

Border dwelling bodies:

an ethnographic research in Siena, Italy

Abstract:

This article presents the ethnographic research conducted in Siena, Italy. It delves into the complex experiences of migrant women from diverse backgrounds, navigating the intersection of neoliberalism, consumerism, and postfeminism. It explores how these women construct their identities within the Western context that promotes constant self-monitoring and transformation, often influenced by media portrayals. The study reveals a duality in their experiences, highlighting the tensions between integration and the social injustices they face. Their pursuit of self-improvement and autonomy is influenced both by personal agency and the social pressures placed upon them as migrants. Despite their efforts to conform to the empowerment narrative, most of their experiences are marked by a fragmented sense of identity and a reliance on consumerism as a means of self-creation.

Keywords:

Neoliberalism, Identity, Postfeminism, Self-empowerment, Personal agency.

Author:

Dafina Gashi, a photographer and anthropologist, holds an Anthropology and Historical-Linguistic Studies degree from the University of Siena. In 2023, she completed her thesis titled "Border Dwelling Bodies: An Ethnographic Research of Migrant Women in Siena, Italy." Her ethnographic work on migrant women reflects her dedication to documenting challenges and experiences of marginalization, through art and academic research.

e-mail: dafina.gashi@student.unisi.it

Note di chiusura

1 Overall, 17 women were interviewed: 14 were second-generation migrant women who were either born or grew up in Italy; these are women from Tunisia, Morocco, Romania, Senegal, Vietnam, Kosovo, and Burundi. Three interviewees are women who left their countries and came to Italy just years ago (all of them for similar reasons); these are the women from South Korea, Libya, and Iran.

2 The question was: "Whom do you admire as a woman, and why?"

Introduction

This article aims to present an ethnographic research, a set of interviews with women aged 21-35 with different migrational backgrounds who live in Siena, Italy. They are women who either grew up or were born in Romania, Burundi, Libya, South Korea, Senegal, Tunisia, Kosovo, Marocco, Iran and Vietnam and live, study or work in Siena¹. The study analyzes the complex positioning of these women who navigate the intersection of neoliberalism, consumerism, and postfeminism.

Before dwelling on the issue, we must briefly present the Western conceptualisation of modern women. One main characteristic of the neoliberal ideology is the emphasis on individuals becoming self-governing subjects. Women's opportunities for economic activity and education have intersected historically with the uptake of neoliberal politics and the importance of consumerism in defining themselves, making women the subjects of neoliberal consumerism par excellence (Harris 2004; McRobbie 2009). In the neoliberal Western context, women's bodies are commodified more than ever (Fusaschi 2008). The focus on the body has long been a demand placed on women; however, they are now seen as entrepreneurial subjects and self-surveillance has been extended beyond the physical body to one's entire self. The goal was to study migrant women living in a Western context, focusing not on Western modernity but on how they, by being simultaneously part of two distinct social structures and cultures, perceive the body and its implications.

The categorisation of the migrant is a very peculiar one. Once part of the host society, migrants assume the role of foreigners, categorised within a preconceived culture, based on an ideological perspective which perceives individuals as belonging to fixed cultural identities that resist change and threaten peaceful coexistence if not managed properly (Pompeo 2007). One of the central paradoxes of emigration and immigration lies in the individual's relationship with their body. The body is a vehicle for self-presentation and representation, a vessel of emotions and intellect (Sayad 1999). The immigrant's relationship with their body and its role within the host society reveals profound contradictions of perception to the extent that, in certain circumstances, the immigrant's body appears not just foreign but entirely incomprehensible to the host society. The processes of assimilation related to socio-cultural experiences in the immigrant's country of origin clash with the model imposed by the host society, which expects them to conform.

The relationship between women, their bodies, and the host society reveals profound contradictions in perception. In certain circumstances, how alien and incomprehensible women's bodies can appear to their host society becomes evident. It is crucial to emphasise that our reflections on the body and the social actors inhabiting it, specifically migrant women, are conducted by analysing the perspectives of the subjects themselves. The body seems intertwined with their current social structure and the discourse on feminism, social media, community, homeland networks, and other dynamics. This positioning at the border of two cultures and social realities affected how our participants perceive their bodies as a personal and socio-political stand and showed how the relationship dynamics between these women's bodies and the social institutions are constantly being negotiated.



Figure 1 Photo taken after the Interview, on a following informal conversation.



Figure 2 Photo taken after the Interview, on a following informal conversation.

The Photography Issue

I adhere to an anthropological praxis that embraces a collaborative visual approach, in my case, photography, to discover new ways of creating and collaborating with people (Quijano 2022).

The aim was to have a creative and collaborative approach to ethnographic research, in order to generate a “production of knowledge and ways of knowing rather than...the collection of data” (Pink 2013: 35). By embracing the idea of photography as a conversational practice (Gunthert 2015), I intended to explore the multiple ways these women develop a visual discourse based on their desires, intentions and decisions on representation. Given the sensitivity of the topic and the potential difficulty of initiating spontaneous dialogues, I aimed to utilise photography as a gateway to the conversation, where I would first approach them by offering a photoshoot and then, depending on their willingness, an interview/conversation would follow. Every aspect of this process was a collaborative decision. From their clothing and makeup to the choice of location, every element involved these women in the decision-making process.

Soon, it was realised that photography, meaning asking the women for photoshootings, was not the righteous way to initiate a dialogue. The women generally displayed a high degree of sensitivity to the process and a protective stance toward their identity as portrayed through photography. Their

suspensions were rooted in the fact that these women were not frequently represented in the media, and when they were, it was often within a specific narrative, and they struggled to identify themselves within the media discourse. As a result, they perceived it as an open field, with uncertainty about whom to emulate or represent, thereby feeling that their identity was under threat.

The challenges were not limited to the women alone; as a photographer, one is conscious of the control one possesses over the narrative, whether during the shooting or the selection process. Achieving a somewhat equitable representation of these women proved very difficult, and one had to be careful to avoid falling into pre-established traps of representation.

Consequently, alternative approaches were sought; I opted to establish a dialogue with the women first, allowing us to get to know each other, and photography was to be introduced either at the beginning, middle, or end of an interview or conversation or not at all, depending on their preference. Recognising the manipulation inherent in photography and the potential influence of the photographer's choices on the narrative, the photos were created and selected without a predetermined representation in mind. They are regarded as partial representations of these bodies and a general reflection of these conversations.



Figure 3 Photo taken before the Interview.

The Feminist Discourse

Most research participants would directly associate the issue of the body with the narrative of feminism, even if they did not have a concrete awareness of the narrative itself. However, throughout the conversations, most participants spontaneously directed the conversation towards this topic, and one could find hints of denial or partial acceptance of the matter. These discourses had different variants depending on the personal life narratives of these women, but generally, the narrative was that they must work on and transform the self, regulating every aspect of their conduct by presenting all their actions as freely chosen (Gill 2007).

An individualistic approach was specific to the women who had lived in Siena for a longer time or were born here. “A woman who is brave that she can follow her priorities” is the ideal model of a perfect and inspiring woman. For some, “feminism is a necessary concept” applied to the financial independence that most of them deeply feel a woman should have. “Women should work for their cause and not just talk. If a woman complains about cleaning dishes at home, she should do something to change that reality. It is not men’s fault. We can change our reality” or “Of course, I feel represented by feminism, I do not think there is one thing more important for a woman than independence” and “Independent, determined, and ambitious” are the sentences that one would hear throughout these conversations, always emphasizing personal responsibility for improving their situation, often overlooking the social discourses and inequalities that women face.

Although wanting to be ambitious, independent, and determined is considered necessary, throughout the following conversations, one could notice that this narrative would only partially hold in reality. They were searching for stable jobs and were willing to have a family. Their ambition at the end was translated into phrases like “being able to do the grocery without having to think whether you can afford it or not” and a “two thousand euros monthly job would be enough for me.” It seemed more an ideal narrative they assumed from the general discourse rather than their own and more an image of the perfect women they have conceptualised in their minds. This approach to the issue of feminism and women’s positioning in the social sphere would be directly translated into their consumeristic attitudes.

On the other hand, there was almost a complete denial of the narrative of empowerment and success, at least the one portrayed in the general discourse. Furthermore, there is a general refusal of the term feminism since it is perceived as somewhat aggressive towards women and not representative of their state of mind. McRobbie (2007) argues that by creating the illusion of a post-feminist era, where young women no longer require social justice politics or a political identity, society promotes young women as “subjects of capacity” for the new socio-economic order, and this has led to feminism being simultaneously integrated, modified, and depoliticised.

“I have the feeling you are a feminist... Me, I do not like it. (...) They think they can do it all. And they’re aggressive... But you seem Ok.” were the words of one of the girls who participated in one of the interviews, referring to me. Some of them, while conversing about feminism nowadays, stressed that they do not feel represented by the general discourse on feminism, and would specifically emphasise that there was no conversation happening among women on this issue and that it was impossible to have a conversation with a “proper feminist.” On the extreme side, feminism is almost refused by some of the interviewees. One could say there was a “leave me alone” narrative here; they act out the belief that this narrative of feminism does not represent them.

One girl outlined a categorisation parallel between the LGBT Community and the feminist one; she argued that these categorisations are unnecessary and one cannot make these delimitations and assume that everybody should go along with them. She felt these categorisations create certain limitations within the conversations and unnecessary barriers between people. As the

woman stressed, “We are getting our rights, and we are doing everything so we do not have to, let’s say, try to protect ourselves and do extreme things like por-
traying ourselves as feminists. I do not know, but like, it makes no sense to have feminism nowadays.” One has to notice that they usually feel represented by the narrative of feminism in their home countries because those narratives represent their concerns and, therefore, are real “because women there struggle for real issues and have real problems,” as stressed by some of the women.



Figure 4 Photo taken during the Interview.

The Body, Social Structure, and Future Self

Market transformations and the growing relevance of consumer culture are central to understanding how we place ourselves with respect to the body. There is an important aspect of this new way of perceiving the body, where it no longer indicates only the place a given individual occupies in the social structure but also, and above all, it comes to be a representation of the character, and this becomes the object of continuous choices. In a situation of growing complexity and fragmentation of the social context, the individual should not only organise the biography coherently but also manage the performance and construction of the body because it is considered an outward representation of the Self and the context offers a complex diversity of choices from which the individual should be able to select. The implication is that the individual cannot understand which optimal choice could be, which can produce anxiety and, since little help is provided, the individual does not know which options would be optimal to choose (Bordo 1993).

The women who were slightly more integrated into the social structure by working or studying had a slightly different perception and projection of their future selves. The idea of implementing specific changes and caring for their health and physical appearance was present here. The constraints, derived primarily from the social gaze, were used as boundaries that would shape their behaviour and direct their ideas or planning. Being looked at illustrates well that we never simply look at one thing; we inevitably imagine a relationship between us, and as a result, we often detach ourselves from our bodies and see ourselves through the eyes of others (Bartky 1990). Having some points of reference or being more informed in career or job matters, healthy alternative eating, face and body creams, and fashion would restrain their choices and be a guideline for how they should live and socially present themselves. By being slightly more integrated into society, most have a specific view of how to implement their self-driven choices.

Femininity is often associated with conforming to societal beauty norms, driven by individualism and choice. Women are seen as wanting to look beautiful or sexy for themselves rather than for men, a shift from objectification to subjectification. However, this shift comes with the demand for increased self-monitoring and self-discipline to embody consumer-oriented femininities (Gill 2007; Evans et al. 2010). Most of the women interviewed have a structured narrative of the individual they want to become and the woman they want to be. Therefore, buying face creams, Vitamin C and clothes was perceived as an investment. This investment was seen as necessary for their future selves, for the women they wanted to be. When these women stressed that they use “an SPF, vitamin C, retinol, peptide cream, hyaluronic acid...” or “a moisturising cream and a face serum” or “five face creams daily, all different”, they were all referring to it as an investment for their future selves.

Conversely, the other women who came to Italy later have a different perception of themselves; consequently, the narrative differs. Most have no concrete perspective of “this body in the future.” There is almost no future structure and projection; their projecting timeframe is limited to the following two/three years, at maximum. They dream of a future where they have stability and a life with a family, but there is yet to be a thought-out structure that they could try to apply from now on to achieve their goals. One could suggest that this is a consequence of the lack of integration in the social structure, which translates to a lack of care for their appearance, a denial of feminism, and a dull individualistic approach to life. Furthermore, this would reflect their consumeristic attitudes; when asked what they would use daily, how they would care for themselves, or if they considered these tools or actions necessary, the answers would be very shallow.

On one side, the body is already projected into the future, and the woman can make a long-term plan. However, for others, it is simply a body that has to move forward; it does not necessarily have a stable place; consequently, it cannot have a somewhat stable identity, defined and structured through relations with other

members of society. Where there was more of a general awareness of their state, a consumeristic attitude, an individualistic approach, and general planning would follow. On the other side, where the awareness was little, this aspect could not be observed; therefore, these characteristics were not so much present.

There are undoubtedly personal ways of managing their bodies depending on external factors and these women's hierarchical order of values. Women who were born or raised in Siena managed their appearance and health by engaging in a horizontal comparison. This comparison and competition was direct, involving modern women they observed in Italy or through media consumption. The improvement is implemented based on a singular line of comparison, with no apparent negotiation made with women in their home countries. The other group had a slightly different perspective. Again, there is a comparison and willingness to improve their image, but the ideal to imitate differs here. They are more conscious of the differences between the two cultures in which they find themselves. The modern woman they portray would be a conscious choice to define a hierarchical order. The competition is made directly or indirectly with the women in their homeland as a mark of approval or denial of a model.

The attention to appearance and cosmetic use seemed directly connected with their envisioning of the body in the future. There is a certain correspondence between the perception of the future Self and the future body. Where there was a structure or a general view or project of who they wanted to be and what they wanted to have, there was also a particular attention to body care. The lack of one implies the lack of projecting or at least viewing it as a lifelong project of the other.

Most of them are not perceived as nodes in a network of connections in the country they live in now, and there is a continuous negotiation taking place. Throughout the interviews, it became evident that while challenges and concerns varied, the identity and role of women in this context were not yet well-defined.



Figure 5 Photo taken after the Interview, on a following informal conversation.

The Media

The media portrays the female body as a window into one's inner life, promoting diets, surgery, and fitness while emphasising beauty and youth (Shilling 2003) and urging consumption to achieve these ideals (Glassner 1992).

Firstly, the body portrayed by the media as desirable and attainable is not necessarily something these women would aim for. The standard model is admired and appreciated; nevertheless, other characteristics would influence this admiration.

In order to understand the approach to the media (by always referring to the image of the women portrayed in them), there was a direct question that would be asked² to understand which were the admired characteristics,

and these comments would follow: “Angelina Jolie (...) although she had cancer she looks fit and very beautiful. She had Mastectomy.” or Elena Petrelli because “she has a very cheerful and also genuine character. I like her a lot because in her videos she deals with topics that are rarely talked about today and which are still taboo. For example, she teaches you to accept yourself as you are and don’t follow any model of women from the media.”

The image of the perfect woman, be it Angelina Jolie, Jennifer Lopez, Elena Petrelli, Rihanna, Dua Lipa, or Selena Gomez was viewed as a model, but for very different reasons. For most girls, in order to admire women, there were other characteristics besides the perfect body and overall beauty that needed to be considered; personality traits such as kindness and simplicity were important.

The bodies represented by the media or in general discourses imposed as models on women are perceived as unreal and unobtainable at a certain level. The media discourse of the modern woman, who can have everything, namely perfect family, body and job does not seem to impact the women in these interviews greatly. The “having it all” model encourages young women to pursue career and family without compromising their femininity; this perspective suggests that with hard work and organisation, women can balance career, economic independence, and family (Campo 2005). However, the individualised approach conceals structural issues within a patriarchal society, pushing women to self-regulate and find solutions while deflecting responsibility from societal forces (Gill and Orgad 2017), as it is in our study case. Although the women would admit a certain admiration towards the model, it would not necessarily influence their daily consumeristic decisions, and there was no proclivity on their behalf to imitate these models.

One can observe the impact of the general narrative of self-improvement, empowerment, and choice discourses that the media has on them, as the Vietnamese girl for whom being independent is crucial for a woman, where choice and life decisions are felt like part of her or the emphasis on empowerment and ambition of the Moroccan woman. Since they feel it does not impact them directly, the value and goal structures they try to hold onto are defined on a personal basis, not the models provided by the media.



Figure 6 Photo taken before the Interview.

The Modernity Discourse

The bodies are transformed or not, based on a narrative they believe or accept as their own at a certain level. Choice defines them, and they feel there are infinite decisions one can make regarding the modifications they want to undergo on their bodies or life decisions in general, in the prospect of a better future. Despite being aware of the difficulties they have to confront, the idea of becoming a self-made woman is not perceived as a goal or aspiration by most of them; rather, it is viewed as something being demanded from them.

The fragmentation of their life stories, where they have to deal with different narratives of body care, goal achievements, and different hierarchies of values of what is expected from them as women, has massive impacts on the perception of themselves as individuals and their bodies. Modernity is felt as a burden because they find themselves in a state of dullness. There is no movement forward; if there is, it is prolonged.

On one side, some women were conscious of the struggles but were prone to challenge the state of things and move forward; there was a very combative and individualistic element perceived in them. Conversely, there is a conscious acceptance of the state of things regarding the job market and future perspectives and their non-positioning in political discourse is well understood. The concept of self-improvement and the narrative of “all consequences are part of my own decisions” appeared to be consciously accepted.

There is a willingness for improvement, but not necessarily for greater financial security or independence, it is more with the goal of “a calmer and more relaxed life.” The discourse of empowerment and independence does not seem to regard them. They are on a path to “a normal life, not an exciting one”, as one of the women stressed. Overall, there is a widespread acceptance of the state of things and the perspective of finding individual solutions to general social problems.

Furthermore, one would argue that women find themselves in a dull reality. Their bodies are not projects to be worked on; they are merely bodies that sustain these women in the perspective of moving forward in life. Usually, they have seen only one meta-choice as the best and the only half-option for a better future. The pathway forward is not even roughly mapped, and the articulation of reality is not embedded in the society they live in but in the perception of it that they may have. There were occasions where the conversations shifted toward women in their homeland countries, and one might presume that the narratives would be different, or at least distinctive, with significant observations made on their behalf. Given that most of them return to their homeland at least once a year, the narrative becomes superficial, consistently revolving around outward appearance and the perceived competition they experience upon returning. Even though it is not explicitly mentioned, one can notice how they are trying to draw a line of separation between themselves and others through certain remarks on dress prices and looks. It is a line of separation between the bodies in their homeland, but in Siena, it is perceived as an open field with a very narrow narrative of how they feel and who they are.

All of them were well informed about the makeup lines and materials they were supposed to use and the different trends to follow. Either way, some differences must be considered between women of different nationalities. The impression gathered from these conversations was that the daily efforts invested in body care and overall stress to enhance physical appearance were driven by a desire to gain admiration from other women or, at the very least, shield themselves from potential critiques. These bodies are not necessarily perceived as deterritorialised or constrained to be accepted by one culture or the other; they are conscious of being in between or in the border of both of them, and they move or apply modifications depending on the social context they find themselves in.

There are certain transformations most of them felt the need to undergo in order to be accepted in the community in Siena. However, at the same time, there are also certain transformations in their appearance and attitude they undergo once they visit their homeland; they are fully conscious of it, and generally, there is an element of unease since they have to negotiate their identity continuously.



Figure 7 Photo taken before the Interview.

A somewhat deceptive aspect of the official interviews

Each interviewee presented their story and reality in a unique manner, but the shared narrative consistently aligned with the accepted modern narrative. The interviews came across as saturated, and while the women have unique life stories and experiences, their expressions seemed performative. It appeared that this narrative was imposed upon them by the media and prevailing notions about women's bodies and societal roles. Consequently, their thoughts and ideas have been compromised and adapted to fit this narrative.

Statements such as the following did not align with the informal conversations:

“It’s important to love yourself, you know. Beauty itself is not important. If you respect yourself, stand up for your goals and see yourself reaching them, that’s when you see a different light in the mirror. That’s when I believe, you start to bloom! (...)” or “For me, it’s crucial that I feel beautiful and then, in my opinion, others will perceive these vibes too” or “if women want to be beautiful and dress well and everything, I think they do it for themselves and not for others”.

I found an underlying layer interesting; they were not trying to portray a different self in these interviews but presented an idealised and socially accepted version of themselves. Even though they seemed unaffected by media and aware of the global and local context, as soon as the interview and recording would take place, they would engage in a specific performance of themselves.

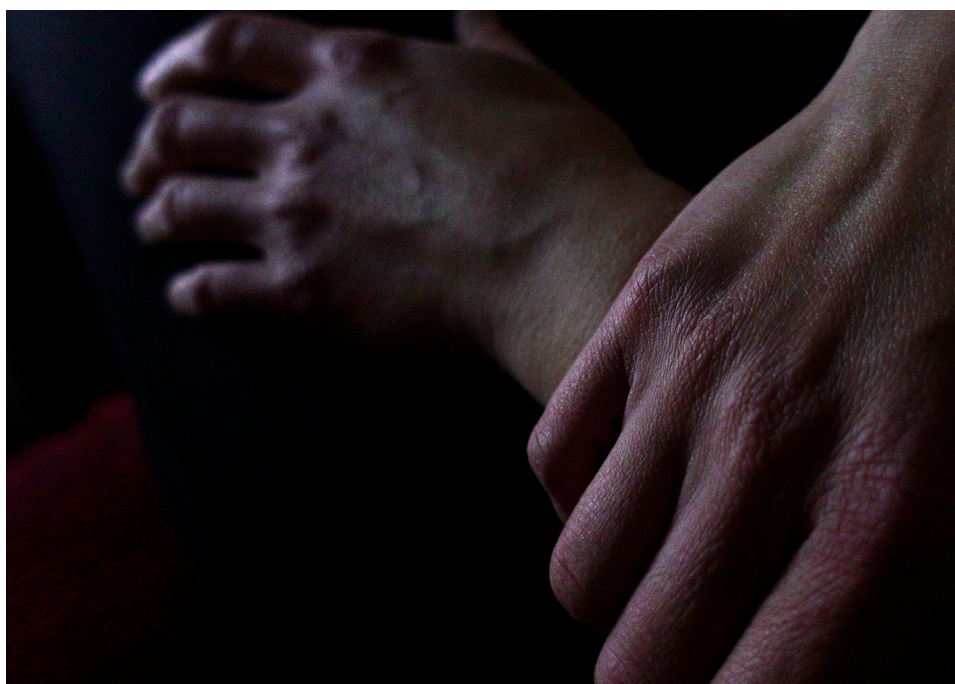


Figure 8 Photo taken during the Interview.

The media influenced most of the women interviewed, who showed a keen interest in celebrities, social events, and trends. Moreover, throughout the following informal conversations, they also provided much information about body care, face creams, vitamins, and clothing. Explaining their knowledge in these areas would be hard if they were not as interested as they portrayed themselves to be. Therefore, statements like “I do not wear as much makeup as other girls,” “I do not care about what others think,” and “it is important to feel beautiful inside and be self-confident” appear to be rehearsed quotes that they live by, presenting a carefully constructed image of themselves.

While discussing other girls and various situations, and sharing fragments of their life stories in the following conversations, no consistent narrative matched the interviews’ portrayal. It seemed that a standardization was applied to these border-dwelling bodies, pushing them to fit into the general narrative of modern Western, feminist, career-driven women who can balance beauty, competence, and accomplishments. However, their social disparities and cultural constraints were not integrated into this narrative.



Figure 8 Photo taken before the Interview.

Conclusions

The dual cultural backgrounds and partial integration in their new homeland do not erase the social injustices, humiliations, and misunderstandings the women encounter on a daily basis. The narrative they try to convey in these interviews reflects a desire to align with the accepted narrative of a modern, open-minded, self-determined, empathetic, and caring woman. These bodies might not naturally fit into these narratives but become aligned with them by consuming ideas that do not necessarily directly apply to them. Most women engage in constant self-surveillance, seeking to adapt and develop new skills to stay relevant in their homeland country and Italy.

Traditional identity anchors such as class, gender, ethnicity, parental occupation, or geographical region seem absent in Siena, but they are still present in their homeland. These anchors are constantly being negotiated, shaping most women's daily lives. Self-transformation is undertaken with the aim to adapt and be recognised in their new land, not as an individualistic choice for authenticity.

Adapting to changes, planning for the future, and investing in their present selves are seen as processes of freedom and self-determination. However, the idea that these concepts are not entirely self-driven and free from social constraints and inequalities is only clear to some women. While some demonstrate a sense of control over their lives, others strategically integrate their homeland knowledge and experiences into their new social sphere. The narrative of consumption is perceived as a tool to gain recognition and acceptance in the society they now inhabit. These women embrace postfeminism, neoliberalism, and consumerism, but their relationship with these ideas is complex.

There is not necessarily self-deception at play, but by presenting themselves as modern, capable women facing similar challenges as others portrayed in the media or general discourse, they aim to integrate themselves into the narrative of the ideal modern woman. Straddling two sometimes conflicting cultures, they appropriate this general narrative to find a virtual place in their new homeland. Identifying as modern, determined, and self-driven allows them to position themselves within this narrative.

Navigating this process in isolation, without a community or interactions with women in Siena or their homeland on these topics, the individualistic approach and empowerment narrative suit them well. However, the appropriation of this narrative only isolates them further.

References

- Bartky, Sandra Lee
1990 *Femininity and Domination: Studies in the Phenomenology of Oppression*. New York: Routledge.
- Bordo, Susan
1993 *Unbearable Weight: Feminism, Western Culture, and the Body*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Campo, Natasha Rose
2005 *Having it all 'or 'had enough'? Blaming feminism in the age and the Sydney Morning Herald 1980-2004*. *Journal of Australian Studies*, 28, 63-72. In *Female influencers: Analyzing the social media representation of female subjectivity in Italy*. G. Roberti (Ed.) Department of Human Sciences, University of L'Aquila, Italy.
- Evans, Adrienne, Riley, Sarah, and Shankar, Avi
2010 Technologies of Sexiness: Theorizing Women's Engagement in the Sexualization of Culture. *Feminism and Psychology*, 20(1), 114-131.
- Fusaschi, Michela
2008 *Corporealmente Corretto: Note di antropologia*. Meltemi Editore.
- Gill, Rosalind
2007 Critical respect: The difficulties and dilemmas of agency and 'choice' for feminism: A reply to Duits and van Zoonen. *European Journal of Women's Studies*, 14(1), 65-76.
- Gill, Rosalind and Orgad, Shani
2017 Confidence culture and the remaking of feminism. *New Form*, 91, 16-34.

- Glassner, Barry
1992 *Bodies: Overcoming the Tyranny of Perfection*. Los Angeles: Lowell House.
- Gunthert, André
2015 *L'image Partagée: La Photographie Numérique. L'écriture Photographique*. Textuel. Paris.
- Harris, Anita
2004 *Future Girl: Young Women in the Twenty First Century*. London: Routledge.
- Leon-Quijano, Camilo
2022 Why do "good" pictures matter in Anthropology? *Cultural Anthropology*
Vol. 37 No. 3.
- McRobbie, Angela
2009 *The aftermath of feminism: Gender, culture and social change*. London:
Sage.
- McRobbie, Angela
2007 Top Girls? Young women and the post-feminist sexual contract. *Cultural
Studies*, 21(4), 718–737.
- Pompeo, Francesco
2007 *Multiculturalismo: società di tutti o di ciascuno?* In *La società di tutti.
Multiculturalismo e politiche dell'identità*, F. Pompeo (eds by). Roma:
Meltemi, pp. 9-78.
- Pink, Sarah
2013 *Doing Visual Ethnography. 3rd Revised edition*. Los Angeles: SAGE Publi-
cations Ltd.
- Sayad, Abdelmalek
1999 *La double absence des illusions de l'émigré aux souffrances de l'immigré*.
Paris: Éditions du Seuil. Translated as: 2003 *La doppia assenza. Dall'il-
lusione dell'emigrato alle sofferenze dell'immigrato*. Milano: Raffaello
Cortina.
- Shilling, Chris
2003 *The Body and Social Theory (2nd ed.)*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publica-
tions.