TREVICO-TORINO: VIAGGIO NEL FIAT-NAM

Metamorphoses of Urban Space and the Multiplication of the Factory in the Age of the Anthropocene

Emiliano Guaraldo and Federica Colleoni

Trevico-Torino: Viaggio nel Fiat-Nam (*Trevico-Turin: Voyage in Fiat-nam*) by Ettore Scola, shot in 1970–71 and released in 1973, was largely produced by the director and completed with funds from Unitelefilm,[1] the film production company of the Partito Comunista Italiano (PCI, or Italian Communist Party). It chronicles the story of Fortunato Santospirito, a young man who leaves his hometown of Trevico (Scola's hometown), forty miles from the city of Naples, for the northern Italian industrial city of Turin. There, the huge FIAT car factory (also called *la città-fabbrica*, the factory-city) recruited workers from every part of the country, particularly the southern regions. In a time of massive internal migration, Fortunato's story is representative of a wide phenomenon of displacement of entire villages, families, and individuals from south to north. His story also comments on the destiny of a generation who found work and hope but also felt lost in industrial urban areas that bore no resemblance to their rural background. Scola chose to narrate the political awakening of a young poor southerner in an estranged cultural context, where the meeting between students and workers was inevitable but also ultimately problematic. Its release was immediately followed in 1974 by Scola's much more successful political comedy *C'eravamo tanto amati* (*We All Loved Each Other So Much*). *Trevico-Torino* constitutes an important experiment in the

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art of political documentary and a rather faithful representation of the Italian political and social climate of the time, with references to student movements and workers' uprisings.

This chapter is divided into two complementary portions. In the first part, we analyze the film's historical and sociological references, and in the second we attempt to problematize the role of Turin in the film, its configuration as a factory-city and how this is expressed formally by Scola. From our contemporary perspective, both the aesthetic and the ideological domains of the film, in addition to its development and historical contextualization, offer a unique chance to gaze into a specific moment of mutation of Turin's urban spaces. More specifically, the historical moment immortalized by Scola represents the intersection of three macroevents that involve numerous passive actors and agents: the multiplication of the city space (which includes the political and the material spheres), the displacement and management of groups of people (a shift that required both migrants from the north and Turinese natives to adapt), and the proliferation of the automobile (both as a commodity and as the main product of Italian factories). The consequences of these macroevents are still visible in contemporary Italian life, even if the early 1970s cannot be considered the generative moment for all these phenomena. Given its dual fictional and documentary form, we can approach *Trevico-Torino* as an ideal document for understanding the interaction between such assemblages in the age of the Anthropocene.[2]

Trevico-Torino: Journeys by Ettore Scola and Fortunato

The title itself, *Trevico-Torino*, refers to a path or a journey. The hyphen between the two places seems to symbolize the railway that immigrants traveled in search of a better future, from Trevico, in the Campania region, toward Turin, in the northern region of Piemonte, in the 1960s and 1970s. The subtitle that follows, *Voyage through Fiatnam*, seeks to explain that journey, contextualizing it in terms of the protests and slogans of a fraught historical period, in which opposition to militarism (in reference to the Vietnam War) meets the opposition to Fordism (here noted by the *Fiat* wordplay). It is, therefore, more than a title: it is a symbol of a place, an itinerary from the Italian south to north, and a displacement, of which the film depicts both trauma and hope.

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In those years, the city of Turin, home to the largest factory in Italy—and one of the largest in all of Europe—was a key destination for many young people who were driven by the dream of factory jobs that would free them from a new, modern nightmare: unemployment. Italy's other large industrial city, Milan, had previously been examined in Luchino Visconti's 1960 masterpiece, *Rocco e i suoi fratelli* (*Rocco and His Brothers*). Visconti's film tells the epic tale of a family of Campanian migrants who live in Milan and confront the difficulties of internal migration for the first time in Italian cinema.[3] Scola was born in Trevico in 1931, but his family soon moved to Rome, where he completed his collegiate studies. He was no stranger to the rural southerner's sense of displacement, so when he decided to shoot a film that discussed internal migration in Italy, he centered it around a fictional character, Fortunato, from his own hometown. In the film, Carbona, another migrant from the South, says to Fortunato, "But you know that coming from the South, the first thing that we lose—unfortunately it's painful—we lose our home, [then] friendship, loved ones, the road, the street. . . . We become disoriented. I have been here for twelve years." These words communicate the sense of disorientation and loss of identity experienced by migrants from the south who reached the cities of the north. The feeling of disoriented bewilderment is present throughout the movie in different scenes, as we often see Fortunato wandering through Turin alone, experiencing the northern cold for the first time. In some scenes, drivers and pedestrians ignore him, making the urban landscape appear alien and distant. Scola is able to visualize this sense of estrangement by using perspective camera shots in which we see Fortunato from behind while he is walking away toward farther vanishing points. Throughout the film, these types of shot compositions have a perspective convergence point placed at the center of the image. Fortunato's profound displacement demonstrates that the unification of Italy, which took place about a century before, had not extended to the disparate cultures in the young nation's north and south. Fortunato experiences this incomplete unification firsthand. His arrival in the great factory-city represents a traumatic moment, an identity crisis that is meticulously described in the documentary film. The camera follows him from the moment he arrives by train and chronicles his efforts to find a job, a place to live, and friends. Fortunato is continuously disappointed by the working conditions and precarious nature of life for migrants.

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As he worked to complete the postproduction of *Trevico-Torino*, Scola explored another story of displacement and migrant struggles in his 1971 film *Permette? Rocco Papaleo* (*My Name Is Rocco Papaleo*). This film, starring Marcello Mastroianni, narrates the story of a Sicilian immigrant in the United States, whose tragedy entails a failure to realize a dream, even in America where he finds himself poor and alone. The film presents an opportunity for the director to illustrate various problems with American society at the time, primarily the marginalization of the underclass but also racial conflict and class divisions. The city of Turin (as both a concrete and cultural notion), with its urban crisis, is a true costar of the film. Fortunato's individual and allegorical journey allows the director to highlight the urban landscape of the capital of Piemonte, a region that at the time was considered, together with Lombardy and its capital Milan, the most industrialized area of Italy. Turin represents the modernity that simultaneously fascinates and disturbs the young protagonist as soon as he arrives.

The film's opening scene takes place at the train station. As Fortunato descends from the train and leaves the station, he notices noise, traffic, and fog, and his first request for information is, naively, "Is it the Fiat?"[4] and then, "Is this where they hire the FIAT workers?" When he asks a stranger, "Where are you from?" using the second person plural *voi*, the man looks at him, surprised at his use of the *voi* term, and asks him, "Voi chi?" (You who?) and Fortunato responds, "Voi . . . voi tu!" (You . . . you you!)[5] The use of the formal pronoun (*voi* vs. *lei*) is a typical Italian marker of regional difference between the north and the south. This scene represents an important moment because it shows that Fortunato must learn a new (modern, northern, industrial European) way of inhabiting urban space, together with a new grammar (the language of the northerners) that is merely a piece of the vast, intricate, and pervasive lexicon of industrial capitalist modernity.

Fortunato meets Vicky, a girl from the Lotta Continua group (Continuous Struggle),[6] while she distributes leaflets to the workers at the factory gates, and he strikes up a friendship with her that initially spurs him to understand his own situation. In the end, though, their bond cannot survive their cultural differences. Assigned to a harder job after a dispute with his manager, the young man launches himself into a desperate cry. This final scene depicts Fortunato's failure in both work and relationships, demonstrating how the "political" and the "personal" are strictly intertwined. According to critic Tullio Masoni, For-

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tunato and Vicky's relationship is about "an attempt to forge a connection on a political but also human and personal level, between a somehow 'classic' proletariat-laborer experience and the radicalizations of the new left in the student and bourgeois matrix,"[7] an attempt that seems destined to fail.

The urban dimension of Turin is already in itself a cause for disorientation among those who come from the small villages of the south. Scholar Nicola Pizzolato, who found similarities between the two motor cities of Turin and Detroit, asserts: "Fordism, like any regime of accumulation, exhibited its own economic geography. Through its agglomeration of manufacture in specific urban concentrations, it created large peripheral or semi-peripheral areas, both within and beyond the core states of the world economy, that had unemployment, low wages, and 'backward' social organization. The American South and the Italian Mezzogiorno both fit this description."[8]

The presence of Southern migrants in Turin in the 1960s and 1970s in Scola's film seems to suggest a "city within the city." The student riots of 1968[9] were followed by the unions' and workers' struggles in 1969 across the peninsula, since that year coincided with the expiration of the metalworkers' labor contract. The autumn of 1969, remembered as the "hot autumn," marked the meeting of the workers' demands (with the emergence of a new figure, the *operaio-massa*, or mass worker—young, southern, and unskilled) and the demands of the students. In the film, these conflicting demands are exemplified by the relationship between Vicky and Fortunato; while they develop a friendship, he continues to harbor unrequited feelings for her.

On the one hand, the film documents the social climate of the time when it was filmed, thanks to footage of the workers' meeting places[10] and to various interviews. On the other hand, it inserts a fictitious plot containing literary and cinematic references. One can see how Fortunato's initial trip toward the city, in particular at the railway station at night, has Dantesque echoes as these scenes suggest that it is necessary to cross a dark and painful space in order to achieve a greater awareness and resume one's life. The camerawork, which constantly follows the protagonist throughout the city, also reflects the ideas of *pedinamento*[11] by Cesare Zavattini—the Italian screenwriter and frequent collaborator with Vittorio De Sica—about filmic narration.

After searching unsuccessfully for nightly shelter at the train station, Fortunato, afraid of the nocturnal and strange characters who live there (a demented worker, prostitutes, and transvestites who deride him), escapes to

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the streets, almost inebriated by the light of bright signs, until he is left hypnotized by the enormous luminous FIAT sign. The insistent, extra-diegetic flute music underlines the urban environment's hypnotic power over the protagonist. The camera lingers artistically on this almost hallucinatory, dream-like vision, then returns to the "realism" of the documentary. This night scene stands out as a temporary break from the realist tones of the rest of the movie because it is also the scene in which the interaction among the background characters seems more traditionally cinematic and even slightly grotesque. In this scene, some homeless people start a fight while a lady who is talking to Fortunato tries to intervene and placate them. Scola's editing betrays a certain degree of scene construction as this highly theatrical fight scene is composed of alternating shots of the altercation with close-ups of Fortunato's eyes and of the woman's face. The latter, somewhat unconvincingly, yells at the homeless people, "Basta!" (Stop!) and "Arrivano neh!" (They are coming!), before resuming her discussion with Fortunato. The "staged realism" of the composition and the amateurish theatricality of the nonactors involved in it, contribute to the general feel of alienated dreaminess in the film's night sequence.

Fortunato quickly finds refuge at an institution, the EISS (Ente Italiano Servizio Sociale, or Italian Social Service)—Centro Immigrati Meridionali (Southern Migrant Center)—whose sign is easily readable in the frame, signaling the didactic and informative intent of the director Scola. The EISS is also a symbolic place of salvation, an oasis of comprehension in the middle of an urban desert that elicits fear.

At this point in the film, there is a transition into documentary-style talking-head interviews, with a focus on Don Allais, a real priest linked to the center, who offers us his crude account of the situation: "The issue of lodging [for the workers] is grave, but it is not the only one." The priest informs Fortunato that in the past the EISS had sent a letter to all the bishops of southern Italy so that they could warn those who intended to come to Turin about the great problems that they would encounter. "The risk of coming to Turin," says the priest, "is too great. These are absurd things that happen in a society that knows very well how to progress from the technical point of view, but cannot solve human problems." The priest is tasked with giving a voice to the critical consciousness of the film, to its revolutionary message: "[You] will realize that you are actually a pawn called from a thousand or one thousand five hundred kilometers away because production needs you, and you will be the last to have

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the advantages of this society that called you. This is the sad situation."[12] From this point of view, the film manages to ably combine the denunciation typical of political cinema in the 1960s and 1970s in Italy (with authors like Francesco Rosi, Gillo Pontecorvo and Elio Petri, to give a few examples) and the social denunciation style that was valued in investigative journalism during those years. But Don Allais' scene seems to serve an additional educational purpose. Directly addressing Fortunato—and implicitly the viewers,[13] who are mostly workers like Fortunato—Don Allais is warning the southern masses waiting for their chance to move north.

Peter Bondanella asserts that *Trevico-Torino* "represents a nod to Italy's neorealist heritage in cinema" and "creates compelling reconstruction of the alienated existence of southern immigrants in Turin who work on the assembly lines in Italy's most important industrial complex."[14] This nod to the ways and the ideological domain of Italian neorealist heritage comes together with Scola's intimate southern identity and consciousness. As a southerner himself, he seems to be even more invested in trying to use the cinematic medium as a way to improve migrants' lives in the north and, more important, to convince the underdeveloped masses of the south to work toward a better and more just society back home.

Trevico-Torino, with its commitment to denouncing the inhuman conditions of migrant workers, ended up being perceived as excessively political and didactic. Ennio Bíspuri notes that *Trevico-Torino* was neither appreciated on the left nor on the right: "Paolo Valmarana caught an excess of gloom and pessimism in the film, while Goffredo Fofi judges it 'a film for children' due to an 'excess of spectacular craftiness.' It is as if, perhaps as a result of the era when the film was conceived and shot . . . the story, very linearly and elementarily told, resented a demonstrative prejudice that, presenting us a predictable product, detracts from the overall result."[15] Diego Novelli,[16] who had worked on the film, highlights this "demonstrative" function, affirming that the young Fortunato, by Scola's intention, was the pretext for helping the viewer to understand "the reality of Turin in those years: a city plagued with deep issues, where individualism and egotism had abated their own popular conscience."[17]

Scola's 1982 documentary *Vorrei che volo* was conceived as a return to the setting of *Trevico-Torino*. Turin once more became a protagonist, seen through the eyes of a young child of southern migrants, who crosses the city a bit like Bruno in *Ladri di biciclette* (*Bicycle Thieves*, Vittorio De Sica, 1948).

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This time, however, the child commits petty thefts instead of searching for his father's stolen bicycle. The camera in *Vorrei che volo* follows the child, and in the meantime adults and children tell their stories, sometimes about their successes and sometimes about their failures at integration and social advancement. Interviewees make references to petty crime, prostitution, and the death of a young person at the hands of the police, but they also tell stories of urban housing cooperatives, experiments in socialization of artistic and cultural activities, restructuring buildings to create cultural places, reception centers for young mothers, and so on.

Turin, Factory City of the Anthropocene

Trevico-Torino is a film that narrates (a journey into) the alienation of the average factory worker, but more specifically, it presents a process that we may call the "multiplication of the factory" and the emergence of the *fabbrica sociale* (literally, social factory), which are made visible to the audience. This critique of industrial capitalism is aimed at individuating and underlining the effects of factory life *outside* the manufactory plants. The existence of this dynamic was something that had been posited in Italy in the late 1960s by workerist theorists such as Mario Tronti and Toni Negri and by the Autonomia Operaia radical movement, which even today has an impact on some analyses of the relationship between work and everyday life spaces.[18] As Tronti states: "When the factory seizes the whole of society—all of social production is turned into industrial production—the specific traits of the factory are lost within the generic traits of society. When the whole of society is reduced to the factory, the factory—as such—appears to *disappear*. It is on this material basis that is repeated and concludes, at a real higher level, the maximum ideological development of bourgeois metamorphoses."[19] For Tronti and the workerists, the factory transcends its material walls and conquers the spaces of everyday life. When there is no longer a discernible internal-external divide between private life and the processes of production, alienation of the worker can happen outside of the factory spaces as well. However, the autonomists were not the only ones who understood the problematic relationship between factory and social life. Henri Lefebvre, in *The Production of Space*, studies how the flows and the operations of capital construct space on both local and global levels:

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> In the traditional industrial production process, the relationship to space had long been comprised of discrete points: the place of extraction or origin of raw materials, the place of production (factory), and the place of sale. Only the distribution networks of this system had a wider spatial dimension. Now that the "elements" themselves are produced and reproduced, however, the relationship of productive activity to space is modified; it involved space now in another way, and this is as true for the initial stages of the process (for example, the management of water and water resources) as it is for the final stages (within urban space) and for all the steps in between.[20]

Following Lefebvre's reasoning and adopting his perspective to rethink Turin and its evolutions through the twentieth century, we can start to map the various effects that a colossal factory such as FIAT has had on its urban texture. More important, FIAT's productive output itself (cars) from one side required a mobilization of immense resources, both living (the workers and their families and the proliferation of the so-called *indotto*[21] industry) and nonliving (metal, hydrocarbon fuels, plastic materials, etc.), and from the other side created one of the necessary conditions for the multiplication of the urban space itself (fast, individualized transportation) along with the aesthetic connotations connected with modern urban living (traffic, engine noises, the smell of burnt petrol). The separation of the spaces of production, consumption, and living is made problematic by the dynamics of labor division in post-Fordist societies, as Lefebvre points out:

> The urban fabric, with its multiple networks of communication and exchange, is likewise part of the means of production. The town and its multifarious establishments (its post offices and railway stations—as also its storehouses, transportation systems and varied services) are fixed capital. The division of labor affects the whole of space—not just the "space of work," not just the factory floor. And the whole of space is an object of productive consumption, just like factory buildings and plants, machinery, raw materials, and labor power itself.[22]

The concept of a social factory, in which the social sphere of everyday life is captured by the productive forces of capital and eventually transforms the

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subconscious of workers, is portrayed in Scola's film through cinematic devices such as juxtapositions and montage and by a skillful use of the mise-en-scène, as Scola's camera explores several public and intimate spaces in Turin. What we see in the film is not just the story of Fortunato's struggle to integrate in a new city but also the simultaneous metamorphoses of the urban landscape of Turin turning itself into a giant, infinite factory. This dual transformation is made even more evident by the fact that Scola was unable to film inside the actual FIAT assembly lines in Mirafiori, forcing him to express Fortunato's journey using exclusively the nonindustrial spaces of Turin, such as private houses, train stations, marketplaces, churches, and of course the gates of the factory. *Trevico-Torino* emerges as a film about industrial labor told from the perspective of someone who is excluded from it. Watching Scola's film, Harun Farocki's study on the fascination of early cinema with the factory's external space comes to mind:

> The first camera in the history of cinema was pointed at a factory, but a century later it can be said that film is hardly drawn to the factory and is even repelled by it. Films about work or workers have not become one of the main genres, and the space in front of the factory has remained on the sidelines. Most narrative films take place in that part of life where work has been left behind. Everything which makes the industrial form of production superior to others—the division of labor into minute stages, the constant repetition, a degree of organization which demands few decisions of the individual and which leaves him little room for maneuver—all this makes it hard to demonstrate changes in circumstances.[23]

In a way, *Trevico-Torino* proves that such a fascination did not cease because of the evolution of cinematic tastes and themes but rather because the factory disappeared into the fabric of society itself. The gates of the FIAT are not the gates of Mirafiori anymore, but as we sense from watching *Trevico-Torino*, the new gates of FIAT come to be represented by the train station of Porta Nuova (literally, New Gate) itself. In the numerous dialogue and interview scenes, Scola's camera and his cinematic vision try to blend in with the environment, as what we see in *Trevico-Torino* is a piece of industrial fiction represented through the use of cinema verité aesthetics. In this sense, the film becomes

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even more compelling considering what is left outside of the shot and what constitutes the background of the film's scenes: passersby, cars, pollution, workers leaving the factory, urban noise, and the semiotic complexity of the city. Considering the richness of life in the urban landscape, can we still consider this landscape a mere backdrop and not, instead, the embodiment of the coemergence of all the subjects and agencies involved in the industrial capitalist project? This is a participated, intertextual example of storytelling set inside a bigger, all-encompassing factory in which the productive relations are staged: Turin the factory-city. The film, together with Fortunato's journey, tells the story of its constant mutation and transformation.

Curiously enough, a similar metamorphosis had been previously shown in a completely different film: the 1969 British comedy *The Italian Job*, directed by Peter Collinson. In some of its most memorable scenes, three Mini Coopers appropriate Turin's spaces of everyday life (the market place, the Subalpina, and the San Federico gallery, the Valentino Park, and the *portici* of Piazza Vittorio) in an act of subversion of urban spaces. Once nonliving products of the industrial city itself, now the cars dominate and impose their spatial logic on the urban texture. *The Italian Job* has a well-known sequence of a police chase, in which a fast-paced montage (so ideologically and radically opposed to Jean-Luc Godard's famous *Weekend* (1967) horizontal traffic shot) shows the Mini Coopers making use of sidewalks, parks, and all sort of surfaces normally limited for human use while at the same time depicting the suburbs of Turin as sprawls of cheerful, playful, gray concrete.

But if *The Italian Job* aims to show a joyful, nonalienated version of Turin as the industrial motor city par excellence, *Trevico-Torino*, by contrast, critiques the invisible and silent propagation of the factory as the main spatial logic of industrial capitalism. The expansive dynamic of the factory is, of course, not just allegorical or ideological, but it is also material, as it presents itself, among other things, through the effects of atmospheric pollution, the creation of waste materials, and the development of new neighborhoods. It is to be noted that forty-four years after the film was shot, Turin—once the quintessential industrial city but now the emblem of Western postindustrial urban renewal efforts—still suffers from its troubled relationship with the automotive industry. This relationship becomes evident, for example, if one analyzes the recent pollution crisis of 2017[24] or the unstoppable demographic decline of Turin.[25]

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The mise-en-scène and the double nature (documentary and fiction) of *Trevico-Torino*, helped Scola translate into images a difficult bundle of ideas. In a certain sense, the film can be seen as a strategic tool for critiquing the factory space rather than exclusively the equally important issue of southerners' diaspora. Scola understood well the ideological potential of film for social inquiry, and he moved toward a cinematic medium that is more of a hybrid educational piece of technology than a means of purely creative expression. *Trevico-Torino* mixes interviews with fiction, diegetic and nondiegetic sound, actors, and real workers (and real homeless people) as a way to convey ideological meaning. The film openly becomes an educational tool for the masses to be shown to target audiences in specific places (labor unions, PCI houses, *dopolavoro* [the union's recreational programs], etc.)

The voyage into and through "Fiatnam" has deep consequences. The transformations coming from this journey emerge in the film both as mise-en-scène and as allegorical devices, which illustrate the hybridizing and the melding of the human (represented by Fortunato and his companions) with the industrial, inorganic, polluted reality of Turin. The city's pollution is never explicitly addressed in the movie, but it is, of course, always present. In the panoramic shots of Porta Palazzo and the Mirafiori factory complex we can see and feel the grayish presence of burnt carbon fossils. In other scenes, we see the smog generated by thousands of cars, specifically, in parts of the city that today are closed to traffic (due to the antipollution city policies of the 1990s). Visual culture theorist Nicholas Mirzoeff proposes that the Anthropocene can be visualized by changing the way we look back at visual art. For example, addressing pollution (of water and air) in New York and London, he writes in his study of Bellow's 1907 painting *Forty-Two Kids*: "While the 'great unwashed' working classes might have been expected to be willing to live with dirt and smells, so too were New York's elites. It appears that the desire to live in the modern city was so great that it literally anaesthetized the senses, or at least allowed people to disregard what they saw and smelled in the water. . . . London was afflicted with dense smogs produced by burning coal. . . . This persistent smog became a feature of London life."[26] Mirzoeff concludes that by subtly invading the representations of the modern metropolis and anesthetizing its inhabitants to the inevitability of its existence, air pollution becomes a marker for acquired modernity, as the "imperial smoke is a positive sign of the energy and vitality of the modern metropole."[27] In *Trevico-Torino*,

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the pollution has a similar function. It is a mute agent, constantly present, signifying the postwar conquest of Italian modernity. Fortunato wanders in a pre-postapocalyptic[28] Turin, suffocated by carbon dioxide emissions, is still a city that is vital, growing, and thriving.

The process of manufacturing always intrinsically corresponds to a process of transformation of raw materials into commodities. Moreover, the automobile, a quintessential symbol of urban life, is itself the object that thousands of young workers from the rural south came to assemble, in a sort of quest for the conquest of modernity. The assembly line, though, does not exclusively turn metal into cars; it also has serious psychological and physical effects on workers.[29] This double relation of capital and labor, in which the manipulation of matter and the dematerialization of the human happen simultaneously in the factory-city, is represented in *Trevico-Torino* through Fortunato's unfortunate struggles to fit in.

Through Fortunato's misfortunes, we see the effects of this process on Turin's landscape (coincidentally soundscape, as the car engines' noises are constantly present in the film) and on the bodies that inhabit it. Workers' survival in such a hellish milieu is completely dedicated to the functioning of the factory, represented by Scola as the beholding eye of FIAT surveilling the land and the workers like an assembly-line panoptical device. The immigrant workers in the film are gradually characterized as tools of production, similarly to how animals could have been depicted in a preindustrialized world. Their life and well-being are devoted to and depends on the volume of industrial production and the successful propagation of the city-factory itself. Through their labor and their bodies, FIAT configures itself as an agent of geological proportions, an active assemblage of the Anthropocene that transforms inorganic matter and *bios* (the living matter, both human and nonhuman) alike into machines and commodities that are ultimately microscopically and biochemically responsible for the geological transformations of the planet itself. FIAT transforms the bodies of the workers into tools for production while at the same time allocating spaces for their material existence, multiplying the space of the city itself. Through the management and manipulation of workers and of inorganic and living matter—exponentially multiplied by the basic algorithmic operations of capital—the city-factory grows, transforms itself, and ultimately establishes itself as the hegemonic chronotope of industrial capitalism. As represented by Scola, humans and

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machines coexist as their voices intertwine in the diegetic and nondiegetic soundscapes of the movie.

Like postapocalyptic antiheroes who roam the scorched earth looking for shelter and food, Fortunato wanders from location to location looking for accommodation and human interaction but eventually fails. In this journey, he meets other wretched denizens of the interstitial spaces of Turin: prostitutes, thieves, and lunatics. They inhabit the same train stations, squares, and streets that today have been repurposed by postindustrial capital into shopping centers, fancy nightlife spots, luxury department stores, and so forth. The city is the paradigmatic place where we visualize the story of the individual clashing and melding into the history of the material phenomena produced by the ruling and the exploited classes through the centuries. Fortunato wanders through medieval, baroque, and neoclassical milieus that in different ages hosted narratives of exploitation and liberation, played by the conflicting historical agents that gave shape to the following metanetworks: feudalism, capitalism, aristocracy, religious power, bourgeoisie, fascism, the rise of the industrial complex, and the hegemonic cultural apparatus.

Fortunato is offered a room to rent by a Piedmontese-speaking Torinese, but it turns out to be a mere tool shack, an unhospitable coal chamber. This scene establishes a strong connection between Fortunato's body and its configuration as a source of energy for the functioning of FIAT. The Anthropocene, here represented by the city-factory sprawl, is a geological expression of a structure of power, in this case industrial capitalism. Following Serenella Iovino's analysis of Calvino's *Marcovaldo*,[30] we can say that Fortunato, like Marcovaldo in the book,[31] is part of the processes of the Anthropocene, but he cannot be the *anthropos* of the Anthropocene because he has barely any conscious or active part in it—he can only struggle to survive in a new planet reconfigured by industrial capital.

The final scene of the film, more than any other, helps us understand this narrative. In it, Fortunato expresses all his frustration and sense of failure derived from his experience as an immigrant and factory worker in Turin. His closing monologue is a final assessment on what he has lost and what he has gained by moving to the north and becoming a dehumanized tool of the FIAT assembly line. The form of a spoken, open letter to other potential immigrants from the south adds a dramatic tone to the scene before transitioning into a bitter, more general reflection of the situation of the working class in Italy.

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The most interesting technical aspects are the interaction of montage, sound, and pace, as well as the use of geometry in the construction of the scene. The straight lines traced by the factory buildings and the steel infrastructure serve as the spatial demarcation and boundaries of Fortunato's run. The camera alternates frontal and side shots of Fortunato, presenting the perspective vanishing point at the center of the image in a fashion similar to Giorgio De Chirico's metaphysical paintings. All these elements are used to express the final loss of his human dignity and his definitive, humiliating transformation into a production commodity owned by the factory.

Fortunato is running alone on a street, without a purpose or goal. He is carrying a briefcase and seems to have a direction, although that direction is very much circumscribed by the physical environment around him: a line of cars, a wall, and the junkyard. His run alludes to a sort of escape effort, and a factory crane carrying unidentified metallic junk follows the movements of Fortunato in a parallel way. The camera moves along with Fortunato, eventually closing up on his gradually grieving face. Montage cuts alternate close-ups of Fortunato's face and images of quickly passing buildings, parked cars, and the moving crane itself. Simultaneously, and interacting with the montage, increasing industrial sounds produce a distressing feeling in the viewer, who can feel Fortunato's existential anguish. The industrial percussion noise works like a metronome directing the timing of the editing cuts and general pace of the scene. Climax is suddenly reached at the moment when the crane stops and releases all the iron and metallic junk it was carrying. At the same time, Fortunato collapses to the ground as if he had been shot in the chest, but the camera delays its own stop, hinting at an expression of nonhuman surprise. This is an example of Scola's humanized camera gaze; it is as if the camera were Fortunato's companion following his run. When Fortunato falls to the ground, the camera slows down and directs its gaze back at him, then slowly zooms in on him. Even if different possible interpretations can be made of the first part of the final scene, they all point in the same direction. Montage and close-ups create an effect of socioallegorical representation between Fortunato and the crane, suggesting that he is now just as much a tool of production, a mechanized drone of FIAT. An additional, more convincing interpretation is plausible. Fortunato is indeed a tool, but the director encourages the viewer to compare Fortunato's condition with the metallic junk carried by the crane: life in the city-factory will turn Fortunato's human body into an old, obsolete

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and unusable piece of junk. It is worth noting that on Fortunato's left we are shown the raw material (the metallic junk of the *ferriere*) and on his right we see a long, interminable line of new Fiat 500s. This placement represents the transition of the worker from being a free individual to being a disposable resource for industrial production. At the same time, a new layer of meaning is added to the title *Viaggio nel Fiatnam*. The director evokes the Vietnam War in order to impel the viewer to consider the similarities of the conditions of the factory workers and soldiers, who are both disposable and bound to obedience to a higher bourgeois hegemonic ideology. Fortunato's definitive "absorption in the every-day silent, ruthless and with no-way-out war that is the Vietnam of the working class becomes the symbol and the conclusion of a story that allusively synthetizes the dramatic existence in a world dominated by the profit logic."[32] The fall of Fortunato can be indeed compared to the fall of a soldier in a war movie, and it is uncannily similar to the famous sequence of Pina's death from Rossellini's *Roma città aperta* (*Rome Open City*, 1945) in that Fortunato's fall is captured by the camera from a similar point of view. But if the cold-blooded murder of Pina, a woman and a mother, in *Roma città aperta* was Rossellini's way to expose the brutality of Nazi-fascist occupation (and the impotence of an entire city)[33] in *Trevico-Torino*'s ending, Fortunato runs, then falls, but eventually gets back on his feet. This final, dignified deed of endurance serves as Scola's tribute to the southern immigrants' resilience. Montage, parallel images and movement, the fast pace, and the ascending climax are all effective strategies in Scola's project of denouncing the alienating dynamics of factory life.

In the second part of the scene, Fortunato stands up from the ground and while crying reaches for his food, but this extreme human act is interrupted once again by the intervention of the crane and its release of metal waste. Emotional collapse is irreversible now. Fortunato screams and cries, "Basta! Basta!" but his voice is covered by industrial noise, and he ultimately understands that he only has two paths ahead: one path leads back to the poor life in the south; the other is giving up and resuming his new life in the factory-city system. The crane relentlessly "watches" his desperate struggle, and similar to the logo earlier in the film, it stands as a representation of FIAT itself or of its metaphorical surveillance function, an animus. Initially, Fortunato starts walking back, but a montage cut shows the crane moving in the opposite direction, as if it were imposing an order. Fortunato then changes his path and, obeying the

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higher authority of the crane/FIAT, he slowly walks away and back into a life of alienation while the word *Fine* (The end) appears on the screen. The second segment is formally opposite to the first one. If the first one comprises of fast movement and dynamic montage, the second basically consists of a single, very slow, long shot. The camera does not move; it stops when Fortunato falls to the ground and does not follow him anymore. He walks away from the viewer and from the camera. We are not able to see him while he walks back into the factory. We now have a static point of view as opposed to the fast dynamism of the previous part of the scene, contributing to a strong feeling of abandonment. In addition, in the second part of the scene the incoherent relationship between image and sound is even more evident. We see Fortunato screaming and we understand perfectly the words that he is trying to express, but there is no sound (or at least, there is no human sound). The sound editing overlaps the metallic noises with Fortunato's screams, creating the astonishing effect of giving a new inorganic, metallic voice to the flesh-and-blood immigrant worker. In this way, Scola expresses industrial alienation on an intimate level and Fortunato's slow automatized, dehumanized, defeated walk toward the end is just the obvious outcome of this process.

Often disregarded as an excessively ideological and didactic movie, *Trevico-Torino* has received little critical attention and scarce scholarship thus far. The strengths of Scola's cinematography, beyond the way it represents its main story and characters, are also to be found in what it represents in its background. *Trevico-Torino* is indeed a unique piece of genuine storytelling that, thanks to its dual form of fiction and documentary filmmaking, is able to capture a crucial moment of the development of urban life in Italy and, more specifically, the huge transformations of Turin. In the postindustrial, multicultural present of the city, it is easy to forget its dramatic past in which thousands of Fortunatos journeyed toward Fiatnam. Today the city's leaders try to cope with the constantly diminishing presence of the factory in the life of the city. What is the future of a factory-city that loses its factory? Looking back at *Trevico-Torino* and the warnings that Scola tried to voice, we are left with the bitter realization that the Turinese who were born after the 1970s have known only a version of the city that owes its momentary economic stability and its exponential growth to the sacrifice of the many Fortunatos who served in the FIAT assembly lines. Today FIAT has abandoned Turin, but the radical transformations that it imposed on it (in order to function properly) will remain,

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just like structures of past hegemonic forces such as baroque churches, the nineteenth-century squares, and the tombs of the Savoy dynasty.

Notes

1. Founded in 1963, Unitelefilm was tasked by the PCI with collecting and conserving the party's film production. It also produced its own autonomous content. See Archivio Aamod, Archivio Audiovisivo del Movimento Operaio e Democratico, www.aamod.it.
2. The Anthropocene is the epoch in which humans become a transformative geological force, following Paul J. Crutzen's original formulation in his "Geology of Mankind: The Anthropocene," *Nature* 415 (2002): 23.
3. Gianni's Amelio's *Così ridevano The Way We Laughed* (1998) tells the story of Sicilian brothers in Turin during the years of the economic boom.
4. All film quotes are taken from the original script: Ettore Scola, *Trevico Torino. Testo*, Archivio Luce, 1972, http://image.archivioluce.com/dm_0/IL/luceAamod/allegati/860/000/2014/860.000.2014.0002.pdf.
5. See also Paola Micheli, *Ettore Scola: I film e le parole* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1994), 32. Micheli notes that Scola makes it clear to the viewer that his protagonist is out of place, not only through images of the young immigrant's arrival to the city but also through this linguistic contrast. Translations throughout the chapter are our own unless otherwise noted.
6. Lotta Continua, a far-Left extraparliamentary organization, was constituted in 1969 by members of the student-worker movement of Turin.
7. Tullio Masoni, "La commedia: Primi segnali di decadenza," in *Storia del cinema italiano*, ed. Vito Zagarrio, vol. 13, *1977–1985* (Venice: Marsilio, 2005), 111. Regarding the "incommunicability of class" between Vicky and Fortunato, see Italo Moscati, "*Trevico-Torino* di Ettore Scola," *Letture 1973* 27, no. 12. (1972): 889–91, 890.
8. Nicola Pizzolato, "Workers and Revolutionaries at the Twilights of Fordism: The Breakdown of Industrial Relations in the Automobile Plants of Detroit and Turin, 1967–1973," *Labor History* 45, no. 4 (2004): 419–43, 421. Pizzolato continues in reference to the close relationship between immigrants and the city: "The intense pace of new arrivals heightened competition for the insufficient housing, providing migrants with expensive and shabby accommodations. Because newcomers arrived often through a migratory chain, overcrowding of single-family units further dilapidated the city's housing stock. Likewise, in the job market, migrants entered in competition, primarily among themselves, for hazardous and intermittent occupations" (423).

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9. Antiauthoritarian protests and social conflicts erupted in 1968 in many capitalist countries. In Italy in particular, a clash between students and police (known as the battle of Valle Giulia) took place in Rome on March 1, 1968. Italian students closed the University of Rome for many days during an antiwar protest. Following the students' protests, in 1969 factory workers went on strike in many areas of Italy. The historical upheaval of those years is referred to as "Il '68," "The '68."
10. FIAT prohibited shooting film inside the factory, so the director used only external shots. To give a sense of the interior, he turned to a photograph that served as the background of the titles of the film's various chapters.
11. "Pedinamento" (shadowing, or stalking) was a concept used by Cesare Zavattini to describe a new model of filmmaking after World War II. He believed that the time was ripe to throw away scripts and follow (*pedinare*) men in the streets with a camera, meaning that life was going to appear on the screen by itself, without filters. See Cesare Zavattini, *Neorealismo ecc*., ed. Mino Argentieri (Milan: Bompiani, 1979).
12. Don Allais continues: "The immigrant is not accustomed to the work setting, not prepared to confront the conditions and rhythms of the work, to work indoors; therefore . . . he will suffer grave discomfort at the beginning . . . you prepare for this and you talk about it with your friends, they inform you. You make sure to join them . . . at all of those protests, just in case at one protest, today you will win and the factory will provide better working conditions."
13. The film was intended to be shown in Labor Union and PCI clubs and films festivals.
14. Scola did not shoot the film with Diego Novelli, who at the time was the editor in chief of the communist newspaper *L'Unità* and later was elected mayor of Turin. For more on the relationship between Italian filmmakers and the PCI, the labor union Confederazione Generale Italiana del Lavoro (Italian General Confederation of Labour), Unitelefilm, and Cesare Zavattini's animated newsreels, see Goffredo Fofi et al., eds., *Storia del cinema: Dalle nouvelle vagues ai nostri giorni*, vol. 3 (Milan: Garzanti, 1988), 374.
15. Ennio Bíspuri, *Ettore Scola: Un umanista nel cinema italiano* (Rome: Bulzoni, 2006), 206–7. As Bíspuri himself recalls, Scola knew well which ideas he wanted to convey in *Trevico-Torino*: "The civility of the automobile has given Italy another record: the European city with the most highways and the fewest hospitals, least schools . . . least efficient public services. . . . The degradation of the nation has its eye on Turin." Aldo Tassone, *Parla il cinema* italiano, vol. 2 (Milan: Il Formichiere, 1980), 311.
16. Novelli was the mayor of Turin from 1975 to 1985. As a member of the PCI, he founded the magazine *Nuova Società* and published several books about Turin and FIAT.

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17. Novelli continues: "The original characteristics of the Turin laborer were lost thanks to tumultuous. Disorganized growth (wrongly labeled "development") that only obeyed the demands of industrial production, breaking, shattering unity in the community." Diego Novelli, "Il caso Trevico-Torino," in *Trevico-Cinecittà: L'avventuroso viaggio di Ettore Scola*, ed. Vito Zagarrio (Venice: Marsilio, 2002), 116–19, 117.
18. For example, see the outstanding Melissa Gregg, *Work's Intimacy* (New York: John Wiley, 2011).
19. Tronti, Mario. "Factory and Society," *Operaismo in English*, June 13, 2013, https://operaismoinenglish.wordpress.com/2013/06/13/factory-and-society/.
20. Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 1991), 330.
21. Secondary autonomous factories that manufacture items needed by the primary factory (in this case FIAT).
22. Lefebvre, *Production of Space*, 347.
23. Harun Farocki, "Workers Leaving the Factory," *Senses of Cinema* 21 (July 2002), http://sensesofcinema.com/2002/harun-farocki/farocki_workers/. Harun Farocki in his 2002 essay and in his 1995 documentary *Workers Leaving the Factory* references many instances in which film directors turned their attention toward the external spaces of the factories, both in European and in American cinema. The first film ever by the Lumiere brothers, *La sortie de l'usine Lumière à Lyon*, 1895 (*Exiting the Factory*), was a forty-six-second recording of the Lumiere factory workers ending their workday and leaving for their homes.
24. "Smog-Hit Turin Blocks Euro 5 Cars," Ansa.it, October 20, 2017, http://www.ansa.it/english/news/2017/10/20/smog-hit-turin-blocks-euro-5-cars-3_cddeaec2-4558-44f8-bfb8-0658fe9b45bf.html.
25. Total population changed from 1,167,968 to 872,367 in the 1981–2011 period. See "Censimento popolazione Torino 1861–2011," Tuttitalia.it, accessed January 24, 2019, http://www.tuttitalia.it/piemonte/72-torino/statistiche/censimenti-popolazione/.
26. Nicholas Mirzoeff, "Visualizing the Anthropocene," *Public Culture* 26, no. 2 (2014): 213–32, 224.
27. Mirzoeff, 226.
28. The city of *Trevico-Torino* is pre-postapocalyptic in the sense that it eerily shows the signs of a disaster about to come (pollution, alienation, etc.), while at the same time presenting it in a moment in which these signs do not signify an imminent danger yet.
29. This dual relationship between the assembly line and the worker has been the topic of several classic films such as Charlie Chaplin's *Modern Times* (1936) and Elio Petri's *La classe operaia va in paradiso* (1971). The latter is fittingly known as *Lulu the Tool* in English-speaking countries.

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30. Serenella Iovino, "Sedimenting Stories: Italo Calvino and the Extraordinary Strata of the Anthropocene" *Neohelicon* 44, no. 2 (2017): 315–30.
31. Italo Calvino, *Marcovaldo, ovvero le stagioni in città* (Milan: Mondadori, 2002).
32. Bíspuri, *Ettore Scola*, 211.
33. In *Trevico-Torino*'s ending, the parked cars on the side of the road are nonhuman witnesses to Fortunato's fall. In Pina's death, the city of Rome, represented by the faceless, formless people in the crowd who are being held back by German soldiers, must impotently watch her death. The connection here can be found in their equal lack of agency.

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