

Introduction

Who am I? Who was I? I have black skin, tightly curled hair . . . but I was born in Puglia, child of the war, from the casual encounter between a Pugliese woman and a Californian negro. And I came to light exactly when Italy gave birth to the Republic, on June the 2nd, 1946. Thus the democratic Republic is an insistent presence, as a twin sister.¹

These words come from Antonio Campobasso's powerful *Nero di Puglia*, the first literary text in which a dark-skinned Italian made his voice heard. Published by Feltrinelli in 1980, it was a hybrid work of prose and poetry, part memoir, part denunciation of the racism and hypocrisies of democratic Italy. It was the expression of a very harsh experience, but also of a consciousness partly shaped by the radicalism of the long 1968. Born in a small town not far from Bari, the author lived initially with his mother and then with his maternal grandmother and was eventually placed in an orphanage when the latter was no longer able to take care of him. Several years of internment in a variety of institutions followed an encounter with the Italian criminal justice when he was seventeen. In *Nero di Puglia*, Campobasso proclaimed his humanity, so often denied, and asked Italy to live up to the promise of equality made in the democratic Constitution of 1948. His book generated a considerable amount of attention in the literary community and even won a literary award. However, nobody at that time investigated the experience and more generally the historical reality that was at the origin of this narrative and indeed of its author.

To be sure, other concerns dominated Italian public opinion in the early 1980s: Terrorism, for one, still bloodied the country at that time and occupied the front pages of newspapers on a regular basis. But the fact that Campobasso's book did not generate more critical attention on the issues of racism that it raised had a lot to do with the difficult questions it

¹ Antonio Campobasso, *Nero di Puglia*, with a preface by Alfonso M. di Nola (Milan, Feltrinelli, 1980), p.16 (my translation).

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posed to a country that was not able or not willing to interrogate fully and critically its recent history and identity. To this day there is a conception of Italianness that is not a subject of open debate in Italy, namely that Italians are European and white.² Even though the population that inhabits the Italian peninsula is the product of a constant ethnic mixing that has taken place throughout the ages and that continues today, the Italian people/nation has been historically constructed as white, even if its whiteness is more “shaded” than the whiteness of the more “normative” European peoples.³

This book addresses the issue of this increasingly loaded and disputed white self-image by tracing prevailing attitudes toward “race” and skin color in the democratic Republic established after the fall of fascism. It does so by reconstructing the experiences and the representations of a cohort of Italians who like Antonio Campobasso were born in the immediate postwar from encounters between non-white Allied soldiers and Italian women. In that period African Americans referred to these children colloquially as “brown babies.” In Italy, they were generally called “*mulattini*,” a term that had a strong racial connotation of a biological kind. I will refer to them as “mixed-race” and/or “biracial” and will be using these terms from now on without quotation marks for reasons of convenience and not because I subscribe to the idea of distinct races. Race has no biological reality, it is not a natural category, but a social construct, a “way of making up” people.⁴ However, as in the case of other social constructs, in spite of its arbitrariness, it has real consequences for people, not least with regard to the allocation of

² Tatiana Petrovich Njegosh has underlined the deafening silence on these issues, but also the powerful opacity of the link between identity and race: see her “Gli italiani sono bianchi? Per una storia culturale della linea del colore in Italia,” in Tatiana Petrovich Njegosh and Anna Scacchi, eds., *Parlare di razza. La lingua del colore tra Italia e Stati Uniti* (Verona, Ombre Corte, 2012), pp. 13–45. More generally on the invisibility of whiteness and on white as a “default” color, see Richard Dyer, *White: Essays on Race and Culture* (London, Routledge, 1997).

³ For a history of the racial identity of the Italians, see Gaia Giuliani and Cristina Lombardi-Diop, *Bianco e nero. Storia dell'identità razziale degli italiani* (Florence, Le Monnier, 2013) and Gaia Giuliani ed., *Il colore della nazione* (Florence, Le Monnier, 2015).

⁴ I am borrowing this definition from Michael Omi and Howard Winant, *Racial Formations in the United States*, 3rd ed. (London, Routledge, 2015), p. 105. Popular conceptions of race still divide humanity into groups based on external appearances (phenotype). However, contemporary sciences have shown that race has no essence as phenotype and genotype do not coincide. Differences within groups are greater than among groups, and boundaries are very blurred. We can recall the words of geneticist Luigi Luca Cavalli Sforza: “The main genetic differences are between individuals and not between populations, or so-called ‘races’” (see his *Genes, Peoples, and Languages*, Berkeley, CA, University of California Press, 2000, p. viii). On the state of the scientific discussion on the notion of race, see Magali Bessone, *Sans distinction de race? Une analyse critique du concept de race et de ses effets pratiques* (Paris, Vrin, 2013), ch. 2.

power in society.⁵ It is thus “real” as it plays a large role in shaping the lives of individuals in many societies.

Antonio Campobasso and the other members of his cohort grew up in a society that emerged from twenty years of a fascist dictatorship that had implemented various kinds of exclusions (political, religious, ethnic, sexual), eventually institutionalizing racist policies that targeted both its tiny Jewish minority (more than a fifth of whom died in the Nazi extermination camps) and the indigenous populations in the colonies. These biracial Italians also lived in a nation-state that for most of its brief history had been engaged in colonialism. Between the 1880s and 1936, the populations of most of today’s Eritrea, Somalia, Libya, and eventually Ethiopia came under Italian control and were subjected to its discriminatory legislation.⁶

Thus, for decades ordinary Italians had been the target of propaganda about their own alleged superiority as white Europeans, and even if they had never encountered a non-white person, many had formed mental images of what the latter looked like and ideas about their “proper” place in the world. The dictatorship had meant a hardening of racial hierarchies in the colonies with the goal of preserving Italian “prestige” before the colonized and impeding a “contamination” of the Italian “race.” The prohibition of interracial unions in the colonies in 1937 was a prelude to the making of the Jewish minority in Italy into a race in 1938 and the subsequent unleashing of the persecution against them.⁷ The war which Mussolini entered on the side of his Nazi ally in 1940 led to a series of military defeats that eventually translated into the collapse of the fascist regime, but also transformed Italy into a battleground in which for two years foreign armies confronted each other. The story of the “war children” begins in the immediate aftermath of those dramatic years and of the dynamics unleashed by those events and is shaped by the legacies of the previous regimes, fascist and colonial.

⁵ George Fredrickson, among others, has underlined the relationship between race and power: “[Racism] originates from a mindset that regards ‘them’ as different from ‘us’ in ways that are permanent and unbridgeable. This sense of difference provides a motive or rationale for using our power advantage to treat the ethno-racial Other in ways that we would regard as cruel or unjust if applied to members of our own group.” (*Racism. A Short History*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2002), p. 9. Culture can also be used to create quasi biological ideas of difference.

⁶ Nicola Labanca, *Oltremare. Storia dell’espansione coloniale italiana* (Bologna, Il Mulino, 2002).

⁷ Michele Sarfatti, *The Jews in Mussolini’s Italy. From Equality to Persecution* (Madison, WI, The University of Wisconsin Press, 2006).

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A “Race-Blind” Republic?

The third article of the 1948 Constitution of the Italian Republic proclaimed the equality of all before the law “without distinction of sex, race, language, religion, political opinions, personal and social conditions.” After several years of institutionalized racism, this was a fundamental declaration of principle. Nonetheless, if in the new democratic republic the idea of race was no longer acceptable when applied to Jews (who did not cease, however, to be targets of anti-Semitic prejudice in its various Catholic and secular forms),⁸ it continued to be acceptable when applied to people with a darker skin color. The race category ceased being inscribed in population registers and identity cards,⁹ but racial thinking persisted and racial stereotypes continued to have wide circulation in Italian society.

In the subcommittee of the Constituent Assembly that discussed what would become the third article of the new Constitution prohibiting discrimination, some doubts were expressed about the use of the term race, with some deputies proposing to replace it with the term “*stirpe*” (stock) as being “more consistent with human dignity.”¹⁰ Others noted that the two words had different meanings (*stirpe* supposedly referred to family/kin relations)¹¹ and reasserted the need for the explicit reference to race in order to signal the specific rejection of the racial policy of fascism. In the debate that took place a few months later at the Assembly, when a Christian Democratic deputy, conveying the position of the Union of the Italian Jewish communities, proposed again replacing race with *stirpe*, the Assembly decided to keep the term race, reiterating the same arguments. A deputy also referred to the fact that race was a term accepted in

⁸ On Catholic anti-Judaism after 1945, see Elena Mazzini, *L’antiebraismo cattolico dopo la Shoah. Tradizioni e culture nell’Italia del secondo dopoguerra (1945–1974)* (Rome, Viella, 2012); on the diverse sources of antisemitism in post-1945 Italy, see Alfonso Di Nola, *Antisemitismo in Italia 1962–1972* (Florence, Vallecchi, 1973) and Arturo Marzano and Guri Schwarz, *Attentato alla sinagoga. Roma, 9 ottobre 1982. Il conflitto israelo-palestinese e l’Italia* (Rome, Viella, 2013).

⁹ There were exceptions, however, as some personal data certificates could still indicate “race” in the early 1950s: see Guri Schwarz, *After Mussolini: Jewish Life and Jewish Memory in Post-fascist Italy* (Edgware-Portland, Vallentine Mitchell, 2012), ch. 1.

¹⁰ See the summary minutes of the Assemblée Costituente. Prima Sotto-commissione, *Resoconto sommario della seduta di giovedì 14 novembre 1946*. On this debate, see also Valeria Deplano, *La madrepatria è una terra straniera. Libici, eritrei e somali nell’Italia del dopoguerra (1945–1960)* (Florence, Le Monnier, 2017), pp. 89–90.

¹¹ One of these was Palmiro Togliatti, the leader of the Italian Communist Party (PCI), who, troublingly, also explained the difference between *razza* and *stirpe* by using the example of Jewish citizen. In fact, “*stirpe*” and “*razza*” had often been used in an interchangeable way.

the scientific community and found “in any geography textbooks” without carrying a derogatory meaning.¹²

As this debate among the “fathers” of the Constitution (and, we should add, the “mothers” too, as women had just won the right to vote and some of them sat in that assembly) shows, the rejection of racism did not imply a rejection of ideas of race. These ideas were implicit even in the citizenship/nationality law of 1912, which continued to regulate this matter in the Republic until 1992 (when it was replaced by a law which further stressed the same principles). To be sure, this law did not mention race. Yet it asserted a belonging founded on a patrilineal *ius sanguinis* (literally, the “right of blood”), thus privileging descent and therefore biological/kin ties over other forms of inclusion, such as *ius soli* (the “right of the land”). In spite of the existence of this legal principle linking nationality and blood/descent, after 1945 renowned historians claimed that the Italian conception of the nation – in contrast with the German one – was voluntaristic (namely, based on the will to be a nation) rather than ethnic.¹³ Historians have questioned this claim only in recent years, making finally visible the deterministic elements on which the idea of nationhood has been predicated since the Risorgimento.¹⁴

The Republic did not rush to change the fascist law of 1940 that blocked the legal recognition by Italian fathers of the children they had with “native” women in the colonies. When it was eventually abrogated in 1947, the bureaucratic procedures for the acquisition of citizenship remained very complex and state functionaries still imbued with racist views did not facilitate the access to citizenship for mixed-race individuals from the former colonies.¹⁵ In contrast, the Republic was quite eager to get rid of those few former colonial subjects – mostly ex-soldiers in the royal army – who were present on the territory of their former “motherland” at the end of the war. Their motherland then became, to borrow an apt expression from Valeria Deplano, a truly foreign land.¹⁶

¹² See the remarks by deputy Renzo Laconi (PCI), in *Assemblea Costituente, Seduta pomeridiana di lunedì 24 marzo 1947*.

¹³ See Federico Chabod, *L'idea di nazione*, ed. by Armando Saitta and Ernesto Sestan (Rome-Bari, Laterza, 1993; orig. 1961). The volume contains the lectures that Chabod gave in Milan in 1943–1944 integrated with the variations that he introduced in the lectures he gave in Rome in 1946–1947.

¹⁴ See the pioneering work of Alberto Mario Banti, especially his *La nazione del Risorgimento. Parentela, santità e onore alle origini dell'Italia unita* (Turin, Einaudi, 2000) and *Sublime madre nostra. La nazione italiana dal Risorgimento al fascismo* (Rome-Bari, Laterza, 2011).

¹⁵ See Deplano, *La madrepatria è una terra straniera*, ch. 2.

¹⁶ See Antonio M. Morone, “Ascari, clandestini e meticci: mobilità fisica e sociale nel secondo dopoguerra,” in Gianni Dore, Chiara Giorgi, Antonio M. Morone, and Massimo Zaccaria, eds., *Governare l'Oltremare. Istituzioni, funzionari e società nel*

Mixed-Race Children in Post-1945 Italy and Europe

Examining the experiences of the “brown babies” born in Italy right after World War II will allow us to observe the extent to which they too were racialized¹⁷ and how the perception of their origins and color shaped their lives. Although the persistence of racial ideas is undoubtedly a legacy of the fascist and colonial pasts, the belief in the whiteness of the Italians – albeit tinted in a Mediterranean hue – has also a lot to do with the history of the Republic, and is not just a residuum or survival of the past. This is why it is important to understand exactly how and in what forms racial thinking has persisted, the forms it has taken, and how “race” has been reproduced since the creation of the allegedly race-blind democratic Republic. This is what this book intends to do by looking at the story of the children whom documentarist Giovanni Vento in 1965 called – not altogether accurately, one might argue – the “first blacks of our history.”¹⁸

We do not know for sure the number of the “*mulattini*”: the estimates that circulated at that time varied from a few hundred to several thousand.¹⁹ Contemporary sources called them also “*moretti*” (little moors) or “*negretti*” (little negroes) even though they were neither Black nor white but both.²⁰ They were part of a larger group of children known as “war children.” As their biological fathers mostly left at the end of the war, these children grew up either with their mothers or, more often, in orphanages, which were in most cases run by religious personnel. Almost always born out of wedlock, war children in general suffered from the stigma of illegitimacy, as well as from being identified as children of the enemy if their father was a German. In all cases they were “children of shame,”²¹ linked to an idea of dishonor

colonialismo italiano (Rome, Carocci, 2013), pp. 203–217, and Deplano, *La madrepatria è una terra straniera*, ch. 1.

¹⁷ On the notion of racialization, see Neil MacMaster, who defines it as: “processes through which one group (usually the ‘white’ majority) has set about the task of targeting other groups (frequently non-European minorities) as inferior, a process involving ideological constructions . . . as well as an apparatus of legal, political, and social discrimination and oppression” (*Racism in Europe 1870–2000*, Houndmills-New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2001, p. 2).

¹⁸ The quotation is in Joy Nwosu, *Cinema e Africa*, preface by Mino Argentieri (Rome, Tindalo, 1968), p. 104.

¹⁹ On the issue of estimates, see Chapter 2.

²⁰ In the correspondence of state and local administrations, they were also referred to as “*bambini di razza di colore*” (“children of race of color”). The term “*negro*” could be used with a negative and racist connotation, but until the 1970s (and even later) it was still being used with a neutral connotation: for example, Frantz Fanon’s *Peau noire, masques blancs* was translated into Italian (rather arbitrarily, to be sure) as *Il negro e l’Altro* (Milan, Il Saggiatore, 1965; 2nd ed. 1971). A new translation of this work published in 2015 has rectified the problems of this earlier translation.

²¹ Michela Ponzani, *Figli del nemico. Le relazioni d’amore in tempo di guerra 1943–1948* (Rome-Bari, Laterza, 2015), p. 28. Honor, as known, is a male gendered construction:

that marked the mother, but reflected also on her whole family, if not the nation. Growing up in orphanages, they were deprived of personal and loving care, but even those who grew up with their mothers and their mothers' families often missed parental love.²² Those who had a darker skin color could not hide their origins and were thus also the victims of racial prejudice.

Although the stories of some of them have surfaced in the media in recent years and have received some scholarly attention,²³ there is no history of what it meant for this group of Italian citizens to grow up in post-fascist Italy, in a country where anti-Black stereotypes persisted – along with other types of prejudices, from anti-Semitism to anti-Roma/Sinti feelings – in mainstream culture. Recounting their lives and experiences sheds light on what I call the “color of the Republic,” an aspect of the history of the Republic that historians are only beginning to grapple with.

What exactly happened to these children? How did Italian institutions – both private and public, including the Catholic Church (which, besides being the dominant arbiter of morality, had a fundamental role in the field of assistance) – and the scientific community deal with what was often represented as a “problem”? How were they represented in the culture of that period? How were they viewed by other Italians, including children? How did they perceive themselves and how were they perceived? Did gender and class make much difference in their experiences? What kind of identities did they adopt? These are some of the questions that I address in this book.

The Italian story that this book tells is not isolated, but is part of a larger European story. The presence of mixed-race children was common in all countries where Allied troops and civilians met and fraternized during the war. In Britain, where about 3 millions GIs were stationed over the war years, it is estimated that about 22,000 children were born from their relations with British women and that about 1,700 of them had African American fathers.²⁴ In the US-occupied Germany from 1945 to 1949, about 3,000 “black occupation children” were born out of a total of about

a man's honor is the chastity and faithfulness of a woman (see Patrizia Guarnieri, “Men Committing Female Crime: Infanticide, Family, and Honor in Italy, 1890–1981,” *Crime, Histoire et Société/ Crime, History and Society* 13:2 (2009), pp. 41–59.

²² See Sabine Lee, *Children Born of War in the Twentieth Century* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2017).

²³ See the RAI 3 (one of the state television networks) documentary entitled *Figli della guerra* (war children) directed by Giulia Foschini (2007), which includes interviews with two Neapolitan members of this mixed-race cohort, James Senese and Ciro Terracciano, and was broadcasted a few times in 2007, 2011, and 2012; and Silvia Cassamagnaghi, *Operazione spose di Guerra* (Milan, Feltrinelli, 2014), pp. 150–160.

²⁴ See Sabine Lee, “A Forgotten Legacy of the Second World War: GI Children in Post-War Britain and Germany,” *Contemporary European History* 20:2 (2011), p. 163. The estimate of Lucy Bland is slightly higher (2,000): see her “Brown Babies”: *The Stories*

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94,000 occupation children.²⁵ Similarly, in Japan thousands of children of mixed blood were born during the American occupation, and the same happened in Korea.²⁶

Also common to all these countries was the marginalization suffered by these children as well as by their mothers. They were more often abandoned in children's homes, as the mothers tried to avoid the stigma of illegitimacy, which the children's physical features highlighted.²⁷ Indeed in all European cases, the dark skin of the children determined also a greater stigmatization of their mostly unwed mothers, "guilty" of having had relations with foreigners, whether allies or enemies, and non-white to boot. The British women who were seen in public places with the GIs were labelled as "good time girls" and shunned by their community. The racism of the segregated American Army compounded their misery. The widespread disapproval of interracial marriages in the United States made it extremely difficult for Black GIs, especially if poor and from southern states, to reunite with the women they had encountered in Europe and the children they had fathered.²⁸

Moreover, the policies concerning these children reveal persisting pre-occupations with race and blood. In postwar Germany, authorities tried to distance themselves from the Nazi past and its racist policies, while at the same time attempting to keep so-called negro blood out of Germany. They devised plans to send the biracial occupation children to the United States for adoption – although eventually most of the children remained in Germany. Germany's "brown babies" were unequivocally the children of the war enemy, and not just of a foreign war partner, and thus their presence was also a constant reminder of a crushing military defeat. In addition to the mass rapes suffered by German women at the hands of Soviet soldiers at the end of the war, the presence of "colored" children contributed to the perception of the military defeat as a national-sexual humiliation. Needless to say, the image of women who had sexual relations with GIs was generally very negative. Consensual relations between German women and African American or African soldiers were seen as symptoms of a "national disorder" that plagued the defeated country.²⁹

of Children Born to Black GIs and White Women in the Second World War (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2019).

²⁵ See Heide Fehrenbach, *Race After Hitler: Black Occupation Children in Postwar Germany and America* (Princeton and Oxford, Princeton University Press, 2007), p. 2.

²⁶ See Michael Cullen Green, *Black Yanks in the Pacific: American Military Empire after World War II* (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 2010), ch. 4.

²⁷ On their experiences in Britain, see Lee, "A Forgotten Legacy" and Bland, *Britain's "Brown Babies."*

²⁸ Lee, "A Forgotten Legacy," pp. 163–164. ²⁹ Fehrenbach, *Race After Hitler*, p. 9.

There are no studies on the offspring of Allied soldiers in France, but in this country too anti-Black discrimination was present. The postwar policies on international adoption, for example, disclosed a clear preference for the children of Frenchmen and German women born in the French occupation zone. In contrast, no such policy existed for the children born from the relations between German women and the colonial troops that fought in the French army. To justify their preferences, the allegedly color-blind French authorities resorted to the old criterion of “assimilability,” which actually masked racial and eugenic bias.³⁰

Italy shared several features with these countries, but in addition to factors at work elsewhere in Europe, the response to the “brown babies” was also shaped by the brutal mass rapes – a few thousand – perpetrated for the most part by irregular Moroccan colonial soldiers (known as *Goumiers*) who were part of the French Expeditionary Corps.³¹ These mass rapes occurred in northern Campania and southern Latium in the late spring of 1944.³² As we shall see, the presence of the brown children came to be associated with an act of sexual violence and the sense that they were forever tainted by it. In fact, a large number of biracial children (at least those who survived) were born from consensual or, at least, nonviolent relations,³³ which the dominant narrative of the period reduced to mercenary intercourse. The way Italians perceived the “brown babies” was also mediated by an additional element specific to Italy, namely the strong societal and political role of the Catholic Church, a powerful actor in the field of social assistance, on which many of these

³⁰ See Tara Zahra, *The Lost Children: Reconstructing Europe's Families After World War Two* (Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 2011), pp. 166–167.

³¹ Gabriella Gribaudi, *Guerra totale. Tra bombe alleate e violenze naziste. Napoli e il fronte meridionale 1940–1944* (Turin, Bollati Boringhieri, 2005), p. 549. Gribaudi provides the best critical discussion on the sources. See also Michela Ponzani, *Guerra alle donne. Partigiane, vittime di stupro, 'amanti del nemico' 1940–45* (Turin, Einaudi, 2012), who cites a source of 1956 mentioning about 5,500 victims of sexual violence (p. 251, note 44). Recent historical accounts by nonspecialists have offered much higher figures which have no credible evidentiary basis (see, e.g., Gigi di Fiore, *Controstoria della liberazione*, Milano, Rizzoli, 2012). On the representation of this sexual violence in Italian culture and the politics of numbers, see Stephanie Di Paola, *Sexual Violence, Interracial Relations, and Racism in Allied Occupied Italy: History and the Politics of Memory* (PhD Dissertation, Fordham University, 2018).

³² On these soldiers, who must have been between 9,000 and 15,000, see Isobel Williams, *Allies and Italians under Occupation. Sicily and Southern Italy 1943–45* (New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), ch. 4.

³³ I am aware, however, that neat distinctions may not always make sense given the circumstances: on this problematic, see Atina Grossmann, “The ‘Big Rape’: Sex and Sexual Violence, War, and Occupation in Post-World War II Memory and Imagination,” in Elisabeth D. Heineman, ed., *Sexual Violence in Conflict Zones. From the Ancient World to the Era of Human Rights*, Philadelphia-Oxford, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013, pp. 137–151.

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children depended for their survival after having been abandoned by their parents. As we will see, churchmen and other people involved in this field had their own views of the nature of these children and of where they belonged, and for many of them too they did not belong in Italy.

**Toward a History of “Race,” Racism, and Anti-racism
 in Post-fascist/Post-colonial Italy**

By telling the story of the “brown babies” I intend in this book to contribute to the emerging historiography on race and racism in post-1945 Italy, a subject which until recent years was mostly neglected by historians, in contrast with its presence in the field of cultural studies.³⁴ Writing this history means addressing various important issues: one is the issue of the continuities between the fascist regime and the Republic, a topic that is not new. As known, many former fascists continued to hold positions of responsibility in the state apparatus, a mass of fascist legislation remained on the books for years, and a proper defascistization of Italian culture did not occur.³⁵ Almost all the academic signatories of the fascist “manifesto on race” were back in their posts soon after the end of the war.³⁶ A well-known statistician and eugenicist such as Corrado Gini, among others, continued to profess his racist views on the pages of important scholarly publications.³⁷ This failure could not but have repercussions in the realm of society and culture, which encompasses processes of racialization and ideas of race, and this is the realm that interests us in particular and on which our knowledge is still rather scattered.

Inevitably, the response to the “brown babies” must also be inscribed in the longer history of race thinking and the construction of the racial identity of the Italians, another issue that this book addresses. Already at the time of the Risorgimento Italian intellectuals had tried to establish

³⁴ For an example of these studies, see Cristina Lombardi-Diop and Caterina Romeo, eds., *Postcolonial Italy. Challenging National Homogeneity* (New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).

³⁵ On the continuities between fascist and post-fascist Italy at the level of state apparatuses, see the classic study by Claudio Pavone, “La continuità dello Stato. Istituzioni e uomini,” in Enzo Piscitelli et al., eds., *Italia 1945–48. Le origini della Repubblica* (Turin, Giappichelli, 1974), pp. 139–289.

³⁶ See Tommaso Dell’Era, “Il destino degli scienziati razzisti nel dopoguerra,” in M. Flores et al., eds., *Storia della Shoah in Italia. Vicende, memorie, rappresentazioni*, vol. 2, *Memorie, rappresentazioni, eredità* (Torino, UTET, 2010), and Barbara Raggi, *Baroni di razza. Come l’università del dopoguerra ha riabilitato gli esecutori delle leggi razziali* (Rome, Società Editrice Internazionale, 2013).

³⁷ See Claudio Pogliano, *L’ossessione della razza. Antropologia e genetica nel XX secolo* (Pisa, Edizioni della Normale, 2005) and Francesco Cassata, *Building the New Man. Eugenics, Racial Science, and Genetics in Twentieth-Century Italy* (Budapest-New York, Central European University Press, 2011), chs. 6 and 7.