenship?

• After a positive answer I would ask them how do they know that those people were not Italians?

It was also interesting to hear what they think about the derogative term “Talijanaši”, but the majority never heard such a term, or were never called like that.

I also prepared a separate set of questions for a CROATIAN NATIONALIST (the informant Željko – he calls himself that way), who is also a militant of a far right party – the Istrian section – about dual citizenship:

• What do you think about the Italian citizenship?

• How would you regulate such a situation?

• What do you think about Croats from Bosnia and Herzegovina who obtained the Croatian citizenship?

The part about ethnicity and culture started with the questions about their Italianness. So, here is the Italianness set:

• What does it mean to be of Italian culture?

• What are the components of the Italian culture? (informants would usually mention the Italian cuisine, and then I would ask them to explain that further;
the same would happen with language – the question would be about the dialect and the standard)

- What is the Italian identity?
- Do you remember some accidents connected with your ethnicity?
- How much is important ethnicity for you?
- What are your ties with Italy?
- What do you know about irredentism and how do you feel about it?
- Is the Italian culture disappearing in Istria?
- Are you a member of your local Italian community?
- What is the difference between Italians from Italy and Italians from Croatia?

Italianness usually triggered the following CULTURE set:

- Which cultural products form Italy did you use? (the subquestions about TV, newspapers, books, etc... generated a conspicuous amount of data)

Since a proof of belonging to the Italian culture are the school diplomas there had to be a question about schooling and education in general (“Tell me something about education and Italianness”).
I tried to ask about RELIGION, but it never came out anything interesting, usually we would just skip the question. It seems that religion doesn't affect Italian identity in Istria, or any other identity in Istria because in the 2011 Croatian Census the County of Istria had the biggest number of atheists\(^\text{30}\).

Questions about fascism or Italian nationalism in Istria were touched feebly because there are no known movements of that kind, and the informants didn't have a particular opinion that had to do with citizenship and ethnicity.

There emerged the need to ask about DUTIES of new Italian citizens, so I asked the following:

- What are the duties of the new Italian citizens?
- What should an Italian citizen know about Italy?
- Would you go to war for Italy? (I asked usually males about that)

There came out the problem of the MONFALCONESI who came mostly from 1946 to 1948 to build socialism in former Yugoslavia (see Berrini 2004), but remained as ordinary Italians, or went back to Italy. I didn't get many information about them.

\(^{30}\) County of Istria: Catholics 156,206 (75,08%), Agnostics and Skeptics 2,235 (1,07%), Non-believers and Atheists 18,774 (9,50%), Not Declared 10,018 (4,82%);

Croatia: Catholics 3,697,143 (86,28%), Agnostics and Skeptics 32,518 (0,76%), Non-believers and Atheists 163,375 (3,81%), Not Declared 93,018 (2,17%) (Census 2012).
There emerged the question of ISTRIANESS:

- Why mostly Croats in Istria declare as Istrians, but not the Italians? (that is just a perception in the media and on internet fora)
- Is there multiculturalism in Istria?
- What does Istrianess mean?
- Who are the foreigners in Istria? (*furešti, foresti*)

Then also emerged CROATNESS that needed to be questioned. Usually in comparison with Italianness.

To be sincere I got a lot of feedback about Istrianness and Croatness, but I threw that out of the research because I would have too many fronts open. But I put parts to prove some of my points.

At the end I asked the informants about their political preferences and what they think about politics in Italy.

I recalled at some point that I knew a person who went in the Italian high school and once declared as Italian, so I contacted him and prepared the following list of questions:

- How did your parents decide to send you to an Italian school?
- Where have you learned Italian?
- What was your motivation to declare yourself as Italian at the police station?
- What was the situation then in Pola?
- What is the relation between the Serbs and the Italians?
- Would you ask for the Italian citizenship if you could?

For the General Consulate of the Republic of Italy in Fiume I prepared the same questions to see what are the differences in the answers between the applicants and the professionals.

### 3.5 Methods and Procedures for Data Analysis and Synthesis

#### 3.5.1 Overview

In the following lines we will see how the process of data analysis went on, what was the used software, and how the synthesis took place, that is, how the large amount of qualitative data from interviews was reduced to a manageable quantity, and how was the narrative built.

#### 3.5.2 Analytic Approach
After having finished every interview I had transcribed them verbatim with the help of the transcription program F4\(^{31}\) which was very helpful for producing files suitable for data analysis in the CAQDAS package MaxQDA\(^{32}\) which I used to code the interviews. The transcriptions made by F4 have the timestamps which are handy for listening the salient parts, or when the researcher is unsure what was originally said, or the emotional part of what was an informant saying wasn't perceivable from the text.

The codes used were long phrases or just a single word, usually a product of “in vivo” coding (see Saldaña 2009:3), as the readers can see in the appendix D. The codes were then grouped in major categories, and the categories were grouped in themes. In that way I got two separated themes – **Identity** and **Citizenship**.

### 3.5.3 Synthesis

The most difficult part of the whole research process was the synthesis of all the interviews in a set of findings. Walcott tells us that ethnographic research is about writing up (Wolcott 2001), **and not that much about writing**. **When we come back from the field with a lot of material we want to put in our work as many details as possible because we would like to transmit all our experiences about a phenomenon**

\(^{31}\) [http://www.audiotranskription.de/english/f4.htm](http://www.audiotranskription.de/english/f4.htm) It is useful because it has timestamps which are helpful for retrieving chunks of interviews.

\(^{32}\) [http://www.maxqda.com/](http://www.maxqda.com/) A good CAQDAS, but expensive for students or non-commercial use.
or problem, or the positions of the dear people we encountered. But, “[t]he critical task in qualitative research is not to accumulate all the data you can, but to 'can' (i.e., get rid of) most of the data you accumulate” (Wolcott 2001:44), and that was the thing I didn't understand at the beginning of my analysis. As soon as the researcher understands that not everything s/he found must/ can get in the final work the analysis continues fine. I must say that talking with people helped sometimes to get over a block, even though Glaser suggests the opposite if we want to build a theory (1998:196).

3.5.3.1 The Procedure in Detail

First of all, as I stated above, I transcribed verbatim all the interviews using F4, then I put all the interviews in MaxQDA in their original language (standard Italian language, Istro-veneto Italian dialect and standard Croatian language). Then I did the first cycle coding using codes in English (see the MaxQDA outputs in the appendix D). After having spent a lot of time for the initial coding I checked again all the codes. The coding procedure wasn't straightforward, sometimes I had to think for more than a month how should I get out of the mess, in the sense, there would come a block usually connected with the overwhelming amount of data, codes, memos, inductive thinking, and so on. I must confess that at few points I thought I was not able to end the research. And then I started to read more about the theory of citizenship that made me move on. That was also a bad thing to do grounded theory wise (Glaser 1998:74). I also started to put the initial codes under bigger categories, and then the categories in
larger themes.

After I got a structure that had a sense I started to copy larger chunks of text in a word processor, with headings and subheadings based on the categories and themes. The procedure was long, it implied more thinking about the meaning of the text. The text was raw, that is, the interviews were there just divided in greater chunks and sorted together according to their category. At that moment I started to translate in English everything that I thought it is explaining better the categories and themes. This part was extremely difficult because of the translating from two different languages and a dialect, especially the parts that I wanted to leave verbatim for greater trustworthiness and in order to explain better what was going on. Let alone the translation work, it was also extremely difficult to assemble the text in a meaningful way mostly because the same informants would have contradictory statements.

After that work I still wasn't satisfied, so I put the findings back in MaxQDA and recoded them because I had more than 400 pages of findings, and that was about ten times bigger than the 40 to 60 pages of findings suggested by Bloomberg & Volpe (2008:111). At the end I decided with great regret to throw out the part about Istrianness and Croatness in which the informants went in detail to construct the differences between Italianness, Istrianness and Croatness. If I let that in the dissertation would have just too many fronts, and pages. The positive side is that the thirty pages left out can be used for a separate paper that doesn't have to do anything with citizenship.

Another big problem with the synthesis was to struggle with the fronts I opened. I wanted to learn why people wanted an additional citizenship and I ended in
the world of ethnicity, ethnic relations, identity, nationalism and concepts of citizenship. Every theme was a new frontline, and the time for a doctoral research is just too short to go into all the possible details and all the possible findings.

After having put together an account about culture, ethnicity and citizenship I gave the part with the findings on citizenship to a colleague to get a feedback about the readability of the text. When I got a quite positive feedback I continued on my path.

Since I wanted to build a narrative of all the cases I didn't put a distinct analysis of every case, but I sorted it according to the categories and themes. That is why the readers may notice that the same informant may tell one thing about a phenomenon or have an opinion about an action, but at the same time also be under another category and tell the opposite. It is not an error, and it is not a case of split personality, but, as humans may be sometimes illogical, and at the same time we may say something that is connected with our ideals, but also to do something that seems more useful. For example, when people think that “those others” are applying for citizenship because of lucrative and interest reasons, but, after some time it comes out in the interview that an additional citizenship is useful, and it is not just a matter of ethnic pride. Or, as another example, when an informant calls the Croatian television “our television”, as it is still used in the former Yugoslav countries to call the language and tv channels, but at the same time speaks about differences between

33 The satirical web portal news-bar.hr recently published a piece under the title “Države bivše Jugoslavije zbog EU uvode izraz 'naš' jezik” – “The States of Former Yugoslavia Because of the EU are Introducing the Term ‘Our’ Language” (see Sor n.d.) . In the piece are mocking the overstressed and sometimes imperceptible differentiation among the Croatian, Serbian, Bosnian, Serbo-Croatian, etc...
the Italians and the other Slavs, and says she feels more Italian.

Another problem was the generation of a theory based on the grounded theory procedure. I just got stuck. I got into “paralysis by analysis” problem, not uncommon for people that use grounded theory, as I did at the beginning, especially if a researcher reads other findings in the same area upfront (Glaser 1998:70–71). I decided then to do a kind of thematic analysis and to start to read everything that I could find useful in relation to citizenship, minorities, identity, Italianness, ethnicity and nationalism. I discovered in that way that the usefulness and fruitfulness of the optimal distinctiveness theory (M. B. Brewer 1991; Leonardelli et al. 2010).

To improve trustworthiness, that is, reliability and validity of my research I put as many as possible verbatim citations and thick description (Geertz 1973), but having in mind the readability. Another reason for insisting on the thick description is to help possible future researchers of the same problem or the phenomenon of dual citizenship in Istria. For example, I had in mind that a questionnaire could be constructed easily basing it on the themes and categories presented in this work for a possible quantitative research for which, in my opinion, should be used the help of the Italian General Consulate in Fiume, or precisely, the Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Internal Affairs of the Republic of Italy in order to get to the population sample.

Let's now see the problems of trustworthiness of qualitative research in general, and ethnography in particular.
3.6 Issues of Trustworthiness

It is always difficult to assess trustworthiness/credibility in qualitative research, mostly because, as we will see, there is not one way to assess it, and that should be for some researchers a positive feature of qualitative methods in which “a hegemonic politics of evidence cannot be allowed” (Denzin and Giardina 2008:38).

There are always compromises, partial truths or self-deceptions in ethnographic work as Fine shows (1993), but I tried, as shown in my sample, “not to lie with ethnography” by trying to find an “inconvenience sample” (Duneier 2011).

Even though qualitative studies are very flexible, to say the least, in concern of validity and reliability, I have tried to do my best to ensure trustworthiness in a case study according to some of the criteria mentioned in the following lines.

3.6.1 Credibility/Validity

In quantitative research “an indicator of some abstract concept is valid to the extent that it measures what it purports to measure” (Carmines and Zeller 1979:12). In the social sciences researchers usually use construct validation, and “construct

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34 Lather (2007:5162) defines credibility “as the extent to which the data, data analysis, and conclusions are believable and trustworthy as based on a set of standard practices. Markers of credibility include triangulation, the use of different methods, samples of people and/or times and places.”
validity is concerned with the extent to which a particular measure relates to other measures consistent with theoretically derived hypotheses concerning the concepts (or constructs) that are being measured” (Carmines and Zeller 1979:23). As Carmines & Zeller write, such a “validation is by necessity, theory-laden” (1979:23), because in the social sciences we are usually not dealing with things or objects (or objectified living beings), but with theoretical concepts. It is impossible to achieve perfection, so “validity [always] is a matter of degree” (Carmines and Zeller 1979:13). That makes quantitative methods at least a little bit qualitative because we have to understand the circumstances of a studied phenomenon. The major difference between the two approaches to research, or to reality in general, is that in qualitative research we don't use or have standardized measures, so it is difficult to talk about the validity of such methods, even though the validity of quantitative methods is also difficult to ascertain. Then how can we ascertain the validity of the findings in qualitative research?

First of all, let's see what does validity mean in qualitative research. For Lather “[v]alidity is, in short, power, the power to determine the demarcation between science and non-science” (2007:5161).

Creswell & Miller found in the literature “a confusing array of terms for validity, including authenticity, goodness, verisimilitude, adequacy, trustworthiness, plausibility, validity, validation, and credibility” (2000:124). In their view “[t]here is a general consensus, however, that qualitative inquirers need to demonstrate that their studies are credible” (2000:124), and with that agrees also Lather (2007:5162). So they define validity in qualitative inquiry “as how accurately the account represents participants' realities of the social phenomena and is credible to
them” (Creswell and D. L. Miller 2000:124–125). In their opinion, in qualitative research validity doesn't refer to the data but to the inferences based on those data (2000:125).

Qualitative researchers can, according to Creswell & Miller, choose among many validity procedures, and their choice is driven by “the lens researchers choose to validate their studies and researchers' paradigm assumptions” (2000:124). There are three types of lens used by the researchers (Creswell and D. L. Miller 2000:125):

- **Lens of the Researcher**: it the researcher alone who establishes for how long she will be in the field, are there emerging good themes or categories, and how to develop a persuasive narrative;

- **Lens of Study Participants**: since in qualitative research it is presumed that reality is a social construct it is important to make the various participants check how were their accounts/realities represented at the end of the research;

- **Lens of People External to the Study (Reviewers, Readers)**: the researcher could give the accounts of the informants to colleagues or other persons outside the study for a review of the credibility.

According to Creswell & Miller there are three main paradigm assumptions or worldviews important for qualitative research (2000:125–126):

- **The Postpositivist or Systematic Paradigm**: the researcher assumes that qualitative research should be done in rigorous way as the quantitative one. There should be used specific protocols to ascertain validity;

- **The Constructivist Paradigm**: the researcher sees the research as an
interpretative and pluralistic work on the perceived realities of the informants;

- The Critical Paradigm: “[...] the researchers should uncover the hidden assumptions about how narrative accounts are constructed, read and interpreted” (2000:126). According to this paradigm the researcher is never neutral, because she or he is governed by his or her background, and the accounts are never neutral because are influenced by the historical situation of the informants (gender, class, ethnicity, etc...).

By intertwining the lens and the paradigm assumptions we can get nine different types of validity procedures which could be used in qualitative research. The nine types of validity procedures are presented in table below taken from (Creswell and D. L. Miller 2000:126).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lens</th>
<th>Paradigm Assumption</th>
<th>Postpositivist or Systematic Paradigm</th>
<th>Constructivist Paradigm</th>
<th>Critical Paradigm</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lens of the Researcher</td>
<td>Triangulation</td>
<td>Disconfirming evidence</td>
<td>Researcher's reflexivity</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lens of Study Participants</td>
<td>Member checking</td>
<td>Prolonged engagement in the field</td>
<td>Collaboration</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lens of People External to the Study (Reviewers, Readers)</td>
<td>The audit trail</td>
<td>Thick, rich description</td>
<td>Peer debriefing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For Lather (2007:5162) a part of the procedures represent internal validity:
“prolonged engagement [in the field], thick description, thorough delineation of research process [audit trail], and unobtrusive entry and participation”; and external validity is based on the reader's assessment of transferability of the study.

We must look at these procedures as at ideal types, that is, every research contains parts of all the nine validity procedures, but we as researchers stick more with some of them and less with the others. My research is based on the constructivist paradigm, and I tried to use all the three explained lenses, but at the end I wanted to achieve validity by **thick and rich description** (see also the first chapter of Geertz 1973). That means that I wanted to put in the findings many details, parts of verbatim transcriptions, explanation of the contexts and so on, to make the readers feel almost as they had experienced the situations the informants went through, but also to “enable[] readers to make decisions about the applicability of the findings to other settings or similar contexts” (Creswell and D. L. Miller 2000:129) (transferability). I hope I managed that.

I have also used “Disconfirming evidence” as a procedure similar to triangulation that involves finding negative evidence to disconfirm themes and categories. So, although my research is based on the obtainment of the Italian citizenship under the act 124/2006 I interviewed people that applied under other acts (as the 91/1992), didn't apply, renounced, a representative/ militant of a Croatian far right party who is against any minority rights, and so on, as is visible in the sample.

I didn't use the “Member checking” procedure in its usual form, but, I used something similar by asking the next informant about the data I got from the previous informant.
The “Researcher reflexivity” procedure was also used partially, in the sense I am also a person who obtained the Italian citizenship under the act 124/2006, I know many of the persons I interviewed from my personal and professional life, and I put my experience in the research by commenting, checking against my experiences, etc. Since I belong to the researched demographic group I may say that I also used involuntarily the “Prolonged engagement in the field” procedure.

The main problem is I didn't use triangulation in a formal way, and that might take some validity from the study. But, as we have seen also in concern of quantitative research, validity is a matter of degree, and I think I managed to make my research quite valid.

3.6.2 Dependability/ Reliability

In quantitative research the reliability of the results of measurements is quite clearly defined: “[R]eliability concerns the extent to which an experiment, test, or any measuring procedure yields the same results on repeated trials” (Carmines and Zeller 1979:11). Of course, there is always at least a slight difference in the results of repeated measurements, so “unreliability is always present to at least a limited extent” (Carmines and Zeller 1979:12) also in quantitative research, and that's why we have to talk about consistency. Reliability in quantitative research can be defined more precisely as the “tendency toward consistency found in repeated measurements of the same phenomenon [...]” (Carmines and Zeller 1979:12).
In qualitative research, on the other hand, “[r]eliability is the fit between what occurs and what is recorded, and is established by: detailed fieldnotes, a team approach, participant confirmation of accuracy of observations, mechanized recording of data (tape recorders, videotapes, photographs), use of participant quotations, and an active search for discrepant data” (Lather 2007:5162).

Golafshani (2003:601) cites Lincoln and Guba by saying that dependability in qualitative research closely corresponds to reliability in quantitative research. But at the end everything must be reduced to trustworthiness/credibility, that is, “[t]o ensure reliability in qualitative research, examination of trustworthiness is crucial” (Golafshani 2003:601).

On the other hand, Stenbacka thinks that reliability is a concept of the quantitative methods and it shouldn’t be used in qualitative research, and if it is used it will produce a bad study (2001:552).

To show the reliability of my findings I would have to show the material, the mp3 files of the interviews, the transcripts with the timestamps, the memos, the code list, etc. I could provide that, but it would be a violation of privacy of the informants, I would have an ethical problem. I can trim the transcripts by taking the names away, of course, but it is still not a practical work. I was fortunate enough that my findings were similar to those from other studies (see the literature review), and I came to that inductively.

Here arises another problem, that is, the readers have to trust me that I came to my findings without any prior reading of other studies. It seems that we still don’t have good tools to prove reliability of qualitative studies (see Kirk and M. L. Miller
1986), but maybe that is a feature and not a problem of qualitative methods.

3.7 Ethical Considerations

The informants were willing to cooperate in the interviews and, in my opinion, they didn't try to retain some information on purpose. They showed also a great will to share their experiences. However, since any kind of identity matters and ethnic belonging in an environment as is the Croatian one can bring problems it seemed right to conceal the names and various detailed data in order to keep the informants and their interviews anonymous and to not jeopardize the informants in any way.

I also omitted parts of the findings that could jeopardize the informants in any way.

3.8 Limitations of the Study

The main limit of the study was the starting approach that I wanted to use for the whole study, that is, the grounded theory approach. It ate a great part of the time at my disposition. After that, a problem was the size of the sample, for that reason it is difficult to generalize for the entire population, which should be done in a future survey study on a representative sample by using the findings present in this work.
3.9 Chapter Summary

In this chapter there were exposed the rationale of the chosen methods, ethnography and case study, and why it was abandoned the grounded theory approach. After that there was presented the sample of the informants with their demographics as detailed as it was possible, and the defense of representativeness of such a sample, in the sense how is it possible to generalize from that sample.

There was exposed a longer part about the used research technique, the interviews. The account was detailed in order to enhance replicability of transferability of this study.

Under analysis and synthesis there were described the ways in which CAQDAS was used, from transcription (F4) to analysis (MaxQDA). There was also exposed how such a software can help sorting and keeping data, but cannot solve problems and interpret data, that is on the researcher.

Trustworthiness was explained in detail by comparing quantitative research validity and reliability with the qualitative validity and reliability, and the possible drawbacks were explained.

Under ethical considerations it was explained how was protected the privacy of the informants.

In the exposition of the limitations of the study was stated that a confirmatory quantitative research based on the categories form the findings could help to add more knowledge to the phenomenon of dual citizenship in Istria.
CHAPTER 4 PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS

4.1 Introduction and Overview

During the research procedure there emerged two main themes which are, as we will see in detail, inseparable when ius sanguinis citizenship laws are involved. The themes are Citizenship and Ethnicity. The informants informed me about the reasons they applied for the Italian citizenship and all the procedure they went through in order to get it to the minimum detail. Of course, the limit was the memory of the informants.

Under the theme ethnicity we will see that the informants talked about the components Culture and Identity. During the interviews there emerged their thoughts on Multiculturalism as a concept used and abused in Istria, and they also discerned two cultures – the Italian one and the Croatian one. Since the research was focused on the Italian citizenship and the way to get it there was more focus on the Italian culture as a key prerequisite for the application for citizenship.

The informants talked about three identities which are not always clearly separated: the Italian, the Istrian and the Croatian one. The three identities are not clearly separated, but the informants that applied for citizenship under the act 124/2006 wanted to show the distinction among them as Italians and the other identities.

Another interesting finding is that of “false Italians”, as people who allegedly are not ethnic Italians, but pretend to be for some real or possible benefit. We shall
also see that there is a perception of the “false Italians” from the people who perceive themselves as Italians, and from the people who perceive themselves as Croats.

Under the theme “Citizenship” we shall see everything connected to the reasons, the procedure, the emotions connected to the application for citizenship. At the end there will be presented the experiences of the clerks at the Italian General Consulate in Fiume. They were used for triangulation, but also to shed new light from another perspective on the citizenship application process.

4.2 Finding 1: Culture Matters

During the interviews emerged a few themes that are present in the discourse (citat) in Istria: Multiculturalism, Italian culture and Croatian culture. Let's see what the informants said.

4.2.1 Multiculturalism – Fake and Real

In the Region of Istria in Croatia there is a narrative of multiculturalism (banovac), and that discourse emerged from the interviews. Most of the informants mentioned multiculturalism of Istria, having in mind mostly two cultures – the Italian and the Croatian one. Some mentioned the Slovenian culture, but not the other ethnic groups present in Istria, as the Serbs, Albanians, Roma, Bosniaks and others.

Alberto, for example, stated that in Istria there were always many different
Riccardo thinks that the \textit{convivenza} – a concept used to denote different cultures living together in Istria (cite Balinger) – that was created in a long period in which cultures were sharing the same territory, is starting to decay as more newcomers who don't or can't understand the Istrian situation come in Istria. Basically, the newcomers are destroying multiculturalism.

Mario said that there are people that understand that multiculturalism is a richness and it makes life better in general, and that is why people in Istria live better than anywhere else in Croatia\textsuperscript{35}. On the other hand there are some other people that think that multiculturalism is a burden for Croatia and it is a disturbing element for the Croatian nation-state, thinks Mario. Those who see multiculturalism as a burden are usually the persons who don't understand Istria because they were born in another culture. He thinks that in a multicultural environment everybody thrives – the majority and the minority – that is why he doesn't understand the animosity of some people against the Istrian multicultural situation. In Mario's opinion the desire to eliminate multiculturalism in Istria is a kind fascism. He thinks it is normal that regions in Croatia are different because they have a different history. It is not that easy to delete five centuries of Venetian domination, as it is not possible to delete the

\textsuperscript{35} A working paper by Ivica Rubil from the The Institute of Economics, Zagreb published in January 2013 (Rubil 2013) shows that the Istrian region stands economically better than the capital – Zagreb – and both are above all the other Croatian regions. According to that paper an average Istrian family in 2010 earned 27\% more than an average Croatian family.
Turkish, Hungarian or Austrian domination in other parts of Croatia.

In the 1990s there were high expectations of the citizenry from the IDS-DDI party, people believed that they “will carry on a discourse of plurilingaulism [sic!] or bilingualism, or multiculturality, which didn't happen” said Giuliano, and in his opinion that is a problem. In his opinion the chance to build a multicultural society in Istria might be lost forever.

Giacomo thinks that Istrian Italianness itself is more multicultural and never nationalist, because “you'll hear fewer times us [Italians] say 'We the Italians'.” For him such a situation is completely different than anywhere else in Croatia where there is present a strong form of nationalism. "So, we [, the Italians,] are a truly quiet component and we also respect the situation as it is."

Franco, on the other hand, sees the same cultural situation in a different way. That what the other informants call multiculturalism, for him is just “biculturalism.” Just the Italian and Croatian cultures are under the spotlight. He noticed that even the Slovenian culture, which was also often mentioned in the Istrian multicultural discourse in the 1990s36, remained outside of that discourse. In his opinion the Roma population is a taboo, and he also asked rhetorically: "Where are the Bosniaks in all that? That is, they were imported in the 1950s-1960s as a working force, where are they? [...] I doubt that all of them got completely assimilated, but it is never spoken about them in a context of [...] multicultural politics."

He believes that in reality other parts of Croatia are even more multicultural

36 See (J. Ashbrook 2006), but also (Orlić 2009).
than Istria but they don't have, as he called it, the “multicultural marketing” as the Region of Istria has it. In Dalmatia and Podravina, he put them as examples, also live many different ethnicities. Maybe the people there are a little bit politically rigid, he said, but, nevertheless, there are many different ethnicities, maybe even more than in Istria. The “multicultural marketing carried on by the IDS-DDI serves as a “marker of specificity of Istria and of all that that the rest of Croatia is not.” For him “the difference, really, between us [in Istria] and the rest of Croatia in this view is the fact that we potentiate those stories [about multiculturalism].” So, there are no real differences, it is just a good story, or narrative that is suitable to attract European Union funds. His opinions are in line with the findings of Olga Orlić, who found that in Istrian multicultural discourse there is almost no space for other ethnicities except the Croatian and the Italian (Orlić 2009:54–55), and even the Italian stands almost as a decoration.

All the informants don't mention other ethnicities except the Croatian, Italian and, more rarely, the Slovenian one. As a special case there is perceived the Istrian identity, which still cannot be called ethnicity even though citizens of Croatia could declare themselves as Istrians in the census of 2011.

4.2.1.1 The Italian Culture

From the interviews emerged the components of Italian culture in general and in particular the Istrian Italian culture, so in the following lines we will see how the informants came to enumerate the components of an ethnic culture almost as it is used
in theories about ethnic groups.

4.2.1.1 What is Italian Culture?

The Italian culture is, of course, composed by many components in the opinions of the informants. All of them think it is not that easy to define it clearly. For example, giacomo sees the Italian culture as something that a person lives in the everyday life. Since the proof of belonging to Italian culture is required in order to get the Italian citizenship he said he doesn't know what did the legislator mean under “Italian culture”, but in his opinion it is something that it is not definable in legal terms. He thinks that people cannot prove to belong to the Italian culture without a few witnesses who spent a part of their lives with the applicant. Those witnesses should prove that a certain person has lived her everyday life in the Italian way. That means for him that a person dresses, eats, has religious views as an Italian. It is also about feeling closer the Italian Venetian culture than the Croatian one.

Fausta also finds it very difficult to tell what exactly is Italian culture, but it could be easily summed in the sentence she used: “Tell me what you eat and I tell you who you are.” So, food habits, as we will see, is a fundamental component of the Italian culture.

For Mario the Italian culture is one of the biggest and most important cultures

37 I didn't insist on the explanation of how such a procedure could be practically implemented since, as we shall see, just the gathering of documents is a big problem itself.
in the world and that may be perceived as a threat to some Croats:

[...] We have resisted all these years because we belong culturally to a cultural reality [...] that is of value for the whole world, you understand. This is the discourse. Like the Italian [culture], like the French [culture], like the English [culture] [...]. In some historical periods from this country [i.e. Italy] have started cultural values that are worldly [...]. Therefore, this is the force that keeps [us] together. Naturally, if you speak Italian, like Spanish, [...] they understand you in the Latin world. So, that is the force [...]. For me it is a value to belong to a culture of such dimensions.

Marietta sees culture as a matrix, so her matrix is Italian. In her opinion there is not much difference “between our Istro-Veneto [dialect] and the Chakavian [dialect] [...]” because, in her opinion, both the dialects belong to a unique augmented cultural matrix. So, the Italian culture is permeated by the Slavic culture, and vice versa. Although she thinks the language is very important she feels the Chakavian speaking Croats like “prvi zrmani” – first cousins. On the other hand, she doesn't feel the same for the Croats from Bosnia, for instance, even if they have lived in Istria for thirty years, as she said. It is not a matter of intolerance – she explains – it is just a different matrix and that cannot be changed that easily.

Marietta also mentioned that clothes could be a symbol of Italian culture. For her to wear a foulard is part of the Italian culture. She recalled her student days when students in Zagreb from Bosnia and Herzegovina, then part of the former Yugoslavia, would copy her styling. It seems that she was a kind of a trend-setter.

Franco wanted to demystify the concept of “Italian culture”, as he would do for any other culture. He tried to explain to me that there is no such thing as Italian culture, so he told me:
I participated in a similar interview and then, […] that interviewer […] asked a colleague what is for him “Italian culture” and he started to enumerate Dante, Boccaccio, Petrarca, etcetera… That is, he started to enumerate all the common places. But if we think about Italian culture as a national culture that is a paradox. For which reason? Because they are all pre-national authors. […] Those are the authors that had not lived the nation the way it has been lived from the half of the nineteenth century. […] They have maybe used the term "nation", but they used it for their specific localities as there are, I don't know, towns, their villages or places […]. That is a paradox, but how to truly prove the belonging to a culture I really don't have a clue. I really don't have […] a clue. […] I don't have a clue and how to avoid falling in those common places in which I don't want to fall […].

Leonardo and Luka see Italian culture even in places where people prefer to deny Italian culture or any other national culture and character, as for example in squats – the centri sociali. Leonardo says that people in the squats where he had been don't look at him as at a Slavo – a Slav – but they know where is Istria and the history. He also perceives the similarities in the topics he speaks about there in Italy in the squats and in his home town. It is usually about “music, antifascists, this and that, activism, Anarchism, counter Berlusconi. That is pretty close […]”

Instead of talking specifically about the Italian culture in Istria Daniela said: "I would say rather an Istrian Italian [culture]." She put it so because the Istrian Italian culture is not a closed culture, it is inclusive, and that is in her opinion a particular characteristic of Istria as a whole. For her the Italian culture in Istria is a particular for its mixing with the Croatian culture. People in Istria speak both Italian and Croatian, and that is a thing that makes the Istrian Italians more inclusive in a way. The mixing of cultures makes the Istrian Italian culture richer.

The Italian culture doesn't have to be connected with ethnicity. Mario said that many people that are enrolled in the Italian community are not Italian, but share the
Italian culture. Ethnically they can be whatever they want for what is in his concern.

For Luka people in Istria are connected to Italian culture because they get inputs from their grandparents who lived in (or under) Italy for a part of their lives (usually their youth). “It doesn't matter how much they loved it [Italy], but culturologically it [Italy] was always here”, he says. For example, Luka's grandfather was in the Yugoslav partisans and still he passed Italian culture to him.

4.2.1.1.1 Italian Culture – A Disappearing Culture

All the informants have noticed that the Italian culture has started to disappear in Istria, and the informant Željko said it never really existed.

Davor works with young people in the Italian community in his hometown. He noticed that there are less and less active people in the Italian community, especially the young ones. He perceives that there are less and less Italians in Istria, and the young people speak the Italian language worse than in the past. He feels pessimistic about the future of Italian culture in Istria. In his opinion the Italian culture in Istria was eradicated after World War 2, and now there are attempts to reconstruct that culture by financing the publishing books and magazines in Italian language, as the EDIT\textsuperscript{38} does.

Giuliano thinks that the Italian region Veneto emanated the regional act nr. 15

\textsuperscript{38} A publishing house owned by the Italian Union in Fiume. See their web site: http://www.edit.hr (visited on February 25\textsuperscript{th} 2013).
from 7 April 1994 to protect what is left of the Italian culture in Istria. Also for Daniela it is important to maintain the, as she called it, “Venetianity” of the territory, more even than Italianness.

Riccardo noticed that in the small villages Italianness is more preserved than in the big centers as Pola, but he perceives it is dying out in general.

Some of the informants told me about their particular ways of preserving the Italian culture even though they live in a mixed marriage. So Federica, in order to preserve the Italian culture in her family, teaches her son Italian songs from the 1960s: "I taught him to sing 'Tintarella di luna' when he was [...] 18 months old. By heart. He doesn't know the words, but he knows 'Abbronzatissima', 'Parlami d'amore Marìa', 'Sapore di sale', all those songs, only canzoni. Because my father taught me like that. When I was a kid I knew to sing [songs from] Rita Pavone [...], Adriano Celentano and that is something that I'm trying... I teach him the words slowly [...]."

4.2.1.1.1 Belonging to the Anglo-Saxon Culture

There is another “menace” for the Italian culture in Istria, and that is the global influence of the Anglo-Saxon culture as Mauro said. He said, if he must be sincere,

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39 A song sung by Mina, a famous Italian singer still recording. It was published in 1960.
41 Sung by Vittorio De Sica, published in 1932.
that his culture of reference is mostly the Anglo-Saxon pop culture, more than any other culture or a traditional Italian culture. The Italian citizenship, as he said, didn't have a major impact on his belonging to the Italian culture because he always wanted more to be American than Italian. He discovered later his own Italianness and became more connected with the culture. He still couldn't listen to Italian pop music as Vasco Rossi, as he couldn't listen to the Yugoslav pop music authors and then the Croatian ones. He always preferred American and British pop music.

4.2.1.1.2 Components of Italian Culture

We will see what emerged from the interviews. The opinions of the informants are similar to the findings in the literature.

4.2.1.1.1 Architecture

Architecture is and was always an important medium used to build a nation (Boni and Poggi 2011; Jones 2011; McNeill and Tewdwr-Jones 2003; Nicoloso 2012), and the informants perceive architecture in this way.

Alberto perceives that everything in Pola that could remind the inhabitants or visitors of the Italian culture of Pola the Croatian authorities try to hide, so happens with architecture too. He sees often in the newspapers and other media people talk about the Austro-Hungarian times, the buildings they built, and in the same time they ignore the buildings Italians built during the 25 years from 1918 to 1943. There are
various kinds of buildings that go from the monuments and fountains to modernist architecture from the times of fascism as the post office in Pola.

Marietta perceives not just the exterior part of architecture, but also the peculiarity of interior design of Italian homes in Istria, and more specifically in Pola. In her perception it is very different from that of the other ethnicities which live in Istria. She explained it in this way:

You can see it [the difference] in the furnishing, because, for instance, I put the tiles. For me [the tiles are] the concept, the pojam\textsuperscript{43}, [...] was something that I'd seen as a child on the commercials... We were watching just the Italian television. I don't put the \textit{\v{c}ilimi}\textsuperscript{44}, if I can say that. I don't have a single carpet in my house. I don't want to say that houses with carpets are less beautiful, absolutely. [...] I speak about the formation of habits. [...] I had at home the pavement \textit{alla veneziana} [terrazzo][...], and when I was [a] little [girl] I would say “why I have to show this pavement \textit{alla veneziana} when my friends come over?!” Until one day [...] my professor of English language came to my house, a Venetian by birth, and when she came [...] she said:“Look, what a nice home that you have, the pavement \textit{alla veneziana}, like my house at the Lido [di Venezia]!” From there on I would say [to my friends]: “You don't understand a thing, I have a venetian pavement!” There, a kid also understood [those cultural differences].

4.2.1.1.2 Food

The food emerged as one of the most important features of Italian culture. It is something that presents a differentiation from the other cultures in Istria and Croatia. Food is undoubtedly one of the most important components of Italian culture (Montanari 2004, 2010), as of any other culture. Sharing the same eating habits is sharing the same culture, thinks Giuliano. Istrian Italians are eating the same \textit{minestra},

\textsuperscript{43} Concept in Croatian language, used by the informant in croatian language even though the interview was done in Istrian dialect.

\textsuperscript{44} Tapestry-woven carpets, from the Turkish Kilim.
the baccalà (stockfish), the liver alla veneziana, etc.  

People in Istria are for sure closer to the Italian cuisine than “those who live over the Monte Maggiore[ Mount Učka]”, said Marla.

Also drinking coffee is a habit learned at home. “To say it in very simple words I prefer to drink the caffè ristretto. Who told me that? Nobody! […] These are cultural habits that someone has. I've always seen doing so” said Marietta. Her family has had always the moka pot – la macchinetta (the little machine) - at home and she has seen always her family members use the moka pot. She remembered that when she would go out with her friends she would drink coffee coi fondi (with coffee grounds) – or also known as Turkish coffee. She stressed:“[B]ut I haven't ever done them [Turkish coffee with coffee grounds] in my house.” She continued with stressing how much is the Italian culture imprinted in her by saying “I appreciate [the moka coffee] like that because my taste, my palate, my brain are formed in this way. That doesn't mean that, absolutely, […] that one [kind of] coffee is better than the other.” It is something that has to do with a deeper culture in her opinion.

Also Marina noticed this difference in coffee drinking. The Serbs are drinking “that coffee”, meaning Turkish coffee, like it was a strange beverage prepared in a strange way. She stressed that she uses the moka pot, a very important part of house

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45 It is very interesting that in an Italian enclave in western Slavonia, horse-meat sausage is the symbol of Italian identity in that part of Croatia. But, why is that interesting? Because in the surroundings of Belluno, from where those Slavonian Italians came, nobody prepares the horse-meat sausage for what are the Slavonian Italians renown, and for the snails too. Jelka Vince-Pallua calls these characteristics of the Slavonian Italians signs, which helped that ethnicity survive (see Vince-Pallua 2003) . This is interesting for my conclusion, where it comes out that the Italian population in Istria has some features of a separate ethnic group, in the sense that they are different from the Italians from Italy, but also from the local Croats.
appliances of Italian homes. She recalled a situation in which the girlfriend of her friend who is originally from Vukovar (Eastern Croatia on the Serbian border), said “Uff, vi Taliijani jedete puno pašte!” - “Uff, you Italians eat a lot of pasta!” She mentioned that in order to show that also people from other parts of Croatia notice the peculiarities of Istria and much it is connected with Italy and Italian culture.

“We eat also […] sauerkrauts or kiseli kupus, or the sarme [cabbage rolls], but we eat a lot of pasta with other things people here [in Istria] weren't used to eat. She went on explaining that her husband, even though he doesn't belong to the Istrian tradition, he likes to eat all the Istrian food mostly based on northern Italian cuisine. She also perceives ethnic differences based on food.

To Leonardo the story with the cultural vicinity of the Italian cuisine is more a stereotype than something real, but he agrees that food in Istria reminds him more the Italian one than the food from the rest of Croatia or in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Lina has never liked the čevapčići and “those things that come from the East.” She prefers lighter food like the Italian one, and doesn't like heavy food with a lot of fat in general, like the cakes usually prepared in the Balkans like the baklava. She also sees a great difference between the typical (Croatian) Istrian maneštra and the Italian minestrina46. In her opinion the Italian variant of the vegetable and meat soup is lighter, while the Croatian variant is a heavy duty soup for working people.

For Marla the difference in food culture between the Italians and all the other

46 It is possible to notice the difference she accentuated between a word of Italian origins, but pronounced in the Slavic was – maneštra – and the use of a diminutive for the Italian variant – minestrina.
ethnicities in Istria is more a difference between the Italian coast and Croatian hinterland. Once people used to eat what was there on the territory, it was normal for the internal part of Istria to eat more pork and less fish, and vice versa on the Adriatic coast.

Giuliano recalled that he ate almost the same food at his uncle's place in a village in the internal part of Istria, for him there are not major differences between the Croatian and Italian food in Istria. Maybe there was a little more meat in countryside, but, it was mostly a difference between the village and the town than an ethnic difference.

Lucio thinks that there are not substantial differences between Istrians of Croatian or Italian provenience, all of them eat a kind of food similar to the one eaten in Northern Italy. Istrian Croats and Istrian Italians are the same in concern of the food consumption habits, but Istrians in general, according to him, differ in food habits from the Croats from other parts of Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina: “They don't know what is the moka [pot] for preparing coffee, they don't know the pasta, tomatoes. They eat [...] pork that I wouldn't eat ever again. A feast for them is pork and a beer. For us, I don't know, perhaps a pizza, pastasciutta and similar stuff.”

Alberto also noticed that Istrian Croats have always something to do with pork meat. He recalled that Croats in Istria always say: “Let's do the ham, let's do the kobasice [sausages], [...] this stuff, no. So, my grandmother who doesn't know how to say even two words in Croatian [...] would call them magnaporchi” – Porkeaters. Istrian Italians, in his opinion, eat more Mediterranean food, like pastasciutta – “it is a classic.” So, in his opinion, the Italian cuisine in Istria is based on less meat and more
fish and pasta.

Livio, when asked about the characteristics of food habits in Istria, replied with a joke: “I don't know, I didn't see make *gnocchi* in Bosnia [hah hah hah].” For him it is evident that the food in Istria is “more Italian.” He can spot the difference between Italians in Istria and other Croats in the consumption of pasta and similar food. The Italian influence on food, according to him, is not just visible in Istria, but in Dalmatia too.

Riccardo finds that food habits in Istria are closer to the ones in Friuli Venezia Giulia and in Veneto than to the typical Croatian food present in other parts of Croatia.

Lidia also perceives some differences between the Istrian coast and the Istrian hinterland. On the coast people eat more fish and pasta, in the internal part of Istria people eat more meat, especially pork and sauerkrauts. She noticed that the food in the Istrian hinterland is more similar to the food in other parts of Croatia.

Mario didn't want to speak about food in terms of differences. For him food is more a medium that unites than it divides. Croats and Italians in Istria eat the same food according to him. He recalled a situation when an old Italian lady *esule* said to a Croat Istrian that the Croats cannot understand the Italians because they belong to a different culture, and the guy answered “Why? Don't we eat the same *minestra*?”

Franco thinks it is a little bit problematic to tell whether food is a component of culture because, in his opinion, the food is never autochthonous. Today it is even more difficult to speak about a particular culture of food because nowadays one can eat any kind of food all over the world – “It is more a market problematic, not a
problematic of identity in a strict sense [...]” He continued:

On the other hand, let's say that [Lidia] Bastianich in New York, if you want. She serves there [in her restaurant] Istrian food, but how she calls it? Italian! [...] The reason is to have some marketability [proda], because [...] Italian gastronomy connotes more sublime ideas than the Istrian one, which is, in fact, rural, poor [...]. Really for poor people. So... What really mediates culture? I don't have a clue! I really don't know how to prove it [with food].

Luka said he eats food prepared in a typical Italian way. He stressed that his cuisine is not a strict Italian cuisine, but he thinks it is “quite Italian”, and it is so everywhere in the border territories.

Mauro finds that food in Istria is a mixture of the Italian and Austro-Hungarian tradition. He sees that in the habit of eating a soup for primo (piatto), and pasta for secondo (piatto). In his opinion “this has nothing to do with the Italian [way]. This purely Nordic, like, something to warm up. That is, there's no need in Italy to get warmer inside with the liquid primo since it is a Mediterranean country.”

Davor has some issues with food in general, as he said:

[B]ecause I eat four foods from four different nationalities. My grandmother is Macedonian so she cooks Macedonian things, we have taken something from the Hungarian cuisine, so spicy, the goulash, those things are eaten every second day. Then, Croatian typical cuisine or Istrian – the minestra or so. We eat also the yota. The yota is more crucca. That is, more German. All in all, it is not so clear a mixture.

47 Lidia Bastianich is an esule from Istria (Albona/ Labin) and a renown restaurant owner in New York City, cookbook bestsellers author and a cooking TV show host in the United States.
48 Yota is a vegetables, ribs, beans, etc., soup or stew typical for Istria, and Friuli Venezia Giulia. It has also a Wikipedia article as “Istrian Stew” (Wikipedia 2013b).
4.2.1.1.3 Mass-media

The Italian mass-media emerged as an important category that forms the theme of Italian Culture. The television above all other media diffused Italianness and the image of Italy over the borders of Italy (Braga 2007; Nick Mai 2004; Nicola Mai 2001; Nigoević 2006), and in Istria it helped to maintain the Italian language alive, as the informants perceive.

The Italian mass-media, as we will see, were always a window on Western Europe for the former Yugoslav citizens and later Croatian citizens.

Giuliano recalled his studies in Zagreb, and he recalled in particular that Istrian students were always accepted nicely in there, also by professors, because Istrians, Italian Istrians in particular, would know much more because they read Italian newspapers, magazines and books that relatives from Italy would bring during the socialist period in former Yugoslavia. So, in his opinion, the Italian mass-media helped always and in any sense. He thinks that the Italian mass media were mostly, as he says, “anti-Italian”, or at least not nationalist as, in his opinion, is the contemporary Croatian Television. The movies on the Italian television had an anti-nationalist thematic. He made an example with the comic actor Renato Pozzetto who, in one film, would have gags where he made fun of the national feelings, or the ideal of dying for a country [he cited: “Vittorio Emanuele? Tie!”].

For Alberto following the Italian media is important because to belong to Italian culture means also to know what is happening in Italy. For him the television is the most important medium for that. He openly said he doesn't read newspapers at all,
so television, except the Internet, is the most followed medium.

Lalli said that she and her Istrian friends during the studies in Zagreb didn't know about the personalities from the Yugoslav television that everyone who had lived at least a small part of their lives in the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia knows. She recalled an awkward situation when an evening during her studies her colleagues were talking about media personalities from their childhood and early youth and she was embarrassed because she didn't have a clue who they were talking about. In her words:

[...] Everybody watched that, I don't know, Ranko Točkica or Branko, I don't have a clue...

**Interviewer:** Kockica [hah hah].

**Lalli:** Branko Kockica ⁴⁹ and all those other things. You feel different because you didn't watch them. You didn't watch those movies, maybe you don't know some Croatian singers, some Croatian [TV] series, soap operas (no, there weren't soap operas at the time), [...] but you knew some Italian [movies, singers, TV series] that they didn't know about. I don't know, then you feel somehow different, but then you feel different than Italians too. That is, you are in fact... The best thing would be to define [ourselves] as Istrians.

Since the television emerged as one of the most important themes, let us now see more in detail about this fantastic medium, the Television.

### 4.2.1.2.3.1 The Italian Television

### 4.2.1.2.3.1.1 Historical Connections Between the Italian Television and Croatia

⁴⁹ See (Wikipedia 2013a)
Croatian citizens got in touch with the Italian Television long before the 1980s explosion of Italian private television channels (see Duda 2010:188). Before the beginning of any in house television production by the Television Zagreb, which in 1990 became the Croatian Television, the first television broadcasts in former Yugoslavia were the rebroadcasts of the Italian National Television (RAI) and the Austrian National Television (ORF) by the Television Zagreb. The first ideas about rebroadcasting the Italian television program over a relay on the Monte Maggiore came out in 1955 (see Vončina 1999:130). In order to test the broadcasting equipment received from the Italian company Marelli in February 1956, the technicians at the (then just) Radio Zagreb decided to rebroadcast the Italian TV program. They got the permit from the then president of the Socialist Republic of Croatia, Vladimir Bakarić, that they can use a foreign program broadcast for testing. The Italian television signal was repeated from the broadcasting system on Monte Venda near Padua. Since in that period the Italian television program was better than the Austrian one the Italian television was broadcast and watched more often than the Austrian (see Galić 1986:125; Vončina 1999:134). Moreover, Mario Fanelli, who was born in San Benedetto del Tronto in 1924 (died in Zagreb in 1991), was the first director at the Television Zagreb. Fanelli went to learn how to make television dramas in Milan on the Italian television, after that he went to Rome to make a deal in order to repeat the Italian television program (Vončina 1999:155). The good rapport between Radio Television Zagreb and RAI was visible also by the use by the Television Zagreb of the premises of RAI in Rome where the then Yugoslav television presenter Gordana Bonetti in honor of the 40th anniversary of the Radio Zagreb presented a program on February 24th 1966 in color. The technicians of RAI
were in Zagreb to help out with the broadcast (Galić 1986:144).

4.2.1.2.3.1.2 Italian Television – The Most Important Medium

As we have seen above, the Italian television had been present in Croatia until recently, until the switch to the digital terrestrial signal (DVB-T) in Italy. According to the informants the people in Istria seem to feel the absence of it. This absence is so perceptible that, as the informant Giuliano informed me, the president of the Italian community in Rovigno, Gianclaudio Pellizzer, made a request to the assembly of the Italian Union to make available the Italian television in Istria without a fee. The request was made, as Giuliano told me, about fifteen days before our interview. In Giuliano's opinion the presence of the Italian television in Istria would help to maintain the characteristic multiculturalism of the region.

Watching the Italian television wasn't connected with an ethnic feeling in the past. Giuliano said that the Croatian television program was always boring, and that is also an important reason people preferred to watch the Italian television.

Federica, who grew up in the 1980s Yugoslavia, recalls how boring was the Yugoslav television, there were just two channels. She thinks that “[f]ortunately for all of us then […], when Croatian television [had] one-two channels the Italian [TV programs] were a true richness.”

According to Mauro the people in Istria were cherishing in the 1980s “La Milano da bere” mentality – A Milan to Drink – as went the 1985 slogan of the
alcoholic drink *Amaro Ramazzotti*, which was showing a high standard of living in Milan of that period, maybe also because their Yugoslav socialist reality was quite the opposite. People in Istria watched on television, Mauro said, the 1980s as they were presented by the Berlusconi's television station *Canale 5* and the other private televisions. “In fact, [...] they cherished stuff that brought Italy to ruins [*alla malora*], you understand. But in our particular world, you understand... In our world this stuff was revolutionary in regard to our reality.”

The people in Istria watched Italian television even before the 1980s, the years most of my informants grew up. Fausta recalled her infancy and how important was the Italian music festival – the *Sanremo Festival* – for the people in Pola: “It was a point of reference.” In her memories remained the situation when the whole neighborhood would get together to watch the festival. Since her grandmother had a television set, there would be at least 10-15 persons at her small house. It was also a way to socialize.

Older people who were used to the Italian television are in difficulties since there is no signal anymore. Others try to use the satellite. Usually they watch the various Italian television news – the *Telegiornale* (called like in Italy just *TG – tiggi*). Marina's grandmother and mother nag her why she doesn't watch the Italian television news more often, so she has to reply every time to them that she works in Croatia, so she needs to know what is going on in Croatia, not in Italy. It has also become a matter of time, in her opinion: “They are still watching [the italian television news] since they are not in the labor market, so [...] they don't need it [the Croatian television news].”
4.2.1.2.3.1.3 Italianness and Distinction Through Television

We have seen how important was the Italian television in Istria and still is. For Augusta, for example, to choose to watch Italian television instead of the Croatian one is also a component of Italian culture. Renata thinks that the Italian singers and Italian show-business in general helped to maintain the Italian collective and culture in Istria. It was a way to be in contact with Italianness according to Riccardo.

Television is so important to the people in Istria – to those of Italian ethnicity in particular – we can tell that because since Italy passed to the DVB-T technology, which cannot reach the Croatian coast of the Adriatic sea with a decent quality of signal, and on the various Croatian cable television and Internet Protocol Television (IPTV) providers there are just a few Italian programs, many people who want to watch the Italian television channels as they were used to buy a satellite receiver in Italy\(^5\) by using the credentials of a relative who lives in Italy and pays the *canone* (the television license fee) in Italy or they take the SKY TV satellite. Alberto is one of those people who put a satellite on his roof. In his words:

I have put this [satellite dish] because ehm... It's not that I watch a lot of television, but you cannot see the transmissions I'm interested in with a normal satellite [dish].

\(^{5}\) They take the Tivùsat card and receiver ([www.tivù.tv](http://www.tivù.tv)) provided by a consortium made by the Italian national broad company – RAI, and by LA7 and Mediaset. One person who pays the television license fee can have a not specified number of Tivùsat cards. One of the informants told me that she is aware that one person can have about 7 or 8 cards, but there is no limit set on the regulation pages of Tivùsat. She also told me that half of the town where she lives has the Tivùsat card activated by the fiscal code of a single person of Istrian origins living in Italy.
[...] Because of that I've put Sky [satellite dish and decoder] and I said “I don't really give a shit”, I pay 130 kune [about 17,26 euro] per month and I watch them. [...] At least you know what do you watch for this money [hah hah].

This fact is interesting because the Croatian Radiotelevision tv license fee costs 80 HRK (about 10,62 euro) per month, that makes it about 127,44 euro per year which is about 14 euro more expensive than the Italian one\(^{51}\) which provides a far better television program. Alberto without any problems pays additional 130 HRK (about 17,26 euros) per month just to see the Italian televisions.

Television can be also a way to distinguish oneself from the majority. Alberto for that matter, as he said, doesn't watch Italia 1 or Canale 5 from Mediaset, the Berlusconi's televisions, but he installed a SKY TV satellite dish primarily in order to watch Telelombardia, a Milan based local television station. He does that because he is a Milan A. C. fan, so he likes everything that has to do with city of Milan.

Luka hasn't owned a television set for the last 15 years and he is proud because of that, but he watches some Italian television programs as Le iene on the Internet. For him Le iene are a good outlook on the Italian society and politics:

In principle I don't watch what is served to me, but I search for what I want to watch and then I don't watch rubbish, you know that, you watch exactly what you want. Let's say, I watch specifically Le iene because they are super to me.

It seemed as if he wanted to show how different he was from the other people who watch the television just for entertainment.

\(^{51}\) The Italian tv license fee is 113,50 euro for the year 2013 (see: http://www.abbonamenti.rai.it/Ordinari/ImportiDiCanone.aspx [visited January 4\(^{th}\) 2013])
Federica recalls that she as a child watched only the Italian TV, as almost all the informants, both state and private – “I didn't watch our television at all!” under “our television” she assumes the then Yugoslav or today's Croatian television program.  

4.2.1.2.3.1.4 Japanese Cartoons

All the informants who grew up in the 1980s and 1990s remember the Japanese cartoons they were watching and how that was a way to be different from those other Yugoslavs, or later Croats, who didn't know anything about those Japanese cartoons.

Mauro recalled how the Italian media had a strong influence on the children – “for example, I'm just saying, when I was little I didn't watch Smogovci. I watched the Japanese robots dubbed in Italian.”

The children and young people who watched Italian television, instead of the

52 This is an interesting finding. Usually in Croatia, before that in Yugoslavia people used to say for the Television Zagreb (which became the Croatian Television on June 29th 1990), for the two channels, “prvi naš” (the first of our TV channels) and “drugi naš” (the second of our TV channels). I remember when I was in the Italian elementary school in Pola, we used to say “primo nostro” and “secondo nostro”, in the sense: “Ti ga visto ieri sul secondo nostro quel film?” – “Did you see that movie on the second of ours?” I had to mention this because as far as I know there is no research about that phenomenon, that is, how come that Italians in Istria called “ours” the Yugoslav and then the Croatian national television? But that is another story.

53 That is an interesting fact which I didn't push further because people become defensive on that. But, there is perceptible a “weness” feeling when some of the informants talk about Croatia or Yugoslavia.

Yugoslav media slang, they would understand some ways of saying used in Italy. For this reason the discourse of Japanese pop culture sounds familiar to the people in Istria because they grew up on the Japanese cartoons – “on those proto Anime” as Franco calls them. For him:

[T]hat is what mediates your culture and not necessarily that your parents are Croats or Italians. So, I think that *Uomo Tigre, Occhi di gatto, Mazinga Z* […] and all these pop culture foolishness which formed us, did for our identity […] much more than what is written in your birth certificate.

So, people in Istria, but also along all the Adriatic coast would get in touch with the Italian culture through Japanese culture. It was also a way children learned Italian, as the informants recalled.

4.2.1.2.3.1.5 Language and Television

The Italian television was an important means to learn Italian or to maintain the Italian language skills, the informants think.

The Italian television channels that could be watched in Istria helped people to learn Italian or to improve their knowledge of Italian. The particularity of the Italian television is that all the movies are dubbed in Italian, so the audience in Istria had to learn Italian. At the same time, dubbing is a feature that ruined the language skills of Italians, as the informant Franco stressed. According to him Italians still know poorly foreign languages because of dubbing. Franco thinks that the Italian television is nationalist because the practice of dubbing foreign films makes them Italian even
though they are, for example, American. According to him it is an Italian *specificum*, even though there are many other European countries that use to dub foreign films. He continued: “I have a friend, let's say, who knows all the quotes, well not all, but a fucking lot of quotes from the movies he watched on [the] Italian [television]. But not in English! He knows them in Italian!” The nationalism present on the Italian television, in Franco's opinion, is not the 19th century nationalism present in Croatia, but “there are Bruno Vespa and those right wing programs.” In his opinion “the scenery is completely different, even though some topics are implicitly [...] similar.”

Also Federica thinks that dubbing is nationalist because the audience cannot hear any other language on television, but she also thinks that the Italian television in general is less nationalist than the Croatian television55. She admitted, even though she is of Italian origins, she didn't learn Italian at home, she didn't attend the Italian minority schools – “I didn't go even to the [Italian] kindergarten” – all she ever learned, from the Italian language to the Italian culture, she learned from the Italian television. So did her sister who later went to study in Italy.

Since there is not present any analog signal of any Italian television, Riccardo sees a decline of knowledge of the Italian language also in schools for the Italian minority, and he is able to see that as an employee of the Italian minority school system. “Once in Istria everybody spoke Italian, also the ones who didn't attend the Italian school[s],” said Riccardo, but he is not talking about a distant past, he is

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55 A sign that the Croatian Television was highly nationalist is the fact that the CEO of the Croatian television in the 1990s had recognized 880 days in the fighting sector during the Croatian Patriotic War, without leaving his office in Zagreb (see: [http://m.vecernji.hr/vijesti/vrdoljak-880-dana-registru-sto-je-bio-hrt-nego-borbeni-sektor-clanak-489752](http://m.vecernji.hr/vijesti/vrdoljak-880-dana-registru-sto-je-bio-hrt-nego-borbeni-sektor-clanak-489752) [visited on January 4th 2013])
talking about the period that goes from the second half of the 1980s to the end 1990s.

He continued:

In the time of Yugoslavia and the first years of Croatia, I would say almost until 2000, the television transmissions of the Yugoslav channel[s] and [...] of the Croatian channels weren't so rich. Then everybody would watch the Italian transmissions, you had everything [there], [...] from cartoons to the movies. That situation had influenced a lot the kids who would learn [Italian] by listening like today they learn English or German by listening [...].

As an illustration how ingrained the Italian television in general was it was interesting to hear from Željko, as a right wing Croatian nationalist, that he also misses the times when he watched more the Italian television and he admitted he also learned Italian from television. He didn't find that a bad thing or a menace for Croatness.

Marina recalled that many children would learn Italian watching cartoon shows as Bim Bum Bam, a cartoon show that went on in the early 1980s on the television channel Italia 1. She also noticed the declining knowledge of Italian in everyday life in Pola, and she also presumes that it has to do with the absence of Italian television.

We could see that the Italian television had in Istria almost the same function as in Italy for what does concern the language (see Alfieri and Bonomi 2012).

4.2.1.2.3.1.6 Italian Comics

Even before the 1980s in Yugoslavia was possible to find a great number of
translated comics mostly from Italian authors and publishers. Young people read everything from Alan Ford\textsuperscript{56} to Zagor\textsuperscript{57} from Bonelli. For the Yugoslav market they were published partly in the Socialist Republic of Croatia and partly in the Socialist Republic of Serbia. Those were so deeply rooted in the former Yugoslav culture that they weren't usually perceived as Italian, especially the mentioned Alan Ford (see Džamić 2012).

For Federica the Italian comics were something that she “devoured” as a child. She has never lived in Italy but she would read everything from Dylan Dog, Cattivik, Lupo Alberto, Topolino (Mickey Mouse). She read a lot of Italian books and, as she said, she absorbed the whole Italian culture through these media.

4.2.1.2.3.2 Italian Literature

Lina identified herself in Italian literature, and it helped her to maintain the Italian culture. Lina doesn't have many opportunities to talk in the standard Italian language in her everyday life, more in the local Istro-Veneto, and literature helps her to polish the language. She had lived abroad for a long time so now she has to catch up with the Italian language since she is working in a kindergarten for the Italian

\textsuperscript{56} The comic Alan Ford was so famous in Yugoslavia, and is still widely cited in the various former Yugoslav republics that Lazar Džamić wrote an entire book about the phenomenon of Alan Ford, an Italian comic set in New York, but very well understood by then socialist Yugoslavs (see Džamić 2012).

\textsuperscript{57} See (Wikipedia 2013c)
minority.

Also Marina thinks that literature is an important medium for the transmission of the Italian culture. For her to be Italian means that a person is close the Italian literary authors in the sense that a person has to read those authors. It means also, as Augusta said, “[...] to choose Italian authors.”

Davor thinks that Italian literature was something that helped the Italian culture to survive in Istria and Fiume, or to regain some strength, because it was almost eradicated in the aftermath of World War 2. The publishing house EDIT from Fiume helped to publish the Italian authors from Istria.

4.2.1.2.3.3 Italian Magazines

Lina read *il Corriere dei piccoli*, that was important to keep the connection with the Italian culture also as a child.

Augusta stressed how important is reading Italian newspapers or newspapers in Italian language for the preservation of the Italian culture. So, reading *La voce del popolo* or *il Piccolo* is something that makes you an Italian. Unfortunately, people who mostly read those newspapers are people who work in some institutions where those papers come for free, so a large part of the population doesn't read those newspapers in Italian.
4.2.1.2.3.4 Sports

Sports are important for national identity, as some of the informants perceive it. Under sports we mean usually, and in our cases almost exclusively, football.

Alberto supports the Italian national football team, and the Milan A. C., but he confessed that he felt for a period “an emotion” for the Croatian national football team when Zvonimir Boban, a Croatian football player who had played in Milan A. C. from 1991 to 2002, was playing for the Croatian national team. He made him choose between the Croatian and the Italian football team. He followed both national teams in that period. In 2002 at the World championship there played Italy and Croatia, it was a little bit problematic for him to choose the team to support. Usually that was Italy, because, as he said, he “feel[s] more oriented to Italy than Croatia.” So the national football team had to be the Italian one, even though he is more "Milanista", a supporter of Milan A. C., than a supporter of any national team.

Lucio finds stupid that Italians in Istria support the Croatian national football team:

A stupid example. [...] I don't follow football [any more]. I don't watch it, I'm really not interested, I didn't watch a minute of a game [of the European Championship 2012]. But, I saw many people of the [Italian] minority that put on flags and support Croatia. OK, they have the right [to do that], I'm not bothered because they support Croatia, but it is not right. You understand, if we want to look deeply, you are not a Croat! Everybody has... I can support even Brazil, let's be straight, but, it is a little bit absurd for me. I mean, not absurd for them, absurd for me if I would now go to support Croatia, you understand. Because my identity, my nation, [my] nationality is Italian.
4.2.1.1.4 Language

Language is another theme that emerged from the interviews, and it is no wonder since it is probably the most recognizable feature of a culture. It is so important that it is a requirement for the application of the Italian citizenship under the act 124/2006.

Almost all the informants that got the citizenship under the act 124/2006 said that their mother tongue is Italian. The interesting fact was that two of the informants who have an evidently Italian surname didn't learn Italian at home, and others who have an evidently Slavic surname learned Italian at home as a mother tongue. One of the informants with an Istrian Croat background said that it is a matter of choice to choose to be Italian, but then one has to use the language in everyday communication.

For Renata, who believes that Italian culture is the Italian language above all other components, the main language of a person is the one that a person feels comfortable with. “[...] The language that you speak since you were born, it is the first thing that you hear, how you express yourself...” She doesn't have problems with the Croatian language, but she feels it like a more distant language – “you don't feel it much as yours” – she cannot express herself so easily in Croatian. Italian comes more natural to her.

From the informants' experience Italians from Italy usually don't understand how come that people in Istria speak Italian. Mauro recalled how the Italians in Trieste would tell to him that he spoke a better Italian than they did, but he is aware it was because his Italian was a “book Italian”, because people in Istria are not in
contact with a living Italian language in their everyday life. It was also because they believed he was a Slav, or more specifically a Croat, not an Italian as he sees himself.

4.2.1.2.4.1 The Italian Istrian Dialect

For the majority of the informants it is not enough to speak the standard Italian language to be part of the Italian culture. To be an Istrian Italian a person should speak the Istro-veneto dialect. Not all of the informants who got the Italian citizenship under the act 124/2006 learned the Italian language, standard or the dialect, as their mother tongue. Some, as we have seen, learned Italian from television, some from their grandparents, and some at school. Lalli, for example, learned Italian from her grandmothers because they were looking after her when she was a little girl. She would speak the Italian dialect – the Istro-veneto – with her grandparents and Croatian combined with Italian with her parents.

For Giuliano the proof of belonging to an Istrian Italian culture is the knowledge of the dialect, “of the vernacular that you have, the fact that you think in that language.”

The Istro-Veneto dialect is so important for the Italian culture in Istria that it should be a criterion for citizenship beside the standard Italian, said Riccardo. There should be a person at the consulate that is a native speaker of the dialects spoken in Istria and in Fiume.

Davor, even though he has four different ethnic origins he feels more Italian
because he has always spoken Istro-Veneto or ‘polesan’ at home with his mother and the grandparents from his mother's side. The affinity to the Istro-Veneto has made him feel more Italian than anything else.

The Istro-Veneto is a living language and it changed a little bit in Fausta's opinion. She noticed that it became rougher because of the influences from the environment which is more Slavic in the last 70 years, and that influence made a particular istrian kind of Italianness.

Federica was honest and she admitted she doesn't speak the Istro-Veneto, but she feels it somewhere deep in her heart, as she put it. She feels sorry for not speaking it. Her father speaks that language, but he didn't pass it to her and her sister.

Alberto felt in Treviso to belong to the same culture because people in pizzerias, shops, etc... understood him when he spoke the Istro-Veneto. He also felt treated better than in Trieste, he thinks it was because of the dialect which in his opinion is more similar to the one in Treviso than in Trieste, even though it is not so likely so.

Riccardo noticed that the Italian children who speak the dialect are ashamed to speak it in front of the non-Italian children who speak just the standard Italian. All that has an influence on the disappearing of the Italian language.

58 Even though It should be Polese, because Polesan would be from Polesine.
4.2.1.2.4.2 Italian Language is Disappearing

The Italian language is losing ground in Istria according to the informants. The reasons are various. These are the most mentioned reasons:

- **The Croatian language is in fashion** in Italian schools, as Riccardo perceives it. Lidia also noticed that if there is just one child in class that doesn't speak Italian well, all the others will start speaking Croatian too – it seems “cool”.

- **The majority of children in schools for the Italian minority is not Italian.** They speak in Croatian during the break. There is a peer pressure on the children whose mother tongue is Italian, thinks Riccardo.

- In the higher education system in Italian language at the University Juraj Dobrila in Pola **students don't speak Italian among themselves**, and so they lose the language speaking skills, as Augusta sees. Then they go to teach in Italian schools.

- Often in families where both of the parents are of Italian origins they speak Croatian with their children. Alberto cannot understand why is that, he presumes maybe because they think **it will be easier to live in Croatia** if they speak very well the language. But, the disappearance of a language means the disappearance of a culture, thinks Alberto, but also the most of the other informants think so.
• **One spouse is not Italian** – a so called mixed marriage\(^{59}\) – and then the entire family starts to speak Croatian. In such a situation is Alberto, but he speaks as much as he can with his children in Italian.

Marina is living, as she perceives it, in a mixed marriage. She really wants to preserve the Italian cultural heritage in her family, and the best way is to speak with her child in Italian as much as possible. It is difficult because Italian is not a “living language”:

[…] For the simple reason we use […] in everyday life […] the dialect, […] or you put every third word in Croatian [language]. Since I had my son, sincerely […], I speak just Italian with him. I really put a lot of efforts in order not to mix [the Italian language] with Croatian. Only when we are outside and there is someone who doesn't understand Italian I speak to him also in Croatian. But at home absolutely in Italian, that is, in dialect. Also my [family], and my husband in Croatian. Since I speak with him [the child] I noticed that I have to strive [to remember] many words. I used to mix [Italian and Croatian words] much more before. Conversely, […] now I strive to use many Italian words […]. […] In fact, it is not a living language [here in Istria] because when you need something “alive” you put a Croatian word. […] I always make the example with the “uplatnica” [slips]. […] You always say it in Croatian, […] just a few [persons] use the Italian terms. I also say that all of us should pay attention to those things not just to use Italian, but in order to maintain a living language too.

4.2.1.2.4.3 Music

Music is another theme that emerged from the informants' accounts as an important component of Italian culture in Istria. The informants put under “Italian

\(^{59}\) I say “so called mixed marriage” because it is a construction. Many of the informants have a surname ending in -ić or -ich, which is evidently of Slavic origins, so a mixed marriage had to happen even before in the past. It is considered a mixed marriage when a spouse is explicitly declared as belonging to an other ethnicity. An example is the informant Augusta who has an Istrian Croatian surname, comes from a Chakavian dialect speaking family, she speaks with her husband in the Chakavian dialect, but she perceives her marriage as a mixed one.
music” just any genre of music – from traditional folk songs to hardcore punk music. So Lina likes the Italian pop music, but also the traditional songs that are more and more rare to hear during village festivities or in some osteria, since both, the songs and osterie, are disappearing.

Livio was raised on Italian music, from popular to traditional that people in Istria connect with the Lidija Percan's series of albums “Canzoni d'una volta” (“Songs From Past Times”) where it was possible to hear all the songs sung in Istria in the past, that usually belonged to the Trieste or Veneto traditions.

Luka and Leonardo have listened from their youth to Italian hardcore punk bands. They are also important for them, for their Italian identity and culture. Leonardo said:

[...] Also music, bands, the bands and people that come to Rojc, at the [Monte]paradiso [Festival], Italian bands are much more closer to me than the German ones, or the Swedish ones. They are much closer for the topics they sing about and all this street story [spika – from the English to speak].

Marina prefers Italian singers than Croatian ones, because in her opinion they are better than "how is he called, Vuco, with the long hair. That human tragedy, ehm. In this sense you feel closer a kind of music."

Alberto likes Italian music sometimes even though it is not of a great quality. He listens to some performers just because they are Italian. He goes to explore sometimes some less known Italian musicians in the heavy metal genre as Pino Scotto. “I don't know if you know him.” he said. And really, I didn't hear for him before. It seems also a way to be different than the majority.
4.2.1.2.4.4 The Perception of the Croatian Culture

During the interviews the informants wanted to compare the Italian culture with the Croatian one. In the next lines I will expose what have they said about the Croatian culture, that is, how they perceive the Croatian culture. Most of the informants (or all except the control informant) see the Croatian culture as a “closed” culture, and they have a sense/ feeling of ugliness when they compare it to the Italian one or to other Western European cultures. Here are two emblematic parts of the interviews which explain the Croatian culture in the informants’ eyes.

Mauro recalled the time when he started to notice the Croatian culture. He didn't pay attention to any national culture before 1990, that is, before the political changes in former Yugoslavia. He recalls that when he was studying in Trieste, in 1991 and 1992, he would come back home for the weekends, and what he could notice, in his opinion, was a great downfall of quality and a rise of depression in the newspapers and magazines if compared to the period before 1991. The same situation was on the radio and television. “Everything got smaller... From the culture, to the spectacle, to the discourses, to the sport.” Even nowadays, in his opinion, the culture in Croatia is, as he put it, “insular”, it is too much self-referential. According to him, people in Croatia are living in a closed culture, they refer all the time to some past times. Today even “[Josip Broz] Tito has become almost a new Che [Guevara].” For him the Croatian culture is highly complexed, so he tries to avoid the Croatian cultural production all together.
For Federica the Croatian culture is ugly. It starts from the flag. According to her the design of a flag should be the brand of a country, it should emit a meaning, but the Croatian symbols don't work well. In her opinion Croatia, as a country, should work a little bit more on aesthetics of its symbols. She compares the Croatian flag to the British one and said that she could easily have a towel with the Union Jack on, but she cannot imagine the Croatian symbols on a towel.

4.3 Finding 2: Identity Matters

In this part we will see what do our informants think about their identities, especially the Italian one. An interesting point is that none of the informants has declared herself or himself as a nationalist, or to have right wing political views. Of course, except the control informant who belongs to the Croatian far right. As a matter of fact I tried to find declared hard Istrian Italian nationalists, but I really couldn't find any. That doesn't mean that they don't exist, but if they do exist they are a well hidden population. It has to be stressed that there wasn't ever an Italian nationalist movement in Croatia after the Second World War.

4.3.1 A Weak National Identity

All the informants that got the Italian citizenship said that they don't feel a strong particular ethnic belonging. Two of the informants told me they have an
identity based on the town they are living in, that is, Pola. Livio feels more like a citizen of Pola than as an Italian or a Croat. Franco, as well, identifies himself more in the territory and the people he has met in his life than a particular nation. He feels more like a citizen of Pola or a citizen of the Italian town where he studied than as a Croat or an Italian.

4.3.2 Identities in Ethnically Mixed Marriages with one spouse

Italian

We have already seen that some informants think that in ethnically mixed marriages the Italian identity loses, but let's see how that happens.

Giacomo thinks that a child in a mixed marriage between an Italian and a Croat (or another ethnicity present in Istria) should be a person that later in life should be declared to be of Italian ethnicity. But, both of the parents must accept that situation, otherwise the child will be more, as he said, of Italian culture than ethnicity. He differentiated ethnicity and culture in the interview, but didn't state what was the main difference. In reality, in giacomo's opinion, in mixed marriages Italianness always loses.

Lidia, also thinks that in mixed marriages Italianness always loses. According to her the Italians always adapt to the other spouse who is not an Italian, no matter if they are male or female. She thinks that this fact stays behind in her opinion low requirements and criteria for the Italian citizenship, in the sense that if the requirements were stricter there would be not a single person who could apply for the
Italian citizenship in Istria.

Mauro thinks that Italianness in Istria is not a pure Italianness, but it is more an Austro-Hungarian Italianness – “on a level of mentality!” In his opinion the Slavs in Croatia and Slovenia didn't understand that.

Davor, unlike some of his friends who have also the Italian citizenship, but feel Croat, he feels to belong to two separate worlds in the same way. He cannot discriminate neither of the two cultures. The only thing he wants is to be recognized as a person who belongs to two worlds, and that is sometimes difficult in Croatia. He is proud of his mixed ancestry which is composed by a Macedonian and a Hungarian from his father's side, and an Italian and an Istrian from his mother's side. Since his grandfather from the father's side was a Hungarian from Vojvodina (Serbia) they had problems in the 1990s because they were mistaken for Serbs.

Daniela feels Italian, but she is also a product of a mixed marriage between an Italian, the father, and a Croat, the mother. So she cherishes also the Chakavian dialect. In her opinion in Istria is present a mixed Mediterranean culture, and all the other cultures that Istria as a region was in touch with.

Federica feels the need when she is in Italy to stress out she is a Croat. In fact, as she said, she is very proud she is from Croatia. When she lived in Zagreb she stressed all the time that she belonged to the Italian minority. She said she wanted to stress that she had something more than other Croats didn't have.

Luka said he is the mixed one. His mother's parents are from a Croatian village, his father's parents from a once strictly Italian village, and he has always had
relatives in Italy where he often went to visit them. He doesn't see his situation as problematic.

The only clear characteristic of Istria is the mixed ethnicities that have lived here, according to Riccardo.

**4.3.3 What Does It Mean to Be Italian in Istria?**

Italian people are much more “cool” in Europe than Croats, that is Lalli’s experience. “Especially to the Germans it is cool being Italian, and when you are a Croat you are always a Slav. A poor.” Also her Italian surname gives her a “more international touch, more than if I had a Croatian surname with all that č, ž, đ and so on.”

For Giuliano Italianness was always something above all the factions, especially the political ones. While in Italy people would differentiate singers from the right wing politics, as Antonello Venditti, or from the left wing, as Giorgio Gaber, people in Istria never perceived that difference, for them it was always a monolithic Italian culture, as Giuliano perceived it.

Religion is not an important characteristic of Italianness, as it is a common differentiation between the Serbs and the Croats (see Perica 2002), thinks Lina. She said she sees more Croats as Catholics than the Italians.

Luka differentiates “real Italians” in his family from the others. Does that
mean that the others were fake ones? Not really, it means that the “real Italians” were more connected with the present territory of Italy, and that they still speak Italian in everyday life as his cousins do. “They live more the Italian story than me.” He stressed that the family of his grandmother came from the Italian region Calabria. He didn't know if they came during the 25 years of the rule of Italy over Istria or before that. Luka personally feels Italian above all because of Roberto Benigni, Totò, even Jovanotti, but he is against all the negative things that Italy represents today in his opinion, as fascism and, at the time of interview, Silvio Berlusconi.

Federica bases her Italianness on knowing the Italian quotidianity. She follows the Italian mass media, and she, in her opinion, is not behind people that are actually living on the Italian territory with her knowledge. Federica also stressed her grand grandfather came from a place near Vicenza, as Lina did for her grandfather.

Marietta stressed that her both parents are Italian, so she naturally feels Italian, she was very resolute about that.

Darijo said he and his family have never showed off with Italianness even though they speak Italian at home. But, nevertheless, he also did some research on his genealogical tree, and the priest where he went to take the data said that his family is present in Istria from the dawn of times. It was visible that, at the end, he was proud of his identity, he had to stress that his family was never italianized or croatized. He said, there were always Italian.

Mauro just lately came to the essence of his Italianness. He started to read “Italian ancient texts” that he had to learn at school, but back then he didn't care much
about that. Then, when he listens to the voice of Giovanni Lindo Ferretti from the band *Consorzio Suonatori Indipendenti* he hears the rural Italian ambient which is familiar to him because it is the same cultural matrix present in Istria according to him.

Alberto came by logic to the conclusion that ethnic belonging is a construction. He heard that a part of his family came in Istria from Austria, but after all these years they cannot tell they are Austrians. So, in his opinion people that think in a primordialist way are stupid. Alberto also feels Italian because he was always more oriented towards Italy. He supported always an Italian football club (Milan A. C.), the Italian national football team, he has always watched Italian television, he has always spoken in his original family Italian, so he cannot say he is anything else but Italian.

For Igor belonging to the Italian community means to be a member of the *Circoli* – the organizations of the Italian Union, usually social centers – and to be active there. It is also important to speak Italian, but not the standard Italian, the dialect is important. In his opinion one cannot learn the dialect at school.

Lucio feels as an Italian, but he said today's Italy is not what it used to be:

I'll explain, once Italian were *Ferrari, Nutella, Barilla* and all those trade marks, they were important in the world. Also with the history, with the culture, with the fashion... Nowadays, if you want, there is a mixture of races, if you want, with this crisis which was falsely created, or truly [exists], today seeing Italians, I don't see myself in them. I see myself as of completely different mentality. More than Italian, I feel myself to be [more] of Italian culture. You understand me, Today I don't [put my] hand on the chest and shout “I'm Italian”, no. But, from the other side I cannot tell I'm a Croat.
4.3.3.1 The Census and Italianness

Declaring for the census to be of Italian ethnicity emerged as an important feature of Italianness in Istria. The informants that applied for the Italian citizenship under the act 124/2006 have always declared in the census as Italians. But let us see in detail what is going on and why it is important. I will present the most interesting reasons.

Lina had always declared herself as Italian in the census, even though she could declare herself as an Istrian\(^{60}\), as she said. So was Mauro's reason, but he said even more harshly. In his opinion istrianess doesn't have any political reason to exist.

Augusta declared as Italian for the census because she has all her affection for the Italian language and culture.

Renata decided on the base of culture to declare for the census as Italian. Of course, she said, she is Istrian, but if she had to choose between the Croatian and Italian culture she feels more Italian.

Giuliano said there was a valid reason because Italians declared as Italians and not as Istrians in the census:

The reason is […] obvious because the Italians are few [left] […], so it was said to us that if we don't declare as Italians then it is also possible that because of the exiguous number of Italians the schools and other things close down, and you are

over. So, maybe the Italian is more Istrian than those others [the Croats], but they [the Italians] have an obligation to declare as Italians. There are not such problems on the other [, Croatian,] side.

Davor recalled 1991 when there was the first census after the political changes in Yugoslavia and in Croatia, his mother asked him “Do you feel Croat or Italian?”, and he didn't know yet what was Croatia because it was a newly independent state at the time, so he said he wanted to be Italian. He decided so on the base of his culture which was connected to the Italian television, books he was reading, and his grandmother would take him with her to the church where he listened to the mass in Italian language too. So he remained Italian ever since.

Mario said that Italians are in a defensive position, so they have to declare as Italians. In his opinion if there weren't the exoduses probably much more people from the Italian community would declare as Istrian. He also thinks that there are still a lot of Italians that declare as Istrians. There are not any researches about another ethnic background of the people that declare themselves regionally as Istrians. It must be also stressed, according to Mario, that many Italians declared as Croats in the 1970s and 1980s and remained Croats.

4.3.3.2 Nuances of Italianness

Almost all of the informants feel to belong to more ethnicities and cultures. As an example, Darijo said that Istrian Italians belong to Croatia, because, in his opinion, they were left in Yugoslavia by the Italian government. So, now in Istria everybody
are “bastardized.” He paraphrased Nikola Tesla who wrote in a telegram “[...] I am equally proud of my Serbian origin and my Croatian fatherland. [...]” by saying “I'm proud of my Croatian name and Italian surname [ha ha ha].” It is usual for him to declare himself in some places as Italian and in others as Croat. So, in some documents he is a Croat and in others he is an Italian.

The informants don't see “being Italian” as a nominal category. It is more a matter of nuances. So Lina never felt as a pure Italian or Croatian. She felt more Italian and different when she was among Croats because she came from an Italian background. She always felt different and strange in the Yugoslav and Croatian culture, which are one single culture to her.

Lalli shared her experience of Italianness by saying that she is at the moment in her “Croatian phase in life.” It is because she is in touch more with Croats and that started to happen when she went to study in Zagreb. Her childhood and youth were the Italian period of her life. But even though she is in her “Croatian period”, she feels different than her husband who is from central Istria which is mostly Croatian. Mostly because her upbringing was based on different songs, television channels, etc. But then again, she feels different than Italians in Italy, and she knows that because she studied for a shorter period in Italy.

Even though the informants who got the citizenship state that they are Italian, they can feel to be a special kind of Italians. Mario, for example, cherishes his own

61 See (Http://www.teslasociety.com/ n.d.)

62 His name is written in the Croatian form, as a matter of fact.
ethnicity, or, as he says, nationality, but in a “multilingual and pluricultural
dimension.”

The informants in general don't hesitate to put in question their own ethnic
identity. So, Mauro stated that he feels mostly Italian, even though his Italianness is
“questionable”, as he said. It is because he has a Croat Istrian rural background. He
said that a part of his grandparents talked probably more in the Istrian Chakavian
dialect than in Italian, but now it isn't so anymore. According to him, people can
easily change their national identity. Now he feels more Italian in this part of his life.
He started to go deeper in his Italianness, as he said. This means that he started to read
more Italian authors, to watch more Italian movies, and he found out that his “vital
rhythm”, as he call it, his behavior, is more Italian than Slavic.

In fact, I wanted to find informants who declare themselves to be “pure
Italians”, but I didn't find one. At the beginning I thought Lidia was such an informant
because in her first interview she firmly stated she was a “100% Italian”, but in the
second interview came out that she uses to speak even Croatian with her parents and
her brother. Usually she switches from one linguistic code to the other making her
bilingual. Her mother speaks with here more in Chakavian dialect since she comes
from a mostly Croatian speaking village in central Istria. She said that her grandfather
from her mother's side speaks mostly Chakavian, but she stressed he used to speak
Italian on regular basis with his cousin when they were young.

Marina said she has always declared herself as Italian, but now that she is
living in a mixed marriage she thinks that it would be maybe better to declare as
Istrian. “It would be more right.” But then again, she thinks, the Italian community is
so small that it would be a pity to leave it. In the end she said she has always felt a little bit different in Italy, so her real identity is belonging to the Italian minority, with an accent on “minority.” In short, her identity is not Italian, Croatian or Istrian, but “Italian minority.”

Luka feels to belong to the Italian community for interesting reasons. It is because he feels close to the Italian anarchist scene and the squatters scene in the social centers where he used to hang a lot in the past. He said he feels as Italian as those squatters and anarchists – “absolutely, the same as them, the same as those anarchists that live in Perugia in [name of the squat], so I feel Italian, the same as them.” We can see that also subcultures or social movements that despise ethnic belonging could be points of reference of an ethnic feeling.

Livio feels Italian from one side because he was raised in an Italian environment in Pola, mostly by staying at his grandparents place. But, he does not feel as an Italian from Italy. He also thinks that he would never go to live in Italy.

Renata doesn't feel *italiamissima*, but when she studied in Italy she noticed that she shares more cultural features with Italians than with Croats, from the food to the mentality and the way of talking. During her studies she had also the chance to meet many Argentinian Italians, so she noticed that people in Istria are more Italian than the Argentinian Italians are. In her words:

I wanted to say that I know people that are of Italian origins, they feel absolutely as Argentinians... In the sense, [...] they feel absolutely Argentinians. That is the difference [...]. In my opinion, we are much more Italians then they are. Obviously they had grew up , they had lived in another part of the world, also with a different mentality. They have perhaps the grand grandparents or someone even before the
grand grandparents that left Italy... There are many of them. [...] some of them
didn't even know, that is, one [girl] that lived with me she didn't know a single
word in Italian. It was evident that she wasn't at ease in Italy.

### 4.3.3.3 Feeling Different(ly)

The informants perceive there are differences of the Italian culture in Istria and
the Croatian culture, or other Slavic cultures.

The difference between Italians and the other people from Croatia for Alberto
is a matter of “home culture” – the culture that people acquire in their family. It is also
the mentality, and “a way of being.” The Croatian culture is much rawer (*grezza*), and
the Croats are more “*seljaci*” [sic!] – peasants.

Italian culture, or the Italian way is according to Fausta, a culture with “more
tranquility, more respect, more awareness for certain things”, everything is more
relaxed. According to her people in Croatia are more nervous, more tense, “even
[more] evil.” As an example, she mentioned when her grandmother was preparing the
pasta, she would spent the whole day doing that, completely relaxed.

Federica sees a particular lifestyle connected with Italy that is often imitated in
Istria, but also in Croatia lately. This lifestyle is based on eating habits, dressing and
the culture of spending free time outside the house. She continued:

So, even though you are 56 years old you can dress nicely, you can go to the
discotheque with your wife, you can be totally crazy, because Italians live like that.
You see there a granny of 56 years, she looks like she is 34. She wears her
daughter's clothes. I think, [here in Istria] is imitated this lifestyle... [...] Well, it is
not [completely] imitated, but let's say we are close. I have noticed in Italy that the
last of the cleaning ladies or the bartender... That kind of people, or the welders,
they are full composed. They are well dressed and proud of their jobs. When they do that job [of theirs] I have the impression... I adore watch them how they behave on their jobs. You have the impression as they were doing the most important work in the world, but in fact she is a bartender, or gas station attendant [benzinaio – sic!], or a lady on the counter. I see that they are proud of what they are doing, they behave so well. Unlike here, [where] the cleaning lady always looks bad [koma].

In her mind, in Italy everybody look “like they had a PhD”, no matter what was their job. If they sell shoes they know everything about that, or at least it looks like that from the Croatian perspective where, in her opinion, people are not interested in their job performance. She makes an example about shoes, where in Italy the salespersons spend a lot of time with the costumer, and are not nervous, unlike in Croatia.

Mauro sees the Italian family more patriarchal, and the Chakavian Croatian family more led by the wife – “she really has her say” (“la ga veramente voce in capitolo”). The family also pushes the younger members “to do something in life”, otherwise they will become human failures. Italians in Istria have a “complex” of respectability, everybody cares what the others have to say. Mauro said also that the “Italian spirit” has more “nobility of the mind” (“nobiltà d'animo”). He stressed that he doesn't want to sound pathetic but Italians have “a kind of natural mental elegance [...]” – “una specie de eleganza naturale mentale [...]”.

Many of the informants stress that the way of spending free time is a particularity of the Italians. It is an important part of the Italian lifestyle.

According to the informants, the work ethics is important for Italians. So, even Istrian Italians are working more according to Federica.
Lidia said that Italians in Istria are active, much more active than other Istrians or Croats from other Croatian regions. In her opinion, it is possible to see that from their cultural activities and leisure time too. She also stressed that among the Italians in Istria there are single individuals that behave badly, while among the Croats and other former Yugoslav peoples there are single individuals that behave nicely.

For Mario Italians in Istria are structurally oriented toward other ethnicities, that is immanent to a minority like the Italian one.

Even Željko, although belonging to the Croatian far right, admitted that the Italian culture is superior to the Croatian culture:

[...] They are the heirs of the Roman culture, and we are the heirs of... four villages with swords. You know, I like my culture and stuff, even though our culture was crushed by catholicism, but that's another story. All in all, they are the heirs of a higher culture and they are aware of that. A lesser cultural level tends to a higher, that's why people get assimilated.

Lucio said that the Italians are more open and the Croats have a more closed mentality. Italians are, in his opinion, so open that they gave the houses to the newcomers, and the newcomers (Slavs) threw them out.

4.3.3.4 What is in a Surname?

A greater part of my informants who received the Italian citizenship under the act 124/2006 has a Slavic sounding surname (10 persons out of 19). This peculiarity aliments criticisms of the act 124/2006, but it emerged during the interviews that the
surname of a person is not a feature that defines a person Italian or of any other ethnicity.

There are people, said Riccardo, that have a Croatian surname but are really of Italian culture and language – “they hardly chew any Croatian.” In many cases they have a Croatian father and an Italian mother. He heard that persons who are in this situation usually have problems with completing the documentation for the citizenship application, but at the end he knows people that managed to get the citizenship. Many of them are also very active in the Italian community. On the other hand, he noticed there are people with an Italian surname that barely speak Italian.

For Renata the surname is a nonsense. She doesn't believe that there are people that have known ancestors for a thousand or two thousand years in the same place. In her opinion, everybody comes from somewhere, so nobody can claim ethnic purity. Even less on the ground of a surname.

For Augusta people with a Croatian surname, but an Italian culture are Italians, because, in her opinion, the culture and the language a person uses are important, not the surname. If someone was assimilated in Italian culture it is normal to claim her Italianness, as there are many people with an Italian surname, but belong to the Croatian culture.

Davor explained the adventures of his grandfather's surname that changed the form a few times from Austria-Hungary to Yugoslavia and Croatia. At the end he maintained the Italian form of the surname. In his opinion it is stupid to speak about the origin of the surnames, and they don't say anything about the people in Istria.
Marietta told me a longer anecdote to explain how a surname cannot be taken as an indicator of ethnic belonging:

There, for example [Serbian surname here]. It is known that this is not even a Croatian surname. [...] The Serbian [Serbian surname here] married an Istrian [woman] who didn't even know how to speak [...] [Croatian or Serbian]. The man was beautiful, a soldier, coming from Serbia, attractive, everybody would marry him. Beautiful in uniform, full of money... [...] But good as bread. So this woman fell in love madly. What are their children? They carry the stamp [Serbian surname here], but they don't even speak that [language]. They went in Italian schools, [they were] very nice, and they have made a fortune in Italy. Now they live in America. What has remained of Serbian in them? Or this surname [Serbian surname here] has condemned them for the rest of their lives?

She also made examples of inverted cases where people with Italian surnames declare as Croats. She mentioned among other people two Croatian politicians – Slavko Degoricija63 (HDZ64) and Tonino Picula65 (SDP66) – but they are not Italian despite the surname, she stressed.

I had to ask Igor how he copes with a Slavic sounding surname being an Italian, and how he explains that to people. And he answered:

[…] Look, [...] [it came] from my dad. My father is half Slovene, so the surname came from that side. But he never felt Slovene, he never defined himself Slovene. We have never spoken, that is, I have never heard [at home] a word of Slovene. My mother is Italian, we have always spoken Italian at home, so we also grew in the Italian culture. [...] That's the road we have chosen [...]. We have always

63 Read as in Italian language “De Gorizia.”

64 Stands for the Hrvatska demokratska zajednica, in English: Croatian Democratic Union. The biggest party in Croatia, stands in the political spectrum on the right-of-center, the positions are of strong nationalism.

65 Read as in Italian language “Pizula.”

66 Stands for Socijaldemokratska partija Hrvatske, in English: Social Democratic Party of Croazia. The second biggest party of Croatia, stands in the political spectrum on the left-of-center.
defined ourselves as Italians [...].

Surnames don't mean much for a person's identity in Igor's opinion. If we would analyze the blood of the people we would find how mixed people are. “One is that what she defines herself, what she feels.”

4.3.3.4.1 A Possible Slavicization?

Lucio said that a surname ending in -ić doesn't mean that the person is automatically of Slavic ancestry. He believes that many of the persons with a Slavic sounding surname can be of Austrian descent, many others had their surname slavicized. In Istria the surnames mean nothing, and he thinks that the more important thing is if a person uses or not the Italian language and culture, and feels as an Italian.

Lalli said her uncle found on a grave in the village where a part of her family comes from a form of her surname ending in -vich instead of the Italian -i, which was written like that during the Austro-Hungarian period. But her family claims that the original surname xxxlli was present in the same place at least from the 18th century. So, xxxlli seems to be the original, but at some point it was slavicized. They were never xxxić or similar. She found ancestors in Italy, from Tuscany, even though an uncle found some Montenegrin ancestry. So, nobody, she said, can know for sure where did her family come from.

Giuliano made examples of Italian surnames that were slavicized, but he made
examples also of surnames from Normandy that were slavicized, and a Hebrew surname that was italianized. He stated that it is absurd to talk in Istria about the origins of surnames, because it is all very mixed and lost in the meanders of history.

4.3.3.5 The Importance of Education for the Italians in Istria

Since elementary school and/or high school diplomas are important documents for the application for citizenship education emerged as an important theme too.

The informants think that schools for the Italian minority in Croatia are perceived as places where all the other minorities enroll, from the Serbian to the Albanian, to the Croatian majority. It seems that Italians are the minority of pupils also in schools made for them. That is visible when there are lists of high school graduation ceremonies, the majority of the pupils has an “-ić” ending surname. Of course, that still doesn't mean that they are Croats, Serbs, Albanians (who have different surnames), etc. Now let's see what the informants said.

Lina didn't go to Italian schools, only to a university program for Italian kindergarten educators. In her opinion, not having sent her to Italian schools was a mistake by her parents. Her parents thought she would have a better and easier life if she studied in Croatian since she was living in a Croatian environment. Her father went to Italian schools and because of that he had problems at the university with Croatian language skills. Her younger brother went in Italian schools because the parents saw it was better because children feel better in their ethnic environment, as she reported.
Vedran went to a Croatian elementary school, but then went to the Italian high school because he knew he will go to study in Trieste. At the end the high school diploma came handy also for the application for the Italian citizenship.

Luka went in the Italian kindergarten, but then he got enrolled in Croatian schools since his parents got divorced and he had stayed with his mother who is a Croat.

Augusta went to school in Italy after her family emigrated there, but she didn't go to an Italian school in Istria before emigration since there wasn't any Italian school in the place she was living before going to Italy.

Alberto went to Italian schools, and he will send his children to an Italian school. He and his wife decided that even though the wife isn't Italian, but German, they will send the children in the school for the Italian minority. He doesn't know how it would go if his wife was Croatian.

4.3.3.5.1 Non-Italians\(^6\) in Italian Schools

Gordan is a product of an ethnically mixed marriage (Serbian and Croat), and he went to the high school for the Italian minority in Pola. The reason wasn't his ethnic origins, or the fact he was a product of a mixed marriage, but his parents wanted for him a better preparation to go study abroad. His parents believed since it is a school with lessons in a foreign language the diploma would be better valued in the rest of Western Europe. To prove that it wasn't for any “ethnic reason”, he stressed

\(^6\) Non-Italians are not “false Italians” because they don't usually pretend to be Italians.
that this situation was happening in 1989, when ethnic tensions weren't evident, at least in Pola.

Gordan didn't speak a fluent Italian before enrolling in the Italian high school, at the gymnasium. He learned Italian at the elementary school, but that was not enough, and then the parents payed some private lessons of Italian a year before he had to get enrolled in high school. In his opinion, even after that his Italian language skills weren't so high. As he recalled, the problem with Italian schooling for the non-Italians was that they didn't understand everything very well at the lessons, and they couldn't participate in the program as much as they wished because Italian wasn't their mother tongue. In his mind, sending children to Italian schools was more connected with a pro-Western European attitude, not really with ethnicity. He remembered that there were many pupils coming from high status families, composed by medical doctors, firm managers, and similar, not of Italian ethnicity. To prove that he told his father's story who came in Istria from Serbia as a tourist operator and not as an officer of the Yugoslav People's Army, as it was usual. His father also had work experiences from Western Europe in his career, so, the choice of the Italian school was connected with a pro-Western orientation and not an anti-Croatian feeling as the right wing politicians like to stress (or as the informant Željko stressed).

Marla remembered that there was a boom of enrollment of non-Italian children in Italian kindergartens and schools in the 1980s. She thinks that maybe because of that there came out the word “Talijanaši.”

According to Lidia attending Italian schools is not a proof of Italianness because many people who attend Italian schools in fact are not belonging to the Italian minority, but they just take chance for an easier enrollment, since many people who
would like to go to the Croatian gymnasiums, or economical high schools cannot get enrolled in a Croatian school so they try to go in an Italian school. The threshold is much lower to get in an Italian school. That is the main reason according to her, not an ethnic feeling.

Riccardo recalled that when he went to school there were children from mixed marriages (Italian and Croatian usually), and children of both Italian parents. Now he notices that there are children of mixed marriages (Italian and Croatian) and children of people who have nothing to do with the Italian ethnic group, their parents don't even know to speak Italian. The children now speak less and less Italian in the communication between them during the breaks. In his experiences with the Italian minority school system he noticed that Croatian children impose in schools.

Željko, in order to support his hypothesis that in fact in Italian schools go people that are not Italian, said that I'm an example of the manipulation of the Italian schooling. He said that I'm not an Italian, but I am on the Italian side. Probably in a situation of crisis, as a war could be, I would be more on the Italian side than on the Croatian side. In his mind this was the reason to have a law for citizenship like the act 124/2006, it is to have more people on the Italian side. And all this was pushed in Istria through Italian schooling.

4.3.3.6 Italians As a Minority

In the next lines we will see how do the informants perceive their belonging to a minority, and how do the perceive the Italian minority in general, or better, the
Italian national community, as the Italian minority is called in Croatia and Slovenia.

4.3.3.6.1 Italian Minority – A New Minority

In Giuliano's opinion the Italian minority is a new minority. It was formed after World War 2. Before that it was the majority. So, the Italians still learn to be a minority according to him. That means that Italians don't see themselves as a national community and are not nationalists as usually the members of minorities in his opinion are. Italians in Istria don't have a minority consciousness. "So, the so called Italian community, not minority, but community here, doesn't have a baggage [...] of defense behind its back like the Slovenes in Trieste, like the Croats in Molise, or like, I don't know, the Italians in other parts [of the world]”, said Giuliano. There is not a tradition of resistance of the Italians because they never needed it. Not even under the Austro-Hungarian empire, because also then Italians had a higher status in Istria.

In order to give strength to his argument Giuliano put forward an example of the Slovene minority in Trieste. The Slovenes in Trieste have a bank, the Italian community never had institutions of that kind because it is not a historical minority. There was never the national awareness among the Istrian Italians (presa di coscienza), thinks Giuliano. The only power Italians have is culture, and that is not a good situation.

Mario has a different opinion, he thinks that the Italian community after 65 years of being a minority got used to it – “it made a callus.”
4.3.3.6.2 A Daily Struggle

Riccardo lived and studied in Italy, so he experienced how people in Italy don't always understand what does really feel like being an Italian in a foreign country. It happened in a *Questura* when he wanted to apply for the Italian citizenship, after being ignored and treated badly he had to explain that being an Italian in Croatia is a daily fight to keep the identity alive. He said that the woman at the window couldn't understand him, she treated him as a Croat.

Lucio often thinks that he would achieve more if he lived in Italy because he had and still have many difficulties with the Croatian language. Because of his poor knowledge of Croatian he wasn't outgoing in social situations, he was teased for his Italian accent but had to hold himself back to maintain his job.

4.3.3.6.3 A Disappearing Minority

As we already seen, according to Barbarf, many Italians stop speaking Italian with their children when their spouse is a Croat or of any other ethnicity. Then, the younger Italians in Istria don't go to dance the folkloric dances, or to sing in the choirs of Italian communities, they get married with non-Italians, so the minority is dying out in Lidia's opinion.

The Italian minority, according to giacomo, is forgotten by everybody, but it is
often used as a bait for getting the EU funding. When it brings money the Italian community is loved by the Croatian authorities. The proof of that is that the Region of Istria is the most successful Croatian region in getting EU funds for its projects, and according to him the Italian community is an (un)recognized motor of development.

Lina noticed that in Pola the Italian identity of the town is almost completely lost, but in some smaller places, like Rovigno, it is still strong.

4.3.3.6.4 A Minority without Rights

Davor sees a great disadvantage of the Italian minority in Croatia. It has less and less rights. One of the proofs that he put forward was that Italians don't have the right to pick their representative in the Croatian parliament if they want to vote for the parties in the parliament, and vice versa, if they want to choose the representative of the Italian minority in the parliament they cannot vote for the regular parliamentary parties.

Željko, on the other hand, thinks that Italians, as all other minorities in Croatia, have “privileges over privileges”, that is, Italians are in a better position than the Croats. He would diminish those privileges, if not take them away all together.

4.3.3.6.5 An Invisible and Not So “Cool” Minority
Mauro always felt that the majority wasn't interested at all what the Italian minority was doing and that it even existed. Italians weren't “cool” enough according to him. Unlike the Serbs or Roma people who have, as he said, “a surplus of coolness.” The Italians are called “Talijancini” 68, as a derogative name for effeminated people who follow male fashion. In his opinion “the majority is blind [sic!]”, because they don't know how is to feel as a minority. They have the national television, they hear the Croatian language, so they feel to belong to a greater nation. But, in his opinion, as soon as the Croats go out of the national borders they are lost and get complexes. He thinks that in the former Yugoslavia Italians were more respected than in present Croatia.

4.3.3.6.6 Double Standards against the Italian Minority

Mauro noticed that there are always double standards when the Italian minority is in question. He said that in Zagreb there are many people of Hungarian or German origins, or any other origins, and there are no problems, but as soon a person says she is an Italian people in Croatia see it as a problem. He thinks there is always this story that all Italians are irredentists, they want to steal the Croatian territory, etc. The anti-Italian discourse is present also on various Internet news portals and in the local newspaper – the Glas Istre – the Voice of Istria. There are always, as Mauro perceives, the -aši words as in "talijanaši", and the discourse is always connected with ______________________

68 Read as in Italian “Talianzini.”
an alleged Italian fascism or irredentism still present in Istria.

4.3.3.6.7 Italian Communities

The Italian communities, as the main organizations which have the duty to preserve the Italian minority, are very important for the territory of Istria. They do a great job on the cultural preservation of the Italian community according to the majority of the informants. There are many activities, from the folklore to painting and travels. The communities are also a meeting point for older people belonging to the community.

4.3.3.6.1 Enrollment in the Italian Community

The informants that applied for citizenship were all enrolled in an Italian community, which are registered as ordinary non-governmental organizations, usually when they were in the elementary school, and they are all very proud of that.

Vedran, on the other hand, got enrolled just a little before applying for the Italian citizenship and Franco when he was in high school, but just because he heard it would be more easy to get enrolled later in an Italian university,

[… for pragmatic reasons. For the reason that when we went to study, there was a myth, if it was a myth or not [I don't know], that it is a good thing to be a member of the *Circolo* when you go to Italy. Then we got enrolled in this *Circolo*, […] collectively. We had a so called christening all together. […] It never helped us, or
I didn't ever noticed it helped us.

Under "Us" he reckons him and his friends that went to study to Italy.

Lana became a member also when she was in high school. She recalled that someone from the Italian community came to their school and asked the pupils if they wanted to get enrolled.

Luka got enrolled in the Italian community as a child, and as far as he could remember, the membership in the Italian community was important in his family from his father's side.

Lidia took out of her purse her membership card of the Italian community of her town. As a sign of pride she wanted to show me the number of her card and the street name where she lived. It was still a Yugoslav socialist street name, she wanted to show me how long and how proud she was a member.

Livio is a member of the Italian community since he went to high school, but he was never active there and never followed the activities that go on there.

Alberto is also member of the Italian community from his childhood but he never goes there, and thinks that is a great mistake, but he cannot find time to go there. He would like to meet in the Circolo with more people of his generation. He thinks it would be nice to speak a little bit with fellow Italians, just to keep the Italian culture alive. As he is married with a woman who doesn't speak Italian he must speak at home Croatian, so the Circolo is/ could be also a nice place for keeping alive his personal knowledge of Italian.
4.3.3.6.2 The Italian Communities are in Decline

Giacomo is pessimistic about the future of the Italian communities. He thinks that everything will end as it begun, as *Circoli di cultura* – Culture Clubs – of the kind that could be found in Australia and the United States. The *Circoli* became too closed even though the Italian community is open in his opinion.

Italian communities are almost the sole carriers of Italianness in Istria. If there were no Italian communities there would be no Italianness at all, thinks Giacomo. There wouldn't be an act like the act 124/2006.

Augusta is the president of a cultural institution sponsored by the Italian Union, and she said that young people are not active, and do not participate in the work of the organization. People who participate are usually older people. That is a problem because there will be no members in the future who will continue to keep up with the work.

4.3.3.6.8 A Moderate Minority is an Enemy of Extremists

In Mario's opinion Italians in Istria make the Croatian extremists feel uncomfortable because there is not any kind of political extremism present in the Italian national community. Some of them would like to see them as communists, other as separatists and fascists, but the hardline nationalists feel uncomfortable when
they don't see anything of that. In his opinion, fascists from both sides, the Croatian and Italian, hate the Istrian Italians. The Italian extreme right wing, and not only, doesn't like Istrian Italians because they believe that all the rimasti are communists, and the Croatian right wing doesn't like them just because they are Italians.

4.3.3.6.9 Italians From Italy Not Aware of the Existence of The Italian Minority in Istria

Davor noticed that Italians from contemporary Italy don't know much about the situation in Istria and the history of Istria. So, people from Italy call in Croatian language the Istrian towns that have a proper Italian name. For example, they call Pola Pula and Rovigno Rovinj, as in “I'm going to Pula” (“vado a Pula”), or “I'm going to Rovinj” (“vado a Rovinj”). The same happens with Parenzo-Poreč, Montona-Motovun, Dignano-Vodnjan, etc. That is discomforting in his opinion, and it shows the failure of bilingualism in Istria. It is simply not visible, and it becomes a “monoculture.”

Marina, since she works a lot with delegations from Italy she also noticed this situation. They say:

Ah, I had seen Poreč, I had seen Rovinj. The don't tell you Parenzo even though, willy or nilly, they have seen... The majority of Italians come here in a car or in a bus, so you cannot tell me you didn't see on the Ypsilon [highway] the bilingual names of the towns. Nevertheless they go on with Poreč, Rovinj e tako dalje i tako dalje [and so on and so on]. They don't even wonder about.
She also recalled one of her visits to Lombardy where people usually have never heard about the existence of a place called Istria. "They didn't ever know the history, [that] it belonged once to Italy, etc..." In another situation when there was the meeting of the Italian president Giorgio Napolitano and the Croatian president Ivo Josipović in Pola on September 3rd 2011, when an employee of the Italian embassy in Zagreb asked: "You are like the Italians in Chile? And then another employee of the Italian embassy in Zagreb had to explain in short lines the history of the Italians in Istria." She understood that if people from the Italian embassy are not aware of the Istrian Italians, other laypersons from Italy know even less.

She had also experiences with Italians that gave her compliments for her excellent Italian, but even after she explained that there is an Italian minority that has schools in Italian language, etc., she was still considered a Croat by them.

Lucio meets many Italians on his job, and he is mad on the ones that say to him “But you speak well Italian! To some you explain [the situation], to some you would give a slap [in the face], 'Hey are you ignorant?!' [ha ha ha].”

4.3.3.6.10 Perceived Differences Between Italians in Istria and in Italy

Marina noticed many differences between Istrian Italians and Italians from Italy:

Number one, they don't know this reality, so if you tell them you come from Istria and from Pola if they don't know Istria it doesn't mean anything to them. It is as if you said them "I'm coming from the county of Šibenik", you understand. To them
is the same Istria or Šibenik. [...] Anyway, you are a Croat for them. When you speak well Italian they understand anyways you are not... They give you compliments how [good] you speak Italian. I have also many of these [Italian] delegations on my job here [in Croatia] or when we go to Italy, etc. They give you compliments for [your] Italian [language] and everything, but they [...] absolutely don't reckon you as Italian. Then they ask you where have you learned Italian, etc. Then you explain them that you went in Italian schools, that you are a minority, but they always consider you a Croat.

She found out on her skin that people in Italy consider an Istrian Italian just as a Croat who knows Italian very well. Another interesting thing is that she noticed that people from the Italian region Veneto know much more about the Istrian situation than the people from the region Friuli Venezia Giulia.

Marina thinks that thirty and more years of her experience of crossing the border with a Yugoslav, and then with a Croatian passport made a difference. Istrian Italians also became “extracommunitarians.” As she explained:

We could know Italian until I don't know when, [even] better than them [the Italians], the Divine Comedy better than them, but we weren't Italians. So you are still [...] with that valise of the extracommunitarian on a side. It is smaller than it used to be, but it is always a valise you carry with you [...].

Darijo thinks that the Italians in Istria are “rejected Italians” from Alcide De Gasperi⁶⁹, the first premier of the of the Republic of Italy. That is also why he thinks Istrian Italians belong to Croatia, not Italy. He doesn't even feel solidarity with the

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⁶⁹ Alcide De Gasperi (1881 – 1954) was born in the nowadays Trentino-Alto Adige/Südtirol. There is a myth that he had to decide what should the new Italy keep, as a country that lost the war, so he lobbied for his Trentino-Alto Adige/Südtirol on the expenses of Istria, and maybe even Fiume and Dalmatia. Of course, the political situation wasn't that simple, and such an interpretation is not that plausible.
esuli because they left Istria.

Augusta said that sometimes somebody remembers that there are Italians around the world, even though there come presidents of Italy, as Giorgio Napolitano, that are not aware of the existence of the Italian minority in Croatia. So, she speculated that the Italian citizenship was a gesture to remember the Istrian Italians.

Igor said that people in Italy are not aware of the existence of the Istrian Italians because for years nobody spoke about them, and when people started to speak about the Istrian Italians it was almost always politically instrumentalized. In his opinion, all the stories about the esuli and the foibe should be left to the past because they cannot lead to a better future.

4.3.3.6.11 Italian Authorities Ignoring the Italian Union

giacomo thinks that since the Italian union exists since 1944, people that work inside the structures of the Italian Union know very well the Istrian territory, so he wanders why the Italian authorities didn't work closer with the Italian communities, which represent the Italian Union on the territory, in order to evaluate the Italianness of the applicants?

On the other hand, Riccardo said that the Italian communities have a great merit in the creation of the act 124/2006 even though they didn't participate actively. They lobbied.
4.3.3.7 Istrian Italians as Rimasti

Giacomo sees a great demographic decay in Istria, and to keep the number of the Italians in Istria every Italian family should have at least ten children, but that is impossible. According to him, the main problem was the Istrian exodus. The Italians that left should have stayed, and then Italianness wouldn't be lost. He said that it was impossible to kill such a large number of people without getting noticed by the international community, so the fears were irrational. There were many reasons why someone left and someone else stayed. It is not right to say that the esuli were fascists or only Italians\(^7\), and it is also not right to say that the rimasti were communists and

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7 An esule of Croatian ethnicity from Dalmatia and a famous Italian journalist and writer, Enzo Betizza, explained in an interview (Silobrčić 2012) how come that he is of Croatian ethnicity, but Italian culture (my translation):

[...]

You, mister [šjor] Enzo, speak a perfect Croatian, spalatine dialect, of course...

- Obviously, this is my first language, my mother tongue...

 Until [your] eighteen you lived in Spalato?

- Yes. I was born in Spalato. I started to speak Croatian with the mother, the father and mother's granny.

The surname Bettiza, Betica...

- We are here from Dalmatia. We are not Italians... We are truly primaeval Dalmatians. We are Dalmatians more than anybody... Nobody of us was born outside Dalmatia. The father's mother was called Benevoli, from Šibenik. My mother is Vušković, from Brač [Brazza]. Marko Vušković, the notorious singer, Wagnersinger, is my mother's brother. Uncle. The mother's mother is Razmilović, also from Brač.

The Betice even today live in Trogir [Traù]... I know that for sure...

- Naturally, but that is a Croatian surname. There, I'm here, ours... From the seventeenth
anti-Italians. All the cases must be analyzed individually. There are families that were divided, a part remained in Yugoslavia, now Croatia, and the other part went to Italy and they all remained in touch. There were people that went away for the fear of being murdered, others because they didn't like the political option that took power. Some people went to the United States of America and Australia, and so on. He wanted to tell me the story of his family, and here is their story:

[...]

Look, I'm speaking of a personal family case. [...] My grandfather's brother winded up in jail, [his] sister went to Turin and my grandfather stayed. I had always asked my grandfather: “But why have you stayed?” [Ma grandfather had always answered] “Because I couldn't leave my father who was too old then and in that period he couldn't go away.” So, just by chance he stayed. [...] Why did the aunt go? Because she wasn't scared.

In giacomo's opinion if we can see today bilingual signs on public buildings or on the road it is the merit of the *rimasti*, those signs didn't come there by themselves.

century we are called Betica... Probably even before, but I don't have those old documents.

*You made an enviable career in the Italian culture, in the Italian society...*

- Look, during the Italian Risorgimento and later, during Napoleon and during Venice we had the Italian culture, but without Italian blood. That is a typical European paradoxical situation of the border. For what does the blood concern – I don't have nobody, nobody in Italy.

*Nobody, except – your very self and your children, of course. You've made an exceptional career in Italy.*

- All right, I did. But the family roots are in Croatia. I have members of family in Spalato, Brač, in Zagreb and even in Belgrade. And in Montenegro, because the Vuškovići are originally Montenegro.

*Enzo is a shorten name...*

- Yes. Vice. Vincenzo. They christened me with the name Vinko, Vicko.

*Do you consider yourself an Italian or a Croat?*

- Culturally I have a lot of Italianness, Italian schools, Italian cultural experience. But, as Zlatko Crnković said, our esteemed translator, writer and publisher: “ethnically and culturally, taken together, Bettiza is a Croatian writer who writes in a foreign, Italian language. But, how he writes? Bettiza writes – exquisitely.” So Crnković speaks...
To prove that the rimasti are not communists or of any other political option collectively, Mario said that the voting habit projections say that the Italian minority in Istria votes for the left as for the right\textsuperscript{71}. The Italian communities collaborate with the organizations of esuli, after all they share a language and a culture, the ideology is personal.

4.3.3.8 Italians That Left Istria

“Leaving Istria” is something that remained in the stories of Italians in Istria. Riccardo has heard a lot of stories about leaving home and going in Italy or anywhere else in the world. People that worked or were connected with the new Yugoslav authorities went around the village and would say: “Listen, it is needed [that you] prepare the box” – “el casson.” The box was needed to carry away all the belongings

\textsuperscript{71} I must add that the figures confirm that, even though abstention from voting is high. So, in the elections of April 13\textsuperscript{th} and 14\textsuperscript{th} 2008 there was in Croatia an electorate for the parliament of 7360 persons (voters must be over 18), of which 4479 (60,85\%) voted, the valid votes were 3752. The results were the following (the first five): Popolo della libertà 37,76\%, Partito democratico 37,02\%, Unione di centro 10,90\%, La sinistra arcobaleno 4,87\%, Di Pietro Italia dei valori 3,51\%. The same year for the Senate there were an electorate of 6826 persons (voters must be over 25), of which 4208 (61,64\%) voted, and the valid votes were 3515. The results were the following (the first five): Partito democratico 38,60\%, Il popolo della libertà 38,32\%, Unione di centro 7,96\%, La sinistra l'arcobaleno 4,97\%, Di Pietro Italia dei valori 4,21\%.

In the elections of February 24\textsuperscript{th} and 25\textsuperscript{th} 2013 the electorate for the parliament grew to 11285, of which 5511 (48,83\%) voted, the valid votes were 5009. The results were the following (the first five): Partito democratico 30,10\%, Con Monti per l'Italia 28,52\%, Popolo della libertà 20,64\%, Movimento 5 Stelle 9,24\%, Mov. associativo Italiani all'estero 3,21\%. The same year for the Senate there were an electorate of 10334 persons, of which 5409 (52,34\%) voted, and the valid votes were 4919. The results were the following (the first five): Partito democratico 32,95\%, Con Monti per l'Italia 31,97\%, Il popolo della libertà 19,98\%, Movimento 5 Stelle 9,41\%, Partito comunista 2,60\%. (For more information see (Interior 2013a, 2013b) )
by the optants. Uncertainty became normal among the Italians in Istria, and not just
them. Many Croats went away because they perceived the newcomers were different72.

Riccardo's grandfather prepared the “casson” - the box – and he kept it in the
ceiling until almost ten years ago, even though it was all ruined, says Riccardo. His
grandmother wanted to leave, but the grandfather didn't, so, he prepared the casson to
make the grandmother happy.

The esuli were badly accepted in Italy, so their hardship was twice as bad.
They were threw out of their houses in Istria, and then they were mistreated in Italy,
especially by the left wing people because they were taken for fascists.

Riccardo said that as far as he knows his village was cleansed by half, but
there are places which were completely emptied. He also thinks that maybe the
number of 350.000 people is to high, but, 300.000 or so could be right for Istria,

72 This coincides with the story Enzo Bettiza told in the interview I had already cited with Dobroslav
Silobrčić in the Croatian newspaper Jutarnji list (Silobrčić 2012) :

[...]

After your idyllic Spalato childhood, then an ugly and sad war, your family goes to Italy...

 – We didn't escape. We are not escapees. We went away normally, willingly. They left us go.
The war had already “chewed” the land enough even without the help of the communists who came on
power. We were one of the last, so called, unjustifiably called “talijanaši families” [“talijanaških
familija”] who went away from Spalato. During the time of occupation and fascism my father didn't
have a single drop of blood on his fingers. On the contrary, he had helped people, as much as he could.
He had spalatine friends with whom he studied in Graz and in Vienna. When the partisans removed this
national veil, they asked him to stay as a manager, he was an engineer. He was schooled, polite
[kulturan], he spoke Croatian better than me. But, he was saying: I don't see space for business,
everything fell apart, let's go.

My father's older brother, Marin, a philosopher, he remained in Spalato, by saying: I opt for
what is going to happen in Split. His son Petar became a communist, a partisan and anti-Italian. My
first cousin Petar. A question of choice, a question of fate.
Fiume and Dalmatia. As far as he knows some left because they were scared, others because of illusions, others for a feeling of weakness. The majority of them didn't have a good life in Italy at the beginning.

Riccardo stressed that it is Italy that went away, but the Italians stayed. That was the main problem for the rimasti.

4.3.3.9 Italianness as Distinction

Alberto distinguishes himself from the others in his environment, even other Italians, by watching Telelombardia – “I love so much that television. So I watch Telelombardia, but I don't know who else watches Telelombardia except me”. That is why he put a Sky satellite dish on his roof. It is a way to be different.

In Livio's opinion it is easy to spot an Italian because Italians act as “Talijancini.” It is a way of dressing (strictly Italian fashion), they support Italian football clubs as Inter and Milan, listen to Italian pop music. It is a feature of the male Italians, or “wannabe” Italians. That is why Livio doesn't feel much like one of them.

Marietta recalled the time when she lived in Zagreb. She felt that everybody respected Italians, much more than Bosnians for example. She also noticed that

73 In the Italian and Croatian historiographies the numbers and the discourse are different (John Ashbrook 2008; Ballinger 2003). There is the discourse of the esuli and foibe on one side (Oliva 2002, 2005; see Petacco 1999), and from the other side a discourse about the deeds of Italian fascism and the changing of names. Juste recently there is some comparative historical work (see Manin 2006), and joint efforts to find out the historical truth (Ballarini and Sobolevski 2002).
people from Bosnia tried to copy her outfit. If she put a foulard, all her friends would try to find something similar in Zagreb.

Federica says that while she lived in Zagreb she could spot an Italian “from two kilometers of distance.”

4.3.3.10 Italianness As a Reactionary Identity

Mauro thinks that during Yugoslavia his Italianness wasn't so important. It was just a fact, as he perceived. Nowadays, in his opinion, his Italianness became more important because there is a strong Croatian nationalism. He spent a long time, more than ten years, in Italy, and when he got back he understood, or had a feeling, that even his friends consider him exotic in a way. His experience:

I was considered, probably unknowingly to them, in their ignorance, exotic. At least I felt that way. For example, someone is calling me at the phone, you reply in dialect, and they “Aaah.” It is likable [simpatico] to them, you understand. So, in the long term it started... Nothing against them, against all that people, but it started to [be a burden] [ha cominciato a pesare].

Riccardo thinks that an exaggerated expression of national feelings of one people creates a reaction in other people. According to him that is what happened when the Croats started to display a hard nationalism, then also the Italians in Istria started to feel more Italian.

Gordan said that in the first half of the 1990s the Croatian government denied him the rights to declare himself ethnically as he wanted so choosing the Italian
ethnicity was a way to protest against that situation. He stressed that he didn't do that because he was afraid of being labeled as a Serb. It was by chance, because he went in the Italian high school, so he had some relations with Italians, and in the police station it came to his mind that he could declare as an Italian. In his words:

[The choice of being Italian] was something [completely out of the blue – nešto sasvim deseto]. It was […] almost in distress [ha ha]. In 1992 when I went to make the first Croatian ID... These new documents... […] So, there was a question about nationality. I had always declared myself as a Yugoslav, I'm a kid from a mixed marriage, [from] a Serb and a Croat, I grew up as a hard Yugounitarian. For me there was just Yugoslavia and nothing else could exist [except it]. So, simply in 1992 when I went to make the ID I came there at the desk I couldn't declare myself as a Yugoslav. Then I said I'm a “not declared” [neopredjeljen], and [the lady at the desk] told me she hasn't got this option in the computer, that she cannot insert me as a “not declared”, and then I [started to] enumerate I want to... [She said then] “OK, you have to make a statement why you don't want to choose.” I didn't want to choose between Serb and Croat, so I said I was an Eskimo, I'm an Aborigine, what else, a Bushman... I don't remember anymore. And so [she said] “No, there is not such a thing”, like “are you mocking us?!”, so i said “OK, put Italian then”, and that was it. […] I never changed it later...

He recalled that another friend of his declared as Italian, even though he was a Croat, because this friend of his couldn't stand the “born again” Croatian nationalism.

Luka recalled his first census when he was autonomous in answering the questions, the one of 1991. He said he asked the person that came with the questionnaire if he could be a Mohican, a Punk, and many other things, and in the end the person accepted "Italian" for a proper choice. Everything else that he wanted wasn't allowed to get in the census. It was a reaction to a “too big ustaštvio” and Croatness that reigned in that period.”

74 From the Ustaša movement, as being ustaša - Ustashness.
giacomo said that Istrianity was created by the IDS because of the Croatian ultra-nationalism from the beginning of the 1990s. Many Croats declared as Istrians just not to be as those Croatian nationalists that were displaying an extreme form of nationalism. Some declared as Italians.

Alberto also thinks that a strong Croatian nationalism pushed many people to declare as Italians or anything else, just not to be as the nationalist Croats. “If there is a regime of the ultra[...]right, which respects only those who are [...] Croats, then you will declare yourself as an Italian in spite, even though you are not. [...] Even if you have just an Italian granny [...]” Now that the regime is not so strong people don't care too much for ethnicity in his opinion.

Lalli told me that she declared herself as an Italian under ethnicity in the Croatian census, although she is at the present, as she stated, in her Croatian period. She asked me “Do you want to know why I declared myself as Italian?”, and after my “Yes”, she said: “Because my grandpa died recently, so here, let there remain someone [who is Italian] instead of him. No reason, they said it isn't important, so here, let there remain a superstite [sic! – survivor] more.”

4.3.3.11 Istrian Italians Feeling Inferior in Italy

Another interesting perception of the informants is the feeling of being treated as inferior in Italy. That is, they were treated as common Slavs, and they didn't like it.

Mauro, as he told me, has never been even to Sarajevo, Bosnia and
Herzegovina, but he was many times put “in the same basket” with other citizens of the countries once belonging to the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia. He thinks it was probably because the Italians see former Yugoslav peoples as more genuine, as a kind of “Noble savages.” He says that sometimes he liked his position there – “at the end when I was in Italy I would feel more as a Slav, and here [in Croatia] more Italian in order to balance the [whole] story, you understand.”

In the accounts of the informants there was not any difference between the experience of those with a surname ending in -ić or -ich and those who have an evidently Italian surname ending in -i or -in. They were all considered Slavs in Italy, or better, the informants perceived the situations in that way.

giacomo told a story in which he showed how tricky it was sometimes to use terms in different ways. When he studied in Italy he had to hand some documents and there were two different lines. One was for the foreign citizens and another for those of Italian nationality. Since in Croatia it is normal to use the word “nationality” instead of “ethnicity”, he went in the line for the Italian citizens, that is, for those of Italian nationality. The clerk asked him “Sorry, are you a foreign citizen?”, on what he replied, “I'm of Italian nationality.” It was a way to learn the difference between being an ethnic Italian and to be a citizen. That was quite a big humiliation for him.

4.3.3.11.1 Feeling Different in Italy – Not Really Italian

When Lalli was living in Zagreb had felt more accepted than in Italy. Even
with the particularity of being from Istria, and with an Italian ethnic identity. She realized she is not an Italian while studying in Italy: “I studied in Italy and then I realized I'm not Italian and that I'm nevertheless totally different from them and that they, no matter that we belong to the Italian minority, that we went to Italian schools, consider us different, Slavs. I felt inferior [manje vrijedna].” She felt that she had to put more efforts to prove she was a valuable person and to have some respect from Italians around her. She noticed then that Italians, i.e., Italian citizens living in Italy, didn't consider her as one of them.

Lucio told me that he doesn't feel "at home" in Italy, "today as today" [oggi come oggi].

“When you go to Italy you are always a Balcanic, [no matter] the perfection of your [Italian] language, your knowledge of [Italian] culture [which might be even] better than of some Italians, you find yourself always as a Balcanic” said Lidia. It is a feeling shared by many as we have seen.

In Italy Davor is a Croat. He feels like a Croat. He said “So, here [in Croatia] I am an Italian, and in Italy I'm a Croat [hah, hah, hah].”

Marina wanted to tell me an anecdote that happened just a week before we met for the interview. Here is her story:

[I asked her how does she feel when she is in Italy, and she answered] Not Italian for sure. On the contrary, even though many times they mistake me for one from Brescia or Bologna […] from my accent […]. I was in Bari last week […], and one asked me: “Are you from Brescia?” and I said to her: “No, from Istria!”,” “Where from?!” Oh, I have to tell you this. So, she comes to me, in a shop, I had started to talk something, some chit-chat, and she, the mad [woman] comes to me: “Are you from Brescia?”, “No, I'm an Istrian from Istria.” “Ah!?” she watches me
with a question mark. “From the Northern Adriatic” I say to her, “we are about 100 km under Trieste.” “Ah! Yes yes, I have even a friend from Albania!” “No no, Albania has nothing to do with it! Albania is much closer to you” I tell her. “You know that my sister in law is from Krakow?” I say to her: “Krakow is in Poland! She is Polish, much more distant from Croatia!” And she went “Aaaah!” and then I closed the discourse because [...] if she mentioned another Eastern European country I don't know what would I say to her. There, the Apulians, for example, have confused Croatia with Albania and Poland. A tragedy.

Interviewer: Well, farther from Trieste nobody even knows where it is...
Marina: Indeed, I said to make her easier 100 km under Trieste. Noo! All right...

Renata told me too she didn't feel like all other Italian citizens in Italy even though she feels as an ethnic Italian still. She said that she didn't feel different in a negative way, though. It was something that she and here friends would laugh about, “obviously, we would joke about it, on these border things and similar.” She never felt discriminated, but she thinks that could be it is a particularity of Udine where she studied.

4.3.3.11.2 Waiting With the Extracomunitari

A common experience for many people from Istria who studied in Italy or have worked there is the visit to the Questura – the police headquarters, in order to make the residency permit (permesso di soggiorno) which is compulsory for the students and citizens in general coming outside the European Union. The visit was not pleasant in the memories of our informants who studied in Italy. It was so unpleasant because they had to wait with people who were considered by the informants as the real “extracomunitari”, that is, people from the Third World countries, and for the
rudeness of the police officers which belittled the people with calling them with “tu” (“you” in singular form in Italian) and with a degrading procedure of giving the fingerprints and other body metrics. The code that I used was “waiting with the extracomunitarians.”

Another code that I used was "feeling like and extracomunitarian" which was connected with a bad experience that everybody coming from Istria had in Italy while waiting for residency permit or for the enrollment at the university. So, giacomo had this problem. He felt bad and humiliated when there were two separate lines for enrollment, as I mentioned before. One was for Italian citizens, and the other one for “extracomunitarians.” The same situation was in the Questura.

Igor studied in Trieste and he didn't like much “the two times in a year when you had to go in Questura for the residence permit. I had felt that always as a degrading moment. Let alone the cue from six in the morning to take the place.”

The main problem for the informant Igor was to wait with all those Third World people. He differentiateed the Third World foreigners – “extracomunitari” – from us from Istria, as if we were of a different kind. In his words:

[...] [P]oor [people], they were really starving [veramente morti de fame]. People who came, I don't know, from Sri Lanka to work, but we were all in the same boat [tutti sulla stessa barca]. We were foreigners, and them [the extracomunitari from the Third World] as real foreigners, though. The behavior of the policeman in the Questura was equal for us as was for them. It could be better for both, one [thing] above all the giving the “tu” to everybody [as italian for “you”]. That is, you [the policeman] have to respect us, I'm a foreign citizen, you cannot give me the “tu.” You understand, but these are things that happen in all offices...

The problem with the residence permit was mostly felt by the first generations
that went to study in Italy at the beginning of the 1990s as they were treated as Balkans “extracomunitari.” They really needed this dual citizenship then in Marina's opinion. Those first students were labeled as “extracomunitarians”, Croats, etc. She also had some experience with studies in Italy and she was annoyed that she had to wait in Questura “like an Albanian. Well I don't want to put them down, the Albanians and the Serbians or whoever, but I'm a little annoyed, yes. I didn't find it right [...].”

The bad thing about not being treated as an equal Italian is that in the past, when Davor studied in Trieste, was treated as a foreigner, "as an extracomunitario, and I felt really bad because I had to do the residence permit every year, and those are expenses. They took my fingerprints as if I was a common criminal. All in all I felt really bad. In that moment I wanted to have a dual citizenship.”

The Italian citizenship is considered as a way to avoid the “humiliation” of waiting in line with the “Wretched of the Earth” in the Questura. As Vedran said: “It facilitates for you, you don't have to wait there every year [at the Questura] with those Moroccans or I don't know who else, like a bandit, but in fact you [come from] 100 km far away from Trieste [...].”

4.3.3.12 Disappearing Italianness

Italian culture is disappearing in Istria, said Lina. There are many people from all over Croatia coming to Istria and they don't know that there were people that spoke
the Italian language in Istria. “Almost as we are bothering them.”

"The Italians are reduced to the bone" says giacomo. He believes that the bilingualism in Istria is doomed, even more because of the future regional asset in Croatia, where there will be probably just two macro-regions. Istria will not have the power as a political entity as it has now. In his opinion everything will end in the Circoli – the cultural circles of the Italian communities, “where it all began”.

Igor believes that Italians in Istria showed to much tolerance, and that is why they are disappearing and all the newcomers from the rest of Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina are making problems to the local authochtonous Italian population.

Alberto thinks the same even though he said he didn't have major problems.

4.3.3.13 Discrimination and Prejudices Against Italians

The majority of the informants who applied for citizenship had experiences of being teased, bullied or harassed for being Italians or because they were speaking Italian in public places. Here are the informants' anecdotes.

4.3.3.13.1 Discrimination

Colleagues used to tease Alberto at work by calling him “fascist Italian”, “Benito”, etc. He thinks that they didn't know what else could they say, because, I his
opinion, their culture is very low. Usually his colleagues come from other parts of Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina and hearing someone speaking Italian is strange to them. “If you are an Italian you are a fascist, there's no halfway”, he said to me. He remembered also, that there were kids that were throwing stones and shout “Fascists!” at him and his friends when he would go home from the Italian elementary school in Pola in the Yugoslav 1980s. That wasn't happening in high school because then, the beginning of the 1990s, everybody wanted to be Italian, as he recalled.

Also Lucio recalled he was called fascist and teased for being Italian. For him it was also a sign of low culture and bad upbringing of the people that called him fascist just for being Italian. He said: “Maybe it is a question of character, to not start fights, to accept you know. I would not start a fight for sure for that stuff.” Istrian Italians, as we see, are “brava gente” – good people, the newcomers are people that start teasing and fights. The insults hurt him when he was a child when “Bosnians and Croats” would call him fascist:

You knew who were the fascists because you studied [that] at school, and you knew that fascism was a black stain in Italian history that Italy itself hates or is against that period, and they would come to shout “fascist” [and] that wasn't right, they offended me a little bit.

The Italian citizenship can help a lot the Italian minority in Istria because “in Croatia there is a repression of Italians and Italianness”, said Davor, so just declaring to belong to the Italian minority is not enough. Davor continued:

75 A myth that according to Del Boca Italians have, and which he tried to dispel (see Del Boca 2012).
If you say here in Istria to someone “I'm an Italian” everybody looks at you “Ah, you are a fascist!”, it's true. Also when the Glas Istre writes about us Italians writes with that tone “Italians from Second World War – The fascists”, because there is this idea, I don't know why. So, I feel more important when I say “I'm Italian” by having an Italian grounding, by having a document that proofs that, and not... And to prove not being a fascist.

It is almost that Italians are genetically fascists, like the Slavs are many times reckoned as natural communists in Italy, as some informants noticed.

Livio went in a Croatian elementary school and sometimes he was laughed at and called “Italian”, and that had negative connotations.

Luka had an incident during his studies that made him drop from university. It changed the course of his life in a way. In his words:

The story was like this: I enrolled at ethnology at the Faculty of Philosophy in Zagreb in 1993. I was accepted at ethnology very well because they didn't have someone from Istria. They had a few people from Istria on that department. Since I spoke the dialect, the Chakavian Croatian, because I was in Peruški, and the Italian from Sissano, they [at the department of ethnology] treasured this. It was 1993, there was a war, bombing, this and that... There was a colleague from Herzegovina, and then this colleague from Herzegovina went on teasing me: “What's up you Istrians, you are Italians, what do you want, this and that and bla bla bla”, you know, I had played dumb a little bit. In the next moment we got into a fight on the hallway. It turned out I beat him, I had to go to the Dean for a talk and in principle, then I decided to interrupt my college [studies] and go away.

**Interviewer:** a pretty fucked up incident...

**Luka:** Yes, yes, yes. It was a really fucked up incident because he was needling me for quite a long time and... I don't know... I really exploded. It was just in front of the auditorium, it was a mess [kažin].

Riccardo didn't recall he had any problems because of his ethnicity. What he remembers was an ethnic incident in town council in Dignano, a formally bilingual

76 In Croatia there are stereotypes about the Croats from Herzegovina who are nepotists, nationalism, and so on.
town, when a Croatian councilor protested that the Italian speaking councilors speak in – Italian. The councilor protested: “We are not in Italy!” It was a pure display of hate and arrogance, thinks Riccardo.

Alberto made his colleagues to shut up very easily: “I would say them – I'm Italian and I can come in ten minutes by car on the thumb of my great grandfather, great-grandfather! You cannot do that for sure! You cannot come on the thumb of your great-grandfather in ten minutes by car!”

Alberto's wife is also not Croatian, she is of German origins, and has also the German citizenship. He told me she was called “Hitler”, “Nazi”, and so on, in his childhood. It was normal in Yugoslavia to call the “not strictly Yugoslav” ethnicities (all the other ethnicities except the Serbian, Croatian, Slovenian and Montenegrin) by various names. That happened to the Šiptari (Albanians), Jarani (Bosnians of any ethnicity), and so on.

Lucio had also problems with persons of Croatian ethnicity about his Italian ethnicity and his ancestors:

[T]hose from the hinterland come to you... They get you on fascism, or on “Talijan idi doma!” [Italian go home!] and similar stuff. When I come to verbal conflicts, also with people that I know [for good], not real fights, [...] I say to them: “Do you know where is buried your grandfather? And the grandfather of your grandfather? Where do you go to seek them?” Then I went back [in the past], and you know how much! You understand!? He stressed he doesn't have anything against the newcomers, but in his opinion they don't respect the local folkways, they have always tried to first “yugoslavize” and then “croatize” the local population, and they are the culturally inferior population. He
proves their cultural inferiority by mentioning the destroying by living the tourist premises where refugees came to live in the 1990s. In his opinion, they don't know how to behave in a civilized manner.

Marina had never had any problems with being Italian. Sometimes she would be called “Talijanka” (Italian female in Croatian language), but when females are in question Italianness presents a feature of “coolness”, it is not like in the situation with males when Italianness is considered as a derogatory term. She doesn't care much for being called Italian because she knows that Istria is her territory and people who could have problems with her Italianness came in Istria thirty years ago. She said: “If they don't notice that I'm on my territory it is a problem of theirs not mine.” Many other Italians, as she recalled, mentioned to her having problems because of their Italianness, but she never felt that, even though she was not isolated from the rest of society. Since she was a child she used to go to ballet, sports and so on, and she never had problems.

She was never discriminated at work as far as she remembers. Her organization, a public administration premise, in her opinion doesn't discriminate. In fact, she has a lot of Italian colleagues. They all mix Italian and Croatian languages in the everyday talk. Anyway, she thinks that the Croatian language shouldn't be a problem. Everybody can learn it. She started to read more books in Croatian, watch the TV, because it is important to speak Croatian well in a Croatian environment.

Marietta didn't have any problems as a child in Pola. Then the children in the Italian school were all Italians, as she remembered, and she had Italian friends after school, so she didn't feel any discrimination.
She also recalled just the stupor of the people hearing her speak Italian. Those people were usually from some other part of Croatia or the former Yugoslavia. A tenant of her even asked her why is that she always replies on the telephone with “Pronto?” “My girl, mind your own business”, she said to her once.

During the interview another anecdote came her to mind, about her mother. Once when her mother attended a meeting of the condominium she lived in she had problems in understanding and speaking Croatian, and then a man – Marietta says a newcomer – told her that it would be better for her to leave Croatia if she wasn't able to speak a proper Croatian. So, her mother then said him that she and her parents were born in Pola, her children and her grandchildren. There is always a story of this disrespect of the newcomers. Marietta stressed that the man was probably from Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Federica had problems to explain to her husband her Italianness. He thinks she is under a kind of Stockholm syndrome influence because in his mind the Italians were the invaders and forced people to speak Italian in Istria, Fiume and Dalmatia.

Mauro remembered that fifteen years ago or even more, when many people, also belonging to the so called “alternative” youth called Italians, or better, young Italians – Talijancini – a derogatory term made by the word for Italians in Croatian “Talijani” and and of an Italian suffix for diminutives “-cini” (as in bastoncini). It was a way to denigrate well dressed, overpolite young people that behave “as Italians” or “wannabe Italians.” In the Balkanic imaginary the Italian is often seen as a homosexual or effeminate man, as he perceived it. I wrote man, because there were not used terms for women of Italian descent or women who acted as Italians. In his
opinion at some point at the beginning of the 1990s there was a shock or a short
circuit in Croatia between Slavs and Italians that he cannot understand what it exactly
was or by what it was provoked.

People also used to tease Italians of Friulian origins. Fausta recalled that some
people offended her father and her family by saying “el furlan magna merda e lassa
pan”, but as soon as those people could to apply for the Italian citizenship they did
that and got the citizenship before her father, and now they are showing off that they
can go to Italy to get medical support (which is not so likely).

Italians were also called paštašutari (pasta-people), recalled Lidia. But that
was just when she was a child. In her youth and later, it wasn't happening. As far as
she remembers the people who would tease them would be Croats, and usually
Bosnian Croats.

Lina went in a Croatian elementary school and she remembered being teased
even by the head of class for her Italian surname. She used to pronounce it wrongly
on purpose. Lina continued: “She was a little bit partisan”, meaning that the woman
was a member of the Communist party. Usually communism in the accounts is also
connected with ethnic prejudices. As Lina said for her elementary school teacher:
“She was communist, not an Istrian, she came from another part [of Croatia].”

4.3.3.13.2 Prejudices

Giuliano thinks that the situation in Istria is contrary to what many Croatian
nationalists say, that is, an Italian must declare as a Croat if she wants to have success in Croatia. He also finds that it is forgotten in Croatia that many Italians were important for the Croatian culture. Even in modern times. For example, as Giuliano reminded me, one of the first television directors on Television Zagreb (Today the Croatian Television), that means one of the first in the former Yugoslavia and in the whole Balkans was an Italian – Mario Fanelli. Another option is to leave Istria. An Italian born and raised in Italy is better accepted than an Italian from Croatia. He compared that situation with the situation with Serbs – a Serb from Belgrade is much better than a Serb from the “Krajina” in Croatia, he thinks.

Giuliano, at the end, doesn't believe that Italians are seen as a danger in Croatia. Now they are seen more as a tourist attraction. That can be seen in the fact that just now it was possible to give the name to name the only cinema in Pola “Valli” after the famous Italian actress Alida Valli who was born in Pola, and had to escape. It wasn't possible in the 1980s or 1990s. Now the Serbs are reckoned as the dangerous element in his opinion.

4.3.3.14 Italian Irredentism And Nationalism

Some of the informants perceive that in the Croatian mass media many times Italians are represented as irredentists, that is, as if the wanted to see Istria in Italy, but I couldn't find informants who would support such a claim, as I couldn't find informants who would say something positive for fascism. Let's see what the
informants told me.

4.3.3.14.1 Italian Irredentism

Luka's grandfather, as Luka told me, was in the Royal Italian Army in Africa, then, when he got back from the Italian Army he joined the partisans and fought against fascists and nazis, and he said that he would always fight against Italy even though he was an Italian, because fascism did terrible things in Istria. In Luka's opinion, it is not that likely that Istrian Italians are for any kind of irredentism. He has also been a lot around in Italy. He says that in Calabria nobody ever even heard about Istria, but from Bologna up north, according to him, everybody heard about Istria and they think about this land as a part of Italy. For that reason he was always well accepted in Italy when people heard him speak Italian. He thinks that some Italians in Italy may be irredentists.

Luka said that in 1992 Italy had some ideas of annexing Istria. He got such an impression in that period. He based that on the claims of autonomy of the IDS leadership in that period, and then when the region of Istria was accepted in the Council of regions. He thinks that no matter what is the political faction on power in Italy they always wanted Istria. It is a historical tale, as he states.

Riccardo thinks that an annexation of Istria to Italy is impossible, but, nevertheless, he would like a bigger autonomy of Istria and a more decentralized Croatia. Maybe it would be even bad for the Italian minority to return Istria to Italy. In
his opinion, the situation has changed that much on the territory.

According to Riccardo Italy insinuated itself gradually in Istria, but just to help out the people. First with the military pensions\textsuperscript{77}, then with the act 91/1992, and now with the act 124/2006. It was always a help. Italian pensions helped Istrian families to open private enterprises and ameliorate their social status. Riccardo thinks that irredentism belongs to the past, to the Austro-Hungarian times.

Lidia also sees Istria as a more autonomous region, and she said that irredentism is not an option, mostly because everything has changed in the last 70 years.

Mauro said that he does not believe that Istria could become autonomous or be part of Italy again. He is not an irredentist, but he could become one, but there is no point at this day and age.

giacomo doesn't support irredentism too. He thinks that good relations between Croatia and Italy are bad for any kind of irredentists and extremists from both sides. One of the best things ever happened for the territory was the meeting of the Italian, Slovenian and Croatian presidents in Trieste (on July 13\textsuperscript{th} 2010), and then

\textsuperscript{77} This could be a separate research topic. The phenomenon of the Italian military pensions in the former Yugoslavia is not studied enough. I couldn't find when they started to be issued, but I found the hearings and procedures of the Italian Senate (MAGLIOCCHETTI, COLLINO, and PONTONE 1997; Repubblica 1997) . The pensions started to be erogated from 1985 until 1991, about 32000 people managed to get about 50 million lire of backlog and 500,000 to 700,000 lire per month. It seems that about three thousand five hundred billion lire (sic!) – “3.500 miliardi di lire” (MAGLIOCCHETTI et al. 1997:2) – were given to people in the former Yugoslavia who served the Italian army. Many of the esuli were never entitled to get any pension, or the return for the lost properties in Yugoslavia, so the Italian pensions for Yugoslav citizens in Istria were something that also after the dissolution of Yugoslavia made some political forces protest (see Camera 1999; Menia 1996) .
the Italian and Croatian presidents in Pola (on September 3rd 2011).

Daniela believes that the area of the Julian March and Istria will get recomposed after the entry of Croatia in the European Union, because it was always connected and it belongs to the same culture, as it was many times narrated by Giuliano Tomizza. The borders will not have any significance. So neither irredentism.

Igor thinks it is not possible to see Istria in Italy anymore. Or, at least that is not possible without a war. The territory has changed a lot, the population has changed almost completely. It is more than enough in such a demographic situation to have most of the civil and democratic liberties – "the problem is just in the assimilation of the Italian component, but that is an inevitable thing since we are just 4-5-6 percent."

Davor also thinks that any kind of annexation would just bring war and disgrace. Istrian Italians should build their future in Croatia.

Only Željko, as a representative of the Croatian far right, looks at the situation from a different perspective. So, in his opinion, as the Croats, or at list him and his party, see Bosnia and Herzegovina as an unredeemed Croatian territory, so Italians see Istria, a territory that should be returned to Italy. He believes Italians in Istria, the “false Italians”, are irredentists.

4.3.3.14.2 Italian Nationalism
Nobody of the informants told me openly s/he was a nationalist, even though some statements are close to nationalist postions.

Davor said he is not a nationalist, but he stressed the following: “[...] I would like to have recognized my rights as an Italian, and for that I will always fight, all my life, I think.” So, the statement could be interpreted as pretty nationalist.

Lina thinks that there is a need also to show the pride of being Italian.

Željko thinks that Italians have a well developed national consciousness, unlike the Croats – "they can argue about this and that, but definitely the Italian will be always for their [own people]."

Marietta is bothered, as we have seen, when people are wondering how come she is using the Italian language. She stressed that she is not a nationalist, she loves the Croatian culture, but she is sick and tired of the disrespect from the newcomers in Istria.

4.3.3.15 Croatness Of Italianness In Istria

Federica said that her mother is from central Istria where people feel like Croats, and not “Talijancini”, not Istrians, but really Croats. She is sometimes touched by Croatness. She is aware she lives in Croatia, and so, the Croatian culture makes her emotional sometimes.

Marietta felt a little bit of Croatian pride when she went to the United States to
visit some relatives from her grandmother's side (I presume from her mother's side), which are, as she stressed, Croats. She was proud to show them the sculptures of Ivan Meštrović in Chicago. She was pleased to show that to her relatives because they didn't know, according to her, how important is the Croatian culture in the world. "Now they are not ashamed any more" of being Croats, she stressed.

Renata said, too, she doesn't deny the Slavic culture which is a part of her family. She believes that people in Istria have got the best from the Italian and the Slavic cultures.

4.3.3.16 Italy In The Eyes Of Istrian Italians

Leonardo goes often to Italy, many times just to visit his mother and relatives. Those travels are going on from his childhood. He stressed that he feels very comfortable in Italy.

All of the informants have at least one relative in Italy, so they used to visit them also when the former Yugoslavia was still alive.

Alberto goes often to Italy for shopping or concerts. He always feels very well and “at home” in Italy. He stressed that he feels better in Veneto than in Trieste or in Friuli Venezia Giulia. He perceived that in Treviso the dialect is more similar to the Istro-Veneto than the Triestine dialect.

Lucio didn't have much experience with Italy. He wasn't in Italy more than
two or three days in a row, and usually in Friuli Venezia Giulia, except in the fourth grade of high school when he was in Rome for five days. He had experiences with Italians living in Italy mostly on his job.

Luka's previous experiences with Italy begun at the beginning of the 1990s when he and his friends were traveling around Italy in order to avoid the military service in Croatia and to earn some money when the average wage in Croatia was today's 75 euro. They were picking fruits and vegetables, from Trentino-Alto Adige to Campania. He spent about eight years traveling around Italy, staying usually in squats.

4.3.3.17 Italian Military Pensions

The so called “Italian pensions”, which are really Italian military pensions, may seem irredentist, but the Italian right and the esuli were against them because they believed the pensions were for Yugoslav citizens, Slovenes and Croats as they thought, even though they had served the army for just a few days, and maybe later joined the partisans and killed Italians. It was also money for which the people in the former Yugoslavia didn't pay taxes for.

Mario thinks that the Italian pensions opened the road to the dual citizenship in Istria. There were people that got the pension even though they did just a month or even less of military service in the Italian army from what does he know. All the living people could get the pension, also their widows could get the pension. With the pension there came also the backlog of forty years, for all the time elapsed from
World War 2. According to Mario, first of all the Slovenians in Italy found out that it is possible to get the pension, then the Slovenians in Yugoslavia, and then all the others. After that the “patronati”\textsuperscript{78} helped everybody to get the pension\textsuperscript{79}.

Of course, there were people who got the pension for just one month, but Mario's father did five or six years\textsuperscript{80}.

Those pensions passed almost unnoticed. Or, they were noticed, but it was happening in the period of the 1980s prelude of the downfall of Yugoslavia and helped in that crisis. “The money doesn't stink”, said Mario - “pecunia non olet.” In fact, he continued:

The komitet had decided [...] that it cannot go against the will of the people, because if you touch their wallet, you understand, in a period of crisis... It was a lot of money! [soldazzi] It was money, it was money compared to what was our living standard, the dinar was unconvertible. Who had [a foreign] currency in that period was a rich person.

People could buy foreign cars in cash because the backlog was about twenty, thirty thousand or more Deutsch-marks. The komitet\textsuperscript{81} couldn't really do much about that in the middle of an economic crisis, even though some journalists tried to put the matter in a political ideological contest, recalled Mario. This pension helped to create a positive image of Italy in Yugoslavia, more precisely in Istria. The people could buy

\textsuperscript{78} Institutions that help citizens to perform or obtain their rights as citizens.

\textsuperscript{79} It was impossible to me to find more precise information to confirm Mario's story.

\textsuperscript{80} The “others” are always those who get something even though they didn't deserve it.

\textsuperscript{81} The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia.
things seen on Italian TV with the money of their parents or grandparents.

It wasn't a planned policy according to Mario. There was a decision in Italy that coincided with the situation in Yugoslavia. Afterwards came the law about the citizenship, the act 91/1992.

4.3.3.17.1 Shopping In Italy

Shopping in Italy, especially in Trieste, was and still is the main way for once Yugoslavs, later Croats, Slovenes and others to learn about Italy and to form a special relation to Trieste, from consuming to constructing the meaning of state surveillance (see Duda 2010:69–83). Shopping in Italy was and still is important for the culture of former Yugoslav peoples that was studied as a particular phenomenon, especially from Slovene authors (see Luthar 2006; see Švab 2002). But let's now see how shopping emerged as a theme from the accounts of our informants.

Federica stressed she is not coming from a wealthy family, her father works at the local shipyard, her mother as a clerk, but she and her family always had the money to go to Trieste to make the “spesa” - to go shopping. As far as she remembers, they were going to buy even notebooks for school when she was in the elementary school. Later she was buying sport equipment. She stressed that with pride, it seemed it wasn't just a matter of saving money, but it was also a status symbol to own things “from Trieste.”

All the other informants had similar memories of the time when they were
going to shopping in Trieste.

4.4 Finding 3: The “False Italians” and the Talijanaši

An interesting finding which I wanted to point out more is the theme of the “False Italians”, as the informants told me they spotted while waiting at the Italian consulate or they know about them, and the “Talijanaši”82, as the Croatian nationalist historians used to call the members of the Autonomist party, active in Dalmatia and in

82 To explain the term from the standpoint of the Croatian historiography I will use verbatim (my translation) the explanation that the historian Ante Bralić gave in a footnote about why he doesn't use the term “talijanaš” (Bralić 2008:753):

“This raises the question of terminology that is essentially political. – What is it about? In the Croatian historiography (and not only in historiography) is established the term “talijanaš” [Italian supporters] and "talijanaško" [adjective of "talijanaš"] for those residents of Dalmatia who felt and acted like Italians, and who had undoubtedly Croatian or less frequently Serbian ethnic origins. The emphasizing of "talijanaštvo" [the state of being "talijanaš"] went to the point that only to the Italians from the Kingdom of Italy was recognized "true" Italianness. The reason for such a position must be sought in the political circumstances occurring after the First World War. The avulsion of parts of the Croatian ethnic territory (Zadar [Zara], Rijeka [Fiume], Istria and islands) and their annexation to Italy, stimulated the Croatian historiography to find evidence of croatness of these areas and the negation of Italianness. As this issue was not resolved even after the Second World War (it was finally resolved just with the Osimo Treaty of 1975), the largest part of the works in the Croatian historiography was burdened with that problem. The Italian irredentist historiography (unfortunately, there is almost no other kind dealing with this problem), with its unscientific approach – the denial of the Dalmatian croatness, potentiated the conflicts. As a justification for the Croatian historiography we can point out that it is true that during the 19th century we can track crossings of individuals from one national ideology to another, so we can pose the question of the strength of national [ethnic] identification. It is also true that a good part of the Dalmatian Italians is of Slavic roots, but it is also true that some of the most ardent propagators of the Croatian national ideology were of Italian origins (eg. Biankini). So for the second half of the 19th century we can, conditionally, accept the term "talijanaš" and "talijanaško." However, in the early 20th century the national integration in Dalmatia is over and there are only a few examples of changes in national orientation. For these reasons, in this paper we will use the terms 'Italian' and 'Italian' [as adjective].”

(the comments in the square brackets are my comments to make the text more understandable).
Fiume mostly in the XIX century, and today some are using the term as a derogatory term for people believed to be of Croatian ancestry, but who want to appear as Italians\textsuperscript{83}.

In short, we will see what do the informants that consider themselves Italians think about the “false Italians”, and how they feel when someone thinks for them they are “false Italians”, or, \textit{Talijanaši}.

4.5 "False Italians" in the Eyes of (Those Who Think About Themselves as) Italians

An interesting theme emerged from the interviews, I named it “\textbf{False Italians}.” All the informants that applied for the Italian citizenship under the act 12472006 saw a scene at the Consulate in Fiume that involved people applying for the Italian citizenship but they were, in the informants' opinion, evidently not Italians. A part of the informants spoke about people they knew from before, from their everyday life that are evidently not Italian, sometimes, in their opinion, even openly against the Italian community in Istria, but nevertheless they managed to receive the Italian citizenship.

We will see, the informants were not sure about the circumstances and under

\textsuperscript{83} The Croatian academic Petar Strčić openly defines the “Talijanaši” as “the members of the Croatian or Slovenian people who considered themselves Italians” (Strčić 1992:2) . \textit{We can see a pretty primordialist approach. The whole text is pretty much nationalist and based on the marxist theory where there are in opposition rich Italians (and the false ones) and the Slavs.}

174
which act the “false Italians” were applying for the Italian citizenship, but that didn't stop them from speculating. They presumed the persons they saw at the consulate applied under the act 124/2006. They didn't even think about the possibility that those persons applied under the act 91/1992 or other acts which give the opportunity to people who have an ancestor from Italy to get the citizenship without knowing a single word of Italian. Another possibility was that they saw persons which applied for citizenship as spouses. Also in that case being Italian is not a prerequisite, it is enough to be married for a year and a half with an Italian citizen.

I interviewed also two informants that applied under the law 91/1992 art. 17, but they went to check at the General Consulate of the republic of Italy in Fiume for the possibility about applying for Italian citizenship because they've heard in the media about the act 124/2006, but then they discovered that the whole procedure will go faster and easier with the *Ius sanguinis*. Let's say they were a casual case of *Ius sanguinis*.

At the Italian General Consulate in Fiume, as we will see, the informants/clerks said that it is impossible to get the citizenship as “false Italians”, Croats don't and can't get the citizenship. The procedure, as they said, is not based on opinions, but on documents. When I mentioned the information I got at the Consulate many of the other informants who claimed that they saw “false Italians” getting the citizenship didn't believe me. For example, Marina thought I couldn't get the “true” information at the Consulate because the employees there are not allowed to give away such information because there is probably a political matter behind the procedure.

Igor, on the other hand, accepted the possibility that there was implemented a
different legal procedure for a good reason, but unknown to him.

Let's see the experiences of the informants.

4.6 At the Consulate

The following paragraphs are based on the parts of the interviews coded with the code “false Italians at the consulate.” We will see how the informants perceive persons that according to them are “false Italians”, or “fake Italians”, or Croats that are taking a chance to get an EU passport.

“False Italians”, according to many accounts, fake the knowledge of the Italian language. They try too hard and it is clear that they have problems, and according to Alberto, everybody easily notices that those persons are not Italian. Alberto told me an anecdote about his experience in the consulate in the hallway:

When I was there […], there was a family that was doing this thing [the citizenship] too. There were five of them and they were trying too hard […]. I saw them trying too hard [sforzarsi] to speak Italian among them. They were really trying too hard to speak Italian. I said: “what the fuck [che cazzo] are they doing here?!”

Riccardo thinks that the lady at the consulate knows already how to spot a “false Italian”, from the way they talk and other cues which deceit them. That is in concordance with what the ladies from the consulate told me too84. Nevertheless, wonders how the “false Italians” manage to gather the documents. He doesn’t know

84 See the interview with the clerks at the consulate, and the findings of Tintori (2009:78) .
how all the applications end, but he swore he saw the “false Italians” trying.

The informant Darijo heard a lot of accents that haven't anything to do with Italy, but also with Croatia. He made a joke that their accents “[sounded] more like from Milanovac\(^{85}\) than from Milan [ha ha ha]” to stress the kind of people that he met at the consulate.

Lidia said that there is a boom of people that go to the Registrar's office to get enlisted as Italians. In Croatia everybody can declare themselves as a member of any ethnic group freely. So, for her everybody are doing that because they know they will need it for the citizenship application. After my insisting on some more proof she admitted that she heard that from hearsay.

She stated in the first interview I had with her that the Italian citizenship based on law 124/2006 is “a citizenship for Croats”, but in the second interview she fine-tuned her answer. So, she said: “I don't think it is [a citizenship] for Croats, I think that Croats make it more than anybody else.” She also found very irritant that some people she met at the consulate talked such a broken Italian that she got the “goose bumps” because “there were people outside that were compiling papers and they didn't know what does nome [name] and cognome [surname] mean! […] They got [the citizenship] for sure because they came to do the passport.” Since such a claim is unfalsifiable, I asked for more explanation, so Lidia told me that it is not about genetics, it is more about culture, and here is an example she told me about:

[...] You have got your ancestors, but... For example, my neighbor is of a Croatian

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\(^{85}\) A town in Serbia.
mother and an Italian father. She speaks the [Istro-Ventian Italian] dialect. She never taught it to her children, [...] they don't know anything about Italy. Now she teaches her granddaughters Italian, but her sons don't know Italian. [...] They have [also] relatives in Italy that they have never visited, but they want to make the [Italian] citizenship! I ask myself why? And they will get it! Because they'll prove genetically to have Italian ancestors.

Lucio told me his experience at the consulate:

[...] When I was there in line there were some people... There, that's also a reason why I'm asking myself why do I need this thing [the Italian citizenship]... There were people that didn't even know to speak Italian, you understand. [...] [It is] very likely they were asking [for the citizenship] for working purposes [...].

He continued with an anecdote:

I remember there was a girl before me that was asking [...], she had difficulties in speaking and understanding Italian. She was trying to speak also in English because she didn't understand. [She was telling] she needs it for the job, that she has to start to work in Rome that and that day, that she can't wait that they... She was asking them to shorten the...

Interviewer: [...] The procedure...

Lucio: The procedure! There. Then, there was another one, I don't know, he made me laugh. [...] I don't know if there is such a word in Italian. Here we say “monter” [shipfitter], the one that works on ships, that works with steel. “Monter.” So, this [lady at the consulate] asked him: “job?” - “Il montatore.” Now, I don't know, he made me laugh. I don't know if there is such a thing here... [...] “Monte” is here [in Croatia], [...] I think in Italy is “fabbro”[86], I don't know.

In Lucio's opinion all those “false Italians” he met at the consulate apply for citizenship for the opportunity to get a job in Italy. I asked if he had another idea why would the “false Italians” apply for citizenship, and after thinking for a while he said “[...] maybe for studying. But I don't believe that it is a matter of pride to get the Italian citizenship to someone who doesn't know to speak Italian. Because if you are

86 The informant is wrong about that, the Italian word is carpentiere navale in ferro.
proud, if you are not ashamed to be Italian in another country you don't seek for citizenship.”

So, according to Lucio and almost all other informants as well (except Franco), the “real Italians” can live in a foreign country even without the citizenship, and if they apply is because someone convinced them, for a matter of ethnic pride or they didn't have better things to do in life, but they never apply for interest. Wanting the citizenship, but not knowing the language is a proof that the “false Italians” apply for lucrative reasons according to them. We shall see that this is very important.

Renata said that also hardline Croatian nationalists (she calls them the Great Croats [I Grandi Croati], which are sometimes derogatorily in Croatia called Hrvatine) apply for the Italian citizenship, all of a sudden, as she noticed, they become Italians too. They manage to find some documentation, some ancestors, and all the rest. She bases her conclusions on the fact that many of them whom she knows personally reject to speak Italian on a regular daily basis.

Augusta because of the “false Italians” decided that she will persevere in her citizenship pursuit because she thinks she merits it more than the persons she saw who got the citizenship but don't speak Italian as she noticed.

As we will see, at the Italian General Consulate in Fiume after handing all the needed documents there is a last “test” of Italianness which consists in bringing the proof to be enlisted in the Croatian voter list as an Italian. But according to giacomo even such a request is not enough. giacomo doubts that the voter list can help with lowering the number of “false Italians” applying for citizenship. He has a whole script
in mind: he thinks it is possible that “false Italians” can apply for citizenship and be
all the time enlisted as Croats in the voter list, at the moment the person gets a
positive answer from the consular authorities the person can go to change her
ethnicity in the voter list, and get the Italian citizenship, but then the day after getting
the citizenship they go back to get enlisted as Croats again. In my opinion it is not
likely that such an action can happen easily. Such a person can manage to prove she
has an Italian ethnic background, but I cannot imagine why someone should have
such a strong motivation to go and change back and forth the ethnic belonging in the
voter list.

Federica, who was spotted as a “false Italian” by an other informant, said she
knows people too that got the citizenship because they had a grandfather that went to
the Italian army, and that was their only connection with Italy. In her opinion persons
like that don't have anything with Italianness, but they got the citizenship anyway, she
said: “It's unbelievable.” When I asked her what were the reasons the “false Italians”
applied for citizenship she said she never thought really about it, but it is “Probably
because they wanted to look better.” We can see that even a person who was signaled
as a “false Italian” spots “false Italians.”

For Marina, for example, having an Italian grandmother doesn't have anything
to do with a person's Italianness. To be active in the Italian community is something
that makes a person Italian. That fits with what Marina said about her Italianness, she
feels as a person from the “Italian minority”, not like a common Italian. Belonging to
the Italian minority means to be active in it.

Marietta also experienced encounters with “false Italians” getting the
citizenship. It made her angry because of that, but then again, she knows from her experience “how rigorous Rome is. If they did it for me, I don't doubt that they did [to all].” In the sense that she had problems with the paperwork, but she didn't want to give up. She has seen many “false Italians” also in the Circolo in Pola. But let us read her testimony:

I have seen them grow [le ho viste crescere][...], today they are showing off, they come to Circolo, but this is a problem of mine. [...] It is a wickedness [cattiveria], I'm showing it now, usually I don't, I give it to you, gratuitously. Usually I have to squeeze inside myself because the world is changing [...]. Ehm, how they obtained it I don't know. I saw persons at the window [sportello] [at the consulate] that the husband said “tu se potpiši” [sign here], [...] and she said “kako ću napisati, sa -ch ili sa -ć?” [how should I write, with a -ch or -ć?], and him “piši kako ti je u dokumentima!” [write as it is in the documents!]. There, for example, wives that got the Italian citizenship but don't know... [...] and husbands that I don't know how they managed to obtain... There, waiting in line... Nothing, but nothing of Italian...

Daniela thinks that the “false Italians” don't apply for citizenship because of a genuine feeling of Italianness, but their motivation is economic, just to go to work abroad. So, for her “[My] being an Italian citizen or [...] these persons [the “false Italians”] it is a maybe little bit different case. The choice is different, how to say, the motivation is different. There, in my concern, the motivation is different [...].”

Mario doesn't see any problems in the “false Italians.” In his opinion, people that applied for citizenship must have something to do with Italianness. He said: “I know many persons who got the Italian citizenship, quite famous persons on the territory [I. e. in Istria] [...] that don't declare as Italians, who received it for a series of reasons.”

Igor also knows people that got the citizenship, but they don't know how to speak a proper Italian. He said: “There are people that have always been Italian but
couldn't get all the papers and now they don't get the citizenship, and others, that have
in who knows which ways gathered all the documents, they now can get the
citizenship. It is the story of an injustice.” For example, Igor knows a person that lives
in Belgrade and got the citizenship. He asked rhetorically: “What kind of Italian is
that?”

The “false Italians” probably have all the documents, but there is something
that bothers a part of my informants. I told to Igor that they must be enrolled in the
voters register, that is an important thing, but that is not a plausible argument to Igor.
He said: “But I'm sure that, that is, I know that some of those persons are not recorded
as Italian voters because they declare themselves as Croats, so...” I asked him if he
could give me a contact for an interview, but he told me: "Nobody of them would give
you an interview." In his opinion it is normal to take a chance with an extra
citizenship: “Maybe even I, I don't know, if I had the chance to get the American
citizenship, even I would present the papers [...].” In his opinion there is also the
charm of the Italian citizenship for “extracommunitarian” citizens. Things will
change, he thinks, after the Croatian entry in the European Union.

4.6.1.1 Ethics of “False Italians”

For Marla it is unethical that the “false Italians” declare as Italians when they
even don't know proper Italian. “It is like if I said, I don't know, I'm Chinese, but I
don't know the Chinese, just two words.”
Also Riccardo thinks that it is not ethical to apply for citizenship if one doesn't speak a proper Italian: “From the moral point of view if I didn't feel Italian, or I chewed barely Italian I wouldn't seek this dual citizenship.” He said he saw:

[A] lady that didn't even know what does “cognome” mean. [This situation] annoyed me a little bit. [...] I don't know, maybe the request of that lady, or of those people wasn't accepted. Could be. [...] It is a little bit funny and it annoys me because [...] this citizenship should go to the ones that are really of Italian culture.

For Lidia “[t]he 'false italians' have the passport. Probably to show off, they show it at the border [...], when they go to ski. But that will not have any effect.”

4.6.2 “False Italians” As Unconscious Croats Or Talijanaši

Mario noticed that for the Croatian nationalists all the Italians in Istria are "false Italians." They are just disguised Croats:

[The Istrian Italian] is a lost sheep, it is a traitor that went on another side, not conscious of his membership [in the Croatian national corpus]. “Čiji si ti?” [Whose people are you?], they say, “čiji si ti?”, “A čiji si ti?” [But whose are you on your right?] I ask them.”

The informant Mario said that many people in Istria had problems like that, to be considered a traitor or similar. In his opinion it is a kind of hidden nationalism, or a situation when nationalism becomes so normal.
Some informants never heard for the term “Talijanaši”\textsuperscript{87}, but anyway, they wouldn't be touched for being called that. They think that people that call other people “Talijanaši” are just envious because they are not.

Augusta considers the nationalist historians who use the term “Talijanaši”, as Petar Strčić\textsuperscript{88} does, as ignorant people, not knowing what does mean to be a part of an ethnic group.

Giuliano explained the situation in this way:

The nice thing is that these Talijanaši are all of us because in Istria there is not a single pure Italian […]. I told you that we don't have a tradition of [being a] minority. The fact is that many Italians that came here after the [Second World] War are [real] Italians, all right?! […] But the major part, if not all [of them], those who can declare as Istrians are all Talijanaši because or the father, or the mother, or the uncle, or the brother, or I don't know who [else] are from the other side. [Is it] clear? There is a case, for example, […] a Croatian paper, croatazzo, remember croatazzo! That wrote […] “how you XXXX can declare yourself as Italian if your mother is from XXXX?” There, we are all Talijanaši as they all are Croatazzi.

Alberto reckons the Croats and the Serbs as a single nation, as, for him, the English and the Scots are, or the Austrians and the Germans too. It is not clear to him how can they all be nationalist and call someone Talijanaš.

Željko, as a declared Croatian nationalist, thinks that Italians were brought in Istria from the Kingdom of Italy and they got mostly assimilated by Croats in the rural areas. He believes that in the towns Croats got assimilated by the Italians. He sees it as a process connected with conformism, because people, according to him, get

\textsuperscript{87} See above.

\textsuperscript{88} A historian born in 1936, member of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts.
always assimilated by the environment. He believes that there are no Italians in Istria for real, those who say they are, are some Italianized Slavs. He thinks that a surname that ends in -ich is an Italianized surname, even though it isn't so. The alleged Italianization of Croats bothers him very much. He also thinks that Italians were always on power, and that is not right in his opinion. It seems that he has a Marxist viewpoint even though he belongs to a far right party, and he confirmed what the other informants noticed happening in Istria, that is, that **Croatian nationalists deny the existence of Italians.**

Davor thinks that people that call local people *Talijanaši* are ignorant. He continued then: “They don't know that an Italian doesn't exist, a Croat doesn't exist, an American doesn't exist, the Americans don't exist. Therefore that's a foolishness for me. They should go to study some history and understand that there is not a pure race.”

Igor finds that calling someone *Talijanaš* is offensive. The Croatian Historians have “two weights, two measures” [*due pesi, due misure*], as the saying goes. The problem is if the works of historians that use that term have any scientific rigor. It is more a nationalist position (see J. E. Ashbrook 2006; John Ashbrook 2008:42–58), and there is not really any historical rigor. Igor says for Strčić: “He's a nationalist. He doesn't love us, never did, never will.”

After asking Marina what does she think about historians that call Italians in Istria *Talijanaši*, or people that have Croat surnames she answered:

Oh well, I don't know. I don't know how he does feel, [...] of which ethnic belonging he does feel, but I know. That is, [...] if he thinks that we feel Italian as a real Italian that, I don't know, wants to sing [*ghe vien de cantar*] *Va Pensiero*... No [...] *Va pensiero*, but the other one [the Italian national anthem – *L'inno di*
Mameli], or when he sees the Italian flag... It is the truth, I don't feel as an Italian of that kind, but I feel anyway strongly belonging to this national community and culturally definitivno I'm more Italian than Croat, this is also the truth. Finally, I'm not here nor there 100%.

It very strange to her that a historian as Strčić thinks in “black and white.” For her nothing is so clear or “black and white”, “you can be light grey or grey mouse, but for sure not black or white. […] We are people from the border, and willy nilly you cannot be pure [...].”

Renata asked me “on which criteria is he [Petar Strčić] basing that? It is a racial criterion [...].” And that is what exactly it is, a racial criterion [...].” And that is what exactly it is, a racial criterion [...].”

[If I had the opportunity] I would say to him “you are wrong because...”, I don't know, it seems to me that the fact of declaring of a certain... to declare as Italian or Croat depends from the cultural fact, how somebody feels about herself, the language one talks, I don't know, the way one thinks and not... [...] We cannot do a genetic exam of everybody [in the world]. The whole world is mixed. Then[, if we would do genetic tests] there wouldn't be the various nations, neither Italians nor Croats. It seems a thing a little bit, I don't know, retro as a way of thinking. It seems to me they are a little bit left behind [indietro con le carte][...].

**Interviewer:** [Oh,] that absolutely.

**Renata:** [...] Anyway, I don't want to say we are Italianissimi. [...] We are very close to the Italian world as a culture.

We have seen how our informants see, live and construct Italianness, and now we will see how is Italianness connected with citizenship. Or at least what the informants said about.

### 4.6.3 Finding 4: The Quest for Citizenship

These findings about the citizenship are central for this thesis. We have seen
how people perceive the Italian ethnicity, now is the turn to see how is a ius sanguinis citizenship law perceived by the people that are directly concerned by it, or live in an environment in which an additional citizenship of a part of the population doesn't pass unnoticed.

I went in the details because I think it was important to show every bit of the motivations, the procedures, the perceived injustices, and so on.

### 4.6.4 Reasons for Applying for the Italian Citizenship

In this part we will see what were the main reasons for applying for the Italian citizenship that the informants told me. There emerged three main categories:

- **ethnic pride**, composed by:
  - Italian citizenship as a proof of identity
  - Italian citizenship as affective reconnection
  - Italian citizenship as augmented dignity
  - Italian citizenship as a deserved prize for being *rimasti*

- **opportunism**, composed by:
  - Italian citizenship as a help for (a possible) residency permit
  - Italian citizenship for the “You Never Know” situation
  - Italian citizenship as an aid for border crossing and traveling
• Italian citizenship for possible social security benefits
• Italian citizenship as an aid to find a job in the European Union
• Italian citizenship as an aid to import goods subject to custom fees
• Italian citizenship as an aid for study benefits in Italy
• Italian citizenship in order to avoid the military draft (in the past)

• they were **convinced by the family**

A fourth category emerged as the reason for not applying for the Italian citizenship or giving up during the procedure.

I couldn't separate the informants by the categories. For example, the same informants would say that they applied for the Italian citizenship because of ethnic pride, but also because of some possible benefits. They would usually say that some other applicants applied just for the benefits, like the “false Italians” that we met before.

### 4.6.4.1 Ethnic Pride

None of the informants stated to be a nationalist or to have any kind of nationalist feelings, but this category goes very close to nationalism. Or, it would be better to say that some of the informants wanted to stress that they didn't apply for the Italian citizenship for the benefits, they don't see it as an instrumental citizenship, moreover, they see instrumental citizenship as a negative feature. Even though it is impossible to say what were the reasons for all the people that applied for the Italian citizenship, the informants try to make a differentiation between those people who
applied for opportunistic reasons (many times seen as “false Italians”) and those who applied for their ethnic feelings.

4.6.4.1.1 Italian Citizenship as a Proof of Identity

The Italian citizenship for all the informants that got the citizenship under the act 124/2006 is a proof of their Italian identity, but, as we shall see, not equally important for all of them.

Riccardo wanted to stress right away that he didn't apply for the citizenship in order to go to Italy or somewhere else in the European Union, but because he feels Italian – an Istrian Italian:

for the culture, for the tradition, for everything. Above all because in a center like Gallesano where I live until about ten years ago [the] Italian [language] was spoken more than Croatian. [...] It was a natural thing, spontaneous, because they [the Italians in Gallesano] felt as a majority. I can say that all the Gallesanesi feel truly Italians. Maybe also because in the small centers, differently than in a bigger town [like] Pola, that [Italian] identity it is more rooted in the people. They feel more like themselves.”

Lina wanted to apply for citizenship because she always felt Italian and because her grand-grandfather was Italian. She also went to live abroad in a European Union country, and that fact made her apply as soon as the act was enacted. So, for her the Italian citizenship was a proof of identity, but also a pragmatic choice. Anyway, she feels now to belong “to something more” than before when she was just a person of Italian origins in Croatia. Before the citizenship she didn't have a strong Croat nor Italian identity, and now she got reinforced her Italian identity. The
symbolic change that comes with the citizenship is felt as an important change.

The possibility to get the Italian citizenship will reinforce and reinvigorate the Italian sentiments in Istria according to Marla. Belonging just to the Italian community, without an official document that proves a person's ethnic belonging a person “feels always on the limit”, thinks Marla. With the citizenship people feel to belong to something bigger.

Mario, in order to explain that applying for the Italian citizenship is not (just) opportunistic, said that after all, it is difficult that a person from Osijek or some other part of Croatia will want to apply for this citizenship, but people from Istria that are applying must have something to do with Italy and Italians.

4.6.4.1.2 Affective Reconnection

Another reason that the informants put forward for applying for the Italian citizenship was an “affective reconnection” with Italy and Italianness.

Augusta thinks that her motivation for the application is different than that of the other people who applied even though she didn't manage to get the citizenship due to some major bureaucratic problems. As she said, it would be more “an affective reconnection with the rest of my family which is all in Italy and some in Venezuela, who kept the Italian citizenship.” She already had the Italian citizenship by naturalization, but she took the Yugoslav one (which later became Croatian) at some point in order to find more easily a job during Yugoslavia, and now she regrets that.
For Daniela it was a symbolic gesture, a way to confirm a wish of her father to remain in Istria in the time of the Istrian exodus, but as an Italian. Also her children applied for citizenship because of the respect for their grandfather, and the education and culture that they got at home. Her father applied for citizenship under the act 91/1992, and he was proud of it, so also she wanted to have a document as a confirmation of her Italianness, although she thinks that Istrians have a triple identity, that is, the Italian, the Croatian and the Slovenian. She never even considered the possible benefits from the Italian citizenship, it was more to get back something lost, to get reconnected with the Italian community, or the Italian self, as she stated. Even her daughter who studied in Italy didn't have in mind any practical benefit as a reason for citizenship, so it is not a thing of interest.

For Federica the Italian citizenship is a kind of family heritage. According to her, Italy wants to give this family cultural heritage, something that the people in Istria have the right to get back.

### 4.6.4.1.3 Dignity

For Marietta the Italian citizenship was a recover of dignity [“riacquistare dignità”] for the Italians in Istria. She stressed many times the word dignità – dignity. Finally, she doesn't feel discriminated anymore and she feels more this brotherhood and sisterhood with all the other fellow Italians since she got the Italian citizenship.

“意大利s are better valued than us” says Federica. It is interesting this
statement because it shows that she feels different than Italians in Italy, and under “us” she means not exactly Croats, but more poor Balkanic, Yugoslav people.

In any case, the citizenship becomes useful in order to not be treated as an “extracommunitarian” in Italy. A person just feels better that way, and has more dignity.

Renata recalled her experiences during her studies in Italy. Although she graduated a long time before applying for citizenship she had and still has vivid memories of waiting for the residency permit “which was a mess [casino], [you] couldn't understand never anything... [you] had to cue for, I don't know, four five hours. Sometimes we would go even at five in the morning. Mostly for that...” The trauma of waiting for the permesso di soggiorno – the residency permit – is present in the accounts of many people who studied in Italy. It was not just waiting in the questura (the police headquarters), the rude behavior of the policemen, it was also the bad feeling of being equaled with the other “extracommunitarians” – people from Eastern Europe, Africa, Asia, and so on. It was an experience of waiting with the “Wretched of the Earth”, to pay lip service to Franz Fanon, but not feeling as one of them. It is not a display of racism, according to the informants, but it is the need to distinct themselves from those who “really” don't have anything to do with Italy, to feel like those “proper” Europeans from Italy or any other country from the once twelve, then fifteen countries of the EU before 2004, before the “poor” countries got in.

Vedran, in the same fashion, although he said he applied mostly for pragmatic reasons, stated that once a person gets the Italian citizenship because, as I cited him
before, he hadn't to wait anymore with all the other “extracommunitarians.”

Franco wanted to apply for the Italian citizenship mostly for the future of his daughter, he doesn't want her to go through the bureaucratic problems he went through while he studied in Italy. Here is his account:

I [wanted to do it] exclusively out of pragmatic reasons. But I also wanted, how should I say, retroactively maybe to achieve a small victory of mine for the reason they teased me so much with the bureaucracy there... I know it is a Pyrrhic victory because the thing is over, but I wanted [...] to say “here, I have it now, every time when I go up [in Italy] if I want I can remain there.” [...] More in this symbolic sense. But I went to make the citizenship as citizenship mainly not for my father, he doesn't care, he went to do it exclusively on my insistence, and I insisted exclusively for my daughter.

Lana recalled when she was in Germany in a student exchange program, she wrote in the application that she is a native Italian speaker and because of that she found right away a friend – they had to find a partner for German and Italian language conversations. She continued: “With [the] Croatian [language] you can do nothing. That means, as a Croat you are nothing, as an Italian you are more attractive, more interesting. Here, this is a reason to take [the] Italian [citizenship] [hah hah hah].”

4.6.4.1.4 Deserve It

The acquisition of citizenship came almost as a personal revenge for Marietta because she always felt to deserve it because her father came from Italy, and her mother has always spoken Italian and speaks still a bad Croatian, so, she wanted
always to be equated with other Italians. She felt that her *curriculum vitae* was not complete if she had to stay without the Italian citizenship. The Italian citizenship is a small victory for her after all those years she had to go to Italy with a Yugoslav passport and had to declare when asked for her nationality by the border police – “Yugoslav.” She thought in herself: “You'll see [...] one day I will be your equal, finally.” She had a rancor mostly towards Italians who kept seeing her as a Yugoslav or Croat. In her opinion Istrians deserved it because they were always seen as inferior in Italy. We have seen that is a common opinion.

For Darijo all the people with an Italian surname in Istria should get the Italian citizenship, because they deserved it just for the resilience. It was also an action on his behalf “to clear up the matter” [“*da rasčistimo stvari*”] – to see where is his position.

For Renata giving the Italian citizenship to Istrians is a just gesture because “with all the schools in Italian [language], I speak Italian at home, I attended […] the University in Italy...” People who show that they care for Italianness deserve the Italian citizenship.

Vedran feels he deserves the Italian citizenship since his grandfather was born in Istria when it was a part of the Kingdom of Italy and served in the Italian Army. That is more than enough to get a citizenship from a country.

Leonardo, on the other hand, since he heard that some people got the Italian citizenship on the behalf of their grandparents, he thought he deserved it even more since his mother was born on the present territory of Italy.

For Igor the impossibility to get the Italian citizenship “[...] wasn't a logical
thing because [...] an Argentinian could pass [her Italian citizenship], and for us, for
us did not apply the same rule.” It was not right that in the same family some could
get the citizenship (under the act 91/1992) and others couldn't.

4.6.4.2 Opportunism

Under the category “Opportunism” are all the variations of the informants' answers that involved an instrumental dimension of citizenship. That is, it comprises all the answers from the informants that involve an explicit will to get certain benefits from the Italian citizenship for themselves or for other people they know. We will see that the same informants that stated that they applied for the Italian citizenship out of an ethnic sentiment said that they applied also for some benefits. It is also interesting that they perceive some other applicants – the “false Italians” – as persons that apply just for the possible benefits.

4.6.4.2.1 Italian Citizenship as a Help for (a Possible) Residency Permit

Many of the informants had an experience of living in Italy or in another EU country, so they had the experience with the pursuit of a residency permit (the “dreadful” permesso di soggiorno). Usually that experience is a negative one because of the perceived mistreating at the police headquarters (questura), the quantity of paperwork, etc. Even though the informants that studied or worked in Italy don't study
or work there anymore they still think it is important to have the Italian citizenship just in case (“you never know”), or just in spite of their bad experiences with the procedure for getting the residency permit.

Vedran studied and worked in Italy, so he felt the benefits of having the Italian citizenship. He said he would never had applied for the Italian citizenship if he didn't see any explicit benefit. In his opinion there are too many documents and there is too much money to spend in order to apply for the Italian citizenship, and in his opinion nobody would do it just to feel more Italian.

Lina also had explicit benefits from the Italian citizenship. She lived in Spain for some time and the Italian citizenship helped her a lot with the documents for the job and residency permit in Spain.

Renata applied for the Italian citizenship also to leave open the possibility of a future return to Italy where she studied and graduated.

According to Giuliano, many people apply for the Italian citizenship just because they wish to find a job in Italy. But, he continues: “It is not that Italy waits for you open handed.”

4.6.4.2.2 You Never Know

As a subcategory of the “reasons to apply for the Italian citizenship” came out a reason that I coded with “you never know”, as an “atavism” from the Yugoslav
times and from the 1990s wartime. Many of the informants think it is good to have an additional citizenship just in case of any kind of future hardship.

Marla thinks that since she had the Italian citizenship she has more opportunities in life. She didn't have a clear vision which opportunities she could take chance of, but “you never know” what the future can bring.

Vedran sees citizenship just in an instrumental way. He would like to apply for a third one, the Serbian one. Maybe, in a hypothetical future, he will have to go to work to Belgrade and he would already have the citizenship, and wouldn't have to do the residency permit.

Darijo noticed that there are many opportunists that apply for the Italian citizenship. He thinks that maybe the majority of the applicants apply for a “you never know” situation, and he doesn't like that. Nevertheless, his opinion about the other applicants doesn't stop him to tell that it is good to have an extra citizenship even if a person doesn't know what to do with it, because it is good to have it in a drawer for the “you never know” reason. As he put it: “In bad times, you just take out the passport and you go.” He doesn't believe there will be political turmoils as there were in the past, so in his opinion it is a way of thinking that remained from the insecure times of former Yugoslavia and then from the wartime 1990s Croatia.

Citizenship is, as Augusta said, “an additional security for exceptional cases that could show up in the future.”

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89 I must stress here that the informants use the phrase “you never know” in various forms in the Croatian language (“nikad se ne zna”, “za svaki slučaj”) and in the Italian language (“non si sa mai”, “per ogni evenienza”).

197
Franco stated his motivation in this way:

So, my motivation was literally blowing on cold [puhanje na hladno], for the reason I had studied in Italy. So, I had been through all that circus with the [...] permesso di soggiorno [sic!], I presume you know a lot about it. In fact, I didn't go to do that for myself because my circus with the papers was over for a long time. So, I got back in Croatia in 2005 after finishing a Master in [name of an Italian town]. I wanted, in fact, do it for my daughter. [One day] if she will want to go to study wherever, in England, in Poland, if she will want to go to Italy, no matter [...] if Croatia will be part of the European Union or not, I wanted for her to have this opportunity more, let's say, which I didn't have, and she will not need to pass through all that hodgepodge I had to pass through.

We can see the trauma that Franco still feels because of the treatment for the residency permit. It is so strong that he acts upon a future possibility, to spare that procedure for his infant daughter.

4.6.4.2.3 Border Crossing and Traveling

Many persons in Croatia see benefits in having an extra “EU passport”, so do the informants. Sometimes it is just because they feel better when passing through the “EU Passports” gates at the airports or they perceive to have a better treatment by the border police, custom officers and other law enforcement personnel in general.

Luka as a frequent traveler noticed a big difference between being a Croatian citizen and being an Italian citizen in the encounter with law enforcement officers as policemen and custom officers. So he used to say in the past he wanted that citizenship so badly that he thought often: “Uuuh, it would be so good to have the
Italian citizenship.” He wanted it in order to travel freely and to be treated in the various EU countries as an equal person, not an inferior being.

giacomo thinks that many people see in fact in the Italian citizenship just an EU citizenship, so they can circulate freely through Europe, without any special feeling of ethnic belonging.

For Leonardo, Livio and Marietta going to the United States of America was much easier, because they didn't need the visa as other Croatian citizens need. It was not only a matter of money for the visa, but it was also a matter of pride. Marietta said she felt as “a citizen with the capital C” because she didn't have to make the visa for the United States.

Federica also thinks an extra EU passport could come handy in a case of need. She used to work for foreign companies in Croatia, and the Italian passport was a good means to avoid problems at the borders. Also if she will decide to emigrate one day it will be easier with an EU passport.

Marina just wanted to have a passport which is “stronger than the Croatian one”, even though after she got the citizenship she has never been at the consulate to make the passport. In my opinion that is pretty interesting for the final interpretation.

### 4.6.4.2.4 Social Security Benefits

Some of the informants think that the “false Italians” apply for the Italian
citizenship because they think they will get social security benefits reserved for the Italian citizens that pay the taxes. I couldn't find a “false Italian” to prove that, maybe because, as the informant Lidia thinks, people are afraid to tell in public that they are “hard Croats” [Croatazzi] and that they applied for the citizenship just to get more social security benefits from Italy. Allegedly, as some informants said, they want the medical insurance and a better medical care than the one provided in Croatia. Of course, that is not possible.

4.6.4.2.5 Italian Citizenship as an Aid to Find a Job in the European Union

I couldn't find informants that went to work in Italy after they got the Italian citizenship, but nevertheless the informants said that probably one of the main reasons for applying was the possibility to go to work in Italy. Luka even thought that the main reason was pure despair and poverty of some applicants. In any case I couldn't test those claims. All the informants I could contact didn't have the intention to leave Croatia and I couldn't find people with greater economic problems. Of course, since the population is hidden, it could be a problem of my networking and of those of my informants.

4.6.4.2.6 Italian Citizenship as an Aid to Import Goods Subject to Custom Fees

200
Lidia thinks that many people apply for the Italian citizenship because they think they will be able to import cars, furniture and all the other goods that, as she said, people in Croatia envies to Italy. In her opinion those people are very disappointed when they find out that it is not possible to import goods that easily. That means, without paying the customs.

4.6.4.2.7 Italian Citizenship as an Aid for Study Benefits in Italy

Twelve informants had experiences with the Italian higher education, so they are aware how a great help the Italian citizenship is, and could be for them if they had it when they needed it. We have seen that it sure helps with the residency permit, but there are more benefits that come along with the citizenship. The greater one is the possibility of getting a scholarship with less paperwork because Italian citizens, unlike the Croatian ones (or all the other “extracommunitarians”), can “self-certificate” the documentation, they don't have to put a security deposit in a bank in order to get the residency permit which is also needed for the scholarship, they can compete with a lesser household income without using the coefficient to standardize the Italian and Croatian incomes, etc\(^9\). We will see that some informants know people that use the Italian citizenship in order to get enrolled in an Italian doctorate program, because they cost more than half (sometimes a quarter) of the cost in Croatia if one has to pay

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\(^9\) The rules for the applications for scholarship may change from university to university, and they change in time, so the mentioned procedure has just an illustrative character. Nevertheless, the application takes a lot of time and energy in order to get all the documentation, there are no major shortcuts no matter which university.
the full price, or are completely free if the student is able to prove to have low incomes.

According to Davor the possibility of getting a scholarship or the residency permit with less paperwork attracts the “false Italians.” He said that they apply for citizenship just to get the scholarship, but in his opinion they are immoral and they don't have any identity.

Giacomo, who also studied in Italy, is aware of the procedure for the residency permit application, that goes from the bank deposit that should prove that a person has the money to stay in Italy, to the contracts with the landlords, and so on. Also he wished he had it back in the period of his studies. He thinks too that this benefit could attract many people that don't feel really Italian.

Franco is sure that people who apply for the Italian citizenship, no matter what they say, they do it for pragmatic reasons. Many people with the Italian citizenship he knows got enrolled on doctoral courses and master courses in the European Union. “So, they don't speak Italian at home, if language is a niche of belonging to an ethnicity or nation, […], they don't speak Italian with their kids, they don't speak Italian with their parents, it is a thing of pure pragma.”

Giuliano said openly that he applied for the Italian citizenship in 2010 just to facilitate the enrollment of his son at an Italian university that same year. He has always felt more Italian, and was sure of his identity so he didn't need an additional proof in the form of citizenship, but a pragmatic problem pushed him to apply for citizenship.
4.6.4.2.8 Italian citizenship in Order to Move to Italy

While I was in the phase of preparing the research interviews and did preliminary talks I heard from many people in Pola that those who apply for citizenship plan to move to Italy among the other reasons, but I couldn't find an informant who wanted to move or moved to Italy after getting the citizenship. The informants that I found don't plan to move to Italy or anywhere else in Europe, but they like to leave that door open. They too didn't know a single person who moved to Italy after getting the citizenship. Some of the informants, as we have seen, had living, study and working experiences in Italy, but none of them has the intention to go to live in Italy any time soon.

4.6.4.2.1 Not Having Intentions to Move

Lucio, as we saw, said that he doesn't think about moving anywhere. Maybe if he got the citizenship when he was twenty he would moved, but nowadays, at 36, he doesn't even think about it. He thinks that the difference between Croatia and Italy in the economic conditions isn't so big to move.

Renata also thinks that people don't leave because there is a crisis all over Europe and in Istria it is not that bad after all. She lived a period in Italy during her studies and in Spain and she saw that the economic situation is very bad in those
countries lately. So, the situation is the same as here or could even be worse for someone who comes with no background from another country, no matter which passport does she carry.

Luka thinks too that there are no big differences between the living conditions in Italy and Istria, so people are less likely to leave Istria to go to live in Italy. After all the jobs that they could find there are even worse in his opinion.

Other informants as Davor try to pursue a career in Istria in the near future, although he cannot say where will he be in five years.

Igor, who studied in Italy, repeats that he and his family applied for citizenship because of national pride not in order to emigrate, and he understands why people don’t leave. In his opinion it is probably because many people in Istria have houses, apartments, and good jobs, in Italy there is nothing waiting for them, they have to start from scratch. He thinks that going to Italy now is all right for someone from Romania for instance, but not for someone from Istria. "If you had a good job offer you would go even before [you got the citizenship] and after some years you would get it anyway, so..." there is no motivation for people from Istria to go to Italy. Citizenship isn't something that makes people leave their life in Istria.

Darijo worked in Trieste for a shorter period (unspecified) for an international organization, but he doesn't plan to go to work there anymore. He said he had already the occasion to remain in Italy, but he prefers to stay in Istria.

Vedran had lived in Italy for 10 years and he wouldn't go back anymore. As he said before, the citizenship is something to use in necessity.
It is interesting that even Željko as an informant with extreme nationalist views thinks that nobody will leave Istria because of the dual citizenship, mainly because people that moved to Italy at the end had problems with that situation, and didn't really earn much money, or at least he thinks so. In his opinion it is also a good situation that after the entry in the European Union nobody will come to Istria because Croatia all together is not really a rich country. It is better to go in another EU country.

4.6.4.2.2 Move Istria to Italy?

Vedran joked about moving the whole territory of Istria in Italy, or that the Italian borders should be moved in order to incorporate Istria. He continued by saying that the least would be to join Slovenia, but the best would be the Austro-Hungarian empire. In his opinion all the Croatian governments behave badly towards Istria and Istrians. He wasn't serious about his statements, but, nevertheless, he showed some resentment about the current situation.

As I wrote before, there are no informants that showed some irredentist political orientations, but, I wanted to keep the small insinuation because it cane be used as an item in a future “quantitative” research.

4.6.4.2.3 Maybe Moving to Italy

Renata would eventually leave Croatia and go to Italy, but not for economic
reasons. It would be more because she would like to change her living environment from time to time.

4.6.4.2.9 To Avoid Military Draft\textsuperscript{91}

This reason is obsolete because there is no more compulsory military service in Croatia, but the informants Riccardo and Luka still remember the years of the Croatian War of Independence (1991\textsuperscript{92} - 1995) when a citizenship of a foreign country could come handy in order to avoid the military service.

4.6.4.3 Convinced By the Family

Two of the informants stated that they were convinced by family members to apply for the Italian citizenship. Lidia applied for citizenship in the past, but at the first bureaucratic obstacle she gave up. Or, at least that was the story at the time of my first interview with her. After a year she applied again for the citizenship, but this time as a spouse since her husband got the citizenship from before. She didn't want to apply again because, in her opinion, this act 124/2006 is a law for giving the Italian

\textsuperscript{91} Since this research has an exploratory character I left this subcategory in because it could be used to produce a questionnaire for another country where there is still the compulsory military service.

\textsuperscript{92} The beginning of that war could be also put in 1990 if we take as a criterion the start of the Serbian rebellion which didn't include war activities.
citizenship to Croats, so a less valued citizenship. Finally she applied because her husband convinced her. He said to her (citing her playing the husband): "It will be useful when we travel, [...] they [Italy] are more represented...", and she continued "OK, it is true, we travel often, and [Italy] is more represented, the consulates, [...], you have more protection... The husband said her: “Do it, it costs you nothing’, but it costs! It costs [...].” At the end her reason was “to not be a black sheep [in the family].”

Lucio didn't want to make the Italian citizenship at all because, as he said, he is aware of his ethnicity and he has nothing to prove to anybody, but his wife insisted and at the end managed to convince him. Then she went to the General Consulate to hand all the documentation for both of them. His motivation wasn't, as he stressed a few times, the possibility to go to work in the European Union, and even not to enforce his ethnic feelings because he has always knew what was his identity. Lucio doesn't see a precise scope to have another citizenship in a future Europe without borders.

Lidia, as a matter of fact, started the procedure, so she was willing to go through the procedure voluntarily. Lucio, even though he said he was convinced by his wife, showed to be very informed about the citizenship procedure. He told me that his father got the citizenship under the act 91/1992, but Lucio couldn't get it at the time because he was over eighteen. He also made the Italian ID for which is needed an extra effort to go in Trieste.
4.6.4.4 Reasons for not Applying

We can see that there is a discrepancy between the number of applications and the number of Italians in Istria\(^3\). Not everybody is applying, we can say that just one third of the Italian population applied. Of course, a part of the Italians, the older ones applied in the 1990s under the act 91/1992, but there is not a big mass of people applying. Let us now see some of the reasons why some people that could get the Italian citizenship don't apply or stop the procedure.

4.6.4.4.1 Lack of Time

Alberto told me that he asked a common friend of ours why he didn't apply, and the friend replied that he doesn't have the time. For the record: the mentioned person belongs to the “working class”, and doesn't have a university diploma. Sometimes people that could apply for the Italian citizenship don't apply because the cannot go to collect the documentation during the working hours, because all the offices are open usually just in that period\(^4\). Then, going to the General consulate in Fiume is a problem for many people, it takes too much time.

\(^3\) There are 12,543 (6,03\%) Italians in Istria in the census of 2011. The requests sent in Rome on December 31\(^{st}\) 2011 were 5760, and 3617 were elaborated. In the 1990s 3500-4000 people obtained the Italian citizenship under the act 91/1992.

\(^4\) The Italian consulate in Fiume is open from 9 to 12 from Monday to Friday, on Tuesday from 14 to 15h; the police station in Pola works from 9 to 15h from Monday to Friday, except on Tuesday, it works from 9 to 17h; the Italian community in Pola usually from 10 to 13h.
4.6.4.4.2 Great Spending

The opinion of some informants is that great spending for the documentation for the Italian citizenship is holding back many more people from applying for it. All the documents must be translated by an official court translator and also certified by the municipal court – they must have the apostille according to the Hague convention of October 5th 1961 (the Apostille Convention).

4.6.4.4.3 Not Applying Because of the Croats

Lidia, as we have seen, gave up the procedure for the Italian citizenship because of some bureaucratic problems. After that she lost any interest, as she said, when she saw so many Croats applying for citizenship. In her opinion it was like getting a mark that a person is really a Croat and not an Italian. In the first interview she told me that she didn't want get it as a spouse because he saw taking the oath in front of the Italian consul as a humiliation when so many Croats get the citizenship without any problem.

4.6.4.4.4 Not Seeing Any Benefits
People stop collecting the documents for the Italian citizenship when they don't see a clear benefit from the citizenship, thinks Vedran. He based this conclusion on his brother's experience who didn't want to apply for citizenship because of all the paperwork he had to do, which wasn't that much after all because Vedran did it before, so all the documents were already available. The interesting thing is that his brother doesn't have a university degree. Again, I couldn't find many people who didn't graduate and wanted to apply or had already applied for citizenship. In my sample there are just five of them that applied under the act 124/2006 of whom two had some university experience. The people that I contacted told me they don't see the use of an additional citizenship. Of course, I repeat, my sample doesn't represent the whole population.

4.6.5 Learning About the Possibility

After having seen what were the main reasons the informants applied or heard why other people they know or heard about applied, we will see how they learned about the possibility to get the Italian citizenship.

The sources of information are usually these:

- Word-of-Mouth

- A Local Italian Community Organization

- An Organization of the Italian Union (besides the Italian communities)

- The Italian Minority Newspapers *La voce del popolo*
Let's see now in detail how these sources function.

### 4.6.5.1 Word-of-Mouth

Franco at first heard just about the act 124/2006 and the possibility to get the Italian citizenship and then he asked an acquaintance connected with the Italian consulate in Fiume if he could get him more information about citizenship. The person asked a clerk at the consulate, and it came out that Franco is not an act 124/2006 case, but a pure *Ius sanguinis*. He obtained the Italian citizenship in a month or less. We can see that the trigger was the word-of-mouth spreading information about the law 124/2006.

Leonardo had a similar experience with citizenship. That is, he went to the Italian embassy in Zagreb to ask about the possibility to get the Italian citizenship under the act 124/2006, but he got it based on the act 91/1992.

Lana doesn't remember exactly where did she hear about the law, and from whom, but it was for sure from *passaparola* (word-of-mouth) and probably from the Croatian newspapers (not precisely from *La voce del popolo*).

### 4.6.5.2 Italian Community as a Place for Information

Davor has volunteered in the Italian community in Pola and he learned there
about the possibility of getting the Italian citizenship. He said remembers that there was always this story about a possible new law about the Italian citizenship for the descendants of Italian citizens in Croatia.

Luka tried to get the citizenship in the 1990s when his father got the citizenship under the law 91/1992, but he couldn't get it because he was over eighteen, and then he heard from someone from the Italian community in Sissano about the new act – the 124/2006. He called right away the Italian consulate and got all the information and in six months he got the Italian citizenship.

Alberto said he is very sorry because he is not going to the Italian community in Pola, but his parents are very active, so he learned about the possibility of getting the Italian citizenship from his parents and they found out about it in the Italian community. They know many people that work in the Italian community and his grandaunt is an important activist.

4.6.5.3 An Italian Union Organization

Igor learned about the possibility of getting the Italian citizenship in the organization where he works which is a part of the Italian Union, so he and his family were among the first people who got the Italian citizenship under the act 124/2006 as all the other employees of the organizations connected with the Italian Union.
4.6.5.4 The Italian Minority Newspaper La voce del popolo

Giuliano, except from the word-of-mouth network, he learned mostly from the La voce del popolo, the newspaper for the Italian minority in Croatia and Slovenia.

4.6.6 The Procedure for Applying for Citizenship

Even though the procedure for citizenship should be quite clear it is a stressful endeavor for the applicants because there is a conspicuous paperwork, and that means a lot of time passed waiting in line in various offices, for translations, for the travels to Fiume or Pazin, telephone calls, etc.

We will see in the following lines what happens in the procedure and how is perceived the whole procedure. These are the categories and subcategories which emerged from the interviews:

- Difficulty of the Procedure
  - Perceived as Easy
  - Perceived as Hard
- The Cost of the Procedure
- Putting the Documentation Together
- Proving Italianness
  - The Impossibility of Proving Italianness
- Proving Italianness with the (Grand)parents' Documentation
- No Proof Asked
- Having an Italian Surname as a Proof of Italianness
- Handing In Extra Documentation to be Sure
- School Diplomas
- Extra Activities in the Italian Community
- Membership in the Italian Community as a Proof
- Applying as a Spouse
- Registration at AIRE
- Filtering People at the Consulate
  - Speculation About Filtering
  - Two kind of applicants
  - Inter-ministerial commission
  - Interview With the Consul
- Applying for Citizenship in Trieste
- Duration of the Procedure
- Problems with the Procedure
  - Perceived Injustice
  - Misspelled Names and Surnames
  - Technical Problem With Child
  - Unclear Reasons for New Documents
  - Tension of Applicants
4.6.6.1 Difficulty of the Procedure

We will see in the following lines how the informants perceive the difficulty of the procedure. They are divided between “hard” and “easy” based on their different experiences which will be presented here.

4.6.6.1.1 Perceived as Easy

During the interview I mentioned to Darijo that some people I interviewed gave up the procedure for citizenship, and he told me he thinks that people who didn't apply but have the possibility, or the people who gave up during the procedure did that out of ignorance and laziness. He thinks that the cost of the whole procedure or anything else connected with the procedure nowadays cannot be a big problem. Because of ignorance some people think they will have repercussions in life because of an additional citizenship. “They will say 'I am an Italian so I won't be the chief of the workshop [in the shipyard], fuck it', [...] I don't know, it is something like that.” He mimicked the “common guy” from the shipyard Uljanik in Pola. We could infer that it is an explanation why I couldn't find people from the working class that applied for citizenship even though I know a great number of people from that category.

Livio's experience is that the procedure is extremely easy, mostly because his mother collected all the documentation for him. He had just to bring them to the Italian consulate. It seems that this is a common situation. For example, Lina said that her grandmother gathered all the documentation for the family, also Davor got his
documentation collected by his mother, he just went to the Italian consulate to sign the documents.

Luka said he didn't put too much effort in the procedure for the citizenship, he went in it with with this kind of attitude: “If it comes good, if it doesn't come [there is] nothing bad.” In his opinion a person has to be relaxed in order to get the citizenship.

People who had a parent or grandparent who got the citizenship under the act 91/1992 in general had an easier procedure because the documentation that was most difficult to get was already at the General Consulate of Italy in Fiume.

4.6.6.1.2 Perceived as Hard

Not everybody perceive the procedure as easy. Some of the informants had, in their opinion, a hard time mostly because they had to bring a lot of the documentation, proofs of being of Italian culture, etc. But they felt mostly deprived because they saw people that don't belong to Italian culture, as we have seen already.

For Marietta the procedure at the very beginning was discouraging, but a kind of anger kept her going. She was angry because even though she has a father born on the present territory of Italy she had to apply for the citizenship through the line of her mother who is an Italian too, but didn't have the Italian citizenship from before. Her opinion is that the procedure is particularly difficult, but then again, she thinks

95 It is possible that the father became a naturalized Croatian citizen, but for ethical reasons I couldn't go deeper in details. The informant was not informed in detail how the citizenship laws work.
that some people could get the citizenship even though they were not ethnic Italians. For unknown reasons she thinks that “false Italians” have an easier procedure, but that is not really possible.

Although he didn't have problems with the procedure, Luka heard, as he said, all kinds of stories while waiting in line in the Italian consulate. He heard complaints from people that had to come a few times back to the consulate with some additional documentation and similar stories. But, his opinion is interesting because he thinks a big difference could make the reason of application and the mindset of the applicants. He thinks that the applicants that wanted to do it because of existential motives (work, social security, etc.) had problems or were rejected. They were more “shriveled”, and fearful too. A person has to be relaxed, he stated that many times. He perceives that he spent just half an hour at the consulate because he was relaxed.

For Leonardo the biggest and most annoying problem was traveling back and forth from Zagreb, where he lives now, to Fiume, the jurisdiction where his record was kept. He had to bring many times some additional documentation, he felt he never got the whole information from the clerks.

Vedran finds that the Italian authorities don't give the citizenship so easily to anybody, and that is fine by him. He thinks that the procedure must be hard because the Italian authorities don't want to concede the citizenship “to some Gypsy here by the road who came from I don't know where and has nothing to do with Italy.” Again, there is this tone of being different from the other “Wretched of the Earth” as the Roma people (they are just used in a derogative way for signaling “false Italians”).
4.6.6.2 The Cost of the Procedure

The procedure for citizenship is not cheap for everybody. It depends from the line a person is following in order to get it, but usually it doesn't cost less than 2000 HRK (about 250 euros) without the travels to Fiume to go to the Italian consulate. That is a deterrent for some people to apply for the Italian citizenship. In the expenses there are the extra costs of legal translation, authentication, archive searching costs and so on.

Another way to get the citizenship and to spend less is applying as a spouse of an Italian citizenship, that is possible after 18 months of marriage. Lidia had to spend 200 euros just to open the file. There are other expenses like the translation of the documentation, that is about 300 HRK (about 40 euros), then bank transfer expenses about 200 HRK (about 25 euros). She said: “If I knew [that the procedure cost so much] even [my husband] wouldn't convinced me, because in my opinion that is wasted money.”

4.6.6.3 Putting the Documentation Together

Beside the money, there is a big investment in time. People have to wait in line at the police station, at the law court, at the registry office and so on. My speculation is that because of that high investment of time I couldn't find informants.
from the working class. It is difficult to leave the job during working hours and then to spend a lot of money on something that does not produce evident benefits right away.

4.6.6.4 Proof of Italianness

4.6.6.4.1 The Impossibility of Proving Italianness

Giuliano thinks that the procedure of proving to belong to the Italian culture has nothing to do with the Italian culture, it is just a formality, “an automatism.” For him the recognition through school diplomas and all the other documents is not a proof of a person's Italianness. All the informants think that the requested proofs of belonging to the Italian culture are not enough to prove Italianness. I have to stress that those statements are in contradiction with the statements that there are too many documents to prove Italianness.

4.6.6.4.2 Proving Italianness with the (Grand)parents' Documentation

Many of the informants had to prove a (grand)parent's belonging (usually the grandfather's) to the Italian culture by some extraordinary proofs as:

- Photos
• Military Matriculation Sheet

• Various Paraphernalia

• Handwritten letters

Usually the applicants are applying for the citizenship through their grandfather. There are multiple reasons why are they doing that. First of all, it is because women until January the 1st 1948 (the day the new constitution of the Republic of Italy became effective) couldn't transmit their citizenship to the descendants, and another one is because the military archives and matriculation sheets are very well kept still.

Alberto recalled that he had to bring also some photos of his grandfather when he served the Italian Royal Army as a proof to the Italian consulate. He perceived that as very important.

The informants know stories, and some of them share this experience, about many people that had to go to the National Arhive in Pazin to find the matriculation sheet of a grandfather. Their experience is that the archive functions well, there are no problems with that. In other situations, as in Vedran's situation, the applicants had to go to Trieste at the Archive because some documents are ruined in Pazin. After World War 2 many archives were burned down, so for some people it is difficult to find all the documents in the archive in Pazin.

Alberto brought at the Italian consulate even war medals his grandfather got in the Italian Royal Army. He said all of that was accepted. The same thing did Giuliano.

Some applicants, as Marietta, had to prove the Italianness of their
(grand)parents by presenting a letter written in the past that proved the use of the Italian language on regular basis. So, she, besides the fact that her father and her mother are Italians, brought at the consulate for her file a letter where a friend of her mother wrote her from Argentina: “[...] By now I'm speaking in Italian just with you because in Argentina everybody is speaking Spanish, and the family in [a village in southern Istria] speaks [just] Croatian.” She brought also the letters that her mother sent her during her studies. The letters were all in Italian. Such a proof was accepted in situation where some documentation was incomplete.

4.6.6.4.3 No Proof Asked

Some of the informants didn't recall any proofs of their belonging to the Italian culture. Darijo, for example, said he wasn't asked for any extra proofs of belonging to the Italian culture. In his words: “You know what, I think that you can see this [my belonging to Italian culture].”

Federica also didn't bring any additional document for what she could remember. She thinks it was because her father had already the citizenship under the act 91/1992, so she had to bring just the proof of her identity and the voter list sheet.

4.6.6.4.4 Having an Italian Surname as a Proof of Italianness

Just three informants with an Italian surname said that it probably helped to
get the citizenship faster. We have already seen that the majority of the informants that applied for citizenship don't have an evidently Italian surname.

4.6.6.4.5 Handing In Extra Documentation to be Sure

Riccardo thought that it would be also a good idea to give as many documents as he could possibly bring along at the Italian consulate. He wanted to be 100% sure the documentation will be all right. It is maybe so because he had already an experience of applying for Italian citizenship when he was studying in Italy. It questionable though how much did that help when an anonymous commission in Rome had to check all the extra material.

Lina didn't go to a school for the Italian minority, so she brought her university diploma because she studied in Italian language at the local university\textsuperscript{96} in Pola. She said it worked.

Marietta brought all the possible proofs she could find about how much she contributed to the Italian culture in Croatia and that, as she stressed, she was an ambassador of Italian culture in Croatia\textsuperscript{97}. She was angry because she had to prove her mother's mother tongue because her mother doesn't even speak a proper Croatian. When she got the request from the consulate to hand in additional proofs of her

\textsuperscript{96} At the time it was a part of the University of Fiume, now it is the Univeristy “Juraj Dobrila” in Pula.

\textsuperscript{97} An informal ambassador, of course.
Italianness she exaggerated and handed just everything she ever did in Italian, and that was quite a lot.

4.6.6.4.6 School Diplomas

The informants that applied under the law 124/2006 and went in schools for the Italian minority handed in at the Italian consulate the elementary and/ or high school diplomas. The diplomas were among the suggested requirements in the documentation.

Vedran, who applied for the Italian citizenship while he was living in Trieste gave just the high school diplomas, a proof that he was studying at the University of Trieste, a proof he was working in Trieste, and the residency permit from Trieste. He said it was more than enough.

School diplomas are the most used documents for proving the belonging to the Italian culture.

4.6.6.4.7 Extra Activities in the Italian Community

As we have seen, Riccardo tried to overdo with the documentation to be sure that he would not have any problems in the procedure. He managed to get a certificate from his local Italian community which stated his personal contribution to the work of
the Italian community.

4.6.6.4.8 Membership in the Italian Community

A proof of membership in a local Italian community is a “must have” document. Almost all the informants who applied for citizenship were members of their local Italian communities for a long time. Almost all of them were never active in the community, in the sense they didn't participate frequently to the various manifestations or participated in the organization of manifestations.

Vedran enrolled in his local Italian community just a little bit before he applied for citizenship. He couldn't recall if the Italian authorities in the Municipality of Trieste, where he applied for the Italian citizenship, required that proof to be of Italian ethnicity.

Alberto recalled that the certificate of enrollment in the Italian community was very important, and he is a member from the 1980s. For the record, it is not important since when a person is a member of an Italian community, it is just important to be a member. There is no date of enrollment on the document. Nevertheless many informants stressed with pride the fact they were enrolled since they were children or from their youth. One of them is Lina who said that she and her family were members from the 1980s and that they were always paying the membership fee, even though there is no membership fee and there was never one.
4.6.6.5 As a Spouse

Lidia after being convinced decided that she will apply for the Italian citizenship as a spouse, i.e., she applied on her husband's behalf. She reported from her experience (I didn't check in detail) that the procedure costs even less than to make it under the law 124/2006. There are not that much papers to put the Apostille on and she didn't have to go to the National archive in Pazin, and so on. The only problem is that she found the procedure degrading, but at the end, as we saw above, she was convinced to do it anyway. In the first interview I did with her she showed her indignation because she needed to take an oath in front of the consul in this way:

You have to learn […] some things [from the Italian culture] because you have to take the oath in front of the consul. I wanted to tell them, “OK, make a test of knowledge of Italian language and culture to those who got the citizenship through their great-grandfathers without being asked for anything, then I will come and take the oath in front of the consul.”

She believes that she is much “more” Italian because she uses the Italian language everyday, has an Italian surname and is active in her local Italian community.

Registration at the Annagrafe Italiani residenti all'estero (AIRE) – The Registry of Italians Living Abroad

After getting the citizenship the new citizen must go to register at the AIRE of a municipality in Italy. By that is Trieste, but sometimes it is another place, usually
the place where the person studied or where there the person has some relatives. That municipality is also the place where the new citizens of Italy go to make the ID card. The new citizens don't have to go to the AIRE and get an ID, but the informants that got the Italian citizenship did it anyway besides the Italian passport.

4.6.6.6 Filtering People at the Consulate

The applicants perceive that there is a kind of filtering mechanism at the Italian General Consulate in Fiume. They try to find patterns in that, or better, they build hypotheses about it. We have already seen that Luka, for example, thinks that people that apply because they want to go to Italy for work are more nervous, unrelaxed, so they have more problems in the procedure, if not rejected completely.

In the following lines we will see some of those speculations or hypotheses.

4.6.6.6.1 Speculation About Filtering

Dario is convinced that the facts are not important for the decision about conceding the citizenship, but somebody's opinion in the “Italian system.” He thinks that there is a large space for manipulation, or a gray zone where the applicants are on the mercy of the people involved in the procedure. In his opinion it is not possible to find out that a person belongs or doesn't belong to the Italian culture from a few documents or for the short time applicants spend at the consulate.
Renata thinks that the language spoken among her, her mother and her sister at the consulate was important because they were speaking in the local Istro-Veneto, and it was evident, according to her, that they speak it everyday on regular basis.

“[After all this citizenship] wasn't a mass thing. I think that […] it was done by those who [really] wanted to get it and had all the documentation” said Daniela. So, the applicants had to fulfill really many conditions, but at the end those who wanted it badly deserved it.

4.6.6.6.2 Two Kinds of Applicants

Mario noticed that there are two kinds of applicants. The first group is composed by people whose parents have the Italian citizenship already, made during “the first wave” after the act 91/1992. “They have just to prove the linguistic, cultural and national [ethnic] belonging, and so on. And there are [the second group of applicants] those whose parents in '91, '92, '93 didn't make the request [for citizenship].” The second group has to reconstruct the whole family line, has to go to the archive in Pisino, find more proofs and documents. As a matter of fact that is confirmed by the personnel at the consulate.

People from the group that didn't have parents or grandparents who applied for the Italian citizenship had to find the sheet of military service, sometimes in Pazin, sometimes they had to go to Trieste.

The informants that perceived the procedure as easy usually were the ones
who applied after their parents or grandparents already had the citizenship. So, Davor had a grandmother who already got the citizenship in the 1990s, Darijo had the entire family from his father's side that already got the citizenship in the 1990s. Giuliano had his mother who got the Italian citizenship under the act 91/1992, and so on. He also thinks that a great help was that his father was an officer of the “Regia Marina Italiana” – the Royal Italian Marine during World War 298.

4.6.6.6.3 The Inter-Ministerial Commission

All the applications which passed the check in the Italian consulate are forwarded to an inter-ministerial commission in Rome which is composed by representatives of the Ministries of Internal Affairs, Foreign Affairs, Justice and from the University “La Sapienza” in Rome. That commission is the last check before the applicants get the Italian citizenship.

Only Mario knew about the functioning of such a commission. He knew also that the members of the commission are doing their job on voluntary basis, so he thinks that it up to those people in the commission how the act 124/2006 and its requirements will be interpreted. He believes that it depends from the political and ideological backgrounds of those people if an application will be accepted or rejected, they decide who they want in their company.

98 As a matter of fact he expected a prize from the Italian government for his father's merits.
Renata heard about the Inter-ministerial commission just after asking why the procedure was going so slow. She was told that there is a commission in Rome which keeps the documentation. She didn't know anything about that commission.

4.6.6.4 The Interview With the Consul

Another procedure that had taken place at the Italian consulate was the interview with the consul in the first year of the application of the act 124/2006. It was dismissed later because there was a large number of people applying for citizenship.

Mario's opinion is that the former general consul in Fiume, Giuliano Rustico, did a well job with that kind of filter (as Mario called it). As far as he knows the majority of the people passed because that filter had a large mesh, almost everybody went in.

Luka, as one of the first applicants for the citizenship. He had an interview with the consul who gave the final verdict about the citizenship – the favorevole (favorable or positive). He said that they did a little bit of “chit chat” about the Italian jazz scene and that the procedure was five minutes long and relaxed. Since, in his opinion, he knows a lot about the jazz music scene, he thinks that that kind of cultural capital helped him to get the citizenship.

Lina remembered that she also had the interview with the consul and he asked her to recite the Dante Alighieri’s Divine Comedy. She had at the time problems with
the Italian language, so the consul suggested her to learn better Italian if she wanted the Italian citizenship, but, in her opinion, it was more like a joke than a serious thing. Her excuse was that she got just back from Spain and she didn't speak much other languages except Spanish until that interview. She also said that the whole interview went on for just five minutes and the whole family was there in the office for the interview.

Alberto also experienced the interview at the consulate. He remembered that it was a two minutes interview about life in general, as he said, like how many kids has he got, how old was he, and similar questions.

Igor, who also had the interview experience, told me that the interview with the consul in his opinion was just a formality and nothing more. He said it went on for a few minutes, he didn't remember exactly.

4.6.6.7 Applying While Living in Italy (In Trieste)

Vedran applied for the Italian citizenship in the municipality of Trieste because in that period (2007) he was working in Trieste. It is not a common procedure according to the clerks I interviewed at the Italian consulate.

4.6.6.8 Duration of the Procedure
The time needed for the whole procedure, from the first call to the Italian consulate to the moment of getting the citizenship, usually goes from two years to four years. We will see that some of the applicants got it quicker, but usually it was, as they told me, about two years. In my opinion the informants' memory is not that reliable, but I was not able to triangulate with some factual documents.

Luka was one of the “early birds” who applied for the citizenship and because his father had the citizenship already in the 1990s under the act 91/1992 did everything, as he informed me, in about six months.

The applicants who were enlisted in 2007, were called in 2008 in order to bring in the documentation, and the whole procedure ended in 2010 usually. I can vouch for that because my case was similar. On the other hand, Lina did the whole procedure in a year even though she said she started the procedure in 2007. She thinks it went that fast because she begged for it because she had to go to Spain and needed there a residency permit.

Dario told me that he would get the citizenship in less than a year but he was too lazy to go to Fiume at the Italian consulate. It is interesting that he stressed his nonchalance as a sign of distinction: “It took another year to bring the papers to Fiume, fuck it [hah hah hah].”

Giuliano said he went through the whole procedure in two or three months in 2010. He didn't want to tell openly he had a raccomandazione – a “good word” – but it sounded like that.

Igor completed the whole procedure even faster than Giuliano: in about three
months because he was one of the first applicants, and also because he was an employee of the Italian Union.

Vedran spent less than a year to get the citizenship in the municipality of Trieste. He teased his girlfriend who applied at the Italian consulate in Fiume six months before him and got the citizenship six months after him, which was all together two years of her time.

Marina recalled the timing of the whole procedure. She said she needed about a month to gather all the documentation. Then, after she got enlisted for a term she had to bring the documents at the consulate, she waited for a year to be called to the consulate to bring the documentation. After that, she had to wait for about two years in order to get the confirmation that she obtained the citizenship. At the end she didn't make the other documents which are not obligatory, as the ID card and the passport. She didn't do them because, as she said, “I didn't have the right motivation [hah hah hah]”.

Franco, as a pure *ius sanguinis*, got the citizenship in about ten days as he told me, he had just to hand in the documents he was told to hand in, he had just to prove to be a descendant of his grandmother. He stressed that he would get the citizenship even faster if his father didn't have to prove to be the son of Franco's grandmother too. Franco's daughter got the citizenship automatically through that line.

**4.6.6.9 Problems in the Procedure**
Some of the informants had problems in the procedure. We have seen that some of them didn't manage still to get the citizenship. We will see in the following lines which were the major problems encountered by the informants.

4.6.6.9.1 Injustice

The informants that didn't manage to get the citizenship or know about situations in which some people that, in their opinion, deserved the Italian citizenship but didn't get it, perceive those situations as an injustice made from the Italian government.

Fausta and her father had so many problems that they gave up. Her father was born in Friuli in 1939 and went with his parents to Yugoslavia when he was about eight years old. Her family from her father's side belong to the mass of people that came to Yugoslavia from the shipyard in Monfalcone, in that movement of people called the “counter-exodus”\(^99\). Her father regret is that he was born as an Italian, but will die as a Croat. She said her father uses to joke that “it is better that he didn't get [back the citizenship], so when he will die there will not die an Italian […], but there [will be] a Croat less.” She couldn't remember if some of her family ever gave up the

\(^99\) The “counter-exodus”, called that way because presented a movement from Italy to Yugoslavia, was an interesting phenomenon that went on from 1946 to 1948, and even a little bit later. It was a movement of the Monfalcone shipyard workers of Cantieri Riuniti dell’Adriatico (now Fincantieri) who wanted to build the new socialism in the then new Yugoslavia. There were about 2500 people (whole families) that moved to Yugoslavia. Some of them returned because they were persecuted for being Stalinists, some remained and forgot their political ideology. To learn more about the phenomenon see (Berrini 2004; E. Giuricin and L. Giuricin 2008a, 2008b).
Italian citizenship, but as far as she could remember she remembered that her
grandmother always traveled with an Italian passport. She and her father suffer above
all because the injustice because some people, that according to her and her father
don't have anything to do with Italianness, got the Italian citizenship. They feel they
were mistreated and they feel a relative deprivation. She said that they don't need this
citizenship, it was more a matter of identity, but in a situation, as is perceived by them,
when almost anybody, especially the “hard Croats”, get the citizenship it is frustrating
for her.

She described her frustrating experience at the consulate for which she gave
up as a wall of silence (omertà). She is still really angry because, in her opinion, they
are not recognized as Italians and nobody tells them what ought they do. It is possible
that her father renounced, or her grandfather and her grandmother cannot pass on the
citizenship because if the child was underage the mother couldn't pass the citizenship
before January the 1st 1948, when the Italian constitution came into power. Or, they
weren't resident on the territory of Istria on June 10th 1940, when Italy went to war. I
couldn't go deeper in that problem for ethical reasons, and the informant wasn't
informed on the details of the matter.

Giacomo said he knows about many cases in which some persons have never
applied for citizenship because they couldn't find the needed documentation, and
according to him, everybody knows how much time they have spent volunteering for
the Italian community. He had a hypothesis about what is going on. So, what he note
is that many of the people were of rural origins, so they worked in the fields or at the
shipyard in Pola, and then they would come home and continue to work in the fields.
Many of them had just a few grades of elementary school, so they never kept track of the documents, they didn't even know where to get them, and so on. After all there was also a problem of the archives that got destroyed many times. So it was very difficult to find a proof of Italianness for them. Then some people who even worked against Italianness got the Italian citizenship just because they kept track of the various documentation.\footnote{It seems it is a stereotype that shrewd people always keep documents, follow the news in order to plan their future actions, etc. On the other side are the uncorrupted noble men and women, usually peasants, and for that reason more “natural” who didn't think ahead about what could happen in the future. Let's call them “brava gente.”}

On the other hand, he knows about a person who never declared himself as an Italian, even, as he heard, worked openly against Italians, he got the Italian citizenship without any problems. His sons too. He asked rhetorically himself: “Where is the logic [...] of justice here?” He continued: “I'm sorry, I'm really sorry for these persons who [...] did so much for [the Italian] minority, they couldn't get the citizenship. Those very persons wanted this citizenship not for [...] interest, but really for justice and recognition.” In his opinion the law 124/2006 doesn't have in mind the peculiarities and the merits of the people that applied for citizenship.

Augusta feels disappointed because of her case. She feels that she is a victim of an injustice at the Italian consulate, even though some of the clerks helped her a lot. She still hopes to get the citizenship, even though from what I have heard it will be difficult, if not impossible, because she gave up the Italian citizenship in her youth.
4.6.6.9.2 Misspelled Surnames

Some applicants had problems with errors of transcription of surnames from the Italian registry books during Yugoslavia, and then in Croatia. That also happened with the translation and transformation of the surnames and names. Giacomo explained with an example:

[...] If I had, for instance, the surname Lonzar, from that very Italy, see, listen to that, from that very Italy I got my surname changed and I've become Vasari, to become later Lončarić. So we speak about three [different] persons. Now what would happen? [It would happen that] those persons didn't follow... Because you could correct [that error], you had all the time, but you would say “mah!” I speak specially for persons who have lived for their entire lives in the country [in campagna], they didn't have the possibility to go to various offices to reclaim their right to their surname. Maybe also for the anger... [...] Some others also for the shame. [...] Their grandchildren wanted to make the [Italian] citizenship [...] but [their ancestors] are not in the [archive] in Pisino, it wasn't clear who was who.

The same persons because of past ideologies of any kind were lost in the papers and remained in a Limbo between Italy, Yugoslavia and Croatia. Many of them also gave up the citizenship procedure because of similar problems. The cases of misspelled surnames and names are quite usual. The names are also problematic because some people during Yugoslavia got their names changed in a Slavic form (for example, Carlo became Drago, etc...), because it was thought that fascist Italy changed forcefully all the Slavic names. After all the changes people continued to be called by their families and friends with their once Italian names, or their Croat names would be changed as nicknames into Italian ones. Some people would use the Italian form of their names in public and official events although those names were not registered as such in the registry office. For example, a person registered as Josip
(Joseph in Croatian) uses the Italian form *Pino* (from *Giuseppe* → *Giuseppino* → *Pino*), or a person registered as *Snježana* (literally “out of snow” [snow in Croatian is *snijeg]*) uses the Italian form *Nevia* (from the Italian snow [neve]), and so on. The Italian forms of names are used often in obituaries, which means the people are really more attached to their Italian names\textsuperscript{101}.

A similar problem had Vedran with his grandfather's name and surname. He found his grandfather's birth certificate first written in Latin, then changed in the italianized form, and then in a Slavic form, but instead of the final -ić there was a -ic, and then in the form of present Croatian language.

Leonardo had a similar experience with the name of his mother. He had to prove that his mother was the same person who had the Italian citizenship just because Maria was misspelled in a document as Marija (they asked him at the consulate “*Maria con la jay o normale?*” - Maria with a J or normal?). She had an Italian document with the address in Italy and another Croatian document with her address in Croatia. So, many people had problems because of an error somewhere in history, but now that error meant getting or not getting the citizenship, being reckoned as two (or more) different persons or one person.

The name transcription errors and burned registration offices for giacomo are not just mere accidents: “I may say [those accidents were] wanted from the [Yugoslav]

\textsuperscript{101} I hope that the examples are clear enough, but the situation is so interesting and strange that it deserves a dissertation on its own. In my private conversations about this phenomenon I often heard that it is a kind of Stockholm Syndrome situation, in the sense that Istrians start to like the former occupation forces (I. e., The Italian forces), but I think it is a completely different problem, and it really deserves more scientific attention, but in another place.
system that a surname became a half-Croat surname.” Such deeds erased or doubled
the people and made additional problems to the future generations.

4.6.6.9.3 Technical Problems with Children

Darijo had some problems of technical nature and not, as he said, because of
“counting of blood cells” with his child's citizenship, because the child was born
before Darijo's marriage, but it wasn't really a problem. He had just to prove he is the
father, even though his wife got the citizenship too.

4.6.6.9.4 Unclear Reasons for Stopping the Procedure

Two of the informants who started the procedure for the Italian citizenship
gave up at some point for some unclear bureaucratic problems. The problems are
unclear because they couldn't explain well what happened. Or better, they what they
said to me didn't make much sense in terms of the law, nor could understand the
informants at the Italian consulate.

Lana said that her family got the reply from the consulate that they all got the
citizenship but that they have to make all the documents all over again. It is not clear
what the people from the consulate said to them, but that shouldn't be the right
procedure. It is more likely that they were called for an appointment before getting the
citizenship. Nevertheless, they stopped doing the citizenship because they didn't have
any motivation to make all the documents again. She said that she saw many cases like that because she has translated many documents to many people.

Lidia said she had problems with her paternal grandparents who deceased in the process of making the citizenship. It seems that a case like the death of a grandparent can stop people doing the citizenship, even though it has nothing to do with the problems at the consulate. During the first interview she told me that she had to do the whole procedure again, and that she will never do that. In the second interview she told me that she applied as a spouse.

4.6.6.9.5 Tension of the Applicants

Luka, as we have already seen, is convinced that he didn't have problems in the procedure because he had a relaxed approach to the whole procedure. In his opinion, the others that had problems were afraid, and many times their existence depended on that. Many of the people he saw at the consulate said at the sportello that they are already working in somewhere in Italy, but he had a completely different approach. That is the key of getting the citizenship without problems. As he saw, the clerks at the consulate asked those scared and tense people to bring more documents, in his opinion maybe that was done on purpose. It was a kind of filter in his opinion.

4.6.7 Benefits From Citizenship
During the interviews it came almost naturally to ask which were the actual benefits from the Italian citizenship. That is, what did the informants done, achieved or how did they used it. In the next lines we will see what did the informants said to me, and I will expose the experiences also of the informants that got the Italian citizenship not only under the law 124/2006.

4.6.7.1 To Study Abroad

Marietta's children got it automatically after she got the citizenship because they were underage, and they benefited from it in their studies. Her son studies abroad and she perceives that he has a completely different treatment than if he had been an ordinary “extracommunitarian.” He pays less the insurance, for instance. He doesn't have problems with traveling. She noticed that the “extracommunitarians” are discriminated in the European Union. They have to pay more, “like they were all thieves, or, I don't know, drug addicts […]. They [the EU] want to have more certainties, so they make them [the “extracommunitarians”] pay more.” It is also better because of her son's student dorms. “The say 'there lives an Italian', it is different than to say, I don't know, 'there lives an extracommunitarian'. […] We went to America, and I didn't need a visa, I simply went there, without any problems, so you truly feel like a Citizen with the capital C”, she repeated. We can see that the Italian citizenship means somehow to get more dignity, as I reported already. They feel more proud when they travel outside Croatia.

At the beginning of the 1990s Mauro had already the Italian citizenship and he
said that it helped him a lot with all the paperwork and with the scholarships during his studies in Italy. It made a big difference. He had not to do the residency permit, to prove he had enough money to stay in Italy, then, the wages of his family weren't multiplied by the coefficient for the people coming from outside of the then European Community, and so on. He continued: “Thanks to this thing I was considered an Italian citizen I had payed something like 5000 lire [more or less it would be nowadays 2,5 euros] the room at the student dorms, at the best one [at the University of Trieste], the B. [...] But for the extracommunitarians the expenses were way higher all together.”

4.6.7.2 Not Need for the Residency Permit

Renata, spent six months in Spain in the program Eurodyssee while the Croatian citizens were allowed to spend maximally three months. That was, in her opinion, a concrete benefit.

4.6.7.3 Border Passing

For Davor the ID card came handy because as a Croatian citizen a person has to do the paper for the custom stamp, he called it "el kartonček" (the little cardboard). It is a fuss less in a person's life while crossing the Slovenian border, and a person feels more dignity than as an “extracommunitarian.” The ID card is also a benefit
because it allows a person to travel freely through the EU, and it doesn't cost as much as the passport.

Mauro got his citizenship through naturalization\textsuperscript{102}, and the change for him was that of a different experience of crossing the border on the river Dragogna “without the traumatic passage of it.” For him, it is an aid for traveling in general, no matter if it is just going to Italy or traveling with the low-cost company Rayanair, for example, in order to go to London. As an Italian citizen he has to use just the ID card, that is the difference from the Croatian citizenship where you have to carry a passport, or get the before mentioned small card for the border control stamps.

Renata didn't hide that beside the identity part of the citizenship she thinks it is a great help for travel. One doesn't have to pass through the gates for non-EU citizens at the airports. It is a facilitation and people feel better.

Leonardo had explicit benefits when he had to go to the United States of America. He didn't have to do the visa and he perceived he was treated better at the airport. “Simply, the doors are more open” he said. That was also one of the motivations to make a request for a second citizenship.

\textbf{4.6.7.4 Having a Proof of Italianness}

For Davor, besides cross-border movement, a clear benefit from citizenship is

\textsuperscript{102} It is most probably so, but I couldn't confirm it because he couldn't prove with any documentation.
to have a document to materially prove to be Italian. He feels more important when he
can say that he is an Italian and there is a document to prove it. It doesn't solve
matters of life and death, as he said, but he feels better.

4.6.8 Previous Requests

Some of the informants told me during the interviews that they wanted to
apply for the Italian citizenship even before the law 124/2006. Let us see what were
their motivations.

4.6.8.1 During the War in the 1990s

Darijo, who wanted to show during the entire interview a dose of nonchalance
for what concerns his citizenship, as he really didn't put much effort to get it, at the
end said he wanted to apply for the Italian citizenship in the 1990s, but he didn't
manage because it was too hard. He wanted to get the Italian citizenship when he was
twenty (that was is in 1991) and his motivation wasn't the political situation, but
because it was impossible to live in Croatia in that period. “I had the occasion to work
up to 200 hours of night shifts and for that [I would] get 300 [Deutsch]marks. Then I
said 'fuck it!' I will go to keep the sheep in New Zeland, I will be happy at least, you
know that, the naked existence.” Now he doesn't think about leaving since, as he said,
he is realized as an adult.
4.6.8.2 Rejected Because the War

Leonardo and his brother requested the Italian citizenship in the 1980s, but they were rejected even though their mother was an Italian citizen, as she is today. His brother did a part of the elementary school and the entire high school in Italy, but he couldn't get the citizenship in 1991. As far as he remembers the last time they were rejected because there was the war in Croatia. He thinks the Italian authorities thought they would be refugees or something similar.

4.6.8.3 In the 1960s

Giuliano continued to stress that his was an atypical case, but it was not really clear why. He said that his father always had the Italian citizenship and that he had to get back to Italy in the 1960s or 1970s, but

[h]e did a stupid thing [cretinata], he asked a seven or eight years old “where do you want to live? Here [in Yugoslavia] or there [in Italy]?” and I replied here are my friends so I want [to live] here. [If it wasn't so,] also we would go to Italy. He lost [the Italian citizenship] with the Italian census of 1961 when he wasn't present in Rome, so he was eliminated as a citizen.

Then many other problems arose. Since his father was an officer of the Italian Navy he wasn't allowed to keep even the Yugoslav passport, and then every possibility of going to Italy was lost, as he said.
4.6.8.4 During the Studies in Italy

Riccardo made a request for citizenship in 1998 or 1999, he couldn't remember clearly. He was still a student and his application was rejected because he couldn't prove that he had the financial means to live in Italy even if his father, who already had the Italian citizenship under the act 91/1992, granted for him. He applied in the questura in Gorizia since his residence was in Monfalcone. He based his request on his father's citizenship. He remembered that there worked a lady from central Italy, he presumed, who gave him a document to sign after the rejection. In his words:

I didn't want to sign it because I got some information that if I signed it I couldn't make another request again. So, she was a little bit annoyed. I don't remember how she started to talk about Italians and non-Italians... She almost claimed why am I asking for citizenship if I'm a Croat. Then I explained her a little bit the situation since she couldn't or didn't want to accept and understand those ideas... And to understand that it is easy for her to be an Italian, but not that much to us. Because to her being Italian is nothing, for her is something taken for granted, to which she probably does not even give any value. On the contrary, for us here, Italians from Istria, it is a daily struggle to maintain our identity, our Italianness. After that she remained even a little bit speechless. She didn't know how to reply.

4.6.9 Speculation About the Law 124/2006

The informants were also interested also about the reasons the Italian parliament enacted an act like the 124/2006. They had many opinionsa about everything in the course of the interviews, but, as we will see, many of them didn't
ever think about the reasons of the Italian state to have an act like that.

Talking about why there is the act 124/2006 is really speculating. The main speculations about the reasons of the Italian authorities were the following:

- In order to decrease spending for the Italian minority
- It is a good way to promote Italy (Public Relations)
- The act 124/2006 is a product of pressure from the Italian Union
- To help a possible future annexation of Istria
- Getting voters
- For historical reasons
- To clean the dirty conscience because of the Italians who were left in Istria
- Care for Italians abroad
- An undisclosed *quid pro quo*

Let's now see what the informants said, item by item.

4.6.9.1 Less Spending for The Italian Minority

giacomo thinks that it could be that with the Italian citizenship Italy is trying to spend less money on the Italian minority in Croatia and Slovenia. His logic is based on the fact that now the members of the Italian minority in Croatia will become as all other Italian citizens that live in Italy or abroad, so there will be no reason to treat
them in a special way.

4.6.9.2 Citizenship as Public Relations for the Republic of Italy

Federica speculated that Italy is probably making its “fan club” abroad. In her opinion, people in Istria will love more Italy after they will get the citizenship.

4.6.9.3 The Law 124/2006 is a Product of Pressure From the Italian Union

For giacomo the act 124/2006 was the result of a strong pressure and lobbying from the Italian Union. He was in the Italian Union structures at the time when the act was enacted and before that.

Igor recalled that the act 124/2006 passed in the Italian parliament the last day of the Berlusconi's legislature in 2006 (the XIV Legislature of the Italian Republic), “in extremis”, as he said. The law was voted unanimously, but if it didn't pass then, the left-of-center government that followed would never propose a law like that, thinks Igor. In his opinion the Italian right with the party Alleanza nazionale pushed the law. He said he had to admit that even though he doesn't like the right. In his opinion the deceased Mirko Tremaglia, a “fascist number one” – “a great fascist number one” – and Roberto Menia were the people who have the merits of pushing this act. Except them, an important role had the Italian Union who worked hard in order to have this law. “It was a great […] plus for the Italian National Community
[...] because we are not B series Italians anymore as we were for all these decades. That is, someone could be called Italian but when she would come to the customhouse, well... [...] You wouldn't feel [Italian] at all.”

Also Riccardo thinks the law was voted by the Italian parliament mostly because the Italian Union worked on that and pushed such an agenda. Then, it is because Italy wants a bigger presence in the border territory, according to him. He believes that it all started with the Italian pensions103 in the mid-1980s.

4.6.9.4 A Possible Future Annexation

Almost all the informants mentioned the (im)possibility of annexation of Istria by Italy as a motivation for the legislators to introduce the law 124/2006. I wrote “(im)possibility” because a part of the informants said that it is a possible scenario, and the other part that there is not a remote chance of that to happen.

Željko doesn't think that the act 124/2006 has something to do with territorial pretenses right now, but he thinks it is possible that the conditions will change in the next five years. “[Annexation processes] are all long-lasting processes and are not aimed for tomorrow or the day after tomorrow... For example, in the last ten years there was created the nation of Bosniaks that has never existed [before][…].” In a

103 The Italian military pensions for the citizens of Yugoslavia were introduced in order to give a minimal pension and the arrears for the people that served in the Italian Royal Army during World War 2.
possible future annexation in Željko's opinion there will be no enemies on the field for Italy in Istria. Relying on his knowledge of history he said that such a procedure resembles a typical Roman way of conquest, continued later by the Republic of Venice, and kept until now by modern Italy. The Romans would latinize little by little the territory. It could have taken centuries. Moreover, it is a way of “assimilation of non-Italians and transformation of them in Italians. It is a process that goes on for many centuries, and that is a modus operandi […] of the Italian government and state in order to get back Istria, Fiume and Dalmatia […], which didn't happen in the times of Garibaldi.”

He made a comparison with the Croatian situation, where, for example, a Burgenland Croat even if she applied for the Croatian citizenship she would never support the annexation of Burgenland (Austria) to Croatia. A Bosnian Croat, on the other hand, is for annexation of Bosnia on behalf of Croatia right away. The same thing, in his opinion, goes with the Italians in Istria – for him they were and are always for annexation. I may infer here that he makes a difference between Austria and Bosnia and Herzegovina. He tried to explain that a more developed and richer country attracts always people from less developed countries.

At the end Željko said that “all these citizenship, minority rights, is just a peacetime fight for the plundering of territory. “In war […] the cards are open and that is it. This is all burrowed, but the goal is the same.” It is all like that because, in his opinion, Italy cannot play this territory game openly because it could make a counter-effect, that is, people would be against Italy if the cards were open.

Also for Darijo on a long run this law represents hidden Italian territorial
claims (he added “maybe”). So, if the procedure remains easy as it is nowadays maybe one day Italy will give the Italian citizenship, as he estimated, to 100-200 000 persons in Istria, “and after that the European Union falls apart. And how it will fall apart? [Based] on the same borders or they will maybe say 'wait a little, […] everybody is Italian here, why wouldn’t we be as an autonomous region who leans to Italy?’ It could be a likable idea to some Italian extremists.”

Vedran thinks too that the law was made to gather as much as possible Italian citizens on the Croatian side of the border in order to get back Istria and Dalmatia. He believes that it could be a scheme similar to the Kosovo scenario, but he said it is pure speculation.

On the other hand, the other informants think that there are no hidden territorial pretenses on behalf of Italy. Franco explained that by saying that the Treaty of Osimo\textsuperscript{104} is something that must be respected internationally. He said that there is also not going on a silent colonization, and the proof is the slowness of the bureaucratic procedure.

For giacomo the irredentist politics in Italy is a thing of the past. Also for Marietta “irredentism shouldn't be even mentioned, we live in different times.” Augusta believes that there are some territorial claims, but just on the Italian far right, which is marginal. The Italian mainstream politics doesn't even think about it.

\textsuperscript{104} The Treaty of Osimo was signed by the SFRY and the Republic of Italy in Osimo (Italy) on November 10\textsuperscript{th} 1975, and became effective on October 11\textsuperscript{th} 1977. The goal of the Treaty was to definitely settle the borders between SFRY and Italy, that is, to put borders on what was called the Free Territory of Trieste.
Daniela said that in a modern unified Europe it is not possible to have territorial claims because the borders are disappearing.

4.6.9.5 Getting Voters

Paolo thinks that the act 124/2006 must have something to do with getting more voters for a certain (unstated) political option. So does think Livio. He saw that there are parties coming to the local Italian communities and are offering a free bus ride to the people that want to vote in Trieste. “They pick up the retired and 'andemo a votar a Trieste’ [let's go vote in Trieste’], and there they have free lunch too.”

Lana never thought about the rationale behind the act 124/2006, but she believes it has something to do with the votes of the diaspora – an image present in the Croatian media about the Croatian diaspora in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Marla, also by basing her reasoning on the Croatian experiences, thinks that the act 124/2006 is a way to get more votes, but she didn't spot any particular political option who wanted that. She continued by saying that sometimes the diaspora can overturn the elections.

4.6.9.6 Historical Reasons

For Fausta the reason to enact a law as the 124/2006 must be some historical
matters. Giuliano was more specific by saying that it is a way to show that Istria is as much Italian as is Croatian.

4.6.9.7 Dirty Conscience of the Italian State for the Italians Left in Another Country

For Giuliano it is the dirty conscience of the Italian authorities and esuli that brought the act 124/2006, because, in his opinion, if the esuli hadn’t left, Italianness in Istria would be much stronger. From what he knew, the Italian right wing parties lobbied for the act, and they did so because the esuli are old, it is certain that they will never come back in Istria.

For Daniela the act 124/2006 is an act of recognition of the sufferings of the people that had to continue to live in a completely changed environment. That is, in Yugoslavia and then Croatia.

According to Alberto the law 124/2006 is also a matter of remorse, because Italy lost the territories of Istria, Fiume and Dalmatia. He also said he doesn’t believe that Italy has any territorial claims, even though he personally would like it had.

For giacomo behind the act 124/2006 was the will of the Italian government to mend an injustice – it is the Italian state who went away and left a part o the citizenry outside of Italy, and people suffered for that. However, it is not clear how the citizenship can change lives of those people except augmenting symbolically the dignity of the people on the Croatian side of the border.
4.6.9.8 Care for Italians Abroad

Darijo said that people shouldn't always look at any action like it was a part of a conspiracy. For him it is normal that a country gives the citizenship to the people who fulfill the requirements. In this way Italy shows that it cares for Italians abroad.

Marla also said she believes the Italian parliament voted for the law 124/2006 for the people and for all the suffering Istrians went through. In her opinion the Italians are “bounisti” (gooders), they are sensible for social problems.

Riccardo said he knows the act 124/2006 has a longer history. It began with the pensions in the second half of the 1980s for the drafted men in the Italian Royal Army in World War 2 that remained in Istria after it got in Yugoslavia.

For giacomo it was a moral duty of Italy towards the rimasti – those who stayed – because it is Italy that went away. “The Italian state is the cause, let's say, of the loss of our identity” he stressed. He also believes the citizenship is a recognition to the Istrian Italians who cherished all these years the Italian culture in Istria.

Augusta thinks the act 124/2006 was made to reinforce the Italian community in Istria. In her opinion the Italian community is dying out, and it has to be saved somehow, and citizenship rights are a good way of saving it. She said that in Italy people don't even know that there is an Italian minority in Istria. “Presidents come, but other people don't even know that this minority exists”, said Augusta having in mind the meeting of the Italian president Napolitano with the Croatian president
Josipović in the Arena in Pola on September the 3rd 2011.

For Marietta this act is just an attempt to recuperate what is recoverable of the Italianness in Istria. In her opinion there is not much left anymore.

According to Fausta the law 124/2006 is a way to enforce the presence of the Italian minority in Istria. In her opinion, now the presence is strong, and it is financed by Italy, but the Italian minority in Istria is decreasing anyway.

Daniela said it is a gesture of respect for the people who kept their Italian identity in spite of the hardship they have been through. In her opinion it is more a moral help than anything else.

For Lidia the law was made because there are too many mixed marriages in Istria, and children in such marriages become Croats. To the Italian government it is important to say “There are still [Italians]”, but, she thinks it is not important to the Italian government how many of those applicants are really Italian or really use the Italian language in their everyday lives.

4.6.9.9 Quid Pro Quo

Franco said he doesn't really know what is behind the act 124/2006, but he thinks in politics there is always a *quid pro quo*, maybe for the *esuli*'s real estate, because, in his opinion, nothing is free.

Also for Lidia it must be a “political law”, and not an emotional, affective law
for the Istrian Italians. “In fact, when you go to Italy you are always a Balkanic [person], no matter how perfect your [Italian] language is, or your knowledge of [Italian] culture is, which can be better than of some Italians. You are always a Balkanic [person to them].”

A Luka's relative, according to Luka, got back a house and a field near Valle d'Istria in the same period Luka got the citizenship. That was for him a proof that there was a quid pro quo between the Croatian government and the Italian one.

4.6.10 After Getting The Citizenship

What does really happen after the applicants get the Italian citizenship and the Italian passport? There are, of course, different experiences. What emerged from the interviews is the following:

- People conceal the passport and they don't talk about citizenship at all
- Start to use the citizenship for practical matters
- Accept symbolically the duties as citizens of Italy
- There is not a substantial change in their lives

Let us see what the informants did, and what they heard or they think other people do in detail.
4.6.10.1 Concealing the Citizenship and Passport

After getting the citizenship and the passport, the new Italian citizens don't show off with them. That is what giacomo spot. Italian citizenship is not something people show off, nor they start to go all of a sudden in their local Italian communities, or become active people in the Italian community. For some unknown reason, for what giacomo perceived, people don't even talk anymore about the citizenship.

4.6.10.2 Using the Citizenship for Pragmatic Purposes

Vedran felt some positive changes right away after he got the citizenship. He used his new Italian citizenship during the last year of his university studies in Trieste, he had less paperwork and he perceived he was treated better as an Italian citizen. What he noticed is that he didn't have to make as many documents as he had to before. He remembered the big expenses for the Apostille, and he didn't need it anymore because he could self-certificate the photocopies of the documents. The translations became fewer, so he managed to save more money.

4.6.10.3 Accepting the Duties as an Italian Citizen

The only informant that talked about the duties that come with an Italian citizenship, and not just about the benefits, was Igor. He said that people that don't
live in Italy and pay taxes in Croatia shouldn't pay them in Italy. I asked him what would he do in a situation of war, and he said that it is also a duty of a citizen, but he wouldn't go to war if Italy was the aggressor.

Marina said that the problem for many people in Croatia is that they in general are not aware of their rights, but also of their duties. She thinks that Italians are much more aware of laws, and that they actually read them. She also perceives that people with a lesser education, or employed on manual jobs don't do the citizenship although they have the right to it. She believes that the reason is that they are not interested for it, and that they are apathetic for any state in general. On the other hand there are people who think that they will be able to get the medical care, to import things from Italy without paying the customs, but that it isn't so because citizens of Italy resident in Istria don't pay the taxes in Italy. So, one must have some feelings towards Italy. A person should have “a certain level of education” in order to get the right information.

4.6.10.4 Nothing Changes With Citizenship

Alberto said that he didn't change his attitude or behavior after he got the Italian citizenship. Many of his friends told him that they would do many more things if they had a European Union passport but he said to them: “What would you do if you had this thingy? Ah, yes, you would go right away to open a pasticceria in Como. Yeah, right [...].”

Lina said that it didn't change much in life after she got an additional
citizenship, she just started to feel, as she said, "more as myself." She reinforced her Italian identity in her opinion. It was more of a symbolic change, now she feels to belong to something bigger.

4.6.11 The Meaning of Citizenship

The Italian citizenship has a special meaning for the informants that applied for it, or they gave it a special meaning. They perceive it in the following ways:

- Citizenship as a symbolic victory
- Citizenship as a symbolic recognition
- Citizenship without any meaning because everybody can have it
- Citizenship as an intimate personal choice
- Citizenship as a means to solve problems
- Citizenship as a way to bypass the local Italian communities

Let us now see in detail all the items above.

4.6.11.1 Citizenship as a Symbolic Victory

For Franco, as we had already the opportunity to read, the newly acquired citizenship is a small “Pyrrhic victory” [sic!], or better, a “symbolic victory”, after all
the years of bureaucratic problems with the residency permit in Italy, and the documents needed at the university in order to be a regular student. It is almost a kind of revenge, as he said, against the institutions which made his life hard during his studies.

Marina said that the Italian citizenship is important mostly to people that have or had something to do with Italy, as studying or working in Italy. She knows about her sister's problems with the residency permit, and her sister's present problems with the AIRE in Udine where, according to Marina, the clerks made her sister have hard time. Now even though her sister doesn't study anymore she is glad she is not a “B series” citizen in Italy.

Davor had also Italian university study experience. For him the Italian citizenship could have been a great help in the times he studied in Italy, but now it is not of a great help. Nevertheless, he also perceives it a symbolic victory.

We can see that the trauma with the residency permit papers left a sign on the informants who had that experience in their life. Such a big trauma that citizenship comes almost as a revenge.

4.6.11.2 Citizenship as a Symbolic Recognition

Marina, unlike her sister, didn't stay in Italy for a longer period. The Italian citizenship is for her a symbolic gesture from the Republic of Italy for the Italians abroad. She said she isn't so interested in concrete advantages that such a citizenship
brings, and she wanted to prove that by the fact that she didn't register herself at an AIRE, and didn't still make the passport. The Italian citizenship is a symbol of Italianness, and she applied for it because she thought: “Well, let's do it, because everybody are doing it. Give me the citizenship since [...] you give it to dogs and pigs [cani e porchi], give it to me because I have more rights to it than all others.” The Italian citizenship becomes an important symbolic recognition of Italianness in adverse circumstances, as some Italians in Istria perceive the situation in Croatia.

Marla said she sees dual citizenship as a good solution for someone who has always lived in Croatia and doesn't think about leaving, but feels Italian.

Darijo after obtaining the Italian ID card in Trieste scanned it and put it on Facebook. It seems the citizenship is important to him even though he acted like getting it was something ordinary. At the end he admitted: “Of course it is important for me. I'm glad [because of that].”

4.6.11.3 Italian Citizenship Lost Meaning – Everybody Can Have It

Augusta said she is very disappointed that she lost (rejected) her Italian citizenship, especially because, in her opinion, now everybody can have it. She would still want to have it, but it doesn't have a special meaning anymore.

A similar approach to the Italian citizenship we saw that the informant Lidia had, but at the end she applied anyway as a spouse.
4.6.11.4 Citizenship as an Intimate Personal Choice

In Marla's opinion the choice to apply for the Italian citizenship was her intimate personal choice, so she is not displaying it around, and she doesn't care much about what could other people say about it. That is also a reason why people don't show off with it as the informants remarked.

4.6.11.5 Citizenship as a Means to Solve Practical Problems

The citizenship for Vedran is just a piece of paper and nothing more. It doesn't have any particular meaning, for him it is not a symbol of Italianness. If it couldn't be used as a means to solve problems with the Italian bureaucracy he wouldn't ever apply for it.

4.6.11.6 Citizenship as a Way to Bypass the Local Italian Communities

As Marla told me, since she got the Italian citizenship she doesn't feel the need to care anymore about the malfunction of her local Italian community. She said she doesn't even talk about the citizenship anymore, it became something normal and usual. There were strong Italian communities in Istria, but, in her opinion, a citizenship is much stronger than any (other) kind of association. She thinks that
people with the citizenship document feel more at peace with themselves, and even though the new citizenship holders live outside of Italy they feel more connected with Italy and Italianness then by being just a member of the local Italian Community.

**4.6.12 Sovereignty**

A danger warning that was present in many Croatian newspapers in 2006 and 2007 was the possibility that a great number of people would apply for the Italian citizenship and that such a situation could jeopardize the sovereignty of the Croatian state which was obtained in a bloody war (for eg. Mihalić 2006; Simić 2006). During the interviews that question came out spontaneously.

The number of applicants is still very far from being near the estimations in the Croatian media (more than twenty thousand applicants) and the informants don't see any reason for panic in Croatia. They think that dual citizenship will even increase Croatian sovereignty, or at least it will not influence Croatian sovereignty in any way.

**4.6.12.1 Increased Sovereignty of Croatia**

Franco thinks that dual citizenship usually increases the sovereignty of a country. In his opinion, dual citizenship generates a smaller number of people who speak fluently other languages, who know and understand European Union procedures, so in the future, when Croatia will enter the European Union there will be
people with the **EU know-how**. People, or better, citizens that have already been through the procedure, who are acquainted with the EU laws, and often studied in foreign educational systems, as in Italy for example. Although, as he said, “Sovereignty sounds too monumental.” Maybe the idea of sovereignty is a relic from the past in an interconnected world.

Also according to Mario dual citizenship doesn't jeopardize Croatian Sovereignty, and he also thinks that it even makes it stronger. It is a window towards Europe. Croatia has in this way already EU citizens on its territory. In his opinion that cannot be bad.

In Giuliano's opinion dual citizenship also augments the sovereignty of Croatia, but in a different way then what think Mario and Franco. So, his experience is that Croatian nationalism often does not even try to croatize history, it just eliminates complete parts of it. So happens with Italianness. He told me an anecdote with a documentary on a DVD watched at a conference in Croatia about the history of Spalato in which the whole part of history that the city had to do with Italy was cut out. The same thing, in his opinion, will happen to Istria and even more easily after a larger number of Italians will get the Italian citizenship. “The Italians will be put out, banished out. It is a fantastic way of nationalization where maybe even the dual citizenship comes nice. 'You [, as Italian] are anyway an Italian citizen, so we can make our own history.' […] And it is happening, eh!” He made an example of the use of the concept “Venetian colonization” in Croatian historiography\(^\text{105}\) for the historical

\(^{105}\) I must say that I didn't find the term “colonization” used in that way. It is usually used for the re-population of the Istrian territory with Slavs and other people by Venice (see Bertoša 1986).
presence of the Republic of Venice in Istria and Dalmatia. In his opinion that may be offensive to people that belong to a kind of Venetian culture. So, Giuliano restated: “It is more easy to eliminate citizens than a minority”, and that is how Croatian sovereignty will augment with dual citizenship.

For Renata it is a normal thing in a territory that was always a territory where Italians and Slavs mixed, sometimes even Germanic populations, that the inhabitants have a dual citizenship. In her opinion modern states must be open for it. Every minority should have all the rights, especially autochthonous minorities, as is the Italian in Istria. She said that the existence of an ethnic minority on the territory of Croatia helped Croatia to end the process of accession to the European Union.

4.6.12.2 No Influence on Croatian Sovereignty

giacomo said that tomorrow the Italian and the Croatian citizenship will be equal in the European Union so there is not any danger that comes out of dual citizens.

Alberto thinks that “[I may feel] less loyal to a country because I feel so already, the citizenship doesn't matter.” Loyalty doesn't lie in the symbolism of citizenship.

It is interesting that also Željko thinks that a second citizenship doesn't mean automatically that a person is less loyal to a country. He recalled people that were Italian who died for Croatia, so did some Serbs. On the other hand there were Croats who swore they would give everything for Croatia, but ran away when they had to
fight the war for Croatia.

   Vedran thinks it is ridiculous to talk about sovereignty in Croatia since everything is in the hands of foreign private companies. In his opinion sovereignty is already gone, it went away with privatization.

   In Lucio's opinion today nobody fears a disappearing community as is the Italian community in Istria. He said that once, after the Second World War there was fear, many people had to go away from Istria or decided to do so. Then the television had a big influence. Today all those things disappeared, now everybody are stressed from the work, so nobody thinks about ethnic differences, believes Lucio. There are too few Italians in Istria and there is no interest for Italians in Istria from the Italian side – “practically, we don't exist for them [Italy] any more.”

   Renata thinks the fear of dual citizens is something connected to a closed nationalist mentality, and she doesn't like that because that is not part of her upbringing.

   Mario doesn't see how dual citizenship could possibly affect the Croatian sovereignty. There is no way it could happen. After all, according to what he knows, many Croatian historical figures had an Italian cultural dimension. The two cultures are pretty close one to the other, and there is no peril of assimilation, annexation, or something similar.

   For Davor too there are no perils of losing sovereignty, Croatia is an internationally recognized country, a member of the United Nations, it wouldn't be possible today, the borders would remain the same even in case of war.
For Augusta, since all the countries are going toward globalization all the world will become a village, so a closure to dual citizenship is something that is ridiculous in her opinion. She understands the Croatian fears, the presence of the Italian culture in Istria was always a reason for fear. Probably because the Italian culture is bigger, as the Italian nation is bigger than the Croatian one.

For Igor the political right in Croatia sees perils everywhere, but there aren't perils of any kind for the Croatian sovereignty. Igor wonders how come that Croatian nationalists never mention Croats with dual citizenship – the Bosnian and Croatian one – which is more common. In his opinion it is a fear usually present in small states. There was never an Italian nationalist movement in Istria after World War 2. The Italians have almost disappeared. Igor said there is not even any point to vote for the Italian representative at the Croatian parliament because he gets in anyway.

Marla also thinks Croatian sovereignty is not an issue because those who felt Italian before they got the citizenship continued to feel Italian in the same way even after they got the citizenship. It could enforce a little bit that belonging to Italianness, but not much more than they felt before.

4.6.13 Envious Others

All the informants said that they perceive a kind of envy from the people that criticize dual citizenship in Croatia. They believe it is not just those people are afraid for the future of Croatia, but are more envious and jealous because they can't have it.
4.6.13.1 Jealousy

In Marla’s opinion people who are against the dual citizenship in Istria are just jealous and nothing else. There is not much of a concrete critique for that, especially in a situation in which citizens of Croatia have dual citizenship, being the Bosnia and Herzegovina citizenship the second one. Or where the Croatian authorities give conspicuously the Croatian citizenship to all the Croatian diaspora in the world.

Luka, when asked what does he think about the accusations that “false Italians” get the Italian citizenship he said that he is aware that there are people who send their children to kindergartens for the Italian minority even though they have nothing to do with Italy, and he knows that there are many people who would like to make a second citizenship, maybe for economic reasons or in order to travel easier. He thinks that all of them should get the citizenship, everybody who needs it should get the citizenship. A pretty liberal stance on citizenship. In his opinion all the people who criticize the law 124/2006 would be really happy if they had an extra citizenship of such a value as the Italian one.

4.6.13.2 Double Standards

There are perceived double standards on the side of Croatian nationalists and authorities who give the Croatian citizenship to people of Croatian ancestry that live
scattered on the entire planet Earth\textsuperscript{106}, but they protest when another country does the same. The control informant Željko proved that with his statements:

I think it is good that Croats outside Croatia have the Croatian citizenship in order to not forget their roots and to remain part of the Croatian national body. Also the Italians are doing it for this [reason], but it is not good for us, it is good for them.

The Italian citizenship is dangerous for the "Croatian national body" [sic!], it can make it fall to pieces.

\textbf{4.6.14 Reality Check At The Consulate}

Since the informants couldn't always prove their claims I had to go to the Italian General Consulate in Fiume in order to check the facts with the clerks at the Consulate and to see how they perceive all the matters connected with citizenship that they deal with on daily basis.

The interesting thing is that the clerks at the consulate destroyed some myths that I heard from the applicants.

\textbf{4.6.14.1 The Legal Frame}

\textsuperscript{106} The perception coincides with research. See (Štiks 2010) to understand better the problem.
In the following paragraph we will see what is the legal frame of the act 124/2006 and how does it function according to the informants.

There were cases when the Consulate had to withdraw the citizenship, but seldom. When it happens it happens usually because, as PERSON1 said, “si fanno pasticci” – “you screw things up.” Problems may arise, but are rare. The informants remembered that they had to withdraw the Italian citizenship in just a few cases, they didn't remember the exact number of cases.

For now the act 124/2006 doesn't have an expiry date as it had the act 91/1992. The act 91/1992 had a precise scope – to give the citizenship to the people that were present in the territory at the date June 10th 1940, the date of entry of the Kingdom of Italy in World War 2, and on September 15th 1947, when the Paris Treaty of Peace came into effect\(^\text{107}\), as the women at the consulate informed me. PERSON1 stressed that: “[It is] above all important to prove the linguistic belonging, so, the culture, the belonging, not only of the very person which is asking to become... to get back... Because the law doesn't talk about concession of citizenship, but of recognition of Italian citizenship.” We can see that the Italian authorities don't give citizenship to foreigners, but it is a way of getting back the citizenship for the people that got lost in the meanders of history.

\(^{107}\) It was signed on February 10th 1947. This date is celebrated nowadays as the Giorno del ricordo – The National Memorial Day of the Exiles and Foibe.
4.6.14.1.1 Legal Hierarchy

The act 124/2006, as PERSON1 said, is a maze, people have to navigate through it. There is a legal hierarchy, the clerks explained to me that first there are treaties, then come the laws and in the end applicative regulations. Matters must be solved in this order. PERSON2 said that “[...] in doubt the treaties are applied which, [...] practically, come first as a grade of application.”

4.6.14.2 Statistics

At the consulate I got the latest statistics. The numbers are not that big as I could have thought before.

PERSON1: [...] On January the 4\textsuperscript{th} [2012] we had 3617 opinions. These are the opinions... and we sent them 5000... On December 31\textsuperscript{st} 2011... 5760. [...] I have to say that [...] the spouses, are pretty much interested [for the citizenship]. I do them about 60-70 a year... Just those... [...] That is another iter, another story, but... They take it on the behalf of the husband.

The clerks stressed how well they did their job with citizenship. They said that the inter-ministerial commission in Rome rarely rejects the requests because all the papers sent from the consulate are in order. If the papers weren't in order (PERSON1) [t]he things wouldn't function. The [inter-ministerial] commission [in Rome] when [they] must give a negative opinion... I'll tell you how many negative opinions there are, even if [the list] is not updated. On January the 20\textsuperscript{th} 2011 there were 58! So, that means... take in consideration that now [on January the 25\textsuperscript{th} 2012] we are about a hundred effectively. I say, on 5000 to have 100 means that the files were well done. [...]
4.6.14.3 False Italians

In the other interviews the informants who applied for citizenship said, as we have seen, that they met at the consulate while waiting many “false” or “fake Italians.” Those “false Italians” allegedly apply for citizenship in order to get a better life, to move to Italy, to get a better job, etc. In short, it seems for the majority of my informants that the Italian citizenship is an instrumental or interest citizenship and that is seen as a bad feature. I asked about he “false Italians” the clerks at the consulate and one of them said that they cannot possibly know the reasons why people apply for citizenship. They base everything just on the documents they get from the applicants, and if they are in order there are no reasons to stop the procedure. As we have seen above, if it passes the commission in Rome there are no reasons to stop anybody becoming an Italian citizen.

As the clerks told me, there are few ways people get the Italian citizenship. It can be based the act 124/2006, it can be based on naturalization (Croatian citizens after 10 years of permanent stay in Italy and work can get the citizenship), or as a descendant of an Italian citizen based on the article 9 of the act 91/1992. So, the people that were perceived as “false Italians” were maybe people that applied or got the citizenship not under the act 124/2006.

I mentioned them also what a higher officer of the Italian community told me in an interview, that people of Croatian ethnicity, but have merits for the Italian
community, can get the citizenship. PERSON1 asked me estranged “that's what he said to you?!” And she continued:

“I'm not aware of that. No, at least for the files I deal with... [...] I have a lot of *ius sanguinis* and this [124/2006], I'm handy on this, I deal with this thing [citizenship] since six years ago. So, let's say, I'm a superexpert on the argument, so... [...]”

**INTERVIEWER:** Ehm, when I asked about non-Italians making the citizenship to the interviewed people all of them told me that that they saw others, non-Italians doing citizenship, that manage to get the citizenship even though [they are not Italians]...

**PERSON2:** Well, first of all, non-Italians which are spouses of Italian citizens [...] can make a request for citizenship, so when someone tells you that a non-Italian got the citizenship it ought to see how did [that] person get it. [...] What do they mean under non-Italian?

**PERSON1:** It ought to see the history of person. [...]  
**PERSON2:** [...] It is one thing if someone who lost the citizenship and asks for *riacquisto*, recognition of citizenship. It is another thing if there are people who effectively don't even speak Italian but are descendants of Italian citizens. [...]

**PERSON1** continued:

In the [legal] mesh here and there someone has probably passed, but it is not that likely.  
**PERSON2:** [...] it is not possible to know if someone is not Italian until you take the file of that person in your hands. [...] Of course, [...] it is disturbing, it creates problems to me... [...] There were people that showed up here just speaking Croatian108.

**Without more proofs except the accounts of the informants we cannot say that**

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108 There is a great amount of requests and files to take care of, mistakes could happen. The accounts of the informants at the consulate coincide with the findings of Tintori (2009:78) :

“[...]It may be legitimate to ask what is the level of confidence with which is verified the authenticity of the documents. In fact, that the procedure is carried out with all the trappings and the verification of the authenticity of the documents is scrupulous depends heavily on the experience – “the eye” – of the official in charge. The seniority and the continuity in the role play a more than determinant weight to find fakes, frauds, to get alerted for the smallest signs of suspicion, and to speed up the completion of the files.”

272
the “false Italians” that the majority of informants spotted are really false. The informants could had seen persons that applied for another kind of *ius sanguinis* citizenship or were spouses of Italian citizens, but that is a completely different legal procedure.

**4.6.14.4 Speculation About the Law 124/2006**

I asked the clerks at the Consulate for a speculation about the reason the Italian parliament passed an act like the 124/2006, what they thought were the reasons behind it. The answers were similar to the ones of other informants. Let's see what they said.

**PERSON1:** To recuperate, let's say, the autochthonous population of these places, of Italian nationality[^109], even though we know that these areas were always a little bit mixed. But the Italian presence was always strong here. So this law has the objective to recuperate those persons or descendants of those persons which in 1947 with the Paris Treaty had the Italian citizenship.

**PERSON2:** I think this law gave, how to say, a sop to many persons. [...] This sensation of redemption, to have a recognition, a sop to be, to finally come back also in an official way to that they were all these years.

I asked again what was the specific reason of the legislator, and the answer was:

**PERSON2:** I cannot tell that. For sure it was, as the former consul used to say, [...] a bipartisan law [...]. So, it is known who was in power at the time[^110], [...] and the

[^109]: The use of the term "nationality" is not as it is used in the European tradition, but it is used as in the Balkans to signify "ethnicity."

[^110]: It was the Berlusconi's government that lost the elections in 2006. The law 124/2006 was the last law voted by the parliament.
opposition, they [both] wanted it. It was a sign...

**INTERVIEWER:** It was voted by the 100% [of the parliament]...

**PERSON2:** Yes, it was voted unanimously, so, there is for sure a political will of the parliament of an independent country. [...] I'm happy [for this] because I'm a Fiumana, they [the new citizens living in Croatia] are all my people. [...] The objective [of this law] is to recuperate these autochthonous elements which should prove [...] first of all to be a part... To have this linguistic belonging, which is the linguistic belonging of their reference ancestors. Now, it can be the grandfather, grand grandfather grand grand grandfather. It depends on the genealogical chain [sic!], I don't know. That's for sure.

### 4.6.14.4.1 A Great Relief for the Local People

The Italian citizenship in Istria and Fiume came, according to PERSON1 and PERSON2, as a great relief to the local people. In their words:

**PERSON1:** It did good at the Italian national community, independently from their motivations.

**Interviewer:** Somehow it reinforced it?

**PERSON2:** It reinforced it, it gave it a new conscience, it reinforced this bridge position. [...] I know the history. I've lived it on my own skin, I've learned it a little bit working on it before, working a little bit now [...]. Those are some situations that make [you] really say “Oh, thank goodness [meno mal!]”

### 4.6.14.5 Reasons for Citizenship

I asked the clerks to tell me what were the main reasons they heard why people wanted the Italian citizenship. They said that stranger situations were more frequent with the act 91/1992, maybe also because it came out in the middle of the war in Croatia and a big recession in the 1990s.

**PERSON2:** When you read the things this people lived here... The things you read, the abuse, before, after, ehm, the misery, tremendous situations in which the families found themselves after [19]47 [...]. When a part of the family got the option decree, [and] was denied to the other [part]. People that had to make some
choices, to go […], to remain here. All in all, those were really difficult choices. I think that this law gave, how to say, a sop to many persons. […] The major part of them are not interested in anything, neither job or anything else. They do it indeed for the […] pure sentiment of dying as Italians. As we heard many of them say, to die as Italians as they were born. […] Above all the elders are doing it for the moral satisfaction for being Italians […].

Some, except for the will of dying as Italians, are also doing it for their children. Also the informants said that it is so, it is like an investment in the future. Maybe for all the things that happened earlier in life, one never knows when a person is going to need it.

4.6.14.6 The Procedure For Citizenship

Let us see now how does the procedure for citizenship go from the perspective of the consulate personnel.

4.6.14.6.1 Problems With the Procedure

When I mentioned the problems the informants told me about I got the answer that people are not well informed, they don't know the procedure. For example, the death of a grandparent cannot slow down or stop the procedure, as an informant told me. The law doesn't expire for the time being, and the procedure cannot be stopped just like that, said the informants at the Consulate.

I mentioned also the newspaper articles published in 2006 and 2007 in which
was mentioned the possibility of dual citizenship and that was reported as a menace for the Croatian sovereignty, and there were also allusions about an alleged Italian irredentism. There was a mediatic panic that more than twenty thousand people will apply in Istria and Fiume for the Italian citizenship.

**PERSON1:** Look, maybe the total will be, or could be... [with children, spouses, etc... ] Hm, we have the problem that people often apply for citizenship, they *get it and then they don't come to get inscribed*... They got it, we communicated that to them, but they don't come to get inscribed. The thing is that they have to get enlisted here and in a municipality in Italy [...] at the *Anagrafe Italiani residenti all'estero.* [...] I write them, I solicit them, because otherwise we have these things hanging, they are neither meat nor fish.

There are people who took the Yugoslav citizenship after having rejected the Italian one and after that wanted it back. Some opted for the Italian citizenship and didn't leave Yugoslavia so they lost the possibility to get the Italian citizenship again. Some went to Italy but came back and took the Yugoslav or Croat citizenship, now they cannot apply for the Italian citizenship anymore. Those are the more common problems.

**PERSON1:** These are all cases a little bit different, but, those who got the Yugoslav citizenship after 1947 don't get in the [124/2006] law absolutely. [...] [N]ot even their descendants. [...] [Y]ou understand, it ought be seen also in the ambit of the same family [...] how are they positioned in respect of these timelines of laws and historical events, of the juridical systems and laws of the two countries that changed.

**4.6.14.6.2 Family Changes**

**PERSON2** wanted to illustrate the situation by an example of the strangest situations connected with family changes. She told me an interesting anecdote which
was not directly connected with the act 124/2006, but it was a good illustration of the strange meanders of citizenship laws:

We had had even situations where in some cases, and not so few, that the spouse, the husband, was an Italian citizen, the wife got the citizenship before [19]83 automatically by marriage, because until [19]83 women would become Italian citizens. Then the husband naturalized [as a Yugoslav citizen] and lost the Italian citizenship before [19]94 […], the wife remained Italian and he made a request for the citizenship on behalf of the wife to whom he gave the citizenship [in the first place]. [We had] two or three cases of that kind.

Another interesting situation in the clerk's opinion was that “[when] the son was born before [19]47, September the 15th 1947, he doesn't get the citizenship from the mother.” She wanted to share that information to show how strange the laws once were.

### 4.6.14.7 The Inter-ministerial Commission In Rome

In Rome in the Italian Ministry of Internal Affairs there is an inter-ministerial commission composed by the representatives of The Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Justice and a representative professor of the University “La Sapienza” in Rome (see the Circolare attuativa – Nota N. prot. N K.60.1 of 22/05/2006 of the Ministry of the Internal Affairs).

PERSON1 explained that “[...] The Ministry of Internal Affairs which has a commission that operates for free, so they are not payed for the extra work, so they examine just a [small amount] of files monthly, so the reply from Rome comes slowly, comes slowly.”
The informants who applied under the act 124/2006 perceived citizenship as a
time-consuming endeavor and also that was the main reason many persons that I
contacted who belong to the “working class” said me that they didn't apply because it
is too expensive and that they don't have the time. PERSON1 was aware that the
procedure is slow:

But of course, the process is very slow but not because of our fault [here at the
consulate]. Because we have in four years, until 2010, from 2006, not the entire
2006, let's say in three years I did five thousand files. So, it wasn't us who were the
slow ones [hah hah hah].

Then the decision is on the Ministry of Internal affairs, and because it is a
legal procedure there is even the possibility to reopen the case. But as we have seen,
there is just a small number of rejected cases. And from the answers of the women at
the Consulate it seems it is so because the first filter, the one at the consulate, has
already done the job before letting the documentation to Rome. So it seems that it is
not really true that there are many people of non-Italian descent or that are “false
Italians” that got the citizenship.

### 4.6.14.7.1 Proof of Italianness – Procedure of Evaluation Of Italianness

I thought it would be interesting to ask how the consulate employees evaluate
whether a person is of Italian culture, how do applicants prove to belong to the Italian
culture there, in the field.

PERSON2 answered right away by explaining me how the first encounter
goes: “Ehm, first of all we do an interview. If [the person] doesn't talk the Italian [language] that is an unfavorable condition.” We could think that the clerks get an impression whether a person is of Italian culture in the few minutes that they talk with the applicant, but it is not really just that. There is a series of checks which happen during the whole procedure. There is the name of the applicant, there is the first telephone call when they hear the applicant, then there's the documentation with all the credentials of the applicant, and so on.

PERSON2 told me: “You must understand that the evaluations are made on the basis of the documentation and on the basis of the interview.” The whole procedure until the last moment before signing the papers for citizenship is a filter. There are no more interviews with the Consul as there used to be. That interview was a test, in a way, which was used in the first period when the number of applicants was low. At the very end the applicant is told to bring the proof of being enlisted as an Italian voter in the voter registry in Croatia.

After the language filter the first document that is important is the certificate of registration in an Italian community. The Italian communities are registered as common non-governmental organizations (NGOs), no more no less, and everybody can get enrolled. The document from the Italian community is just a certificate of enrollment, and there is no date of enrollment written on it. It is possible to get enrolled in an Italian community just before getting that very important certificate.

I was also interested how did the interviews function at the beginning of the actuation of the law 124/2006. How did the former consul, Rustico, managed to interview the applicants. I mentioned the anecdote of the informant Luka who told me
that he talked about jazz, since the former consul is a fan of jazz music. PERSON2
told me what was the rationale behind the interviews:

[...] The precedent general consul wanted to give importance to the persons, he
received a lot of them, he got known [by the people], and all that. Then, obviously,
with the augmentation of the [number] of persons the commitments of the Consul
for sure […] do not permit that he receives ten, twenty or thirty persons.

Now the number of applicants is about forty persons per day, and it is not
really feasible anymore to interview such a mass of people, as the clerks told me.

There are situations when the applicants don't have the complete
documentation. So, when the clerks feel that a person is Italian and that person doesn't
have the entire documentation they try to help out. In their words:

PERSON2: When you see the historical documentation and you hear the people
and you read it […], in lack of documents we […] ask them to write an
autobiographic note, explaining a little bit, in lack of documentation, their life story
with the data […].

They usually tell to those persons with an incomplete documentation:

PERSON2: “Go, turn up the house, find photos, letters, postcards...” All in all it
must be visible that the used language, the first language was [Italian].

I also asked if they told some applicants to write a phrase in Italian to ascertain
the spoken language, as I heard from a daughter of an alleged applicant.

PERSON1: I'm not aware of that.
Interviewer: Because I want to see which are [the false] anecdotes...
PERSON1: Those are really anecdotes...

I also wanted to know how they find out that someone is of Italian culture
when in the present day Italy there are various cultures which cannot be reduced to a
single common culture, as the informant Franco pointed out. It came out that it isn't
really so, and I got a summary of the whole procedure:
PERSON2: no no no, these are... It is overthrowing the theses (rovesciare le tesi). The language and the culture are our Italian culture, the one that is [present] here in this territory. We are Istro-Venetians, we speak the dialect, we have our culture, our language. […] The evaluation is not done just by those who accept, but also by the ones who evaluate the documentation and all. Everything must be proved.

Interviewer: How do you manage that?

PERSON2: We do an interview! We speak with the persons, we ask from them family correspondence, we ask them to be members of the community. If there is nothing, because it often involves elder persons we ask them to be enrolled in the electoral lists. We ask them to prove in some way that [s]he has this sense of Italianness. Now, someone can speak better, someone else can speak worse. Some speak badly Croatian too. You understand, you know it very well, you are an Istrian, right?!

Interviewer: Yes, yes.

It is interesting that PERSON2 presumed that I have an immanent knowledge of the situation just by being Istrian, as if there was a shared culture, like a common knowledge that comes along with belonging to a culture.

PERSON1 had to prove me how much does she care about the applicants and how much help the applicants get from the consulate:

PERSON1: […] [W]hen I see […] that they are really belonging [to the Italian community] I make them come [at the Consulate] a few times more, until the documents are really [in order][…].

Interviewer: And how to you see that? I'm really interested in the construction...

PERSON1: the construction is, apart the personal documents, I don't know, the Domovnica111, residence, enrollment in an Italian community... I can see that right away […] from the papers. Usually they take the papers from the Historical Archive in Pisino where is the [historical] Italian registry office, but often it is not sufficient. […] So, there is the matriculation sheet, or I even ask: “Is there someone else that got the citizenship [in your family]?”, because sometimes we do these parallelisms. Or: “Do you have relatives in Italy that opted for the Italian citizenship?” So, there, in conclusion, we try to help them in every way […]. You know, sometimes it was also difficult because it happened that the mum of the interested [person] was underage in [19]47. The mum, not the father, because there is another issue about women [hah, hah]. […] Women couldn't pass the citizenship until […] January the 1st 1948, when the Italian constitution got into force. Just

111 The Domovnica is the official name of the Croatian certificate of nationhood. It is a real certificate/document on paper.
from that moment on the women could pass the Italian citizenship.

As I learned from the informants, it isn't always that easy to find out what is Italian culture, or how to prove the Italian culture of the ancestor. Usually people prove that they had an ancestor who belonged to the Italian culture with a matriculation sheet of the Italian Royal Army that they find in the Croatian historical national archive in Pisino. As PERSON1 said for the whole procedure: “We had to invent a lot.” So, in the province of Istria persons (PERSON1:) “that were soldiers during World War 2, it was used in these zones that the soldier declares the linguistic belonging. That is, they were all Italian citizens, but [they had to declare or] the “spoken language: Italian – known: Slavic”, or “spoken language: Slavic – known: Italian.” That means that if the applicants bring nowadays the matriculation sheet of their grandfather on which is written “spoken language: Italian” and “known language: Slavic” the applicant can prove the ancestor's Italianness, but if it is vice versa, that is, “spoken language: Slavic” and “known language: Italian”, the applicant cannot prove the ancestor's Italianness. A stamp was used just in the province of Istria and in Alto Adige (South Tirol) was located on the upper right corner (see the Appendix B).

4.6.14.8 Applying the Citizenship Under the Law 124/2006 in Italy

I was curious about the story of the informant Vedran who told me that he applied for the Italian citizenship in Trieste, as he told me, at the municipality. “At the prefecture” said PERSON2, “in case of the [region] Friuli Venezia Giulia is the prefecture[,] [...] because it is a region with a special statute”. I asked them is it
possible that he did the entire procedure in about two months, that even his girlfriend did in much more time in the consulate in Fiume. As Vedran told me, he did the entire procedure in about two months. The clerks didn't believe that:

**PERSON 2:** No […], it is not possible. If it is the 124/2006 it is not possible in two months. Ehm, […] or someone got goofed…

**PERSON1:** Eh, right. […] Or he was recommended [hah, hah].

I went back to Vedran and he said again he got the citizenship in two months.

### 4.6.14.9 Being Relaxed at the Consulate

I wanted to test Luka's story about “being relaxed”, in the sense that a person who doesn't show to be needy (needs a job or something similar), has more chances to get the citizenship. **PERSON1** told me right there that “these are hearsay, [these] are hearsay. It's not true.” The number of applicants doesn't permit, according to **PERSON1**, to get influenced by appearance. In 2008 it was “really a delirium”, they had about 45 applicant files a day, in such a situation it is not really that easy to make interviews or to “rig” something.

**PERSON2:** Moreover, like in any situation, the commission [in Rome] decides on the basis of the documentation. […] And if the documentation is apt to prove that a person is effectively a descendant of someone that was Italian, that was a resident, that was of Italian language, we can, we must accept his application.

### 4.6.14.10 Ius Sanguinis
The most interesting stories are the ones connected with the *Ius sanguinis* under the law 91/1992. The procedure is different, and shorter, and there are many people that have to prove to have a not truncated “umbilical chord” with the Italian citizenship.

**PERSON1:** [...] it is a little bit different kind of ascertainment. [...] That is, [...] it could have happened that an ancestor of mine, my grandfather [for example], at a certain point there got messed up the events with citizenship because of various family events, [or] historical [ones], but could be that that person never lost the citizenship. So, I do a series of investigations. For example, personally, [...] if I have a vague hunch that [...] this person [...] never lost the Italian citizenship I make the interested people [the applicants] to write to the Croatian Ministry of Internal Affairs which generally says she lost the citizenship with the Paris Peace Treaty, or, she asked at a certain point the Yugoslav citizenship, or she never got the Yugoslav citizenship. At that point that is a *Ius sanguinis*. This law [...] refers to precise historical events for which one must find some documentation that proves that [...], and that is not always an easy thing.

I mentioned that the informant Franco told me that he didn't have to prove anything because he did the citizenship as a *Ius sanguinis*. I got the answer that it is normal because the *Ius sanguinis* doesn't involve the proof of belonging to the Italian culture. **PERSON2** explained really well what does that mean: “The *Iure sangunis*, I said you before... If you are the child of an Italian and are born in Patagonia you are an Italian. You can be the child of an Eskimo and an Italian you are an Italian even though you live in an igloo.”

4.6.14.11 The Monfalconesi

The so called *Monfalconesi*, or the people that came in the former Yugoslavia after World War 2 to build socialism, are a different case. They can be problematic if...
they got naturalized as Yugoslav citizens, and usually they got. That means that they rejected the Italian citizenship before 1992 and they are not eligible for the Italian citizenship anymore.

There is a part of Italians that in the 1950s and 1960s lost their Italian citizenship, as I had learned from the clerks at the consulate. That is the case of those people that came after June the 10th 1940, the day Italy got into World War 2, and the ones who stayed in Yugoslavia after 1947 even though they opted for the Italian citizenship. A part of them are the so the called Monfalconesi. The Monfalconesi are the Italians that came usually from the shipyard in Monfalcone to build the socialism in Yugoslavia but ended badly after the break up of Yugoslavia with the Comintern and Stallin.

The Monfalconesi had, according to PERSON2, “at a certain point, in order to stay here [in the former Yugoslavia], taken obtorto collo, consciously, not consciously... They became Yugoslav citizens because otherwise they couldn't stay here [...].”

So, many descendants of the Monfalconesi think that now they cannot get the Italian citizenship, as I heard from informants, for political reasons or because someone is stopping somewhere for no apparent reason. The clerks at the consulate said me that nobody ever stopped anybody because of any political reasons. As the clerks stressed, the issue

PERSON1: [...] Is technical.
PERSON2: It is really technical.

In order to show further that the issue is not political but technical PERSON2
told me a long anecdote with a family that had an interesting problem with citizenship.

It wasn't a 124/2006 case, but a *Ius sanguinis*. In her words:

[...] The most interesting case is [...] of a family, but it happened in [other] two or three cases I recall. So, there was a gentleman that was an Italian citizen, he was originally from Italy. He went there [in Italy] with his wife [who was from Yugoslavia]. Only he was an Italian citizen, so he was a foreigner in Yugoslavia. They got married in Italy. Since they got married before 1983, before […] the reform of the family law the wife automatically got the Italian citizenship. So the mistress […] became an Italian citizen. After some time […] they didn't do very well in Italy and then they came back to Yugoslavia […]. (This was an old file that we inherited from Capodistria112). Then, at some point, because he was a foreigner he had to take the Yugoslav citizenship, and since it was before [19]92 he lost automatically the Italian citizenship according to the law. So he became a Croatian citizen, Yugoslav at the time, and she was Croat, she wasn't touched because she was also Italian, however she had two citizenships. Then, at some point when he wanted to make a request for [the Italian] citizenship he made a request as the husband of her who got [the citizenship] as a wife of his. Those were really strange situations in life. […] The children also remained Italian. So, he who gave the citizenship to all the others [in the family], at a certain moment was the only foreigner!

4.6.14.12 Citizenship As An Umbilical Chord

At the end of the interview PERSON2 explained very well how do the citizenship laws work. She stressed out that the question of citizenship is a delicate matter. “It is not astrophysics” as she said, but there are complexities that must be understood. There are problems in the ambit of the same families, different members of a family, depending on certain conditions, have different outcomes. That sometimes provokes great frustration as we saw from the stories of the informants that had or still have problems with the application for citizenship.

PERSON2 got into details and told me the following:

112 In Yugoslav times Istria was in the jurisdiction of the Italian consulate in Capodistria, now in Slovenia.
Pay attention, eh! [...] **Citizenship is like an umbilical cord** which [...] after certain historical events or after certain laws, or certain actions, can be truncated. [...] So, **when it's cut we speak about reacquisition**. That is, when it gets cut then we talk about reacquisition of citizenship, that is, about an acquisition, a new acquisition of the lost citizenship in a certain way. Or, we talk about **recognition of a citizenship** that your ancestors had which you, by maintaining your Italianness and by proving that your ancestors were Italian in the way it is requested by [the law] 124[2006] you can get it back.

On the other hand, it is another account when there are persons which are descendants in a straight line from persons who were Italian, who have continued to be Italian, they were just lost children, children of separated parents, [...], grandchildren of some persons who came here in certain situations... That umbilical cord wasn't cut, but was just buried, put aside. [People] carried on as Croatian citizens, or as [citizens of]..., what do I know, Argentinian [citizens] or Brazilian [citizens], and then at a certain moment, after two or three generations, that person X that maybe today doesn't [even] speak Italian, but has the right to reconstruct her citizenship. [And] if we prove, on the basis of a series of reconstructions that we do in a very serious and very long way, [...] that this umbilical cord wasn't ever cut, then it is recognized to that person the Italian citizenship.

### 4.7 Chapter Summary

In this chapter there were presented the findings divided in themes and categories. The first theme was Culture under which were presented all the components, the various categories, of the Italian culture in Istria. Precisely, the perception of them. Usually the informants, when they talked about Italian culture, they all mentioned the television, food, language, sports, magazines and music. They also touched the Croatian culture which is seems to be a culture of a lesser value according to the informants.

Under the theme Identity they explained what does mean to them and how does it feel to be Italian in Istria. It came out first of all that Italians in Istria have a weak national identity, they don't care much about showing off with it. It also came
out that being a part of a minority is a special position, they don't feel the same as Italians in Italy, but also not as Croats that live around them. They feel different.

There came out the problem of the disappearance of Italians in Istria, and the discrimination of Italians.

The informants also talked about the perception of Italy and Italians, that usually was perceived through television, shopping in Italy and visiting relatives.

The informants perceive that there is a great number of “false Italians”, that is, people that are perceived to not belong to the Italian community, who applied for the Italian citizenship. On the other hand, there are many Croats that believe that all Italians in Istria are “false.”

After the exposition of the features of the Istrian Italians, the informants have talked about their experiences with dual citizenship. It emerged that the same person may have opposing reasons for applying for citizenship. On the one hand the informant can apply because of ethnic pride, on the other hand because of opportunism.

The informants have talked about the procedure in detail, and what they don't like about it. They usually protest because of bureaucracy, even though they would like more bureaucracy for the “false Italians”

At the end are exposed the speculations about the act 124/2006, and the meaning they give to their citizenship.

To end the chapter there were tested all the findings in interviews with knowledgeable persons at the Italian consulate in Fiume.
CHAPTER 5  ANALYSIS, INTERPRETATION, AND SYNTHESIS

5.1 Introduction

After a longer presentation of the findings it is the time to present the analysis of the findings. The purpose of a longer presentation of findings was to present in details the culture and the feelings of the informants about their Italian identity and the Italian citizenship, to give a thick description (Geertz 1973) of the situation in order to give a more complete overview of a not so much studied phenomenon, but also to help other future researchers of the dual citizenship phenomenon in Istria.

In the following lines I will present the interpretations of the findings through the research questions.

5.2 Analytic Category 1: What Does It Mean to Be an Italian in Istria?

The Italian citizenship in Istria cannot be explained without explaining the ethnic and cultural dimensions of Italianness, first of all because obtaining the Italian citizenship under the act 124/2006 is strictly connected with proving to belong to the Italian community and to belong to the Italian culture in Istria (see Interior 2006).

From the account of Marina who said that she feels to belong more to the Italian minority than as an Italian, in the sense that being a part of the Italian minority is different than being, of course, a Croat, but also it is different than being an Italian
from the present day Italy too. We could also see that some of the informants said that they feel different in Italy than other Italians, but at the same time they feel different in Croatia from Croats, but also from Istrians, even though to a lesser extent. They could say they are Istrians.

To explain and understand what is the peculiarity of the Italian minority in Istria we must first see what ethnicity is.

### 5.2.1 What is Ethnicity?

To understand how and why some people in Istria apply for the Italian citizenship we must, as already stated above, understand the concept of ethnicity first of all. The concept of ethnicity is a blurred concept and that was already noticed by Vilfredo Pareto who explained in a footnote of his voluminous book *The Mind and Society (Trattato di Sociologia generale, in volume IV of the British edition)* that “[T]he term 'ethnic' is one of the vaguest known to sociology. We use it here merely designate a state of fact, going in no sense into the question of explaining the fact” (1935:1837). So, it is not an easy task to define properly and definitely what ethnicity is.

A well known multi-component definition, or really an enumeration of attributes of an ethnic community is the one of Anthony D. Smith113, and the attributes

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113 He uses also the French term *ethnie*. The term is differentiated from the term ethnic categories, which “are human population whom at least some outsiders consider to constitute a separate cultural and historical grouping” (Smith 1991:20–21).
are the following (1991:21):

1. a collective proper name
2. a myth of common ancestry
3. shared historical memories
4. one or more differentiating elements of common culture
5. an association with a specific 'homeland'
6. a sense of solidarity for significant sectors of the population.

The more of the attributes a community shares the more that community is closer to the definition of “ethnic community.” We can see that from the informants’ accounts we cannot say that all of them share all the six points. In fact, what all of them who got the Italian citizenship share is the fourth point, that is “one or more differentiating elements of common culture”, and a little bit lesser the “common name” (they share it for the administrative system of the Italian state). All the rest is not shared by all of them who have the dual citizenship, and what is shared is not felt with the same intensity\(^{114}\) – from common ancestry, passing through historical memories and the specific ’homeland’, to solidarity.

Another definition of the ethnic group, but a five-part one, is Howard's who conceives it as: “1) a critical mass of people who identify themselves and are identified by others as constituting a bounded group, 2) united by a common subjective sense of history, culture, values, and often ancestry, 3) with the potential to

\(^{114}\) It is based on my perception because the used method doesn't give the possibility of measurement.
be politicized, 4) giving its members a unique sense of emotional and/or material security, solidarity, and continuity about their origins and moral worth, 5) in direct opposition to at least one identifiable 'other” (1995:50). Howard continues by clearing the meaning of vague terms “critical mass” and “bounded” in his definition, so he proposes even a shorter definition, that is, “a group is more likely to be ethnic if the identity is one from which members cannot easily escape” (1995:50). Such a group contains “all sub-societal cleavages such as class, gender, sexuality, occupation, interests, etc.” (1995:50).

Again, a part of the informants, if not all, could easily switch to another ethnic group, and the “other” could be a different “other”, in the sense, it could be at the same time a Croat, an Italian, a “false Italian”, a Serb, an Istrian, etc. If we take just the informants who obtained the Italian citizenship under the act 124/2006, we can say that they share a similar culture, but some of them, for example, didn't learn the Italian language/dialect at home as their mother tongue, and they feel sometimes more Croat while being in Italy, and more Italian while being in Croatia. They may also feel as Istrians, as it was possible to declare to be that in the Croatian census 2011. Anyway, in my opinion, it is possible to use partially and with some modifications Howard's theory about “East German ethnicity” to talk and theorize about an “Istrian Italian ethnicity.”

5.2.2 Similarities between the German Case and the Istrian Case

As Howard poses the question “What is German?” or really what is “German-
ness” (1995:53), I pose the same question for “Italian-ness” (“Italianness”). I use Howard's work because it seems to me that the German case resembles in many features the Istrian Italian situation. I will explain that in the following lines.

In the German case we have a situation after the Second World War of a country split in two – the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) and the German Democratic Republic (GDR). In the Italian case the country wasn't punished that much to be split in half, but Italy lost a part of the territory – Istria, Fiume and Dalmatia – and that doesn't represent a similitude. What is in my opinion similar is the situation in which a part of the population left the territories which were annexed to People's Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (PFRY – later Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [SFRY]) and a part stayed, mostly in the Croatian part of Istria. The ones that left became the esuli (exiles) and those who stayed in SFRY became the rimasti (the remained/ the remaining/ the left). The esuli got a similar way of life as the Germans from FRG, and the rimasti as the Germans in GDR, in the sense that ones (esuli) started to live in Western social capitalism, and the others (rimasti) in Yugoslav socialism\textsuperscript{115}.

The population in Istria after the Paris Peace Treaties (signed on February 10\textsuperscript{th} 1947) had to opt for the Yugoslav or the Italian citizenship, and if they opted for the Italian citizenship they had to go to Italy and abandon almost all their belongings in SFRY (for a short practical legal explanation see Sošić and Papa 2004). It could look like that those who stayed lost the Italian citizenship, but the matter is not so

\textsuperscript{115} We can say that the systems of Italy and Germany after WW2 were quite similar, so also were Yugoslav socialism and Soviet Leninism of the GDR, even though the situation in GDR was a little bit more rigid. After all the leader of the SFRY, Josip Broz Tito, distanced broke up with Stallin.
simple. The discussed acts, the 91/1992 and 124/2006 (an addendum to the 91/1992), talk about *riacquisto* (repurchase) and *riconoscimento*\(^{116}\) (recognition) of the Italian citizenship, as if it was really never lost in the first place\(^{117}\). Even though it is not the same, it is similar to the German situation that Brubaker described with citizenship in FGR where “[n]ot wanting to validate the division of Germany, the West German authorities insisted on continued validity of a single German citizenship” (1992:83)\(^3\). After the fall of the Berlin wall in 1989 such a situation permitted East Germans to go to work and live in West Germany, and it also “paved the way for the reestablishment of common statehood” (Brubaker 1992:83)\(^3\). As we have seen in the findings, the informant Željko, but also Darijo, even though he obtained the Italian citizenship, fear a similar scenario, where in a future geopolitical change Italy will take the territory once belonged to it in an easier way because it will have citizens on the territory already. In my opinion, but also the informer Daniela noted, once Croatia gets in the EU such problems will not be relevant, and a territory that shared the same history for ages will be reconnected.

As the FGR took the role of representing the German identity in general, and the GDR the that of the anti-fascist, “the better Germany” (Howard 1995:55)\(^3\), the *esuli* took the role of representing Italianness in general, especially that of Istria (see

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\(^{116}\) Bauböck explains better the concepts, and, as I understood, his definitions do not coincide with the Italian state use of their concepts. So, “in the standard migration case the external citizenship is *retained*, whereas it is *restored* for transborder minorities who held kin state citizenship prior to the border change, or *newly created* for their descendants” (Bauböck 2007a:72)\(^3\). Since Istrian Italians are not a product of emigration the persons who applied under the act 124/2006 are really cases of newly created citizenship.

\(^{117}\) To understand better the difference please see the explanation I got at the Italian consulate in Fiume with the analogy of the umbilical chord – the truncated (*riacquisto*) and the buried one (*riconoscimento*).
Ballinger 2003:10), while the rimasti took the role of the good anti-fascist and multicultural Italians (see E. Giuricin and L. Giuricin 2008a). The good image of the Italians in Istria was carried on by the narrative stressing the birth of the Italian community in 1944 in the partisans\(^{118}\), the Italian war martyrs, the Italian partisan battalions in the Second World War, the little pioneers that were taking the oath in Italian language, etc., in times when SFRY still existed. In that period the Italians in Yugoslavia had also a national flag – an ordinary Italian flag with a red star in the center – and symbols are very important for an ethnic group (see Cerulo 1995). Today the narrative is more connected to a more “manly” kind of Italians from Istria\(^{119}\), or to a narrative connected with tolerance and convivenza – the coexistence of Italians and Slavs (see Bergnach 1995; Cherini 1997).

Howard, in order to prove that East Germans constituted\(^{120}\) an ethnic group in 1995 writes that although they didn't distinguish themselves by race, language or religion they have features of a separate ethnic group: “They are to a large extent self-perpetuating and territorially bounded; they have powerful and emotional ties to a common past, common values, common struggles; they are represented politically and are opposed to a common 'other'” (1995:56). In my opinion these are the features of the Istrian Italians, of the rimasti. They grew up in SFRY, they share all the

\(^{118}\)It is not really clear when exactly the Union of the Italians of Istria (Unione degli Italiani dell'Istria) was really founded (officially on July 10th and 11th 1944) in Čamparovica, and with which intent. Probably, as Ezio and Luciano Giuricin found out (see 2008a:61–63), the intention was to not let Italians join other political factions, found a party on their own, etc.

\(^{119}\)There is a narrative about the hybrid Istrians who, by mixing stronger Slavs and more civilized Italians. See for an interesting discussion in (Baskar 1999).

\(^{120}\)The past tense is a must because Howard in the cited article predicted that East Germans after some time will stop to have characteristics of an ethnic group.
experiences of living in those conditions, they are territorially bounded to Istria and Fiume and they don't want to leave; we have seen that some of the informants fear “mixed” marriages as a way of losing the Italian identity; there are schools in which they learn, unlike their counterparts from Italy, everything as the other children in Croatia, but in Italian; they see other Croatian citizens or Balkan peoples as the “others”, sometimes as someone who has to be feared, but also seen as belonging almost to an inferior civilization (see Ballinger 2003:65–66). And, last but not least, they are politically represented by a representative in the Croatian parliament and by the narrative of the party IDS-DDI (see J. Ashbrook 2006; Milardović 1995). In my opinion, the same goes for the people who declare themselves as Istrians, but in respect to other Croats.

Another thing which is similar with Howard's description of East Germans, is the lost familiarity and continuity between FGR and GDR (1995:62). That also happened, in my opinion, and basing on the accounts, to the Italians from Italy and those in Istria.

In Eriksen's opinion (1993:11–12)

[for ethnicity to come about, the groups must have a minimum of contact with each other, and they must entertain ideas of each other as being culturally different from themselves. If these conditions are not fulfilled, there is no ethnicity, for ethnicity is essentially an aspect of a relationship, not a property of the group.

In my opinion the Italian minority in Istria is in contact with the Croatian majority, and perceives the differences, but also when they go in Italy they perceive that they are perceived as different. So, being a member of the Italian minority in Istria can have characteristics of a distinct ethnic group.
In Istria the Italian community has almost disappeared, today just the 6.03% of the population of the Croatian region of Istria is Italian¹²¹. Not just because of the exodus which almost erased the community after the Second World War, but also because there were big migrations from other parts of the former SFRY. This could be also a reason why the Italian minority in Istria sticks to Italianness. The Italian citizenship surely helps in that intent, and I predict there cannot be political problems because the number of Italians is so low.

5.3 Analytic Category 2: Reasons for Applying for the Italian Citizenship

We have seen how Italians in Istria construct their Italianness which is important for the obtainment of citizenship. Now we will see what are the reasons for the informants to apply for the Italian citizen.

First of all, one reason doesn't exclude other reasons, even though sometimes they may sound illogical.

The majority of the informants who obtained the Italian citizenship under the

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¹²¹ The 6.03% equals to 12543 persons in Istria. In Croatia there are 17807 Italians, and except the Istria County Italians are present in a larger number in Fiume, that is, the Primorje-Gorski Kotar County, where the Italians are 1.16% of the population (3429 persons). Just in the town of Fiume they are 1.90% of the population (2445 persons). The rest, 1835 persons, are scattered throughout Croatia. Just for comparison, in the historical region of Dalmatia which was once under Italian influence, now divided in four counties, the number of Italians is as follows: The Zadar County 123 persons (0.07%), the Šibenik-Knin County 42 persons (0.04%), Split-Dalmatia County 134 (0.03%), the Dubrovnik-Neretva County 50 (0.04%) (see Census 2012) . All together 349 Italians (it remains unknown whether some of them are Italian citizens).
act 124/2006 started their accounts about their reasons for application by trying to show that they did not apply for a lucrative reason, often by indicating that other people apply just for lucrative reasons, and those are the “false Italians.” Their reasons are more connected with what I called “Ethnic Pride” which comprises an affective reconnection with Italianness and Italy. This reconnection also dignifies them as persons that sometimes don't feel accepted in a Croatian environment. Dignity is also felt while crossing borders when they don't get the feeling to be scrutinized like in the times of SFRY when they had to fear the Yugoslav border control122. That feeling of border crossing was also present later, when Croatia was in war and many times people from Croatia were treated as they wanted to stay in an EU country illegally.

The informants also think that they deserved the citizenship because they had so many bad moments, some of them felt mistreated, often teased for being Italian. At the end they have a document to prove it.

An important set of reasons for applying is filed under “Opportunism.” Usually the informants see the “others”, the “false Italians”, the Croats that want have some undeserved benefits that apply for lucrative reasons, or for any other (not always clearly spotted) opportunity that a second, European Union citizenship could bring. Those who apply for lucrative reasons, in the informants' view, usually have in mind social security benefits, medical care, not paying the custom fees, moving to an EU country and so on. The new citizens can move to another EU country, but for the rest,

122 The experiences with the Yugoslav border control were experienced more by the older informants, the younger don't have vivid memories about that period. To understand better the situation I suggest (Švab 2002).
as medical care and social security of any kind, they cannot get it in Croatia from the Italian state.

On the other hand the same informants told me that they also applied in order to travel more freely, or for “you never know” reasons, because in a turbulent situation as the one in former Yugoslavia or the one in the 1990s Croatia it is a good thing, as an informer explained, to have an additional passport to get away. That may seem opportunistic, but I interpret it as a feature of the citizenship that those who feel “truly” Italian think they deserved it. As something extra that comes with the reconnection and dignity. That is why they feel the members of any out-group shouldn't get these benfits. They didn't deserve them.

Some of the informants told me they applied because of the residence permit problems. That wouldn't be strange if we didn't know that the informants are not living in Italy and have no intention to go to live in Italy. That was said by the informants that studied in Italy. They still recalled vividly the waiting at the Questura, and they don't want to experience that ever again. Citizenship comes almost as a revenge, or as stated before, a symbolic victory against the Italian system.

The informants that gave up the procedure for citizenship\textsuperscript{123} said that they really didn't see any benefit in that, and that the problems made them stop, but in one case it was evident that it was a matter of pride. That is, the informant believed that the Italian state bureaucracy is not making problems to the “false Italians”, but it asks too much the “real Italians.” As if there should be a citizenship two-tire system, one

\textsuperscript{123} After a year one informant applied any way, as a spouse.
that should penalize the “false Italians”, and the other that helps the “real Italians.” In fact, there were more voices about a possible two-tire system of citizenship procedure, but legally that doesn't make much sense. What was also proposed is the possibility to make a joint commission of the Italian Union and the consular authorities in order to evaluate the candidates. Such a commission would find out who are the “false Italians” even though they have all the documents in order, and help the “real Italians” that have problems with the documentation. Of course that is also not possible from the legal point of view, but even from an ethical point of view.

But something makes sense in this discourse. There is the differentiation between the in-group – the “real Italians” – who apply because they feel to belong to a great nation, they feel proud, they think that is something they deserve, and the benefits come as a very nice side effect; on the other side there is an out-group – the “false Italians” – that want the Italian citizenship just to have benefits of any kind, but they also get the honors as a side effect. Even though all the informants are happy because of the benefits they get from the citizenship, the difference is in the initial motivation. Or better, it is perceived like that. I couldn't find “false Italians” to ask them what they think, but that is probably because always the “others” are the false ones.

Another problem in spotting the “false Italians” is that that the name and surname of a person cannot be a reliable proof. As also many informants had a Slavic sounding surname, but they talked about the “false Italians.” It is a set of features that a “real Italian” must fulfill in order to be recognized as a member of the in-group, and that set is wider than the requirements of the Italian consulate. A person 1) must be, or
had to be active in an Italian community, or just perceived as active, 2) has to be recognized by a larger number of other members of the Italian community, must be in the social network, other people can vouch for her, 3) has to use the istro-veneto dialect in its various forms without showing that it sounds as a second language. As it seems, all the three criteria must be met.

At the end I believe that there are no “false Italians” that apply for the Italian citizenship under the act 124/2006, but some persons just don't belong to the social networks of other persons who recognize them as false Italians, or they don't speak well the istro-veneto dialect, or have never been seen in the premises of an Italian community. Those people can have all the legal requirements need for a citizenship application.

The reasons stated by the informants coincided with the requests of the Movimento per la Costituente, as mentioned in the historical overview in Chapter 1. In short, dignity and reconnection with Italianness and Italy.

5.4 Analytic Category 3: The Meaning of the Italian Citizenship for the People in Istria

We have already seen that citizenship can have many meaning for the informants. It goes from a symbolic victory against the Italian system, but also it can be perceived as a symbolic recognition of being Italian, of having persisted all these years. It can be perceived as something that everybody in Istria can get and because of that it lost its meaning, but it is also an intimate choice. It can be seen as just a means
to solve practical problems without any bigger meaning or symbolism.

An interesting possibility is also the possible function of the citizenship as a way to bypass the Italian communities which can work worse or better, but when the people have a document that becomes a completely different thing. We can see again that citizenship's meaning is to protect the Italian minority. On the other hand, if people will stop to go to the local Italian communities it will lose any meaning, and it will become an empty shell as the Italian citizenship for the descendants of Italians in South America.

The ones, as we have seen, that see the Italian citizenship as a symbolic victory against the system are the ones that have studied in Italy and had to make the residence permit. It seems that the process for the obtainment of a residence permit is so frustrating for students, especially those who belong to the Italian ethnic group. They feel, or better felt, that it is not their place to wait with all the people from all over the world. They always thought they deserved better. It is interesting also the humiliation felt by giacomo while he was waiting at a window at the University, but in the wrong cue. There was written “Studenti di nazionalità Italiana”, and he misinterpreted that because in Croatia usually “nationality” (nacionalnost) stands for “ethnicity” not citizenship.

But, the mistreatment of students it is not only perceived by students of Italian descent, but also other students from Istria that studied in Italy, and also they would like a different treatment also at the border control. That is visible in the Matošević's auto/ethnographic research about Istrian students from Pola that traveled to the city were they studied by bus (Matošević 2010). For the students the bad experience
starts with the border crossing, and the *Questura* is just a continuation. The Italian citizenship could/can be a remedy for that, or just a big symbolical victory over the borders and immigration laws.

Except the residence permit, the borders and the bureaucracy at the university, there is also a need to be differentiated from the other “common mortals.” As we have seen, those informants who had experiences at the police station perceived that they don’t belong there with all those “extracommunitarians” (“as a bandit” as Vedran said). In the bus the want to be differentiated from the older women who go to work in Italy as caregivers (*badanti*) without a regular residence permit or work permit (Matošević 2010:125).

Symbolic recognition to be Italians is very important, but the value of it falls when citizenship is perceived as an open massive thing, I the sense, that “everybody can get it.” We can see that if distinctiveness achieved by a second citizenship diminishes the value of it diminishes too.

### 5.5 Analytic Category 4: The Influence of a Second Citizenship on the Beholders

We have seen that the Italian citizenship doesn’t present any kind of problem in Croatia. It is because there are no claims for a greater autonomy of the territory of Istria from the Italian community. Not even from regionalist political forces, as once was the political program of the IDS-DDI. The Italians are not seen as enemies, except sometimes from the far right. As a matter of fact the representative of the
Italian minority in the Croatian parliament supported the center-right coalition in the 11th cabinet of Croatia.

The informants don't perceive that their lives changed because of the citizenship. They also don't think about changing their lives drastically, in the sense, they are not thinking about moving to Italy. Some of them perceive that such a citizenship could had been of a great help when they were younger, when they studied or they could use it as an opportunity to go to work abroad, especially the ones born in the 1970s or earlier who felt the hardship of the war in Croatia and the low economic standard of the 1990s, if they had the possibility to work, under any European standard. Now, when they are situated, they made if for other reasons, as we have seen, sometimes almost as a revenge for the problems with the residence permit. It was a kind of symbolic victory.

What some of the informants perceived was the possibility to cross the various borders more freely. That is also a symbolic victory and a way to feel more dignity, and also to distinct themselves from the other citizens of Croatia which are, in their perception, accounted as more grezzi – rawer. They perceive the Italian citizenship as a symbolic victory when in various airports they go through the “EU Citizens” gates, or they don't have to make the visa in order to enter the United States of America. In that situation they may feel as “citizen[s] with the capital C”, as Marietta said.

An interesting proof that the citizenship has a highly symbolical significance is the account of Marina who didn't go to make the passport after she obtained the citizenship. She told me how nice is to have a more valuable passport, like the Italian one, but at the end she didn't bother to do it. I may interpret that after the official proof
of being Italian, to belong to the Italian nation, nothing else matters. In the sense, all other benefits are not so significant.

5.6 Synthesis

The Italian minority in Istria, as I wanted to prove, has the characteristics of an ethnic group different from the Croatian one, but also from the Italian one in Italy. Even though they call themselves Italians the members perceive that they are different from Italians from Italy, but also from Croats from their everyday living environment. They may perceive themselves as Istrians, but they differentiate themselves also from the people who declare themselves as Istrians in the census that are usually Chakavian dialect speaking people. The identity of the Italian minority in Istria is not a strong one, in the sense that Italian nationalism in Istria is weak.

Their difference from the Croatian ethnic group is primarily a lifestyle difference that goes from food consumption to the use of mass media. They see themselves as “less raw” and “more calm.” The television is a link to Italy, the Italian minority is informed about what is going on in Italy, but when they are in Italy they perceive to be different. There is an Istrian Italian particular habitus (Bourdieu 1977), as we can see. Federica speaks also about taste and distinction, again about a Bourdieu's concept (1984) and that presents a particular feature too.

124 Some of them certainly used to declare themselves as Croats, or never declared ethnically. See Banovac's research from the 1990s (Banovac 1998), and Šuran's article on Istrianness as a stronger identity which looks like a weak one (Šuran 1993).
In social psychological terms Optimal Distinctiveness Theory can explain the situation too. Humans have evolved to be group-living species (Marilynn B. Brewer 2007). Every human has a need of inclusion, but at the same time there is a need for differentiation. In moderately inclusive groups that can be achieved (Leonardelli et al. 2010:64). People belonging to a group must also contribute to the group, and that involves trust, that is why groups have to be of optimal size, not too big to make trust evaporate, and not too small to be ineffective for protection. The Italian minority in Istria may be seen as a group that is optimally distinct, because it is small, but not so small to be ineffective. Smaller high-status groups are more attractive because they satisfy the criteria of optimal distinctiveness (M. Brewer, Manzi, and Shaw 1993). At the same time the members of the in-group, the Italian minority, try to spot “infiltrates”, the “false Italians”, that try to get in in a high status group, because the high status group becomes less attractive if it loses distinctiveness.

5.7 Reexamination of Assumptions From Chapter 1

Let us see if the assumptions from CHAPTER 1 changed, were confirmed, or remain undetermined.

The first assumption that people with dual citizenship in Istria usually don't emigrate from Istria, but use it mostly for a better experience of travel was almost confirmed. What does that mean? That means that I couldn't get any statistics to prove that, but the accounts of the informants confirmed that, and also the literature found, precisely (Tintori 2009).
The second assumption was that the Italian minority is disappearing in Istria, so is the Italian language (or also the istro-veneto dialect), in spite the good work of the Italian Union, and the conspicuous finances of the Republic of Italy. The Italian citizenship could save it at least for a longer time (it couldn't be defined). The Croatian Census 2011 data shows that the minority is decreasing, but it also shows that dual citizens in the County of Istria are growing. They are not all Italian, but there is an interesting coincidence of growth of dual citizens and the introduction of the act 124/2006. It is possible to say that the number of the dual citizens with the Italian and Croatian citizenship will coincide in the future with the Italian minority. In my opinion any other forecast is futile, because the imminent entry of Croatia in the EU could bring major changes of inimaginable range. For now it is plausible to say that the requests for the Italian citizenship in Istria reached saturation.

The third assumption was that Italians and Italian speaking persons are perceived as more prestigious in Istria, or better, Istrian students have positive attitudes towards such persons. The status of Italians and Italian speaking persons in Istria is high. It is possible to say that such a situation is confirmed. It emerged again from the accounts of the informants who think that those who are against dual citizenship in Istria are just jealous. We have also sen that the informant from the Croatian far right said that Italians are the heirs of a higher culture as the Roman one.

The fourth assumption was that many people that declare themselves as Istrian Italians don't have an Italian sounding surname, but a one ending in -ič or -ich, or a different form of a Slavic surname. Such a situation doesn't present a problem to the Italian community in Istria, or to other Croatian citizens living in the County of Istria.
This assumption cannot be confirmed on the statistical side because we don't know about the number of Slavic sounding surnames or Italian sounding surnames, there are no such statistics. But, as we have seen from the accounts, the surname is not something that makes the difference between being and not being Italian.

5.8 Summary of Interpretation of Findings

The four research questions were taken as analytical categories and the findings were analyzed through them. What emerged from the findings is that the situation of Italianness in Istria has characteristics of a separate ethnic group, different from the surrounding Croats, but also from the Italians in Italy.

The reasons for applying for the Italian citizenship are usually related with dignity and reconnection with Italianness and Italy, but also the opportunities are welcomed. But, the first reason must be the former, opportunities must be seen as an extra benefit. Those who apply just for the benefits are not considered “real Italians.”

The meaning of the citizenship is to have a document that proves distinctiveness.

The persons who obtained the Italian citizenship said that there were not major changes in their lives, except the before mentioned dignity, and the perceived easier traveling.

In the synthesis there emerged that citizenship is an institution that brings dignity to the holders, and is a proof to be part of a group of people that differentiate
themselves from the “others”, or the out-groups with their habitus and taste, which brings us to Bourdieu. The Italian minority as an ethnic group has all the characteristics of a group that is optimally distinctive.
CHAPTER 6 CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Conclusion

As we have seen, the Italian citizenship comes as a means to save a situation in which the number of the Italians in Istria is falling, it could help to preserve the Italian minority in Croatia and Slovenia, but could have negative repercussions on the work of the Italian communities on the territory because they will not be the sole carriers of the Italian minority protection. Why should the new Italian citizens be related anymore to the local Italian communities? That will be the challenge for the local Italian communities to reinvent their position, and they will have to take in consideration a situation where the majority of the members have the Italian citizenship. With the entry of Croatia in the EU and the possible rise of Italian citizens in Croatia who are not authochtonous Italians there may arise problems of how to finance the Italians related to the Italain communities, but not the non-authochthonous Italians who came to live in Croatia. We will see what the future will bring.

The dual citizenship reinforced the status of the Italians in Istria, not only from the point of view of the human rights, but also it formaly bounded a group of people. We can presume that it will help to maintain that group, and citizenship will be probably the mainly studied institution because “[t]he critical focus of investigation […] becomes the boundary that defines the group, not the cultural stuff that it
encloses” (Barth 1969:15). Culture and its components in Istria made the boundaries very often, but now, when an additional citizenship and the belonging to a minority group will more or less coincide, we can predict that a formal boundary as citizenship will be the strongest protection of the ethnic boundaries.

6.2 Recommendations

6.2.1 Recommendations for the Italian Authorities

We can also see that the motivation of the Istrian Italians for the citizenship is different from the motivation of the Italians from Argentina. There are no data that Italians from Istria leave Croatia and go to live somewhere else in the world.

Istrian Italians, differently from the Italians in Argentina are a part of the of the Italian culture at least minimally. They know the Italian language, very often also the dialect, but often they don't have an Italian sounding surname. My recommendation is that Italians from Istria should be protected with citizenship which is sometimes reckoned as a human right, or a human right enhancer (Spiro 2010).

6.2.2 Recommendations for Further Research

For a future quantitative research it would be nice to test some of the findings present in this research. In that way we could have a better overlook on the connection of identity and citizenship, and at the end if there is any use for the dual citizenship
and where citizenship as an institution is going.

My recommendations for future research about dual citizenship in Istria is that it should be done also a quantitative research about with a representative sample of the whole population of dual citizens in Istria. That is, those who got the citizenship in the 1990s under the act 91/1992, those who got under the act 124/2006, the children of both kinds of new citizens that got by automatism, the naturalized dual citizens that obtained the Italian citizenship after having worked for a longer period in Italy\textsuperscript{125}, the spouses of dual or just Italian citizens that obtained the citizenship. In order to reach a representative sample of those citizens and to augment responses to questionnaires it is needed the collaboration of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Italy, and the Italian Embassy in Zagreb and the consulates on the field.

There should be a pilot research to test the instrument for the questionnaire, and that could be done on a snowball sample of people who already have the Italian citizenship. To be more precise, it could be used a respondent-driven sample (see Salganik and Heckathorn 2004), and sampling could start from an Italian community on the field (or all of them).

The questionnaire should be self-administered, that is it should be sent by mail by the embassy or consular authorities to the registered Italian citizens in Croatia. In my opinion, the seal of the Italian diplomatic institutions would augment responsiveness. With a good design the processing could be quite easy.

My hypothesis is that a disappearing minority as the Italian one in Croatia will

\textsuperscript{125} Three years if they were of Italian origins and ten years if they were ordinary Croatian citizens. Even though in practice the period is always longer.
start to have more members, or at least it will stagnate for some time. In the questionnaire there should be many demographic questions, it would be possible to find how status drives matrimony between the dual citizenship “haves” and the “have nots.” Not only that it seems that being Italian has a higher status *per se*, but, we could test the hypothesis raised in this research, and that is that usually the applicants for dual citizenship are university educated people.

Another possible research that should bring more light upon the phenomenon of people with dual citizenship that don't leave their place of residence would be a comparative study on similar cases in the world, as the ones connected with the Hungarian citizenship laws, the Croatian ones, the German ones, etc. We could see what is the future of citizenship and of ethnic belonging.

6.3 A Final Reflection on the Study

My intention was to shed more light on the Istrian situation. Where, as we have seen, biculturalism, in the sense that the political elites usually speak about the “convivenza” or coexistence of two ethnic groups – the Croatian and the Italian – but, as a matter of fact there are more groups on the field.

We have also seen that in many cases the Italians and Croats are many times bicultural in the sense that they are not pure Italians or pure Croats, both share the same cultural features, but also ethnic features. A situation like that maybe it is not even prone for the classical conceptions of citizenship, it would be better to apply
flexible kind of citizenship (see Frey 2003; see Ong 1999).
Bibliography

In the bibliography is just the material cited directly in this work. However, it must be acknowledged that a bigger set of methodological books were used to refine the research.


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Interior, Italian Ministry of the. 2013b. “[Scrutini] Estero: CROAZIA - Senato -


Appendixes
Appendix A

Relevant Census Data About Istria and Croatia

If not specified differently the presented data are from the Croatian Bureau of Statistics.

Republic of Croatia – Population By Ethnicity

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Italians</td>
<td>17.433</td>
<td>11.661</td>
<td>21.303</td>
<td>19.636</td>
<td>17.807</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0,39%)</td>
<td>(0,25%)</td>
<td>(0,45%)</td>
<td>(0,44%)</td>
<td>(0,42%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Istrians</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>3.691</td>
<td>37.654</td>
<td>8.865</td>
<td>25.491</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0,08%)</td>
<td>(0,79%)</td>
<td>(4,30%)</td>
<td>(0,60%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(79,38%)</td>
<td>(75,08%)</td>
<td>(78,10%)</td>
<td>(89,63%)</td>
<td>(90,42%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serbs</td>
<td>626.789</td>
<td>531.502</td>
<td>581.663</td>
<td>201.631</td>
<td>186.633</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(14,16%)</td>
<td>(11,55%)</td>
<td>(12,16%)</td>
<td>(4,54%)</td>
<td>(4,36%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not</td>
<td>15.798</td>
<td>17.133</td>
<td>73.376</td>
<td>79.828</td>
<td>26.763</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

126 In the census of 1971 it wasn't possible to declare a regional identity under ethnicity, that is why there is no figure for Istrians.

127 The figure is taken for Istria because the census wasn't done as the 2011 one, so it is not possible to see if there were Istrians in other parts of Croatia. In the 2011 census there were.
Republic of Croatia – Population By Mother Tongue

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
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<th>2001</th>
<th>2011</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>26,580</td>
<td>20,521</td>
<td>18,573</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0,56%)</td>
<td>(0,46%)</td>
<td>(0,43%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Croatian</td>
<td>3,922,725</td>
<td>4,265,081</td>
<td>4,096,305</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(81,99%)</td>
<td>(96,12%)</td>
<td>(95,60%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

County of Istria – Population By Ethnicity

129 The data for the years 1971 up to 1991 were taken from (Klemenčić et al. 1993) because they reconstructed the data because until 1992 the territorial division of Croatia in counties (županije) didn't exist. The missing data were difficult to reconstruct, and in fact, the cited authors have some discrepancies with the figures in the database of the Croatian Bureau of Statistics (on the date March 14th 2013).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Population By Citizenship – Census 2001</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>County of Istria</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

130 This figure is taken from (Klemenčič, Kušar, and Richter 1993:626), but the figure of the Croatian Bureau of Statistics is 188.332. See in the online database on http://www.dzs.hr (visited on March 15th 2013).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Croatian</th>
<th>Foreign</th>
<th>Stateless</th>
<th>Unknown</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>All</td>
<td>Out of that: Croatian and Other</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>County of Istria</td>
<td>208.055</td>
<td>204.703</td>
<td>11.417</td>
<td>(5,49%)</td>
<td>3.139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(100,00%)</td>
<td>(98,39%)</td>
<td>(1,51%)</td>
<td>(0,04%)</td>
<td>(0,07%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>County of Primorje</td>
<td>296.195</td>
<td>293.151</td>
<td>8.677</td>
<td>(2,93%)</td>
<td>2.735</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gorski Kotar</td>
<td>(100,00%)</td>
<td>(98,97%)</td>
<td>(0,92%)</td>
<td>(0,03%)</td>
<td>(0,07%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fiume</td>
<td>128.624</td>
<td>127.352</td>
<td>3.823</td>
<td>(2,97%)</td>
<td>1.102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(100,00%)</td>
<td>(99,01%)</td>
<td>(0,86%)</td>
<td>(0,05%)</td>
<td>(0,08%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Croatia Total</td>
<td>4.284.889</td>
<td>4.259.476</td>
<td>84.885</td>
<td>22.527</td>
<td>749</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(100,00%)</td>
<td>(99,41%)</td>
<td>(0,53%)</td>
<td>(0,02%)</td>
<td>(0,05%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The County of Istria is by far the County with the greatest percentage of population with multiple citizenship. In absolute numbers just the city of Zagreb surpasses it\textsuperscript{131}.

We can see that the population with the Croatian and another citizenship has grown in Istria from the census 2001 to the census 2011 for 4,642 units. Of course, not all of them obtained an Italian citizenship, not all of them were before that just Croatian citizens, not all of them lived before the two censuses in Istria, but it is an indicator that Istria is open for dual citizens.

\textsuperscript{131} Total population: 790,017 (100%); Croatian citizenship: 784,415 (99.29%); Multiple citizenship: 15,586 (1.97%).
Here is a copy of an authentic Second World War sheet of military service of an Italian soldier from Istria, precisely from Pinguente (Buzet). What is particularly interesting is that the surname ends in -ich even though it was compiled in 1942, which is not so consistent with the claims of forced italianization of surnames in Istria (see Parovel 1993; Tasso 2010).

The detail that has to be spotted is in the upper right corner (see the magnified detail down here) the added stamp “Lingua parlata [Spoken language]: [...]…… / Lingua consociute [Known language]: [...]… [...].” With the present document it is possible to prove the Italian ethnicity of the ancestor.132

The detail of the stamp about the language use of the soldier:

It says that the spoken language is “Italian”, and the known language is “Slav.”

132 I must stress that the present sheet is not of any of an ancestor of mine.
Appendix C

Voting for the Italian parliament and the Senate. The number of the electorate increased, it is plausible to say growth is related to the act 124/2006.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Electorate</td>
<td>7360 (100,00%)</td>
<td>11285 (100,00%)</td>
<td>+3925</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voters</td>
<td>4479 (60,85%)</td>
<td>5511 (48,83%)</td>
<td>+1032</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abstinent</td>
<td>2881 (39,15%)</td>
<td>5774 (51,17%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Senate (just 25 and older)</th>
<th>2008</th>
<th>2013</th>
<th>Diff.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Electorate</td>
<td>6826 (100,00%)</td>
<td>10334 (100,00%)</td>
<td>+3508</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voters</td>
<td>4208 (61,64%)</td>
<td>5409 (52,34%)</td>
<td>+1201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abstinent</td>
<td>2618 (38,36%)</td>
<td>4925 (47,66%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix D

First Cycle Codes/ Initial Codes Categorized

Here is the MaxQDA output. The first cycle codes are categorized. This is the raw MaxQDA output of the code system. If a code is more indented that means that it is a subcode of the one less indented. The reason why I put the whole code list is for transferability of the research, if some other researcher will try to research the same problem.

**Code System [2259]**

FINITO [0]

ETHNICITY [0]

NATIONALISM [0]

INCONISTENCE OF NATIONALISM [0]

BIOLOGIZATION [0]

- there is no true biological origin [1]

- Sociology of Choice [1]

- biologising is bad [1]

- nationalism is sensless [1]

- Nation above the state [1]

- Nationality as an abstraction [1]

- The nation is metaphysical [1]

- wrong use of the term nation [1]

- xenophobia must have a psychological background [1]

- croatian right nationalist not economic [1]

- mixing cultures is bad for nationalists [1]
Rise of nationalism after entry EU [2]
difficulty of being nationalist in Istria [1]

WEAK NATIONALISM [0]
connections with other people weaken ethnic feelings [1]
weak occidental nationalism [1]

ETHNICITY RANKING [0]
opportunist identity [1]
nationhood ranking list [2]

MIXED CULTURE AND IDENTITY [0]

OPPOSITE IDENTITY [0]
declaring sometimes croat sometimes italian [1]
in italy proud of being croatian [1]
in croatia stressing italianity [1]
in italy stressing croatness [1]
mother's non-italian origins [1]
living in two worlds [2]
recognition to belong to two worlds [1]
family background is ciakav - but now are italians [1]
mixing language with parents and relatives [1]
more istrian than croat [1]
italians in istria are more austro-hungarian [1]
italian period of life [1]
bastardized italians [1]
between italian and croatian culture [2]
bilingual [1]
croatian origins [1]
croatian period of life [1]
croats and serbs are one people [1]
caring for ethnicity in a pluricultural way [1]
in mixed marriages the kid is italian [1]
mixed marriages [7]
mixed marriages a menace [1]
reduction to the national [1]
very mixed ancestry [2]
mixed ethnicity [2]
mixed identity [2]
way of mixing [1]
proud of being mixed [2]

UNIMPORTANT ETHNICITY AND NATIONALITY [0]

NO IDENTITY [0]
lack of identity [1]
straw man against national identity [1]
criteria for national identity [1]
impossibility of proving cultural identity [1]
not having ethnic feelings [1]
no national identity [1]
Feeling home [1]
anational [1]
doesn't feel italian [1]
grandpa didn't have an identity [1]
stressing not being nationalist [1]
negative opinion about nationalism [2]
istrian italians not nationalists [2]
istrians weak nationalists [1]
not feeling neither italian or croatian [2]
spouse's ethnicity [1]
ethnicity free yugoslav times [1]
identity is individual [1]
passage from one ethnicity to the other [1]
ethnicity shouldn't be a burden to others [1]
nationality and citizenship [2]
FIRST CONTACT WITH ETHNICITY [0]
In JNA found out about ustasha and chetniks [1]
first contact with ethnic nationality [1]

PREJUDICES AGAINST BALKANIC PEOPLE [0]
true nature of balkanic foreigners [2]
   better to avoid some balcanic minorities [1]
   evil culture of foreigners [3]

MYTHOLOGY ABOUT THE SLAV NEWCOMERS [0]
the coming of the slavs [1]
slavs with a pig in the bathtub [1]
lake salted on purpose [1]
destroyed arena on purpose [1]
hens in the appartment [1]
parquet floors burning [1]

DISRESPECT FOR LOCAL FOLKWAYS [0]
disrespect of the local folkways in other parts of croatia [1]
disrespect to the local folkways [2]
italians have prejudices too [1]
noticing difference between istria and zagreb [1]
balkanic culture different than italian [3]
no difference among various slavs [1]
italian vs. other cultures [2]
different mentality [2]
autochtonous population suffers [1]
good bosniacs [1]
clash of civilizations [3]

CULTURE [0]
MULTICULTURALISM [0]
multicultural istria [1]
elimination of diversities is fascism [1]

338
globalized culture - not great differences

mediterranean similar culture

culture

BICULTURALISM

bicultural istria

ignored all other minorities

bicuralism

FAKE MULTICULTURALISM

failed ids multicultural

multiculturalism used by local politics

Istria to become multicultural

fake multiculturalism

good fake multiculturalism marketing

fake differentiation from the rest of croatia

Croatia is multicultural

multicultural italians

contacts with other cultures make richer

ANGLO-SAXON CULTURAL FRAME

anglo-saxon cultural frame

didn't like yugoslav music

didn't care for italian music

ITALIAN CULTURE

WHAT IS ITALIAN CULTURE?

italianity is culture not (just) ethnicity

language and culture are not invented

anti-italian culture in italy in the 90s

italian culture but not ethnicity

culture as a matrix

cultural resistance based on the greatness of

the culture

patrimonio mondiale
italian culture one of the world
even in squats the culture is similar
culture a deep bond
defining the nation with premodern authors
invisible culture
najbliža kultura
relations with italy
components of culture
istrian italian culture
respect for tradition
way of thinking as italian culture
AESTHETICS
everything much nicer in Italy
DISAPPEARING ITALIAN CULTURE

teaching to kid italian pop culture
majority feels italian culture distant
italian newspapers not interesting to the

majority

investment in italian historical culture
italian culture stays in italian community
preservation of culture
italian culture eradicated in Istria
diminishing italian culture
ARCHITECTURE

arredamento e interni
architecture as culture and identity
SPORTS
to support national soccer team is italian
boban made me think about the national
team
supporting Italian national team [1]

Italian football and national representation [1]

MASS-MEDIA [4]

TELEVISION [0]

tv [1]

in 80s we wanted thing from Italian

LANGUAGE [0]

tv dubbing protects Italian

Italian tv is nationalist

dubbing creates Italians but

weak Italian because of lack

language through television

JAPANESE CARTOONS [0]

familiar Japanese culture [1]

as kid watched robots and

growing up on cartoons on

Japanese cartoons built

tv signal mess is economical

Italian tv a richness in Yugoslav

tv for keeping the

watching Italian tv [8]

watch Italian television is culture [6]

anational Italian tv [2]

subtle nationalism on Italian

boring Croatian TV [1]
italianity through television [4]
importance of television [4]
le iene [1]

MAGAZINES [0]
read newspapers in italian is culture [1]
Magazines for kids [1]

BOOKS [0]
italian literature as culture [3]
identifying in italian books [1]
italian books help to clean the language [1]
controlled media [1]
different mediatic socialization [1]
great influence of the media on children [1]
has absorbed italian culture [1]
know what is going on in Italy is culture [1]

MUSIC [0]
italian music [8]
italian folk music [2]

FOOD [0]
food signaled a difference between the 2 cultures [1]
food in istria is mixed [1]
food is still not culture [1]
istrian food [2]
Italian food [5]
italian food mixed with austro-hungaric [1]
food as culture [16]
cuisine as a sterotype [1]
closer italian cuisine [2]
alloimentary codes learnt at home [2]
BEVERAGES [0]
  mocca is italian culture [2]

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN ITALIANS AND [0]
  italians and istrians have same food
  mediterranean cuisine [1]
    less meat more fish [1]
    prefer light food [1]
    balkanic food [1]
    difference in food city - village [1]
    Magnaporchi [0]
      more pork meat in rural parts [1]
      culture of pork [1]
      magnaporchi [2]
      no gnocchi in bosnia [1]
      cultural difference based on food [2]

LANGUAGE [0]
  spoke italian at home [1]
  duty to do something for italian culture [1]
  speaking italian at home but doesn't declare
  speaking italian not enough for nationality [1]
  speaking with kids in italian [1]
  italians curious how a slav speaks so well
  italian [2]
    italian as mother tongue [2]
    more affection for italian culture and
    language [1]
      19th century concept of culture [1]
      everybody speaks italian in istria [1]
      FASHIONABLE CROATIAN [0]
mixed marriage - speaking in

croatian becomes a lingua franca in mixed marriages

if one kid speaks croatian all kids will speak it

italian with a croatian accent

language pressure of the majority

italians not speaking italian with kids

influence of the spouse in language

in mixed marriages italian loses

all italians but kid speaks croatian

croatian language is in fashion

LANGUAGE PROBLEMS

lack of living language in Istria

youth has bad language skills

language problems

losing the italian culture

learned spanish facilitated by the knowledge of italian

bad knowledge of italian

language disadvantages at school

LEARNING THE LANGUAGE

not learned italian at home

how did you learn the italian language

language from grandparents

PROOF OF CULTURE

SPEAKING THE DIALECT

talking usually italian dialect

always talked istro-veneto at home
Istrian Italian is harder [1]
not learned Istro-Veneto [2]
local dialect full of

Italianisms [1]

value of the dialect [1]

standard Italian vs. dialectal

Italian [1]

speaking the same dialect [1]
better treatment because of

Dialect [1]

dialect [1]

how to prove Italian culture [2]

language as a proof of Italian culture [9]

language as criterion for identity [1]
language as culture [3]

CROATIAN CULTURE [0]

ugly Croatian symbols [2]

CULTURAL CLAUSTROPHOBIA [0]

in 92 Culture and media became narrow [1]
fascist Tuđman nineties [1]
fighting everyday against narrow mentality [1]
insular countries [1]
people don't want to be free [1]
predictable Croatian new culture [2]
new Croatian culture is narrow and insignificant [1]

IDENTITY [0]

LOCAL IDENTITY [0]

identification in territory and people [1]
feeling more like Pula citizen [1]

CONVENIENCE IDENTITY [1]

STATEHOOD AS IDENTITY [3]
CROATNESS [0]
CROATIAN AGGRESSIVE NATIONALISM [0]

BiH is not a state [1]

Bosnia an invented nation [1]

expanding croatian nationalism [1]

croatia still nationalist [1]

doesn't like Croatia [1]

Yugoslavia - Croatia [1]

SLAVIC OCCUPATION [0]

discussions with croats [1]

croats didn't do anything [1]

occupied by slavs [1]

ERASING ITALIANITY [0]

enemies of croats [1]

croats want revenge - but for what?

erasing italians [1]

elimination of diversities in a borderless Europe [1]

croat nationalits not accepting italians [1]

and istrians [1]

MANIPULATION OF HISTORY [0]

venetian colonization [1]

social darwinism [1]

croats distort history [1]

there's almost no italians in istria [1]

croatian invention of history [1]

CROATIZATION [0]

yugoslavization [1]

thrusting croatian ultranationalists [1]
forced slavization [1]
tudjmanization [1]
croatization [6]

slavization is OK [1]
slavization of Istria [2]
croatization is acceptable [1]
forced croatization of Istria

CATHOLICISM [0]
anticlerical italians [1]
church on the side of the weak [2]
church against Italy [1]
forcing religiosity [1]
croatian nationality connected with

the catholic church [2]

ITALIANS INFLUENCED BY CROATIAN

more italian [2]
croatian nationalism makes you feel
ready to fight against Italy [1]
war if annexation [1]
croatian aggressive nationalism (1) [4]
croatian nationalist campaign [1]
croatazi [1]
croats need a foreign enemy in order to
survive [5]
a stronger croatian national state eliminates

ethnic problems [1]
croatia made an error of not being enlightened

[1]
assimilated [1]
good when I assimilate, bad when I'm

serbian question solved after 500 years [1]
foolishness of stressing croatness [1]
in 91 born again croats [1]
intolerance part of familay culture [1]
istria italian but conquered in 590 [1]
Croatian nationalists are funny [1]
encounter with the cops [1]

DEGRADATION [0]
complex of a small nation [1]
Croatia is afraid becaus eit is a small country [1]
croats ashamed of being croats [1]
istrian croats also in decline [1]
croatian istrian dialect lost [1]
feeling degraded in my own country [2]

FREIGHT OF DISAPPEARING [0]
irrational fears of losing ethnicity [1]
croats losing identity [1]
brain drain will continue [1]
in 50 years there will be no croats [1]
croats feel threatened by italianity [1]
fear of a big nation [1]
croatian freight of Italy [1]
petulance and allarmism in defence of croatness [1]
privileges not rights for minorities [1]
minorities became castes [1]
minorities decide about
undeserved privileges for minorities [1]

BACKWARD NATION [0]
nation over state [1]
no national consciousness in the past [1]
turks stopped croatian state building [1]
with neocroats only language not spirit [1]
croats not mature as a nation [1]
croats will always be corrupted [1]

SVOJATANJE [0]
croats take figures from other cultures [1]
svojatanje of italian culture in croatia [1]
in croatia everybody are doing svojatati [1]
svojatanje [3]

PROUD FOR CROATNESS TOO [0]
not renegade slav culture either [1]
every nation needs pride [1]
sometimes touched by croatness [1]
croats can be proud too [0]
croatian mum [1]

CROATIAN WORK ETHICS [0]
croats ashamed of their job [1]

PREJUDICES AGAINST CROATS [0]
croats and serbs almost one nation [1]
people from croatia in trieste going out with other slavs [1]
mancanza di apertura culturale [1]
croats more cold like germans [1]
germans good because distant [1]
croats of a lesser culture [1]
closed croats [2]
croatian worldview [1]
unadjusted croats [2]

OPPORTUNIST CROATNESS [1]
easier to be a croat [1]
become a croat if you want success [1]
interest nationality [1]

AUTHENTICITY OF CROATNESS [0]

culture came from genetics [1]

slavs were always slavs [1]

nation built by the state [1]

state built a nation on the basis of the tribe [1]

two theories about croats [1]

ITALIANITY [0]

FALSE ITALIANS [0]

no need for special action against fake italians [1]

FROM ITALIAN PERSPECTIVE [0]

how they manage to make the citizenship? [1]

you can tell easily that someone is not italian [1]

non-italians citizens - different motivation [1]

false italians at the consulate [8]

great croats faking italianity [1]

citizenship inspite of non-italians [1]

nonitalians receiving citizenship [18]

croats make citizenship more than italians in istria [2]

croat - italian - croat [1]

croats making Italian citizenship [2]

"fake italians" maybe cases of ius sanguinis [2]

nationality - not culture [1]

nonethical fakers [1]

morality of asking citizenship [2]
bad italian language for fakers [1]
lucrative minority [1]
economic reasons [2]
non-italians do it for
no italian culture but still citizenship
active minority vs. declared
minority [1]
showing off with the passport [1]
FROM CROATIAN PERSPECTIVE [0]
TALIJANAŠI [0]
genetics [1]
culture more important than
croats provoke [1]
Talijanaši - a racial
termiology [1]
never heard for talijanaši [1]
tranvestites [1]
cro nationalists see italians
talijanaši [10]
ot touched for being called
talijanaš [1]
NON-ITALIANS [0]
TEST FOR ITALIANITY [2]
spacial knowledge [1]
folkways connected with a
croatian overcame [1]
culture more important than
ancestors [2]
ancestors don't prove ethnic
belonging [1]
electoral list for italian
minority as a proof [4]
test for citizenship [11]
at the beginning of 124/2006
it was open to everybody [1]  
citizenship [2]  
more rigourous checks for  
controls of italanity  
should be more restrictive [2]  
low criteria for  
citizenship [1]  
  
witnesses of your italanity [2]  
being of italian culture but not nation  
[1]  
be far from italian cultur [1]  
person asking for citizenship cannot  
working in Italy [1]  
nonitalians got citizenship after  
many got citizenship and not  
speaking italian [1]  
  
speculation about fake italians [1]  
to turn in fake italians? [1]  
law is blind for fake italians [3]  
non-italians using italian language [1]  
ITALIANS IN ITALY DON'T KNOW ISTRIA [0]  
few italians understand the history of Istria [1]  
Veneto knows more about IStria  
than FVG [1]  
italians don't always know about  
istria [1]  
anegdote about not knowing istria in italy [1]  
anegdote - italians - don't know the anthem [1]  
VERACITY OF ITALIANITY [0]  
ON THE PRESENT ITALIAN TERRITORY [0]  
  
renanunce the italian citizenship to  
non-autochthonous italians [1]  
ancestor born in italy [1]  
italian ancestry [1]
 WHY ITALIAN [0]

generational affection for Istria [1]
standard croatian is not my

language [1]
always was here [1]
census - declared as italian [4]
many italians declared as

Croats [1]
ethnic choice as italian [1]
declaring as italian in the

Census [1]
italians not declared istrians

For defence [6]
always declared as italian [1]
rationality behind being italian [1]
later in life came to the essence of

Italianity [1]
to belong to italian culture [1]
being italian [1]
knowing italian quotidianity [1]
why italian [2]
italian nationality was a choice [1]
belonging to the italian nation [1]
always belonged to italian community

[1]
known as italians [1]
evidently italian [1]

Common [1]
istrian italians and northern italians a lot in

Italianity [1]
italianity normal to us [1]
stressing italian ancestors [1]
people should put more efforts to mantain

variety of possibilities of italianity [1]
stressing spouse's Italianity [1]

stressing parents Italianity [2]

not showing off Italianity [1]

more value to Italianity [2]

Italianity of the territory [1]

Italianity above the parties [1]

Italianity beyond citizenship [1]

Italianity and Catholicism [1]

everybody could prove Italianity [3]

5000 people must have something with

Italianity [1]

coolness with Italianity [2]

they don't understand my Italianity [1]

Italian media didn't influence much my

Italianity [1]

grew up with the real Italian granny [1]

real Italian [4]

FEELING MORE ITALIAN [0]

not Italianissima - but more in common with

Italians than Slavs [1]

Italian with Croatian touch [1]

I'm not a great Italian [1]

don't feel Italianissimo [1]

not feeling Croat [2]

feeling like a stranger in Croatia [1]

feeling to belong to Italian culture [1]

feeling more Italian culturally [3]

feeling more MINORITY than [1]

Italian but different than those in Italy

[1]

feeling Italian and Istrian [1]

PRESENTATION OF SELF [0]
stresses father's ranking in the
italian military [1]
pleasure in explaining the origins [1]
italian in europe [1]
weness feeling for croatia [1]
italians belonging to croatia [2]
older istrians are more italian [1]
took a stand as italian [2]
we are more italians than those from argentina [1]
feels italian as felt before citizenship [1]
feels italian for the food [4]
after more reading and watching feels more
italian [1]
feeling different than other croats [1]
feeling to belong to italian community [2]
mother and sister feel italian [1]

ITALIAN NATIONALISM [0]
italian pride [1]
fight for italian rights [1]
italians have national consciousness [1]
example of destructive nationalism [1]
reactionary nationalism - provocation [1]

ITALIANS AS A MINORITY [0]
EU funding for minorities [1]
reciprocity in minority rights [1]

DIFFICULTIES OF BEING ITALIAN
ABROAD [0]
territories [2]

everyday struggle in border

LONELINESS FOR BEING ITALIAN
[0]
not having to talk to

someone in italian [1]
difficulty of being an italian abroad [2]
losing italian identity [1]

ITALIAN COMMUNITY [1]
never enrolled in circolo [1]
showing pride with membership to

comunita' [1]

SKIPPING ITALIAN COMMUNITY [0]
doesn't participate in circolo

[1]

italian institutions skipped by

youth [1]

younger people should go to

circolo [1]

not going to circolo [1]
cospicous help from Italy [1]

italian union not against italians [2]
dependency of public fundings of

italian isstitutions [1]

strong will to preserve the italian

minority [1]

italian communities will become

cultural places [1]

italian community will be assimilated

by the majority [1]

italian community [3]

no italianity if there weren't the

italian union had to be more involved

in the process [1]
in the italian community for practical

reasons [2]

unfunctional italian comunita' [1]

COMMUNITY [3]

ENROLMENT IN ITALIAN

request of the italian community [1]
activity in the italian community [1]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Italian minority</th>
<th>Rimasti not considered Italians from Italy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Italians from Italy</td>
<td>Rimasti considered Croats from</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Us</td>
<td>West Coast Italians would achieve more if raised in Italy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Because of language</td>
<td>Italianity respected during</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yugoslavia</td>
<td>Italians as a corpo estraneo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Great risk of disappearance</td>
<td>Italians from Italy not knowing history</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[3]</td>
<td>Unknown Istrian story out of Triest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In Triest people know the situation</td>
<td>Italians call in Croatian Istrian towns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[2]</td>
<td>Being average disturbs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jugoslavia</td>
<td>Difficult to be Italian during</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rimasti for various reasons</td>
<td>Rimasti not comunisti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rimasti not old time prejudices against Rimasti outdated</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demographic decay of the Italian</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minority</td>
<td>If people stayed they would not had been killed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rimasti saved the local Italianity</td>
<td>ITALIANS NOT A HISTORICAL MINORITY</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
italians old minority [1]
anational history [1]
a young minority [1]
the italian community in istria is not a historical community [1]
difence [1]
italians without a national conscience [1]
italians not a historical minority [2]
disappearing minority [1]
minorities - a motor for development [1]
majority doesn't understand minority [1]
minorities are a richness - not a threat [1]
you don't understand us [1]
justification for not being as the majority [1]
greater animosity against italians [1]
in the media an anti-italian discourse [1]
less privileges for minority would start a war with italy [1]
italians without economic power [1]
minority mentality a menace [1]
italians have less rights as a minority [1]
Italy should push Croatia to give more minority rights [1]
numbering minority is bad [2]
a minority shouldn't isolate itself [1]

LEAVING ISTRIA [0]
italians that didn't want to go away [1]
motivations for leaving [2]
Italy went away - people stayed [1]
italians had left [2]
ethnic cleansing [1]
PREJUDICES AGAINST ITALIANS AND ISTRIANS

croatian nationalists say italians are not
northern italians are germans
innocuous italians
better italians from italy than from here
affirmative action is good
negated culture

DISTINCTION

spot an italian at a great distance
more respect for being italian
Looking-like italian
  supporting italian teams
  listen to the music
  talk the talk
  italian fashion
  distinction from friends
  distinction with telelombardia

PREVIOUS EXPERIENCES WITH ITALY

not much experience with italy
relatives in italy
feeling good in italy
feeling confortable in italy
lived in italy
working in italy
visiting relatives in italy

DESAPPEARING ITALIANITY

clockwork italians
lesser number of italians from 1991 [1]
increase - decrease of italians [1]
they are all alogens [1]
slavonians impose their will in our home [1]
internal migration a menace to italianity [1]

REACTIONARY IDENTITY [0]
other people declared as italian but not
my italainity wasn't important during
never felt italian but italian in the papers [1]
reason to declare as an italian [2]
rejection of croatian [1]
reactionary ethnic option [11]

DIFFERENT THAN OTHER CITIZENS [0]

ITALIAN LIFESTYLE [0]
imitation italian lifestyle [1]
italian lifestyle [1]
italian family is more patriarchal [1]
different way of being [1]
different home culture and behavior

you have to live in a certain way [1]
different lifestyle of croats and

ITALIAN WORK ETHICS [0]
italians active people [1]
italian work ethics among italians
italians working with commitment
italians proud of their job

MYTHOLOGY

Istraians structurally oriented towards others
italians adapt to other cultures
western oriented Italian Istrians
in Italian families pressure to do

ITALIAN OPEN MENTALITY VS. CROAT

Italian because of an open-mindedness
Italian open mentality vs. Croatian

ITALIANS' OPEN MENTALITY VS. CROAT

Italian aware of their place in life
Eleganza naturale mentale
italians have eye for style
italians don't speak English
nobilità d'animo
good Italians
Italian culture is superior
quiet Istraians

ITALIANS HAVE COMPLEX OF RESPECTABILITY

Italian culture is superior
lately primitivism reigns in Italy
uncomfortable among the croats/jugoslavs
feeling not integrated

ITALIANS FOR YUGOSLAVIA

Monfalconesi problem
italians against Italians
Monfalconesi kept habits from Friuli
controesodo
Italy to become a communist country
italians for yugoslavia against italians [2]
monfalconesi [1]

DISCRIMINATION TOWARDS ITALIANS [0]
not problems at work - learn a better croatian [1]
italians are autoctonous [1]
foreigners at home [1]

BULLIED FOR ITALIANITY [0]
prejudices against istrians and italians [1]

CALLED FASCISTS [0]
just friends teased as fascist [1]

italy equals fasism [2]
called fascist [1]
if you are italian you are a fascist [1]
called fascist by others [1]

as a nation [1]
italians rekoned as fascist [1]

in istria [1]
italians pictured as fascists [1]

NATIONAL IDENTITY INCIDENTS [0]
proximity to the ancestors as identity [1]
problem with oneselves [1]
dodging stones for being italianity [1]

ethical incident [3]
slight quotidian problems because italians [1]

spouse teasing for being fake italian [1]
newcomers teasing italians [1]
not teased for being italian [3]
Talijancini [1]
    italians uncool [1]
teased for being italian [6]
ad hominem for being italian [1]
teased based on food [1]
pastasutari [1]
    laughed at in croatian elementary [1]
creation of italians is disturbing [1]
croats think people took italianity for teh money [1]
    afraid of problems with the croat authorities
italian ethnicity based on culture not on blood [1]
italians not guilty for border with bosnia [1]
wife's problems for being german [1]
    all the germans are nazis [1]
italians not accepted well in yugoslavia [1]

SERBS AND ITALIANS [0]
    checking story of serbs in circolo [1]
serbians wanted italianity [3]
serbs and italians are similar - hot [2]
serbian culture more true [1]
    serbian culture goes deeper - no balkan complex [1]
serbian-italian pretences [2]
italians and serbs not in cahoots [3]
privileges for the serbians [1]
italians as possible scapegoats [1]
italians and serbs [3]

ITALIAN PENSIONS [0]
AGAINST ITALIAN PENSIONS [0]

esuli against italian pensions [2]

italian right against pensions [1]

italian pensions constructed the image of

tere wasn't a plan behind italian pensions [1]

italian pensions [2]

SKH not touched italian pensions [1]

SHOPPING IN ITALY [0]

italy is not just spesa anymore [1]

no big money but buying in trieste [1]

shopping in Italy [2]

SURNAME [0]

no problem with ich [1]

serbian surname - italian culture [1]

croatian surname - italian culture [1]

slavization of surnames [3]

italianized surname [1]

italian surname - no italian culture [1]

surnames changed [1]

culture more important than surname [1]

unknown origins of the italian surname [1]

italian surname as italian identity [1]

italian surname [1]

environment more important than surname

[1]

IRREDENTISM [0]

in EU this area will get recomposed [1]

right wing voters want historical territorial

confines [1]

on bosnia [1]

italians have pretensions on istria as croats
no irredentist pretensions [1]
secession would bring war [1]
could become irredentist [1]
good italo-croatian relations bad for
famiglie istriane [1]
gradual insinuation of italy [2]
natural italian irredentism [7]
skepticism about irredentism [1]
against irredentism [1]
hidden irredentism [1]
autonomy vs. irredentism [3]

ITALIANIZATION [0]
croats turn to italianness because it is a higher
more italianized less security [1]
italianization through regionalization [1]
italianization [4]

EDUCATION [0]
richer jugoslav families sent children in

FOR PRACTICAL REASONS [0]
italian school possibility to study
italian schooling for practical
more convenient italian schools [1]

PRO-WESTERN [0]
parents were oriented to the West [1]
italian school good for seeing from
in italian schools kids of pro-western
education in the family [1]
educated in italian culture [2]

italian schooling part of the culture [2]

nonitalian kids in italian schools [3]

for italian schooling not matter of

parents pushed me to go to italian

italian school end of 80s - no

italian school for lesser

didn't speak well italian before italian

student in Italy [1]

italian schooling [8]

italian minority schools [1]

croats impone in schools [1]

croatian schooling [3]

FASCISM [0]

positive fascism [1]

negative fascism [1]

italianity negative during fascism [1]

neo-fascism in italy [1]

mild fascism [3]

hard fascism [2]

fight against fascism [1]

croats were italian fascists [1]

INFERIORITY OF ISTRIAN ITALIANS IN ITALY [0]

the slav is exotic for the italians [2]

different meanings of nationality [1]

better accepted in zagreb [1]

mentally Trieste is more distant than Zagreb

[1]
in Milan feeling less exotic [1]
in Italy not felt as Italian [1]

studied in Italy - not recognized as

Italian [2]

Istrian Italians in Italy are not

croat in Italy [2]

Istrian Italians in Italy feel less Italians [1]

feeling as a different Italian in Italy [1]

feeling bad for not being treated as

Italian [1]

not feeling much Italian in Italy [1]

inferior Italians in Italy [2]

Italians not accepted well in Italy [3]

doesn’t feel at home in Italy [1]

waiting with the extracomunitarians [2]

like an extracomunitarian [1]

in Italy humiliation for permesso [1]

ISTRIANITY [0]

ISTRIAN = +/- CROATIAN ISTRIAN [1]

Istrianity not a menace to Croatness [1]

Istrian Croats voting for HDZ spot Croats from

Croatia [2]

Istrian Croats only if mixed with Croats [1]

Istrian Croats in a lower number [1]

Croats declaring as Istrians [4]

Istrian Croats [1]

if croat then istrain dialect [1]

MIXED IDENTITY [0]

felt like an inclusive istrian [1]

Anecdote of an istrarian changing ethnicity [1]

why istrarianity [1]
istrian in the census [1]
raised as an istrian [1]
feeling as an istrian [1]
cakavica not croatian [1]
   ciaakavo a different language [1]
istrian situaition strange to newcomers [1]
people with strong identity cannot
understand istrianity [1]
istrians - not croats [3]
   istrians see the difference from
croats [1]
20something istrians are more croat [1]
40-60 istrians are more yugoslav [1]
istrian culture [1]
istrianiy is without nationality [1]
others make your identity by force [1]
meetingpoint of more culutres [2]
everyone choses his nationality [1]
ethnicity is an invention [1]
same people different ethnicities on census [2]
loving croatian culture too [1]
never felt croatian [1]
not trying to explain the croat italian mixture [1]
never felt as a single ethnicity [1]

istian as a mixture of italian and jugoslav [1]
istrian signified being italian and slav in one [1]

italian culture mixed serbs [1]
Juraj Dobrila [1]
Stressing croatian ancestors [1]

istrians are not really croat but not really
MYTHOLOGY [0]

- Istrians want better jobs
- Regimes change istrian peasants stay
- Istrians care just about the land
- Good istrians vs. bad croats
- In Istria the Voltagabbana
- Positive istrian opportunist trait
- Istrian croats are raw
- To change the lord but not the self
- Istrians stay but accept a little bit of the

IDEOLOGY [1]

- Open istrian culture
- Humble Istrians
- Istrians not nationalists because they are

TRADITIONAL [1]

- Riskless Istrians
- Istrians are polite
- Istrians always a step ahead
- Myth of Istrianity

REGIONALISM [0]

- IDS was born on Istrianity
- Nowadays just financial autonomy
  - Istria autonomous region
  - No more autonomous region
- Europe of regions and no nation-states
- Regional diversity is richness
- Good regional diversity
- Istria had to be a region with special statute
- Istrian is not a nation
- Istrianity is not an identity
separatism in the 1990s [1]
regional identity [2]
regional identity more present in other regions [1]
regional identity should be accepted [1]

ISTRIANS AND ITALY [0]
italians don't say they are istrians [2]
istsians that don't feel as italians [1]
italsians declaring as istrians [1]
istsrians of italian culture and language [1]
sympathy for italy [2]

DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGE IN ISTRIA [0]
deomgraphic changes are welcome [1]

demographic influence of the working class [1]
internal migration in yugoslavia and croatia [2]
more newcomers in the 90s than in past [2]
internal migration in the last 20 years [1]
demographic change in istria [1]
heavy migrations during venice [1]
social mobility therefore migration [1]
likeability of istria [2]
better life in istria [3]
increase of croats [1]

demographic situation [2]

BIRTH OF ISTRIANITY [0]
croatian ultranationalism [1]
attacked by the red star [1]
istrianity a historical identity [1]
not a tudman's error [1]
istirians because tito liberated them [1]
istirians didn't exist [1]
interpretation of birth of istrianity [1]
birth of istrianity [1]

ISTRIAN SEPARATISM [0]
just some ideas of autonomous region istria
secession wasn't an option [1]
economic autonomy [1]
separatism [2]

MENTALITY [0]
istirians are petit souls [1]
being istrian means understand the differences [1]
sympathy for opportunists [1]
weak identity - istrian opportunism [1]
istirians mentally free because of history [1]
istirian mentality [2]

AGAINST ISTRIANITY [0]
istirians are bosnians [1]
istirian is nothing [1]
extremely against istrianity [1]
illogical istrianity [1]
being istrian is stupid [1]

RUINED ISTRIANITY [0]
istirians are disappearing [1]
deistiarianization [1]
slovenes got lost from istrianity [1]
istrianity will not succeed [1]
istrianity lost the raison d'être [1]
istrianity is ruined and bargained [1]
IDENTITY AGAINST [0]

istrianity as reaction to tuđman [1]
istrianity [4]
ista is held back [1]
istrianity - identity against [1]

NOT FEELING ISTRIAN [4]

YEARNING FOR PURITY [0]

people will always have an identity [2]
national consciousness need in extreme situations [1]
what is national consciousness? [1]
in crises people long for purity [1]
people fake multiculturalism but want precision [1]
people on the border want to be pure [2]
people with mixed identity want to be pure [1]

ITALIANITY VS. ISTRIANITY [0]

ciakavi enjoy life more [1]
difference between italian istrians and croats [1]
italians more rafinated than ciakavs [1]
italian istrians vs. croatian istrians [4]
croats and italians slight differences - all mixed [1]
croatian politics complexed istrian croats [1]
ista croats are fooling themselves [1]
ista croats want to be in a homogeneous team [1]
ciakav women more important in family than italian [1]
difference between cities and villages [2]
    difference in dressing [1]
rural croats [1]
central istria - croats [1]
different civilization not culture [1]
    economic difference [1]
religion not important for differentiation [1]
great difference between italians and croats in ISTria
poverty of croatian istrian folklore [1]
slight differences between istrian čakavs and italians [1]
difference between croats and italians in istria [2]
istorian croats and italian croats different mentality [2]
italians and slavs divided by language and culture [2]
istrian italian culture better than croat [1]
istrian croats [1]
italian over istrian [1]

CITIZENSHIP [0]
91-92-boniver [0]
difference between those from 92 and those from 06 [1]
unlogic law 91/92 [1]
national feelings for law 91/92 [1]
strange 91/92 citizenship [1]
legge boniver - war influenced law [1]
citizenship according to legge boniver [1]
more difficult to receive citizenship with 91/92 [1]
91/92 for privileged people [1]
91/92 people did it for ideals [1]
recuperation of citizenship law 91/92 [1]

MOVING TO ITALY [0]
not return to italy [1]
local istrians don't leave because it is not that bad [1]
similarities with Italy [1]
there will not be emigrations [1]
no intentions to emigrate [1]
not because of migration [2]

373
prefer italy to croatia [1]
preferred istria in Kuk than Italy [1]
prebivaliste [1]
would not live in italy again [1]
new citizens don't go to italy [1]
if younger would emigrate [1]
not thinking about emigrating in Italy [2]
new italian citizens don't move to italy [1]
would leave istria just to go in another place [1]

SIMILAR EXPERIENCES IN THE WORLD [0]

DEA [0]
croatian citizenship for study [1]
prava hrvatica [1]
error on papers as a blessing [1]
not having croatian citizenship [1]
gave up croatian citizenship - wanted to register as foreigner [1]
at the police station [1]
Markica Rebić signed paper [1]
bureaucrat kindly asking after seeing sign [1]
a proff of being a real croat [1]
similarity with zagreb [1]
disappointment with the new country [1]
similar histories in europe [2]
russian germans applying for citizenship [2]

PREVIOUS REQUESTS FOR CITIZENSHIP [0]
problems with citizenship during Yugoslavia [1]
asked for citizenship in Yugoslavia too [1]
brother asked for citizenship in the 90s [1]
couldn't get the papers in the 90s [1]
wanted to make the citizenship in the 90s [3]
italians as slavs in bureaucracy [1]
insensible bureaucracy [1]
experience with questura [1]
Questura for citizenship [1]
rejected citizenship [1]

SOVEREIGNTY [0]
presence of Italianity a menace [1]
no need to fear a disappearing community [2]

AUGMENTED CROATIAN SOVEREIGNTY [0]

italian citizenship advantage for croatia [1]
augmented sovereignty of croatia [2]
sovereignty augments [2]
happy because people ask for citizenship [1]
new italians will not be against us [2]
loyalty to croatia is a myth [1]
loyalty in not always in question [2]
out of history [1]
not a danger for croatian sovereignty [11]
diminished sovereignty with dual citizenship [1]
fidelity to a country [1]
Sovereignty is helping others [1]
italian citizenship generates better people [1]

FAMILY CITIZENSHIP STATUS [0]

KIDS [0]

kid has just the italian passport [1]
children's citizenship [1]

SPOUSES [0]

spouse's citizenship [3]
spouse not interested in citizenship [3]

PARENTS [0]

PARENTS CITIZENSHIP (1) [1]
375
parents and relatives with Italian citizenship [1]
father's Italian citizenship [4]
parents citizenship [1]
parents have citizenship from 91/92 [1]
dad already got the citizenship [1]
the only one in family holding a passport [1]
family didn't care for citizenship [1]
parents don't have citizenship [1]
father always had dual citizenship [1]
mum is not interested in citizenship [1]

GRANDPARENTS [0]
grandparents have Italian citizenship [1]
grandparents citizenship [1]

PERCEPTION OF DUAL CITIZENSHIP [0]
perception tells many more people did citizenship [1]
low number of requests [1]
waiting for low number of requests [1]
very few dual citizens [1]
not dual citizenship in the past [2]
dual citizenship is more Istrian [1]
dual citizenship - an enemy at home [1]

IF FORCED TO KEEP JUST ONE CITIZENSHIP [2]
if had to give up a citizenship [5]
pragmatism [1]
Ethnical choice [1]

INJUSTICE [0]
ENEMIES OF ITALIANITY GOT CITIZENSHIP [0]
anecdotes about injustice [1]
in past laughed at Italians but got citizenship [1]
people against Italianity get citizenship [1]

MISSED RECOGNITION OF MERRITS FOR ITALIANITY [0]
376
injustice and citizenship [2]
meritevoli didn't get the citizenship [1]
missed recognition [1]
maybe monfalconesi enemies of italy [2]
suffering for not getting the citizenship [1]
dad wanted it for national pride [1]
dad was offended because he couldn't get the citizenship [3]
born as Italians but have to die as croats [2]
somebody is blocking somewhere [1]
feeling European anyway [1]
dad embittered because non-Italians got citizenship [2]
renounced because of fake Italians [1]
born in Italy but lost the citizenship [1]
mistreated at the consulate [2]
renounced the citizenship because of problems [1]
bureaucratic problem of proving Italianity [1]
low education problem with citizenship [1]
injustice in Italian structures too [1]
great injustice for citizenship [2]
italianissimi that didn't get citizenship [1]
ci sono state tante domande respinte [1]
law 124/2006 came late [1]

ENVIOUS OTHERS [0]

good for croats citizenship in bosnia [1]
envious others for dual citizenship [3]

CLEAR BENEFITS OF CITIZENSHIP [0]

identity card instead of passport [1]
actual benefits from Italian citizenship [1]
practical benefits in travel [2]
benefits from citizenship [2]
with citizenship travelling became easy [1]
citizenship helped in studies [1]
citizenship meant no stress on the dragonja [1]
citizenship could have been handy in the past [1]
a document makes the difference [2]

THE MEANING OF CITIZENSHIP [0]
prohibited fruit not a problem anymore [2]
strong symbolic value of the passport [2]
citizenship just a piece of paper [1]
happiness because of citizenship [1]
citizenship - something that now everybody can have [1]
with citizenship living in italy even if out of italy [1]
dual citizenship a good halfway [1]
citizenship is a private thing [3]
people with dual citizenship at peace with their ethnicity [1]
citizenship - a symbolic victory [3]

SPECULATION ABOUT THE LAW 124/2006 [1]
citizenship but not territoriality [1]
the law doesn't expire [1]
pessimistic about the help to italain minority [2]
this law is not a novelty [1]
speaking about citizenship even before [1]
not knowing what's behind law 124/2006 [1]
situation can change fast [1]
impossible to change the borders [2]
law for all italians abroad not istrian [1]
124/2006 is just an addendum to existing law [1]
unanimous vote in italian parliament [1]
nostalgia [1]
for historical reasons [1]
unanimous vote for law 124/2006 [1]
more citizenship less money [1]
moral duty of Italy [2]
there's no 20k requests [4]
it's been a request [2]
it's the parliament voted it because [2]
citizenship for the people [3]
communitarian with the dual citizenship [1]
waited for EU candidacy of Croatia [2]
to mend an injustice [4]
making Italian fan club [1]
law 124/06 as a result of pressure from Italian union [2]

PROTECTING ITALIANITY [0]
ITALIANITY ON THE TERRITORY [0]
remorse for losing territory [2]

law 124/2006 for not having enemies on new territories [1]

changing the borderland identity [1]
for non-territorial pretences on the territory [1]
to show Italianity of the territory [3]

getting more citizens on this territory [1]
rekons Italians as a united entity [1]
preservation of Italian minority [1]

law as recognition to Italian minority [4]
citizenship to recognize Italianity [3]
to recuperate what is possible of Italianity [2]

GETTING VOTES [0]
more votes from the new citizens [5]

TERRITORIAL PRETENCES [0]
CONQUEST OF TERRITORY [0]

Italian citizenship connected with irredentism [1]
a roman way of conquest [1]
minority rights and citizenship a peaceful way to conquer terri [2]
anexation of istria [1]  
124/2006 to reduce sovreignty [1]  
spreading italian hegemony [1]  
openy stressing conquest causes  
countereffect [1]  
citizenship in order to conquer the territory [4]  
NO TERRITORIAL PRETENCES [0]  
no territorial pretences [13]  
pREFERRED that italy had territorial pretences  
behind [1]  
bureacracy as proof that there's nothing  
no colonization [3]  
to fullfil a quota [1]  
esuli are guilty [2]  
the right behind this law [1]  
italian pensions [2]  
tit fot tat with the croatian government [1]  
AFTER GETTING THE CITIZENSHIP [0]  
people don't know their rights and duties as italian citizens [1]  
duties of italian citizens [1]  
BETTER TREATMENT [0]  
change of attitude in the consulate [4]  
better treatment for citizenship [3]  
SYMBOLIC CHANGE [0]  
citizenship and integration [1]  
to belong to something bigger [1]  
symbolic change in life [1]  
nothing changes with citizenship [1]  
after getting the citizenship hide the passport [1]  
NATURALIZATION [0]  
returned to Yugoslavia [1]  

380
family moved to Italy because of work [1]
lost the Italian citizenship [2]
ricupero cittadinanza - before 91 [1]
not obligatory to get Yugoslav passport [1]

IUS SOLI [0]
  ius soli is very important [1]

IUS SANGUINIS [0]
  to help other people with citizenship [1]
  grandma got back citizenship [1]
    getting back citizenship in the 80s [1]
  mother had the citizenship already [1]
  rejected citizenship because husband in the military [1]
  cannot pass it because the rejected it [2]
  got citizenship but cannot pass it to children [2]
  a strange case of not getting a citizenship [1]
  Rome stopping the citizenship [1]
  nonapplicable ius sanguinis [1]
  Italian citizenship a strange case of ius sanguinis [1]
  Ius sanguinis [2]
  ius sanguinis a relic of the past [1]
  red tape with paper for ius sanguinis [2]

PROCEDURE FOR CITIZENSHIP [3]
  the entire nuclear family applied together [1]
  easier procedure on spouse's behalf [1]
    citizenship through spouse [1]
  spite of people in the embassy [1]
  place to register at AIRE [1]
  great spending for citizenship [2]
  citizenship procedure a waste of time [1]
  Rustico accepted everybody [1]
  different governments give differently the citizenship [3]
INTERMINISTERIAL COMMISSION
postponing because of Rome
on mercy of the interministerial commision
interministerial commision
opinions not matter
two kinds of people according to requests

CITIZENSHIP AND WILL
people don't give up because of red tape
ignorance for not making the citizenship
to apply for citizenship - a deed of good will

BUREAUCRACY
grandmother made me almost all the papers
bureaucracy at the consulate
sister made majority of the papers
mum made all the papers
selection of the fittest
problem with different addresses
problems in the procedure

SPELLING PROBLEMS
change of surnames
manipulation of names
misspelled names and surnames
paper problems with citizenship

METHODS OF GETTING THE ITALIAN CITIZENSHIP
DIFFERENT APPROACH
BEING RELAXED WITH CITIZENSHIP
PROVING ITALIANITY FOR CITIZENSHIP
PROVING ITALIAN CULTURE
research on italainity
italian culture as a formality
In just few words woman at consulate knew Italianity [1]

how to prove Italianity? [2]

no proof of culture at the consulate [3]

INTERVIEW WITH THE CONSUL [0]

cultural capital [1]

INTERVIEW [11]

SCHOOLING [0]

school diploma is important [2]

COMMUNITY [0]

member of the Italian community [1]

Italian community provides only with certificates [1]

very important document from comunita [4]

joined Italian community in order to get the citizenship [1]

PROVING ANCESTOR'S CITIZENSHIP [0]

did it on grandma's behalf [1]

did it on grandpa's behalf [4]

grandparents were born in Italy [1]

intimate family story [1]

ARCHIVE IN PAZIN [0]

archive searching [1]

Archive in Pazin works well [1]

burned archives [1]

SHEET OF MILITARY SERVICE [0]

Grandfather's Italian Army [1]

Easy to prove citizenship of Italian ancestors till when [1]
a personal letter to show knowledge of Italian

**COMPLEXITY OF PROCEDURE [1]**

**EASY [0]**
- no problems in the citizenship procedure [5]
- easy procedure for children [1]
- easy and opposite to everything they were ever told before [1]
- easy procedure [4]

**DIFFICULT [0]**
- Italy controls citizenship [1]
- difficult procedure [1]

**TIME [7]**

**DURATION OF THE PROCEDURE [0]**

**LONG WAITING [0]**
- elapsed time to get the notification [3]
- duration of the procedure [3]
- long waiting [6]

**SHORT WAITING [0]**
- having to do with EU speeded up the request [2]
- short time for citizenship [9]
- time to gather the documentation [1]
- lazy Italians do it in the last moment [2]
- delay in making citizenship [3]
- when did you get the citizenship [9]
- continuous but low request for certificates [3]
- two kinds of certificates [1]
- space for legislative manipulation [2]
- slight problems with kid's citizenship [1]
- citizenship made in comune di Trieste [1]
- could always get th citizenship [1]
citizenship background [1]

INDIFFERENCE Towards citizenship [1]

favorevole [2]

OTHER PEOPLES EXPERIENCE [1]

shriveled people [1]

LEARNING ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF DUAL CITIZENSHIP [1]

information about citizenship [2]

Connections for information [1]

found out through Italian community [2]

parents know active people in the comunita [1]

told by parents [1]

information about the Italian citizenship [1]

sharing info on citizenship [1]

ID document [1]

passaparola [2]

REASONS FOR CITIZENSHIP [0]

STATE AS PROVIDER [0]

  a third citizenship [1]

  the state as a provider [1]

DESERVED [0]

  legit to ask for citizenship [1]

  people here deserve that citizenship [1]

  Italian Union deserved it [1]

  we deserved this citizenship [1]

DIGNITY [0]

  regain dignity [3]

REASONS FOR NOT APPLYING FOR CITIZENSHIP [0]

  rationalization about not getting the citizenship [1]

  humiliation for citizenship [1]

  great spending for citizenship [1]

  stopped making the citizenship [3]

385
not interested in citizenship [1]
advantages with citizenship [1]
not having time for citizenship [1]
not applied for citizenship [1]

NATIONAL FEELINGS [2]
respect of culture [1]
wasn't interested in economic advantages [2]
those who felt italian before will have a stronger
proof [1]
clear identity - no need for citizenship [2]
to show to themselves they are italian [2]
  to show to belong to italian community [2]
  to confirm the choice of staying as italian [1]
  a recognition of one's identity [4]
  citizenship for being italian [3]
getting back the citizenship before the law [2]
citizenship as affective reconnection [1]
to feel like one of them even if you don't live in italy [3]
did it for national feelings [1]
italian citizenship as a family heritage [2]
  for the respect to the father [2]
regain something of yours [3]

OPPORTUNISM [0]
because I had the opportunity [1]
better treatment in italy if you are a citizen [1]
better tutela if you have italian citizenship [1]
advantages are welcome [1]
practical part of citizenship is also important [1]

ITALIANS MORE ATTRACTIVE [1]
difference of being a citizen of eu and croatia [1]
lucrative reasons for citizenship [3]
dubts about honesty of other repsondents [1]
motivation through benefits [2]
wish to go to italy [2]
people don't make citizenship for identity [1]
interest citizenship [4]
others take citizenship for interest [1]
citizenship not for opportunistic reasons [2]
PRAGMATIC REASONS [0]

reasons [1]
would take italian citizenship for practical

dual citizenship is for convenience [2]

FOR THE KIDS [0]
citizenship for the kids [2]
I did it for my daughter [2]

YOU NEVER KNOW WHEN YOU COULD

NEED IT [4]
Italian citizenship to escape from the
yugoslav atavism - a foreign

war [1]
having passort for escape [1]
because it is good to have this
citizenship [1]
citizenship as a safety pin [1]
you never know when you'll need it

[6]

SOCIAL WELFARE BENEFITS [0]
for medical assistance [2]
italian pension as reason [1]
egzistencija [3]

STUDY [2]
people who studied in italy want
citizenship more [1]
easier to get a scholarship [3]
citizenship for son's study reasons [4]

AVOIDING RED TAPE [1]
less paperwork [1]
avoiding red tape [1]
Bad experience with the permesso di soggiorno [3]
personal revanche [2]

CROSS-BORDER MOVEMENT [2]
travelling easier [9]

WORK [1]
motivation for citizenship in the 90s
in the 90s everybody wanted to go to Italy [1]
motivated because of job

opportunities [1]
fakers do it because of work

opportunities [2]
citizenship for easy working [1]
citizenship as an aid for work [2]

pragmatism - a proof [1]
practical reasons for citizenship [6]
avoiding military draft [2]
pursuit of the best for oneself [1]
citizenship is a great practical help [2]
benefits for EU citizens [1]
opportunism (1) [6]
citizenship for benefits [3]
more opportunities [1]
opportunity with an EU passport [1]
opportunists making citizenship [2]

Italians valued better than us [1]
citizenship for not to be a black sheep [1]
asked for citizenship because he heard other people doing the s [1]
citizenship not just lucrative [2]
made yugoslav citizenship for security [1]
to have a stronger passport [1]
not doing citizenship for great ideals [1]
wife convinced [1]
no threats lately [1]
no practical use [4]
to clear up the matter [1]
People who do it are not precary [1]
Desperation [2]
reason for citizenship [4]

NON-SPECULATIVE INFO ABOUT 124/2006 [0]

LEGAL FRAME [0]
because of errors somebody lost citizenship [1]
124/2006 is not time bound [2]
law frame for citizenship [1]
recognition of citizenship non concession [1]
prove italian culture [1]

LAW HIERARCHY [0]
Citizenship laws are a labyrinth [1]
juridical hierachy [1]
treaties [1]
laws [1]
applicative regulations [1]

STATISTICS [0]
official statistics for citizenship acquisition [1]
90% of requests are solved positively [1]
just 100 people got bad papers [1]
FALSE ITALIANS [0]
- there are few possibilities to get citizenship if living in ital [1]
- non-italians didn’t get the citizenship [2]
- croats got citizenship only if error [1]
- just from the file you can tell if someone is italian [1]
- it is disturbing when people come and don’t speak italian [1]

SPECULATION ABOUT WHY 124/2006 [0]
- a law to recuperate italian people after paris treaty [1]
- citizenship good deed for deprived people [2]
- speculation - bipartisan law [2]
- objective to recuperate autochtonous elements [1]

GREAT RELIEF FOR LOCAL PEOPLE [0]
- the 124/2006 reinforced the italian community [1]
- 124/2006 was a relief [1]

REASONS FOR CITIZENSHIP [0]
- tragic cases [1]
- incredible cases [1]
- factors influencing citizenship [1]
- hard times after 1947 for optant families [1]
- citizenship in order to die as italians [1]
- citizenship a sense of redemption [1]
- do it for the children [2]
- moral satisfaction for being italians [1]

PROCEDURE FOR CITIZENSHIP [0]

PROBLEMS WITH PROCEDURE [0]
- people are ill informed [1]
- many people get citizenship but never come to register [1]
- problems with paris treaty and citizenship [1]
- optants who didn’t go to italy lost italian citizenship [1]
- problematic people after 47 [1]
in same family different conditions [1]
family changes [1]
gives to husband [1]
husband Italian gives citizenship to wife who
losing citizenship after mum if son underage
[1]
if born after 15.09.47. then can get from
mother [1]
no citizenship from mother if birth before 15.09.47. [1]

COMMISSION IN ROME [0]
unpaid commission in Rome is slow [2]
final decision in Rome [1]

PROOFS OF ITALIANITY [0]
procedure of evaluation of Italianity [1]
coloquim with consul just at beginning [1]
evaluation based on colloquium [1]
evaluation based on documentation [1]
in lack of documents people wrote
life stories [1]
proof of Italianity [1]
important belonging to the Italian community
[1]
language knowledge is important [1]
ever made people write a line in
italian to prove language [1]
letters, photos to show use of Italian
language [1]
papers from the archive of the registry office [1]
in sheet of military service the language of
soldier [1]
great difficulty to find out what is Italian culture [1]
evaluating someone is really Italian [1]
School diplomas to prove Italian language [1]
if feels people are real Italian helps them with documents [2]
women could pass citizenship only if 18+ in 1948 [1]
impossible to make citizenship in 2 months [1]
dicerie about relax [1]
everything is based just on documents [2]

IUS SANGUINIS [0]

ius sanguinis is a completely different thing [1]

ius sanguinis doesn't involve culture [1]
a personal cue [1]

ascertain that a person never lost the citizenship [1]
ever lost the italian citizenship [1]

MONFALCONESI [0]

some monfalconesi cannot get ius sanguinis [1]
monfalconesi = naturalizzati [3]
monfalconesi got yugoslav citizenship [1]
problems with monfalconesi are technical not political [1]

strange case of ius sanguinis [1]

strange case of citizenship [1]

if one took another citizenship before 92 lost italian [1]

... as umbilical cord [1]

... not truncated but just lost children - the person has citizenship [1]

may be truncated - riaquisto [2]

citizenship is a delicate matter [1]

spouses often want citizenship as well [1]

SORTED CODES - TEMPORARY [0]

POLITICS OF POWER [0]

survival of the fittest [2]

ETHNICITY [0]

ethnicity is something that you live [1]

state and language [1]
croats unite culture, language, nation [1]
ethnicity as social construction [2]
IDENTITY [0]

IDENTITY [0]

COMMON ENEMY [0]
croats and italians will desappear [1]
the strong will survive [1]
worse is better [1]
multinationals don't even care for territory [1]
we'll be robbed by jewish bankers [1]
In EU the smartest will survive [1]

PREJUDICES [0]
newcomers don't have prejudice by default [1]

long lasting prejudices [1]

HISTORY [0]
interested in history [1]
I historize the story [1]
a different dialect in TS [1]
banderijalna svijest [1]
coolness of some minorities [1]
interested in genealogy [1]
many went to work in italy [1]

to survive is more important than ethnicity [1]
National pride or work? [1]

ITALIANITY [0]

ITA (1) [0]
not attached much to italy [1]
italians are not great as they were in past [1]

Yugoslavity and Italianity weren't so distant [1]
CROATNESS [0]

CRO [0]

not knowing italians [1]
bosnians different than croats culturally [1]
croats from croatia a different category [2]
In Zagreb less complexed [1]
italians should finance all not just children

from italian scho [1]
yugoslavia [1]

never adopted croatia - could adopt

CULTURE [0]

ITALIAN CULTURE [0]

Italian culture [14]
always was an ambassador of italian culture

[1]
in underground they know you are from Istria

[1]
italian culture upbringing [2]
oriented to italian culture [1]
many italians important for croatian culture

[1]
Not belonging to italian culture [1]

CITIZENSHIP [0]

CITIZENSHIP [0]

explaining the difference ius soli ius sanguinis [2]
difference citizenship-nationality [1]
citizenship vs. nationality [1]
helped getting the citizenship [1]
citizen's consciousness [1]
maybe healthier to equate citizenship and ethnicity [1]
citizenship wasn't a great change then [1]
anegdote with ancestor's citizenship and ethnicity [1]
citizenship is not a right [2]
statistics for citizenship [1]

POLITICAL VIEWS [0]

italian citizens in istria vote left and right [2]

you cannot influence the istrian italian voter [1]

confusion in replies [1]

left more brotherhood right more coolness [1]

ANTI-COMMUNISM [0]

in adolescence considered anticommunist [1]

anticommunism based on aesthetics [1]

Against EU [1]

against croatian entry in EU [1]

RIGHT [0]

center-right [1]

the necessity of the right [1]

earlier thoughts about berlusconi as positive [1]

not on the left [1]

politics of honour [1]

man of tradition [2]

LEFT [0]

against berlusconi [1]

center-left [2]

left wing politics [1]

left political affiliation [1]

NOT INTERESTED [0]

morality of not voting [1]

never voted anywhere [1]

inclined to culture not politics [1]

absolutely not interested in politics [1]

not interested in politics [1]

was a sympathizer of IDS [1]

politics without vision [1]

395
italiano medio doesn't care for politics in general [1]
authority [1]
berlusconi failed [1]
ladonja and hdz [1]
seriousness of the italian political life [1]
voting for the italian parliament [3]
information about politics [2]
no particular political affiliation [1]
politics [3]
political opinion [3]
Berlusconi [1]

father's side [1]
nationality and culture are different terms [2]
interested in results of my research [1]
explaining validity in my research [1]

BALKAN [0]
downfall of Yugoslavia a trauma [1]
yugoslavia culturally internationalist in 80s [1]
self unconscious nations need a father leader [1]
selfreferential balkan people [1]
leftists think balkans are more genuine [1]
once ethnic peculiarities were cherished [1]
symbols important for balkans [1]
queer was accepted in yugo pop culture [1]
liberal yugoslavia [1]

EXOTIC RIGHT [0]
right wing stories must be more interesting [1]
the right is exotic [1]

DIVERSITY [0]
University of Pula as a generator of diversity [1]
people change political affiliations easily [1]
story about Miro Ungar [1]
power beyond good and evil [1]
people of action change side for more action [1]
workerism and action [1]
anti-borgeois because came from the borguesie [1]
radical people became tv shows dependents [1]
like in soccer - for the winning team or heart team [1]
far right getting more votes in Europe [1]
not reading newspapers [1]
dalmatians connected to south italy [1]
the problem with the right [1]
isolated slovenians [1]
serbian-croat division in yugoslav times [1]
discomfort in answering [1]
works in an italian minority istorution [1]
good relationship with her father [1]
Recoding of the Write-Up After the First Cycle Coding

Code System [324]

JUNK CHUNKS [12]
- TYPES OF CITIZENSHIP [1]
- CITIZENSHIP TO KEEP [1]

IDENTITY [1]
- ISTRIANITY [0]
- CROATINESS [0]
- ITALIANESS - ITALIANITY [0]

CULTURE [1]

REALITY CHECK - CONSULATE FIUME [1]

CITIZENSHIP [0]

REASONS [0]
- ETHNIC PRIDE [0]
  - A PROOF OF IDENTITY [6]
  - AFFECTIVE RECONNECTION [8]
  - DIGNITY [9]
  - DESERVE IT [6]

OPPORTUNISM [0]
- PERMESSO [4]
- YOU NEVER KNOW [13]
- UNCLEAR BENEFITS [9]

BORDER CROSSING AND TRAVELING [9]

SOCIAL SECURITY BENEFITS [3]

WORK [3]

TO IMPORT GOODS [1]

SCHOOLING AND STUDY [10]

TO AVOID MILITARY DRAFT [1]

CONVINCED BY FAMILY [6]

MOVING TO ITALY [0]

398
NOT [3]
MOVE ISTRIA TO ITALY [1]
MAYBE [1]
FOR NOT APPLYING [0]
LACK OF TIME [2]
GREAT SPENDING [1]
BECAUSE OF CROATS [1]
DON'T SEE ANY BENEFIT [2]
GIVING UP FOR BUROCRATIC TROUBLES [2]

LEARNING ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY [0]
WORD-OF-MOUTH [2]
ITALIAN COMMUNITY [3]
ITALIAN UNION ORGANIZATION [1]
LA VOCE DEL POPOLO [1]

PROCEDURE [0]
DIFFICULTY [0]
EASY [12]
HARD [4]

COST OF THE PROCEDURE [1]
GETTING THE DOCUMENTS [2]

PROOF OF ITALIANITY [0]
YOU CANNOT PROVE ITALIANITY [1]
GRANDPA BEHALF [0]
PHOTOGRAPHIES [1]
MATRICULATION SHEET [4]
PARAPHERNALIA [2]

NO PROOF ASKED [3]
ITALIAN SURNAME [1]

EXTRA DOCUMENTATION [6]
SCHOOL DIPLOMAS [3]
EXTRA ACTIVITIES IN THE ITALIAN COMMUNITY [1]

399
MEMBERSHIP ITALIAN COMMUNITY [3]

HANDWRITTEN LETTERS [2]

AS A SPOUSE [2]

REGISTRATION AT AIRE [1]

FILTERING PEOPLE [0]

SPECULATION ABOUT FILTERING [4]

TWO KIND OF APPLICANTS [3]

INTERMINISTERIAL COMMISSION [1]

INTERVIEW WITH THE CONSUL [6]

IN TRIESTE [1]

DURATION [3]

PROBLEMS IN THE PROCEDURE [0]

INJUSTICE [1]

MISSPELLED SURNAMES [4]

TECHNICAL PROBLEM WITH CHILD [1]

UNCLEAR REASON FOR NEW DOCUMENTS [3]

TENSION OF APPLICANTS [1]

BENEFITS FROM CITIZENSHIP [0]

FOR STUDY ABROAD - CHILDREN [2]

NOT NEEDING THE PERMIT [1]

BORDER PASSING [6]

HAVING A PROOF OF ITALIANITY [1]

PREVIOUS REQUESTS [0]

IN THE WAR 1990S [1]

IN THE 1960S [1]

DURING THE STUDIES [1]

REJECTED BECAUSE THE WAR [1]

SPECULATION ABOUT THE LAW 124/2006 [0]

LESS SPENDING FOR ITALIAN MINORITY [1]

ITALY'S PR [1]

PRESSURE OF ITALIAN UNION [3]

400
POSSIBLE FUTURE ANEXATION [11]
GETTING VOTERS [3]
HISTORICAL REASONS [2]
DIRTY CONSCIENCE FOR LEFT ITALIANS [6]
CARE FOR ITALIANS ABROAD [14]
QUID PRO QUO [3]

AFTER GETTING IT [0]
CONCEAL THE PASSPORT [1]
START PRACTICAL USE [1]
GET BETTER TREATMENT FROM ITALIAN AUTHORITIES [3]
ACCEPTING DUTIES [2]
NOTHING CHANGES [2]

MEANING OF [0]
SYMBOLIC VICTORY [3]
SYMBOLIC RECOGNITION [3]
LOSES MEANING - EVERYBODY CAN HAVE IT [1]
PERSONAL CHOICE [1]
JUST A PAPER TO SOLVE PROBLEMS [1]
BYPASSING THE ITALIAN COMMUNITIES [1]

SOVEREIGNTY [0]
INCREASED [5]
NO INFLUENCE [14]

ENvious OTHERS [0]
JEALOUSY [2]
DOUBLE STANDARDS [1]

FAMILY CITIZENSHIP STATUS [0]
GRANDPARENTS [3]
PARENTS [12]
SYBLINGS [0]
CHILDREN [2]
SPouses [3]
SIMILAR EXPERIENCES IN THE WORLD [1]
RUSSIA-GERMANY EXPERIENCE [1]
BOSNIA-CROATIA EXPERIENCE [1]