Walking Home: Redefining Cultural Identity Through *Flâneuserie* in Igiaba Scego's *Roma negata*

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ABSTRACT

The figure of the *flâneur* is one which flourished in the nineteenth century after the French Revolution and the reconstruction of the Paris cityscape. While both the *flâneur* and his female counterpart the *flâneuse* are contested figures, they suggest a way of navigating the city whose impact is strongly felt in contemporary urban literature. In recent years, the figure has seen a resurrection in academia and literature, with the publication of walking narratives such as Teju Cole's *Open City* (2011) and Tao Lin's *Taipei* (2013). These publications have demonstrated contemporary *flânerie* as a mode of observing and interpreting the urban landscape within literature. Further, the act of walking as a woman has been a constant literary theme over the past century, with examples ranging from Virginia Woolf's 1927 essay 'Street Haunting', to Beverly Farmer's *Alone* (1980). Recent literature has continued to demonstrate a focus on walking as a woman, with Rebecca Solnit's *Wanderlust: A History of Walking* (2014), and Lauren Elkin's *Flâneuse: Women Walk the City in Paris, New York, Tokyo, Venice and London* (2016). This paper demonstrates how *flâneuserie* can be used as a methodology for both interrogating the concept of homeland and creating a sense of belonging by the postcolonial subject by examining the use of *flâneuserie* in Italian Somali writer Igiaba Scego's 2014 text *Roma negata: percorsi postcoloniali nella città*. Published in 2014 in collaboration with Italian street photographer Rino Bianchi, *Roma negata* is a collection of personal walking essays based in Rome. Born in Rome to Somali parents, Scego structures these essays through her walks in the city, interrogating both her relationship with the city and the city's postcolonial history with Northeast Africa. It is worth noting that Scego, who is one of Italy's foremost contemporary postcolonial writers, does not write from the position of a migrant writer. Rather, she is of "Generation 2" – Italian born writers of Somali heritage, writing "within a context of a nation that has neglected to acknowledge its colonial past" (Carroli and Gerrand 2011: 83). As Sabrina Brancato points out, Afro-Italian writers born or raised in Italy face issues of cultural identity that are more complex than the migrant generation that preceded them. This body of Afro-Italian literature exhibits a

movement towards cultural hybridity that not only "uniquely contributes to the enrichment of contemporary Italian culture", but also to a rethinking of Italian identity (2007: 658).

INTRODUCTION

This paper explores the ways in which Scego uses *flâneuserie* to unify the dichotomy of home and homeland – Rome and Somalia respectively – by revealing traces of Italy's colonial history within the Roman cityscape. It regards *flânerie* and *flâneuserie* as modes of investigating the cityscape and locating the writer within the urban space. It asks: How does Scego embody the contemporary *flâneuse* and how is *flâneuserie* used to interrogate and reclaim the city space as homeland in *Roma negata*? To explore these questions, this paper applies research methodology to the figure of the *flâneuse* in Scego's text. Discussion surrounding the *flâneuse* is a relatively contemporary issue, with much literature negating her existence. The primary text on the *flâneuse* that this paper has employed is Lauren Elkin's 2016 study *Flâneuse: Women Walk the City in Paris, New York, Tokyo, Venice and London,* in addition to Deborah Parson's *Streetwalking the Metropolis* (2000). Through a literary analysis of *Roma negata*, I examine how the *flâneuse* uses the methodology of the *flâneur* to interpret the cityscape and engage with the concept of homeland within the urban space. In order to ground my analysis, the paper refers to Scego's 2010 text *La mia casa è dove sono.* Drawing from contemporary Scego scholarship, place theory, and nonfiction walking narratives, it examines modes of engaging with the cityscape via the 'walking essay'. Positioning Scego as a contemporary exemplar of the *flâneuse*, it then demonstrates how she uses the tools of *flâneuserie* to interpret the cityscape as a method of interrogating the concept of homeland. If traditional *flânerie* was a reaction against Haussmann's renovation of Paris, then Scego's *flâneuserie* can be interpreted as a reaction towards the changing Roman cityscape. However, unlike the traditional *flâneur*, who viewed his changing city with nostalgia, Scego employs *flâneuserie* as a way of contributing to a new urban narrative. By highlighting multicultural spaces of alterity with Rome, Scego not only challenges traditional nationalistic narratives present within the cityscape, but also proposes a new narrative that embraces the 'other' and redefines Italian identity.

The *flâneur* and the *flâneuse*

The most seminal contemporary study on the *flâneuse* is writer and academic Lauren Elkin's 2016 book of the same name, in which Elkin explores literary instances of *flâneuserie*. In her study of the female counterpart to the city-wandering *flâneur*, Elkin describes this figure, which derives from the French verb *flaner*, as "one who wanders aimlessly". He is a masculine figure, one of "privilege and leisure, with time and money and no immediate responsibilities to claim his attention". Importantly, he knows the city well, as "he has memorised it with his feet" (Elkin 2016: 3). With this interest in walking and the *flâneur*, the *flâneuse* or female walker has been the subject of much writing in recent years, looking at the specific ways in which the perception of women walkers can contribute to cityscapes. There has been much debate among scholars over whether the *flâneuse* could have existed, with perhaps the most well-known argument against the existence of the *flâneuse* by sociologist Janet Wolff. In her essay 'Gender and the haunting of cities (or, the retirement of the *flâneur*)', Wolff argues that the *flâneur* is inherently gendered, since women, if they were in the street during the nineteenth century, were

automatically identified as streetwalkers or "fallen women" (Wolff 2006: 19). Consequently, the *flâneur's* "account of urban experience (…) instantly renders women invisible or marginal" (Wolff 2006: 19). However, other scholars suggest that not only did women participate in public life, but that they did so as observers. In her study on women travellers of the nineteenth century, Clare Olivia Parsons cites examples of nineteenth-century Paris guidebooks and travelogues by women to demonstrate how the *flâneur*'s observant gaze was being used by women despite claims to the contrary. Additionally, Parsons suggests that women sought out to profit from the Haussmanisation of Paris, through which the newly built boulevards "created an amenable environment for the female *bourgeoise* who also wishes to see and be seen in the urban theatre" (Parsons 1997: 410). In addition, the figure of the *flâneur* has undergone many interpretations since its introduction into cultural knowledge. In her 2014 study of the history of walking, *Wanderlust*, Rebecca Solnit notes the various meanings and ambiguities surrounding the term, defining the *flâneur* as "an observant and solitary man strolling about Paris" (Solnit 2014: 198). Other definitions abound, such as this one from the *Encyclopedie Larousse*: "a loiterer, a fritterer away of time" (Wilson 1992: 93). Not even Walter Benjamin, who is perhaps the writer most associated with the figure, ever gave the *flâneur* a concrete definition, instead associating it with certain elements and traits. He was an asocial man whose only sexual relations were with prostitutes: he spilled time rather than passed it. Impotent, lonely, alienated from the crowd, but also drunk from it, and no longer at home in his own city, which now represented "for him a theatrical display, an arena" (Benjamin 2002: 347). Deborah Parsons notes in her text *Streetwalking the Metropolis* that Benjamin's *flâneur* is an elusive figure, one that "literally walks away from Benjamin's definition into the labyrinth, myth, and fragments of the city" (Parsons 2000: 4).

In fact, the *flâneur* was not gendered until the nineteenth century. The term, first recorded in usage in 1585, possibly derives from the old Scandinavian *flana*, meaning 'to wander aimlessly' (Ferguson 1997: 240). The figure of the *flâneur* has altered over the past couple of centuries. In 1829 the writer Jules Janin noted that a flâneur was someone who "likes doing nothing" (cited in Hahn 2012: 196). Elkin mentions that in Quebec, a *flâneur* is a con man. Noting the evolution of this figure, Elkin pronounces the *flâneur* to be "a beguiling but empty vessel, a blank canvas onto which different eras have projected their own desires and anxieties (…) We think we know what we mean [when we talk of the *flâneur*], but we don't" (Elkin 2016: 11). This summation can be just as appropriately applied to the *flâneuse*. We think we know what we mean, but we do not necessarily. Perhaps women did not enjoy the privilege of roaming the streets aimless and solitary, but women have always interpreted and chronicled the city in their own ways, and this engagement is of equal value to that of their male counterparts. In fact, when tracing walkers in literature since the nineteenth century – from Benjamin in the city, to Thoreau's nature walks, to Martha Gelhorn's war reporting through the streets of Madrid, to the psychogeographical movement – we notice that the territory of the *flâneur* has continuously broadened in both scope and purpose. If the *flâneur* is a malleable figure that allows us to embody a mode of inquiry into our surroundings, then the evolution from the *flâneur* to the *flâneuse* is a natural progression. The question becomes, therefore: what does walking alone in the city mean to the *flâneuse*, and what does she interpret from her encounters with the street? In her article, 'Dangers of travelling while female', the British travel writer Tara Isabella Burton critiques the notion of male objectivity within travel writing. Having spent her childhood reading the recounted adventures of male travellers, Burton laments that the provenance of anonymity is accessible only to white men. In the adventurous stories of male travel writers, Burton notes that places mired in nostalgia, romantic ideals and the mysticism of the past form part of an approach that she deems "literary colonising". As a

woman traveller, she does "not have the luxury of sauntering into a basement chaikana in Tbilisi or Istanbul (…) secure the world will shape itself to [her] will" (Burton 2013). And perhaps it should not. Such an approach, after all, is an undeniable by-product of colonisation's grand narrative, the assumption that "the names [we] give places are one and the same as the places themselves" (Burton 2013). Rather, Burton argues that while women travellers have traditionally been shut out of the adventurous travelling undertaken by men due to societal and cultural constraints, the undervalued domain of the domestic to which women have access holds its own place in travel writing, and I would argue, in *flâneuserie*. How does her innate knowledge of the domestic sphere affect her interpretation of the public? How does she subjectively perceive and transform urban space into homely space?

Flâneuserie as home-making

Within the field of urban studies, focus has been directed towards *flânerie* as a methodology, rather than the *flâneur* as a figure. In this sense, *flânerie* becomes a mode of interpreting the city, with the investigative scope of "uncovering the traces of collective memory and social meaning that are embedded in the layered fabric of the city" (Stevenson 2013: 106). If *flânerie* is a way of revealing hidden meaning within the city, then the subversive nature of *flâneuserie* offers the postcolonial writer a mode of both interrogating nationalistic power structures and exposing alternate cultural narratives present within the urban space. In the Italian Somali writer Igiaba Scego and photographer Rino Bianchi's collection of personal walking essays and street photography, *Roma negata: percorsi postcoloniali nella città* (2014), Scego's walks through Rome are the guiding narrative through which she interrogates her complicated relationship with Rome, the city in which she has lived since birth. Scego's Rome on foot is lived amongst tourists snapping photos, street vendors selling cheap souvenirs, gladiator-clad street performers swindling tourists, herds of stray cats that have made home amongst the ruins, crammed public buses and trams. In *Flâneuse*, Elkin notes that literary depictions for the nineteenth-century streetscapes are predominantly male. Highlighting the oft-used example of Baudelaire's poem, *To a passer-by* (*À une passante*), Elkin states that these depictions cannot pretend objectivity, and that the testimony of these male walkers ultimately limits our view of the city during this period (2016: 9). As Elkin states, "To suggest that there couldn't be a female version of the *flâneur* is to limit the ways women have interacted with the city to the ways *men* have interacted with the city" (2016: 11). Elkin refers to Luc Sante, who defends his gendering of the *flâneur* as exclusively male because of the necessity of invisibility of the *flâneuring* figure. Noting that the visibility of women is predicated on the gaze of men, Elkin asks "if we're so conspicuous, why have we been written out of the history of cities? It's up to us to paint ourselves back into the picture" (2016: 14).

This is particularly applicable to Scego, whose goal it is to not only write herself into the picture, but to write her home into the picture, too. This home is Scego's Rome, one that clearly calls back to her ancestral homeland of Somalia. As an Italian of Somali descent, Scego's claim to Rome as her home is constantly under interrogation, just as Italy's colonial past in Africa renders her personal relationship to Rome complex and conflicted. The interstitial nature of the *flâneur* – his sense of being "rooted as well as unrooted" – renders such a practice ideal for deconstructing urban spaces from the diasporic subjectivity (Leontidou 2010: 1186). For Scego, *flâneuserie* is a way of reclaiming visibility, of exposing a shrouded history, of shining a light on the counter-narratives and bodies within the Roman narrative and cityscape. Italy's colonialism, and the Africa that resides within Rome are, in fact, integral

elements of its history and cityscape. Through walking and writing, Scego not only announces herself, but she expands the sense of belonging and security of the private domestic space into the public sphere.

In *Wanderlust*, Solnit highlights the walk's potential to drive thought, attributing this to the symbiosis of the physical and the mental rhythms of both acts. She states that "The rhythm of walking generates a kind of rhythm of thinking, and the passage through a landscape echoes or stimulates the passage through a series of thoughts" (Solnit 2014: 6). What can we glean from this rhythmic synchronicity? For Solnit, the thinking mind is a landscape, and walking aids us in exploring this mental terrain. This results in "an odd consonance between internal and external passage, one that suggests that the mind is also a landscape of sorts and that walking is one way to traverse it" (Solnit 2014: 6). Following on from this tradition of *flâneuserie* as an aid to thought, Scego states that she always walks when she has a thought to mull over. This thought is best walked where she feels most comfortable – the Roman streets that she has grown up in. From the beginning of the book, Scego emphasises her deep sense of belonging within Rome via her observation of the streets that she knows so well. Walking is also a way to express her love for her home. She writes:

> Solo a Roma cammino così bene. Ci apparteniamo io e lei. Ci amiamo, ci detestiamo, ci conosciamo (…) Io e Roma, le eterne sorelle, le eterne amiche, le eterne complici (…) Roma il mio ombelico e quello del mondo.
> [Only in Rome do I walk this well. We belong to one another, she and I. We love one another, we detest one another, we know one another (…) Rome and I: the eternal sisters, the eternal friends, the eternal accomplices (…) Rome my umbilicus, and that of the world] (13).[1]

Scego's personification of Rome and her relationship with it, is an example of her domestication of the public sphere. By attributing familial emotion to the city, the urban space assumes the intimate nature found within the private sphere of the home. In *Roma negata*, Scego's thinking and the places that she visits enter a reciprocal symbiosis, informing and weaving into one another. The result of this is Scego's personal relationship to both Rome and Somalia, which she transforms into a literal landscape via her walking in Rome. Her walks are a way to organise her sense of belonging within Rome. Through her walking, she exposes how her homes – her birth city of Rome and her ancestral Somalia – are a confluent entity rather than two conflicting places. If nineteenth-century *flânerie* was a counter-reaction against the Hausmannisation of Paris and the mechanisation of urban society, then Scego's *flâneusing* to inject the homely into the Roman cityscape directly follows on from these efforts of rebellion (Benjamin 2002: 107-108). However, while Benjamin's *flâneur* was an impotent figure who was alienated from the crowd, Scego's *flâneuserie* brings with it the goal to enact change – through writing her walks, she hopes to alter the urban space (Benjamin 2002: 347).

In *Roma negata*, Scego's walking provides her with the ideal method to measure and know the Rome in which she has lived all her life, as she reflects upon places she knows well and makes new discoveries. As Elkin states, "Walking is mapping with your feet, it helps you piece a city together, connecting up neighbourhoods that might otherwise have remained discrete entities" (2016: 21). Walking also aids us in investigating the places that we call home. For Scego, "Occupare uno spazio è un grido di esistenza. Ed è anche un modo per dire 'ti amo' al futuro" [To occupy a space is a cry of one's own existence. And it's also a way to say 'I love you' to the future] (125). Working with the photographer Rino Bianchi, Scego explains that they mapped the city, regarding it anew. In this way, they discovered and saw many aspects of

Rome that they had previously been blind to. Scego's walks allow her to piece together the traces of Somalia within Rome, while also grounding her within the Roman cityscape.

The practice of urban walking and emotional mapping has been consistently used as a navigational tool throughout Scego's work, including in her novel *Adua* (2015), as Benedicty-Kokken writes that the novel's urban setting is portrayed "as the ultimate space to be traversed and mapped through walking" (2017: 115). In *La mia casa è dove sono*, the gesture of mapping acts as a narrative structure onto identity and memory, both personal and collective (Benini 2014: 488). This map, which is never visualised, combines Scego's personal landmarks of Mogadishu and Rome which recall memories both personal and familial. Benini writes that:

> La memoria ritrova i suoi percorsi e le traci lasciate nei luoghi, la dimensione del tempo si colloca in una serie di spazi vissuti, i luoghi di affetti e passioni indicati come segni caratteristici di uno spazio urbano che è al contempo una realtà collettiva e unica, uno spazio percorso dalla Storia e segnato dalle traiettorie della microsfera individuale.
> [Memory finds its routes and traces left in places, the temporal dimension is housed in a series of lived spaces, the places of emotions and passions revealed as signs characteristic of an urban space that is simultaneously a common and unique reality, a space covered by History and marked by the trajectories of the individual's world] (2014: 479).

If the narrative structure of the map allows Scego to create a landscape whose expanse covers different time periods and places, then the use of walking in *Roma negata* represents a movement, a traversal of this map. The resulting movement from observation to recollection and to investigation is made evident in the structure of *Roma negata*. The route of Scego's walking is deliberate as she moves from *Piazza di Porta Capena* to the *Cinema Impero* to the Obelisk of Dogali. These stops become the centrepiece for each section, as Scego uses observations of her surroundings to transition into deeper historical storytelling of the significance of each place for her personally and for Northeast Africa's relationship to Rome. In this way, Scego's walking is the underlining structure that drives *Roma negata* forward, while home is the synthesis of personal memory, history, and new discovery. In the chapter 'L'impero che non ti aspetti', Scego begins by recounting her predilection for escapism with film when she was young, beginning with Ernst Marischka's film *Sissi*. Her family was suffering economic hardship at this time, having been exiled from Somalia by Siad Barre. She states that "Il nostro orizzonte quotidiano era fatto di ristrettezze e rinunce. Quindi quegli abiti sontuosi, quei palazzi regali, quei pavimenti lucidati all'inverosimile, ci calmavano le raffiche del cuore" [The horizon of our daily life consisted of many hardships and sacrifices. Therefore those sumptuous dresses, those regal palaces, those pavements gleaming brilliantly, calmed the gusts of our hearts] (2014: 27). *Sissi* was shown in movie houses in Rome for decades after its release, including the since defunct Roman institution *Cinema dell'Impero*. Scego's brother-in-law recounts to her the facets of this vibrant social centre in Rome, and when she moved into its neighbourhood, she found herself passing it regularly in *Tor Pignattara*. Scego also valorises *Tor Pignattara* in *La mia casa è dove sono,* in which she describes the migrant neighbourhood as being on the borders of Peking and Dhaka (capital of Bangladesh). Here she greets people with *Ni hao* rather than *Buongiorno*. For Scego this multicultural quarter of Rome is representative of both the city's future and the country's past, writing that "Qui ci sono passati tutti, arabi, normanni, francesi, austriaci" [Everyone has passed through here, the Arabs, the Normans, the French, the Austrians] (2012: 159). In *Roma negata,* she describes her walks through the quarter, describing it as wildly stimulating:

Ero continuamente stimolata da tutto quello che avevo intorno, tanto da rimanere tramortita. Era bello vedere bambini di tutti i colori uscire dalla scuola Carlo Pisacane e i sari delle donne del Bangladesh erano in ogni stagione giardini fioriti da ammirare con un certo stupore.

[I was continuously stimulated by everything around me, so much so as to be rendered stunned. It was nice to see children of every colour streaming out of the Carlo Pisacane school, and in every season the saris worn by the Bangladeshi women were blooming gardens to be admired with a certain amazement] (2014: 31).

She recalls the day she first saw the *Cinema Impero* and describes the sensation thus: "Non riuscivo a credere ai miei occhi. Ricordo che mi sono bloccata e che ho spalancato la bocca con una tale meraviglia che non trovo ora parole per descrivere" [I couldn't believe my eyes. I remember that I clammed up and that my jaw dropped with such wonder that I can't find the words to describe it] (2014: 31). In every Roman landmark Scego finds direct traces to her roots, to colonialism, to North Africa. In front of the *Impero* Scego notes the posters that have been stuck up on the wall where movie advertisements used to be placed. One shows a quote from Pasolini's novel *Ragazzi di vita*, while on another one reads the phrase "ci siamo trasferiti ad Asmara" [we have moved to Asmara] (2014: 32). For Scego this is a profound statement, as she notes the similarity between the façade and name of the *Impero*, and an Art Deco cinema built in colonial Asmara, the capital of Eritrea, in 1937. This poster creates a link between Italy and Eritrea, and Scego wonders how many Italians realise this link between both movie-houses and countries as they pass it daily. Rome reminds Scego of Africa not least because in Eritrea and Somalia, copies of buildings and Italian architectural styles had been erected during colonialism. Here the cityscape takes on a double meaning. She states, "il cinema Impero mi richiama alla mente, con la sua mole, quella storia lontana che si intreccia cupamente con il nostro presente di riti scippati, di onore negato" [the cinema Impero recalls to my mind, with its great dimension, that distant history that darkly intertwines with our present of stolen rites, of honour denied] (2014: 41).

Scego's historic storytelling is based upon her walks, as she reads the historical narrative of Italy and Africa's colonial past in the Roman cityscape, transforming the story into "a map, the landscape a narrative" (Solnit 2014: 72). Scego's 'home-making' within Rome is not therefore, an act of creation, but rather an act of reading the city. Each discovery Scego makes into Rome's history with North Africa solidifies her belonging within Rome. This is further reinforced by the visual element of *Roma negata*. The photos produced by Scego's collaboration with the photographer Rino Bianchi are featured in the centre of the book, highlighting Roman inhabitants of African descent posing in front of various landmarks in the city. While the map imagined in *La mia casa è dove sono* is never reproduced in its visual form for the reader, the photos in *Roma negata* position the reader at street level. One such image from the inset, which is also produced on the book's cover, shows the façade of the *Cinema Impero* from a low-angle shot, a young woman of African heritage gazing into the lens. This decision speaks to Iain Chambers' thought on the idea of the map in his text *Migrancy, Culture, Identity* (1994), in which he states that the fixedness of terrain inferred by the map fails to capture "the palpable flux and fluidity of metropolitan life and movement (…) Maps are full of references and indications, but they are not peopled" (92). The photos included in *Roma negata*, visually 'people' the map of Rome that the text lays out. Further, while the map might reinforce a traditional narrative, Chambers writes that the movement through the "labyrinthine and contaminated" city disrupts the presumed fixedness of the map and its imposing narrative.

By bringing the reader to street level and allowing them to accompany Scego along her walk, the photos reinforce this disruption. The decision to have most of the photographic subjects gaze directly into the camera further breaks down the barrier, introducing a degree of intimacy and emotion.

The realm of the emotional is essential in analyses or 'readings' of the city. Deborah Stevenson writes in her 2013 sociological study *The City*, that the city itself summons emotion, and this emotional dimension is the result of "individual and shared relationships to, and perceptions and experiences of, place – what Raymond Williams calls 'structures of feeling'" (98). Not only are places "imbued with cultural and personal meaning", but they also evoke and inspire emotion, memory and meaning. According to Henri Lefebrve, taking into consideration the emotional dimension of the city is necessary to its interpretation, stating that the methodological "making sense of a city requires an emotional lens" (cited in Stevenson 2013: 99). This influence of the emotional is evident in André Aciman's essay 'Intimacy', in which he describes returning to the street on which his family lived in Rome when he was a teenager. Like Scego, Aciman's family was forced to leave their home country for Rome for political reasons. However, Aciman emigrated with his family from Alexandria to Rome in adolescence and eventually left. After an absence of thirty years, he makes the journey to his old neighbourhood via the metro with his wife and sons, walking the two blocks from *Furio Camillo* to *Via Clelia*, which is "exactly as [he'd] always envisaged" (2011: 24). As Aciman and his family traverse the street, he recalls and notes the changes that have occurred. He confesses to his youthful shame of living in the blue-collar suburb, noting that the "shame had never gone away: shame never does, it was there on every corner of the street" (2011: 24). Within this shame is his conflicting desire to wash his hands of *Via Clelia* while simultaneously desiring a surge of memory. As he begins to disparage the neighbourhood to his sons, Aciman re-enters his youthful self on *Via Clelia*. It becomes evident that the shame inspired by being within place is his entry point back into the past. While his sons grow bored, Aciman's emotion not only opens a portal into his life on *Via Clelia*, but the self that resided on it, as recollections of the street's vendors and characters give way to Aciman's re-analysis of his youthful timidity (2011: 26). Therefore, not only do the places that we inhabit become meaningful to us as repositories of emotion, we can also analyse place through emotion. For Scego, place is defined by emotional meaning and the trace of history and its emotional aftermath can be read in the physical space of the city. Each place bears an emotional character as she refers to Lampedusa as "isola del dolore" [island of pain] (2014: 43). How significant is emotion within the process of interpreting place? For Michel de Certeau, the walk is the fundamental way in which to experience the city, while the walker (*Wandersmanner*) not only "follow[s] the thicks and thins of an urban 'text'", but it is through our interactions with the urban space that the narrative of the city is written (1984: 93). It is through place that we confront our desires and fantasies, and it is in these confrontations that place becomes meaningful and inhabited.

Place is also how Scego channels the silenced history that allows her to interrogate and meaningfully inhabit home. Like *La mia casa è dove sono*, the text *Roma negata* begins with this tie of emotion to place suggesting that it is emotion that transforms a place into home. *Mia casa* intertwines the memory of Mogadishu and the actuality of Rome into a subjective map of personal history. In his 2017 paper 'Walking tours, subjective maps, and spatial justice: Urban and non-urban spaces in contemporary Italian literature', Alberto Godioli writes of the map constructed in *Mia casa*, that it "illustrates the notion that identities can be based on a dynamic and inclusive relationship to space rather than a static and univocal one" (387). If so, then analysing subjective emotion can allow us to understand and articulate the intricacies of not only our own stories and origins, but the nature of place itself. We realise then, that rather than

a stable location independent of human subjectivity, place can be regarded as a network of interconnected narratives. This is particularly true of the postcolonial experience, wherein "l'origine e la destinazione si mescalano" [origin and destination blend together] (Benini 2014: 486). This results in a constant 're-mapping' or rearranging of the city's topography, one that allows the postcolonial writer to inhabit the imaginary of the place of origin within the 'real' space of the city. In this instance, Rome becomes a "palimpsesto postcoloniale, occupato dai ricordi di Igiaba" [postcolonial palimpsest occupied by Igiaba's memories] (Benini 2014: 487). Places are not only historical or geographical sites, but they are also inhabited by "memorie ed evocazioni di un altrove personale che ha doppie radici, nell'attualità italiana e nel passato somalo di Igiaba (…) metaforico e reale, passo dopo passo, nella città" [memories and evocations of a personal elsewhere that has dual roots, in the Italian present and the Somali past of Igiaba (…) metaphorical and actual, step by step, in the city] (Benini 2014: 487). In *Roma negata*, Scego walks to one of her favourite spots in Rome: a tree in *Piazza di Porta Capena*. Here, the pain in her feet dissipates, and she experiences an elation that causes her to forget herself for a moment. There is a cypress here that Scego describes as:

> alto, maestoso, imponente, infelice. Lo guardo e mi vien voglia di piangere. Il cipresso simbolo dell'immortalità, della vita dopo la morte (…) Era l'albero di Ade. L'albero della malinconia e del dolore" [tall, majestic, imposing, unhappy. Looking at it makes me want to cry. The cypress symbolises immortality, and life after death (…) It was the tree of Hades. Tree of melancholy and pain] (2014: 14).

It is a place which Scego evidently feels is her own. She sees a placard beside the cypress and realises upon reading that the cypress was planted in memory of the Twin Towers in New York. This discovery totally alters the place for Scego, and she describes undergoing a completely alienating panic. This is where the reader realises Scego's deviation from Rome's stereotypical inhabitants, as another home returns to her thoughts: Africa. She writes:

> Infatti era la mia Africa che mancava all'appello.
> Ecco. La mia Africa che in quel luogo era stata trucidata.
> Infatti accanto al monumento per le vittime dell'11 settembre giustizia avrebbe voluto un altro monumento, un'altra memoria. Sentivo che lì mancava una targa (anche piccola) dedicata alle vittime del colonialismo italiano.
> Lì un tempo, anche se molti romani non se lo ricordano già più, c'era stata la stele di Axum. Un obelisco che L'Italia fascista si era portata come bottino di guerra dall'Etiopia.
> [Indeed, it was my Africa that was missing from the list {of victims}.
> There it is. My Africa that in this place was slaughtered.
> Indeed next to the monument for the victims of 9/11, justice would have called for another monument, another memory. I felt that a placard was missing (even a small one) dedicated to the victims of Italian colonisation.
> There at one time, even if a lot of Romans have already forgotten, stood the obelisk of Axum. An obelisk that Fascist Italy had brought back as war booty from Ethiopia] (2014: 17).

Here we have our first sign of what walking within Rome means for Scego: it is an emotionally complex endeavour, one in which the city sparks memory that is at odds with the official narrative of the cityscape, one in which her claim to the city as her home is constantly under scrutiny and negotiation. The *Stele di Axum* also appears in *La mia casa è dove sono*, further reinforcing Scego's profound ties to select Roman landmarks. In this case, an entire chapter of

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the text is devoted to the absent obelisk. However, here Scego's relationship to the piazza where it once stood is tied to familial memory: "è legata al viso di due uomini, alle loro storie, ai lasciti indiretti che mi hanno trasmesso pur senza saperlo" [it's tied to the faces of two men, to their stories, to the indirect legacies that they left me without knowing it] – her grandfather and uncle who both died before her birth (2012: 79). Scego writes that the present-absence of the *Stele di Axum* reminds her of the present-absence of these two relatives. If *La mia casa è dove sono* represents a personal cartography of Rome and Mogadishu, telling the story of Scego's familial heritage, then *Roma negata* is a walking tour that highlights Rome's African heritage. In *Roma negata* Italian colonialism is pronounced as, "ferita mai risanata, ferita mai ricucita, memoria obliata" [a wound never healed, a wound never stitched, a memory obliterated] (2014: 18). The piazza is made sour for her by this discovery precisely because of this erasure of Italy's history with Somalia, and thus the erasure of Scego's Rome. If home is a place in which we can trace our history, then by way of this erasure, Scego's own claim to belonging is structurally rejected within the cityscape. *Flâneuserie* becomes a way of reclaiming this belonging through rejecting Rome's erasure.

Elkin describes the *flâneuse* as "going somewhere, or coming from somewhere, she is saturated with in-betweenness". Perhaps Scego walks because her home is at the juncture of Rome and Somalia, her in-betweenness made into a physical act. The *flâneuse* "gets to know a city by wandering its streets, investigating its dark corners, peering behind facades" (Elkin 2016: 22). If Scego's home is at the juncture of Rome and Somalia, then the walk is her way of inhabiting this home. Her walking exposes the "dark corners" of Africa within Rome, the Africa that resides behind the Roman facades. In Rome, as Scego walks she uncovers other spaces of "silienzo, assenza, oblio, smemoratezze" [silence, absence, oblivion, forgetting] of a silenced history, that is significant to her own personal history, that of her family, and to the North African population of Rome (2014: 18). While walking, Scego perceives Rome through the lens of Italian colonialism. Walking through the city is the method by which Scego negotiates her contradictory relationship with Rome, wherein love for her home and feelings of rejection by the same home are at odds with one another. She states:

> La violenza fascista aveva devastato l'Africa. Ma Roma, la mia Roma Capoccia, preferiva ignorare l'Africa che era in lei, l'Africa che le faceva capolino dalle strade e dai palazzi. Dai nostri visi e dalle nostre pupille nere.
> [Fascist violence had devastated Africa. But Rome, my *Roma Capoccia*[2] preferred to ignore the Africa that lived within her, the Africa that watched her from the streets and out of apartment buildings. From our faces and from our black pupils] (2014: 19).

Through walking Scego embodies and reclaims her body's narrative within the Italian public space, and through writing her walking she reclaims 'her' Rome. Scego writes that mainstream European history turns its back on the reality of colonialism – that there is a Eurocentric image of Europe. However, another Europe exists, one that "è fatta di mille colori, che crede a svariati mondi" [is made up of a thousand colours, that believes in a variety of worlds] (2014: 23). Scego wonders how we can make this other Europe more visible and concludes that she can reclaim her Rome by walking it. She states:

> Io sono figlia del Corno d'Africa e figlia dell'Italia. Se sono nata qui lo devo a questa storia di dolore, passaggio, e contaminazione. Non la posso dimenticare IO questa storia. Non la voglio dimenticare.
> Per questo forse, a modo mio, la racconto.

Per questo forse cammino.
[I am daughter of the Horn of Africa and daughter of Italy. If I was born here I owe it to this history of pain, passage, and contamination. This history cannot be forgotten by ME. I don't want to forget it.
Maybe this is why, in my own way, I tell it.
Maybe this is why I walk] (2014: 25).

Walking and writing are ways to unify the dichotomy of her histories, bodies, cultures – to carve out a space for a home that unifies these histories. Scego's *flâneusing* to locate her ancestral history within Rome can therefore be considered a form of 'home-making'. Home in *Roma negata* is the counterpoint between ancestry and birth, and walking is the act that allows this home to be identified.

Emotional touring as investigation

In her study on the relationship between Roman literature and the city, Catherine Edwards notes that the city of Rome has traditionally been used as a story-telling tool. Places within the city were viewed by ancient Roman writers as repositories for the past both personal and national, and the writer's emotional responses or associations to specific places held significance within their writings (1996: 29). If the city tells a story, then it is by walking that Scego reads this story. Walking the streets is also what links up Scego's ancestral homeland with her home of Rome. The city here is a text to be deciphered, one that requires an investigative scope akin to the archaeologist, who must uncover the hidden 'traces' left in the urban space. However, Scego is not only a reader of the city – she is also a producer. This notion of the urban writer as 'producer of the city' is suggested in the introduction to Deborah Parsons' *Streetwalking the Metropolis*, who writes that "The writer adds other maps to the city atlas; those of social interaction but also of myth and memory, fantasy, and desire" (2000: 1). We see this adding to the city's atlas as Scego regards the monuments on her 'emotional tour'. As she regards them, she also re-imagines them – making improvements and alterations. *Piazza di Porta Capena* is repurposed as a memorial to Italy's colonial past, the *Cinema Impero* as a community space for Rome's Bangladeshi population, the *Stele di Dogali* is cleaned up as a community regeneration project, in which children can play amongst trees and flowers.

Regarding the *Stele di Dogali* (Dogali Obelisk), Scego suggests that "Roma, forse più del Cairo, è la città degli obelischi" [Rome, perhaps more so than Cairo, is the city of obelisks] (2014: 52). Obelisks have long been significant within the Roman cityscape. As Scego explains, the ancient Romans, and in particular the emperor Augustus, had a fondness for looting obelisks from North Africa and installing them in the forums, temples, and private villas as a spoil of war and proof of imperial power. During the Renaissance, Baroque, and Neo-classical eras, these obelisks were repurposed for other uses in various locations around the city. The *Stele di Dogali* was uncovered in Rome in 1883 near one of the largest ancient temples to the Egyptian cult of Isis and Serapis. The obelisk had been transported from Heliopolis in Egypt, where it had been constructed under the reign of Ramses II. In 1887 it was moved to Termini and dedicated to the fallen soldiers in the Battle of Dogali. During this time a technique of Fascist propaganda was to exalt the heroism of fallen Italians in Africa, and monuments were intended to reflect this heroism. Scego tells us that Dogali is a small city twenty kilometres from Massawa in Eritrea. It would have been unknown were it not the site for one of Italy's most bitter defeats in Africa. The battle was one of Italy's first in the early

years of colonialism in Africa, a period defined by massacres and military attacks (2014: 53-54). Scego recounts the history of the Battle of Dogali, allowing the places to which she walks to catalyse her historical storytelling. The Battle of Dogali marks one of the first examples of constructing the Italian Fascist narrative. A massive military failure owing to disorganisation on the part of the young Italian nation, this battle was re-written by the Fascist movement into an act of heroic Italian sacrifice for the motherland (2014: 56). In 1925, the *Stele di Dogali* was moved from inside the station to where it now resides next to *Piazza Cinquecento*. Scego pronounces it as a position that is "poco fortunato, seminascosto, e un po' ai margini. La stele di fatto ha sempre sofferto per questa sua posizione subalterna, sia in epoca fascista sia nel dopoguerra" [unfortunate, semi-hidden, and a bit on the margins. The stele in fact has always suffered because of this subaltern position, during both the Fascist era and its aftermath] (2014: 61). A bronze lion was placed in front of the stele as a monument to the Italians fallen in the battle of Addis Ababa. Another spoil of war, it had been the famous Lion of Judah, a symbol of Ethiopia's pact with God, and "Sigillo, quindi, della tribù di Giuda, dal quale discendevano molti profeti e Cristo stesso" [Seal, therefore, of the Tribe of Judah, from which descended many prophets and Christ himself] (2014: 61). Placed in Rome after Addis Ababa was taken, the decision to place it front of the stele represented the vindication of the Italian state against Northeast Africa, part of the propaganda claiming that the Italian Empire was assuming what had been taken from them after the fall of Ancient Rome. Another part of this propaganda included poems, songs, rhymes, and children's games. Scego quotes the lyrics from the song Adua:[3]

> Adua è liberata: è ritornata a noi.
> Adua è conquistata: risorgono gli Eroi.
> Va', vittoria, va' (…)
> Tutto il mondo sa.
> Adua è vendicata, gridiamo alalà!
> [Adua is liberated: it has returned to us
> Adua is conquered: the Heroes resurge
> Go, victory, go (…)
> The whole world knows
> Adua is vindicated, we yell alalà!] (2014: 62).

The intent of the propaganda was clear: to reclaim Italy's momentarily lost honour. The lion was returned to Ethiopia in 1970. Here, to *flâneuse* is to allow the walk to lead the *flâneuse* back into the past, to expose subaltern bodies and histories. As Scego recounts and examines Italian colonial history, we see how these Roman monuments become conduits into Italy's African past. Returning to her present surroundings, Scego observes the stele and *Piazza dei Cinquecento*. The *Piazza* is one of the most frequented in the city, and Scego proposes that for Italians of African origin, it recalls Mogadishu or Asmara. She observes Somali women clad in brightly-coloured *garbesar*, Peruvians eating fried chicken and *sibice*, Filipinos rushing, Nigerian mothers taking their children to have their hair braided in one of the many African salons in the area. She asks: "chi lo immaginava che proprio questa piazza babilonia fosse legata alla storia del colonialismo italiano?" [who would have imagined that this very Babylonian piazza would be tied to the history of Italian colonialism?], pointing out that the five hundred referred to in the name of the piazza are the 500 Italians fallen in the Battle of Dogali (2014: 68). Scego states:

Forse anche per questo, per un caso fortuito della vita, è diventata la piazza dei somali, degli eritrei, degli etiopi e anche di tutti gli altri migranti. Una piazza postcoloniale suo malgrado, quasi per caso. Perché è qui che la storia degli italiani in Africa orientale è stata cancellata. Nessuno (tranne pochi) sa chi sono stati i cinquecento o che cosa è successo a Dogali. Come nessuno sa che nella guerra contro l'Etiopia Mussolini ha fatto usare gas proibiti dalla convenzione di Ginevra. I crimini di guerra sono stati taciuti.

[Maybe even because of this, because of the fortuitousness of life, it became the piazza of the Somalis, the Eritreans, the Ethiopians, and also all the other migrants. A postcolonial piazza despite itself, almost by chance. Because it is here that the history of the Italians in East Africa was erased. No one (except for a few) know who the five hundred were and what happened at Dogali. Like no one knows that in the war against Ethiopia Mussolini called for the use of poison gas prohibited by the Geneva Convention. The crimes of war were covered up] (2014: 68).

Scego suggests that the *Stele di Dogali* should have become a place of remembrance for those atrocities, rather than one of glorification. In their current state the stele and the piazza are a "grido nel silenzio assordante dell'oblio coloniale" [cry in the deafening silence within the colonial oblivion] (2014: 69). According to Solnit, walking and being within public space is the way in which we transform cities into our homes, and the way in which we begin to *inhabit* these homes. While "Walking is only the beginning of citizenship," it is the way in which we participate in public life and come to know our cities, as "through it the citizen knows his or her city and fellow citizens and truly inhabits the city" (Solnit 2014: 176). As Scego observes the passers-by populating *Piazza dei Cinquecento*, she notes that while the piazza has been dedicated to the fallen Italian soldiers of the fight of Dogali, the inhabitation of it by Rome's migrant population has become a reclamation of it and their history.

In this way of walking and writing, Scego transforms these monuments' function via her investigation into their significance within the Italian-African history and experience. This is a history that is not alternative or subterranean to the Italian narrative, but as Scego takes pains to impress upon us, an integral part of the main narrative that has been deliberately hidden. Without the presence of Africa, Italy's history is incomplete. It exists as a counter-narrative not because it runs lesser to the mainstream narrative, but because it is a challenge to it. The idea of Scego's Rome as a counter-narrative echoes Gillian Rose's definition of paradoxical space, which is emphasised by anachronistic movements, "perpetual intersections, origins, destinations, returns, processes of de/re-territorialisation, and fragmentation" (Rose 1993: 141). Through investigation, Scego uses this paradoxical space of fragmentation and intersection as a mode of disturbing accepted modes of urban narrativisation. According to Flora Ghezzo, what makes the city ideal for both the deconstruction of the main narrative and the identification of a counter-narrative – its un-centeredness – is exactly what rendered it dystopic within the Fascist mindset. She writes, "The stunning danger lurking within the metropolis consists in its open, all-embracing spatiality – a spatiality that subverts traditional social, racial, and gender boundaries" (2010: 201). In embracing the shifting and subversive nature of such spaces, we contribute to "a new world order that reveals more fully where we are, who we can become" (Rose 1993: 141). In this way, we hope to challenge the grand narratives and "omniscient vision[s]" of the places which we inhabit (Parsons 2000: 7).

Exposure and reclamation of cultural identity

The contemporary city not only rests on the physical layers and foundations of the previous settlements, but it also resides on the layered remnants of those prior cities' "cultures, social structures, emotions and memories that shaped and are embedded in those layers" (Stevenson 2013: 43). Therefore, the city is both a repository of memory and the past as much as it is of the present. It is often the case that this layered past is submerged beneath surface level of the viewable city, requiring "excavation" (Stevenson: 105). What the city chooses to officially recognise via heritage listing and memorialisation represents the grand historical narrative that the present culture has chosen to remember – but it does not tell the entire story, and perhaps reveals more about contemporary values than about a true past. Public memorials and monuments can be viewed as ways to contribute to the grand narrative told by the cityscape, however official monuments tell an official history. Walking and writing allow us to not only read this narrative, but to interrogate it, reject it, subvert it, and add to it. As André Aciman states in his essay 'Roman hours' in his collection *Alibis*, "Rome is not about one path, or about one past, but an accumulation of pasts" (2011: 101). Aciman's Rome and his walks through it tell a different narrative to Scego's. Having spent his childhood in Alexandria until his family's exile, Aciman came to live in Rome as an adolescent. For Aciman, walking in the city is a way of being within it, of possessing it. Now living in New York, he worries about losing Rome each time he visits it, asking "What happens to life when we're not there to live it?" (2011: 105). Being in the street also forces us to reconsider the ideals we hold in regard to place. In the essay *Intimacy*, Aciman returns to Rome to revisit personal history, hoping to find the streets in which he grew up unchanged, so that he might re-enter his past via place. Searching for a small supermarket where he had his first adolescent encounter with a girl, he is disappointed to find that it has closed, and he realises that while he had been under the impression that he hated Rome during his three years living there, his return to the streets has uncovered the desire to have never left. Aciman pronounces that writing digs out "the fault lines where truth and dissembling shift places" (2011: 41). I would argue that walking works in a similar way. The street, by way of encounter or discovery or recollection, forces the walker to confront inherent truths about themselves and their relationship to the places they inhabit.

In *Roma negata*, encounters on the street remind Scego of Rome's hidden past and of her conflicted position within this home. She writes that she is reminded of Italy's deliberate obfuscation of its African past every time a stranger on the bus or in the street tells her to "Torna al paese tuo" [Go back to your own country]. She writes that her usual response is to reply "'ci sto nel paese mio', non solo perché sono nata a Roma (…) ma anche perché ho origini somale. I miei due paesi non sono infatti estranei l'uno all'altro" ['I am in my country,' not only because I was born in Rome (…) but also because I am of Somali origin. My two countries are not in fact strangers to one another] (2014: 75). Until 1973, documents in Somalia were written in both Arabic and Italian and many Somali children frequented Italian schools, learning the literature of Dante and Boccaccio. In Eritrea too, there is still a strong Italian presence – the city of Asmara has the largest Italian school outside of Italy and is filled with Italian architecture from the 30s and 40s (2014: 75). Scego writes that many of the Somali migrants to Italy frequented Italian schools in Somalia, coming to Italy believing themselves to be Italian. This was what they had been told in Somalia, however Italy refuted this once they arrived. However, as Scego states, it was the refusal to acknowledge a shared history that hurt the most, by way of denial, gas-lighting and erasure (2014: 77). By exposing the way in which these places also tell the story of Italian colonisation in Africa, Scego demonstrates how her own history is also contained within Rome – that she too has inherited this Italian home.

In her 2005 analysis of place *For Space*, Doreen Massey proposes that we "imagine space as a simultaneity of stories-so-far" (9). This is to say that space can be thought of as being made up of a network of our personal histories, our identities, and our relations with others. Therefore, we must consider "Places not as points or areas on maps, but as integrations of space and time" (Massey 2005: 130). Each encounter with place represents a confrontation between the internal and the external. Within this encounter, we not only experience our immediate surroundings, but we are drawn back to the past. Via Scego's walks, Rome's counter-narrative is both read and revealed. Here the gaze of the *flâneuse* exposes that which the *flâneur* cannot. Scego's embrace of the world seen from her cultural body does not limit the scope of her view, but rather exposes an integral and oft-ignored aspect of the city and in turn contemporary Italian society. Not only this, but as Scego utilises the city as a porthole to the past, she demonstrates the weight that the past has on the present.

One could argue that rather than a response or a rejection of the *flâneur*, female walking narratives, by way of revealing these unacknowledged stories of the cityscape work to expand interpretive visions of the city, so that the progressive definition of the *flâneur/flâneuse* widens in scope. In *Flâneuse*, Elkin quotes *Ulysses*: "Places remember events" (2016: 98). She states that she wants to be able to "read the city *like* a book. War embedded in the surfaces of building facades. Bullet marks. Plaques telling us who died where" (Elkin 2016: 98-99). She recounts hearing about the hundred Algerians drowned in the Seine on command by Nazi collaborator Maurice Papon in 1961. She states, "In 1961 someone graffitied onto the walls of the bridge *Ici on noie des Alergerians* ('Here we drown Algerians'). Today, there's a memorial on the Pont Saint-Michel. But the water bears no trace of them" (2016: 99). Scego reads Rome in a similar way as she walks, regarding the Roman cityscape as a haunted space. Parsons comments on this temporal nature of the walk, stating that walking catalyses encounters with "modernity and with the past, with the new and unknown but also with haunting ghosts" (2000: 10). In *Roma negata* these encounters become confrontations and exposures. If home is a place in which we can read our history, then this is true for Scego, who uses overlooked monuments and personal landmarks to unearth not only the history of her parents, but of her ancestral Somalia. In her paper, 'Memory, desire, lyric: The *flâneur*', Catherine Nesci proposes that for Baudelaire, *flânerie* was largely an aesthetic activity, concerned with interpreting the city as an "aesthetic text" (2014: 74). However, within contemporary *flâneuserie* the walk is an investigative act. Rather than regarding the city with the detached gaze of the "aesthetic rag-picker", the *flâneuse* situates herself within the city, manifesting her identity in relation to her surroundings (Parsons 2000: 15).

Each of the texts featured in this paper demonstrates how the walker in the city is not only a reader of the city, but a producer of the city 'text'. If *flâneuserie* positions the writer as not only a reader, but a producer of the city narrative, then for Scego, it is a useful tool for challenging dominant notions of cultural identity within the postcolonial city. *Roma negata* is the ideal case study to demonstrate how *flâneuserie* can be used by the writer as a mode of not only interrogating but de-centralising traditional cultural narratives present within the urban space. In *Roma negata* this is achieved by way of exposure. The sites of Scego's *flâneuserie* consist of monuments that recall Italy's colonialism in Africa, spaces which attempt to erase or overwrite this colonial history, and spaces of multicultural convergence. In both revealing Rome's present multicultural identity and exposing Italy's colonial African history within the Roman cityscape, Scego subverts the traditional mono-cultural reading of Italian culture and identity. Not only this, but through this exposure, Scego challenges traditional notions of both cultural identity and homeland. In *Roma negata* the Roman cityscape is revealed to retain

African history, and in excavating this history, Scego exposes not only her ancestral homeland, but her home within an 'African Rome'. Through her walking Scego carves out a space in Rome not only for herself, but also challenging what it means to be Roman, and Italian. Within the Roman cityscape she can read her own history, and by way of interrogating her 'adopted home' reveals it as her homeland.

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NOTES

[1] All translations from Italian are by the author, wherein the original citation appears in quotation marks followed by a bracketed translation.
[2] *Capoccia* meaning 'head', from the Venditi song which is taken from the original Latin *Roma caput mundi* or 'Rome, the centre of the world'.
[3] Also the title of her novel, first published in 2015.

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