



LA PIETRA POLICY DIALOGUES

Number 2

Newsletter

Fall 2010

Letter from the Director

This has been an important year for LPPD. We have had the pleasure of welcoming more friends and colleagues to our events and strengthening our relationships with partners at other academic institutions in the city of Florence and at our home campus in New York. Our students have also become more involved in our activities, making LPPD a real force on campus. This fall we built on our Dialogue on U.S. Politics, reuniting some of last year's panelists for an evaluation of the Obama administration's first year. Participants from both sides of the aisle and the Atlantic discussed how Obama has measured up against the high expectations that greeted his election. We introduced a Dialogue on women in collaboration with the Vital Voices Global Partnership, bringing some of the most important public sector, private sector and civil society leaders in the promotion of women from over 20 countries to La Pietra to talk about the progress that has been made and challenges that remain since the first U.N. Conference on Women in Beijing, China in 1995. The concluding International Town Hall on the Status of Women at Florence's Palazzo Vecchio opened our Dialogue to the city of Florence. A group of panelists from the working session shared their experiences and answered questions from the audience. In the Spring, the AfroEuropa: Incontri Photography Exhibition and Lecture Series enriched our Transatlantic Dialogue on Migration, exploring how photography interacts with and contributes to the debate on immigration. A collection of photographs depicting the daily life of African migrants in Italy, as well as more controversial images of migrants' voyages to Europe and forms of political mobilization, were displayed at the Biagiotti Contemporary Art Gallery in Florence. Distinguished experts from Europe and the United States continued our look at immigration with an analysis of the current direction of immigration policy in their respective countries and provided some historical context to current debate investigating the African presence in Renaissance Venice. Finally, our Ethics, Culture and Law conference brought young scholars together with some of the most eminent practitioners in the museum world from the U.S. and Europe to discuss the ownership of cultural patrimony. The strong contrast in points of view gave rise to a memorable concluding round table. In addition to our conferences, we were delighted to host a guest lecture by Professor Helge Pharo, advisor to the Nobel Committee, who gave our students an inside look at the workings of the committee and the decision to award this year's Peace Prize to President Obama. LPPD also had the pleasure of welcoming special visitors on campus: Kerry Kennedy, Robert Shrum, Marylouise Oates and Awam Ampka. We would like to thank all who contributed to this year's Dialogues for their enthusiasm and support. We continue to grow and look forward to more exciting projects in the future.

Ellyn M. Toscano

About La Pietra Policy Dialogues

NYU's La Pietra Policy Dialogues aims to make a creative contribution to contemporary public policy debate by convening conversations around some of the most vexing and urgent policy questions in the United States and Europe. The Dialogues challenge disciplinary boundaries and conventional thinking by bringing together a wide array of actors not commonly called upon to reflect on policy questions, or to sit at the same table together, including academics, politicians, business leaders, and other public intellectuals, with the ultimate goal of building a rich and diverse network across the Atlantic. ■



Ellyn M. Toscano, Executive Director NYU in Florence

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The Obama Administration: An Early Assessment



Robert Shrum, Alex Castellanos, Stephanie Cutter, and Stan Greenberg open the conference with the “Year in Review” panel

Is the love affair over? Top American and European media experts, political consultants, and scholars gathered at Villa Sassetti to reflect on the first year of the Obama administration and to analyze where the Obama administration stands in relation to the very high expectations that greeted his election on both sides of the Atlantic. The verdict was decidedly mixed, but all panelists agreed that the initial euphoria felt by many Americans and Europeans has waned and the picture of a more complicated Obama and less decisive changes in American foreign and domestic policy has come into focus.

Opening the conference, a bi-partisan panel with Robert Shrum, Stephanie Cutter, Stan Greenberg and Alex Castellanos offered an assessment of Obama’s first year in office. This year has been a “testing time” for Obama, according to Greenberg, when the expectations he generated during the election finally met the reality of governance. One of Obama’s biggest challenges was to prove that he could deliver on his campaign promises and translate the potential many saw in his candidacy into concrete achievements. This was a tall order given the climate in Washington and the many challenges Obama inherited from the previous administration.

Obama no longer had the luxury of celebrating winning what Castellanos defined as a “transformational election”. He had to show that he could obtain concrete achievements on the foreign and domestic policy fronts, especially on health care reform and new energy legislation. Cutter emphasized the impact that the legacy of 8 years of the Bush administration has had on more intangible foreign policy challenges like the diminished image of the United States abroad. ‘Hard’ foreign policy challenges in Iraq and Afghanistan, all agreed, would continue to absorb significant manpower and resources and there doesn’t seem to be a clear end in sight.

Much of the panel’s discussion centered around Obama’s handling of the economic crisis, which most believed would be a defining moment of his presidency. The assessments fell, not surprisingly, largely along partisan lines. Castellanos judged Obama’s performance on the economy so far an enormous failure. Obama has revealed himself to be the big “top down government guy” that many Republicans feared. By expanding government interventionism in the economy, Castellanos argued, Obama risks alienating the Republicans and Independents he so assiduously, and not unsuccessfully, courted during his campaign. Shrum was more optimistic about Obama’s stimulus package - “Obama’s stimulus package is the most important in the world, the economy is improving” - and thought it would turn out to be successful in the long run. Greenberg was more cautious: Democrats shouldn’t declare victory too early, he warned, because the outcome of the stimulus is unpredictable and because there is no rush; the public will be patient and will give Obama some credit for effort. First and foremost, Obama needs to prove over time that Democrats know how to manage money in order to modify longstanding public perceptions of Democrats as big government spenders.

Obama was, overall, judged rather favorably and some of the analyses were surprising. Even Castellanos recognized some of Obama’s achievements: Obama has known how to ‘turn the page’ and has attracted a new generation of young people to politics. Greenberg, on the other hand, criticized Obama for trying to do too much and for adopting an ‘elitist’ point of view, governing according to a grand master plan conceived with a small group of advisors and ineffectively communicating his vision to a larger public. This is paradoxical, the panelists pointed out, given how populist and savvy the Obama communications operation was during the campaign. Stephanie Cutter, who served as an advisor to the Obama campaign, cited the risk that Obama might stall if he waits too long to launch into big initiatives because

“politics tends to get in the way”. Over all Obama has accomplished a lot so far, but the panelists agreed that the jury is still out.

On the second panel the focus turned to foreign policy and international relations. Greenberg and Shrum were joined by Sergio Fabbrini, Professor of Political Science at the University of Trento, for a discussion of changes in U.S. foreign policy. The panel touched on some of the most difficult foreign policy challenges that Obama faces in ‘hotspots’ like Afghanistan, Iraq and Iran and on more enduring issues like the Israeli Palestinian question and transatlantic relations. The discussion underlined the complexity of Obama’s foreign policy and the numerous divisions within the administration on most key foreign policy issues.

Fabbrini expressed skepticism that Europeans would see a lot of changes in the direction of American foreign policy. So far Obama has disappointed in his failure to move far enough away from the policies of the Bush Administration. Europeans’ expectations were too high, he said, partly because they accepted rhetoric for reality, partly because they misread the man and partly because they do not understand the intricacies of the American policy-making process. Even if Obama had the good intentions most Europeans attribute to him, the weight of Congress and internal political

dynamics and divisions would make it difficult for him to translate intention into policy without entering into a long process of negotiation and bartering.

Greenberg put the discussion into a wider perspective. What we actually see in the American foreign policy debate is the confrontation between two opposing world views: democratic multilateralism and republican ‘go it alone’ unilateralism. More than a group of specific foreign policy positions, the world saw the election as a choice in ‘approach’ to foreign policy and are expecting to see big changes here. But it is more complicated than that. Though Obama may have more of an affinity than Bush for European ‘approaches’ to foreign policy, he also knows that an American president considered too close to Europe is suspect. Isolationism is still a strong current in American foreign policy circles and, in any case, Obama has to return to Congress. So the world may not see as many foreign policy changes as they had hoped. Greenberg emphasized that these are enduring arguments in American politics and are not new to the Bush-Obama era.

One thing the entire panel agreed on is that the ‘democracy promotion’ agenda of the Bush administration is dead. Shrum characterized Obama as a pragmatic who will try to advance stability over democracy, especially in Afghanistan. But Afghanistan is



NYU student Brittany Bunn asks a question



Sergio Fabbrini talks foreign policy

CONFERENCE PROGRAM

Introductory Remarks

Ellyn Toscano, Executive Director
New York University in Florence

Panel 1: The Year in Review

Moderator: Robert Shrum,
New York University
Alex Castellanos, Political media consultant,
top media adviser to Bush-Cheney '04 and
Mitt Romney '08
Stephanie Cutter, Institute of Politics,
Harvard University, Chief spokesman for the
Obama-Biden transition team and former
advisor to President Obama
Stan Greenberg, Democratic pollster and
political strategist, advisor to campaigns of
Clinton, Gore, and Kerry, co-founder of
Democracy Corps

Panel 2: A New Era in International Relations: The Challenge of Afghanistan

Moderator: Ellyn Toscano,
New York University
Sergio Fabbrini, Professor of Political
Science, specialist in transatlantic relations,
University of Trento
Stan Greenberg, Democratic pollster and
political strategist, advisor to campaigns of
Clinton, Gore, and Kerry, co-founder of
Democracy Corps
Robert Shrum, Senior Fellow, NYU Wagner
Graduate School of Public Service

Panel 3: The Media Assess the Administration

Moderator: Chris Hanretty,
European University Institute
Giuliano Da Empoli, Journalist, political
advisor, Deputy Mayor for Culture,
the City of Florence
Adam Nagourney, Chief political
correspondent, The New York Times
Leo Sisti, Journalist, L'Espresso

Concluding Round Table: What Should Obama Do Next?

Moderator: Marylouise Oates,
Author and activist



Alex Castellanos and a student continue the discussion during break



NYU students Charles Mablan, Louis-Georges Roumy, and Noelle Yeager have lunch with Adam Nagourney and Robert Shrum

not the only, and is not even the central, problem Shrum underlined. Pakistan is the real center of the war on terror and will take up even more of the administrations' energy and resources in the coming year. Fabbrini agreed that Obama has given up democracy promotion as a goal of his administration. The nation-building 'experiment' of the Bush administration proved a costly failure. American foreign policy under Obama will be forced to be more pragmatic and less ideological.

The audience raised several questions regarding the Israeli-Palestinian conflict during the question and answer session. Many comments were highly critical of the American role in the peace process. Here too the panelists agreed that Europeans' stronger public support for the Palestinians will not find an echo in the Obama Administration and it is unlikely that there will be a shift in the U.S. position on Israel. This raised an interesting question regarding American and European foreign policy cooperation. The panelists agreed that under Obama the shift that had already begun in American foreign policy's traditional orientation from Europe to Asia and the Pacific will likely continue and even accentuate under Obama. This is a possible reorientation that we see on both sides of the Atlantic, according to Fabbrini, which may have long-term repercussions for the

transatlantic relationship.

In the final panel, media experts from both sides of the Atlantic discussed the role that social media and blogs have continued to play in revolutionizing the political landscape. Greenberg likened Obama's media operation during the campaign to the Clinton campaign's war room. Obama was the first candidate in history to have truly harnessed the power of the internet, but it remains to be seen, according to the panelists, whether these new technologies will become the norm. Adam Nagourney reflected on the implications of new forms of 'reporting' for traditional political journalism, Leo Sisti underlined the particular role the media has played in Italian politics and Giuliano Da Empoli wondered if these new technologies necessarily represent an improvement?

In the concluding round table the panelists took a wider view and started to look towards the fall 2010 mid-term congressional elections. Shrum thought the Republicans oppositional stance and failure to reach out to younger voters would handicap them in the elections. Castellanos and Cutter thought it inevitable that Obama take a big hit. However, if the economy recovers and health care and energy reform succeed, Shrum countered, then Obama might very well usher in a new era of activist government. ■



The Ownership Debate

by *Lorenzo Bruscagli, student of International Relations, University of Florence*

I took away from *The Obama Administration: An Early Assessment* conference the sense that Americans (and Europeans) have exhaled a sigh of relief for the end of the Bush era. Supporters of President Obama are still riding the tidal wave of enthusiasm from the presidential campaign after his first year in office. However, as Alex Castellanos pointed out, President Obama inherited a host of issues that weigh heavily on the political debate. In order for the U.S. to move forward, Obama needs, according to Stephanie Cutter, to become progressively independent of the stigma of the Bush years and to start to “own” the issues.

What does it mean to “own” an issue? In simple terms it means to not point to the past as an excuse for present difficulties. This would be helpful for both the administration and the Republican Party: allowing the former to stand on its own two feet and releasing the latter from responsibility for current problems. But what it means at a deeper level is to take full responsibility for the issues, irrespective of the past. All panelists seemed to agree that the Obama Presidency must act authoritatively, but, I wondered, is it really responsible to ignore the past? Obama has made bipartisanship a hallmark of his political style. He has demonstrated, with his restraint during the campaign, his health care reform compromises, and the beer summit, that he tries to avoid making divisive choices. But in debates surrounding the economic crisis and the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, calling past decisions into question is, in my opinion, the responsible way to assess what has happened and, consequently, what can happen, and this is true regardless of the political consequences for a particular political party. There was a sense of urgency among Democrats on the panel that Obama needs to prove that he can stand on his own merits to voters and



Lorenzo Bruscagli taking notes during the conference

that he has not been voted in simply as a negative reaction to Bush. Paradoxically, however, he seems to have taken ‘ownership’ of issues like the Iraq War and Guantanamo, rarely if ever mentioning his predecessor, but has not been more decisive on some of his own signature issues like the repeal of “Don’t Ask Don’t Tell” and, especially, health care reform, disappointing many democrats. Stan Greenberg and Adam Nagourney both agreed that in a few years we might look back on 2009 and realize that it was one of the most active first years in history and that the administration’s accomplishments have been underestimated because there were such high expectations. The Dialogue achieved its goal of providing a complex evaluation of this past controversial year. I was most impressed by the gracious manner in which all sides discussed these delicate issues. As an Italian, I can only hope that there could be such civility in the current Italian arena as well. ■



Alex Castellanos, Marylouise Oates, Adam Nagourney, Chris Hanretty, and Leo Sisti at the concluding round table

Breakthrough: The Vital Voices Global Working Session



Alyse Nelson, Kathleen Hendrix, Muhammad Yunus, Sobini Chakraborty, Susan Davis, and Sadiqa Basiri Saleem at the Vital Voices Global Working Session (photo courtesy of Micky Wiswedel)

Breaking Through

By Alyse Nelson, President and CEO of the Vital Voices Global Partnership

This year, 2010, marks the 15th anniversary of the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women, held in Beijing, China in September 1995. It was a milestone event that caught the world's attention. For the community of 189 nations that convened and adopted the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, it was a time of commitments to advance the status of women as a means towards "equality, development and peace." For the 50,000 women who gathered there, and for millions of women and their organizations around the world, it was a transformative event. It signaled solidarity for a worldwide movement for women's empowerment and gender equality.

The women's movement is strong and its goals are attainable, yet 15 years after the Beijing Conference, the world is not on track to realize women's empowerment. In recognition of the accomplishments that have been made and the important work that has yet to be done, Vital Voices Global Partnership teamed up with New York University's Villa La Pietra to convene Breakthrough: Overcoming the Obstacles to Equality, Development and Peace, a global gathering

of international thought leaders and grassroots activists. From November 1-2, 2009, 50 international leaders from the public and private sector engaged in a dynamic working session to define the systemic challenges to women's full and equal participation in society. To act on the discussion, Vital Voices, New York University's Villa La Pietra and the dedicated group of individuals present at the working session established the La Pietra Coalition to Advance Women and the World. To date the Coalition boasts the membership of a diverse set of committed leaders from all over the world who have a wide range of knowledge and expertise to apply to these issues.

To empower women and improve our world, it will take a societal shift from indifference, vague regret and outright opposition to a sense of urgency and commitment. Empowerment must not be seen as a matter of women versus men, but as a matter of better outcomes for all. With plans to gather at NYU's Villa La Pietra again in the Fall of 2010, the coalition looks forward to taking action for equality in the months and years ahead. ■

Notes on the Global Working Session

A group of leaders in the promotion of women from more than 20 countries in government, civil society and the private sector sat around a table together to discuss the obstacles that women face in achieving true equality and ways to move the women's agenda forward. Leaders like U.S. Ambassador-at-Large for Global Women's Issues Melanne Verveer; Argentinian parliamentarian Laura Alonso; Kakenya Ntaiya, founder of the girls' school Kakenya Center for Excellence in Kenya; Maria Pacheco, General Manager and owner of Keij de Los Bosques in Guatemala; Nobel Prize winning Bangladeshi banker and economist Muhammad Yunus; Kim Azzarelli, Vice President for Corporate Engagement at Goldman Sachs; Beth Brooke, Global Vice Chair for Ernst & Young; and Mayra Buvinic from the World Bank - pooled their collective experience and brainpower to reflect on how obstacles to gender equality can be overcome and how more stakeholders can be involved in the process. Throughout the course of two days of discussion the participants agreed that there are three main 'roadblocks' to women's empowerment and began to outline some of the steps that must be taken to achieve a 'breakthrough'.

The first is the historically inferior status of women or, as Melanne Verveer called it, society's ambivalence about "the worth of a girl". Women are undervalued by the legal, social, and cultural institutions of society and are in some cases considered explicitly inferior. In many countries symptoms of women's disenfranchisement - sex-selection abortions, female genital mutilation, early marriage, domestic violence, maternal mortality and limited property and inheritance rights - deny women rights over their own bodies and a role as actors in society. The group agreed that cultural or religious extremism is to blame for some of these practices, but the definition of culture was controversial and several asserted it is too often defined using a Western frame of reference to highlight negative practices and customs in developing countries. Culture can and should, however, be used as a positive tool, especially religious culture. The links between culture and economics should also be underlined. The group agreed that new ways must be developed to use culture and cultural institutions to empower women and to create new messages for society.

The second roadblock stems from the lack of political will. Not enough people, especially people of influence, demand that government act to advance the status of women and this is necessary to put pressure on governments to enact policies and legislation and to commit resources to advance women's rights. How can we make this happen? Zainab Salbi, Founder of Women for Women International said, "Change happens when people here, at the base of the pyramid, organize and build a structure. The leadership at the top can make the commitment to make the change happen but they will lack sufficient political will to do so until there is societal acknowledgement in the middle that decides 'we need to change.'" The base of stakeholders who perceive the

empowerment of women to be to their own advantage and to the advantage of society needs to be widened to include men, private sector leaders, religious leaders, young people and the media. The message must be reframed and has to be based on a body of evidence. The media has an important role to play in reframing the public message. However, passing laws isn't enough, implementation is also a challenge and the oversight of institutions needs to be strengthened.

The third roadblock is the need for alternative economic opportunities for women. Women occupy a disproportionate share of unpaid and uncounted (or unmeasured) work. The lack of access to decent paid work leaves too many women on the margins of the economy, often in the informal economy, subject to low pay and unsafe and insecure jobs. Participants agreed that the current economic crisis is an opportunity and a possible starting point for a 'breakthrough': not only is the economic crisis universal in its reach and urgency, it is also one of the few major areas of concern where the evidence supporting women's positive impact has been building. Research shows that gender equality yields higher economic growth, a healthier and more educated population and less corruption in governance.



Jill Iscol and Kim Azzarelli (photo courtesy of Micky Wiswedel)

In the concluding sessions, the participants' attention turned to the steps that need to be taken to achieve women's empowerment and gender equality. There was a consensus: a better language needs to be developed to reframe the issues, it is necessary to bring in diverse stakeholders, to develop sustainable partnerships, and to build a broader coalition in order to make an evidence-based case for change. Finally, it is important to leverage the current economic crisis to make the connections between economic development and women's empowerment. These objectives will serve as the foundation for the creation of the La Pietra Coalition. ■



Progress and Imperatives: An International Town Hall on the Status of Women

by Cathleen Chase, NYU graduate student

A cross section of Florence gathered at Palazzo Vecchio's Salone de' Cinquecento to meet with a panel of distinguished global leaders in Florence to participate in the Vital Voices Global Working Session. The International



Kakenya Ntaiya

Town hall on the Status of Women was introduced by Mayor Matteo Renzi and moderated by veteran journalist Tina Brown.

The panelists presented themselves and their work before opening the Dialogue (in English and Italian, with simultaneous translation) to the audience. Emma Bonino, the Vice-President of the Italian Senate and longtime women's rights activist, discussed the current state of the women's movement in Italy. U.S. Ambassador-at-Large for Global

Women's Issues, Melanne Vermeer, emphasized the importance of the women's agenda today and why President Obama created a position devoted specifically to it. U.S. Ambassador-at-Large to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons, Luis CdeBaca, spoke about several recent cases. Kakenya Ntaiya, the Founder of the Kakenya Center for Excellence in Kenya, gave personal testimony about traditional female circumcision and the deal she made with her father to continue her education. Laura Alonso discussed her experience as a woman in politics in Argentina. And Nobel Peace Prize winning banker and economist and Founder of the Grameen Bank Muhammad Yunus discussed the concept of microcredit and the promise of social business in contributing to women's empowerment.

During the question and answer session the audience raised a variety of topics. Of particular interest was female genital mutilation (FGM) and how cultures that do not practice it should view it. Kakenya's testimony sparked a lively discussion about understanding or condemning practices that are viewed as harmful in foreign eyes.

The audience also asked several

questions about microcredit, or the small loans that are granted to people without a credit history in impoverished areas in order to spark entrepreneurship. Everyone agreed that these kinds of innovative solutions should be explored and implemented more widely.

Finally, panelists reflected on the great strides that have been made in women's rights over the years and agreed with Emma Bonino that these achievements cannot be taken for granted. Each generation has to work to move the agenda forward and at the same time to prevent regression.

Tina Brown concluded: although much progress has been made there is still much work to be done. ■



Tina Brown and Muhammad Yunus

Welcome to the International Town Hall on the Status of Women

by Matteo Renzi, Mayor of the City of Florence



Mayor Renzi opens the Town Hall



Florence gathers in the Salone de' Cinquecento of Palazzo Vecchio

Distinguished guests I am very honored to be here this evening and would like to give a special thanks to New York University for their partnership with the City of Florence.

I think Florence is a beautiful city and this hall is a beautiful site, full of history. Geniuses of the past lived, walked and worked here: Leonardo, Michelangelo, Brunelleschi, Machiavelli, Galileo, Dante... but if I had to choose one who had the most important impact on Florence, I wouldn't choose Leonardo, or Michelangelo, Galileo, Brunelleschi, Dante, or Machiavelli, I would choose a woman, a very important woman in the history of Florence: The "Elettrice Palatina" Anna Maria Luisa. This city is a city of the woman, and women, because the last of the Medicis, Elettrice Palatina, left the family's entire collection of art, which now decorates the Uffizi, to the sole possession of the city of Florence. It is because of Anna Maria Luisa that the vast collection of Medicean art today decorates the palaces and galleries of Florence. Without this woman Florence wouldn't be Florence, and so I am particularly pleased with the efforts we make to try to improve the situation of women today, not only in the past. Our administration, for example, is the first in history that made 50 % of the city administration composed of women. Unfortunately the mayor is a man, but nobody's perfect, I will remain a man, but the mayor will change in the future.

I am also very honored because this place is a special place, not only because of its history, but also for its future. When I think about the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, I am impressed by the speech of a woman who will always be in our hearts: Benazir Buttho. Benazir Buttho defines empowerment- the right to be independent, to be educated, to have choices in life. Empowerment is the right to have the opportunity to select a productive career, to own property, to participate in business, to flourish. In

the market place flourishing is a very important word in Florence. We must shape a world free from exploitation and the maltreatment of women, a world in which women have the opportunity to rise to the highest levels in politics, business, diplomacy and other fields of life. In Hillary Clinton's speech in Beijing we can find the expression 'to flourish', "If women are healthy and educated, their families will flourish, if women are free from violence, their families will flourish, if women have a chance to work, and earn a full and equal part in society, their families will flourish, and when families flourish, communities and the nation will flourish". I was impressed because my city is Firenze, the city of the flower. I hope that in the city of the flower, your wishes, your hopes, let me say our wishes, our hopes, may flourish.

Thank you for coming and enjoy your stay. ■



NYU studentt volunteers meet Mayor Renzi before the event

Remarks

by Ambassador Melanne Verweir, U.S. Ambassador-at-Large for Global Women's Issues

I was absolutely delighted to be hosted by the Mayor of Florence at the International Town Hall on the Status of Women at Palazzo Vecchio. We are all part of a long tradition, as the Mayor underlined, and it was a particular pleasure for me to see Senator Emma Bonino again, who continues to raise her voice and to work tirelessly to raise the voices of other women all around the world. I remember being with her more than a decade and a half ago with then first lady



Hillary Clinton when she worked to help women from the former Soviet Union take their place in a new world and to advance market economies and democracy in their countries. President Obama created the position that I hold in recognition of the fact that we cannot begin to solve the problems that our world confronts and that our country

confronts in foreign policy today -- whether those challenges are the environment and climate change, whether they have to do with the quality of governance around the world or security issues - the most dangerous places in the world for women are the most dangerous places for all of us - or whether they have to do with economics - women are the greatest drivers of economic growth and yet we have hardly tapped the potential that they represent - without focusing on empowering women. So, it was clearly in the interest of our own foreign policy to have created a position specifically devoted to this. But beyond that, we all know a simple fact: if you just think about it, the data clearly shows that no country can afford to move forward and to prosper if it leaves half its people behind. And that's what we came to Florence to think about: what has happened over the past 15 years after 189 countries adopted a platform for action in Beijing, including the United States and Italy. That platform for action was an ambitious blueprint for how women's talents and potential could be unleashed to create the kind of world all of us want to see. These issues are uniquely about women to be sure, but they are also issues that are not strictly women's issues. They are about the kind of world we all want to see. We don't think these issues should be marginalized or pushed to the side because there are more pressing issues. Because there really aren't more pressing issues. These are among the toughest issues. They are about hard power not about soft power. And so it is in the interest of all of us to ensure that what was charted back 15 years ago - women's access to education and health care, to be able to participate fully in the economies and in the politics and decision-making of

their countries, to bring their experiences to bear, and to be free from violence and have their rights protected – comes to pass. ■

(photos courtesy of Micky Wiswedel)

Remarks

by Emma Bonino, Vice President of the Italian Senate

Women's rights is an important issue in Italy because after the big movements of the 1970s and 1980s we have been living a phase, in my opinion, of cultural regression, and therefore, substantial regression. All of the data show that women in our country - in their access to the labor market, careers, the quality of salaries, etc., are the last in Europe and I think it is important to start marching again because in the meantime we have experienced the kind of cultural regression in which women are no longer actors and people, but have been given preconceived roles: either the mother of a family or other activities, and then maybe she will find some time to work.

I think this is an important step backwards and we need to react to it. That's why I think we have to start again and I think the Italian case shows that any achievement in human rights and women's rights is not forever, you have to fight every day to maintain what you have achieved. We got those rights and then we forgot them, but sooner or later we have to wake up and realize that they are not there anymore. And that is a big lesson we have to learn... If women's rights and human rights are a value and they are not for free, then like every value, you have to care for them, to monitor them, to nourish them, to, let's say, make them live, and not just take them for granted. I think that is a lesson that we have to keep in mind and I hope our young friends from everywhere in the world will keep that in mind: every achievement is not forever and will not stand alone unless you nourish it every single day. ■

(photos courtesy of Micky Wiswedel)





A student from the University of Florence speaks during the question and answer session



NYU economics major and student volunteer Mara Black speaks with Muhammad Yunus after the conference

My Experience Working the Vital Voices Events

by Mercedes Moya, NYU Student

As a work study student, I had the chance to work closely with the organizational staff that put together the Vital Voices Global Working Session and International Town Hall on the Status of Women and also served as a hostess at the events. But the best part of my job was that I was able to sit in on some of the sessions – and I learned a lot! I am a firm supporter of the United Nations and it was fascinating to attend a conference that discussed translating U.N. objectives into reality. One of the highlights of the conference was when Mohammad Yunus described how “social businesses” work. An individual can buy stocks in a company whose objective is to forward a social aim. The risk is reduced as an incentive, because when the investor wants to sell his or her portion, they receive exactly what they originally put in back. It was amazing that during a break Dr. Yunus took time to explain to me in person more about how “social businesses” work. It was one of the most gratifying experiences of my education so far to have the theory explained to me directly by the man who thought of it. It is rare to have that opportunity. The conference was a great success. There were many interesting and impressive speakers such as Tina Brown, Irshad Manji, Kakenya Ntaiya, Marylouise Oates, Robert Shrum and Amanda Ellis, among others. It was also successful because of the presence of many women who are involved in politics in their respective countries: Emma Bonino, Vice President of the Italian Senate; Ngozi Okonjo Iweala, member of the Nigerian government; Melanne Verwee, from the U.S. Department of State and Laura Alonso, Congresswoman in Argentina. I am extremely interested in world politics and seeing all these women in a position of power gathered in the same room gave me hope and confidence, not only for my potential career but especially for the future. ■



A New Kind of Feminism?

by Serena Ferente, Fellow, Villa I Tatti and Professor, King's College, London



The Vital Voices Global Partnership joined forces with NYU La Pietra to bring to an extraordinary array of personalities from government, business, journalism, the academia and many no-profit non-governmental organizations, worlds that do not often talk to each other, to Florence. The occasion was a discussion of global actions in favor of women’s welfare, in preparation for the U.N. conference of March 2010 celebrating the fifteenth anniversary of the U.N. Fourth World Conference on the Status of Women, held in Beijing in 1995. Inspiring figures, such as Nobel Prize winner Muhammad Yunus, the new U.S. Ambassador-at-Large for Global Women’s Issues Melanne Verwee, and the doyenne of magazine journalism Tina Brown, shared the table with corporate executives, politicians, diplomats, and activists from dozens of different countries.

Vital Voices’ mission is women's empowerment around the globe and the focus is especially on the promotion of female political and economic leadership. Vital Voices is now an NGO but its roots are in the Clinton White House and especially in the vision of the interconnectedness of

gender equality with global development and peace spelled out so successfully by Hillary Clinton in Beijing. Vital Voices aims to be a driving force as well as a resource for smaller organizations and individuals that operate locally and lack the means and the visibility necessary for global coordination.

The meeting itself functioned as a forum to exchange experiences of the past and ideas for the future. The issues at stake ranged from women's property rights to human trafficking, from peace-keeping to political representation; remarkable stories were told (often by the protagonists themselves) and powerful visions of the world emerged. A town hall in Florence's Salone de' Cinquecento followed the last session in front of a surprisingly large audience. Mayor Matteo Renzi gallantly explained how Florence owes its artistic patrimony's integrity to a woman's farsightedness, the last Medici duchess. The words of Kakenya Ntaiya on life in a rural village in Kenya and Senator Emma Bonino's impassioned and funny address on women in the media stirred up emotion in the assembled crowd.

What I thought was most interesting about the meeting was what it seemed to reveal about the future of feminist movements. Vital Voices' as well as many activists' approach is eminently pragmatic. The inspiration may come from Hillary Clinton's speech in Beijing "women's rights are human rights", but the idea itself of rights no longer figures prominently in the agenda. Linda Swana of the Guatemalalan foundation Proyecto de Vida said it very clearly: it is no longer a "fight", it is all about "negotiation". If the idea of women's rights doesn't move (male) hearts and minds, then activists need to appeal to economic interests. This approach may explain why the meeting did not address some thorny traditional "women's issues", including sexuality, a theme that can easily prove divisive.

The World Bank is to be credited instead for the idea of bringing women's issues to the attention of private business. The most visible result of this attitude was the presence at the table of representatives from three big corporations (Goldman Sachs, Ernst and Young, and Exxon Mobile), deeply involved in the general discussion, and willing to contribute. A substantial amount of resources – money, as well as skills and networks – can be mobilized in partnerships with big corporations, and results are already encouraging. Future campaigns are likely to focus on women's economic empowerment, as epitomized by the World Bank's slogan "investing in women is smart economics".

This represents a major shift in the objectives of women's movements around the world and may turn out to be the hallmark of feminism in the third millennium. The results already achieved in various parts of the world, particularly, but not only, with the tools of microfinance, are often convincing, sometimes exhilarating, and the global economic crisis appears as an opportunity to re-orient policies and discourses. ■

An Interview with Wanda Ferragamo

by Sara Mian-McCarthy, NYU student



One of my favorite and most memorable experiences while studying in Florence was when I and Maria, another volunteer with La Pietra Policy Dialogues, were privileged enough to interview Wanda Ferragamo, the current CEO of the Ferragamo company and the wife of the late Salvatore Ferragamo. When I was told that I would be interviewing Mrs. Ferragamo, I immediately started doing research on questions I could ask her. Through my research, I learned two very important things: one, that Mrs.

Ferragamo has been running the company almost single handedly for 40 plus years since her husband died and that she helped transform and expand it to become the company that it is today - and, two, that Mrs. Ferragamo

has kept the company a family run business, with almost all of the top positions going to daughters, sons, nieces and nephews.

Heading into the interview Maria and I knew that we wanted to discuss these two aspects of her life since we believed that she would be most interested and passionate about them. When we were waiting in the lounge of the Ferragamo world headquarters, we were so nervous that we went over what we were going to ask and our talking points about twenty times. However, right when Mrs. Ferragamo walked into the room we knew we had nothing to be nervous about. She immediately made us feel at ease. In fact, Maria and I realized we didn't need to ask any of our questions as Mrs. Ferragamo was answering all of them with her compelling stories. Mrs. Ferragamo started off the interview by telling us about how she grew up in a small little town in the south of Italy and how, when she was 18 years old, she met Salvatore Ferragamo who was by then already a well established shoe maker.

I found it interesting that Mrs. Ferragamo didn't just tell us about her early years, she also described in great detail Mr. Ferragamo's life and how he was able to grow his small business into one of the most famous and respected companies in the world. This was true throughout the whole interview. She spoke about Mr. Ferragamo with great respect

also said it had been a dream when she found out she was sitting next to Muhammad Yunus, a nobel prize winning economist who developed the concept of microcredit, at a dinner she hosted following the Vital Voices International Town Hall on the Status of Women. Mrs. Ferragamo had recently read his book about microcredit and was impressed with how his new financial policies could impact women positively, she was excited to finally meet the author in person.

Family was another aspect of Mrs. Ferragamo's life that she made clear was very important to her. As I mentioned, almost all of the head positions in the Ferragamo company are held by family members close to Mrs. Ferragamo which indicates a strong bond among this very public family. Mrs. Ferragamo could not stop shining when she spoke about her sons and daughters, grandchildren and nieces and nephews, emphasizing that family members can still work within a global company and maintain excellent relations with each other. In fact, directly after our interview, Mrs. Ferragamo was having her weekly lunch with her grandson. She told us that each week she writes a lesson for her grandson, not a homework assignment, but more of a life lesson, that she thinks her grandson would find valuable and learn from. These lessons usually consisted in what she believed were good moral values and one could clearly see a connection between the advice and smart business policies. By keeping strong ties and close familial connections through certain actions such as lunch with her grandson, Mrs. Ferragamo has been able to maintain a cohesive and successful family business since 1927.

Unfortunately the interview had to end and after speaking with Mrs. Ferragamo for a little over an hour the butler informed us that Mrs. Ferragamo's grandson was here and that it was time for lunch. With that, Maria and I thanked Mrs. Ferragamo for spending her time with two lowly college students, and in her typical humble and genuine voice she said "No, thank you. It has been a pleasure". We then departed but not before receiving an autobiography of Salvatore Ferragamo personally signed by Mrs. Ferragamo. It is now proudly on display in my room as a reminder of one of the most memorable experiences I have ever had. ■



The Ferragamo Family in a historic picture

and admiration. She also repeatedly told Maria and I that, even though men might be the head of the family and the business, women play an equally important role, especially in providing diligence and calm. It was clear that Mrs. Ferragamo supports a strong role for women in both the workplace and at home. Her daughters played an important role in the development and growth of the company. She

NOTE ON WANDA FERRAGAMO

Wanda Ferragamo, née Miletti, was born in Bonito, Italy. She was 18 years old when she married Salvatore Ferragamo, already a well-established shoemaker. Together they had 6 children. Upon her husband's death in 1960, though she had never worked in business before, she decided to honor his memory by taking the reigns of the company and carrying the business forward. She employed her 6 children in the enterprise, including her three daughters Fiamma, Giovanna and Fulvia. Supported by the company's loyal employees, the business continued to prosper. Today the Ferragamo company has more than 2,600 employees and a network of over 550 stores in Europe, Asia and America.

Wanda Ferragamo has been a true pioneer for women entrepreneurs throughout the world.

AfroEuropa: Incontri - Photography Exhibition and Lecture Series

AFROEUROPA: INCONTRI Photography Exhibition and Lecture Series

AFROEUROPA: INCONTRI Photography Exhibition

March 4 - April 30, 2010
Galleria Biagiotti - Arte Contemporanea
Curators: Awam Amkpa, Annalisa Butticci,
and Madala Hilaire
Creative Consultants : Deb Willis and Marc
Latamie
Photographers: Marco Ambrosi, Angelo
Aprile, Francesco Cocco, Matteo Danesin,
Ananias Leki, Juan Medina, Alfredo
Muñoz de Oliveira, and Aldo Sodoma
Agency: Fotogramma

AFROEUROPA: IMAGES AND
STORIES OF ENCOUNTER
Inaugural Conference with Curators
and Photographers
March 4th
Palazzo Strozzi, Sala Altana

Exhibition Opening following the
conference
Galleria Biagiotti - Arte Contemporanea

THE SECOND ANNUAL TRANSATLANTIC DIALOGUE ON MIGRATION

March 17
Villa La Pietra
Featuring: Marcelo Suárez-Orozco (NYU),
Carola Suárez-Orozco (NYU), and
Maurizio Ambrosini (University of Milan)
Moderated by Annalisa Butticci (NYU
Africana Studies/University of Padova)

VISIBLE LIVES: SUB-SAHARAN AFRICANS IN RENAISSANCE VENICE

April 26
Villa La Pietra
Lecture by Kate Lowe



Annalisa Butticci opens the curators conference in the Sala Altana of Palazzo Strozzi

The AfroEuropa: Incontri photography exhibition and lecture series brought international artists and scholars together to explore current immigration dynamics in Europe and the United States and the way art captures and communicates the immigrant experience and contributes to the public and political discourse on immigration. The curators of the exhibition and contributing photographers inaugurated the series with a round table in which each photographer talked about his or her work and some of the stories behind the photographs. From Marco Ambrosi's elegant portraits of Africans in traditional dress in European settings, to Aldo Sodoma's depictions of every day life, to the stark contrasts between public perceptions and personal identities in Leki Dago's dyptiques, the photographs captured the complexity and multi-dimensionality of the immigrant experience and challenged common representations. Recent developments in immigration in Italy and the U.S was the topic of LPPD's Second Annual Transatlantic Dialogue on Migration, with immigration experts Maurizio Ambrosini, Marcelo Suárez-Orozco, and Carola Suárez-Orozco. The Dialogue revealed the specificities of the immigrant experience on both sides of the Atlantic and historical and cultural characteristics that influence immigration policy-making. A wide discrepancy between rhetoric and reality came into focus as Ambrosini countered the 'language of invasion' that has been part of recent Italian political debate by citing data reflecting a long-standing embedded immigrant presence in the Italian labor market, Marcelo Suárez-Orozco provided surprising data on real global immigration trends and Carola Suárez-Orozco let us hear the voices of immigrant children affected by the inevitable separations that accompany the migration of many immigrant parents. Finally, Professor Kate Lowe provided some historical context to the discussion of Africans in Europe with her entertaining talk on African migrants in Venice during the Renaissance. A painting from the period depicts several black African gondoliers working the Grand Canal, evidence of the social mobility some black Africans at the time benefitted from. Professor Lowe cited other evidence of some inter-marriages and read from historical testimonies that described the life of Venice's African residents. Italy and Europe, it became clear, have long been a crossroads for Afro-European encounters. ■

AfroEuropa: Incontri - A Note from the Curators

by *Awam Ampka and Madala Hilaire, NYU and Annalisa Buttici, NYU African Studies and University of Padova*

The African presence in Europe dates back to the formation of Europe itself. The term “EuroAfrique”, aptly coined by scholars of European/African encounters, captures the range of trading, political and inter-state relations that connected the histories of the two continents from their precolonial contacts through Africa’s neocolonial present. The stories of Africans in Europe are numerous, some similar, and others flavored by particular struggles and rites of passage in specific sites. The photographers in the *AfroEuropa: Incontri* exhibition meticulously captured these odysseys of resilience and community-building in environments desperate for African labor but cautious of the African presence. Some of the protagonists portrayed in the photographs exercised the basic human right of migration in search of education, while others came to work. Some came voluntarily, others through coercion; some arrived recently, while others have been rooted in European soil for generations. As Europe entered the 21st century, these transplanted subjects have begun to write themselves physically, economically, culturally and politically into Europe as Afro-Europeans. In the

process, they transformed *EuroAfrique* into *AfroEuropa*. The exhibition presented over 60 photographs and video footage from Italy, Portugal, Spain, and France that tracked some remarkably resilient immigrants as they embark on their uncertain sojourn by air, boat or overland by truck and make their way through the rigors of European immigration control, to settle into the interstices of European society. The images were created by eminent and award-winning photographers and human rights activists from all over Europe including Francesco Cocco, Angelo Aprile, Marco Ambrosi, Matteo Danesin, Aldo Sodoma (Italy), Juan Medina (Spain), Alfredo Muñoz de Oliveira (Portugal) and Ananias Léki Dago (Côte d’Azur - France). The exhibition also included selected photos courtesy of agency Fotogramma (Milan). Focusing on southern Europe mostly, they depicted a multinational cast of Afro-Europeans from all walks of life - old and young, and male and female – negotiating their citizenship within and against multiple political and cultural spaces. Vivid, intimate, and often unexpected, the photographs portray the many ways in which Africans claim

migration and communal recreation as fundamental human rights in the face of historic prejudices. Africans migrate for many reasons. Global economic developments have exacerbated the legacies of colonialism and perpetuated African states’ neocolonial relationships with their former imperial masters.

The latest forms of migration are fueled by the flight of African peoples from economic stagnation rooted in neocolonial chaos and despair, from civil wars to redefined decolonized political spaces in their home continent, and also by the search for more affable places for self improvement or simply by the promise of better lives abroad. Migration is not, however, a uni-directional phenomenon, for it stimulates the flow of financial and cultural remittances to Africa. Africans in Europe practice many vocations. They are storekeepers and itinerant sales people, business owners and politicians, farmers and factory technicians, teachers and nurses, and pastors and community activists. Their residences in Europe further expand the diversity of their origins as they interact with other diasporic African communities and generations already here, as well as Europe’s own diverse cultures in each country. They continue to broaden and deepen the cross-cultural encounters that have made *AfroEuropa: Incontri* a key part of Europe’s own history and culture—encounters we wished to underscore as zones of contact, curiosities and exchange.

Our exhibition was conceived by New York University’s program in Africana Studies and was previously presented at New York Public Library’s Schomburg Center for Black Culture in Harlem and at the Museum for Contemporary African Diasporic Arts in Brooklyn. The opportunity to bring the work to Florence, Italy, materialized thanks to the generous and collaborative support of Biagiotti Gallery, New York University in Florence, the Sociology



Awam Ampka and Madala Hilaire

IMMIGRATION

department of the University of Padova and Fondazione Cariparo. Essential was the support of the photographers whose works make the exhibition. The exhibition owes a great deal to Africana Studies' initiative on Migration and Immigration led by Awam Ampka, the scholarship of Annalisa Buttici, the creative support and coordination of Madala Hilaire, the artistic guidance and advice of Deborah Willis and Marc Latamie, and the financial and material support of various NYU organs—Office of Global and

Multicultural Affairs, Institute of African American Affairs and NYU Humanities Institute. We want to extend our thanks to NYU La Pietra Policy Dialogues for its crucial role in showcasing New York University's diverse and interdisciplinary work on Migration, Citizenships, Cultures and Society. Finally, Carole and Mario Biagiotti offered us their space freely to share the images on display with audiences in Florence. We thank them for extending their relationship with NYU to the exhibition. ■

An Interview with Awam Ampka

What specificities of the Italian context did you have to take into consideration when moving the exhibition to Italy?

We were concerned by the fact that immigration had become a social and cultural problem in Italy and that African immigrants were portrayed exclusively as a problem, as victims. The positive cultural and economic contribution of immigrants was rarely seen. That bothered us. We felt that our role was not just to confront that victimization, but to propose a new image. We wanted to suggest that immigration is not a confrontation but is a series of 'encounters'. There are different modes of interaction than those you see portrayed in the media. We wanted to help the public develop an intimacy with the subjects of the photographs. Because there is a real lack of intimacy. And that is part of the problem.

So we focused on less threatening images - proposing safer images of people going about their business and scenes from daily life, showing how immigrants integrate into Italian society while also celebrating their home culture. But we of course didn't shy away from the more problematic aspects of immigration. So we invited some documentary photographers to compliment the portraits.

How were the photographs perceived differently in the U.S. and Italy?

The Italian exhibition was framed differently and was visually different from the U.S. exhibition. In the U.S. our focus was on 'resistance'. We were trying to communicate the message that there is no point in asking immigrants to pack up and go home because they are here to stay, thus our title for the U.S. exhibition: "They Won't Budge". There was a more militant feel to it. In Italy the focus was on 'encounters'. We used images of immigrants in their daily lives sharing their realities. It was not political. A more militant stance is considered negative, subversive in Italy. In the U.S. African migrants are part of the AfroAmerican community, which has its own history that is intimately linked to the Civil Rights movement. The historical affinity with Africa is celebrated in this community. In Italy and Europe it is not. The legacy of colonialism isn't talked about as much - it is still taboo. Our question was how can we repose the presence of Africans in Italy? How can we break free from the stereotypical and negative portrayals? These pictures are saying: can we actually see these people in their diversity, can we give them a chance to be human in their adopted homeland? ■



Photograph by Marco Ambrosi



Biagiotti Gallery



Photograph by Aldo Sodoma



Photograph by Alfredo Oliveira

Impressions from the AfroEuropa: Incontri Exhibition

by Matt Askaripour, NYU student

Little cars. That's the first thing I noticed upon my arrival in Italy. After spending over three months here I still see them everyday, but they don't stand out as much. I've sort of become immune to them in a way, accepting their existence but not as amazed by them as I was when I first encountered them. After travelling around Italy I have seen some of the most unforgettable sights that I don't think will ever fade into obscurity for me: breathtaking panoramic views from Piazza Michelangelo in Florence and from medieval towers in San Gimignano, the islands of Venice surrounded by water bluer than the clear skies of Genoa, the giants of Milan scraping the sky like the Empire State Building, and a view of the sun setting into a reddish-orange nothingness from the Tuscan countryside. Among these many wonders exists another world that is both beautiful and ugly, a world that for some is a way of life, and a world that for many means nothing more than a nuisance and intrusion upon a traditional and functional way of life. That is the world of immigrants in Europe.

Change is a funny thing. It rarely happens suddenly and because it is gradual it can usually go unnoticed for extended periods of time, slowly creeping up on those who never even saw it coming. That is what's occurring in Italy and Europe today. I only knew a little about African immigration before arriving in Italy. I had heard of riots in the south, and of the government raiding immigrant communities, but nothing from the perspective of the immigrants themselves. It wasn't until I arrived in Italy that I began to see immigration through the eyes of the African immigrants who worked and lived in Florence and other places. I remember walking towards the main railway in Florence, Stazione Santa Maria Novella, and how I was told not

to buy things from the immigrants because the products were counterfeit and I could be held accountable for breaking the law as well. This was the face of the immigrant that I expected: the foreigner who enters a new country doing whatever they can, legal or illegal, to create the foundation for a new life. I accepted this face of the immigrant because it was all I saw from the faux Louis Vuitton bags being sold by them in Venice to immigrant women prostituting themselves in the dark and damp *vicoli* of Genoa.

I was wrong and blind to the real change that was taking place. While many immigrants could be seen as second-class citizens due to the nature of their jobs as doormen and housecleaners, a



Photograph by Juan Medina

definite and visible change is taking place. A new Europe is being born from the gradual assimilation that is taking place before our eyes. Some would rather that it go unnoticed, some prefer it to stop, and there are even those who welcome it. This is a period of change. I see African-Italian couples walking in the street slowly pushing multi-colored strollers containing seeds of a new world that has yet to fully mature. I would like to say that I envision an Italy, and Europe as a whole, where there are less immigrants working as prostitutes and sidewalk sellers, but such is life. When and if immigrants become fully assimilated and are no



longer seen as second-class citizens, others will eventually take their place. I believe people should start seeing the differences among people and not neglecting them, but embracing them. Being color-blind isn't the answer, it's the problem.

All of these sentiments culminated in the inaugural conference with the editors and photographers of the *AfroEuropa: Incontri* series. I saw the struggle of immigrants fighting, and many dying, to get to Europe from Africa in makeshift boats that often ended up capsizing and drowning those who were in them. I heard the words of the photographers who got to know the immigrants through hearing their stories and attempting to perceive even a small fraction of what they went through in order to come to Europe, just to eventually become doormen, street sellers, and even prostitutes. One specific photo, by Juan Medina, stuck out to me among the unforgettable others. It was a photo of an African immigrant crawling onto a beach from the ocean, drenched in sweat and saltwater stinging his raw open flesh, while three spectators who could have been Europeans or foreigners, were sunbathing on the beach. It wasn't only a powerful image to view, but it also invoked a lot of emotion within me that better helped

me understand what it means to be an immigrant in Europe. These people aren't little cars that I'll forget about when I go back to America, nor can they easily be captured by telling others how "There are tons of immigrants everywhere in Europe who try to sell you overpriced bouquets of old flowers." These people are as significant as the view of the Duomo from the hills of Fiesole, or as substantial as Michelangelo's *David* in the Galleria dell' Accademia, due to the fact that they are as much a part of Italian and

European history as any 500-year-old monument is. The only difference is that these people are living, breathing, and constantly changing how others perceive their own world, which is also a great sight to behold. If I had to make a prediction about the future of immigrants in Italy and in Europe, the only thing that I could really say is that I envision a Europe where people expect change to occur, because change is easier to embrace when one expects it. ■

My Experience of AfroEuropa: Incontri

by Justine Chao, NYU student



As a native Southern Californian, I have grown up witnessing both the successes and the challenges posed by immigration. Yet, my own experiences as a student studying abroad in Italy coupled with the eye-opening AfroEuropa Incontri series elucidated that immigration, recognized in the U.S. as the basis of the 'American Dream', is currently evaluated in Europe as an ever growing problem that threatens the homogeneity of European societies. Capturing the arduous journeys,

personal struggles, and triumphs of African immigrants, the AfroEuropa Incontri photography exhibition aimed to educate and familiarize Europeans with this complex issue that is now becoming a larger part of their reality.

Prior to unveiling the photographs, La Pietra Policy Dialogues hosted an introduction to the exhibition in the magnificent Palazzo Strozzi. Seeking to paint the story of immigration with fresh, colors and to provoke thoughtful reflection, the photographers individually presented a series of photographs articulating the extreme dangers, tribulations, and accomplishments of Africans migrating to Europe. While overlooking the spectacular city view, each of the nine photographers presented his vision and the intentions behind the series of photographs. Using a diptych to illuminate the contrast between African immigrants in their work environments and in their homes, Aldo Sodoma shined a light on the successes of African migrants who have integrated well in European culture and also to convey the difficulties of preserving African culture in European surroundings. In contrast, Juan Medina's photos illustrated the grueling challenges of the physical migration from Africa to Europe and beautifully highlighted the painful realities endured by those attempting this perilous journey. Though they differ in their uses of black and white or color photography, Angelo Aprile, Francesco Cocco, Alfredo Muñoz Oliveira, and Matteo Danesin depicted the daily lives of AfroEuropeans in their European surroundings: standing in crowds, singing at church, engaging in prayer, and playing games in the streets. Photographing immigrants dressed in

traditional African garments sitting in European chairs, Marco Ambrosi intended to capture the pieces of African culture that immigrants have managed to preserve while in Europe. Agenzia Fotogramma, on the other hand, captured the hardships of immigrants targeted by the police as they struggle to integrate. Ananias Léki Dago employed a diptych to represent his personal struggles as an immigrant to fight prejudice and stereotypes, in particular the assumption that he is a Muslim: placing the contrasting photos of individuals in both their everyday clothes and in traditional Muslim dress, side by side, he illustrated the misconceptions and erroneous assumptions made about immigrants. In their diversity, these photographers managed to capture the complexities of AfroEuropeans as they attempt to construct lives in countries extremely different from their own. After having heard each photographer's individual interpretation of immigration and the intentions behind their photographs, we headed down to the Biagiotti Gallery to see the physical manifestation of these visions.

I never fully understood the power of photography until I laid my eyes upon the prints. The vibrant colors and compelling subject matter glistened against the white gallery walls. In the midst of this classic and intimate setting, the photographers and organizers of AfroEuropa: Incontri freely conversed with guests as they floated through the different rooms of the gallery. The unique arrangement of prints featured each photographer's work individually yet simultaneously communicated their collective didactic message about immigration. Following the exhibit's gallery opening, Mr. and Mrs. Biagiotti kindly opened their doors to the photographers and fellow organizers for a delicious home-cooked dinner and social gathering to conclude the evening in the beautiful Tuscan hills. Indulging in the array of pastas, meats, vegetables, and desserts, everyone conversed about the success of the exhibition and became further acquainted. The night came to a close with a conversation among most of the guests regarding the origins of the problems associated with immigration; the discussion reminded me of the exhibition—each person interpreted the topic differently and thus, contributed new and fresh ideas. It was the perfect end to a wonderful evening. ■

The Second Annual Transatlantic Dialogue on Migration

A group of renowned immigration experts from Italy and the U.S. came together to discuss current developments in immigration on both sides of the Atlantic. The panelists discussed some of the characteristics that distinguish immigration in the United States and Italy and analyzed the socio-economic dynamics that affect African migrant populations in particular.



Professor Maurizio Ambrosini of the University of Milan underlined the shift in both the perception and dynamics of immigration that have accompanied the transition of Italy from a country of emigration to a country of immigration over the last few decades. Since immigration began to Italy in the 1970s, it has been considered a transitory

and short-term phenomenon, without any grounding in the domestic labor market. Most thought the immigrants arriving on Italian shores were transiting towards other European countries. However, these migrants have slowly taken root in the Italian labor market and Italian society, undergoing a deeper and more permanent process of integration. The government has tried to follow these developments on the ground by formalizing immigration and integration policies that address what is a *de facto* situation. Today Italy has a highly complex and mature immigrant presence in the labor market. Clear ethnic specialization has even developed in certain economic sectors. The anti-immigrant rhetoric so prevalent in public discourse does not match reality: Immigrants are an integral part of the Italian economy and society and the Italian government, despite sometimes fueling anti-immigrant sentiment, has actually favored their presence (granting 6 amnesties in 20 years).



These developments are not specific to Italy, but are rather part of, according to Marcelo Suárez-Orozco, Professor and Co-Director of the Immigration Studies program at NYU, larger more persistent global trends that have made migration one of the main motors of the global economy and will only increase in the future. Suárez-Orozco attempted to remove the veil from the global anti-immigrant

discourse, which feeds on people's fears and assumes that immigration flows have grown, primarily to Europe and North America, in an uncontrolled and erratic manner. In fact, global migration trends have remained remarkably stable at approximately 3% of the total global population over the

last century. The main areas affected by migration are Asia and Africa, not Europe and the United States. Over the last years, Italy has joined the ranks of countries 'addicted to irregular labour', according to Suárez-Orozco. Migration flows are highly dependent on global economic integration and, as he underlined, "you can't have economic integration without labor market integration". The transformation that has taken place in the U.S., making many major American cities majority-minority areas, will likely happen over the next 50 years in Italy given current demographic trends. This reality will continue to generate the feelings of malaise that often accompany the migration experience.

Finally, Carola Suárez-Orozco, Professor and Co-Director of the Immigration Studies program at NYU, brought the discussion down to the micro-level in her talk on the psychology of migration and the family. She reminded us that we must always keep in mind the effects these global flows have on people, especially children. Migration is not just a global dynamic, and migrants are not just numbers, they are actual fathers, mothers, sons and daughters, actual families who leave behind their country of origin, most often in search of a better life. Carola Suárez-Orozco estimates that 1 billion people in the world are affected by global migration and the separations that result from it. In a study she carried out on immigrant children in the cities of Boston and San Francisco she found that up to 75% of immigrant children had been separated from at least one parent at one point or another during their migration experience. She movingly shared the experience of suffering, longing and regret, but also the resilience of these children, culled from her interviews, in their own voices.



In a vibrant closing discussion with the audience, the speakers emphasized the importance of family migration to limit the negative effects of these separations and the importance for host governments to provide a path to citizenship so that immigrants have an incentive to positively integrate into the social and cultural life of their new countries. The problem of integration too often extends to the second generation; in fact, the integration crisis is often felt most acutely there. It is critical to eliminate the negative messages that make immigrants, especially of the second generation who are most often citizens, feel unwelcome and contribute to an underlying identity crisis. Social services, more than the police, need to be a pillar of any immigration policy strategy. ■

Ethics, Culture and Law

On August 30, researchers from the European University Institute, renowned scholars and museum administrators from some of the world's most important museums gathered to discuss current developments in international law regarding cultural property and to debate the controversial question: Who owns cultural patrimony?

Art historian Bruno Santi and international legal expert Professor Francesco Francioni laid out the legal framework for the day's discussion highlighting the issues and explaining some of the complex cases of the last years, many of which remain controversial.



The panels were then divided into three sessions. The first was dedicated to landscape and highlighted recent regulations that assimilate the protection of landscape to the protection of cultural property: Amy Strecker illustrated the fundamental characteristics of the European Convention on Landscape, Emanuela Orlando outlined other European regulations, and Emanuela Ignatou Sora treated recent cases ruled on by the European Court of Human Rights. The second session focused on intangible cultural patrimony and included presentations by Lukas Lixinski and Adriana Bessa. Lixinski looked at several possible alternatives for the protection of intangible cultural heritage, including both 'hard' and 'soft' regimes and Bessa discussed the evolution of international human rights law and environmental law that protects traditional lifestyles as a cultural value and as a way to preserve nature. The third and final session treated current themes in international law surrounding the ownership rights of cultural patrimony found underwater and cultural goods that are trafficked during times of war and peace. Valentina Vadi analyzed recent cases involving sunken ships and the interaction between international investment law and the protection of cultural goods. Robert Peters analyzed the theme of the restitution of cultural goods, proposing alternative schemes of international cooperation. Alessandro Chechi and Andrzej Jakubowski discussed recent cases of the restitution of cultural objects appropriated during colonial times.

Conference Program

WELCOME

Ellyn Toscano, Executive Director, NYU in Florence

OPENING REMARKS

Cristina Acidini, Soprintendente per il Patrimonio Storico, Artistico ed Etnoantropologico e per il Polo Museale della città di Firenze

INTRODUCTION: ETHICS, CULTURE, AND LAW
Francesco Francioni, Professor, EUI - *International Law and Culture*
Bruno Santi, Art Historian - *The Legislation on Artistic Patrimony in Italy*

SESSION 1: ETHICS, CULTURE AND LANDSCAPE

Amy Strecker (Ireland), EUI - *The Protection of Landscape in International Law*
Emanuela Orlando (Italy), EUI - *Cultural Landscapes and European Law*
Emanuela Ignatou-Sora (Romania), EUI - *Environmental Law, Cultural Heritage and Landscape Protection*

SESSION 2: ETHICS, INTANGIBLE HERITAGE AND LAW

Lucas Lixinski (Brazil), EUI - *The Protection of Intangible Cultural Heritage in International Law*
Adriana A. Bessa da Costa Antunes Rodrigues (Brazil), EUI - *Lifestyle as a Manifestation of Culture: New Trends in International Law and Some Domestic Experiences*



Lucas Lixinski, Serena Padovani, Giovannangelo Camporeale, James Cuno, Robert Peters, Valentina Vadi and Angelo Tartuferi at the round table

SESSION 3: WHO OWNS CULTURE?

Valentina S. Vadi, University of Maastricht - *The Protection of Underwater Cultural Heritage in International Law: Challenges and Prospects*

Robert Peters (Germany), EUI - *Beyond Restitution: Alternative Approaches to the Return of Cultural Assets*

Andrzej Jakubowski (Poland), EUI - *Black Archaeology and Museum Policy: Ethics of International Cultural Exchange*

Alessandro Chechi (Italy), EUI - *The Return of Cultural Objects Removed in Times of Colonial Domination: The Case of the Venus of Cyrene*

KEYNOTE ADDRESS: James Cuno, Director of the Art Institute of Chicago

DISTINGUISHED REMARKS:

Angelo Tartuferi, Vice-Director of the Uffizi Gallery and Director of Palazzo Pitti's Office for the Exportation of Objects of Art and Antiquities, Florence - *The Italian Experience seen through the Activities of the Italian Export Offices*

Serena Padovani, Former Director of the Palatine Gallery, Florence - *The Circulation of Art Works: An Ancient Problem that is always Contemporary*

CONCLUDING ROUND TABLE AND Q&A

All participants and Giovannangelo Camporeale, Professor Emeritus of Etruscology and Italic Antiquities, University of Florence and Chairman of the National Institute of Etruscan and Italic Studies

The questions raised in the early morning panels by our legal experts were further brought into focus in the afternoon when an extraordinary trio of presentations by James Cuno, Director of the Art Institute of Chicago, Serena Padovani, former director of the Palatine Gallery and Angelo Tartuferi, the Vice Director of the Uffizi Gallery, outlined the issues at the heart of the question *Who owns cultural patrimony?* and raised a related question *What is the role of the museum?*

James Cuno artfully exposed what proved to be the dissenting view: art is fundamentally the product of cultural hybridization and claims of national ownership are political acts. Underlining the importance of the Greek influence on ancient Roman art, Cuno argued that even art works that are most closely associated with a national tradition have more complex origins. The free flow of cultural goods is important for the world and enriches the multicultural societies we all live in today by promoting understanding of other cultures. Serena Padovani and Angelo Tartuferi responded to Mr. Cuno's presentation. Padovani disagreed with Cuno's premise that art is by nature a multicultural hybrid, instead emphasizing the importance of the national and even local context to truly understanding and appreciating a piece of art. She defended Italian restrictions on the export of art objects and argued for the return of certain objects that are still held in foreign collections. Tartuferi forwarded a nuanced view. He challenged the idea that Italian authorities are strictly nationalistic, citing statistics that demonstrate that most requests to Italian authorities for the travel of objects of art are granted. Few art objects are considered of enough exceptional value to merit controversy and most circulation occurs outside of official channels. Providing one of the more controversial statements of the day - that countries can be divided into art producing and art consuming countries - Tartuferi helped set the stage for an explosive concluding round table in which these divergences were explored. Does the circulation of art objects contribute to international understanding and an appreciation for the universal nature of artistic pursuit, or rather does it undermine and dilute the national identity of the countries in which the objects were originally produced? Do those countries have a claim to ownership of those objects? Do museums play a role of preservation? Or are they in part culprits in the quest to obtain the most prestigious works for their collections with total disregard for their places of origin? In the end, everyone agreed that the protection of cultural goods is an international and interdisciplinary task that requires the participation of art historians, jurists and curators. Common objectives should be the prevention of the illegal trafficking of cultural goods and promotion of international cooperation in this field. ■



A question from Prof. Giovannangelo Camporeale, University of Florence



Bruno Santi, Art Historian

Encyclopedic Art Museums, Culture Property and Cosmopolitanism

by James Cuno, Director of the Art Institute of Chicago



I am a director of an encyclopedic art museum with representative examples of most of the world's visual cultures in our collections. We are dedicated to the proposition that by introducing our visitors to works of art from different cultures we are helping to dissipate ignorance and superstition about the world and to promote inquiry and tolerance of *difference* itself.

This I hold to be important, especially in metropolitan centers Chicago. For such cities are--Chicago is and always has been--cities of immigrants. Some 22 percent of Chicago's population is foreign born, which is twice the national average, and we have more than twenty-six ethnic groups of greater than 25,000 members each, with more than forty languages spoken in our city by at least 1000 people each. By introducing our visitors to artifacts of the world's diverse cultures, we are not only introducing them to cultures distant from them in time and space, but increasingly, as immigrants continue to move into our city, we are introducing Chicago residents to the historic cultures of their new neighbors.

Encyclopedic art museums are cosmopolitan institutions, dedicated to the presentation of works of art from the world's many cultures without prejudice. In this, they aspire to the condition of cosmopolitanism as

articulated by the Roman emperor, Marcus Aurelius, who famously urged his readers not to forget "the closeness of man's brotherhood with his kind; a brotherhood not of blood or human seed, but of a common intelligence," or by the 18th-century British philosopher David Hume, who saw the cosmopolite as "a creature, whose thoughts are not limited by any narrow bounds, either of place or time..." or indeed by Indian Nobel-Prize winner and nationalist Rabindranath Tagore, who in 1908 wrote in a letter to a friend, "Patriotism cannot be our final spiritual shelter; my refuge is humanity."

This is especially important in the United States, given our powerful position in the world and tendency to nationalist triumphalism and essentialist interpretations of national cultural identities. We fear pluralism even more than diversity. Despite the hundreds of languages spoken in the US, since 1981, twenty-two US states have adopted various forms of "official English legislation." What it means to be an American is still debated. Witness the continuing attacks on President Obama as not being legally our President--because it is said that he was born outside the US to an Islamic African father, when in fact he was born in Hawaii, a US state and from birth has been a US citizen. Those who disagree with President Obama's policies (or do not like the fact that someone of his race with his mixed background - and, it is said, with his "un-American name") argue that he is not really American: not *one of us*.

We may not have a Ministry of Immigration and National Identity as the French have, nor have we initiated a formal "grand debate" on our national identity, as President Sarkozy has - an idea, by the way that has apparently fizzled due to lack of public interest, the French public seeing the initiative for what it is: an attempt to divert public attention away from the President's unpopular political standing - so,

we may not have a formal platform for debates about national cultural identity, but we debate it all the time, often through surrogate issues like national health care, abortion, same-sex marriage, immigration, and the proper role of government in our lives.

The tendency to claim--and *police*--national cultural identity is a political act. It is what governments do, not what people do. And governments do this - and argue about it and legislate it - to confirm their place in power [.....]

Definitions of national culture - whether through the promotion of national cultural property laws or the control of access to information and the suppression of freedom of speech - are political acts intent on strengthening the identity of the local--the nation - as defined by government.

Now, take a case, close to home, here in Italy; a case I raise with all due respect to my Italian colleagues and all of your good work and generosity. It is a case defined by the politics of the Italian government.

Nine years ago, the U.S. government entered into an agreement with the government of Italy to restrict the import into the U.S. of antiquities that Italy claimed to be its national, cultural property. In its request to the U.S. government, the Italian government stated that "these materials are of cultural significance because they derive from cultures that developed autonomously in the region of present day Italy... [and] the cultural patrimony represented by these materials is a source of identity and esteem for the modern Italian nation."

By chance, I was in Rome on the very day the Euphronius krater was returned to the jurisdiction of the Italian state by the Metropolitan Museum. On its arrival, it was taken to the state attorney's office where it was unveiled before a gathering of press and state

officials. Then it was whisked away to the state television network, where it featured in a broadcast about the perils of illicit trafficking in cultural property. And then it was put on view in a special exhibition in the Quirinale Palace, where it joined 60 other antiquities returned by the J. Paul Getty Museum, the Museum of Fine Arts Boston, and the Princeton Art Museum.

At a press conference marking the exhibition's opening, then Italian Minister of Culture, Francesco Rutelli, declared that "The odyssey of these objects, which started with their brutal removal from the bowels of the earth, didn't end on the shelf of some American museum. With nostalgia, they have returned. These beautiful pieces have reconquered their souls." And the exhibition's brochure described the various objects on view as having "features which characterize our past and strengthen the roots of our Country" as "precious items of our national heritage."

The exhibition was shown where it was—in the Quirinale Palace—because, as the exhibition brochure declared, it is "symbolically the home of all Italians," built in the 16th century as a papal summer palace, converted in the 19th century into the official royal residence of the new kingdom of Italy, and then again in 1946 into the official residence and workplace for the President of the Italian Republic. It's hard to imagine a more nationalistic setting for the exhibition. And of course that was the point. The exhibition was a triumphant display of what the Italian government claims to be Italy's cultural heritage, the products of cultures autonomous to the region of present day Italy and defining of its national identity.

But surely it was Greek culture that produced the Euphronius krater. It was made in the 6th century BC by the Attic potter Euxitheos and the painter Euphronius and is decorated with a scene from the war between Greece and

Troy as told by Homer in the Illiad. It came to Etruria in trade at a time when much of what is now southern Italy and Sicily was a Greek colony known locally in Greek as *Megale Hellas*, or *Magna Graecia* in Latin; Greater Greece in English. Roman culture emulated earlier Greek culture. The Roman empire had assumed much of what had been the Greek empire before it: from the western coast of what is today Turkey to



Egypt and west along North Africa to the eastern coast of Spain and southern coast of France (there from Marseilles, which began as the Greek city of Massalia, to Antibes, which once was the Greek city of Antipolis). It would not be too much of an exaggeration to say that everywhere the Romans went they found evidence of Greeks having been there before them.

In a review of a new book on Rome's so-called "cultural revolution," the Harvard classicist Emma Dench wrote, somewhat uncharitably I think, that "As for Roman culture, that was a contradiction in terms: Roman art consisted almost entirely of thefts or copies of Greek masterpieces, while

Roman literature was translated, generally rather badly, from Greek classics." Romans, she said, "located themselves in relation to the Greeks" and "the dichotomy between Romans and Greeks didn't so much describe or prescribe behavior, talents or tendencies, as assign roles in the management and manipulation of power."

To claim that the cultures of the early Roman inhabitants of what is today Italy were autonomous is to distort history for the sake of contemporary politics. It serves the nationalist interest of the present Italian government at the expense of our greater understanding of past cultures.

Encyclopedic art museums work to hold the question of national cultural identity in suspension, arguing instead, by the evidence of the artifacts in their collections, that culture has never known national borders, that it has always flourished through contact with new and strange cultural manifestations, and that it has always been hybrid, mongrel, a bricolage of different cultural impressions.

Encyclopedic museums promote a comparative approach to the study of culture. They encourage what the South Asian historian David Ludden has described as a shift from the stasis of 'civilizational' histories with their boundaries, boundedness, and closures, to a more dynamic emphasis on networks of encounter and exchange. "The idea of civilization," he writes, "necessarily (if not intentionally) indices a reading back of 'present-national-sentiments' into a timeless past: it thereby prevents history from working against cultural hegemonies in the present by stultifying our analysis of mobility, context, agency, contingency and change."

This is the dynamic truth about culture, now and in the past. One object alone is enough to make this clear. This limestone capital in the Metropolitan Museum is from south Italy, Apulia,

probably Troia, and dates from the early 13th century. It includes the features of four different racial types (the one in the foreground of this image is meant to represent an African). And it reminds us of the *mélange* of cultural contacts in south Italy and Sicily during the Middle Ages. In 863, for example, a monk named Theodosius wrote of the grandeur of Palermo, describing it as “full of citizens and strangers... Blended with the Sicilians, the Greeks, the Lombards and the Jews, there are Arabs, Berbers, Persians, Tartars, Negroes, some wrapped in long robes and turbans...faces oval, square, or round, of every complexion and profile, beards and hair of every variety of color and cut.” And with all of these different people came their different cultures, and these cultures inspired new forms of cultural expression.

This is what encyclopedic museums celebrate: recognition of hybridity as the true condition of culture. Governments, and the nationalist politics they encourage through the imposition and policing of retentionist cultural property laws, propagate a false ideology of cultural essentialism and cultural purity where none exists naturally. If we are to be true to the truth about culture, and if we wish to address ignorance and superstition about the world and promote inquiry and tolerance of *difference* itself, we need to encourage broader access to the world’s cultures through an extensive program of legal trade in and/or long-term loan or lease of artifacts representative of the world’s cultural legacy. For as the Indian economic journalist Sanjay Subrahmanyam has written, “...a national culture that does

not have the confidence to declare that, like all other national cultures, it too is a hybrid, a crossroads, a mixture of elements derived from chance encounters and unforeseen consequences, can only take the path to xenophobia and cultural paranoia.” A path I think we can all agree that is littered with the tragedies of sectarian violence, ethnic cleansing, and social and racial discrimination.

In our discussion of “Ethics, Culture and Law” as it pertains to the stewardship of the world’s ancient cultural heritage, I hope we can find the time to address the consequences of the nationalization of culture. Much, I fear, hangs in the balance. ■

The Circulation of Works of Art: An Ancient Problem that is Always Contemporary

by Serena Padovani, Former Director of the Palatine Gallery



I realize that in other European countries and the United States this argument could be seen through a very different lens based on the different cultural traditions and historical conditions of each country. Here in Italy, there has always been a strong feeling that it is necessary to conserve *in loco* the country’s immense artistic patrimony and to defend it from dispersion. My presentation will, obviously, not address juridical aspects, but will rather present some historical examples of this mentality.

The history of our legislation shows

that this has been a concern as far back as the 15th century and in a more conscious way since the beginning of the 17th century. In the Papal States a prohibition dated to 1624 forbids excavating and removing marble or metal statues, figures and antiquities (it specifies that this does not only apply to Rome, but covers all ‘rivers, seas and lands’ around it). It stipulates that a punishment will be applied equally to the buyer and the seller. It also threatens “*pene etiam corporali a nostro arvitrio.*” In Tuscany in 1602, the Grand Duke Ferdinand I de’ Medici entrusted the Academy of Design with the responsibility of controlling exports, categorically prohibiting the removal of the works of the 19 most important masters of the time: Michelangelo, Raphael, Leonardo, Andrea del Sarto, Fra’ Bartolomeo, Pontorno, Bronzino, Tiziano, Correggio, Parmigianino, Filippino, Perugino, etc.

Despite the fact that the defense of artistic patrimony has long been considered an

important government responsibility, more or less legal methods have always been found to remove works of art from their places of origin. That is how members of that same papal court and the great ruling families of Rome and Florence obtained works of art for their own private collections: by removing them from the churches and religious communities where they were born.

At the end of the 17th century, in the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, a descendent with the same name as Ferdinando perhaps best represents this phenomenon. I am referring to the Grand Prince Ferdinando de’ Medici, the first son of the Grand Duke Cosimo III, who assembled an extraordinary collection of art at his apartment in Palazzo Pitti between 1690 and 1710. The paintings of the collection came from the family’s private collection and from acquisitions on the antiquarian market, especially that of Venice, as well as from requisitions of grand altar pieces from Tuscan churches.

The painting *La Madonna del baldacchino*, displayed in the Palatine Gallery of Palazzo Pitti, is a masterpiece from the early maturity of Raphael. It was painted in Florence in 1508 for the altar of the Dei family chapel in Santo Spirito. The subject is a 'Sacred Conversion', which includes four saints and four angels surrounding the throne of Mary holding baby Jesus under a circular canopy from which a cloth of honor, traditionally representing Mary's regality, hangs, opened by two angels to reveal the divine group. Under the classical apse that echoes the Pantheon, the four saints already have the power, naturalness and grandiosity of the figures that Raphael would fresco soon after in the rooms of the Vatican in Rome. Raphael was able to depict the new grandiosity of sacred representation with the human notes of fragile tenderness in baby Jesus and the intense portraiture of the Saints' heads.

This work had been kept by one of his best friends, Baldassarre Turini, in the rectory of his city, Pescia, near Pistoia. Almost two centuries later, in 1697, Ferdinando de' Medici traced the location of the painting and wanted it for his own collection. He convinced the rector of Pescia and the patron family of the Chapel to sell it to him. In addition to the payment and some favors for the rector's nephew, who was hired at court, Ferdinando had a copy of the painting made for the altar of the chapel by Pier Dandini, one of the most respected painters of the time. This copy remains in the church today.

Afraid of the reaction of the population, who evidently had heard of his plans and were opposed to it, the complex dismantling of the altar and the transport of the large painting (almost 4 meters high and 2 meters wide) was organized in the middle of the night under the supervision of one of the painters of Ferdinando's court, Domenico Gabbiani. But public protests were still vehement. An "anonymous piece of information" that expressed an unheard of violence (it is conserved in the state archives) was circulated in handwritten gazettes (I cite) "*Fu ai trascorsi giorni con*

inventata arte tolta anzi dir si può rubbata dalla Propositura di Pescia l'insigne tavola di Raffaello d'Urbino...". It speaks of a "detestable, enormous indignity" made possible by the "terrible maneuverings" of the rector, who should have tried to dissuade the Prince from his plans and instead accepted to satisfy his personal ambitions. Pescia, today, is still waiting to have its Raphael back.

I have lingered on this episode because it demonstrates how the material and spiritual value of a work of art was naturally understood by a cultivated and refined collector like the Grand Prince Ferdinando de' Medici, but it was also understood by the public, who felt outraged at its loss. Exactly like today. [...]

Now from Italy I will move to the United States. I feel I should remind everyone of the episode of the recent sale of Italian primitives by the New York Historical Society. This institution generally focuses on historical American artistic patrimony. But a few years ago it possessed one of the oldest existing collections of Italian and European paintings, collected over the course of the 19th century through the donations of important collectors, in particular, Louis Durr, and, especially, Thomas Jefferson Bryan, who gave his entire collection, created during trips to Europe, in 1867. Motivated by the need to raise funds to make the institution more modern and attractive to the public, the Society began selling pieces of the collection without warning in 1970. A painted birth tray representing the birth of John the Baptist on the front and, on the back, an infant peeing silver and gold, was sold to the Metropolitan Museum of Art of New York and a Crucifixion by Andrea Mantegna was sold and the location is unknown. [...] It will certainly reemerge on the antiquarian market and maybe one day it can be studied and evaluated as it deserves to be. But it is a real shame that such an important work of such high quality is no longer held by the New York Historical Society. Why destroy this chapter in the history

of American collectionism? Why not conserve it intact as it arrived, at a time when it documented the taste and choices of 19th century American men of culture? [...] I hope I am wrong, and I would like to be proven wrong, but it seems to me that these sales didn't raise even a hint of protest.

There are many ancient and recent examples of the complex and varied case history of the exportation of works of art. I think it is desirable that a specific and common legislation is promoted to regulate the circulation of works of art throughout the world. In any case, the question should be raised, as it has been in this conference, by museum officials in collaboration with experts in international law.

From James Cuno's book *Who Owns Antiquity* I have taken away the principle according to which a work of art, even if it is illegally (or not entirely legally) taken from its original territory, is better off in a public museum than in the obscurity of the market. This idea has an illustrious precedent in the affirmation of the Grand Prince Ferdinando de' Medici (circa 1700) according to whom the grand altar piece by Raphael which he obtained through much effort from reticent priests and monks, were better off in the rooms of his Pitti Palace than in the humid and smoky rooms of its church of origin. But all of us, Italians and non-Italians, have felt the emotion of discovering a Romanic Church in the Tuscan countryside. Inside those walls of stone, those inorganic articulations, the powerful bell tower, the double lancet window projecting over the doors on the simplicity of the façade, there is a poetic power that needs no explanation. If we think that a church like that was the jewel case for paintings and sculptures created throughout the centuries for its altars, when we see these same works of art on the walls of a National Gallery in some part of the world, we have to admit that it's no longer the same thing. ■

Some Observations on the Problem of the Restitution of Works of Art

by Angelo Tartuferi, Director Exports Office of the Uffizi Gallery

The Italian Export Offices of Antiquities and Art are among the most important instruments for the protection of cultural goods in Italy, a country that is considered to have one of the most restrictive regulatory regimes in the world. Despite strict control over the exit of works of art from national territory - according to Italian law every cultural object that is more than 500 years old must be examined and evaluated by a scientific commission composed of three historians of art - the presumed severity of Italians in defending their cultural patrimony is, in reality, extremely flexible if we look at the available objective data. In 2007 5,300 requests to obtain a certificate for free circulation, which allows a work of art to leave the national territory, were presented to the Exports Office. There were only 59 negative responses, that is, a little over 1% of all requests. In previous years there were even fewer: only 21 in 2006 (or 0.42%) and 29 in 2005 (0.56%). The quantity of objects of artistic interest that pass through the Exports Office, however, is quite modest with respect to the real movement of the market and only in rare cases are the cultural goods at issue considered belonging to a level of excellence and historical and artistic importance that attracts controversy. Most works of art leave the country through clandestine channels. The complaints that I have heard my antiquarian and art dealer friends (some Italian but many English - London is the center of the international art market) repeat so many times that Italian authorities block circulation and are an obstacle to the international art market are frankly laughable.

The abolition of European borders has made it almost impossible to exercise a real control over the circulation of cultural objects. According to UNESCO the illegal trafficking of art objects in Italy generates about 110 million Euros a year. And this is despite the fact that the Italian Police's Cultural Patrimony task force - one of the most specialized in the world - has managed to pretty successfully combat it. The Italian Police have the largest archive in the world of stolen works, including more than 2,600,000 objects, which is certainly even vaster if you consider unreported or unknown cases. Most of the objects are archeological (35%), followed by antiques (20%), paintings (15%), ecclesiastical decoration (13%), coins (7%) and finally sculptures and other objects (5%). The efforts of the Italian police are, unfortunately, not adequately supported by international cooperation, for example by auction houses, especially regarding the traceability of the works of art that are placed on the international market. Strong collaboration among important museum institutions also needs to be enhanced today. I know it is taken for granted, but we must be absolutely convinced of our partners' commitment to move beyond our disappointment over certain historical 'robberies'. I use such a strong term with irony: how could we pardon our French 'neighbors' for 'robbing' us of Cimabue's *Maestà*, or a *pala* of Giotto representing *Stimmiato di San Francesco e tre storie della sua vita*, which were taken from the church of San



Francesco in Pisa and brought to Paris by Napoleon's army? Not only should we, and can we, forgive them, but, according to me, we should also do so with a smile. History is neither beautiful nor ugly. It is unthinkable, even in hypothetical terms, to try to pursue the impossible restitution of works of art from the far corners of the world and in the most disparate situations. The first to include works of art in war bounty were the Emperors

of ancient Rome, the ancestors of those Napoleonic troops, as well as Nazi troops.

Personally, to be perfectly coherent, I wouldn't have trouble considering the trafficking of the Second World War definitively archived in history. But there are other more recent and controversial cases of illegal exportation that I don't think should be archived. I completely agree with what our Minister of Culture, Francesco Rutelli, said in mid-July 2007 regarding the *Atleta di Fano*, an ancient Greek sculpture found in the Adriatic Sea in 1964: "From the moment that the bronze was brought aboard an Italian fishing boat and disembarked in an Italian port, it automatically became part of the legislation of our country, which condemns the clandestine exportation of works of art. It is not only a moral obligation for the J. Paul Getty Museum to return the work to Italy, it is required under international law. Combating the trafficking of art works is a question of civilization for which I will fight to the end."

In an essay "Sulla conservazione dei monumenti e degli oggetti d'arte", published in the *Rivista dei Comuni Italiani* in 1863, Giovan Battista Cavalcaselle, one of the founding fathers of modern art history, protests with all the passion of a man of the Italian Risorgimento against the governments immediately following Italian unity whose lack of interest and liberal mindset allowed the sacking of our artistic patrimony for decades. Those who benefitted from exporting works of art justified it by saying that "Italy has too many, and now the whole world is like a family, and other similar things". I am almost tempted to use the same words to respond to certain recent theories that maintain that we shouldn't worry too much about the illegal origins of the works of art on

the international market, in total disregard for international law. This kind of behavior is even considered noble and edifying because it would mean that certain masterpieces are saved from the obscurity of the market and would instead inevitably end up in the grand encyclopedic museums, which are able to bring together the greatest expressions of the worlds' civilizations at any expense and effort. These great world museums would be, naturally, always the same and would end up creating a pretty refined and exclusive club. And to think that one of the most beautiful and inspiring things about Italy is precisely the small museums that dot the countryside where it is possible admire the incredible artistic culture of the surrounding territory that, in the best cases, covers a period that ranges from antiquity to the late baroque period. To say that antiquity belongs to all of humanity is an idea that, theoretically, one can share. But at the juridical, political and economic level, it also means that antiquity belongs to everyone and to no one. In fact, it actually means that the past belongs first and foremost to whoever has more money and more economic or military power, or simply to who arrives first to take it. This position is hard to support. Its hard to ignore that there is a tendency to dominate the international market of ancient art to one's own advantage, hiding behind affirmations of an absolute unbridled liberalism which dismisses the presumed interests of the states that the art works originate in as restrictive and inspired by an obtuse nationalism.

While we know that globalization is unstoppable, we also have to recognize that the valorization of the cultural specificity of each country is also healthy and necessary to

cultivate and transmit the identity of a people and nation in a globalized world. One of the most important specificities of the populations the have inhabited the Italian peninsula from time immemorial is certainly to be found in artistic production and in the complex and articulated relationship that has developed to it.

As always happens in every controversy, the most precise definition possible of each point of view is useful to better understand it. In this case, the contrast can only be understood as a contrast between producing countries (Turkey, Syria, Greece, Egypt, Italy, Spain, etc.) and consuming countries (France, Japan, England, the United States, etc.)

In short, to conclude with the irony I like so much and think is indispensable in every cultural dispute, I believe that the crux of the problem is the fact that attic vases with black or red figures, porphyry sculptures, cinereous urns, and the great bronzes of antiquity happened to emerge, in most cases, from the waters of the Mediterranean and the countryside or desert zones of the countries that border it rather than the prairies of North America. ■



Professor Bruce Edelstein of NYU in Florence chairs the panel "Who Owns Culture?"

Volunteering for the Ethics, Law, and Culture Conference

by Sara Mian-McCarthy, NYU student

When reviewing upcoming events with the La Pietra Policy Dialogues staff, my eyes instantly jumped to the conference with the title Ethics, Culture, and Law. The conference's discussion of whether countries have an unalienable right to their own cultural heritage, both tangible and intangible, and how one should protect these rights was interesting to me. Many people have very strong and different opinions on this issue and I was eager to see what all of the panelists had to say.

The Ethics, Law, and Culture conference welcomed many renowned professors and intellectuals from the art world such as James Cuno (the Director of the Art Institute in Chicago), Angelo Tartuferi (the Vice-Director of the Uffizi Gallery), Giovannangelo Camporeale (Emeritus Professor of Etruscology at the University of Florence), and many distinguished Ph.D. candidates and professors from the European University Institute. After a brief meet and greet consisting in some much needed coffee and breakfast, the conference got under way.

The morning discussion revolved around landscape and how countries can protect this unique cultural heritage. In the presentations, I learned how we need to have a holistic landscape management approach which means we should view landscape as one large unit instead of individual sub parts. The next session discussed the rights to intangible heritage, which is something that may be the hardest to define. Because there is no physical object, it is hard to identify what aspects of culture, such as language, belong to which countries. While there was much stimulating discussion, we soon had to break for lunch and when we returned the conference really started to get interesting.

The afternoon sessions started off with the discussion of whether countries have the right to keep their cultural artifacts, or if it is acceptable for other countries to display antiquities that are not their own. This has been fiercely debated for many years through many cases, most notably the Greek Elgin Marbles which are housed in the British Museum. While almost all of the speakers agreed that a country should have the right to house their cultural artifacts, there was one noted exception. James Cuno seemed to provide the only opposition to this argument, which served as an interesting counterpoint to the other panelists. Cuno believed that having art in different settings, museums, and countries, provides more people with an opportunity not just to see it, but to come to their own conclusion about what it means. I think that this difference in ideas could stem from the different countries that the panelists came from. Cuno is from the United States, which although it has much culture, may not feel as nationalistic and protective when it comes to American art as other European countries do. For me, this was the most interesting part of the whole conference; seeing the panelists discuss with such passion

their opinions on a subject that is pertinent in the world today. And then it clicked, this is why I studied abroad and this is why volunteering with La Pietra Policy Dialogues was the best thing I could have done. Where else would I be able to see world renowned historians and scholars discussing art with such a passion and vigor? Only in Florence. ■



Federico Frediani intervenes during the discussions



Reporting from Tehran

A Round Table organized with the Comune di Firenze
March 25 - Sala Altana, Palazzo Strozzi

Mayor Matteo Renzi opened the 'Reporting from Tehran' round table at Palazzo Strozzi on March 5. Journalists Serge Michel (*Le Monde*) and Roger Cohen (*New York Times*), award winning photographer Paolo Woods and Iran expert Olivier Roy (*European University Institute*) debated the implications of the Green Revolution in Iran, what actually happened, the role that social media and 'citizen journalism' played in the crisis, and what it suggests about the trajectory of Iranian politics. An eye witness account of the crisis was narrated through the photographs of Paolo Woods, who provided one of the only sources of visual information from inside Iran. The closing discussion moderated by Florence's Deputy Mayor for Culture Giuliano Da Empoli revealed very different appraisals of the situation, from Olivier Roy's pessimistic dismissal of the Green Revolution to Roger Cohen's more hopeful sense that the world was finally watching the stirrings of a real democratic movement.



The Nobel Peace Prize in History: Purpose, Principles and Politics

Helge Pharo, Professor at the University of Oslo and Advisor to the Nobel Committee
March 24 - Villa la Pietra

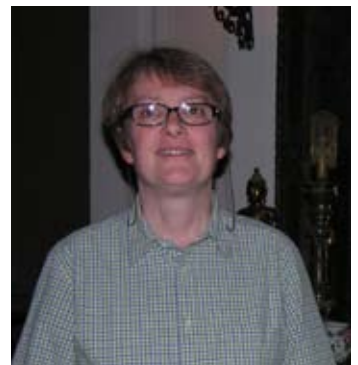
Professor Pharo, a long standing advisor to the Nobel Committee, offered a unique insight into the inner workings of the committee from the selection of committee members and advisors to the formal procedure leading to the selection of the Prize laureate. Pharo also situated the committee's work within an international and Norwegian political context, outlining Alfred Nobel's intentions when establishing the Prize, the evolutions it has undergone over time and the complex political and cultural dynamics that surround it. Up to World War II, the prize was primarily awarded to reward past efforts. Over the years the committee has modified the criteria for awarding the prize, extending its scope and using it to influence ongoing international conflicts and processes. The lecture addressed the role of Norwegian and international public opinion and attempts to externally influence the process and also touched on the controversy raised by the awarding of the 2010 Prize to American President Barack Obama, which reactivated the recurring debate over the Prize criteria.



Africans in Renaissance Italy

Kate Lowe, Professor Renaissance History and Culture at Queen Mary, University of London
April 26 - Villa la Pietra

Professor Lowe used the representation of black Africans in Venetian painting in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries as a starting point for her discussion of the presence of Africans in Renaissance Venice with particular attention to their social position. By examining African slaves' transition to freedom and the roles they came to play in Venetian society, Professor Lowe suggests that a new model for understanding slavery during the Renaissance is necessary.



LPPD EVENTS 2010-2011

A Dialogue with Sandra Day O'Connor, Retired Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court

September 13

Sandra Day O'Connor, the first woman appointed to the U.S. Supreme Court, will join us for a dialogue with students.

A Dialogue on U.S. - E.U. Relations and Common Foreign Policy Challenges

The Woodrow Wilson Center for International Scholars European Alumni Meeting
September 24-25

New York University La Pietra Policy Dialogues, the Woodrow Wilson Center for International Scholars in Washington D.C., and the University of Florence will convene a series of panels to discuss critical issues affecting transatlantic relations, including: The Obama Administration & Europe, Transatlantic Approaches to the Global Economic Crisis, A Nuclear Iran, The Afganistan-Pakistan Problem, and The Russia Factor.

Tuscany and the United States: Cooperating for a Cleaner Tomorrow

October 6-7

The Italian Foreign Trade Office, U.S. Consulate in Florence and NYU La Pietra Policy Dialogues will host a cross section of Tuscan and American experts and entrepreneurs to discuss policies and strategies to develop the sector of renewable energies and to increase commercial and scientific collaboration between Tuscany and the U.S. Hon. U.S. Ambassador David Thorne will open the conference.

The La Pietra Coalition to Advance Women and the World

Global Working Session October 10-11

International Town Hall on the Status of Women October 11

Global leaders in the promotion of women will meet at La Pietra to discuss some of the main challenges to the advancement of women in the world, including the status



LPPD EVENTS 2010-2011

of women, political will and economic opportunities. The meeting will culminate in an International Town Hall on the Status of Women where members of the public will engage with our distinguished panelists.

A Film Screening with Charles Annenberg

November 15

Charles Annenberg will show his short documentary films *Rescue Foundation* and *Raindrops over Rwanda* followed by a discussion with students.

Politics 2010: America and the World

November 16-17

Top American and European political analysts, media experts, and scholars will meet at La Pietra to discuss the results of the U.S. mid-term elections and their impact on political dynamics in the U.S. and the world. Former Prime Minister Gordon Brown will keynote the conference.

A Dialogue with Romano Prodi

December 6

Romano Prodi will discuss his take on contemporary European Institutions with University of Florence and NYU students.

The Third Annual Transatlantic Dialogue on Migration: Identities

January - May 2011

La Pietra Policy Dialogues will explore the way African subjects represent themselves and their multiple identities and histories through art.

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