



Tutta un'altra storia

Social sciences and pandemic management: a call for debate (*English*)

<http://tuttaunaltrastoria.info>

We are a group of social scientists, belonging to different disciplines, independent or assigned to Italian or foreign universities. Each of us is therefore professionally accustomed to long research times, verification of data and sources, authorial responsibility, argumentative rigor and confrontation with colleagues. We are also used to recognizing the limitations, errors, distortions and flatness of narratives based on the opportunistic use of data, on the reduction of complexity and on Manichaeian contrasts - whether it is the mainstream version or conspiracy narratives.

*Precisely because of the critical and anti-hegemonic value of our disciplines, we believe that today those who practice them should at least engage in an open and frank discussion on **the authoritarian, discriminatory and arbitrary policies with which the Italian and other governments, are facing the spread of Covid-19**. We are aware that most of our colleagues, implicitly or explicitly, did not consider as problematic the government's exclusive focus on the vaccination campaign as the only way out of the pandemic. The anti-Covid vaccines are useful for decreasing the incidence of death and serious forms of disease for the elderly and/or those at greater risks; **but most of the political choices adopted in these two years have ignored the social, political and cultural effects** of the measures taken in the name of public health.*

*The intertwining of the pandemic and pandemic management is deeply eroding the world around us, stiffening individual structures and tearing apart the relational tissue between humans, as well as between humans and non-humans, including those relationships of trust and mutual recognition that we call "society". **This disintegration occurs at a time when the enormity of climate collapse would require all of humanity to put aside their differences, conflicts and specific interests, in an attempt to jointly avoid an ecological catastrophe**. Not expressing ourselves about it would mean abiding to the ongoing destruction.*

*The media discourse and the planning of pandemic containment interventions were based solely on the recommendations of a small and selected group of medical and biological science specialists, although it is obvious that these provisions should have been adopted only after a careful analysis of their impact on the social tissue. The overwhelming weight given to biological science, always represented as an indisputable "truth", **has reduced the debate on political decisions to an imaginary conflict between "pro-science" and "anti-science" sectors**. Since the 1960s, an entire branch of our discipline, medical anthropology, has been studying the social construction of medical science, the definitions of disease and health, and the pathogenic and pathoplastic effects of cultures. Detailed ethnographies have proved **how medicine is a field of debate and clash between divergent cultural and political visions**, often subjected to strong commercial pressures and accustomed to legitimizing their own opposing rationalities through the use of data.*

*It is precisely the awareness of the human origin and destination of all cultural facts, in Ernesto de Martino's words, which impose that **every discovery and scientific advancement**, such as the very rapid development of vaccines for Covid-19, **must be subjected to communal scrutiny through the promotion of an enlarged social debate going beyond a restricted circle of technicians**. Politics and public debating are structural determinants of health; health policies and public health management must be constantly subjected to a social criticism that claims the right to interaction between doctors and patients, the right to self-determine bodies, health and therapies - as feminist cultural criticism has taught us - as well as **the right to make political decision-makers accountable for their choices**.*

A whole other story

We, subscribers of this text, have chosen to practice social sciences especially for their ability to produce critical knowledge and to expose the harmful consequences of hegemonic strategies. Our minds and bodies have been shaped by all the knowledge produced by our disciplines in the last century and a half, which we have thoroughly studied. **This is why today we feel the lacerating contradiction of not applying the deconstructive discourse of social sciences to the emergency narrative which allows the repressive turn of historical proportions which we are experiencing.**

It seems clear to us now that pandemic management was immediately marked by the **primacy of profit and the systematic use of** material and symbolic violence - mainly by media and the institutions, including the military - against the population. The pandemic governmentality has unfolded through the political use of feelings of fear and anguish, through abandoning the sick and diminishing local health care at the same time. Existential uncertainty is on the rise, due to the continuous change of the regulatory landscape, the spectacularisation of death, the militarization of the territory, the expansion of structural violence and economic inequality, the further concentration of military and financial power, and the spread of **hateful and pernicious forms of control and discrimination.**

These policies have induced radical transformations in social relations and in the daily life of individuals. The administrative and bureaucratic machinery of neoliberal governance has never slowed down, and on the contrary, it has become even more overwhelming. An avalanche of regulations, circulars, obligations, requests, forms, modules, pervades every area of public life, including University, further increasing the workload described by David Graber as *bullshit jobs*. In Italy, this authoritarian management reached its peak **with the introduction of the green pass and the progressive adoption of the vaccination mandate**, regardless of the doubts that millions of citizens had and have about these vaccines. Criticism and dissent have disappeared against an insistent moral rhetoric in which politically correct and an emergency appeal to national unity have replaced reason and dialectics.

However, with the start of a new wave of restrictions in February 2022, it would be important to publicly acknowledge that **the policies pursued so far** (selective lockdowns, check points, color zones, tracking, green pass, vaccine mandates) have not had the announced effect of contagion containment - official data place Italy among the countries with the highest percentage of deaths attributed to Covid-19 since the beginning of the pandemic - but **have instead had devastating consequences on the social and political fabric of the country.** The assumption that our hyper-technological third-millennium humanity has the tools to trace and eradicate a contagious virus is unprecedented in the history of pandemic management and has proved to be a fallacious illusion of superb omnipotence.

As of today, infections are totally out of control. Maintaining the measures adopted in the last two years, indeed experimenting with unprecedented forms of social segregation for the unvaccinated, as has been done in recent months, is unjustified and dangerous. It is the result of a perverse persistence without any health reasons. **The failure of the announced objectives is hidden in the re-proposition of a scapegoat logic:** first it was runners, children, asymptomatics, Chinese, migrants, *anti-masks*, "deniers"; today everyone blames *anti-vaxxers*, a stereotyped and generic category, which even includes those who have not updated their vaccinations on schedule, always variable, and which has been targeted by institutionally promoted **mediatic hate campaigns**, which are producing profound splits and infinite pain in the social body.

A sort of *epistemological witchcraft*, seems to be capable on the one hand of deforming words, numbers and analysis in order to continue to blindly defend such a coercive approach to the point that thinking differently is not even conceivable, and on the other hand to transform every criticism - no matter how authoritative and disciplinarily founded - into conspiracy, ignorance, "functional illiteracy", even Fascism. **The accusation of being fascists has been constructed to depict anyone who opposes the current narrative, or even dares to ask questions, in a contemptuous way and to place them out of the moral register of the nation.** Instead, we believe that the rights defended by

the anti-fascist Constitution have been and are put at risk by the same people who have abdicated their doubts and keep shouting the anti-fascist warning. Authoritarian regimes are certainly not represented by composite and populated street demonstrations, but by **a government of national unity directly designated by the world financial elites** which is gradually but violently infringing all civil liberties and also infiltrating the social body with a virus of mutual control, of mistrust, of suspicion, of single thought and delation. **In short, a whole different story.**

Political representatives have repeatedly evoked catastrophic death rates, intentionally fomenting fear as a tool for building consensus. This necro-narrative was used by President Draghi himself, who on 22 July 2021 supported the vaccination campaign stating that *the appeal not to get vaccinated is an appeal to die; if you don't get vaccinated, you become contagious and die, or get infected and kill others*. For decades numerous colleagues have worked on the concepts of biopolitics and necropolitics, but surprisingly few have associated them with a policy such as the "black code", the occupancy limit of intensive care units after which doctors are forced to decide who to treat and who to let die. Its eventual application was aired in December 2021, when ICU employment was well below emergency thresholds, in an act which can be deemed terrorist for its great impact on the collective unconscious.

Seemingly, the public debate has been systematically and intentionally blocked by a continuous updating of the collective trauma experienced in March 2020, whose iconic moment is the Civil Protection trucks in the Bergamo area loaded with corpses. If the goal of the policies had been the well-being of the population, the pain and collective fear produced at the time would have had to be integrated, mitigated and compensated for with careful public communication. Instead, the verbal violence of institutional representatives was aimed at masking decades of neoliberal policies that have amplified the crisis of the social foundations of today's world.

Illness in society or sick society?

Medical anthropology teaches us that any disease management process, since its definition, has an ideological implication, rooted in the cosmological system and in the cultural assumptions of reference. The management of Covid-19 was no exception. Regardless of its phenomenal and quantitative reality, **it has proved to be the occasion for an epochal restructuring of the relations of production and a reshaping of social relations through an acceleration of the authoritarian twists** with which capitalism has advanced in the last four decades. This aspect can be seen both in the ways in which the restrictions on movement were managed, and in the way the vaccination campaign was carried out, with the first and last objective of restarting production and consumption.

The aim was not to stop the machine, not to damage private profit on a large scale: in the height of the emergency, when *runners* were persecuted with drones on live television and small shopkeepers forced to close, **the gates of the large northern factories linked to Confindustria were never closed**. The very Confindustria which is the main responsible for the failure to lockdown the factories in Val Seriana, one of the initial outbreaks of Covid-19 in Italy. The fact that the green pass had an immediate role in regulating the relationship between classes was clear ever since a representative of the main Italian business organization declared that **the unvaccinated were to be considered deserters of war and that only the democratic seal prevented them from getting shot at a wall**. At a practical level, the green pass allowed to avoid claims for accidents at work in the event of contagion. On a more general and political level, it has produced a dystopian device that increases control over the lives of all workers, offering an additional instrument of threat in the hands of employers. Who and when will decide that the "emergency" phase will be over? Will emergency policies, in particular the green pass, be withdrawn or will they function as a control and governance device that can be reactivated periodically?

Many left-wing organizations and movements made posters, programs and proposals, in order to at least learn from the spread of Covid-19, with all the grief and suffering it has brought. The danger of the disease, in fact, is not only linked to the characteristics of the virus, **but also to the state of health of our Western societies, and this should have allowed us to rethink the entire management of public health in a collective key**. First of all, it was immediately clear that Covid-19 has much more serious effects in people suffering from non-transmissible diseases such as hypertension, obesity, diabetes, chronic cardiovascular, respiratory and cancerous diseases,

especially widespread in the northern countries of the world. Secondly, the action of the virus is enhanced by pollution and in particular by exposure to ultra-fine particles present in the atmosphere. Thirdly, **the colossal shift of resources from public health to private health**, accelerated by the pandemic itself, has made it much more difficult to access healthcare services, especially for the most fragile categories of the population.

The illusion was that the ruling classes - political, entrepreneurial, mediatic - would finally make up for the damage caused by decades of legal pollution and cuts in public spending, as well as by the privatization of growing slices of welfare services, for example by making schools capable of operating in this new context, increasing public transport facilities, reducing air pollution. Two years later this illusion proved false. **The policies have gone in a completely different direction**; Italian public spending on health is still far below the European average, the PNRR fund expects it to fall again after the 2021 increase, while the privatization process is becoming increasingly structural.

What interests us here is a further contradiction: the national health system - particularly in its most advanced and conscious experiences - was born with the idea that **an essential element of health constitutes in the democratic participation of communities**, besides (and more than) massive drug intake; however, the government's approach to containing the health crisis has had opposite characteristics. There was no focus on the participatory "involvement" of the territories, no attention to social inequalities. On the contrary, with the introduction of the green pass, the promotion of "health" was pursued exclusively through measures that should have limited the circulation of the virus by compressing the right to mobility and work for millions of people. This is exactly the opposite of the idea of health as democratic participation and as fight against social inequalities. There are both theoretical and concrete links between the de-financing of the public health system and the use of social control tools such as the green pass: on the one hand, any criticalities in the public health system - often due to years of spending cuts - have been used as a justification for the introduction of control tools ("necessary to avoid clogging intensive care units"). On the other hand, **the green pass places the responsibility for spreading the infection on citizens, rather than calling into question national therapeutic choices and the effectiveness of hospitals.**

The Covid-19 management measures barely maintain a legitimacy because they are never contrasted with an exhaustive analysis of their *iatrogenesis*, meaning their **harmful side effects**: medical (chronic delays in diagnostic data, in surgical interventions, complications due to fear of going to hospital, side effects of vaccines, etc.); psychological (dizzying increase in cases of depression and anxiety, especially in the younger age groups, diffusion of the perception of those around us as a potential source of contagion, etc.); social (production of unemployment and poverty, throttling of small productive and commercial activities, social hatred and discrimination), political (continuous arbitrary suspensions of constitutional rights, introduction of unprecedented mass digital control systems, stigmatization of dissent); epistemological (compulsory retention of researchers and academics, public derision of any critical position, etc.).

The intentional use of violence shatters the psycho-physical resistance of all subjects and produces adhesion to the worldview of the torturer. As a society, we have been raped to the point that it now seems impossible to imagine a different model of managing the health crisis from Covid-19. Yet intelligent and viable responses to the pandemic crisis have been advanced by many subjects (within research, social activism, political activism) since the late spring of 2020. A different management of the crisis - a non-violent management - was possible from the very beginning, and it would have had quite different results.

Other perspectives on the pandemic. For a non-violent model of public health

As ethnographers, in these two years we have had to stay away from the populations that many of us have visited for a long time, in the four corners of the world. What became of them in this situation? In 70 countries around the world, 370 million people belonging to the so-called "indigenous" populations have been subject to the same model that has been imposed on us Western majorities: the shock wave of the pandemic narrative was global. **The measures of isolation and distancing among populations who practice group sociality have produced an increase in fragility and dependence**; the violence of pandemic management has accelerated the disruption of food systems and the overwhelming of local medicines; it has caused the interruption of work (which often consists

of informal and personal services) and the difficulty of receiving and updating culturally appropriate information and in local languages; it has induced isolation and alienation. In this way, health inequalities related to "race", economic status and the impact of colonization were further aggravated, while "bad surveillance" was exacerbated with beatings, excessive fines and imprisonment. With the attention of governments focused only on the pandemic, several actors have taken the opportunity to carry out threatening activities for many populations including the deinstitutionalization of reserves, the occupation of indigenous lands, the intensification of extractive activities, the mistreatment of migrants, and the increase in *land grabbing*.

However, many **populations have organized themselves and found autonomous solutions to the crisis**: from the self-production of protective devices to the use of local medicinal remedies to strengthen the immunity of individuals and the community. In Chiapas, the response to the pandemic resulted in a red alert declaration by some communities under the command of the Zapatista Army of National Liberation, in which no one could enter or leave, and those who returned to their community from tourist areas were obliged to observe a period of quarantine before reaching their family. This, however, did not translate into individualized management of the disease: no sick people were isolated at home, but doctors and health promoters went house to house where there were signs of Covid-19. Populations have often opposed even a simple transfer to "governmental" hospitals. Simple protocols were constructed and diagnoses were made on a clinical basis, i.e. starting from the study of symptoms (tampons are available at exorbitant prices only in distant urban centers). These populations treated themselves using easily available and affordable drugs, **without denying the validity of local traditions of care linked to traditional knowledge**, the use of plants and specific rituals.

It is not possible to understand the current diffidence towards the existing vaccination campaigns without considering the hideous crimes which pharmaceutical companies have already committed against indigenous populations. In 1996 Pfizer tested an unapproved anti-meningitis drug on the Nigerian Hausa population, killing and incapacitating dozens of local boys and girls. The reaction of collective indignation to this neoliberal infamy, also documented by (mainly local) ethnographers, led to the strengthening of informed consent protocols that are now part of the fundamental scientific ethical requirements. It was not the drug company, but the public debate over its actions that provided advancement in science. All struggles for universal access to health must also consider this justified distrust of biomedicine in colonized contexts: to the unquestionable demand to liberalize vaccine patents to guarantee the possibility of universal choice, we must accompany the absolute refusal of projects for compulsory mass vaccination of which Italy seems to be the leader, in order to avoid transforming a just claim of equality into **a rhetoric that legitimizes the same neo-colonial economic practices promoted by think-tanks financed by pharmaceutical companies.**

Applied to our latitudes, a non-violent model of pandemic management would have involved, at the very least, media communication based on reasonability, calmness and information; the strengthening of local healthcare and, through it, the experimentation of primary care protocols against Covid-19 - far beyond the "watchful wait" still recommended today; freedom of therapeutic choice; the evaluation of all therapeutic alternatives based on their effectiveness not only *in vitro*, the promotion of the health resources of individuals and groups (improvement of diet, promotion of physical activity, maximum diffusion of basic self-therapeutic skills, activation of support and mutual aid networks); as well as, of course, structural interventions in favor of school buildings, public transport, early retirement, environmental remediation.

Freedom of research and the social role of the University

Italy is the only country in the world where even freedom of research and university teaching have been subjected to the blackmail of compulsory vaccination: this way the teaching staff is disciplined, by eliminating dissent on the subject of pandemic management from University. **The alternative between taking a drug or giving up one's job as a consequence of the introduction of the vaccine pass brings into play fundamental questions concerning the relationship between state and society, between public and private spheres, between individual bodies and the social body, between law and legitimacy, between the production of knowledge and the exercise of power.** These are all issues on which anthropology has been working for decades and it

is precisely on the basis of the knowledge accumulated by this discipline that today we feel legitimized, and therefore obliged, to take a position.

In the first place, beyond our specific visions and personal decisions on the vaccine issue, **our solidarity goes to those who, in recent months, have suffered intolerable pressures as a result of the choices related to their health.** In some cases people were forced to leave work or their research activity (the freedom of therapeutic choice, let us remember, is guaranteed by the Italian Constitution and also sanctioned by the European Parliament). For a scientific community that relies almost entirely on sharing and comparing the results of individual research, a colleague giving up represents irreparable damage for all. No reasonable epidemiological or emergency justification can compensate for these losses and injustices. Above all, **we believe that the University must reaffirm its independence, as an institution, from government choices;** for the real well-being of a country's democratic fabric, the forced loyalty of its entire intellectual class cannot be promoted. Critical thinking, doubt, confrontation and dialectics are the essence of democracy, and are indispensable to the well-being of any social body.

For this reason, **we ask all colleagues** (inside and outside of University, contractualized and precarious ones) who want to discuss starting from the considerations expressed here, **to strike a beat, to escape the criminalization of dissent** that is paralyzing us and to try to apply the tools on which we have long trained elsewhere to our present.

We **call for an open seminar** that we will hold in spring, on these issues. We ask those interested in submitting a contribution, an experience or a specific example to the debate, to send **an abstract of 200 words and a short biographical note** to contacts@tuttaunaltrastoria.info. It will be our pleasure to announce shortly the place and date of the seminar, which will definitely take place in **March or April 2022** and in Italy. The issues we intend to address include all the points addressed in this document.

Various parts of Italy, February 1st, 2022

Stefano Boni
Nadia Breda
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Duccio Canestrini
Stefania Director
Osvaldo Costantini
Mimmo Perrotta
Stefano Portelli
Cecilia Vergnano
Cristina Zavaroni

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FIRST 492 ADHESIONS (the following are here)

1	Luigi Pellizzoni	Full Professor, Department of Political Sciences, University of Pisa
2	Luca Fazzi	Full Professor, Department of Sociology and Social Research, University of Trento
3	Alessandra Persichetti	Associate Professor, Cultural Anthropology, University for Foreigners of Siena

4	Salvatore Paolo De Rosa	Lund University Center for Sustainability Studies (LUCSUS), Sweden
5	Antonietta Di Vito	Anthropologist, environmentalist, writer, teacher.
6	Francesco Damiani	Researcher astronomer, National Institute of Astrophysics (INAF)
7	Roberto Badel	Technologist, ISTAT
8	Maria Rosaria Prisco	Geographer
9	Ugo Bardi	Chemist, professor at the Faculty of Mathematical, Physical and Natural Sciences, University of Florence
10	Luca Ciurleo	Anthropologist, independent researcher
11	Serena Caroselli	Anthropologist, Federico II University of Naples
12	Rosanna Gullà	Anthropologist, independent researcher
13	Ulrike Viccaro	Oral historian, independent researcher
14	Alberto Di Cintio	researcher of the Department of Architecture, University of Florence
15	Laura Stancampiano Confirmed	researcher, Department of Sciences Veterinary Medicine, University of Bologna
16	Stefano Dumontet	Full Professor, Department of Science and Technology, University of Naples Parthenope
17	David Conversi	Professor, Psychobiology, Sapienza University of Rome
18	Olindo Ionta	Anthropologist
19	Davor Antonucci	Associate Professor, Department of Oriental Studies, Sapienza University of Rome
20	Domenico Fiorimonte	Researcher, Political Science, Roma Tre University

21	Valentina Fenu	Journalist
22	Sandro Coccoi	(former) Milan Polytechnic, Department of Architecture
23	Daniele Porretta	Associate Professor of Ecology, Sapienza University of Rome
24	Marco Cosentino	Full Professor, Department of Medicine and Surgery, University of Insubria
25	Leonardo Vignoli	Associate Professor, Department of Science Roma Tre University
26	Paola Minelli	Independent Researcher
27	Anna Tozzi Di Marco	Independent Researcher
28	Valentina Rossi	Researcher in Slavic Studies, University of Studies of Florence
29	Francesco Pigozzo	Associate Professor, eCampus University
30	Daniela Martinelli	Independent Researcher
31	Genny De Fazio	Primary School Teacher
32	Stefano Colangelo	Associate Professor, Department of Classical and Italian Philology, University of Bologna
33	Francesco Bordino	
34	Andrea Careggio	Psicologo psicoterapeuta
35	Mariangela Albano	Università di Cagliari, Professore associato
36	Giulio Bosani	Libero pensatore
37	Olga Dalia Padoa	Traduttrice letteraria dall'ebraico e dall'inglese
38	Rugiada Grignani	

39	Marie-Helene Freville	Storica/ formatrice
40	Lucia Montefiori	Antropologa
41	Clementina Villani	Statistico
42	Linda Armano	Antropologa
43	Pietro Bizzini	Insegnante, pedagogo e teologo
44	Paolo Mosconi	Architetto, impegnato nella lotta al superamento delle barriere architettoniche. Autore del libro: " La Città fragile", e di numerosi articoli sul tema.
45	Enrico Schirò	Insegnante Storia e Filosofia nei Licei
46	Daniela Di Gennaro	Personale tecnico amministrativo
47	Gianluca Capitani	Universita' di Bologna, matematico
48	Adelina Soldi	Ricercatrice indipendente
49	Marta Menghi	Ricercatrice indipendente, insegnante
50	Isabel Farina	Antropologa
51	Tina Nastasi	Insegnante di Geografia
52	Eleonora D'Agostino	Antropologa
53	Mario Giambelli Gallotti	Libero pensatore, avvocato in pensione di anzianità
54	Paola Olivieri	Libera pensatrice
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57	Bruna Felici	analisi sociali sui temi dell'energia presso l'ENEA
58	Fabio Parascandolo	Geografo, Università di Cagliari
59	Marilena Muratori	Maestra e dottoranda all'Università Complutense di Madrid
60	Riccardo De Cristano	Dottorando in Antropologia
61	Alessandro Zini	Ricercatore ENEA
62	Soledad Nicolazzi	Attrice, regista
63	Paolo Calatozzo	Funzionario Tecnico Chimico
64	Clara Raimonda Marinelli	Titolare di galleria d'arte
65	Paolo Calatozzo	Funzionario Tecnico Chimico
66	Anna De Martini	Musicista
67	Nicoletta Maiocco	Università, direzione biblioteca
68	Davide Facheris	Formatore Comunicazione Nonviolenta, Facilitatore, Mediatore
69	Carles Sanchez Riera	Ricercatore al dipartimento AHFMO, Sapienza Roma.
70	Pierlucio Cocco	Immune dal morbo dell'isteria dominante
71	Andrea Buchetti	Dottorando in Antropologia, Sapienza Roma
72	Andrea Priori	Fulda University, ricercatore associato
73	Federica Cappelluti	Prof.ssa associata, Politecnico di Torino
74	Francesco Maiello	Storico-giornalista-docente-scrittore

75	Patrizia Corrias	Collaboratore tecnico ENEA, Ufficio studi e valutazione delle tecnologie energetiche
76	Andrea Mattarollo	Laurea in Semiotica, studio continuo
77	Niso Tommolillo	Antropologo e scrittore
78	Silvia Antinori	Antropologa, dottoranda, Sapienza Roma
79	Cecilia Pancotti	Docente
80	Lorenzo Dominici	CNR NANOTEC, ricercatore
81	Daniela Danna	Ricercatrice in Sociologia presso l'università del salento
82	Barbara Badaracco	Progettista sociale
83	Paolo Barrucci	Professore associato di Sociologia generale (sps/07) Università di Firenze
84	Riccardo Lonetto	Neolaureato in Antropologia culturale ed etnologia, Università di Bologna
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88	Marta Cialdea	Professore associato, Dipartimento di Ingegneria, Università degli Studi Roma Tre
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90	Sara Pajossin	
91	Ilaria Eloisa Lesmo	Antropologa, docente a contratto Università di Torino
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93	Vincenzo Talerico	
94	Tatiana Grifoni	
95	Guido Manzi	
96	Natalia Mancini	Docente
97	Alexandre Madurell	Informatico
98	Luigi Balsamini	Bibliotecario, Università degli Studi di Urbino
99	Angela Attianese	Ricercatrice indipendente, Formatrice e facilitatrice in Comunicazione Nonviolenta secondo MB Rosenberg
100	Luigi De Iaco	Ricercatore Istat, economista, esperto di statistiche per le politiche di sviluppo
101	Francesca Palazzi Arduini	Blog Rimarchevole
102	Mario Cichero	Fisico
103	Massimo Blonda	Ricercatore CNR
104	Jerry Diamanti	Fondatore di Matrika Consciousness Development, Biologo, Ricercatore indipendente
105	Serena Terzani	Bibliotecaria, Università degli Studi di Firenze
106	Ilaria Stefani	Dottoranda, Università di Padova
107	Comune.info redazione	Sito web di notizie
108	Luisita Fattori	Laurea in Scienze dell'Educazione, facilitatrice e mediatrice in comunicazione nonviolenta
109	Irene Russo	Ricercatore CNR
110	Elisa Lello	Ricercatrice in Sociologia, Università di Urbino

111	Davide Sparti	Università degli studi di siena, professore associato
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113	Diego Martini	Ingegnere elettronico
114	Carlo Fasani	Lavoratore trasporti
115	Gabriele Attilio Turci	Già docente Scuola Statale – in pensione – libero pensatore
116	Benedetta Marchiori	
117	Anna Passoni	
118	Eugenio Mario	Università di Padova – Tecnico di Laboratorio
119	Giandomenico Giannetto	Naturopata, ex studente di medicina, founder di Medicina a piccole dosi
120	Daniele Benzi	Instituto de Altos Estudios Nacionales (Ecuador)
121	Riccardo De Benedetti	Scrittore, giornalista, editore
122	Giampietro Gobo	Professore ordinario di Sociologia, Università degli Studi di Milano
123	Carlo Declich	Ricercatore Istat
124	Corrado Mezzina	Commerciale Farmaceutico
125	Andrea Zarrilli	
126	Vilma Berta	Consulente Advisor Finanziario
127	Patrizia Papasergio	Libera pensatrice
128	Sandra Capri	Ricercatrice indipendente studi su società matriarcali

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130	Valentina D'Ippolito	Pasticcera
131	Marina Moriconi	Docente
132	Patrizia Mattuzzi	Cittadino
133	Zeno Falzi	Cittadino
134	Gaspere Nevola	Professore ordinario, Dipartimento di Sociologia e Ricerca Sociale, Università di Trento
135	Elena Hileg Iannuzzi	Storica, libera pensatrice, cittadina attiva.
136	Roberto Ongaro	
137	Adriano Pilotto	
138	Renato Mazzolini	ex Professore ordinario di Storia della scienza, Università di Trento
139	Vincenzo Paglione	Professore di lingua e cultura spagnola
140	Annalisa Bosco	Cittadina
141	Cesare Battistelli	Insegnante sospeso di storia e filosofia
142	Stefano Petroni	
143	Enea Delfino	Antropologo culturale
144	Elisabetta Grande	Professore ordinario di Diritto comparato, Università di Torino
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146	Caterina Sciarada	Antropologa
147	Paolo Bartolini	Analista filosofo, formatore, saggista

148	Fabio Trabattoni	Stufo
149	Monica Vichi	Ricercatrice – statistico epidemiologa
150	Gina Russo	Mediatrice linguistico culturale
151	Monica Prato	Psicoterapeuta
152	Deborah Lucchetti	Campaigner, attivista per i diritti umani
153	Marco Graziani	
154	Marilisa Cazzaniga	Psicologa
155	Massimo Picardi	Avvocato
156	Rossella Ortolani	Insegnante scuola primaria
157	Selena Manzoni	Danzatrice
158	Rocco D'Emilio	
159	Virgilia Toccaceli	Ricercatrice sociologa bioeticista
160	Maria Grazia Ponzi	Sociologa, ex docente di Tecniche della comunicazione e di Economia aziendale
161	René Verneau	Sociologo
162	Gabriele Bersani Berselli	Linguista, professore associato SSD L-Lin/01 Glottologia e Linguistica presso il Dipartimento di Interpretazione e Traduzione dell'Università di Bologna
163	Martina Marino	Docente, laureata in Psicologia del Lavoro e delle Organizzazioni specializzata in risorse umane e psicologia legale
164	Dino Mengucci	Contadino
165	Ilaria Bracaglia	Antropologa, dottoranda in Storia

166	Mauro Van Aken	Antropologo, Professore associato, Università degli Studi Milano Bicocca
167	Domenico Matarozzo	
168	Arianna Toccaceli	
169	Laura Corradi	Ricercatrice, Università della Calabria
170	Piero Pillon	Personale TA Università degli studi di Siena
171	Mia Lecomte	Poetessa, scrittrice
172	Gioel Pavan	Psicoterapeuta
173	Carla Agrario	Interprete e traduttrice laureata a SSLIMIT Forlì,
174	Paolo Cacciari	Giornalista
175	Marco Arturi	Giornalista, divulgatore
176	Donatella Guarino	Insegnante
177	Daniele Miccoli	Agente di commercio
178	Marta Becco	Facilitatrice yoga e meditazione
179	Laura Anna Ballerio	Counselor
180	Loredana Frasca	Ricercatore ISS
181	Gianluca Accorsi	Ricercatore CNR
182	Federica Monaco	Insegnante
183	Chiara Francese	Osteopata pediatrico
184	Federica Rigliani	Docente
185	Sabina Cavarero	
186	Eva Giuliani	Docente Scuola Secondaria di Secondo Grado

187	Francesco Brini	Musicista
188	Guido Viale	Associazione Laudato sì
189	Stefania Giordano	Impiegata
190	Gabriella Biscaro	
191	Dimitris Argiropoulos	Docente Università di Parma
192	Caterina Casalino	Imprenditore
193	Germano Bonaveri	Cantautore, musicista
194	Cristina Settimi	Psicoterapeuta
195	Fabio Parenti	Libero pensatore
196	Gianmarco Toccaceli	Studente Ingegneria Meccanica
197	Glauco Piccione	Antropologo e fumettista, ricercatore indipendente
198	Serena Pecci	Ex assistente sociale, ora nutrizionista in formazione e titolare di agenzia sviluppo web.
199	Sergio Bellavita	Sindacalista
200	Massimo Angrisano	
201	Oscar Nanni	Pensionato
202	Margherita Ciervo	Professore Associato Geografia economico-politica, Università di Foggia
203	Antonio Marchi	Libero
204	Dafne Crocella	Antropologa, scrittrice e curatrice d'arte contemporanea
205	Lidia Manzone	

206	Camilla Paolucci	Studentessa di antropologia
207	Elisa De Sanctis	Maestra scuola primaria
208	Silvia Zaccaria	Antropologa indipendente
209	Sara Urgeghe	Docente scuola media
210	Francesco Panié	Giornalista e campaigner
211	Nicoletta Crocella	Associazione Stelle Cadenti, artista, scrittrice, assistente sociale e formatrice
212	Giorgio Antonio Michele Coluccia	Sociologo
213	Carlo Perazzo	Antropologo
214	Martina Fadda	Musicista
215	Rosario Grillo	Insegnante di Filosofia in pensione
216	Maurizio Sacconi	Cittadino
217	Giulia Rossi	Sanitaria (sospesa!) libera professionista
218	Maria Vittori	Laurea in filosofia insegnante in quiescenza
219	Simona Paravagna	Biologa, Antropologa, Operatrice medicina cinese
220	Riccardo Buonanno	Dottorando in Ecologia Politica, Università di Coimbra
221	Elisabetta Confaloni	Filosofa bioeticista
222	Giuditta Pellegrini	Fotografa e giornalista
223	Alessia Balucanti	Apicoltrice
224	Emanuele Cerquiglini	Artista indipendente, libero pensatore

225	Marinella Correggia	Apolide dal 1991 (guerra del Golfo)
226	Enrico Euli	RTI, Univ. di Cagliari
227	Silvia Cervigni	Docente scuola superiore
228	Niccolò Bertuzzi	Ricercatore in Sociologia, Università di Trento
229	Maria Paoli	Associazione agricoltura biodinamica
230	Giuseppe Bettenzoli	Società della Cura
231	Vincenzo Nicola Le Rose	Docente
232	Gianni Meazza	Attivista
233	Giovanni Caprio	Giornalista
234	Vincenzo Nicola Le Rose	Docente
235	Marina Mastropiero	Ex assegnista di ricerca – Sapienza – Dipartimento di Scienze sociali ed economiche
236	Raffaele Faggiano	ARCI Noerus aps
237	Ugo Mancino	Sociologo
238	Rosalba Rizzuto	Geologo, ambientalista
239	Diana Arena	Insegnante
240	Nazarena Lanza	Antropologa, coordinatrice Slow Food
241	Zeno Puccioni	Apicoltore, attivista per un'economia di pace e di giustizia
242	Alessandro Rinaldi	Pensionato
243	Italo Di Sabato	Osservatorio Repressione

244	Paolo Venezia	Antropologo
245	Daniele Mercogliano	Falegname e insegnante di tai chi chuan
246	Eleonora Latini	Laureanda in Antropologia
247	Cristina Lucchini	Architetto, docente di liceo
248	Michela Entradi	Antropologa, insegnante
249	Barbara Grandi	Ginecologa
250	Alessio Surian	Professore associato in Pedagogia, Università di Padova
251	Ivan Panzeri	Persona fragile
252	Sara Ascoli	Antropologo medico, Counselor professionale, Mental Trainer, coach
253	Elena Siviero	Educatrice
254	Sara Gandini	Epidemiologa/biostatistica, docente Statistica medica, Università statale di Milano
255	Luciana Apicella	Giornalista
256	Valeria Palazzolo	Insegnante nella scuola secondaria
257	Luca Madiari	insegnante
258	Aldo Zanchetta	Ricercatore culturale, ingegnere chimico
259	Cristiano Mariani	Libero pensatore, Medico del territorio per 40 anni
260	Giulio Vulcano	
261	Daniela Portonero	Musicoterapista
262	Francesca Olivieri	Docente
263	Alberto Montanari	Contadino BIOlogo

264	Daniela Conti	Biologo
265	Eugenio De Blasi	
266	Luca Rabaglia	Dottore Commercialista
267	Domenico Falconieri	
268	Francesca Palombo	Musicista, clown
269	Mariantonietta Fasano	Docente scuola secondaria
270	Floriana Rocca	Laurea in Sociologia
271	Stefano Panzarasa	Scrittore e cantante ecopacifista
272	Raffaella Benetti	Musicista, attrice, autrice
273	Michele Loche	Libero pensatore
274	Ivana Cucca	Facilitatrice, PhD in Architettura
275	Luigi Arnaboldi	Cittadino
276	Pietro Lonetto	Maresciallo esercito
277	Angela Granatiero	Scrittrice
278	Ersilia Monti	Bibliotecaria università (scampata alla sospensione con pensionamento anticipato)
279	Massimo Ronchieri	Dipendente Banca Etica
280	Alessandra Mariani	Dipendente Banca Etica
281	Marco Medici	Docente a contratto, Università di Bologna
282	Giorgio Sironi	Cittadino
283	Antonio Graziadei	

284	Lucia Tozzi	Giornalista indipendente
285	Francesca Pascalicchio	Tecnologia dei materiali librari (in pensione)
286	Guido Dalla Casa	Docente della Scuola di Filosofia Comparativa di Rimini – Esponente italiano dell'Ecologia Profonda
287	Lavinia Boggia	Specializzanda Università di Bologna
288	Pietro De Marinis	Assegnista di ricerca, Dipartimento di Scienze Agroambientali, Università di Milano
289	Fiorella Bomé	Antropologa sociale, cooperante internazionale progetti donne, libera pensatrice e cittadina attiva
290	Silvia Guzzi	Traduttrice
291	Anna Matarese	Libera Pensatrice
292	Rita Lugaresi	Formatrice
293	Eleonora Missana	Docente di filosofia
294	Alessandra Cangemi	Educatrice, giornalista
295	Lucia Morra	Docente a contratto, Università degli studi di Torino
296	Isabella Tomassi	Dottoranda in geografia, urbanistica e pianificazione/precaria
297	Gianfranco Laccone	ACU (Associazione Consumatori Utenti) – componente Presidenza nazionale
298	Annamaria Rivera	Antropologa, attivista antirazzista, antisessista, antispecista
299	Alessandro Talese	Antropologo
300	Paola Cozzi	Cittadina

301	Maria de Lourdes Beldi de Alcantara	USP-Medicina
302	Sean Nevola	
303	Jason Nardi	
304	Roberto Li Calzi	Agricoltore e tessitore di eticheRETliche
305	Tiziana Bonora	Circolo Vita Nova – operatrice turistica
306	Giuliana Lain	Docente Scuola Superiore
307	Maria Botto	Biologa, operatrice dbn
308	Fortunata Iannucci	Cittadina
309	Katia Maurelli	Sciamadonne APS – insegnante
310	Arianna Lodeserto	Ricercatrice indipendente, un tempo anche docente
311	Cristiana Fiamingo	Docente di Storia ed Istituzioni dell'Africa e History & Politics of sub-Saharan Africa, Università degli Studi di Milano
312	Anna Invernizzi	Giornalista
313	Paola Festari	Cittadina
314	Valentina Cosimati	Cittadina
315	Federico Esposito	Studente
316	Silvia Detti	
317	Giulia Pomponi	Libera pensatrice
318	Alessandro Paolo	Ricercatore spirituale
319	Mara Di Palma	Geologa, insegnante precaria

320	Stefania Biondi	Docente Università di Bologna, Dip. Scienze Biologiche, Geologiche e Ambientali
321	Daniela Oliva	Sociologa, dirigente di un istituto di ricerca sociale
322	M. Elisabetta Zanolin	Prof. Associato, Università di Verona
323	Vanna Niccolai	Antropologa
324	Claudia Signoretti	facilitatrice di teatro degli oppressi
325	Renato Moschetti	Attivista della rivista "Pollicino Gnus" e della Cooperativa Mag6 di Reggio Emilia
326	Cristina Notarangelo	Antropologia, Docente scuola superiore di I grado
327	Lorenzo Mandelli	Ipnologo
328	Matteo Bortolini	Professore associato di Sociologia, Università di Padova
329	Marco Moschetti	Ricercatore indipendente
330	Laura Bolpin	
331	Irene Tria	Psicoterapeuta
332	Beatrice Fermo	Consulente editoriale
333	Elena Erbi	Università di Trento – Ufficio gestione progetti Polo di Città
334	Luca Falconi	Ricercatore ENEA
335	Maria Cristina Gemmi	Ostetrica
336	Serena Maccaferri	Università degli Studi di Modena e Reggio Emilia, studente in Scienze e tecniche psicologiche
337	Marina Biondi	Assistente di vita

338	Sandro Martis	Sospeso
339	Marco De Guio	
340	Jacopo Rasmi	Professore associato in Arti Visive, Université Jean Monnet (Francia)
341	Haidi Gaggio Giuliani	Insegnante pensionata
342	Titus Van Eck	Videomaker
343	Francesca Tondi	Psicoterapeuta
344	Luca Piercecchi	Traduttore
345	Laura Daví	Libera ricercatrice
346	Roberto Galantini	Insegnante di scuola media
347	Nicoletta Magrino	Docente
348	Paola Greganti	Pedagogista
349	Emanuela Baliva	
350	Marta Venturini	
351	Luca Panseri	Psichiatra e psicoterapeuta
352	Nuvola Vandini	Danzatrice, coreografa, docente.
353	Patrizia Quaranta	Tuttofare
354	Valeriana Tesi	
355	Vincenzo De Alfieri	Ex insegnante scuola superiore
356	Elisabetta Scio	Dipendente università
357	Carla Bottiglieri	
358	Ivana Gaio	Libera professionista

359	Paola Graziani	
360	Marta Bertora	Genitore, libero professionista
361	Giuseppe Butera	Sempliciotto
362	Niccolò Zucconi	Sound designer
363	Carla Diddi	ATTAC-Roma
364	Antonella Selva	Associazione Sopra i ponti – Bologna
365	Daniela Dente	Artista, restauratrice, attivista “Donne in nero”
366	Ingrid Pedrazzini	Filosofo, ricercatrice indipendente
367	Vittorio Patrignani	Imprenditore
368	Rita De Carli	Ricercatrice e psicologa
369	Chiara Bighiani	Pedagogista, educatrice
370	Maria Antonietta Paparella	
371	Margherita Castellucci	Dipendente
372	Luca Drovandi	Artigiano della pietra a secco
373	Barbara Aiolfi	Dottoranda in Antropologia Sociale e Culturale, Università di Milano Bicocca
374	Renata Vela	Ex docente di matematica e formatore del PNI
375	Marina Usai	Pedagogista/Educatrice
376	Francesca Quarantini	Docente
377	Vitantonio Lagonigro	Funzionario

378	Daria Casali	Femminista ecologista
379	Sylvia Engber	Psicologa
380	Maria Emiliana Ricciardi	Impiegata, Università di Padova
381	Giorgia Bocedi	Libera pensatrice
382	Claudio Paolantoni	CTER c/o Istat, laurea magistrale in ecologia e biologia evolutiva
383	Rolando Magnano	
384	Claudio Bitelli	libero pensatore
385	Caterina Serenari	Insegnante scuola secondaria
386	Laura Lombardi	Docente di storia e filosofia nei Licei
387	Massimo Ronchieri	Dipendente Banca Etica
388	Stefano Daolio	Architetto
389	Rita Colarieti	AnimaLibera
390	Laura Bassi	Laureata in antropologia
391	Stefano Montes	Ricercatore in antropologia, Università di Palermo
392	Laura Burocco	Ricercatrice in Studi decoloniali e capitalismo cognitivo, CRIA – Lisbona
393	Enrico De Luca	Docente ed esperto di turismo
394	Alessandra Ferlito	Ricercatrice indipendente
395	Ivana Graglia	Infermiera in pensione
396	Nicoletta Poidimani	Ricercatrice indipendente
397	Silvia Stefani	Antropologa

398	Yesmin Rhimi	Mediatrice interculturale, scienziata sociale, rider, femminista intersezionale decoloniale anticapitalista
399	Monica Rossi	Antropologa, transfemminista, antispecista.
400	Fabiana Dellapiazza	Impiegata
401	Annamaria Calandra	
402	Roberto Nerla	Operatore Socio Sanitario
403	Elisabetta Benigni	Professoressa associata di Lingua e letteratura araba, Università di Torino
404	Aldo Femia	Primo ricercatore Istat, economista ecologico
405	Letizia Cosentino	Assistente sociale
406	Cecilia Milza	Artista, art counsellor, docente – sospesa – di materie artistiche, Scuola secondaria di II grado
407	Andrea Monaci	Personale tecnico-Amministrativo, Università degli studi di Siena
408	Silvia Puccini	Impiegata
409	Matteo Poletti	Ricercatore in Fisica, Università del Lussemburgo
410	Serena Tomiati	Insegnante
411	Massimo Zincone	
412	Stefania Schubeyr	Artista, insegnante, madre, libera pensatrice
413	Gloria Zannini	Psicologa, psicoterapeuta per l'infanzia e l'adolescenza
414	Paola Mariani	Traduttrice
415	Edoardo Maria Bianchi	Dottore di ricerca in Philosophy, Science, Cognition and Semiotics, Università di Bologna

416	Betty Argenziano	Architetta, impiegata, scrittrice, pittrice, femminista, sostenitrice del diritto all'autodeterminazione e all'inviolabilità del nostro corpo.
417	Diego Bressan	Operaio
418	Pietro De Domenico	Healing Facilitator
419	Charlotte Napoli	Educatrice
420	Aglaya Jimenez Turati	Esperta in storytelling terapeutico, docente di lingua e letteratura spagnola e inglese
421	Aglaiia Kochelokhov	Operatrice olistica
422	Fabio Mangani	Presidente e responsabile legale dell'Associazione Nazionale di Protezione Civile PROCIV-ARCI
423	Emma Biglioli	Musicista e studentessa di Linguistica presso l'Università di Pisa
424	Natalia Grifoglio	Geologa, libera pensatrice
425	Chiara Cardelli	
426	Francesco Mizzau	Editore
427	Venturi Davide	Impiegato
428	Roberto Calmanti	Chimico, Università Ca' Foscari Venezia
429	Cristina Daniele	Impiegata
430	Pietro Deandrea	Professore associato di Letteratura inglese, Università di Torino
431	Diego Puzzo	Studente
432	Walter Giubbilini	Pedagogista

433	Manfredi Longo	Ricercatore, Istituto Nazionale di Geologia e Vulcanologia (INGV), Palermo
434	Amelia Lazzari	Ricercatrice
435	Piero Purich	Storico, PhD conseguito presso l'Alpen Adria Universität di Klagenfurt (Austria)
436	Giovanni Pandolfini	Contadino, libero pensatore
437	Sebastiana Ottaviani	Libera pensatrice, ex dipendente ASL
438	Silvia Scaffidi	Insegnante laboratorio di lettura
439	Ivan Crico	Artista, poeta, docente
440	Maria Vittoria Rejna Negri	
441	Francesco Di Biase	Insegnante, sospeso dal servizio
442	Rosaria Raschella	
443	Maura Beretta	
444	Roberto Greco	Impiegato
445	Rachele Foschi	Professore associato, Dipartimento di Economia, Università di Pisa
446	Rosanna Camerlingo	Psicologia e sociologia
447	Giuseppe Esposito	Biologo
448	Laura Remaschi	PhD in Psicologia sociale e di comunità, psicoterapeuta
449	Carlotta De Sanctis	Assegnista di ricerca, Dipartimento di Studi sull'Asia e sull'Africa Mediterranea, Università IUAV di Venezia
450	Roberta Boccato	Assistente sociale e mediatore dei conflitti

451	Loredana Morena	
452	Giulia Vidolin	Psicologa
453	Elisa Ghittoni	Assistente sociale
454	Siro Nicolazzi	Scienze e Tecnologie per l'Ambiente, Guida Ambientale, Pisa
455	Pierluigi Dell'Aquila	Scienziato Politico, impiegato, ricercatore indipendente
456	Raffaele Urselli	Assegnista di ricerca, Dipartimento di Scienze della Formazione, Università di Roma Tre
457	Erika Ferraguti	Educatrice
458	Elisabetta Forni	già Professore aggregato di Sociologia urbana, Politecnico di Torino
459	Luca Borotti	Progettista meccanico
460	Luigi Contadini	Professore associato di Letteratura spagnola, Università di Bologna
461	Carlo Melito	
462	Valentina Claudili	
463	Paolo Varese	Libero professionista, ricercatore freelance
464	Federica Alberino	Antropologica (di animo)
465	Tommaso Palmieri	Laureato in Filosofia, studioso di Filosofia ed Epistemologia
466	Chiara Gentosi	Studentessa di Sociologia, Sapienza Università di Roma
467	Nicoletta Salati	Insegnante di scuola secondaria
468	Donatella D'Acunio	
469	Marco Leotta	

470	Michele Grandi	Dottorando in antropologia, Sapienza Università di Roma
471	Alessandro Palmieri	Traduttore, ricercatore indipendente
472	Livia Marques	Libera pensatrice tra Danza e Antropologia
473	Simone Mestroni	Antropologo e documentarista
474	Leila Spignese	Restauratrice, Attrice teatro dell'Oppresso (Parteciparte, Roma)
475	Gilda Dina	Traduttrice
476	Giuseppe Nerilli	Docente, ecologo
477	Nancy Aluigi Nannini	Antropologa, documentarista, insegnante
478	Giustina Perfetto	Avvocato
479	Carlotta Gasperini	
480	Luca Abbà	Coltivatore di montagna
481	Elena Bondi	Attrice e traduttrice
482	Alex Tattoli	Dubitatore indipendente
483	Maddalena Sala	Educatrice professionale
484	Mattia Galeotti	Postdoc in matematica, Università di Bologna
485	Enrico Milazzo	Dottorando in Antropologia
486	Stefano D'Andrea	Professore associato di Diritto privato, Università della Tuscia
487	Francesca Capelli	Docente associata e ricercatrice, Università del Salvador – Buenos Aires
488	Selene Aglietti	Genuino Clandestino Firenze
489	Paolo Capriati	Dottorando
490	Roberto Lande	Biologo, Ricercatore ISS

491	Domenico Scalzo	Professore associato in Filosofia Politica, Università degli Studi di Urbino Carlo Bo
492	Marco Rizzo	Insegnante

The conferece *Tutta un'altra storia* will take place on **April 23-24-25 in Naples**, in the social space [Santa Fede Liberata](#). More information [QUI](#).

*"To unify brings health (...)
Those who are uncertain will join gradually"*

