Preface

In September 2017, the Queer Italia Network (QuIR) held a workshop in New York for scholars, artists, and activists to discuss their approaches to and research on queer Italian media.[1] This two-day event, held both at the CUNY Graduate Center and New York University's Casa Italiana, was part of a series of five workshops, which took place across Italy, in the United Kingdom, and in the United States, each with a different focus under the intersectional umbrella of queer studies, queer politics, and Italy (e.g., migration, translation, art, activism, and media). The scope of the research presented in New York and the extensive discussions led to productive interdisciplinary collaborations; this collection is born from those encounters. We present it as a useful resource for those with an active interest in the topic or a burgeoning curiosity about queerness and/in Italian media.

—Julia e Sole

NOTE

1. The QuIR was established by Charlotte Ross, S. A. Smythe, and Julia Heim in 2016. The network was founded with grant support from the British Arts and Humanities Research Council, in order to create a transnational community of academics, activists, and artists, working in various ways at the intersections of queerness and Italianness.

Introduction

Julia Heim and Sole Anatrone

HISTORY / NATIONS / MARGINS

Attending to the complex trajectory of the (historical and transnational) relationship between Italianness, media, and queerness requires a constant redefinition of terms as they are adapted in various contexts and temporalities. By way of introduction, we offer some words on the interwoven nature of these categories and on the discursive and sociopolitical consequences of this relationship.

The idea of Italian national identity and nationhood has always been very dependent upon mediatic cultural representation. In the era of national unification—from the mid-1800s to the early 1900s—print media and literature were the primary vehicles for engendering public support and establishing a narrative of shared history and cultural identification. Italian media historian Peppino Ortoleva reminds us that "[t]he move toward cultural unification prevailed, however, and it was radio, television and cinema which brought it about."[1] The notion of Italianness—as understood and defined initially by the formation of its national geopolitical borders—has maintained a symbiotic relationship with media through this contemporary age of convergence culture wherein media content is created and consumed across multiple platforms. When cinema and radio replaced newspapers and print as the dominant media forms, they further reinforced the role media played in creating and reiterating specific ideas of national identity. As Áine O'Healy notes: "Clearly implicated in the construction of identity and difference, cinema has played a significant role in nation building, particularly in Italy."[2] This interrelation between cultural representation and national identity becomes multimediatic as new technologies are created, reaffirming media's role in shaping how Italian national identity is defined. For example, with the advent

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of television in 1954, and primarily through the broadcasting of *sceneggiati* (serialized scripted novels with literary and historical content that dominated narrative television through the 1970s), Italian television worked not only toward legitimizing itself but also toward creating a unifying common "national" history and culture.[3]

Though we may speak of the "parallel and interconnected development of the notion of Italian national identity alongside the Italian media system," it is important to also reflect on the assumptions and limitations imbedded in the very notion of "Italian national identity" itself.[4] Scholar Michela Ardizzoni emphasizes that Italian television continues to portray "conceptions of Italianness that were at the heart of the country's unification in the 19th century," creating bio-essentialist notions of identity that necessarily marginalize those people who don't easily fit into "Italian" racial, religious, sex, and gender categories (to name a few).[5] The Italian media industry produced and continues to reproduce very specific ideas about sociocultural norms that privilege and even concretize ideas of a homogenous, white, heterosexual Italianness. In fact, Alessio Ponzio's chapter highlights the relationship between identity and print media in the 1970s, pointing specifically to the ways that hetero-masculinities and marginalizations are created through the linguistic interpellation of "new" minority voices, and to the ways that minority communities are formed through discriminatory utterances. Cultural theorist David Morley speaks of the social, cultural, and political consequences of cinematic representational marginalization and othering. However, his ideas should be considered beyond the limits of the cinematic medium, extending to all cultural discursive forms, in particular, to media:

> Definitions of national cinema always involve the construction of an imaginary homogeneity of identity and culture, apparently shared by all national subjects; this involves mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion whereby one definition of "the nation" is centralised and others are marginalised—what Higson refers to as a process of "internal cultural colonialism."[6]

These marginalized spaces created by and through Italian media discourse are characterized by the contradictory condition of being loci of both oppression and potentiality. As Sole Anatrone discusses in this book, queer subjects forced to live at the social, political, and geographical borders can find new modes of being and community formation in those sites of excess.

The reification of "Italian national identity" has always been facilitated by the media's (re)production of invented models of normativity that are limiting in the ways they are racialized, gendered, religiously and linguistically coded, heterocentric, and geographically specific. The social, cultural, and political construct—that is, national identity—is as imaginary as it is pervasive, and

renders liminal any display of difference. The result is that minorities are relegated—both in media and in society more generally—to the *space-off*. As Teresa de Lauretis explains, the space-off is "the space not visible in the frame but inferable from what the frame makes visible."[7] What becomes clear here is that not only is minority positionality socio-physically enforced by these framings of national identity, but their own identity categories are in turn defined by what they are not.

QUEER / NOW

Today[8] we can point to LGBTQIA+ visibility across all forms of Italian media. At the same time, however, Italy is home to an alarming uptick in instances of verbal, physical, and legislative aggression against queer bodies. The contemporary climate surrounding LGBT rights in Italy is fraught at best. On the one hand, we saw the legalization of civil unions for same-sex couples pass in 2016, followed by numerous public demonstrations of support and successful collective actions. For instance, the boycott against Barilla pasta after homophobic remarks from the company's chairman resulted in a complete reversal of policy by the company, which now receives a perfect score on the Human Rights Campaign's Equality Index. In the media, more specifically, significant symbolic measures have been taken, like the development of Diversity Lab's Diversity Media Awards, which began in 2016 as a way of recognizing valuable and affirming representations of LGBT people in the media. On the other hand, right wing and church groups continue to lead movements that reaffirm the compulsory heterosexuality of the nuclear family, and that perpetuate fear about the dangers of gender variance. One such effort that has garnered significant media coverage and received public opposition as well as an alarming amount of public support is the World Congress of Families (WCF). In March 2019, Verona hosted the WCF, which focused a great deal of attention on developing strategies to combat things like gender theory education and nonheterosexual family formations. The event was organized with financial support from the religious and political right and drew international media coverage, featuring current political leaders like Deputy Prime Minister Matteo Salvini. The event spread dehumanizing rhetoric and mobilized dangerous language about hunting gay people and preventing the infectious spread of homosexuality, which was likened to an illness. The WCF conference came on the heels of a series of campaigns over the course of the past few years organized in concerted opposition to the Italian LGBT movement.[9] These campaigns have taken specific aim at preventing gender and sex education in schools, and seek to reaffirm hetero-primacy by employing a "new" pseudoscientific language. This opposition

occurs in all aspects of Italian life, for example, it is a stance reinforced by Pope Francis who, in 2018, urged parents with young gay children to consider psychiatry as a way of curing the sickness of homosexuality. Furthermore, the negativity surrounding LGBTQIA+ people in Italy can be quantitatively evidenced by the ILGA's (International Lesbian Gay Bisexual Trans and Intersex Association) annual report, published in May of 2019, which ranked the country as number thirty-five out of forty-nine countries in terms of the country's LGBTQIA+ inclusivity, with a total grade of 22 percent out of 100 percent, receiving its lowest score (0) in the category that measured anti-homophobia laws.[10]

QUEER / ING

Within this text there is an emphasis on LGBTQ[11] identities and bodies, and an analysis of their positionality within Italian society as reflected in and produced by Italian media. Exploring these subject positions allows us to reflect on current and historic patterns of exclusion, to begin expanding notions of social and academic legibility and legitimacy, and to reflect on and celebrate the potential within sociocultural precarity. By considering these questions in the context of media representation we point to the importance of media's discursive contributions to identity formation, especially for marginalized minorities.

One of the aims of this book is to highlight the ways that LGBTQIA+ people are being interpellated into society through mediatic discourse. In turn, as media theorist Jason Mittell notes, it allows us to stress that "[d]iscursive formations often appear to be 'natural' or internal properties of beings, such as humans or texts, but they are actually culturally constituted and mutable."[12] Thus, the sociocultural position of the people represented by this acronym is a constructed one, and not dependent on essentialist notions of identity, no matter how *naturalized* they have become through the continual repetition of negative mediatic representation.

When we use "queer" as an identity category, we use it with an intentionality and awareness of the specificity of its origin in the Anglophone (and, more specifically, North American) world, because in the Italian context this word is not often used and is frequently misunderstood. For example, prominent trans activist Porpora Marcasciano finds that the meaning of the term "queer" has shifted as it is put in continued conversation with feminism, but she feels still more represented by *frocia* than by "queer."[13] *Frocia*, she explains, best represents her lived experience in 1970s Italy: "*Frocia* was a word that traversed the boundaries of identity categories [. . .] so gays, lesbians, and trans—which were the three main categories that one *could* and,

I should include myself, *should* use to identify—could all define themselves as *frocia*."[14] Marcasciano's comment speaks to the contradictory position queer bodies inhabit in contemporary Italy; a contradictory position further complicated by a distinction between what Massimo Prearo calls a "theoretical queer"—which (was and) continues to be brought to Italy through the translated texts of canonical theorists such as Michel Foucault, Giles Deleuze, Eve Sedgwick, Judith Butler—and an "experiential queer," of which militant thinkers such as Mario Mieli were a part.[15] Within this introduction and throughout the anthology, we attempt to bridge the divide between these two lineages, to muddle their definitions and practice the potential of bleeding theory into identity and vice versa. This in no way devalues the precarity, and marginality of the term "queer" as an identity category in Italy, which is indeed mirrored by the social, cultural, and economic positions of those represented by any culturally specific form of "queerness." Rather, it seeks to highlight the politics inherent in the positionality of the queer Italian subject.

The authors in this book use queerness also as a theoretical framework that reorients ways of thinking about "media," "Italy," and "Italian media" in addition to exploring it as an identity category. As Sara Ahmed notes in *Queer Phenomenology*, "Queer happens precisely when such legislation fails, when bodies meet that would be kept apart if we followed the lines given to us."[16] In other words, to use the geopolitical and industrial frameworks that define "media" and "Italy" in mainstream society would be a failure to acknowledge other ways of being, other ways of looking, and other ways of engaging with these concepts: ways that are queer. By queering Italian media we underscore that national understandings of media production do not account for contemporary modes of media creation and consumption, and we resist prioritizing mainstream and industrial media products. While the media discussed in these pages were all created within the geopolitical boundaries of the Italian nation-state, the "Italian space" we refer to exceeds the confines of the peninsula, both in its diaspora and because of the convergence of media cultures across nations.

ACADEMICS / POLITICS / ACTIVISM

In the landscape of Italian cultural studies, the term "queer" is often used as a stand-in for gay or lesbian identities, signaling a difference in sexual identity—which is often quite homonormative—without reflecting on either gender variance or nonnormative identities and practices.[17] By substituting queer for gay and lesbian in these instances, this kind of work ends up stripping the queer signifier of its already marginalized signified. Studies on lesbian and gay subjects in the Italian context are fundamental for creating

political, social, historic, and academic legitimacy, and are necessarily inter-twined with both feminist and queer activism, bodies, and theories.[18] But, as Alessia Palanti discusses in her chapter, these processes are often complicated by changing understandings of what it means to be feminist, queer, lesbian or otherwise occupy positions within these histories. The scholarship itself, Palanti argues, perpetuates certain notions of belonging and practices of othering even as it works in the service of enacting change in the Italian sociopolitical landscape.

Similarly, English-language queer scholarship engages rigorously with theory at the cost of prioritizing Anglophone-centric cultures and narratives. While some cultures may not necessarily embrace the term "queer" as an identity marker, rejecting the term outright risks limiting understandings of queer bodies, cultures, theories, and modes of being to not just Western, but Anglo-centric investigations and thus universalizes these very specific subject positions and shuts down the possibility for transnational queer discourse. Broadening queerness to encompass lives, theories, and politics beyond Anglophone cultures in a way that does not force those objects of study to identify with the term creates an open queer transnational and transcultural conversation that will surely increase the potential for queer visibility and queer theory. Some of this work is being done today by groups that exceed the academic sphere and put theoretical examination in conjunction with arts, community-building, and political practice. These include Archivio Queer, a virtual platform bringing together queer art, theory, and politics specific to Italian culture in Italy and abroad; and GendErotica, a festival with performances, roundtables, and exhibitions about gender and sexuality. Movimento Identità Trans (Trans Identity Movement) and MigraBO are both Bologna-based organizations dedicated to offering legal, social, and emotional support, as well as arts and community space for trans people (MIT) and LGBTI migrants (MigraBO). Within the sphere of higher education we find networks and research centers like Centro Interuniversitario di Ricerca Queer (Interuniversity Centero for Queer Research), PoliTeSse, and GIFTS: Genere Intersex Femministi Trans Sessualità (Gender Intersex Feminist Trans Sexuality) for queer scholars and those interested in queering their work.

QUEER / ITALIAN / MEDIA

As a whole, the chapters in this book investigate queer positionality, and work to queer notions of Italianness as it relates to and is reflected in media, while also queering understandings of viewer engagement and participation in media consumption and production. We maintain, however, the disciplinary frameworks of "media" as they are socially and academically understood

because the mercurial nature of all that is embodied by this term undergoes a constant social and technological queering by definition. As such we engage with both the technological and social facets of which media is constituted. As cultural theorist Henry Jenkins states, building on historian Lisa Gitelman's definition: "On the first, a medium is a technology that enables communication; on the second, a medium is a set of 'protocols' or social and cultural practices that have grown up around that technology."[19] The people watching and participating in media creation and consumption are necessarily subject to (and complicit with) its sociopolitical messages and structures. The chapters that make up this book discuss media—specifically print media, film, television, user generated content sites, and social media platforms—primarily through an analysis of its content, consumer production, and response. Each chapter acknowledges the significance of each medium in the historical moment under investigation, while also participating in a collective reflection on the expansive influence of the entirety of our mediatic universe.

The varied lenses and discourses shared and explored in this book showcase the large reach of Italian media, and highlight the diverse ways that queerness, Italianness, and media can and should be put in conversation. The methodological variance of queerness mirrors the diversity of LGBTQIA+ lives and communities that are, in part, represented by the depictions discussed here, as well as by those consuming and/or investigating them.

Opening the anthology, Alessio Ponzio finds the intersection of these terms in the media coverage of a 1969 murder of a teenage boy in Tuscany; in his chapter we see the way a media-induced moral panic surrounding gay culture propelled the formation of gay cultural codes and community in Italy. Through an investigative analysis on representations of gays in the press, and the rise of contemporaneous discourses criminalizing homosexuality, on the one hand, and promoting gay rights awareness, on the other, Ponzio demonstrates that the dominant deviancy narrative fed into stereotypes of gays as child predators and as corrupting, unwelcome presences in "proper" Italian society. At the same time, however, this increased media focus on homosexuality had an unintended effect as this coverage helped educate the general public about certain aspects of gay life in Italy by shedding light on a community that had previously been relegated to the shadows, and sparked a response from gay Italians who began writing to these publications to defend themselves. Ponzio locates some of the early rumblings of the Italian gay rights movement within the public voices that spoke out during the years following the murder. The tensions that can be seen in the public discourse surrounding this murder are indicative of the dramatic sociocultural transformations Italy underwent in the late 1960s and early 1970s, making this case a critical milestone in Italian gay history.

Attention to this critical period in LGBT history is also at the heart of Alessia Palanti's chapter, which focuses on the interplay between documentary film and Italian lesbian feminism. Palanti takes a critical look at Marazzi's award-winning documentary film *We Want Roses Too,* as a way of reopening an important conversation about lesbian marginality in Italian second-wave feminism and its legacies. Second-wave feminism occupies a privileged position within Italian radical and activist history, and critical analyses of that moment are often denounced as attempts to discredit the movement and its achievements (which are many and include securing the right to divorce and abortion). Palanti enters this fraught territory by bringing a North American style of feminist film theory to bear on this deeply national topic. Her historical analysis brings to light a gap between feminist and lesbian activism, which is echoed by the film. Providing an in-depth description of the film and a consideration of the politics of documentary filmmaking, Palanti argues that while the formal structures of *We Want Roses Too* could very well be used to support a feminist reading of the film, the actual stories themselves weaken its radicalism, and essentially render invisible nonnormative sexualities.

The question of visibility is also central to Sole Anatrone's discussion of immigration and gender roles in the 2008 film *Corazones de Mujer.* Here the author invites us to reflect on the question of migration in Italy through an interrogation of assumptions of national identity and cultural coherence. While the film is often considered a "road trip movie," and part of the "migrant cinema" genre, Anatrone pushes past the limitations of this categorization by examining the ways this film rehearses iconic moments from Italian and US cinema in order to challenge assumptions of national identity that have been disseminated through the cinematic medium. Using Jose Muñoz's theory of queer utopianism, this chapter explores how the nomadic nature of both the film's narrative and its form, trouble both actual and filmic political and cultural borders. Elaborating on Rosi Braidotti's theory of nomadism, Anatrone makes the case that "nomadism becomes, in this way, a radical political practice that seeks to reconfigure the ways in which we understand ourselves in relation to geo-political borders; it is an intentional divorcing of the subject from the fixity imposed by state structures."[20] This theory of strategic nomadism is uncovered through an analysis of the film's intertextual, formal, and production elements, which, when taken together, work to disrupt a heteronormative narrative that is deeply tied up in preserving national boundaries.

The following chapter continues the discussion of cinema in a study of the changing representation of LGBT characters in contemporary Italian comedies. Dom Holdaway's chapter makes a convincing case about the generative queer substratum of recent comedies and its potential for unlocking radical experiences and epistemologies. Through a discussion of popular

films from 2009 to 2016 including *Cado dalle nubi*, *Maschi contro femmine*, *Nessuno mi può giudicare*, *Una piccola impresa meridionale*, and *Perfetti sconosciuti*, Holdaway refutes the widely held idea that mainstream Italian cinema features few, and always stereotyped, LGBT characters; instead, he argues that these films differ in significant ways from the homophobic representations that characterized Italian films in the last century. As Holdaway demonstrates, it is precisely through the use of humor that the characters in this contemporary brand of cinema are able to leverage pointed critiques of homophobia in Italian society. Though both the critiques and the types of LGBT characters are limited, Holdaway locates queer potential within the oppositional spaces of these films.

Holdaway explains the strategic and multipronged way in which queer is deployed, "to foreground the same presence that queer people have always had around popular culture, especially as interpreters of it, and to maintain the term as a space of resistance, even to restrictive representational codes."[21] This simultaneous attention to the specificity and precarity of the individual, and to the revolutionary potential of queer life and art is operative throughout this book.

The discussion Holdaway begins regarding the tensions and potentials in normative representations of LGBTQIA+ lives is also central to Luca Malici's chapter, "An All Italian *Game of Thrones*: A Social Media Investigation of Maria de Filippi's Gay Male Version of the Trash, Dating Show *Uomini e Donne*." Malici's case study analyzes the gay version of the reality television show *Uomini e donne* (*Men and Women*), in which participants sit on a throne and are courted by suitors. After a rigorous quantitative analysis of Italian Twitter users' responses to LBGTQIA+ representation on "trash" television, Malici offers a productive queer reading both of the social commentary and the televisual text itself, arguing that "trash" TV has the potential to be a generative space for LGBTQIA+ representation and fandom. His investigation reveals LGBTQ mainstream televisual representations to be sites of discursive struggle. While addressing LGBTQ issues on daytime television helps to challenge stereotypes and behaviors often perceived as dissident, shows like *Uomini e donne* push the boundaries of prescriptive morality, as many of the tweets under investigation prove. However, what Malici shows is that the potentiality of trash television as a locus for queerness is being overshadowed by the television program's choice to privilege conventional members of sexual minorities, a move which ultimately stigmatizes many within the categories it purports to celebrate.

The concluding chapter by Julia Heim examines both industrial television and alternative prosumer media content and practices such as web-series, remediations, and slash fiction. Heim offers a queer lens through which to consider the complicated and unstable relationship between Italian

consumers, producers, and televisual content. This chapter looks at representations of LGBTQ lives within mainstream Italian television, independently produced webseries, and fan remediations. Heim makes the case that contemporary developments in digital media have helped create a virtual space for the formation of queer communities. Engaging with J. Halberstam's theorization of the "technotopic," Heim identifies four discrete bodies as a productive tool for understanding the relationship between queerness and contemporary television: "The individual consumer/producer as body; the community as body; the consumed televisual text as body; and the produced televisual text as body."[22] Picking up on Malici's and Holdaway's discussions about potentiality in the spaces of contradiction and omission, Heim argues that, by taking these extended networks of production, consumption, and interaction into consideration, true queerness lies not in the products themselves, but in contemporary modes of mediatic engagement.

Throughout this book, queer theory, depictions of LGBTQ populations, and various mainstream and nonmainstream media are all put into conversation in an effort to speak across and through as many media platforms and content and approaches to them; each chapter works, in different ways and across different media, to queer normative texts, investigate queer lives in Italy, and bring to the fore queer media texts, and Italian queer mediatic communities. This kind of queer (re)reflecting is particularly important because it gives visibility to marginalized peoples and stories. It creates other ways of understanding media and our relationship to it. We present the work collected here as a beginning in the hopes that others will build on and continue to expand and transform understandings of Italianness and queerness, as critical theory, embodiment, and radical political practice.

NOTES

1. Peppino Ortoleva "A Geography of the Media since 1945" in *Italian Cultural Studies: An Introduction*, ed. David Forgacs and Robert Lumley (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 194.

2. Áine O'Healy, "Mediterranean Passages: Abjection and Belonging in Contemporary Italian Cinema" in *California Italian Studies* 1, no. 1 (2010): 4.

3. Milly Buonanno, *Italian TV Drama and Beyond* (United Kingdom: Intellect Books, 2012), 15–16.

4. Michela Ardizzoni, *North/South, East/West: Mapping Italianness on Television* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2007), 8.

5. Ibid., 110.

6. David Morley and Kevin Robins, *Spaces of Identity: Global Media, Electronic Landscapes, and Cultural Boundaries* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 90–91.

7. Teresa de Lauretis, *Technologies of Gender* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987), 26.

8. The subheading "Now" addresses the contemporary condition of queer subjects in Italy while also referencing Eve Kolofksy Sedgwick's *Tendencies* and her and other's discussions of queer identity in conjunction with queer theory, which comprise a queer lineage that informs our work.

9. Two such examples are as follows: the Fertility Day campaign organized in 2016 by the Minister of Health as a way of promoting the heterosexual family and reinforcing gender stereotyped roles; and the Anti-Gender campaign organized by Citizen Go and Generazione Famiglia which used the #StopGender nelle scuole (in the schools) to promote discriminatory forms of digital activism.

10. According to the association, Italy's ranking has dropped by three places from May 2018 to May 2019. ILGA—Europe, "Rainbow Europe Index," May 2019, https://rainbow-europe.org/#8640/0/0.

11. LGBTQ is part of a larger group of subject positions linked together in response to a marginalization based on sexuality and gender: lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans, queer, intersex, asexual, plus (LGBTQIA+). While our sociopolitical and theoretical discussions and investments speak to every part of the LGBTQIA+ acronym, we have intentionally abbreviated it here so as to reflect the subject positions under investigation in this book.

12. Jason Mittell, "A Cultural Approach to Television Genre Theory," *Cinema Journal* 40, no. 3 (Spring, 2001): 8.

13. "Frocia" comes from the Italian word "frocio," meaning "faggot"; by adding the "a" at the end, the gender implications of the label are subverted, making space for a reclaiming and proposing of new expressions of identity, similar to the way the term "queer" was reclaimed and redefined by English-speaking gays, trans, and lesbians.

14. "Frocia era un termine che travalicava quei confini identitari [. . .] per cui potevano definirsi frocia invariabilmente gay, lesbiche, e trans, le tre principali categorie in cui ci si poteva e, aggiungerei io, doveva identificare." Marco Pustianaz, "Qualche domanda (sul) queer in Italia," *Italian Studies* 65, no. 2 (2010): 265. *Translation is our own.*

15. Massimo Prearo, "Le radici rimosse della queer theory. Una genealogia da ricostruire," *Genesis* IX, nos. 1–2 (2012): 96–97. For an elaboration of queer theory and activism in contemporary Italy, see Cesare di Feliciantonio's "Exploring the Complex Geographies of Italian Queer Activism," *Lambda nordica* 2 (2014).

16. Sara Ahmed, *Queer Phenomenology* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), 149.

17. Works like Giordano Bassetti and Andrea Jelardi's (2006) *Queer TV: omossessualità e transgressione* and *Mondo queer: cinema e militanza gay* by Pier Maria Bocchi (2005) are some of the only titles available to Italian-speaking audiences, though here too, as the subtitles suggest, "queer" is largely used as a stand-in for "gay."

18. There are works such as Luisa Passerini's (2007) *Fuori dalla norma: storie lesbiche*, Derek Duncan's (2005) *Reading and Writing Italian Homosexuality: A Case*

of Possible Difference, and Andrea Pini's (2011) *Quando eravamo froci: Gli omosessuali nell'Italia di una volta* that engage directly with these subject positions and their place within Italy's sociopolitical context.

19. Henry Jenkins, *Convergence Culture* (New York: New York University Press, 2008), 13–14.

20. Sole Anatrone, Infra., 58.

21. Dom Holdaway, Infra., 76.

22. Julia Heim, Infra., 135.

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