

# Frontier Heritage and Material Culture in Trieste

## Visibility, Invisibility, and Contested Memory

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**Abstract** *In this study of Trieste, we focus on Dissonant Heritage in connection with often overlooked historical and social aspects. Using a historical-anthropological approach, we examine objects influenced by the significance of the border. We look at the Cold War 'jeansinari,' who traded Western goods, and at today's asylum seekers, who leave their belongings at the Italo-Slovenian border. Despite the differences between these two social groups, both reveal the border's evolving meaning and dissonant aspects.*

*Diese Fallstudie widmet sich am Beispiel der norditalienischen Hafenstadt Triest den häufig übersehenen historischen und gesellschaftlichen Aspekten des dissonanten Kulturerbes. Unter dem Rahmenthema der Grenze geht es dabei einerseits um die ‚Jeansinari‘, die während des Kalten Kriegs mit westlichen Konsumgütern handelten, andererseits um die gegenwärtigen Fluchtbewegungen und die an der Grenze von Geflüchteten zurückgelassenen Gegenstände.*

*Cette analyse est consacrée aux aspects historiques et sociaux souvent négligés du patrimoine culturel dissonant, à l'exemple de la ville de Trieste, dans le nord-est de l'Italie. Sous le thème général de la frontière, il s'agit d'une part des 'jeansinari', qui faisaient le commerce de biens de consommation occidentaux pendant la guerre froide, et d'autre part des mouvements migratoires actuels ainsi que des objets abandonnés par des personnes migrantes à la frontière italo-slovene.*

The concept of the 'frontier' is one of profound significance in social sciences, encompassing multiple dimensions that have evolved over time and space.<sup>2</sup> It means

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1 The introduction and "Short Considerations" were written by Alessandro Carrieri and Giuseppe Grimaldi; the first section, "The Garden of the (In)Visible: Material Culture and Frontier Heritage in Trieste," was written by Giuseppe Grimaldi; the second section, "The 'Jeansinari' of Piazza Ponterosso: A Historical Perspective on Border Trade and Dissonant Heritage," was written by Alessandro Carrieri.

2 Cf. Saraf, V. (2020, April 30). Frontiers. *Oxford Research Encyclopedias. Anthropology*. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190854584.013.145> [February 15, 2025].

not merely a boundary or a dividing line, but a dynamic and relational space that mediates between inclusion and exclusion, visibility and invisibility, structure and agency. Analysts have long explored the frontier as both a literal and metaphorical space where power relations are negotiated, identities are constructed, and histories are contested. As Barth famously observed, boundaries—and by extension, frontiers—are not fixed but are continually made and remade through social interaction.<sup>3</sup> The frontier can thus be understood as a site of encounter, tension, and transformation, reflecting broader patterns of human mobility, conflict, and adaptation.

The frontier, in its multiplicity, is a space that reveals and conceals. It can be conceptualized as a boundary, marking territorial limits; a goal, embodying aspirations of progress or conquest; a model, shaping the ways in which societies organize themselves; or an achievement, representing the culmination of cultural or political projects. These dimensions are not mutually exclusive but overlap and interact, creating a frontier that is both tangible and symbolic. Akhil Gupta emphasizes the performative nature of boundaries, arguing that they are not just spatial markers but also 'epistemological devices' that shape how we see the world.<sup>4</sup>

What makes the frontier particularly compelling, we argue, is its iceberg-like nature:<sup>5</sup> Much of what constitutes the frontier lies beneath the surface, hidden from view. Instead, the visible aspects of the frontier are often those that are formalized, institutionalized, or otherwise brought into public discourse. These may include state-sanctioned border controls, monumental structures, or representations in media and political narratives. Yet, as social analysts have consistently argued, the frontier is also deeply rooted in the everyday practices and lived experiences of those who inhabit or traverse these spaces. These hidden dimensions—what de Certeau would call the 'tactics'<sup>6</sup> of everyday life—are often informal, ephemeral, and resistant to codification.

This dichotomy between visibility and invisibility is a recurring theme in analyses of borderlands and frontiers. Following the iceberg metaphor, the visible portion of the frontier often receives the most attention from scholars, policymakers, and the public. It is the domain of formal structures, state regulations, and overt conflicts. However, the submerged portion of the frontier—the practices, relationships, and meanings that operate below the surface—is no less significant. As Das

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- 3 Cf. Barth, F. (1969). *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference*. George Allen & Unwin.
  - 4 Cf. Gupta, A. (1992). The Song of the Nonaligned World: Transnational Identities and the Reinscription of Space in Late Capitalism. *Cultural Anthropology*, 7(1), 63–79.
  - 5 Cf. Altin, R., & Grimaldi, F. (forthcoming). *Border Areas beyond the Tip of the Iceberg: the Silos of Trieste*.
  - 6 Cf. De Certeau, M. (1984). *The Practice of Everyday Life* (S. Rendall, Trans.). University of California Press.

and Poole highlight in their seminal work on state margins, these 'zones of ambiguity' are crucial sites of negotiation where individuals and communities engage with, resist, and reinterpret the power of the state.<sup>7</sup>

The iceberg metaphor is particularly relevant when examining the intersection of frontiers and heritage. Heritage, as scholars have argued, is not merely a fixed repository of the past but a process of selection and reinterpretation. It involves decisions about which elements of history are made visible and which are left invisible, reflecting broader power dynamics and cultural priorities.<sup>8</sup> In frontier contexts, these processes are intensified by the tensions between state narratives and local practices. The heritage of the frontier often materializes through objects, which act as carriers of memory, identity, and meaning. Material culture, in this sense, becomes a critical medium for understanding the frontier, revealing both the visible symbols of state control and the invisible traces of grassroots agency.<sup>9</sup>

Material culture has long been central to studies of heritage. Objects serve as tangible connections to the past, mediating relationships between individuals, communities, and histories. However, not all objects are equally visible in heritage narratives: Some are elevated to prominence, becoming hyper-visible symbols of collective memory; others, often associated with marginalized groups or subaltern practices, remain invisible, excluded from dominant frameworks of commemoration. This dichotomy between visible and invisible objects mirrors the broader dynamics of the frontier as a space of selective recognition and erasure. A process that can be central even with objects of everyday consumption or 'remains.'

This paper examines the very interplay between visibility and invisibility in the heritage of the frontier through two case studies. The first focuses on the phenomenon of clothing traded in the Piazza Ponterosso in Trieste during the Cold War. This practice was deeply embedded in the socio-economic dynamics of the time, reflecting the tensions and exchanges that characterized the frontier between Eastern and Western Europe. Clothing, as both a material object and a cultural marker, offers rich insights into how individuals and communities navigated the complexities of the Cold War frontier.

The second case study explores the material traces left by contemporary migrants crossing the borders of 'Fortress Europe' in the Trieste region. These objects, often abandoned at the border, carry profound symbolic and practical significance.<sup>10</sup> They represent the journeys, struggles, and aspirations of individuals confronting

7 Cf. Das, V., & Poole, D. (2004). *Anthropology in the Margins of the State*. School of American Research Press.

8 Cf. Harrison, R. (2013). *Heritage: Critical Approaches*. Routledge.

9 Cf. Altin, R. (2024). *Border Heritage: Migration and Displaced Memories in Trieste*, Lexington.

10 Cf. De León, J. (2015). *The Land of Open Graves: Living and Dying on the Migrant Trail*. University of California Press; Altin & Grimaldi. *Border Areas beyond the Tip of the Iceberg*; Geneva Graduate Institute (2024, October 15). *The Garden of the (In)visible – Interview with Professor*

one of the most fortified border regimes in modern Europe. By analyzing these material remnants, this study seeks to uncover the hidden dimensions of frontier heritage, emphasizing the agency of migrants in shaping narratives of mobility and resistance.

Through these case studies, the paper argues that the heritage of the frontier is characterized by a constant negotiation between visibility and invisibility. This paper does not compare the two phenomena—the trading of clothing in the Piazza Ponterosso during the Cold War and the material traces left by contemporary migrants at the borders of Europe—on the basis of their similarity. Instead, these cases are brought together because both provide an opportunity to reflect on how we select and construct our vision of frontier heritage through material objects.

In both instances, the objects in question serve as lenses through which broader dynamics of memory, identity, and power can be examined. They reveal how certain narratives are amplified and others are silenced, shaping what is deemed visible and invisible in the cultural processes that define heritage. By tracing the journeys and meanings of these objects, we can consider how frontier spaces become sites of both inclusion and exclusion, where certain histories are memorialized while others fade into obscurity.

## 1. “The Garden of the (In)Visibles:” Material Culture and Frontier Heritage in Trieste

Trieste, a city that historically served as a cultural and geopolitical crossroads, has inadvertently become a key site in the broader dynamics of European border politics. Though not directly located on the European Union’s external borders—those lie further southeast in Slovenia and Croatia—, Trieste plays a significant role in the migration journeys of individuals traversing the so-called ‘Balkan Route.’ This phenomenon is referred to as ‘the Game,’ a term migrants use to describe the dangerous passage through borders towards Western Europe.

The Game involves navigating secondary roads, forests, and secluded paths to avoid detection by border authorities. Migrants, guided by smugglers or relying on informal networks, often face violence, exploitation, and precarious conditions.<sup>11</sup> Authors such as De Genova have described this ‘border regime’ as one of enforcement and exclusion, where the visibility of migrants is strictly managed by both

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Alessandro Monsutti. <https://www.graduateinstitute.ch/communications/news/garden-invisible> [February 13, 2025].

11 See the report of the network Rivolti ai Balcani (2024). *L'Europa Vista dai Confini*. <https://www.rivoltiaibalcani.org/leuropa-vista-dai-confini/> [February 12, 2025].

state authorities and broader societal structures.<sup>12</sup> Within this framework, crossing into Italy at the Slovenian border often requires shedding the material traces of the journey. Migrants abandon their clothing and belongings, replacing them with new outfits in a symbolic and practical effort to ‘disappear’ into the European landscape.

This act of abandonment, repeated across the years 2022–2023, left a visible impact on the borderlands around Trieste, particularly in the Carso (Karst) region, a culturally and environmentally significant area. The Carso, with its rugged limestone terrain and deep historical roots, has been celebrated for its natural beauty and symbolic importance to local and national identities. However, the presence of discarded clothing and other objects left by migrants was framed as a form of pollution, igniting public debates and campaigns for the ‘cleaning’ of the region.<sup>13</sup>

The material culture artefacts/objects left behind by migrants, however, are far more than waste. Drawing on insights from Jason De León, whose work on the U. S.–Mexico border highlights the significance of discarded objects as ‘traces’ of human journeys, these items provide a window into the complex social processes shaping forced migration.<sup>14</sup> In the Trieste borderlands, the clothing and objects left behind offer powerful testimony to the lived experiences of individuals navigating Europe’s restrictive border policies, with the presence of discarded clothing and other items creating a stark juxtaposition in this space. For many locals, these objects represented an affront to the Carso’s ‘natural’ purity, intensifying the perception of migrants as unwelcome intruders. The material traces of migration thus became a focal point for debates about identity, belonging, and the contested meanings of heritage.

Drawing on this process, a team from the University of Trieste (UNITS), in collaboration with the University of Primorska in Koper and the Graduate Institute in Geneva, sought to reframe these objects not as waste but as meaningful artefacts and as a lens for understanding the social, historical, and political processes shaping contemporary Europe.

The result was “The Garden of the (In)Visibles,” an exhibition that placed these objects at the center of public discourse. The exhibition, launched in February 2024 and currently ongoing, features items recovered from the borderlands of Croatia, Slovenia, and Italy. These objects, ranging from clothing to personal belongings, are

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12 Cf. De Genova, N. (2018). The ‘Migrant Crisis’ as Racial Crisis: Do Black Lives Matter in Europe? *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 41(10), 1765–1782. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2017.1361543> [February 12, 2025].

13 See Veneziani, Italo (2020, December 28). Rifiuti e Vestiti dei Migranti, 150mila Euro dal FVG per Pulire il Carso. *TriesteneWS*. <https://www.triesteallnews.it/2020/12/rifiuti-e-vestiti-dei-migranti-150mila-euro-dal-fvg-per-pulire-il-carso/> [February 12, 2025].

14 De León. *The Land of Open Graves*.

presented not as isolated artefacts but as part of a broader narrative about migration, borders, and heritage.

Stylized, almost cartoon-like human figures accompany the objects, situating them within a familiar ‘garden’ setting that evokes both the domesticity and the rhetoric of NIMBYism (Not In My Backyard). Visitors are invited to confront their own discomfort and assumptions about migration, asking themselves what they prefer not to see and why. This framing challenges the viewer to reconsider the visibility and invisibility of migration, encouraging reflection on the social and political structures that render certain experiences and objects as marginal.

The exhibition has travelled to multiple locations across the borderlands, including San Dorligo della Valle/Dolina, Kozina, Koper, and Geneva, engaging diverse audiences in conversations about migration and heritage. While quantitative feedback mechanisms are still in the process of analysis, early qualitative observations suggest that the exhibition has successfully shifted public perceptions and brought previously invisible or stigmatized aspects of migration into the realm of collective reflection.

For some visitors, the objects resonated deeply, serving as reminders of their own migration experiences or as symbols of shared humanity. Others responded critically, reflecting the contested nature of the discourse surrounding migration and borders. The exhibition also served as a catalyst for broader social engagement, sparking events and discussions involving students, civil society, and local communities.

The exhibition’s impact highlights the potential of material culture to foster a dialogue and challenge dominant narratives. By repositioning these objects from the margins to the center, “The Garden of the (In)Visibles” has demonstrated how heritage can serve as a tool for education, empathy, and social change. The exhibition also exemplifies the potential of collaborative heritage-making processes to address pressing social issues: By bringing together academia, civil society, and local communities, it has created a platform for reflection and action. The project underscores the importance of material culture in shaping collective memory and highlights the need for inclusive approaches to heritage that acknowledge and amplify marginalized voices.

“The Garden of the (In)Visibles,” in this perspective, has not only documented a significant moment in European history but also laid the groundwork for a more inclusive and empathetic understanding of heritage. In the years to come, the project aims to expand its reach, developing portable versions of the exhibition to engage broader audiences across Europe.<sup>15</sup> And by continuing to explore the intersections

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15 “The Garden of the (In)Visibles” will circulate among the Transform for Europe (T4EU) University alliance.

of material culture, migration, and heritage, “The Garden of the (In)Visibles” seeks to contribute to the discourse on borders and belonging in Europe.

## 2. The ‘Jeansinari’ of Piazza Ponterosso: A Historical Perspective on Border Trade and Dissonant Heritage

The second part of the paper tries to provide a brief overview of the *jeansinari* phenomenon and seeks to stimulate public discussion about this specific period in Trieste.

During the Cold War, especially from the 1960s until the dissolution of Yugoslavia in 1990–1992, Piazza Ponterosso and Borgo Teresiano in Trieste became vibrant centers for cross-border trade. Rolandi defines the shopping area in Trieste as suspended between ‘similarity’ and ‘alterity,’ a point of entry into capitalist Europe but also a point of gradual transition.<sup>16</sup> This dynamic reflected the complex socio-political and economic landscape of a divided Europe: Yugoslavia held a unique position as a socialist state, maintaining relatively open borders with the West, which allowed millions of Yugoslav citizens to participate in small-scale cross-border commerce. As Francesca Rolandi noted in her important work on the influence of Italian mass culture in Yugoslavia, all movement across the Italian-Yugoslav border was bidirectional: Italians frequently travelled to buy products such as meat, fish, butter, eggs, and petrol, while Yugoslavs visited Trieste to buy Western goods, such as jeans, dolls or coffee. However, it is important to highlight that Italians typically travelled within a regional context, moving from Koper to Fiume.

The *jeansinari*, itinerant traders operating in Ponterosso and Borgo Teresiano, epitomized this phenomenon, supplying Yugoslav buyers with Western clothing and consumer goods that symbolized Western modernity, capitalist individuality, and a different cultural aspiration. Historically, this trade underscores Trieste’s unique role as a ‘contact zone,’<sup>17</sup> where the border was less a barrier and more a porous space for negotiation and exchange. Ara and Magris even argue that Trieste’s frontier identity was shaped by such informal practices, blurring the lines between East and West.<sup>18</sup> Its geographical and historical position, straddling the boundaries between Eastern Europe and the West, made Trieste a mediator of Cold War cultural and material exchanges.

16 Rolandi, F. (2015). *Con Ventiquattromila Baci. L’Influenza della Cultura di Massa Italiana in Jugoslavia (1955–1965)*. Bonomia University Press.

17 Cf. Ballinger, P. (2003). *History in Exile: Memory and Identity at the Borders of the Balkans*. Princeton University Press.

18 Cf. Ara, A., & Magris, C. (1987). *Trieste. Un’Identità di Frontiera*. Einaudi.

From a methodological perspective, the *jeansinari* phenomenon offers rich possibilities for microhistorical approaches. As Carlo Ginzburg's seminal work, *Il Formaggio e i Vermi* (1976), demonstrates, studying localized and seemingly marginal events can illuminate broader cultural and social processes. Like the miller Menocchio in Ginzburg's study, the *jeansinari* provide a lens to explore the complex interplay between individual agency and official and unofficial groups, revealing how ordinary people navigated and challenged the boundaries of ideology and material scarcity. Lüdtké's *Alltagsgeschichte* framework—focused on the history of everyday life—further enriches our understanding of the *jeansinari* as key actors engaged in economic and social practices that defied easy categorization.<sup>19</sup> By connecting the everyday activities of these traders to the larger Cold War context, historians can uncover how border communities exercised agency within the constraints imposed by political and economic regimes.

The goods traded in Piazza Ponterosso, predominantly Western clothing such as jeans and leather jackets, were not merely utilitarian items but powerful cultural artefacts. Denim jeans, in particular, became a symbol of individualism, style, and rebellion, allowing its wearers to appropriate Western ideals even within constrained political systems: The practice of shopping in Trieste, although transversal to various social categories, reflected the class divisions that were present in Yugoslavia. The new Yugoslav middle class perceived Italian consumer goods as synonymous with style, modernity and cosmopolitanism.

As Rolandi pointed out, there were often some issues associated with crossing the Italian-Yugoslav border.<sup>20</sup> In addition, we should consider the various strategies put in place by the Yugoslavs to conceal products purchased in Trieste to facilitate border crossing without any complications. It is important to highlight that the border between Italy and Yugoslavia was drawn through historically interdependent territory where free movement had once been allowed. Following the Udine Agreement in 1955, residents living near the border could move freely within a ten-kilometer strip of land on either side, using a special pass called *lasciapassare* in Italian and *propustnica* in Yugoslav. This development gradually eased tensions along the eastern border.

The invisibility of the *jeansinari* within Trieste's institutional heritage narratives reflects the broader framework of Dissonant Heritage. Harrison explains that heritage is shaped by selective processes that privilege dominant histories while marginalizing informal, ephemeral, or subaltern practices.<sup>21</sup> Despite its importance to Trieste's socio-economic life during the Cold War, the Ponterosso market

19 Cf. Lüdtké, A. (1995). *The History of Everyday Life: Reconstructing Historical Experiences and Ways of Life*. Princeton University Press.

20 Cf. Rolandi. *Con Ventiquattromila Baci*.

21 Cf. Harrison. *Heritage*.

remains absent mainly from formal commemorations, overshadowed by narratives focused on national and geopolitical significance. This erasure aligns with Lüdtke's argument that the history of everyday life often resists codification, challenging historians to recover the submerged voices of ordinary people.

The cultural and economic dynamics of Ponterosso also attracted significant attention from contemporary newspapers and media, adding another layer of narrative complexity: Newspapers such as *Il Piccolo* and *Trieste Prima* documented the rise and eventual decline of the Ponterosso market, highlighting, for instance, that in 1978 alone, the market saw 1.2 million Yugoslav shoppers, creating substantial economic activity in Trieste. These accounts emphasize the market as an engine of prosperity that benefited both Trieste's merchants and Yugoslav consumers.

However, other media outlets like *Affari Internazionali* and *Repubblica* frame the market differently, emphasizing its broader geopolitical implications. Focusing on the *jeansinari* as cultural brokers in a Cold War context, these narratives elevate the market to a symbol of ideological contestation—a microcosm of East-West tensions where material culture defied ideological boundaries. In contrast, articles from *Rai* and *Balcanicaucaso.org* focus on personal stories and symbolic dimensions, depicting the *jeansinari* as individuals navigating a unique historical moment, blending economic necessity with cultural agency. This tension between romanticizing the market's heyday and critiquing its decline—marked by rising debts and the Iron Curtain's fall—highlights Ponterosso's legacy of a contested nature. It is worth mentioning that on the website of the Slovenes in Italy,<sup>22</sup> there is an article titled "You were nobody if you didn't wear a pair of blue jeans bought in Ponterosso!," again underlining the symbolic and representative value for the Yugoslavs to buy clothes (and especially jeans) in Trieste.

Sluga's analysis of Trieste's conflicted identity as a liminal space further situates the *jeansinari* within the city's complex historical narrative.<sup>23</sup> Trieste has continuously navigated its identity between East and West, shaped as much by what is omitted from its official stories as by what is included. If we depict borders as 'spaces of contact,' it supports this understanding, emphasizing the fluidity of exchanges in frontier economies that challenge simplistic categorizations of division or unity.

A significant contribution to understanding this phenomenon is the 2017 documentary *Trieste, Yugoslavia*, directed by Alessio Bozzer. The film combines archival footage, photographs, and interviews with former traders, Yugoslav buyers, and local residents who experienced the vibrant era of the Ponterosso market. The doc-

22 Cf. The Slovenes in Italy: *Non Eri Nessuno Senza un Paio di Blue Jeans di Ponterosso*. Retrieved March 11, 2025 from <https://slovita.info/it/i-nostri-luoghi/trieste/non-eri-nessuno-senza-un-paio-di-blue-jeans-di-ponterosso>.

23 Cf. Sluga, G. (2001). *The Problem of Trieste and the Italo-Yugoslav Border: Difference, Identity, and Sovereignty in Twentieth-Century Europe*. SUNY Press.

umentary employs oral histories, aligning with Portelli's argument that personal narratives offer essential insights into the experiences of individuals often excluded from official accounts.<sup>24</sup> This approach reflects a broader historical shift toward incorporating micro-level and personal histories into larger narratives. By portraying the market as both an economic space and a cultural bridge, Bozzer's work presents a nuanced understanding of Trieste's role as a frontier city shaped by economic opportunity and ideological tension.

The phenomenon of the *jeansinari* also highlights the intricate interplay between material culture, individual agency, and structural constraints in Cold War borderlands. By integrating microhistorical approaches, media narratives, and the symbolic aspects of material culture, the study of the *jeansinari* deepens our understanding of Trieste as a site of interaction, exchange, and informal relationships. Reviewing these stories through the lens of Dissonant Heritage challenges us to create a fuller picture of the frontier as a dynamic space of inclusion, exclusion, and adaptation. In collective memory, Trieste is still linked to shopping and was a popular foreign destination for Yugoslavs.

### 3. Short Considerations

This article serves as a starting point for a more comprehensive study of the complex relationship between visibility and invisibility in the material culture of Trieste's frontier heritage. Through the case studies of the cross-border trade of the Cold War era in Piazza Ponterosso and the material remains of contemporary migration along the Balkan Route, we have demonstrated how objects act as potent mediators of memory, identity and historical narratives. These material traces—whether they are jeans and leather jackets once exchanged in informal markets or personal belongings abandoned by migrants crossing European borders—are tangible evidence of how borders are not just geographical barriers but socially and politically constructed spaces of negotiation, mobility and exclusion.

Both cases demonstrate that heritage is not a neutral or fixed repository of the past but an active process of selection and reinterpretation shaped by broader social and political forces. While the trade in jeans was central to Trieste's economic and cultural landscape during the Cold War, it remains largely absent from official narratives about cultural and historical heritage. Similarly, the personal effects left behind by migrants are often considered waste rather than being recognized as significant artefacts that witness the contemporary struggles of displacement and securitization of borders. The exhibition "Garden of the (In)Visibles" challenges these

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24 Cf. Portelli, A. (1997). *The Battle of Valle Giulia: Oral History and the Art of Dialogue*. University of Wisconsin Press.

dominant patterns by repositioning discarded objects as cultural assets, inviting the public to confront stories that are often marginalized or erased.

By analyzing the material culture of the frontier, this study emphasizes the importance of rethinking heritage as a contested and evolving process. Borders are not static divisions; they are places of constant transformation, where stories are made and unmade, remembered and forgotten. This paper proposes a more inclusive and critical approach to heritage-making, recognizing the visible structures of state power and control and the lived experiences and informal practices that shape border spaces. We can move beyond rigid historical narratives to develop a more multifaceted and empathetic understanding of boundaries, mobility and belonging in contemporary Europe through such an approach.

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