CHARLES UNIVERSITY IN PRAGUE
Faculty of Humanities

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Madri Costituenti: the Construction of Memory and Gendered Representation in the Public Space of the "Founding Mothers" of Italian post-WWII Constitution

Master's Thesis

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Statement

I hereby declare that I have written this diploma thesis solely by myself and I agree with its eventual publication in print or electronic form. All sources and literature have been properly cited. This work has not been used to obtain a different or the same degree.

Prague, January 4th, 2025 Mariangela Bozzoni

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Introduction

Women as social actors who co-shaped the past and attained notable achievements are underrepresented in the memorial landscape across Europe, including Italy, which will be the focus of my thesis. Notable Italian women from the past are almost unrecognised in monumental form (such as statues); instead, most of the time, it is relatively easy to find memorials representing generally working women or statues that represent Madonnas or *Italia Turrita*. When walking in the streets of Italian cities, it is easy to see a marked lack of commemorative representation and an utter absence of real women who played a significant role in the history of Italy (in contrast to the allegorical usage of women). When I talk about women who played a significant role in the country's history, I refer here, in particular, to the women who shaped the country's history. Some of the leading examples of these women can be found among the so-called *Madri Costituenti*, the Italian women who participated in writing the Italian Constitution after World War II. Recently, the so-called statue wars over the presence and removals of memorial representations of past figures (typically male statues) in the Anglophone world have drawn attention to the question of who deserves prominent places in the public space. Even more recently, the artist and activist Josephine Baker was inducted into the French Panthéon of National Heroes. This migrant, a woman of colour and a member of the anti-Nazi resistance movement was thus honoured and formally adopted in the French official collective memory.

These developments and discussions inspired and nourished my thinking about the place of Italian women in collective memory and public space. I will try to use them when examining Italian memoryscapes and their historical contexts.

To explore the construction of memory and gendered representations of early

women parliamentarians in the Italian public spaces, this thesis will focus on one particular group of women: the so-called Founding Mothers or *Madri Costituenti* (which is an established term for early Italian women parliamentarians). While much has been written about the men who signed and framed the Italian Constitution and fought in the First and Second World Wars, less consideration has been historically given to Italian women: the long marginalisation of women in the historical narratives and in the public and political spheres, has started to take a different turn with the introduction of the universal suffrage in 1946 when the right to vote was also granted to Italian women and the institutional referendum legitimated the political elections of the Constituent Assembly, the legislative body in charge of writing the Italian Constitution.

The Constitution was of fundamental importance not only because it affirms equality "without distinction of sex" (*Costituzione della Repubblica Italiana*, 1948) [Constitution of Italy, 1948], in its essential Article 3, but from the outset, it contains rules expressly aimed at guaranteeing foremost equal opportunities for both men and women also in electoral processes like explicitly stated in its Articles 48 and 51 (*Costituzione della Repubblica Italiana*, 1948) [Constitution of Italy, 1948]. By providing a gender perspective of historiography and literature on Italian women who have fought for their autonomy and independence throughout history and underlining the way they organised themselves as feminists in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, during the interwar period, I will try to explain and cast light on possible reasons why there has been a lack of commemoration of women, specifically in the public spaces and in the form of monuments and statues.

The lack of commemoration of the generation of early Italian parliamentarian women, the *Madri Costituenti*, and the long period of amnesia when these women were

neglected have created a certain void. As a consequence, these early women parliamentarians, architects of present-day Italy, were long absent both in the public consciousness and public space. No statues or commemorative plaques are visible in Italian cities. The commemoration of 'Founding Mothers' has been almost impossible to trace in the squares, parks, or streets in the last decades. Only recently, thanks to some independent groups and movements of women, some streets have been dedicated to these women who contributed to shaping the Constitution and the history of the country, while copious statues, plaques, streets, busts and monuments to men can be found virtually in every Italian city.

According to Bellentani and Panico (2016), "monuments have been considered as built forms erected to commemorate the events and the individuals that are significant for a group or for a community." (Bellentani & Panico, 2016, p.30)

I will consider this statement helpful to underline the importance of the aim of my thesis because if monuments were erected in the past to commemorate events and individuals who were perceived as relevant or significant to a community, the reason for the lack of historical commemoration of women needs to be researched in the political historical reasons by underline that the political power detained by male characters during the history, and with a focus in the context of political Fascism regime changes, was one of the main reasons of the missing consideration of women to be recognised in the public landscape. With the building of statues mainly to men (and singling them out as relevant), it can be noted that the notable Italian women, specifically the early women parliamentarians and architects of present-day Italy, were denied (and still are) formal social recognition for their contribution to shaping the nation's political framework.

One of the leading examples of this gendered building is the so-called *Arco dei*

Padri Costituenti, the arch of the Fathers Constituent, erected in one of the main squares in Tivoli, a city near Rome. In communicative terms, the name of this building underlines once again a resolute failure to promote gender inclusivity in the historical commemoration of female contributors to the Italian Constitution. The decision to name the building Arch of the Fathers Constituent rather than, for example, Arch of Fathers and Mothers Constituent is a good example of the persistent omission of appropriate recognition for women who played a determinant function in drafting the Italian constitutional charter. This choice reinforces a narrative that continues to marginalise the contributions of women nowadays. However, this is just one example related to the lack of consideration of female actors in the historical narrative and the lack of representation of women in the Italian urban memoryscapes.

Political heritage history provides other typical examples of how history has utilised monuments and toponyms to assert authority and shape collective memory. Sometimes, these monuments also survive for practical reasons, such as because it could be challenging to remove them or reinterpret them. On a broader scale, the transitions between political ideologies, like the advent of the Nazis and, in terms of comparison, the Communist regimes, have also been accompanied by extended changes in the monument landscape. For instance, in Central Europe, the Communist regime renamed streets and squares after Communist figures and the removal of monuments associated with previous regimes. (Ochman, 2024, pp. 68–90)

"The end of Soviet domination of Eastern Europe physically manifested itself in the de-communization of public space, that is, in the renaming of streets and removal of monuments commemorating histories and ideologies of the communist era." (Ochman, 2024, p.69)

Dismantling authoritarian regimes favouring democracy or a new form of

government involves rethinking history and evaluating what and who deserves to be remembered. The reinstatement of pre-existing toponyms and the erection of new monuments, plaques and a change in historical narratives can also occur, as recently happened in Colorado, United States, where the Cristopher Columbus Day has been replaced and dedicated to the celebration of Mother Cabrini, the nun patron saint of emigrants who founded schools, orphanages and became the first American Saint in 1946. (Ebrahimji, 2020)

Another interesting example of this change in the historical narrative is the case of Bolzano, a city of frontier subjected to many cultural changes and linguistic influences. Here the main fascist monuments, like the *Monumento alla Vittoria* and a fascist bas-relief of Piffrader, were reinterpreted: some architectural interventions and projects to modify these constructions adopted innovative solutions, not to remove the monument, but to transform it, e.g. on the bas-relief of Piffrader, Hannah Arendt's phrase was placed in contrast to the fascist slogan engraved on it (Di Michele, 2020).
These examples illustrate that, across various regions of the world and throughout history, memoryscape has drown significant attention, particularly concerning the reimaging of public space and commemoration of those who deserved to be remembered. Nevertheless, a notable absence of reflection exists on women's inclusion through the possibility of allocating public recognition to them within the public sphere.

Historically, the removal of statues and shift in historical narratives have rarely incited the opportunity to allow women to be visible, even in periods of revision and reinterpretation of memoryscape. Some scholars who delve into this topic are Kong and Law (2002), who offer a broad perspective on the relationship between landscapes, memory, and political power also in countries like Asia. Also, if not explicitly focused on building or dismantling monuments during political transitions, Lily Kong and Lisa

Law (2002) explore the significance and implications of the role of the landscapes and how those in power manipulate these. They provide valuable examples for understanding the symbolic dimensions of monument removal and creation (Kong & Law, 2002, pp. 1503-1512). These scholars wrote about the changes in toponyms and monuments that have historically reflected and reinforced power dynamics that marginalised certain groups and helped enlarge the discussion.

I will consider this a starting point to emphasise the lack of commemorating marginalised figures as women in the public space. This historical exclusion of women from political spheres and positions of power has resulted in their underrepresentation in memoryscapes. This marginalisation applies to the commemoration of events and individuals, where women's contributions are often neglected and minimised from the past to the present day.

Through an analysis of the commemoration of women who contributed explicitly to writing the Italian Constitution, this thesis will wittingly try to focus on the representation of the five *Madri Costituenti*, elected to the Committee of 75, in the public space in Italy. Moreover, I will try to emphasise women's history to underline the path Italian women took to actively participate during the Resistance to achieve independence during significant historical, political and economic changes. Enormous changes and sacrifices because they often had to replace men's positions in different fields of work when they left for the front and simultaneously took care of the family and the children, allowed women to rethink their societal position. Such acts justified the recognition of women as founders of the new political nation. By far, it cannot be reduced to Anita Garibaldi, whose equestrian statue in Rome is one of the few female statues in the public space that does not represent the Virgin Mary or a saint but an actual ordinary woman. This Master's degree thesis thus merges both the analytical and

civic positions in that it argues that it is necessary to find ways to research, remember and commemorate women who contributed to the reconstruction of the country and the birth of a new political and social nation after World War II. Monuments and various forms of commemoration impact our communities and invite us to consider how they are experienced in everyday lives and in what ways historians can offer their insights and expertise to address this topic critically. This critical exploration of the gendered memoryscape in Italy could be a valid contribution to a broader discussion on the processes of shaping public memoryscapes.

When analysing the forms of commemoration of *Madri Costituenti*, I also tried to pay attention to the materiality - and specifically to the reduced materiality of many landmarks, especially street names, square names, building dedications, plaques, etc. (as coined by Veronika Čapská). They all show a rather reduced material presence in space compared to memorials, statues, busts, and other artefacts which typically require substantial financial investments.

These monumental hierarchies are gendered, and their placement in public spaces reflects social and gender hierarchies. Moreover, public space and landscape constantly change as cities develop and environmental changes occur. So, cultural memory is an ongoing process and a constant dialogue with the environment in which people participate in their everyday lives.

Further, the thesis discusses why stunning asymmetries still exist in the representations of men and women in the public space. I consider it important to outline the main social changes in Italy that enabled women to negotiate and recast their societal position. In the second chapter, this thesis will consider and analyse the period between World War I and the birth of the Italian Republic, obtained with the political election by universal suffrage in 1946.

I will examine how fascist propaganda marginalised women by eliminating the roles that women had conquered during World War I.

In a moment of reconstruction like the post-war period, fascism, instead of recognising women's rights, relegated women to the traditional roles of mother and wife again, effectively erasing their wartime efforts from society and then from collective memory. I will consider how the implementation of policies and laws was an instrument used by Mussolini during the years of fascism in Italy to exclude women from nation-building. As per the so-called article "Battle of Births" (Forcucci, 2010), the demographic campaign carried out between 1925' and 1938', Mussolini promoted laws to increase demographic growth that later transformed into a political campaign called the Pronatalist Campaign. This Pronatalist Campaign, promoting female fertility, was justified by the idea that the reconstruction of a country could only occur through significant demographic growth (Forcucci, 2010, pp. 4–13). "Italy had experienced a rapid decline in its birth rate in the wake of World War I. Other European countries also experienced the same downward spiral in population growth, but Mussolini hoped to reverse the Italian plunge. The fear of a population decline was based on the theory that low growth rates in the Italian population would result in fewer workers for Italy's factories and insufficient man power for its military. In response to these fears, Mussolini decided to promote a full-scale pronatalist movement." (Forcucci, 2010, p.5) The Fascist policies aspired to divert the attention of Italian women by persuading them not to work because their natural role in the new Fascist society was to increase the population and take care of newborns. The new regime's restrictive laws did not get the desired results: the Pronatalist Campaign did not produce an actual birth rate increase but led to the opposite result: "in fact, the massive campaign not only legislative, but also propaganda, instead of promoting the desired family rebirth, produced a decrease

birth. The data on female fertility does not leave much doubt, recording a sharp decline between the beginning of the 1930s and the following decade." (Dau Novelli, 2003, p.178)

Women understood the possibility of continuing to take care of the family, but also to be part of the society: they became active in investing their time outside the household sphere by working, even though aware to not have the possibility of reaching upper positions in the labour market and public education (i.e. not allowed to working-class women to study at the university).

The first female emancipation movements achieved little success and soon fell into oblivion. At the end of the nineteenth century, women of different countries, not only in Italy, were excluded from the active and passive electorate, from the possibility of accessing university studies, from the exercise of free professions, and the achievement of higher education qualifications (Brunell & Burkett, 2024).

In the labour market, women received lower wages; for most women, household chores were not a desired option but an economic essential. However, the opportunities to replace men who left their work, families, and households for the War shaped women's experiences and participation in social turmoil and increased women workers' awareness of their rights and claims towards the entire society (Piattelli, 2015).

A relevant turning point occurred in the early decades of the twentieth century:

Women "formed nationwide women's organisations, a movement known as women's associationism. They flowed into political parties, boosting their membership and their representative power in government." (Tambor, 2014, p.6)

In 1946, the right to vote was granted by universal suffrage. Men and women had to vote to choose between a republic and a monarchy in Italy's new government. The institutional referendum set off the birth of the Italian Republic and the political

elections of the Constituent Assembly. This legislative body in charge of writing the Italian Constitution saw the official election and entrance of twenty-one women in the political sphere, five of whom became members of the Committee of 75, a commission with the assignment of drafting the Constitution (Tambor, 2014). The presence of these women in the Constituent Assembly, "helping to convert the pre-Fascist Parliament chubbily elite old men into a radically mixed space in terms of gender, age, and class. In the process of legislating and campaigning for women's right they also created crucial new links between the mass of ordinary voters (the majority of whom were now women) and the hierarchies of the political parties and government (which were bastions of masculine power)." (Tambor, 2014, p.7)

Nowadays, the commemoration of these women in public spaces is largely non existant or very limited. Only some cities recognise the importance of some *Madri Costituenti*. This is why, in the last chapter, I will shift the focus to the urban landscape and introduce some selected case studies to help deepen comprehension of how women in Italy are commemorated. A preliminary overview of the commemoration of women in public spaces in Italy and some relevant statistical data will highlight very few generic monumental female representations besides Saints, Madonna, and figures of Victory of the Nation.

In urban theories, cities are perceived as social and historical constructs shaped and experienced differently by their inhabitants. The possibility of living in an urban space is often based on access to disposal resources and quality of life, and it is also based on gender identities. (Falú, 2017)

This concept of cities as public spaces is also evident in the arenas and stages for public commemoration. Both the space of municipal politics and the everyday living environment are essential in creating conditions for potential gender equality or the lack

of it. Therefore, for the aim of this present thesis, how the public space mediates and narrates the history of a country or a region will be discussed. If we start to rethink the public space and start to view public space through new lenses and thus see the cities in a new way, we will be able to fill the historical gap that still takes attention away from the relevance of the role of women in history.

I will analyse the lack of commemorations of women in Italy by how both women and men are commonly represented in history and in the cities. It is not only a question of the absence of commemoration of historical female figures in public spaces but also about the manipulated presence of commemoration of historical figures in Italy.

Chapter 1. Methodology and Literature Overview

The thesis will employ memory studies and gender history methodologies. The approach is diachronic, with attention to the entire span of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries to provide background knowledge on the historical periods of women's emancipation.

I especially considered it relevant to tackle a historical narrative, spanning from the memory of World War I up to the adoption of the Italian Constitution to outline the social position and role of women in society and their contributions during this time frame. This study relies on secondary sources such as historical monographs on the Italian past and reports from the Italian's official institutional senate sources now available online. It also attempts to build on the work of pioneer scholars who shaped the study of collective and social memory, i.e. Maurice Halbwachs and Pierre Nora.

Maurice Halbwachs, a French sociologist who was the inventor of "collective memory" (Assmann, 2008, p.110), focuses on the idea that memory is conditioned by socialisation and communication and can be evaluated as a function of our social life because it allowed us to live in groups and build a memory (Halbwachs, 1992). For this reason, the collective memory "is not a given but rather a socially constructed notion." (Halbwachs, 1992, p.22) and could not be considered as a cognitive personal process, but as a social phenomenon rooted in the cultural context of a group interaction (Halbwachs, 1992). "Memory enables us to live in groups and communities, and living in groups and communities enables us to build a memory." (Assmann, 2008, p.109)

I will focus on this concept when mentioning statues or the lack of commemoration of women in Italy. Other scholars, such as Pierre Nora, are relevant to my aim because in "Between Memory and History": Les Lieux de Mémoire (Nora,

1989), he examines that collective memory is not an inherent phenomenon but a social construction that requires preservation through specific symbolic sites or so-called sites of memory (lieux de mémoire) such as monuments and memorials. He observed that as traditional forms of memory tend to decline in modernity, these sites of memory serve as constructed repositories that actively preserve a collective understanding of the past (Nora, 1989), stating that "*Lieux de mémoire* are created by a play of memory and history, an interaction of two factors that results in their reciprocal overdetermination." (Nora, 1989, p.19)

I will also draw on Jan Assmann's concept of cultural memory by considering that "External objects as carriers of memory play a role already on the level of personal memory. Our memory, which we possess as beings equipped with a human mind, exists only in constant interaction with other human memories but also with "things", outward symbols." (Assmann, 2008, p.111)

While I will go through the narration in the specific chapters of the present thesis, I would like to introduce below and elaborate on some of the main analytical concepts and scholars that will be utilised.

Madri Costituenti

This could be considered the most important term in this thesis. *Madri Costituenti* is an established term for the twenty-one women elected to the Constituent Assembly, the assembly designated to draft the Italian Constitution promulgated on December 27, 1947, and entered into force on January 1 ,1948.

Gender

An essential concept important to explain my starting point of view and the

perspective of my chapters will be the concept of gender, which has been evolving tumultuously over the past decades. According to the classical definition by Joan. W. Scott (1986) “gender is a constitutive element of social relationships based on perceived differences between the sexes, and gender is a primary way of signifying relationships of power.” (Scott, 1986, p.1067)

This citation is essential because it reminds us how central both perception and power are to the category of gender.

Moreover, the newer concept of gender introduced by Judith Butler is performative. It strives to replace the binary understanding of gender (as feminine or masculine) and emphasises the fluidity of gender category and the possibilities it provides to social actors.

Judith Butler argues (1988) that gender is not an inherent and objective reality, but she stated that “Gender reality is performative which means, quite simply, that it is real only to the extent that it is performed.” (Butler, 1988, p.527)

According to Butler (1988), gender reality is produced through continuous social performances, or rather, is a social construction in the way it acquires significance through its recognition within social institutions and interactions and “created through sustained social performances means that the very notions of an essential sex, a true or abiding masculinity or femininity, are also constituted as part of the strategy by which the performative aspect of gender is concealed.” (Butler, 1988, p.528) Butler underlined that the historical configuration of heterosexuality produces the binary understanding of gender (as feminine or masculine).

She also conceptualises gender “as a corporeal style, an 'act,' as it were, which is both intentional and performative, where 'performative' itself carries the double-meaning of 'dramatic' and 'non-referential.'” (Butler, 1988, p. 521), by suggesting that

gender is not an innate performance, but a series of repeated action, embodied by individuals within a social context. To better explain this concept of Judith Butler, Dino Felluga (2015) illustrates that the sustained dominance of heteronormative standards depends on the continuous repetition of gendered behaviours in daily life: individual actions are guided by conventional accepted social norms and shared beliefs, which raised biased behaviours that contributed to the reinforcement of restrictive social hierarchies. These conditions, artificially constructed by society, will hardly be instrumental in fighting for gender equality. As these conditions are hardly inherent in history, they can be surpassed only by alternative performative acts. (Felluga, 2015)

Work and Female Labor

I will try to relate the gendered inquiry with another main and critical category: work. Work, because the gender-sensitive approach forces us to re-think and also re-define some common categories, including work indeed. The historiography of women's employment, as underlined by Joan Scott and Louise A. Tilly, illustrates that "great numbers of women worked outside the home during most of the nineteenth century, long before they enjoyed civil and political rights." (Scott & Tilly, 1975, p.37) Consequently, it is crucial to properly contextualise women's political and legal rights concerning female lifework and recognise that enfranchisement is not directly connected with increased participation of women in different work fields. As Scott and Tilly suggest (1975), it is crucial to consider the economic conditions and social status of families in connection with the progressive transformation of society that occurred during the nineteenth century. (Scott & Tilly, 1975)

Public Space as Memoryscape

While exploring the underrepresentation of women in public space in Italy, public Space, urban space, and memoryscape will be further crucial concepts that I will employ, especially in the second part of the present thesis, to increase the understanding of the lack of recognition of women in public space in Italy and to show that, apart from a few saints, Madonna, and brave women heroes, the contribution of women as social actors to Italian history is underrepresented in the memorial landscape.

Memoryscapes are here interpreted as sites of cultural practices because they "do not simply express and convey memories; just as often they erase the memories of those lacking sufficient resources to support a public presence, or silence uncomfortable memories that may haunt those who control the landscape." (Kapralski, 2011, p.180) The lack of recognition in the collective memory of Italy can hence be considered a reflection of historical power dynamics and cultural values carried out across history. In light of this, memoryscapes, in this thesis, are considered not as simple spaces or physical places but as dynamic sites of cultural practices that reflect historical power structures throughout the past. These landscapes of memory in Italy represent, in most cases, characters who held and detained a certain kind of privilege or power in a particular framework of history. These representations visible in the cities are not equal representations of the different actors who contribute to fundamental changes in history; on the contrary, some leading figures are often minimised and underrepresented. An example of this underrepresentation is about the leading women actors in the country's changing history as per the Founding Mothers.

Although Italy became a Republic in 1946, a particular moment in the history of the country because new significant democratic and societal changes occurred, few elements of contemporary memoryscapes credit the diverse people that were long part of this political and relevant social change, including women who played significant

roles in shaping these changes. Memorial gardens, commemorative plaques, statues and collective monuments honour male figures while commemorating individual women remains absent mainly in Italian cities and countryside.

When we talk about public space, we first need to explain the meaning of this term. We need to consider that the public space is a shared space accessible to everyone and that people are increasingly aware that public space should be inclusive, inviting and polyphonic. This idea of public space as polyphonic space suggests that it should also recognise historically marginalised contributors like women by trying to challenge the traditional narratives and power structures, especially within Italy's memoryscape, to create more inclusive and representative public spaces. For this reason, it is relevant to critically rethink memoryscapes and how people experience them in their everyday lives in the cities.

Collective memory and Lieux de mémoire

In the 1920s, historians and sociologists began to progressively recognise the importance of social groups in shaping collective memory by switching their focus from individual memory to how social groups (collectivities) construct and transmit memory. This new perspective marked the rise of the concept of collective memory, which refers to the historical narratives and the shared memory of a group and the development of the notion of collective memory. Maurice Halbwachs (1992) underlined the role of social frameworks in defining individual memories, arguing that memory is a socially mediated phenomenon deeply embedded within the social dynamics of a group. As Halbwachs underlined: “It is, of course individuals who remember, not groups or institutions, but these individuals, being located in a specific group context, draw on that context to remember or recreate the past.” (Halbwachs, 1992, p.24)

This focus change from individual to collective memory marked a significant advancement in the study of how collectivities or social groups remember and preserve the past. Halbwachs (1992) explain that individual memory cannot be considered a part of a collectivity's memory because it is created and recreated through individual interaction within their social groups and the personal memory is the result of this interaction process (Halbwachs, 1992).

While Halbwachs underline the relevance of the collective memory as a process of constructing and reconstructing the past within a society or a group, the French historian Pierre Nora introduces us to the concept of Lieux de mémoire. With this term Sites of Memory, Nora refers to symbols, events, or physical places helpful for collective memory because they represent a specific shared identity of a group and its past experiences. These sites are relevant because they are located in a particular place and because memory creates a specific connection to the visible sites within the history created and tries not to relegate the most relevant events in oblivion. (Nora, 1989)

Nora underlined that groups in power, in a particular historical moment, privileged those to commemorate and remember (people, events, dates) while erasing from the memory certain others. He underlined that the necessity of a group or a community, driven by shared interests, is the catalyst that confers to a site of memory its relevance. (Nora, 1989)

Communicative and Cultural Memory

These two terms, Communicative and Cultural Memory, as introduced by Jan Assmann in 2008 (Assmann, 2008) to distinguish and expand the concept of the sociologist Maurice Halbwachs Collective Memory (Halbwachs, 1992). Assmann split the concept of Collective Memory into Communicative and Cultural Memory to

"distinguish between both forms as two different modi memorandi, ways of remembering." (Assmann, 2008, p.110)

This distinction was essential to clarify how memory operates, is transmitted and became institutionalised within society and throughout the time: "Cultural memory is a kind of institution. It is exteriorized, objectified, and stored away in symbolic forms that, unlike the sounds of words or the sight of gestures, are stable and situation-transcendent: They may be transferred from one situation to another and transmitted from one generation to another." (Assmann, 2008, pp.110-111) It represents a rightful form of significant memory able to preserve the past of a society or a group across generations, and cultural artefacts, monuments, statues, and rituals often represent it.

On the other hand, communicative memory refers to memory shared through everyday communication between individuals of a group or a society. Social interaction, such as conversation and family daily-life narratives, is the primary catalyst of this memory. For these reasons, it depends on social networks reflecting the prompt experience of a group.

Landscape of Memory

The popularisation of commemorations, interest in heritage, and historic preservation provide valuable awareness of contemporary society's shifting and contested boundaries of identity (Johnson et al., 2013). How society helps us reflect our image in the present in the same way we imagine ourselves in the present is connected to how we reflect our memories (Alderman & Inwood, 2013). My thesis aims to contribute to a new approach and to a new reading of the public space. Among other things, it seeks to encourage people to view public spaces with fresh lenses and thus to see the history materialised in and

through the cities in a new way.

The concept of memoryscapes, which I employ in my thesis, was coined by the sociologist Tim Edensor in 1997 to analyse the politics of memory in Scotland and its national identity. According to Tim Edensor (1997), “Memoryscapes comprise the organisation of specific objects in space, resulting from often successive projects which attempt to materialise memory by assembling iconographic forms.” (Edensor, 1997, p.178) I appreciate his emphasis on the materialisations of memory in the public space and their significance for collective identities.

Chapter 2. The First World War and Women in Fascist Propaganda: a Starting Point for Amnesia and Lack of Commemoration?

When we want to explore the commemoration of women in the Italian public space and its lengthy absence, we first need to consider the socio-political landscape of Italy before the Fascist regime came into effect. The period from the beginning of the twentieth century up to the First World War will highlight the background to understand how women were treated and perceived within society, including their legal status, opportunities to work for them, and their chance to participate freely in social life.

In my opinion, this period was one of the most important in modern Italian history in terms of gendered contexts and developments, which influenced the lack of commemoration of women in Italy. The period from the beginning of the twentieth century up to the First World War contributed to a rethinking of the role of women, and with the outbreak of the Great War, ruling societal norms reinforced the gendered division of labour, restricting women to domestic roles, and confining their contribution to activities considered supportive of the war effort (like, for example, the production of clothing for soldiers at the front). On the other hand, however, this changed soon as the First World War mobilised the entire population. Men needed to support the war efforts at the front, and women, at home, had to economically support the families and contribute to the work productive needs of the state by occupying the men's positions at work. (Monti, 2011)

In Italy, the number of women workers increased by 60% in the textile industries; in the offices, 50% of the workforce was female. At the end of the war, 1,240,000 workers were employed in industries compared to the beginning of the war, when they were 650,000; in war production, the presence of women increased from

23,000 to 200,000 (Montanari & Casadio, 2002).

With the introduction of the so-called Legge Sacchi, containing rules for the juridical capacity of women and the possibility for married women to work also in public offices (Bartoloni, 2021), the Legge Sacchi, Law no. 1176/1919 of July 17 secured the abolition of marital authorisation and establishes rules regarding the legal capacity and independence of women (Law no.1176/1919). Women were no longer treated as minors: their husbands' authorisation was no longer required for acts such as the purchase or sale of real estate. Women also obtained the possibility to exercise all those professions previously reserved for men, like being employed in public offices but still not being involved in judiciary professions or those which concerned the state's military sphere (Severini, 2019). All this was acceptable because there was a sudden need to fill those professional roles that remained unoccupied by man till the advent of the war. The war allowed women to emerge in new spaces: "in Italy, where the process of women's emancipation was much less advanced than in other European countries, the Great War activated women's moral and intellectual energies as never before. It forced them to take a stand on a political issue, on a topic which had hitherto been a masculine preserve." (Ortaggi, 2004, p.220)

The State needed them, their work, and now that they actively participated in public life and enjoyed their country's public spaces, they were resolute in affirming that they would no longer be confined to the traditional domestic roles. Working-class women would never have accepted the economic sacrifice of returning to old occupations or, even worse, unemployment (De Grazia, 2007). Women became social actors of the working class, and this significant mobilisation in the labour market facilitated their social recognition and increased their sense of belonging within society.

This shift allowed women to participate actively in public life, including access

to that sphere traditionally dominated by men, such as working positions previously reserved exclusively for males.

This shift occurred while Fascism became an everyday reality, and the authoritarian regime adopted an anti-feminist policy. In particular, the new policies implemented by the regime forced women to return to their exclusive and traditional role of mother-housewife, thus making motherhood the object of public exaltation in support of the nationalist policies of the state. Women continued to face marginalisation in society and in the family, and they were, again, primarily excluded from activities that did not fall within the domestic framework. During the Fascist period, women saw their expectations of political-social emancipation go in vain because the new policies introduced by Mussolini took away their possibility to work outside the home and acquire a certain economic independence and possibility to realise themselves as women in the different working spheres. Fascism actively seeking to eliminate and fully eradicate the positions of wartime women workers, when their participation was necessary in the labour shortage, succeeded in spreading out the gender gap once again by diminishing the status of women who had notably distinguished themselves through their contributions during the World War I period. (Monti, 2011)

The spreading of Mussolini and liberal party consent was contrasted by the rise of the socialist movement, whose ideals fuelled protests and political changes in which women made their revolution. The aim of this was the urgency of women to emerge and be an active part of the Italian society's revolutionary process and finally fully enter the public spaces (Monti, 2011). Social inequality was the common ground for all women who wanted to elevate their status quo. Women made their voices loud by participating in protests and funding several associations, such as the Italian Federation of University Graduates and Graduates Superior (FILDIS) (Taricone, 1992).

The fascist regime envisaged for women (and promoted through propaganda) only the role of wives and mothers in a position subordinate to men. From 1926, single men had to pay a tax. Moreover, homosexuality was outlawed since 1931 in order to enforce more and more the establishment of fascist families harshly, that is, households consisting prototypically of numerous children and a mother utterly dependent on her husband.

On the one hand, this model was similar to the traditional one, promoted and present in Catholic culture. However, it became peculiar in Fascism, where the women's bodies were nationalised, and motherhood was transformed into a duty towards the fatherland, so much so that the penal code, which was drawn up by Alfredo Rocco in 1930, included abortion as a crime. (Skinner, 2011)

Two positions arose: the first maintained that female sexuality had to be repressed, while the other insisted that female sexuality had to be controlled. Every aspect concerning the sexual behaviours considered deviant was therefore stigmatised and even associated with diseases. Masturbation was therefore held to cause tuberculosis and spinal diseases; control was held to cause neurasthenia and urinary tract infections; lipsticks supposedly carried lip cancer, and kisses spread diseases. Such fears only served to feed and worsen the insecurity of the woman's ability to control her own body because the regime had not yet managed to implement information policies on birth control. (De Grazia, 2007)

The average age for marriage was twenty-five years old, and the woman approaching thirty was often referred to as "*zitelle"* (Miscali, 2017), a term used to denote a negative connotation for unmarried and widowed women. In the context of Fascism, this term took an additional social and ideological negative meaning. It became associated with failure to conform to that time's government and societal

expectations. It was used to describe women who deviated from the regime's ideal of womanhood, which, to the contrary, emphasised marriage and motherhood. This term was not just a neutral term for an unmarried woman but the carrier of a significant ideological meaning, reflecting the regime's effort to control and direct women's role in society. (Miscali, 2017)

Nonetheless, female extra-domestic work was already a fact in Italian society after the Great War. In the industrial sector, women represented 28% of the workforce, and they also represented the majority of teachers in lower education if teaching at that time was considered a low-status job. There were about five million female workers, of which three were employed in agriculture. (De Grazia, 2007)

The fact that female extra-domestic work was a given and everyday reality, however, did not prevent it from being problematised or marginalised. In 1929, Mussolini presented a legal action for protecting pregnant female workers to the Chamber, the *Decreto legge* no. 850/1929 of 13 May. Its primary function was to extend the maternity leave to two months, one before and one after childbirth (Willson, 2009). This was, however, motivated by the pronatalist policies.

Other relevant laws were introduced: Law no. 653/1934 of 26 April for "Protection of the Work of Women and Children" (Law no.653/1934) and Law no. 977/1967 "Protection of the Work of Children and Adolescents" (Law no.977/1967) This two laws, concerning the work of women and minors, developed the legislation for the support and assistance of these categories. From the age limit for admission to industrial work to the restriction of night work for women, by prohibiting dangerous and unhealthy jobs for women, rules were also established to protect pregnant women, lightening the working day and introducing intermediate rests.

Although, compared to the past, these regulations provided greater social

security by offering pensions, sick leave, unemployment insurance, family allowances, and, in some cases, forms of corporate paternalism, they had discriminatory consequences. They discouraged entrepreneurs from hiring women; many sought undeclared work without social protection.

Fascism was authoritarian in that the state dominated the lives of its citizens, from social to family life, and, therefore, women were not free to decide on procreation. This situation did not create favourable conditions for the presence of women as social actors in the public space or, indeed, for the materialised representations that would situate women in the memorial landscape.

2.1 Where the Lack of Commemoration for Women Starts: a False Illusion of the Right to Vote and Still a Long Way Towards Emancipation

In Italian literature, monographs on women's experiences in the interwar period are still lacking, and in the books that try to reconstruct the role of Italian women and the image of eminent female figures of the past are primarily absent or received only superficial mention and attention. The most relevant mentions are historical analyses from different sources that explain and narrate women's journey through the fascist period, tracing their path toward emancipation. Through the narration of the historical and political situation in Italy, I will highlight that the actual lack of commemoration of women emerged in this period due to the creation of laws that created a false illusion of emancipation for women.

"Mussolini could act with more freedom than seemed possible domestically, and a dramatic and successful foreign policy coup could unblock the road to the further 'fascistisation' of Italian society." (Morgan, 2017, p.173)

Mussolini started promoting the family as the core of society, and this idea was placed at the centre of the fascist project. The new regime philosophy ascribed the responsibility for the decline of the birth rate (the main problem in the country at that period after World War I) to women, guilty of having broken the social balance with their entry into the sphere of work (understood as formal occupations), which was considered as a predominantly male prerogative. Delimiting the spaces of inclusion of women outside the domestic sphere was one of the leading regime objectives, and the approach to women was carried out under authoritarian conditions, thus limiting the possibility of emancipation and, consequently, the possibility for women to work and become active participants in the nationalisation process. This regime used different approaches to discourage women from becoming active in the workforce and outside the household. (De Grand, 1976)

As scholar Victor De Grazia examines in his book “How Fascism Ruled the Women” (2007), fascism in Italy attempted to control each aspect of women's lives associated with state interests: the regime shaped women's participation in social life by enacting a definition of female citizenship, determining wage levels, and determining forms of participation in work and social life as part of a project to consolidate political manpower. (De Grazia, 2007)

At the same time, women tried to undermine the success of the Fascist misogynist program in various ways. Feminist bourgeois associations, following the wake of the American and British suffragist movements, although lacking organisation structures or broad consensus, survived for a decade after Mussolini came to power. All the efforts of these associations in the first years after Mussolini took power focused precisely on the question of universal suffrage.

During the Fascist period, various laws were drawn up regarding women: in the

first Fascist period, there existed, although it was never actually implemented, the concession of the administrative vote to specific categories of women thanks to the law of November 22, 1925. When Mussolini was the Prime Minister, he presented to the Chambers of Deputies the draft law No. 2125 (Law no. 2125/1925) regarding the admission of women to administrative, electoral law. In that report, the desire to introduce women's suffrage into Italian law was expressed, underlining that it was a problem much discussed by the political elites.

Mussolini was convinced there was no plausible reason to exclude women from the vote, but he affirmed that it was necessary to move cautiously, as was the case for male suffrage. For Mussolini, granting a vote to women was a purely moral order issue: a law was approved, Law no. 2125/1925, about the Admission of women to the administrative electorate of 22 November, which recognises the right to the active and passive electorate for women for administrative consultations, but always with the provision of substantial restrictive requirements. This Law authorised voting only for women older than twenty-five years, provided with an elementary license, exercising parental authority and paying taxes beyond a set limit; those women honoured for military or civil contributions or the mothers and widows of fallen. If elected, they could not, in any case, assume higher positions in the public and legal offices, nor could they hold other positions of responsibility. The law was never exercised or put into practice because the administrative, electoral consultations decided to abolish it in the following year (Taricone, 1992) by establishing two new laws, the so-called *Leggi fascistissime*: Law no. 237/1926 of the 4 February about the establishment of the Podestà and municipalities with a population not exceeding 5000 inhabitants, and the Law no. 1910 /1926 of the 3 September about the extension of the podestal order to all the municipalities of the kingdom. The municipal elected bodies were suppressed, and all

the functions were transferred to the *Podestà*, which became the monocratic authority and head of the municipality's government. The Podestà of the fascist period remained in the position for five years with the possibility of removal by the prefect or reconfirmation beyond five years. (Di Nucci, 1998)

The issue of women's suffrage, debated for years by the Parliament, needed urgently to be addressed as the Italian legislation was noticeably underdeveloped compared to the rest of Europe. The administrative vote for women did not even pass; consequently, Italian women found themselves forced to give up the battle for universal suffrage again, and Italian feminists turned their commitment to social volunteering and cultural activism. Women made significant contributions to society but without receiving any recognition. (Benetti-Brunelli, 1933)

In the fascist conception, the women's duty to their nation consisted first and foremost in having children. In the same years, women saw the possibility of gaining the right to vote, and the regime initiated the Pronatalist Campaign, which identified women as a vital national resource for national reproduction.

2.2 The Fascist Pronatalist Campaign in Italy from 1925 to 1938 and the Restricted Role of Women in Society

As women were increasingly pushed into the role of mothers and regarded mainly as instrumental in the demographic growth, the Pronatalist campaign in Italy was made explicit by Mussolini in his speech on the 26 of May 1927, also called 'the Ascension Day', in which he announced his new demographic policy. "The cultural, and especially the ideological, meanings of pronatalism have been historically associated with right-wing coercive ideologies, laws and practices that overemphasise

natalist goals, reinforce the traditional family model of father as breadwinner and mother as homemaker, and severely limit reproductive freedom of choice. Moreover, coercive ideological pronatalism has been variously linked with strong nationalism, explicit racism, fascism, imperialism and eugenism." (Heitlinger, 1993, p.121-122)

On the 26 of May 1927, in the Ascension speech, Benito Mussolini explicitly underlined the urgency of protecting the race and that this could only happen through economic support for mothers of children. In this way, he introduced a tax on spouseless and on families without children. These measures were justified to the population with the necessity to raise funds to support the growth of the Italian population, a necessity that Mussolini linked to the nation's political, economic and moral strength as the elements necessary to make Italy a global power. In his ideological project, reaching a population of 60 million by the mid-century was necessary for Mussolini. (Mussolini, 1927)

These words marked a significant decline in women's rights and legitimised the neglect of women and their voices in Italian society. "In many ways the regime wished to regulate the Italian social life by generating nation-wide 'operations', creating institutions and reforming cultural policies." (Malagreca, 2006, p. 75), but these many operations, intended to mobilise popular culture in general and they aimed to discipline women's bodies. The pronatalist campaign was seen as a means of promoting the reconstruction of the moral order, that is, the Italians' traditional Catholic system of relations between the sexes. According to the fascist interpretation, the society must, therefore, consist primarily of mothers and fathers, and there were clear signals of this new order: unmarried men had to pay a tax from 1926 (Decreto legge 19 Dicembre 1926, n. 2132). Homosexuals were outlawed in 1931, and single women were seen as flawed and labelled as Zitelle, which is an Italian-established term used to define single

women disdainfully. Numerous essays, writings, and public positions were taken by educated elite members, including university professors, hierarchs and Mussolini himself, who affirmed the natural inferiority of women compared to men.

From then on, measures were launched to support the birth rate growth directly or indirectly. The central demographic office was created, which was assigned the task of centralising and organising population policy. With the adoption of the Italian Demographic policy (which differs from the one established in the USSR in 1944 as a unique decoration not due to the number of children brought into the world but to the care taken in raising them), this conception was made explicit: it was necessary for fascism to make the Italian population grow numerically and, at the same time, to take care of the "race" in order to ensure Italy as a leading power in the geopolitical sense.

The family, large and fascist, was therefore at the centre of the propaganda and the construction of the fascist model, so much so that in 1937 the Central Demographic Office (established under the Ministry of the Interior, with Regio Decreto 7 June 1937, n. 1128) and the Fascist Union among large families (Regio Decreto. legge 3 June 1937, n. 805), were established, on the decision of the Grand Council of Fascism. As part of the Pronatalist policies, numerous legal provisions were taken: in 1937, marriage and the number of children became a criterion for the advancement of men's careers; therefore, the fathers of numerous children had advantages; they were given prizes and subsidies for each child and for marriage (Regio Decreto, legge 4 February 1937, n. 463).

In the construction of the fascist welfare state, space was given to establishing organisations that dealt with motherhood and childhood, such as the O.M.N.I. and Opera Nazionale maternità e infanzia. This institute was divided into provincial federations, which assisted needy women and children up to school age. (Bresci, 1993)

Despite the incessant propaganda and numerous provisions, the demographic campaign was unsuccessful, and the country's nuptial and birth rates kept decreasing. In many Italian cities, the birth rates were much lower than those hoped for by the regime and lower than the national average. Women who worked in the job market were blamed for the unsuccessful demographic policy and the economic-moral crisis of the family. (Mussolini & Orano, 1937) Many men saw in this presence a threat to morality, so much that, for example, Ferdinando Loffredo, an intellectual of the time, asserted:

"[...] *la donna che, senza la più assoluta e comprovata necessità, lasci le pareti domestiche perrecarsi al lavoro, la donna che, in promiscuità con l'uomo, gira per le strade, sui trams, sugli autobus, vive nelle officine e negli uffici, deve diventare oggetto di riprovazione, prima e più che di sanzione legale. La legge può operare solo se l'opinione pubblica ne forma il substrato: questa, a sua volta, può essere determinata da tutto un insieme di altre misure che indiret-tamente e insensibilmente operino sulla opinione pubblica".* (Loffredo, 1938, p.365)

"[...] the woman who, without the most absolute and proven necessity, leaves home to go to work, the woman who, in promiscuity with the man, wanders the streets, on trams, on buses, lives in workshops and offices, must become the object of reprobation, before and beyond a legal sanction. The law can only operate if public opinion forms its substrate: this, in turn, can be determined by a whole set of other measures that indirectly and insensibly operate on the public opinion." (Loffredo, 1938, p.365)

According to Loffredo (1938), it was necessary to push all women out of the job market and reverse the ongoing changes. Therefore, the image of women promoted by

the fascist propaganda is clear: They should be mothers of numerous children and as far removed from the sphere of paid work as possible. In this context, the regime passed numerous laws regarding the work and employment of women, divided into protective and expulsive laws. The latter were measures that determined a delegitimisation of women's professional capacity. (De Bernardi, 2006)

The fascist agenda promoted different laws on how to allow or not allow women to be employed and sought to encourage the female workforce by allowing companies that employed women to continue to underpay them and by allowing men to be able to occupy better-paid jobs with better wages in order to continue to perpetuate the fascist ideology that wanted to ensure that women returned to their traditional role of mother and wives in order to increase the Italian population through births rate (Pescarolo, 2019).

The main reforms addressed to the public sector were primarily concerned with the school system, a sector with high female employment. In 1923 and then in 1940, women were barred from the position of headteachers in schools or institutes of middle education. In 1926, with the Regio Decreto of December 9, no. 2480, it was declared that women would be excluded from the professorships of literature and philosophy in high schools in the future. Moreover, certain subjects were to be taken away from them at technical institutes and middle schools, and they were forbidden to occupy the role of school managers or principals. (formerly already the Regio Decreto n. 1054 of May 6 1926 – *Riforma Gentiloni* – which banned women from directing middle and secondary schools). School fees were doubled for female students, thus discouraging families from letting them study, further worsening the situation for women.

A law of 1934 (law number 221) significantly limited female recruitment in many jobs, establishing the exclusion of women from the competition notices or

reserving them few places. The *Decreto Legge*, from the 5th of September 1938, imposed a reduction to 5% in the number of female personnel employed in the public administration, thus representing the culmination of gender discrimination. The following year, the *Regio Decreto n. 989/1939* even specified which jobs could be assigned to women: typing services, telephony, shorthand, collection services and first processing of statistical data; training and filing services; services of processing, printing, verification, classification, counting and control of state tickets and banknotes, library and secretarial services of the Royal Middle Schools of classical and master's education. Article 4 of the same law suggested other jobs particularly suitable for women: announcers for radio stations; cashiers (limited to companies with fewer than 10 employees); sales of women's clothing, children's clothing, household items, gift items, toys, perfumery items, confectionery items, flowers, sanitary and feminine items, sewing machines; workers in cooperative rural outlets for food products.

Since the employment opportunities for women were drastically reduced until the outbreak of the Second World War, girls received poor or no encouragement to continue their studies. The countertrend to the phenomenon of the decline in female employment began to manifest itself in 1940. It increased throughout the Second World War because young and older men were called up. Their jobs were thus filled by their wives, sisters, and daughters, who suddenly found themselves in urgent need of assistance to sustain families with numerous offspring. Moreover, the state critically needed the previously undervalued female workforce.

"Fascism jealously defended a threatened masculine primacy while portraying democracy as effeminate. Indeed, democracy was feminized, but not in the way Mussolini said. Rather, in the aftermath of World War II's destruction and Fascism's fall, democracy would be reborn and enhanced thanks to women who fought in the

Resistance, and, once victory was achieved, fought again to attain the right to vote and wield political power." (Tambor, 2014, p.3)

Chapter 3. From the Suffragettes to the 1990s. The Context of the European Feminist Movement

After World War I, several European countries introduced women's suffrage, but not Italy. Despite patriotic contributions, militancy, and intense work carried out by women's associations, Italian women's recognition of the right to vote was unsuccessful. However, the disappointment that neither with commitment nor with the fulfilment of duties was possible to access greater rights did not lead to the feminist movement to radicalise.

Excluded from political participation, women continued to work in the field of public assistance, allowing them to assert their influence in society while carrying out tasks traditionally considered feminine.

At the same time, women's organisations professionalised their activities and formed closer ties with the authorities. In this way, they expanded their influence in the political sphere. The new awareness that, in particular, Italian women developed thanks to their economic and social activities culminated in 1919 in a new law favouring political equality, which unfortunately failed.

The Italian economic crisis of the 1930s and the increased fascist government favoured the establishment of a social conservatism reluctant to listen to women's claims. In this period, there was a new rapprochement between socialist women and bourgeois women: women's associations were expected to help manage the consequences of the war, and later, during the Second World War, they did let themselves be heavily involved in the war economy system. With all that, women obtained minimal participation in the political order, in which interest groups played a decisive role. Even after World War II, the feminist movement never stopped pushing

women's demands, particularly equality policy. It continued to believe that it had first to prove that women knew how to be exemplary citizens, dedicated to social and charitable commitment and professional activity.

This strategy of patient waiting, supplication, and adaptation would have been contested in its foundations only at the end of the sixties by the new feminism. Feminism's history dates back to the nineteenth century, and it is divided into three different periods often referred to as waves (Tambor, 2014).

I want to describe the main steps of feminism briefly.

3.1 The first wave, the Suffragettes and the right to vote

Talking about Western countries, the first wave of feminism originated in the late 19th and early 20th century (Mohajan, 2022). The term Feminism was coined in the nineteenth century, and the roots of the history of the term date back (Shah, 2018) to its French inventor, Charles Fourier (Offen, 1988), to describe the new-born movement for the emancipation of women. Suffragettes, who fought to obtain or widen the suffrage - that is, the right to vote - also for women, embodied it. The epicentre of their battles was in Great Britain in 1865, when the first commission to guarantee women's rights was established (Van Wingerden, 2016). At that time, only men could participate in political life, while women were relegated to the home, and the image of British suffragettes marching in Manchester and London to claim the right to participate in the public dimensions of life caused a stir across Europe. At this stage, feminism focused almost exclusively on political claims, but the suffragettes also wanted equality between men and women in family law. In Italy, there was still no structured movement. However, some women - for example, Clara Maffei and Cristina Trivulzio di

Belgiojoso - actively participated in the Risorgimento, demonstrating their capability to contribute to the country's political life. However, suffragettes had to wait decades everywhere to see concrete results: suffrage was only extended to the female population in the 1900s. In Europe, the first state to allow women to vote was Finland in 1906, Norway in 1913, and Great Britain, only thanks to a tumultuous revolt from the Women's Social and Political Union in 1918 to those over 30 and in 1928 to women over 21. Germany, Poland, Austria, and Sweden in 1919, and the USA in 1920. French in 1944, while Italian women had to wait until after World War II. (Women's Suffrage, 2024)

"Although suffragist movements ended up making a significant contribution towards women's suffrage in most countries, the movement was also subject to internal disputes and divisions, similar to those encountered by women's movements more generally." (Rubio-Marín, 2014, p.13)

3.2 The second wave, the sixties

The second wave of Feminism, from the 1960s to the 1990s, occurred during a worldwide period of turbulence for civil rights and anti-war uprisings (Rampton, 2015). These were years of revolutionary changes: Women started raising awareness about themes previously considered taboo, something not allowed to be discussed and started to understand the real meaning of the patriarchy and its influence on societal expectations of just wives or mothers (Rampton, 2015). This wave, influenced by poststructuralism, deconstruction, and psychoanalysis, emphasised the construction of womanhood through societal norms and media representations and started to relate women to real-life experiences (Malinowska, 2020). "The process of consciousness-

raising brought women together to talk about their experiences, and through mutual sharing, they came to understand that what they thought were merely personal problems were actually politically overdetermined." (Snyder-Hall, 2010, p.257)
Nevertheless, these women's involvement in higher education after World War II created a significant social change (Bennett, 2006). Women were starting to distinguish sex, a biological characteristic, from gender, a socially constructed concept that differs across cultures and historical periods (Rampton, 2015).

In Italy, the feminist movement took shape and, for the first time, assumed mass dimensions: in the 1969s, the squares of the country were crowded by women standing to claim civil rights still denied, such as divorce or abortion. The battles over abortion and divorce are the most predominant in the historical narrative of the country, but not the only ones. Italian feminists are also fighting to modernise family law, for example, by removing the so-called honour crime or delitto d'onore, which ensured reduced sentences for men who murdered their adulterous wives. (Garofalo, 2012)

3.3 The third wave, the nineties

The 1990s represent an era in which the battle for equal rights was finally achieved, so much so that some scholars speak of a post-feminist society (Wright, 2000). However, discrimination has not disappeared, especially in the work field. Especially in Western countries, Feminists continued to fight for the differences in wages and equal opportunities in the working environment. Throughout this phase, different concepts were critically challenged in the manner of the ideas of womanhood, body, gender, sexuality, and heteronormativity. (Rampton, 2015) The movement also reviewed some positions developed in previous decades, for example, on prostitution

and pornography.

In Italy, the third wave of feminism began to be recognised in the 1990s. It faced significant obstacles because of patriarchal structures and the influence of Catholic values, which reinforced traditional gender roles. Some progress occurred thanks to the feminist movement's battles for civil rights in the 1970s, particularly in terms of legal rights such as divorce, abortion, and discrimination in the workplace.

Another crucial aspect related to the third wave of feminism in Italy is the media's role in shaping women's representation. Italian television, through a representation of women as sex symbols and the extensive use of women as a media object to attract the public audience, contributed to the Programs featuring women as mere decorative figures were widespread, reflecting and reinforcing a cultural narrative that valued women primarily for their appearance (Giomi, 2012) thus increasing gender stereotypes. These representations opened debates within the feminist movement about the objectification of women in media and advertising (Valtorta et al., 2016) and the broader societal implications of such portrayals.

At the same time, feminists were deeply engaged in discussions about the intersectionality of gender, class, race (Snyder-Hall, 2010), immigration, and the integration of migrant women became civic themes thanks to the massive experience of a growing diversity population that arose in Southern Europe (Tragaki & Rovolis, 2012) and also involved Italy.

A significant development during this third wave of feminism was the emergence of a new generation of feminist voices, particularly among younger women who organised and advocated for change.

"Third-wave feminism strives to be inclusive and respectful of the wide variety of choices women make as they attempt to balance equality and desire." (Snyder-Hall,

2010, p.259)

In summary, the third wave of feminism in Italy during the 1990s and early 2000s was characterised by its engagement with persistent inequalities in the workplace, critical reflections on media representation, and civic debates about themes related to the second wave of feminism, which used to contested issues related mainly to sex and work.

Chapter 4. The Long Path Toward the Universal Suffrage.

The attainment of political rights was not a progressive concession or an extension of liberal and democratic principles but the result of long, intensive efforts. The demand for access to the public sphere provoked tenacious resistance for a specific reason: the exclusion of women from public life was linked to their subordination in the private sphere. For this reason, women's right to vote was denied for more than a century and a half. Thus, their battle for that specific right went far beyond it.

From the mid-nineteenth century to the end of World War I, the fundamental concept of feminist reflection was equality. The battles were to be, above all, for the recognition of fundamental rights, first of all, the right to vote.

4.1 The universal Suffrage in Italy

The Italian history of women's suffrage dates back from The Unity of Italy to Fascism (Rossi-Doria, 1996) and takes two forms of vote: the administrative and the political vote. Different political discussions tried to grant administrative votes to women, but this achievement was never realised in all political discussions (Rossi-Doria, 1996). Finally, in 1945, universal suffrage was set off and women were granted the right to vote (Camera dei Deputati, n.d.). To better understand the mechanisms of this achievement, I will briefly explain some of the main fundamental steps Italian women took before gaining the possibility to be part of the political system and finally obtaining universal suffrage.

To draw the women's path toward a genuine and equal presence in society, I will here examine the extent to which allowing mothers, wives, and sisters to become

women citizens, thanks to the right to vote that could be considered the most fundamental conquest, but not the point of arrival to gender equality. This path began with the first movements from the Risorgimento, in which women also participated by fighting on the barricades and organising fundraising for the causes on which they took a political stance.

The significant presence of women during the Risorgimento and their strong desire to express themselves on the occasion of the plebiscites for annexation - during which there were also cases of women admitted to vote, did not lead to any change in the legal status of women once political Unity was reached. Relevant here is the definition of a plebiscite, a "type of popular consultation" (Biagi, 2017, p.714) and an instrument typical of illiberal regimes through which people ratify a decision already conceived. After World War II, this plebiscite changed and became a widespread consultation called Referendum. (Biagi, 2017)

The women´s political right to vote was still unthinkable. However, some laws were introduced to improve the legal status of singles or widows, who, up to that moment, needed the permission of a male family member and /or a judge to manage their assets. Women obtained equal rights to men and, finally, the right to vote. The path that led to the vote went with the recognition of rights only step by step, such as access to education and the possibility of freely disposing of their assets. Thanks to different Laws as per the Kingdom of Sardinia (Law no. 3725/1859), known as the Casati Law (Cappelli & Vasta, 2021), the subsequent Coppino Law of 1877 (Serpe, 2022) women had the opportunity to access the first degrees of education, and with the Sacchi Law (Law no.1176/1919) which gave women the opportunity to exercise every profession and to cover all public works (De Longis, 2022; Severini, 2019; Guida, 1920), marriage authorisation the and the subsequent introduction of laws like the ones

from “Bettino Ricasoli (1861), Ubaldino Peruzzi (1863) or Agostino Depretis (1880, 1882), to grant women the administrative vote, which, however, had no sequel.” (Delmedico, 2018, p.304)

Also, in 1925, Law no. 2125/1925, related to the admission of women to the administrative electorate (Delmedico, 2018), was another failed attempt to consider women and finally conquer their rights.

These laws signed the entrance of women into the educational sphere without restrictions and the chance to work in public contexts, allowing women to reinterpret their role within society and recognise themselves as subjects of rights capable of exercising power outside the family sphere. These role changes also encouraged women to form associations, leading to consistent legislative improvements such as, for example, Law no. 242/1902 of 19 on the working conditions of women and children and Law no. 1176/1919 of 17 July, which concerned the legal capacity of women. Despite the innumerable efforts of women to make their voices heard through the associations they formed and the push to promote specific laws, only after the Second World War did women obtain the rightful recognition of their rights and recognition as citizens with rights fully equal to men. (Delmedico, 2018)

4.1.1 The Administrative Vote from 1861 to the end of the nineteenth century

After the unity of Italy, the exclusion of women from political life was granted. “The Kingdom of Italy, in fact, ignored the female part that constituted it; for this reason, in 1861, shortly after Italian Unification, the Lombard women, defining themselves as ‘Italian citizens,’ submitted to the Parliament a petition in which they claimed the right to vote, as they had before Unification, and asked for it to be extended

to the whole country. However, only at the end of the Second World War was this right finally recognized." (Adamo et al., 2022, p.2)

Different attempts to concede for law the right to administrative vote for women after Italy's unification go in vain. The draft laws – Minghetti and Ricasoli in 1861 and the Peruzzi in 1863 proposed access to the right to vote for women who pay taxes as men. (Isastia, 2008)

"Reasons of political prudence and social convenience induct instead to decide differently." (Isastia, 2008, p.32)

Another Law no. 2248/1865 on Article 26 excluded from the right to vote women again by comparing them to the illiterates and disabled. In 1865, women were denied the administrative vote, and the Pisanelli Civil Code subjected women to marital authorisation, denying the possibility of being an autonomous subject and de facto destined women only to the domestic sphere. (Isastia, 2008)

Following the path of the reform of the draft laws from 1881 to 1888, the issue of women's suffrage moved beyond parliamentary discussions to become a focal point within the workers' movement and Catholic women's organisations. Working women started to firmly believe in the necessity of a more influenced emancipationist movement. Women started to share that the opportunity to vote needed to become a social and political reason to fight, and for this reason, they unified themself toward the idea of becoming subjects of not only administrative but also civil law. Motivated by this belief, Italian women intensified their efforts to gain a role in the political sphere. As the 20th century began, cross-party women's associations explicitly dedicated to the pursuit of suffrage emerged in Italy. (Isastia, 2008)

4.1.2 The Administrative Vote from 1890 to Fascism

The participation of women in political life was considered incompatible with their nature, but regarding the local administrative vote, public opinion began to differ toward the end of the nineteenth century. The first conquest in this field occurred in 1890: Law no. 6972 of the 17 of July opened the opportunity for women to vote and be voted on the boards of directors of charitable institutions (Taricone, 1992). Thus, from this moment, the path that would allow women to obtain universal suffrage began. Laws followed:

Law no. 121/1910 of the 20 March, which gave women electoral participation in the Chambers of Commerce (organisations for the interests of the productive categories in Italian municipalities, as important as conquering public power because they were not only the guardians of the interests of merchants and gods' traders but fundamental driving forces of economic activity); Law no. 295 of June 16, 1893, which admitted women to vote in the *collegi di probiviri*, agency with the task of resolving any disputes between associates or between associates and companies, called to resolve labour conflicts (Taricone, 1992; Fernando, 2019). It is interesting to underline the important role of these women called to take part in what was defined as "probiviri" (D'Achille & Thornton, 2020, p.14), which in Latin means the honest men or rather people who, due to particular moral authority, are vested with judicial and arbitration powers on the performance of an institution or association, on any internal conflicts, on relations with other bodies and the like. During that period, many discussions were raised about the possibility of modifying the term and giving it a female linguistic form: "probovire" (D'Achille & Thornton, 2020, p.16).

In 1907, Adelaide Coari presented her *Programma minimo femminista*

(Feminist Minimum Program), mentioning the necessity of granting women rights, including the right to vote, which until then had been denied (Rossi–Doria, 1996), but only on the 9 of June 1923, the draft law appeared, which provided the right to vote, just for the limited administrative vote to the heroines of the homeland, to those mothers or widows of war dead, to wealthy or educated women. On the 22 of November 1925, fascism enacted Law no. 2125 related to the Admission of women to the administrative electorate (Law no. 2125/1925), which recognised the right to vote for women in the administrative sphere for the first time in Italian history. Nevertheless, as I already specified above, this law became immediately useless due to the Podestà reform that came into force a few months later and precisely on the 4 of February 1926 with the Law no n.237: "Establishment of the Podestà and the Municipal Council in municipalities with a population not exceeding 5000 inhabitants" (Law no.237/1926) and the law of the 3 of September 1926, n. 1910: "Extension of the Podestà" (Law no.1910/1926), ordered to all the municipalities of the kingdom. The local administrative electorate of the municipalities was suppressed. All the functions of the municipal council and the city council were transferred to the Podestà (monocratic authority, head of the government of a municipality), which the government appointed; thus, every local administrative electorate was cancelled, the mayor was replaced by the mayor who together with the municipal councillors was not elected by the people, but by the government. Again, this was a false illusion for the women to obtain the right to vote finally.

4.1.3 The Political Vote from Fascism to 1946

The Constitution of Italy, promulgated on December 27, 1947 (Smyth, 1948),

introduced a new governmental approach representing a radical change from the previous monarchic and Fascist governments. The power transfer did not happen suddenly, as is typical of social revolutions. Instead, the historical transition from Fascism to the republican system occurred in gradual steps, thus ensuring legal continuity and avoiding a civil war. (Smyth, 1948)

This transformation was complex, but as evidenced by Smyth, an eminent voice in that period, it could be analysed considering five relevant phases:

"1. Monarchic-military dictatorship from July 26 to September 8, 1943, with the promise of a return to the Statuto Albertino, the constitution of the Kingdom of Italy, granted by the king during the liberal Revolutions of 1848;

2. The regime of Badoglio from September 10, 1943, to June 4, 1944, the conflict over abdication, the institutional question, and the constitutional compromise;

3. Bonomi's provisional constitution from June 5, 1944 to June 1945, establishment of the Lieutenancy General and Decree-Law No. 151;

4. The Consultative Assembly and the preparation of the laws for the Constituent Assembly from June 1945 to June 2, 1946;

5. The provisional government of the Constituent Assembly from June 2, 1946 to December 27, 1947." (Smyth, 1948, p.205-206)

For the present thesis, the most fundamental steps to consider are the last two: "The Consultative Assembly and the preparation of the laws for the Constituent Assembly from June 1945 to June 2, 1946" (Smyth, 1948, p.206) and "The provisional government of the Constituent Assembly from June 2, 1946 to December 27, 1947." (Smyth, 1948, p.206)

These two assemblies played a crucial role in shaping the new Italian Republic. They represented an innovative approach to including that part of the population before

being politically marginalised.

Chapter 5. The Twenty-one Madri Costituenti and Their Collective Legislative Efforts across Political Party Lines

The Twenty-one *Madri Costituenti*, or the group of women members of the Constituent Assembly created to draft the first Constitution in Italy, played a fundamental role in the Italian modernisation process. New social and legal reforms were institutionally anchored, and political and economic changes in the country gradually shaped it towards a more liberal, accessible, and women-sensitive society. Although these women came from different political backgrounds, they were able to collaborate across political party lines to reach and settle the main constitutional articles of that document, which became the Constitution of Italy: the foundation for the democratic rebirth of the country after the Second World War. The Founding Mothers were women of primates: first to vote, first to be elected, first to enter institutional buildings, first to represent Italians. They all had histories of social and political commitment behind them, and some also had experiences as fighters, partisan struggle, prison for anti-fascist activities, exile or deportation to Nazi concentration camps. (Serantoni, 2009)

They came from every part of the country; almost all of them worked and had high qualifications: fourteen of twenty-one were university graduates, most of them were teachers, two journalists, a trade unionist and a housewife. Some were also active in the Christian Democratic Party, nine in the Communist Party, two in the Socialist Party, and one in the Man-Anyone Party (Serantoni, 2009).

5.1 The Universal Suffrage: An Achievement That Transformed Women's Democratic Participation in the Italian Political Landscape

The introduction of universal suffrage marked a fundamental moment in Italy's history, transforming women's participation in the democratic process. This milestone was essential to increase women's political inclusion, offering them the opportunity to give concern to their voices and to engage and shape within the new political discourses of the nation. At the end of World War II, women finally obtained the franchise in France, Belgium and Italy (Delmedico, 2018; Rubio-Marín, 2014). In 1946, the Italian Constitution was promulgated, and women obtained civil and social recognition.

On June 2, 1946, Italian women and men voted for the institutional referendum for the first time. The referendum announced they would choose between a monarchy or a republic as their new form of government for Italy, and, contemporarily, they also had to vote for the Constituent Assembly (the Assembly charged with delivering a Constitution).

Twenty-one women were elected and participated in the draft of the Italian Constitution. The women elected sustained the all-levels equality principle from the beginning, obtaining essential results mainly regarding the protection of maternity, employment, education, and family, which were later merged into some of the main fundamental articles of the Constitution.

The importance of that election call was extraordinary for more than one reason: the end of the Nazi-fascist dictatorship occupation, the return to choosing the political representatives in a free and democratic way, and finally, the opening of the political doors to a part of the population that until then had been excluded: women.

In Italy, as in other countries, we can regard universal suffrage as a necessary feature

of development towards modern democracy, and women's increased involvement in the spheres of education, politics and economy was the most significant change. Their modern political role emerged after their intensive work efforts outside their homes during World War II. Women started to claim new opportunities in the political and public spheres, and men could no longer so readily claim superiority over women. Women enjoyed increased financial and personal freedom, became more aware of new possibilities to be active and demonstrate their full capability to gain results equal to men and did not consider themselves just working mothers anymore.

Women started to claim political inclusion after World War II because they understood that it mattered not only for a real new political democratic wave after the monarchy and fascism periods but also to obtain gender equality after long enforced silence. Although the process of participation in the Italian political landscape was slow over the interwar period, women's mobilisation in resistance changed the traditional gender roles, allowing a reconsideration of the hierarchies and broadening the chances for women to participate in new political roles. Women were increasingly employed in the workforce during both World Wars, and that was the occasion for them to start to discuss and compare their lives and rights. It was a suitable space for them to congregate and create organisations and movements. “They formed nationwide women's organisations, a movement known as women's associationism. They flowed into political parties, boosting their membership and representative government power. A smaller core of them became candidates and elected officials at every level of the state, rebuilding city councils, schools, and infrastructure, framing a new law of the land un the Constitutional Assembly […].” (Tambor, 2014, p. 6)

Among these women's movements and associationism, it is essential to cite, for the number of members and presence in the territory, the Italian Women's Union (Udi),

a secular association linked to the PCI Italian Communist Party with the aim of defence family women workers and for the social integration of women in the political affair (Tambor, 2014), and the CIF “Italian Women's Center (CIF Centro italiano femminile)” (Tambor, 2014, p.23), born within the Catholic associations and supporters of the Christian Democrats (DC) (Gabrielli, 2017)—these two opposite political and ideological movements but all toward a unique goal: giving voice to women.

The impact of the new women's organisations, movement, and associationism can, therefore, be seen as a catalyst for universal suffrage. Thanks to their growing involvement in the public sphere and their struggles against the system, the support for the franchise became stronger. It held the promise of real change, where women would finally embark on what can be defined as a social revolution. (Abbott, 1906)

In the 19th century, there was a widely accepted idea that women could not enter into the political sphere because the female distinctive sensitive characteristic could only generate dysfunctions in managing political affairs and because their husbands already represented them also in political terms; for this reason, women needed to stay out political affairs (Serantoni, 2009). Discussions on the enlargement of suffrage began with the suffragist feminist movement, which developed in an organic form starting in the mid-nineteenth century, looking at female inequality and the inequality of rights between men and women in societies as a whole, believed the affirmation of equal rights, the reform which introduced universal male suffrage in Italy, and that saw the enfranchise also for women a goal almost achieved.

The legislative decree of February 1, 1945, had admitted to vote women who had reached the age of 21 on December 31, 194 (Garlati, 2024), but did not mention the right to run for office and be elected. That right was exercised a year later, on the occasion of the administrative elections held between March and April 1946, with the

introduction of the legislative decree of March 10, 1946, and thanks to the intervention of the Italian National Council (a non-elective body with exclusively advisory functions), the eligibility was also granted to Italian citizens who, on election day, had reached the age of 25. It was precisely thanks to this decree that there was a massive participation of women in the vote: 89% of those entitled to vote. (Garlati, 2024)

Finally, the Decree of March 10, 1946, lifted the major restrictive regulations, affirmed the principle of gender equality, at least for political rights, and gave women the vote by decree. “From mothers, wives, sisters of citizens, from simple members of an institution - the family - with the D.L.L. of 1945, they became citizens in all respects, subjects with subjective rights, voters and, the following year, with the legislative D.L.L. of 10 March 1946, n. 74 (Rules for the election of deputies to the Constituent Assembly), they in turn also became eligible.” (Delmedico, 2018, p.302-303)

On June 2, 1946, the turnout of women voters was very high, although there were exciting differentiations across the country: North: 91.3% men and 90.3% women; Centre: 89.7% men and 88.0% women; South: 84.8% men and 86.2% women; Sicily: 84.8% men and 86.2% women; Sardinia: 84.4% men and 87.3% women (Presidenza et al., 2016).

The extended right to vote makes this election even more significant, not only for the massive participation of women who went voluntarily and enthusiastically but indeed demonstrating a great maturity and a strong desire to finally be able to actively participate in the public life of their country and support their ideas and concerns outside the domestic walls.

5.2 The Twenty-One Madri Costituenti. A History of Women's Political Inclusion Through Access to Franchise

June 2, 1946, was an important day for Italy, but even more so for Italian women citizens: women saw political inclusion through access to the franchise.

Twenty-one women gathered in Rome as a group, unified by their passion for politics and motivated by the shared experience of Fascism and the World War. As the Republic entered into force and the democratic regime was finally achieved, it was clear that the process required all citizens' participation and women's political participation to promote gender equality. They were representative women of their political party and of the Resistance, the only 21 out of 556 members of the Constituent Assembly, the body entrusted with writing the new Republican Constitution (Tambor, 2014). Their voices were expressed in the text of some of the most essential articles incorporated in the Constitution.

For the first time, women could vote, be elected, and actively participate in political life by challenging the existing social and political structures that perpetuated the culture of women's inferiority in both the private and public spheres.

For the aim of the present thesis, it is fundamental to briefly provide their 21 names and the political party they belonged to:

Nine are communists: Adele Bei, Nadia Gallico Spano, Nilde Iotti, Teresa Mattei, Angiola Minella Molinari, Rita Montagnana, Teresa Noce, Elettra Pollastrini, Maria Maddalena Rossi; nine Christian Democrats: Laura Bianchini, Elisabetta Conci, Maria De Unterrichter Jervolino, Maria Federici, Filomena Delli Castelli, Angela Gotelli, Angela Maria Guidi Cingolani, Maria Nicotra Fiorini, Vittoria Titomanlio; two socialists (Bianca Bianchi, Angelina Merlin); one from the Common Man's Front:

Ottavia Penna Buscemi (Morelli, 2007).

Because of their limited political experiences, when they entered the new political offices, these women faced suspicions from male colleagues who doubted their capability in political decision-making. While they were primarily proponents of themes like equality between men and women and protection for maternity, themes in which women had certainly acquired more excellent life experience and were, therefore, more inclined to deal with the real needs and problems of these weaker subjects, they faced resistance. They created extensive political discussions in the parliamentary chamber.

Despite these challenges, these twenty-one women achieved significant contributions, which were later merged into the Italian Constitution chart: Art 3. equality of citizens without distinction of sex; Art. 29 on the equality of spouses in marriage; Art. 37 on working women; and not even Art. 51, which mentions the equality of male and female citizens entering public offices and electoral charges in equal terms.

5.3 The Committee of 75: The Five Women That Secured Access to the Politics for Other Women

The "Committee of 75" (Tambor, 2014, p.64) was the commission elected by the Constituent Assembly to elaborate on and present the draft of the Italian Constitution before it was submitted to the same Assembly (Tambor, 2014).

This commission brought together the elected representatives and members of the various Italian parties who sat on the benches of *Montecitorio*, the historical Roman palace that houses the Chamber of Deputies of the Republic. (*Montecitorio in Parlamento Italiano:* https://storia.camera.it/montecitorio/) These representative

members were in charge of drafting a text incorporating the principles of freedom and equality, which inspired and guided the Resistance up to the Liberation of Italy. Three commissions were established (Garlati, 2024): the one related to the rights and duties of citizens, the commission dedicated to the constitutional organisation of the state, and that of economic and social duties.

Five women out of 75 male deputies elected by the Constituent Assembly took part in the work of the Committee of 75. Finally, the editorial Committee was set up to keep the ranks and amalgamate what was drawn up by the various working groups. Maria Federici, Teresa Noce, Angelina Merlin, Nilde Iotti and Angela Gotelli joined the Special Committee of 75 (Morelli, 2007).

Many of these parliamentarian women had participated in the partisan Resistance during World War and faced difficult paths. For example, Teresa Noce, after a year and a half in prison because of antifascist activism, remained in a Nazi concentration camp during World War II until the end of the war.
Nilde Iotti was the first responsible for the Women's Defense Groups in the Second World War Resistance. Later, in 1979, she was appointed the President of the Chamber, the first woman in the Republic's history, and confirmed until 1992.

The role of women in the Committee was indispensable as they participated in defining the structure of the future Italian Constitution by firmly debating for the introduction of essential innovations and principles such as gender equality (Art. 3), equality between husband and wife (Art. 29), the same right and remuneration as the male workers (Art. 37), and equal opportunity and access to public offices and elective positions for male and female(Art. 51) flowed in the Constitutional chart. (*Costituzione della Repubblica Italiana*, 1948) [Constitution of Italy,1948])

They got the chance to offer different points of view to their male colleagues'

visions about some of the most critical problems related to equality of rights, and they contributed to the writing of a finalised Constitution that was born from a compromise between the major political forces of the post-war period.

5.4 Short Biographical Notes of the Five *Madri Costituenti* Elected to the Committee of 75

These women were women of primates in the birth of the new Italian government: first to vote, first to be elected, first to enter institutional buildings, and first to represent Italian women.

Maria Federici Agamben (L'Aquila, 1899– Roma 1984)

Agamben was a Partisan during the period of the Resistance in World War II. As a member of the parliamentary group Christian Democracy (D.C.), she joined the Commission known as the Committee of 75. She worked in the Third Subcommittee on Economic and Social Rights and Family Duties, the economic and social guarantee for the care of the family and the children born out of the wedding. (Serantoni, 2009)

She was very attentive to the everyday material conditions of her students, and her primary focus was promoting economic guarantees in the sphere of social issues for the family: she asked the State for an intervention to protect working mothers and to remove economic impediments to matrimonial unions.

Her political actions entailed advocating for land reform for peasants' moral and material elevation. She also advocated for eliminating any norms that relegated women to limited sectors. In '48, as an elected Deputy for the Christian Democrats, she presented a draft law “for the Physical and Economic Protection of working mothers,

which was transformed into law in 1950, no.860." (Toponomastica femminile, 2014) In the last period of her life, she devoted herself exclusively to welfare and cultural commitment (Serantoni, 2009).

Leonilde Iotti (Reggio Emilia 1920- Poli 1999)

She graduated and became a professor of letters at Universita' Cattolica di Milano. She then decided to leave the profession when she developed a deep anti-fascist stance that convinced her to engage in politics. During World War II, she joined the PCI and participated in the Resistance. In 1946, she was nominated by the Italian Communist Party (PCI) first as a municipal councillor in the country and then to the Constituent Assembly, where she joined the Committee of 75 and thus participated in drafting the Constitution. She was Elected in 1948 to the Chamber of Deputies and remained in charge until 1999. Leonilde 'Nilde' Iotti was a resistance fighter during the Second World War and became one of Italy's most important female politicians after the Second World War. She joined the Chamber of Deputies, becoming its longest-serving president. (Serantoni, 2009)

She made a significant contribution, among others, to equal wages and children protection by demanding, discussing with male colleagues and searching for an adequate solution to the inferior position of illegitimate children. She insisted they should be granted the same rights as the 'legitimate children', i.e. children born inside the marriage. She focused on the social position and problems of a family, supported the emancipation of women, and fought for equality between spouses and the recognition of the rights of children born out of wedlock. Her relevant contribution is in Articles 29, 30, and 31 of the Constitution.

Nilde Iotti dedicated significant political efforts to family issues to regulate family

relationships and the very concept of the family, both legally and culturally.

Angelina Merlin- (Pozzonovo 1887 –Padova 1979)

She was born in Pozzonovo, a small city in the province of Padua, in 1887; Merlin served as a Member of Parliament between 1946 and 1961 and died in Milan in 1979.

She lived in Milan, where she organised assistance to the partisans, and her house became a meeting point for socialists such as Sandro Pertini, President of the Republic.

In November 1943, she represented the Socialist Party in the foundation of the Women's Defense Groups (Gdd). She is also remembered as the founder of the *Unione Donne Italiane*.

Angelina Merlin was an antifascist and a member of the (PSI) Italian Socialist Party, and her contribution to the Constitution was mainly about discussing the themes for equal rights stated in Article 3 of the Italian Constitution. In particular, she fought to "abolish the brothels or "closed houses" (*case chiuse*), the state system of regulated prostitution." (Tambor, 2014, p.108) She viewed the reform of prostitution laws as a necessity to conform to the new constitution's guarantee of equal rights for women (Tambor, 2014). The *Case Chiuse* constituted an institution of mistreatment of women, and Merlin's desire was also to close this *Case Chiuse* definitively. In February 1958, the Law on the Abolition of the Regulation of Prostitution and the Fight Against the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others called the legge Merlin came into force. It took 10 years for the law to pass because of the opposition of the male members of Parliament, who refused to put the issue on the agenda for debate. "The only opponents of the legge Merlin were the ex-fascist MSI and the Monarchists, marginal parties that represented nostalgia for the past. They presumably also represented an important gap

in the consensus-building power of the antifascist coalition, if not in number of votes, certainly on social matters." (Tambor, 2014, p.136)

That legge Merlin represented a fundamental step toward respecting women's rights, emancipation, and equality. "It constitutes a milestone in the fight against the legalised mistreatment of women in the exercise of prostitution" (Senato della Repubblica, 2013, p.2)

This law challenged the conventional collective understanding of gender roles and identity and how they were and should be associated with the politics of emancipation and citizenship. Even if Merlin's law in its final form no longer liberated women from mistreatment and state control, it assured the continuation of the state's discipline of women's sexual behaviour. It did not explicitly prohibit prostitution as such. However, it led to the banning of discriminatory records of sex workers and the affirmation that prostitution is a lawful private activity without penalties for either party involved. (Senato delle Repubblica, 2013)

Merlin is remembered for her eponymous law and her focus on the state's duty to guarantee all citizens the minimum wage necessary for their existence and to ensure that every individual has the right to create a household/family.

Teresa Noce Longo (Torino, 1900 – Bologna, 1980)

She was born in 1900 in Turin to a working-class family, and in 1921, from an early age, her political commitment led her to become one of the founding members of the Italian Communist Party. In January 1926, she and her husband, Luigi Longo, became expatriates. They left for Moscow and then moved to Paris and later to Spain, where she edited the newspaper of Italian fighters in the Brigades International. She participated in the founding of the newspaper *Noi Donne*. In 1943, she was arrested,

and after a few months in prison, she was deported to Germany, first to the concentration camp in Ravensbruck, then to Flossebürg in Bavaria and its satellite camp in Holleischen (Holýšov), Czechoslovakia, where was used as forced labour in an ammunition factory until the liberation of the camp by the Soviet army.

Teresa Noce formulated the following crucial words of Article 3 of the Italian Constitution: “All citizens [...] are equal before the law, without the distinction of sex.” (*Costituzione della Repubblica Italiana*, 1948) [Constitution of Italy, 1948]

Her contribution was also relevant in elaborating Article 31 in the Commission on Rights and Duties for the Economic and Social Field, together with Teresa Noce, Lina Merlin, and Maria Federici.

Article 31 of the Constitution states, “The Republic facilitates the formation of the family with economic measures and other provisions, particularly regarding large families. It protects motherhood, childhood and youth by promoting the institutions necessary for this purpose.” (*Costituzione della Repubblica Italiana*, 1948) [Constitution of Italy, 1948]

Angela Gotelli (Albareto, 1905 – Albareto, 1996)

Angela Gotelli was born in San Quirico, a city near Parma. Between 1943 and 1945, she was a Red Cross nurse. In 1945, she moved to Rome to be part of the reborn organisation of Catholic graduates. However, it was in 1946 that she was elected National Deputy Delegate of the Women's Movement belonging to the Christian Democracy (D.C.)

On 6 February 1947, she entered the restricted “Committee of 75”. Her commemoration could be particularly noteworthy because she vigorously fights for women's access to the justice system.

She was the author of the law on scholastic patronage and supported other initiatives for measures favouring children and scholars, including the Legge Merlin.

Her relations with the Church were always strong, but she never conditioned her path toward affirmations of laws to protect children and scholars. Through the Italian Catholic University Federation (FUCI) (De Biase, 2016) first, then the Catholic graduates, and with an assiduous presence in various houses of religious orders, Angela Gotelli remained close to the group of the Catholic students, promoting initiatives to update the methods of learning and coexistence. (De Biase, 2016)

Angela Guidi Cingolani (Roma, 1896 -1991) was the first Italian woman to speak in a democratic assembly.

She graduated from the Oriental University Institute of Naples with a Slavic language and literature degree. She was active in the Catholic movement and collaborated with newspapers such as *L'Avvenire d'Italia* and *Corriere d'Italia*. Angela was one of the first young Catholics to participate in the National Pro-Suffrage Female Movement and the first woman to speak in a national democratic assembly in Italy.

1921, she founded the National Committee for Women's Work and Cooperation. In 1922, she was appointed by the Ministry of Industry and Commerce, The Committee of Small Industries and Crafts. In 1925, she became a Labour inspector and one of the founders of the National Association of Professionals and Artists. After the fall of fascism, she joined the Christian Democracy, becoming its National Councillor from 1944 to 1947. She intervened in the assembly by discussing the law on working mothers' physical and economic protection, a deterrent against dismissals, and penalties against women on maternity leave.

Teresa Mattei (Genova 1921-Casciana Terme Lari 2013) – Coining the Mimosa Flower as the Symbol of Italian Feminists.

She was born in Genoa on February 1, 1921. She graduated in philosophy and became a teacher.

When elected as a member of the Constituent Assembly, she was 25 years old and thus the youngest of the Constituents. She participated in the Women's Defence Groups (GDD) and the Youth Front and was among the first registered with the U.D.I. (Union of Italian Women).

In the Constitution, the contribution of Teresa Mattei is in Article 3, on the principle of equality, and Article 37, where the aim is to ensure special adequate defence for mothers and children (Senato della Repubblica, 2013). She was the woman who chose for all Italian women the symbol of mimosa flower (Rodano, 2010), an economic and seasonal flower cheap and easy to find in March (Gissi, 2018). For the anniversary of 8 March (International Day of the Women), mimosa stands for women´s movement in Italy as a symbol, ritual, and tool to strengthen collective identity and shared memory. Mattei also became the secretary of the *Ufficio di Presidenza* (Presidency Office), the collegial organ of the political-administrative direction of the Chamber of Deputies.

As well highlighted in the single short bibliographies here, the concern that moved all the Five *Madri Costituenti* was equality and the provision of clear social rights to improve the concrete conditions of life of the people. They defined a new welfare, based on the distinction between social security and assistance, on providing an economic measure of protection for those in a condition of unemployment, to promote the right to work, equal wages, and the reconciliation between working life and family life. However, after an extensive and meaningful discussion, they also experienced defeats, such as the rejection of the amendment proposed by Teresa Mattei, supported with

conviction by all, which proposed women's access to the judiciary. (Turco, 2016)

5.4.1 An analysis of the Representation of the Five *Madri Costituenti* elected to the Committee of 75 in the Public Space in Italy

When discussing representation in the commemorative landscape, we also include the names of the streets, plaques, statues, and other artefacts useful to commemorate events or eminent characters from the past. By considering different ways the history of the cities in Italy commemorated events and characters from the past, in this chapter, I will focus on analysing the representation and commemoration of the *Madri Costituenti* in Italy.

When we talk about relevant historical characters, as well as the five *Madri Costituenti*, who were instrumental in drafting the Italian Constitution after World War II, we must guarantee a way in which their memories do not fall into oblivion or forgetfulness. Their commemoration and representation must be equally representative of the one reserved for relevant men in the country's historical narrative. However, the representations of these founding mothers or *Madri Costituenti* are absent. As stated by Maren Reeder (2018): “increased female visibility throughout the public landscape allows the integration of women into these “official” narratives, both giving a platform to their historically devalued perspective and providing tangible, visual encouragement and confidence to a younger generation that women are impactful and powerful members of society.” (Reeder, 2018, p.116)

The representation of commemorative landscapes dedicated to women is still underestimated in the scientific literature (Peruzzi et al., 2022).

Essential research about the way these five women of the Committee of 75 are

commemorated in the Italian public space has been conducted by the Italian *Toponomastica Femminile*, an association born in 2014 with the aim of restoring voice and visibility to women who have contributed in all fields, and to improve society to urges the institutions so that streets, squares, gardens and urban spaces in a broad sense could be dedicated to women (Toponomastica Femminile, 2014). They underlined and published on their website https://www.toponomasticafemminile.com/ that, in Italian cities, just some streets, gardens or squares have been dedicated to these parliamentarian women. Moreover, the street names and public squares associated with these women lack context and fail to evoke their rich histories or narrate their impactful stories. Data gathered through crowdsourcing indicates that no statues are dedicated to the *Madri Costituenti* in any city across Italy. This lack of memory and gender representation in public spaces serves as a reminder of the broader societal neglect of women's contributions to history.

Frequently, these influential parliamentarian women lack the recognition they rightfully deserve, particularly in the form of memorial statues that would honour their legacies. For specific details regarding the representation of these women in various Italian cities, the regional data compiled by Toponomastica Femminile, available on their website's section "Statistiche regionali - TOPONOMASTICA FEMMINILE", proves invaluable for conducting a thoughtful analysis of the representation of the five *Madri Costituenti* elected to the Committee of 75 in the Public Space in Italy. The commemorative efforts associated with these five remarkable parliamentarians yield significant insights, which are crucial for supporting the objectives of this thesis and fostering a deeper understanding of the need for equity in the public commemoration of women's contributions to Italian society.

Leonilde Iotti (Reggio Emilia 1920 – Poli, 1999)

Nilde Iotti's legacy is commemorated on a national level. In 2006, the Italian State Printing issued a commemorative Duty Stamp in her honour. Her birthplace, Reggio Emilia (RE, Italy), has dedicated a street, a park, and gardens to her. A park was inaugurated in Settimo Torinonese (TO) on May 14, 2022. On April 19, 2023, a monument was unveiled, recognising the efforts of both Nilde Iotti and Tina Anselmi. Despite the widespread Recognition of Nilde Iotti's contributions, one notable absence in the form of statues remains. While streets, parks, and gardens across Italy bear her name, there are no physical monuments to her. This absence prompts us to consider the reasons behind this and the significance of other forms of commemoration.

Here are visual examples of the recognition of Nilde Iotti in Italy:

The commemorative Duty Stamp representing Nilde Iotti.
Source: Toponomastica Femminile, 2014, https://www.toponomasticafemminile.com/sito/
Accessed on 4 January, 2025

The monument is dedicated to Nilde Iotti and Tina Anselmi.
Source: https://www.ilbiellese.it/stories/attualita/con-studenti-inaugurato-monumento-nilde-iotti-tina-anselmi-foto-o_47741_80/
Accessed on 4 January, 2025

Angelina Merlin (Pozzonovo 1887 – Padova 1979)

Angelina Merlin, originally from *Pozzonuovo* and later passed away in Padua, is a truly inspiring figure who deserves greater recognition. Several cities, including Adria, Crotone, and Ravenna, have celebrated her legacy by naming streets in her honour. Padua has also dedicated a beautiful garden and a commemorative plaque to remember her contributions. However, it is somewhat surprising that more substantial or materially prominent memory markers are missing, highlighting our opportunity to appreciate further and promote her significant impact on our history.

Source: Toponomastica Femminile, 2014, https://www.toponomasticafemminile.com/sito/
Accessed on 4 January, 2025

Teresa Noce (Torino 1900 – Bologna 1980)

Streets are dedicated to her in Castel Maggiore (Bo), Lecce, Milan (Mi), Mosciano Sant'Angelo (Te), Ravenna (Ra), and three other minor Italian cities.

Source: Toponomastica Femminile, 2014, https://www.toponomasticafemminile.com/sito/
Accessed on 4 January, 2025

What emerged from the analysis of the streets in the city is that most of the time, the streets representing Teresa Noce are hidden and small.

Ottavia Penna Buscemi (Caltagirone 1907 – Caltagirone 1986)

Ottavia Penna Buscemi is honoured by a street and a commemorative plaque at her birthplace, *Caltagirone*. However, she has not received any historical recognition in the form of statues.

Maria Agamben Federici (L'Aquila 1899 – Roma 1984)

Her native city, *L'Aquila*, dedicated a street to her, and also, in central Italy, like Monteleone and Perugia, it is possible to find a streets named after her.

This statistical data shows us that most of the commemorations of these five *Madri Costituenti* elected to the Committee of 75 are mainly in the form of streets, parks and some commemorative plaques. The streets dedicated to them are mainly in the cities where they were born. In a city like Rome, the seat of the Italian parliament

and a city in which these women have exercised their political offices, no streets are dedicated to them. "Urban spaces are actively constituted through the spatial practices of different groups. Yet developing an understanding of the multiple users who may either be in conflict or create gendered patterns of exclusion is rarely the focus of planning attention, much less policy intervention." (Beebeejaun, 2016, p.326)

5.5 Inclusion Through Access to Public Space?

The *Madri Costituenti*, despite their different ideological positions and political backgrounds, managed to establish shared common goals that were particularly important to them at the time, such as family, motherhood, and childhood. Their agenda, though narrow and limited, fostered a sense of "social cohesion" (Valentova, 2016, p.159), intended here in its two key elements of "solidarity and institutional trust." (Valentova, 2016, p.159)

These two elements are represented in the shared deep sense of justice and the demand to recognise common aspiration: protection of equality and the elimination of sex discrimination. If sex discrimination plays a significant role in excluding women from positions of authority and influence in the workplace, then one of the key factors to reducing these discriminatory practices would be the extent and nature of organised efforts by women to challenge them. Moreover, influence in the workplace, one key factor in diminishing these discriminatory practices would be the scope and nature of organised efforts by women to oppose them. (Wright et al., 1995)

These women recognised that the key to encouraging other women to engage in politics and actively participate in the emerging political agenda lies in the solidarity and relationships that differentiate merely having political rights from participating in

democracy (Tambor, 2014). They were able to collaborate to increase their influence in a political sphere that had previously been dominated only by men. They capitalised on their historical feminine roles of care and assistance to expand their political participation and gain widespread support for women's activism (Tambor, 2014). The Italian early women parliamentarians, a group of pioneering women who were among the first to hold political office in Italy, searched for common goals. They created polyphony of thoughts concentrated on the problem relevant to families. They worked to uphold and defend women's rights, with the starting theme of equality between spouses and the aim to include women in the public sphere. Around this theme were many clashes and harsh discussions: many male members of the Committee of 75 found it hard to imagine anything other than a hierarchical system within families with husbands as the heads of households.

What is relevant to underline in this fundamental passage is that the traditional breadwinner model (Creighton, 1996; Zuo & Tang, 2000), "where men and women have their main responsibilities in the domains of work and home respectively" (Nadim, 2015, p. 122) has gone through a fast change (Trappe et al., 2015; Lewis, 2001). Walby Sylvia (2020) analyses this transformation process as a shift from a domestic to a public gender regime. She investigates the modernisation of gender regimes from domestic to public patriarchy due to capitalist expansion and feminism.

"I distinguish between domestic and public gender regimes, and within the public, between neoliberal and social democratic forms of regimes. Is this sufficient to encompass the turn to less progressive forms of gender relations and multiple global regions, or is there a need to distinguish further varieties? The issue of which varieties of gender regimes should be distinguished is bound up with the issue of the trajectories of societal transformation. These trajectories depend upon the depth of democracy and

the strength of feminism and its allies. Hence, the identification of varieties has implications for feminist politics." (Walby, 2020, p.415)

The passage of women from the domestic gender regime centred around household production, also analysed in different contexts like in Turkey (Kocabicak, 2022) as the primary form of women's work can thus be demonstrated in history as one of the main reasons for women's exclusion from participating in the public sphere. In contrast, the public gender regime reduces the significance of domestic activities as women increasingly participate in public life (Walby, 2020).

Including the *Madri Costituenti* in politics guaranteed them access to public space and significantly changed Italian society. Their participation in the political sphere marked the first-time women were seen as leaders and decision-makers. Their contributions to the Constitution advanced women's rights and redefined the concept of the domestic gender regime, which was previously centred around household production. This shift allowed women to become citizens and enter the public space in post-war Italy. This inclusion was not without challenges because the *Madri Costituenti* had to face a new male-dominated political landscape; despite this, their ability to leave behind the stereotypes that saw them trapped in a domestic gender regime just focused on the household production helped them increase the respect of their male colleagues and solidify their place in the public space.

5.6. *Madri Costituenti* and Italian Constitution: A Social Programme toward a Democratic Representation of Women in Politics

The Italian Constitution was written in the aftermath of the dramatic upheaval of the war and was for Italy a "key 'closure event.'" (Thomassen &

Forlenza, 2016, p.233)

The Italian Constitution is significant because it was written after a period of political dictatorship. For this reason, a system of union of political forces with different ideologies and visions, united by anti-fascism and with a democratic aspiration, was created (Thomassen & Forlenza, 2016). That is why the Italian Constitution represents a symphony of different voices, where inclusion represents equal gender and democratic power.

Different kinds of relevant characters represented the composition of the Assembly elected on the 2 of June 1946: from men approaching the liberal side who had been in charge of government before Fascism, from anti-fascist leaders who had returned from exile, prison, confinement, and years of semi-clandestine life in Italy. Also, characters from Resistance fighters, economists, and intellectuals. It was an assembly where all the political ideologies, experiences, and different generations met: that of the elderly anti-fascist leaders and the younger generations and Partisans from the War of Liberation (Serantoni, 2009). Finally, thanks to universal suffrage, young people and women represented a previously silent part of the population. Finally, women obtain their representation democratically in the matter of politics.

That assembly produced an innovative constitutional text, which was approved almost unanimously. Also, in this case, different generations and experiences met: women who had fought against the regime before the march on Rome or who had had to abandon their political commitment after the advent of fascism to replace it with militancy in Catholic or charitable associations; women from the Resistance such as Nilde Iotti, Teresa Mattei, Laura Bianchini, Bianca Bianchi, Maria Maddalena Rossi, Teresa Mattei, Nilde Iotti and Angiola Minella, Filomena Delli Castelli and Nadia Spano. (Serantoni, 2009).

The early women parliamentarians were determined to shape post-war Italy. They had embraced an ideal of radical transformation of society and devoted themselves to it.

They had made certain choices in life, and because of those choices, they had known prison and confinement or had been forced into exile. Some had been deported to Nazi concentration camps; others, such as Elisabetta Conci, Maria Iervolino, Maria Federici, Angelina Cingolani, Maria Nicotra, Filomena Delli Castelli, Angela Gotelli, Vittoria Titomanlio, embraced the political scene out of a spirit of service or out of obedience to the Pope, who used to invite women to take responsibility over the new change of society and start to consider themselves as human being and no more only women. This Pope's words were commonly spread during the Sunday religious services in homilies. Nilde Iotti also did something similar outside the Catholic institution and among the members of political parties and groups of women's movements trying to gain the attention of women to the new political wave and to the possibility and relevance of embracing the political culture over the everyday life. (Serantoni, 2009)

Early women parliamentarians were concerned about changing the discrimination and marginalisation of women. Without these women, the principles of equality that formed the basis for the transformation may not have been written in the Constitution. Removing obstacles as a task of the Republic is a new element, even for the contemporary anti-fascist constitutional papers, the French one of '46 and that of the Federal Republic of Germany of '49. That innovative formulation would hardly have been written without women's efforts. Similar considerations could be made for the articles relating to access to all careers, the judiciary, equal wages, and the right to reconcile work and motherhood.

The socio-economic context in which debates occurred underlines how politics

was also perceived as a noble activity to pursue common goals. When the Constituent Assembly was elected, millions of women were housewives and illiterate, usually as a consequence of the previous historical way women were treated. The rules of the old Codice Rocco from 1930 entered into force: the conjugal debitum, the different punishment of adultery if committed by the husband or wife, the *delitto d'onore* (honour killing)- that was the possibility for the husband to kill his wife without any legal consequences, the prohibition contraceptive products—all these modifications and discussions about the abrogation of specific laws required intensive parliamentary work and long-term efforts. (Basile, 2019)

Women finally became a precious resource for political life and institutions. Italy can no longer think of *Madri Costituenti* as marginal or of secondary importance, and it would be a severe underestimation and falsification of the country's history. Nilde Iotti, among the twenty-one constituent women, for example, is still too often remembered only as the President of the Chamber and a companion of Palmiro Togliatti; Rita Montagnana is mentioned only as the first wife of Togliatti left behind, while Lina Merlin has been long commemorated only for the law on closed houses, brothels and not for her role as constituent mother. None of these women are remembered for the diversity of their activities. The oblivion to which Italy has long relegated their memory and political efforts. It is worth mentioning that over two thousand women were elected in the local administrations, inaugurating a fundamental commitment to territorial-regional politics, in contrast to sedimented gender stereotypes. They also contributed to building a democratic Italy at a local level. The role of women in the Italian Constitution must, therefore, be adequately recognised, as well as transmitted to the younger generations of citizens so that they can follow the example and struggles of those who fought as protagonists not only during the Italian

resistance against the fascist regime but also in the building of Italian Republic. Their commitment, roles and protagonism deserve to be remembered both in history and in the commemoration in the public spaces of Italian cities and countryside.

Chapter 6. Women's Right to the City: Cityscape as an Inclusive Public Space.

In considering the cityscape as an inclusive public space, it is important to bear in mind that contemporary urban theories consider cities as social and historical places experienced differently by each individual (Falú, 2017).

Cities as public spaces are also arenas and stages for public commemoration. As both the space of municipal politics and the everyday living environment, they are carriers and promoters of gender inequality. “Public spaces facilitate interactions among people from diverse backgrounds and serve as arenas that offer valuable insights into societal dynamics.” (Haselbacher et al., 2024, p.1)

Fundamental to the aim of this present thesis is to consider how public space mediates and narrates the history of a country or a region with a particular focus on women’s representation and inclusion in the Italian landscape.

Considering two main statements from Kanes, Shoemaker, and Carlise (2019): “Public space may facilitate participation in cultural rights when the public space is designated as a site for the participation in culture, such as a public park, public library or public museum. Well-designed public spaces may also facilitate access to cultural rights, such as improving the safety of public streets for the increased movement of women and other vulnerable populations. Finally, public space may facilitate contributions to cultural life, such as when a public space is the site of a cultural gathering, like a parade or protest.” (Kanes et al., 2019, p.12)

These scholars underline the relevance of the public space as an inclusive space and the significant role of cultural heritages in shaping women’s identity within society. These statements are essential in supporting the present critical analysis of women’s lack of historical commemoration in cities and their right to be part of the contemporary

urban experience through their representation in statues and memorials. This perspective offers a hopeful outlook, emphasising the potential of public spaces to promote inclusivity and cultural rights.

The city and its history can also be compared to the analysis by Elizabeth Grosz (2005). In her chapter "Bodies–cities" (Grosz, 2005), Grosz underlines that both body and city are seen as socio-cultural objects made by human beings and capable of creating a relation of interchangeability. Suppose the historical representations of cities (ascribed to the different historical characters) differ significantly concerning gender, class, race, and ethnicity; the issue of how people experience urban places is linked to how cities are built concerning the equal representation of the citizens. Cities, seen as urban places, are lived and experienced mainly by their inhabitants; therefore, the question of experience the city and the public space also became a symbolic and political idea. Simultaneously, with the acceleration of urbanisation, "the design and functionality of public spaces have become pivotal in shaping the quality of urban life" (Benny et al., 2024, p.557), and the city has become a place where people interpret and interact with urban places. In such a way, urban spaces have the potential to create or dismantle social gender inequalities and stereotypes by challenging the historical traditions of the misrepresentation of women in public spaces. This perspective inspires and motivates, emphasising the role of public spaces in challenging historical traditions and promoting gender equality.

By diversifying forms of public commemoration, it would be possible to recognise the roles many influential women had in Italy, including a woman migrant Anita Garibaldi, art historians, and museum workers increasingly see cities and the countryside as inclusive spaces and, simultaneously, places able to fill the gender gap for the next generations. This perspective stresses the importance of diverse

commemoration, making the audience feel engaged and committed to promoting inclusivity in public spaces.

Monuments, plaques, squares, and street names shape the living space, but they tend not to represent the members of society in a relatively balanced or equal way. Relevant figures related to Italy's past are not represented to a comparable extent. Moreover, this narrow, restricted representation and materialisation of the past affect how citizens think about their society's past and future. By diversifying forms of public commemoration, it would be possible to recognise the roles many influential women had in Italy, not only Anita Garibaldi, one of the few women represented in the public space who is not a Virgin Mary or a saint. Historians, art historians, and museum workers increasingly see cities and the countryside as inclusive spaces and, simultaneously, places that can bridge the gender gap, the disparity in representation and recognition between men and women, for the next generations.

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6.1 Italian Cities and the Deficit of Women and Madri Costituenti Commemoration

In Italy, the memorial landscape has been populated with monuments, statues, commemorative plaques, and other historical artefacts. Italy's long heritage history also allowed the country to become internationally well-known as a promoter of "heritage

tourism" (Alderman & Inwood, 2013, p.186), which is considered here as the ambition to provide and increase interest, participation and wealth of people for historical themes (Alderman & Inwood, 2013).

This chapter will provide an overview of the historical commemorative monuments built in Italy, tracing their presence from antiquity to the present day to better underline the presence of masculine and female statues in the Italian public landscape and show, at the end, the deficit of women's commemoration in Italian cities. This comparison will be held thanks to statistical data provided with qualitative and quantitative methods by two leading Italian associations: the association *Toponomastica Femminile* that contributed to the debate related to the commemoration of female representation in Italy under the form of streets, squares, plaques and monuments dedicated to the Italian women and particularly lively discussion on the lack of commemoration of *Madri Costituenti* in Italy, and the association *Mi Riconosci* (Mi Riconosci ?, 2013) that focused primarily on the real presence of statues representing women in Italian landscape. I will thus focus mainly on the data related to the *Madri Costituenti*, the relevant women who actively and politically participated in the writing of the Italian Constitution. As will emerge from the data presented by the association *Mi Riconosci*? (Mi Riconosci?, 2013) and confluited in the book *"Comunque nude: La rappresentazione femminile nei monumenti pubblici italiani"* (Mi Riconosci?, 2023), the number of statues dedicated to real women in public spaces is deficient, and the one dedicated to the *Madri Costituenti* is completely lacking.

The research conducted by the two associations, *Toponomastica Femminile* and *Mi Riconosci?,* highlighting the underrepresentation of figures such as the *Madri Costituenti*, provides a hopeful starting point for rethinking the Italian memorial landscape. Rethinking the Italian landscape and its historical narrative can transform

Italian cities into a more equalitarian and inclusive space that can emphasise and elucidate these women's genuine historical efforts and path to emerge in the public space.

While I will consider the Cityscape as a generative power in shaping women's identities, this exploration seeks to underline the mechanism perpetuating the marginalisation of women in public spaces by highlighting the role of the environment in influencing societal perceptions and collective identities.

Drawing upon the works of scholars such as Pierre Nora, Marc Augé, Derek Alderman, Joshua Inwood and others, I will try to delineate and resume some examples of collective memory representation of female statues currently present in Italian cities. Furthermore, the gendered dimension of urban landscapes will be analysed in terms of how they intersect with power dynamics, such as the representation of the statues of Anita Garibaldi and Giuseppe Garibaldi and their ubication in the city. Contextualising these case studies within their respective historical, social, geographical and political context, I will try to offer insights into the complex dynamics that shape the commemorative landscape of Italian cities.

While memory is primarily concerned with past events, it is shaped by contemporary thoughts and values, playing a crucial role in maintaining particular cultural beliefs for future generations (Alderman & Inwood, 2013). Not only for cities' inhabitants but also for the countless tourists that stream to Italian cities, the promotion of a different narrative of history and its commemoration in the cities can be the real starting point to build a new public space and place for women and to rewrite and reconstruct a more inclusive narrative for future generations (Alderman & Inwood, 2013).

Considering scholars who already deal with Landscapes and Memory, I will underline how cultural geography and other fields of study can help delineate and open debate on the necessity of highlighting the relevance of the Cityscape as a Generative Power of Collective Identities.

Visitors to any Italian city will quickly be confronted with myriads of male names on street signs, plaques, or monuments, honouring the memory of men who shaped the country's history. Italy is full of streets and squares named after Giuseppe Garibaldi, Camillo Cavour, Guglielmo Marconi, or the various fallen soldiers; likewise, to Madonna, saints, martyrs, blessed nuns, and religious benefactors.

Each village or city has its icons and characters who have shaped local history and were deemed deserving of a plaque or another commemoration. On the other hand, if we search for representations of women, we will be surprised by the incredible absence of names referring to women as historical actors. We will instead find streets, commemorative plaques or statues dedicated to Madonna, *Italia Turrita* or groups of working women like the *mondine* (rice harvesters) or the *sarte* (seamstresses) throughout the country, each suffixed by the name of the place in which the famous saint or Madonna occurred.

The street names sometimes commemorate specific groups—e.g., those who died during the Risorgimento or the Resistance. Secular characters dominate modern Italy's spaces, squares, and streets, which are sites of memory or "lieux de mémoire where memory crystallises and secretes itself." (Nora, 1989, p.7)

They tell us much about Italian national identity and whose memory is prioritised. Secular characters of male representations lie at the nation's epicentre, and the country's main squares are dedicated to the heroical male gesture. Representation of national male heroes and heroism are depicted by phallic or majestic monuments

representing the power of men who fought for the country, conducted battles, and became historical representatives of nationalism and the power of the male gender. The *Vittoriano*, also called the *Altare della Patria* (Altar of the Fatherland) (Lerner, 2010), is a tremendous monumental structure that dominates the centre of the city of Rome, symbolically positioned at the heart of the capital.

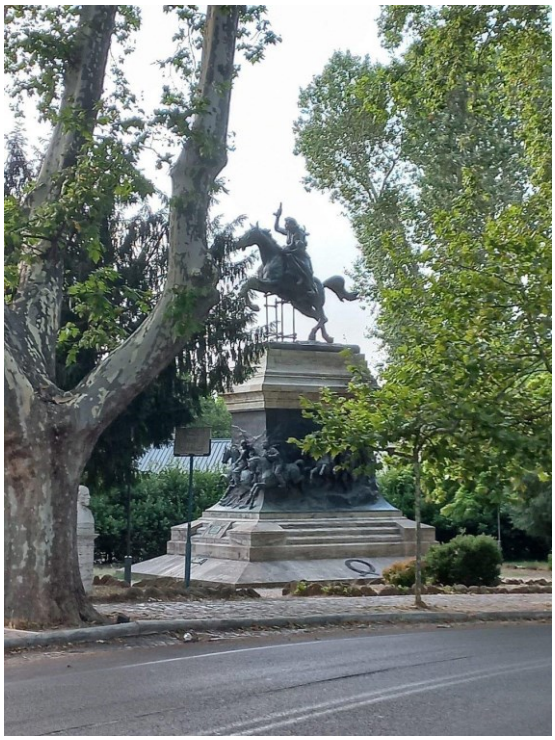
This building was erected in patriotic honour to the memory of Vittorio Emanuele II, the first king after Italian Unification (Dickie, 1994), also considered one of the four Fathers of the Fatherland who achieved the Unity of the nation together with Camillo Benso, notable for his political excitement, Giuseppe Garibaldi for his military support, and Giuseppe Mazzini for being the inspiring mind of the Italian patriots (Cerquetani, 2022).

Image under licence of Autore: ArcheoRoma, Copyright: © ArcheoRoma from the website: https://www.archeoroma.it/siti/vittoriano/.
Accessed on 4 January, 2025

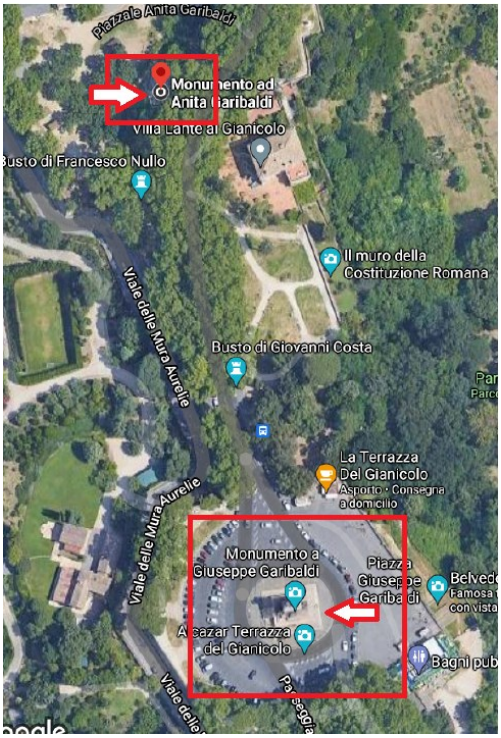
Also, in Rome, another great monument erected in 1891, situated in a focal position, is the Giuseppe Garibaldi statue built in 1895, the second main character of the Italian Risorgimento.

Image under license of: Sovrintendenza Capitolina 2017.
Source: https://www.sovraintendenzaroma.it/content/Monumento%20a%20Giuseppe%20Garibaldi.
Accessed on 4 January, 2025

Not very far from there, it is possible to see one of the few statues dedicated to real women in Italy, the Anita Garibaldi monument, erected in 1932 but not visible from a distance and hidden compared to the one of Giuseppe Garibaldi. In this statue, Ana Maria de Jesus Ribeiro da Silva, universally known as Anita Garibaldi, is represented with a gun in one hand and the son in the opposite arm. As the map shows, the prominent statue of Garibaldi is positioned in a central square on the *Gianicolo*, one of the most important hills in Rome, while Anita is hiding in a wooded garden, far from the main street.



Source: Tripadvisor.
Author: gian1063 ITMT.
Accessed on 4 January, 2025



Source: Google map.

The last mentioned is one of the central and fundamental examples that allowed me to think about the topic of my present thesis. Why is the Anita monument so far from the Giuseppe Garibaldi Monument, and why is her statue less visible than the Garibaldi one?

From the images reproduced here, the differences in representations of Giuseppe and Anita appear very clear. Giuseppe is in an open space overlooking the city's panoramic view at the square where it is positioned. At the same time, the statue of Anita is hidden in a green park, covered in the shadow of trees all around. My aim is to focus on the idea of restoring women to history by underlining the lack of commemorations of women in Italy till nowadays, but also by placing the focus on

women and men, masculinity and femininity and the way these two categories are mutually represented in the history and in the cities, forcing the idea that gender continues to be primarily seen as a relational concept in Italy.

The performative concept of gender, as elaborated by Judith Butler (1988), emphasises the dynamics of doing gender through repeated actions every day, including the choices of who is honoured and celebrated in the unique encounters every day (Butler, 1988). This concept provides a valuable contribution to understanding this differentiation in the monumental representation of Anita and Giuseppe Garibaldi.

The decision to place Anita in a hiding place and Giuseppe in an open and visible space can be seen as a performative act that perpetuates the representation of the gender gap and a reflection of gender inequality applied to the historical commemoration of females and males and how deserved to be honoured in the public space. The central and prominent placement of Garibaldi's statue performs and reinforces the valorisation of male figures in historical representation. On the other hand, the more hidden location where the statue of Anita is positioned performs the marginalisation of female contributions in the historical narratives, considering also that the site where a memorial is ubicated can undergo different interpretations of the initial meaning intended by the creator of the site (Alderman & Inwood, 2013). These historical choices to build male statues in predominant and well-visible places, of which this is just one example, have cultural and political implications that reflect and perpetuate the gender gap by warranting that the city cannot be considered an inclusive and ungendered public space. Thus, this unbalanced representation of two heroic figures, both relevant to the history of the country, reinforces the idea that men of history have more incredible honour to be represented without considering that the city is a powerful generator and shaper of collective identities (Sadowski, 2020) and that

contributed to the construction of national identity (Edensor, 1997) in which both man and women deserve to be recognised with the same relevance if we want to create inclusive spaces in our cities.

By stating that men and women deserve to be recognised with the same relevance, we mean that society needs to allocate rights and privileges to men and women instead of considering that "Gender roles are based on the different expectations that individuals, groups, and societies have of individuals based on their sex and based on each society's values and beliefs about gender. Gender roles are the product of the interactions between individuals and their environments, and they give individuals cues about what sort of behaviour is believed to be appropriate for what sex." (Blackstone, 2003, p.335)

Since these relations are socially constructed, they can be not only built and maintained but also deconstructed. Still, today, in my opinion, we continue to see much resistance to systemic changes, especially in Italy.

To analyse memorial spaces from a gender perspective means to see the public space through new lenses and emphasise the need for inclusion into the historical narrative of women to enhance also women as carriers of historical-cultural values, just as it was done through the monumental representation of men. The present analysis will aim to ensure and underline how gender, as a fundamental dimension of power, plays an essential function in understanding the structure and organisation of any society. (Hall, 2013)

According to Marc Augé (1995), any place that lacks a connection to identity or historical contest and that is not made by a relationship with it can be considered a non-place (Augé, 1995). Thus, we can say that because of the historical disregard for the commemoration of women and *Madri Costituenti*, Italy and the Italian cities can be

primarily considered a non-place for women who contributed to the country's history. The statues of Giuseppe Mazzini or of the Presidents of the Italian Republic and Partigian like Sandro Pertini are present in most of the Italian cities. Suppose we named some of the first Presidents of the Chamber of Deputies of the Italian Republic since 1948, a year of a paradigmatic political change for inclusion and democracy to all life levels in the country. In that case, we can notice that at least a statue, a commemorative plaque, a street or a garden is dedicated to each President and none to the very first women parliamentarians, such as Nilde Iotti, a Founding Mother also remembered in Italian history for the most extended mandate as the President of the Chamber since the establishment of the Republic (1979 – 1992).

It is possible to find some squares or street names in her honour in relatively hidden places in Turin is possible. A commemorative stamp was put on the market in 2006, but no statue of Nilde Iotti is visible in any Italian city.

Moreover, the partigians women who took part in the Resistance all over Italy were hardly mentioned in the history literature till 1976 when scholars like Anna Maria Bruzzone and Rachele Farina (1976), writing the book "*La Resistenza Taciuta*" (Bruzzone & Farina, 1976) decided to collect, with the method of the interview, not only the autobiographical testimonies of twelve Piedmonts partisans but also the political judgments on facts and events experienced by them. Thousands of women took part and died during the Resistance or the Partigian fight that took place in Italy. However, just one monument represents these women. Thanks to the research of some Italian journalists and scholars of the Resistance, it was possible to trace the path (Guidoni, 2023) and the names (De Simone, 1998) of the ten women victims of "the massacre of Aprile 7 1944 on the *Ponte dell'Industra*, ubicated on the Tevere river in Rome: Clorinda Falsetti, Italia Ferracci, Elvira Ferrante, Eulalia Fiorentino, Elettra

Maria Giardini, Assunta Maria Izzi, Silvia Loggreolo, Esperia Pellegrini, Concetta Piazza and Arialda Pistolesi." (De Simone, 1998, p. 211)

In September 1977, upon the initiative of the surviving partisan Carla Capponi, the municipal administration of Rome had the stone and bronze plaque engraved on the site of the massacre laid down.

Source: online source in NoiDonne.www.noidonne.org.
Accessed on 4 January, 2025

These Women became protagonists of history after enormous endeavours and sacrifices. The under-representation of women in the public space needs to be addressed to allow the new generations to critically rethink the history and its representations and materialisations in the present and future, and this historical research needs to be known to underline the historical relevance of Italian women better.

The national toponymic census conducted by the association *Toponomastica Femminile*, an Italian association with the aim of restoring voice and visibility to

women who have contributed, in all fields, to improve society, and which is based in Turin (Italy), it appears that the average amount of streets dedicated to women ranges from 3% to 5% (mainly Madonnas and saints). In comparison, the percentage of streets dedicated to men is around 40%. In Rome, there are 16,140 streets or squares, 7,600 of which are devoted to male characters and 630 to female names; in Milan, more than half of the streets surveyed have male names:2535 out of 4241. In Turin, there are 1054 male and 65 female names; in Naples, 1726 males and 279 females; in Bari, 1220 males and 90 females; in Palermo, out of 4925 streets, 2406 are reminiscent of characters, and only 239 are female. (Toponomastica Femminile, 2014)

Few streets are dedicated to real women, and the statues dedicated to individual women as social actors are hardly present and traceable.

What emerged from a census held in 2021 by the Italian association "*Mi Riconosci ?*" (Mi Riconosci ?, 2013) was that 171 statues were collected and registered, plus 32 other statues relevant to the census. The monuments and statues considered in the census are the ones dedicated to real women, legendary characters, and anonymous collective figures found in public spaces in different cities, mainly located in squares, gardens, and streets. The investigation aimed to conduct a census of statues commissioned by public administrations that were visible to people walking the streets. Allegorical figures such as the Madonna and Venus, or statues placed in private and public courtyards, were excluded from the census. This census was held through a questionnaire called "survey on the female public monument" (Mi Riconosci ?, 2013) and integrated by research from different other sources, merged later in 2023 in the book "*Comunque nude: la rappresentazione femminile nei monumenti pubblici italiani*" (Mi Riconosci?, 2023). There has been little progress in street names, but there are just a few statues of real women compared to male representation in Italian cities.

In Milan, there are one hundred twenty-five statues representing males (Mi Riconosci?, 2023) and three dedicated to women, only since the year 2019: the first was when the Milanese Rachele Bianchi (an eminent Milanes artist) died, and after one year, her son decided to offer the sculpture from the artists to the city of Milan. This statue is massive bronze sculpture, which is 3,6 meters tall, weighs five quintals, and represents a woman generically. It has been placed permanently a few steps from *Piazza della Repubblica*, one of the main representative squares for the city of Milan.

Source: La Repubblica Milano,
https://milano.repubblica.it/cronaca/2019/09/28/foto/milano_statua_rachele_bianchi-237141848/1/
Accessed 4 January, 2025

In 2021, always the city of Milan, Italy, dedicated, for the first time, a statue to a real woman: Cristina Trivulzio di Belgiojoso, a leading personality of the Italian Renaissance and a contributor to the Unity of Italy (Michelacci, 2014).

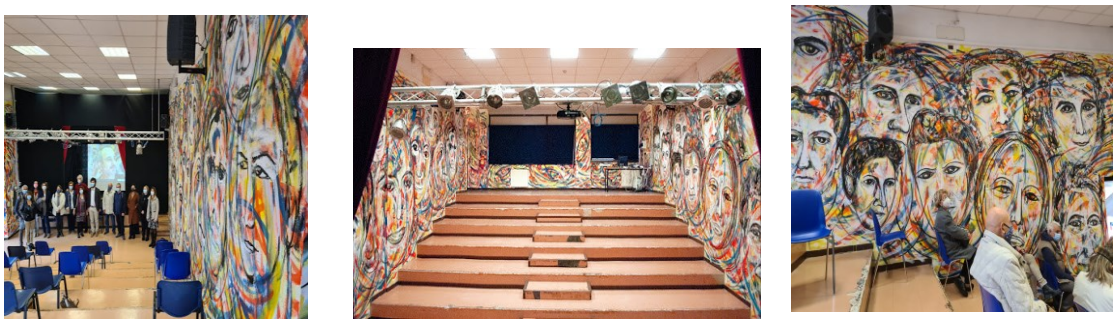
Source: Milano Today https://www.milanotoday.it/attualita/statua-cristina-belgioioso.html
map: https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Monumento_a_Cristina_Trivulzio_di_Belgiojoso#/map/0
Accessed on 4 January 2025

The statue is a bronze sculpture, and it is positioned a few steps from the central attractive locations of the city, like the *Duomo* and the *Teatro della Scala* (Scala Theather) in the square named after her. Here, Cristina is represented in a reflective, thoughtful, and dynamic way to highlight the distinctive traits of her character and her role as a woman. The importance of this statue also lies in the representation of the woman here, which follows a logical connection with the character and with the location in which the statue has been positioned. Considering that the statue is placed in the same square that takes the name of the woman represented, and that an effort was made to represent the woman in a manner consistent with her main characteristics, it certainly brought an innovation in the concept of representing women in the form of a statue.

In 2022, a statue dedicated to women in science, Margherita Hack, was erected in Milan for the first time. Here, Margherita Hack is dressed and represented by observing the sky as a reference to his work in astrophysics.

In Bologna and Turin, there is not even one; in Rome, at the *Gianicolo*, it is that of Anita Garibaldi and some other generic statues of women of the time of the Roman Republic. Related to the *Madri Costituenti*, no real statues emerged.

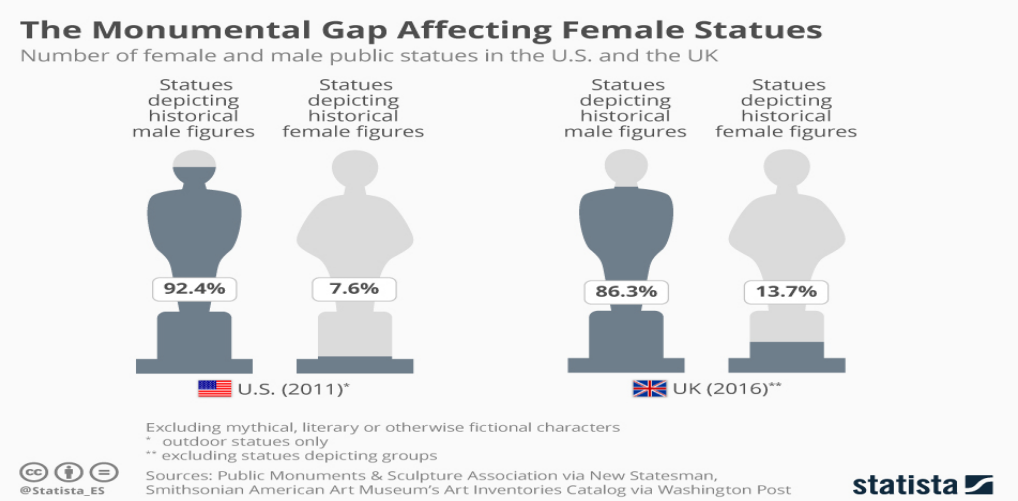
A mural of 26 meters in the *Sala del Teatro* inside a high school institution in the city of *Ladipoli*, a town in Rome, by the artist Corrado Meloni, was dedicated in 2020 to the Founding Mother. The chosen place, inside a high school (Anpiroma, 2020), is interesting because starting from the new generations, we can continue to create an inclusive popular narrative capable of restoring historical relevance through knowledge of the facts.



Source: Anpi comitato provincial Roma photo of Sandra Magagnini, https://www.anpiroma.org/2020/11/?m=0
Accessed on 4 January 2025

For a Worldwide comparison, the problem of statues of women's representation emerged in Italy and many other countries.

Given this statistical data here related to the representation of statues and associated with the monumental gap affecting female statues, it is possible to see that only 13,7% in the UK and 7,6% in the US of statues depict historical women as opposed to the massive percentage of historical men statues representation. A number of 110 women statues in the UK were depictions of allegorical or mythical figures, like justice or the arts, and out of the 71 real-life women depicted in the UK, 46 were royals, compared to 19 out of 517 historical men (Statista, n.d.).



Source: Statista, https://www.statista.com/chart/17299/number-of-public-statues-depicting-men-and-women-in-the-us-and-the-uk/
Accessed on 4 January 2025

Johnson Nuala asserted (1995) that "The space which these monuments occupy is not just an incidental material backdrop but in fact inscribes the statues with meaning." (Johnson, 1995, p.51)

Statues, thus, play an active role in constructing the meaning of commemoration. Further, also the location where statues are placed reveals the way public space reflects and negotiates social, racial, and gender inequality (Johnson, 1995).

By exploring how commemorative sites, memorials, statues and historical monuments are positioned and represented in Italian cities, it is possible to affirm that "Their different ways of reframing and reinterpreting a sense of belonging through physical forms of buildings, street layouts, monumental structures, and informal acts, reveals conflicts between interests and powers and raises an understanding of diachronic processes of history and synchronic processes of memory as on-going urban practices." (Kolodney, 2016, p.110)

Monuments and memorials are often the bearers of public engagement and historical reflection (Chen & Suneta, 2024), and “Unlike buildings that provide essential shelter functions, they exist as a form of physical structure and serve as a place for people’s emotions and memories.” (Chen & Suneta, 2024, p.1)

Urban landscapes are expressions of identity and a means of shaping individual and communal memory, reinterpreted as changing expressions of power relations.
The monumental male statues have so far been considered here as examples of the expression of the ambition to elevate a national consciousness related to characters that create a sense of identity and representation of the country's history. While these monumental male-centred representations have helped elevate the symbolism of Italy in the construction of a sense of nation-building, they are an explicit example of the reduced consideration of women throughout history. Thus, the Italian cities can be considered passive recipients of symbolic representation of this character, which deserves magnificent representation in the public space to be included and visible in the narration of the country's history.

I considered here statues as representations of memoryscape strategies. At the same time, I tried to emphasise that there is a need to provide the *Madri Costituenti* with their proper place in the memoryscapes and to locate them not in the marginal locations but in the centres of the cities. This thesis can also be considered a critical assessment and a reflection on the lack of diversity in mnemonic practices and representations of the past.

Different monumentalities and representations to change historical narratives and enhance fundamental change in these narratives can come only through a systematic work of collective re-elaboration: it should first be a cultural change.

We need to think of a new, different monumentality and use the representation also of women to change a narrative that has generated and continues to generate injustice and gender inequality.

For this reason, it is important to place monuments that highlight both the conditions of violent subordination experienced by generations of ordinary women, deprived of public recognition of their value, as well as the significant contribution that some of them make. Also, for this reason, Italy needs Founding Mothers statues, not only plaques or dedicated streets, to remember the importance of women involved in the historical process of building a new Italy.

Conclusion

In the present thesis, I explored the construction of memory and gendered representations in the public spaces of the so-called "Founding Mothers" (*Madri Costituenti*) who contributed to writing the Italian constitution after the Second World War. I have decided to use the advantages and power of narrative to provide a diachronic outline of the role of these early women parliamentarians from the perspectives of memory studies and gender history. I then moved to analyse the place of *Madri Costituenti* in the Italian memorial landscape.

I analysed the social condition of women in the post-war period, underlining how fascism in Italy was a period marked by notable obstacles and impediments to women's rights. Highlighting that the fascist regime relegated women to the restricted role of wives and mothers, thus placing them in a position of deep submission and eliminating all the rights and struggles for the conquest of the rights that women had tried to obtain.

Afterwards, I explored the European feminist movement of Suffragettes to underline its role in the construction of public consciousness and its contribution toward the re-evaluation of the position of women in society. In Chapters 4 and 5, I have provided a brief historical overview of the development of the fundamental right to vote from political and social perspectives and the introduction of universal suffrage in Italy. The universal suffrage enabled women to be elected and paved the way also for the twenty-one *Madri Costituenti*.

The last part is also the core of my thesis, in which I have discussed the long-term gendered historical amnesia and the striking lack of historical commemoration of women by using the example of the *Madri Costituenti*, who despite having shaped the history of Italy in a profound, revolutionary way, are heavily under-represented

concerning mnemoanic landmarks and the sites of memory in the public spaces across Italy. The under-representation of these early women parliamentarians and women in general in the public space needs to be addressed to allow the new generations to critically rethink and reshape history and its representations in the present and future.

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