

Between two Stages: Rita Pavone and *i giovani* on *Studio Uno* (1961-1966).

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This article analyses how Italian young people were represented in the Saturday night television programme *Studio Uno* (1961-1966). It defines *i giovani* as a performative identity: *i giovani* are not described as a specific age group, but rather as a normative identity constructed in popular media through the reiteration of bodily practices defined in opposition to 'adult' practices. Firstly, the article connects the emergence of discourses around *i giovani* with the educative function of RAI. Secondly, it outlines to what extent 1965 can be considered a turning point for representations of *i giovani* in Italian media. Thirdly, it compares the two young *Studio Uno* 1966 co-hosts Mina and Rita Pavone, to highlight the practices through which the latter was constructed as *giovane*. Lastly, the article suggests how the *giovane* identity was presented to an audience of adults and youths respectively through a different spatialisation of *giovani* performers on the show.

Keywords: RAI; Studio Uno; giovani; Rita Pavone; Italian young people; 1960s.

Although the emerging role of young people as social and political agents in Italy during the 1960s has been explored by historians and sociologists,¹ how the popular media shaped the discourse around young people, and the function of popular culture in constructing ideological representations of this collective identity, have been largely overlooked. The subject of the present analysis is indeed not young people as an age group, but *i giovani* as a performative

¹ Paolo Sorcinelli and Angelo Varni have published a history of youth from the end of the 1800s to the present day, while Franco Crespi's edited book deals with representations of youth from the 1960s to the present from a sociological point of view. See P. Sorcinelli, and A. Varni, eds, *Il secolo dei giovani. Le nuove generazioni e la storia del Novecento* (Rome: Donzelli, 2004), and F. Crespi, ed., *Le rappresentazioni sociali dei giovani in Italia* (Rome: Carocci, 2002). The edited volume *Ragazzi senza tempo* provides an analysis of Italian youth cultures through a series of case studies from the 1960s to the 1990s. See M. Canevacci, A. Castellani, A. Colombo, M. Grispigni, M. Ilardi, and F. Liperi, *Ragazzi senza tempo: immagini, musica, conflitti delle culture giovanili* (Genoa: Costa & Nolan, 1993).

identity constructed in the Italian popular media, in which age is represented through a set of practices defined in opposition to 'adult' practices. While the few analyses of media representations of young people during the 1960s in Italy have focused on the influence of cultural products such as popular songs and teen magazines,² television has only marginally been taken into consideration, as at the time this medium was mainly intended for an audience of adults and families.³ To address this gap in scholarly research, this article utilises the successful Saturday night programme *Studio Uno*⁴ (1961-1966) as a case study to illustrate the increasing presence of a constitutive and defining media discourse around *i giovani* in Italian television programmes during the 1960s, and to demonstrate how this discourse fulfilled the general educative function of RAI.⁵ After establishing 1965 as a watershed year in media representations of young people, the article concentrates on the last series of the show, broadcast in 1966, to outline the increasingly recognisable practices with which *i giovani* were identified. To challenge the idea of *il giovane* as a merely age-related concept the present study compares the stars Rita Pavone and Mina, and it highlights how their personas were constructed in opposition, respectively as a *giovane-antidiva* and a *donna-diva*, despite the fact that they were close to the same age. Lastly, the article deals with the spatial division of performing areas in the show, in order to question to whom different representations of young people were directed. The presence of an audience of young people was not only acknowledged, but also encouraged through the strategy of creating a secondary performing space, the *pedane*, where *giovani* bands would perform. The creation of a double performing area was thus aimed at creating different ways to present *i giovani* to an adult and a young audience.

***I giovani* in Italian popular media**

According to Massimo Locatelli, the images and narratives broadcast by popular media forms such as television, radio, magazines and cinema played a substantial role in the creation of a unified national identity and in the incorporation of the on-going modernising processes in

² The book *Anni sessanta comincia la danza*, for example, connects the history of young people in the 1960s with popular songs of the period. See D. Giachetti, *Anni sessanta comincia la danza: giovani, capelloni, studenti ed estremisti negli anni della contestazione* (Pisa: BFS Edizioni, 2002).

³ An exception to this is the edited volume P. Ghione, and M. Grispigni, eds, *Giovani prima della rivolta* (Rome: Manifestolibri, 1998), which has an entire section devoted to representations of youth in popular media, including television.

⁴ *Studio Uno*, RAI, RAI Teche Archives, 1961-1966.

⁵ RAI, acronym for Radio Audizioni Italiane, is the Italian public broadcasting company.

Italian post-war society.⁶ For example, Italian popular media represented the emergence of *i giovani* as a separate category in Italian society, which was affected by the creation of a commercial youth culture and by the new social and political role of young people in Western societies.⁷ The use of the Italian term '*i giovani*' comes from the need to distinguish this category from the merely age-related meaning of the expression 'young people': *i giovani* refers to a social category who directly 'interpellated'⁸ Italian young people in popular media, to use Louis Althusser's terminology. Althusser introduces the term 'interpellation' to describe the action that ideological state apparatuses, such as the media in this case,⁹ perform in order to create ideological subjects. Through the media, ideology can be represented as 'a lived, material practice – rituals, customs, patterns of behaviour, ways of thinking taking practical form [...]',¹⁰ in this way favouring the imitation and naturalisation of identities. Television has a significant impact when broadcasting practices to the audience, because it physically enters the domestic space and its programmes seem more realistic than feature films or theatre *mise-en-scènes*.¹¹ In addition, *i giovani* of the 1960s should be regarded as a performatively constructed category: drawing on Judith Butler's analysis of the social construction of gender identities,¹² this article argues that the *giovane* identity was represented through the reiteration of specific practices such as 'acts, gestures, enactments'¹³ which were performed in opposition to naturalised 'adult' practices. In other words, my analysis focuses on the ways in which media representations of an age group – young people – were performed and constructed by discourse through practices, in order to create a coherent, ideological identity: *i giovani*.

⁶ M. Locatelli, 'Prefazione', in M. Buzzi, *La canzone pop e il cinema italiano. Gli anni del boom economico (1958-1963)* (Turin: Kaplan, 2013), pp. 9-13 (p. 13).

⁷ Although 'youth' as a concept suggesting health and strength existed before the Second World War, it can be argued that the post-war period was fundamental in the creation of 'youth' as a social, commercial, and political collective identity. On the emergence of Western youth in the post-war period, see M. Mitterauer, *A History of Youth*, trans. by Graeme Durphy (Oxford; Cambridge MA: Blackwell, 1993), pp. 225-238.

⁸ Althusser introduces the concept of interpellation in L. Althusser, 'Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses', in *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays* (New York; London: Monthly Review Press, 1971), pp. 127-86.

⁹ Building on Althusser, Stuart Hall identifies the media as ideological state apparatuses. S. Hall, 'Culture, the Media and the Ideological Effect', in *Mass Communication and Society*, ed. by J. Curran, M. Gurevitch and J. Woollacott (London: Edward Arnold, 1977), pp. 315-348 (p. 346).

¹⁰ J. Storey, ed., *Cultural Theory and Popular Culture: An Introduction*, 5th edn (Harlow; London: Longman, 2009), p. 78.

¹¹ P. Lalli, 'La rappresentazione dei giovani in televisione', in *Le rappresentazioni sociali dei giovani in Italia*, pp. 41-76 (p. 45).

¹² I refer here to the concept of performativity developed in J. Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*, 2nd edn (New York; London: Routledge, 1999), and J. Butler, *Bodies that Matter: On the Discursive Limits of Sex*, 2nd edn (London; New York: Routledge, 2011).

¹³ Butler, *Bodies that Matter*, p. 173.

The emergence of *i giovani* as a plural and unitary identity in popular media can be arguably placed at the end of the 1950s, when young people started to stand out as social, political and consumer subjects. Simonetta Piccone Stella claims that the period between 1958 and 1962 was marked by an anxious representation of young people in Italian newspapers, caused by the emergence of *teppismo*, or minor youth delinquency such as stealing cars, hooliganism, and gang wars.¹⁴ The social preoccupation towards young people was also increased by the subsequent depiction of *il giovane* as a politically active subject. This was first noticed by the Italian media during the protest against the announcement of an M.S.I. congress in Genoa in 1960.¹⁵ The media highlighted the growing presence of young people, who wanted to align themselves with the anti-fascist movement even if they did not experience the Fascist dictatorship directly. Journalists named these young demonstrators ‘*i giovani con le magliette a strisce*’:¹⁶ interestingly, these politically active *giovani* started to be characterised by the way they dressed, a visible feature that could immediately differentiate themselves from the ‘adults’. From the late 1950s, style became indeed one of the elements through which young people expressed their ‘refusal’¹⁷ to accept the previous generation’s social conventions, and one of the aspects that was criticised the most by adults in mainstream media. Young people’s fashion and hairstyles, which were subsequently appropriated by the fashion industry, challenged established rules concerning gender, national and class identity. For instance, the miniskirt questioned traditional notions of respectability for young women, and the adoption of long hairstyles for young men and short hairstyles for young women disrupted the conventional boundary between masculine and feminine appearance. The widespread adoption of blue jeans by Italian young people regardless of their class belonging was also problematic, as blue jeans were usually connected to American working-class culture.

Italian television also featured the emergence of *i giovani* at the beginning of the 1960s. However, as Mauro Morbidelli points out, *igiovani* were not just categorised as deviant subjects through investigative reports, but a ‘strategia aziendale’¹⁸ was also adopted in entertainment shows to give a reassuring image of young people, and to spectacularise youth cultures in general:

¹⁴ S. Piccone Stella, ‘Rebels Without a Cause: Male Youth in Italy around 1960’, *History Workshop*, 38 (1994), pp. 157-78.

¹⁵ More on this specific event can be found in P. Ginsborg, *A History of Contemporary Italy: Society and Politics, 1943-1988* (Harmondsworth: Penguin 1990), pp. 256-57.

¹⁶ G. Crainz, *Storia del miracolo italiano* (Rome: Donzelli Editore, 1996), p. 173.

¹⁷ D. Hebdige, *Subculture: The Meaning of Style* (London: Routledge 1979), p. 3.

¹⁸ M. Morbidelli, “‘Posso dire una parola?...’. I giovani dentro e davanti la TV’, in *Giovani prima della rivolta*, pp. 179-186 (p. 182).

La televisione mostra una gioventù disimpegnata e superficiale, limitandosi ad esaltarne gli aspetti ludici più tipici del giovanilismo che proprio in quegli anni conosceva una grande diffusione: le nuove mode canore, provenienti inizialmente dalla Francia, i balli importati dall'America che ogni anno si rinnovano, il successo degli urlatori e dei primi rockers, diventano così occasione per nuove trasmissioni e per un parziale ricambio di programmi e conduttori.¹⁹

In other words, the media construction of *i giovani* might echo that summarised by Dick Hebdige in his study of post-war media representations of British subcultures. According to Hebdige, youth tends to be represented by the media either as 'youth-as-trouble' – criminal, delinquent youth – or as 'youth-as-fun' – commercial, consuming youth.²⁰ In the Italian media, the '*giovane*-as-fun' image involved a negotiation of meanings: it incorporated the social and political struggle between generations by redirecting it to other fields, in particular those free-time activities that characterised young people's consumption, especially from 1965 onwards. These activities included the making, singing of, and dancing to *giovane* music as well as bodily expressions like style and fashion. The media construction of *i giovani* was beneficial on the one hand to make youth an intelligible category for Italian society at large, including young people themselves, and make them 'harmless' and reassuring for the adult audience. On the other hand, it favoured the creation not only of a homogenised community of subjects with similar interests, but also of a group of consumers with similar tastes: the promotion of goods specifically marketed towards young people enhanced the consumption of an increasingly numerous portion of Italian society.

The '*giovane*-as-fun' image started to appear in Italian entertainment television shows during the early 1960s: for example, the programme *Alta pressione*²¹ was entirely dedicated to *i giovani*. In the first episode, the host Renata Mauro invited the audience to 'scoprire i giovani d'oggi'²² through music performances involving *giovani* stars. Media representatives of *i giovani* became indeed those singers who, through their star persona, expressed a contrast to the 'adults', such as Adriano Celentano in 1959-60 and, from 1962 onwards, Rita Pavone and Caterina Caselli. These stars' media presence, as hosts, singers, dancers or – as in Pavone's case – all three combined, favoured the identification of or, as Edgar Morin defines it, the

¹⁹ Ibid., pp. 182-83.

²⁰ D. Hebdige, *Hiding in the Light: On Images and Things* (London; New York: Routledge, 1988), p. 19.

²¹ *Alta pressione*, RAI, RAI Teche Archives, 1962.

²² 'Series 1, Episode 1', *Alta pressione*, RAI, RAI Teche Archives, 16 September 1962.

'mimetism' of the young audience: 'the stars guide our manners, gestures, poses, attitudes'²³ and also the way we dress, the music we like, the practices we experience. Moreover, as Simon Frith points out,²⁴ a stars' music performance involves not only the actual song, but also the performer's body movements, his/her costumes, and the space in which he/she performs. In a live or recorded performance the body and appearance of the singer is a form of communication through which movements and garments become signs. Stars can thus help in transmitting and reifying those signs, and relating them to specific identities, such as in this case *i giovani*.

The role of these *giovani* stars on Italian television can be better understood in light of the political function of RAI during the 1960s. The appointment of Ettore Bernabei, Amintore Fanfani's 'uomo di fiducia',²⁵ as RAI general director in 1961 strengthened the political control over national television. During the so-called 'Bernabei era' (1961-1974), RAI was meant to fulfil two main functions: firstly, it was aimed to 'educare cristianamente'²⁶ the audience. An emphasis was given to the pedagogical function of the new medium, which was not only supposed to educate the (still in part illiterate) Italian audience, but also to spread Christian values and strongly censor representations of bodies and sexuality. Secondly, RAI programmes were designed to achieve what one hundred years of history had not yet accomplished: that is, to unify Italians. RAI was used by post-war politicians to contribute to the creation of a common national identity: as Giulia Guazzaloca points out, during the 1960s,

la radio e la televisione dovevano diventare i mezzi con cui realizzare quella 'via italiana' alla modernizzazione che coniugasse novità e tradizioni, valori cristiani e consumismo di massa, egualitarismo sociale e anticomunismo.²⁷

The presence of *giovani* stars in entertainment shows of the 1960s, then, can be seen as a device to help the audience understand and characterise a 'modern' subject such as Italian *giovani*. Just like the striped t-shirts used by the anti-fascists in Genoa in 1960, these *giovani* started to be identified by the media through their specific styles, dances, songs, clubs and a

²³ E. Morin, *The Stars* (London: Evergreen Books, 1961), p. 166.

²⁴ S. Frith, *Performing Rites: On the Value of Popular Music* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1996), pp. 203-25.

²⁵ Amintore Fanfani was a prominent member of the Christian Democratic Party and Italian Prime Minister for several legislatures, including the period from 1960 to 1963. He was the politician who facilitated Bernabei's appointment as RAI director, in this way securing a political control over national television. See G. Guazzaloca, *Una e divisibile: La Rai e i partiti negli anni del monopolio pubblico* (Florence: Le Monnier, 2011), p. 125.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 141.

language that mainly referred to free-time activities. These representations suggest that television – and all the political, commercial, and social institutions influencing it – aimed to dispel anxieties towards the increasing politicisation and potential dangerousness of young people. Moreover, the creation of specific *giovani* Italian stars had the function of nationalising a subject who was particularly influenced by transnational experiences: Arthur Marwick defines the ‘High Sixties’ (1964-1969) as the era of the ‘British Invasion’ for the four countries he analyses (Britain itself, United States, France, and Italy),²⁸ a cultural invasion specifically aimed at young people. The media representation of Italian ways of being young through Italian *giovani* stars was thus beneficial in homogenising and nationalising discourses around youth during the 1960s.

Evolving *giovani* in *Studio Uno*

Both the educating and the homogenising functions of television are identifiable in the construction of *i giovani* in *Studio Uno*. *Studio Uno* (1961-1966) has been one of the most innovative and successful TV programmes in the history of Italian television.²⁹ Broadcast on Saturday nights for four series from 1961 to 1966, it was the first big ‘light entertainment’ show in Italy, showcasing a series of performances including songs, dance routines and comic sketches. The contents of the programme, the day and time of broadcasting, and the social function of television during the 1960s in Italy suggest that the programme was directed to an audience mainly composed of adults and families. The show was extremely successful: according to its director, Antonello Falqui, up to twenty-two million people used to watch *Studio Uno*.³⁰

Throughout the four series, not only did the structure of the programme change, but the content also testifies to a rising visibility of *i giovani* and an increased definition of their identity. Representations of *i giovani* in *Studio Uno* were not uniform during the whole period in which the programme was broadcast, but they were influenced by the transformations of the attitudes towards young people in Italian society. As Butler explains in her analysis of the construction of gendered subjects:

²⁸ A. Marwick, *The Sixties: Cultural Revolution in Britain, France, Italy and the United States, c.1958-c.1974* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998).

²⁹ See A. Grasso, *Storia della televisione italiana: nuova edizione aggiornata* (Milan: Garzanti, 2004), p. 104, and C. Ferretti, U. Broccoli and B. Scaramucci, *Mamma Rai: storia e storie del servizio pubblico radiotelevisivo* (Florence: Le Monnier, 1997), pp. 238-39.

³⁰ ‘Antonello Falqui: Giochiamo al varietà’, *La storia siamo noi*, <<http://www.lastoriasiamonoi.rai.it/puntate/antonello-falqui/931/default.aspx>> [Accessed: 13 December 2013].

what the person 'is' [...] is always relative to the constructed relations in which it is determined. As a shifting and contextual phenomenon, gender does not denote a substantive being, but a relative point of convergence among culturally and historically specific set of relations.³¹

Similarly, *i giovani* were differently constructed by the media over time, and representations were influenced by cultural, social, and historical factors. In particular, this section demonstrates that the period around 1965 can be considered a turning point for media representations of young people, as a proliferation of discourses around youth took place in Italian popular media.

Bodily representations of young people in the first series of *Studio Uno* (1961) expressed the unintelligibility of a social category that was still not clearly defined by the media. For example, in a dance performance³² choreographed by Don Lurio where the *corps de ballet* is named 'le ragazze d'oggi' and 'i ragazzi d'oggi', the lyrics of the song accompanying the choreography emphasise the incommunicability between *i giovani* and the 'adults' by insisting on the fact that *i giovani* don't say 'I love you' anymore, but obscure words (that in the song are actually just meaningless sounds). Moreover, at the beginning of the performance, the choreographer explains that 'il mondo è impazzito, la vita è come un quadro di Picasso': the connection between *i giovani* and concepts like madness and abstract art underlines the difficulties in understanding *i giovani's* culture. The difference of *i giovani* is also emphasised by the futuristic and artificial shape and pattern of the dancers' costumes. This representation, then, insists on *i giovani's* modernity, but also underlines that they possess traits which are indefinable for adults.

During the second series (1962-63), singer and television personality Rita Pavone³³ was a regular host of the show, performing a song in every episode of the entire series: the singer never spoke to the audience, but still through her performances she embodied *il giovane*. According to Deborah Toschi, 'fin dalle prime note, il personaggio della Pavone articola la propria visibilità e il proprio successo intorno al tema dell'età, che risulta fondamentale nella creazione della sua immagine':³⁴ Pavone's career has thus been based on her performance of

³¹ Butler, *Gender Trouble*, p. 15.

³² 'Series 1, Episode 3', *Studio Uno*, RAI, RAI Teche Archives, 04 November 1961.

³³ Rita Pavone's career had just started. In 1962, Pavone won the *Festival degli sconosciuti* in Ariccia after which she started her recording career.

³⁴ D. Toschi, 'Maschere e vocalità di una ragazza yé-yé: il caso Rita Pavone', *Comunicazione sociale* 1 (2011), pp. 74-83 (p. 75).

the *giovane* identity, which constitutes a fundamental reference point in the construction of *i giovani* in *Studio Uno*. Pavone's 1962-63 performances depict *i giovani* while doing specific free-time activities, such as attending a football match,³⁵ dancing with friends at a house party,³⁶ going on a winter holiday,³⁷ and everyday activities such as going to school³⁸ and working as shop assistants.³⁹ However, most of Pavone's performances in this series clearly recall childhood practices: the singer always wears circle skirts and ballet pumps, and the setting sometimes includes toys and children's games, such as a giant doll,⁴⁰ or a giant miniature train and a choreography involving a Ring a Ring-o' Roses.⁴¹ The connection between *i giovani* and childhood in *Studio Uno* 1962-63 shows a lack of definition in the *giovane* identity, that still needed to refer to other age groups' practices in order to be distinguished from the 'adults'.

In *Studio Uno*'s third series, broadcast in 1965, the association between *i giovani* and childhood disappeared. Not only did *i giovani* start to be represented as a separate category, but, unlike the previous series, they were also constructed in direct opposition with the 'adults'. The series introduced a domestication of discourses around the generational struggles of Italian society at the time⁴² in the form of a musical challenge between *i giovani* and the 'adults': the first and second episode of the series opened with a singing battle between 'maggioresni' and 'minoresni', in which an 'adult' and a *giovane* singer were judged by the studio audience. However, the choice of the terminology still suggests the definition of *i giovani* through age; moreover, from the third episode, this slot was no longer present in the show. The host Lelio Luttazzi explains to the audience that the slot was cancelled because the programme was too long if it was included.⁴³ The choice of cancelling this specific part of the

³⁵ 'Series 2, Episode 3', *Studio Uno*, RAI, RAI Teche Archives, 05 January 1963.

³⁶ 'Series 2, Episode 6', *Studio Uno*, RAI, RAI Teche Archives, 26 January 1963, and 'Series 2, Episode 8', *Studio Uno*, RAI, RAI Teche Archives, 16 February 1963.

³⁷ 'Series 2, Episode 7', *Studio Uno*, RAI, RAI Teche Archives, 02 February 1963.

³⁸ 'Series 2, Episode 4', *Studio Uno*, RAI, RAI Teche Archives, 12 January 1963.

³⁹ 'Series 2, Episode 9', *Studio Uno*, RAI, RAI Teche Archives, 23 February 1963.

⁴⁰ 'Series 2, Episode 5', *Studio Uno*, RAI, RAI Teche Archives, 19 January 1963.

⁴¹ The episode has not been identified but it is part of the second series of *Studio Uno*, RAI, RAI Teche Archives.

⁴² Even if much more attention has been given by Italian historiography to *il sessantotto*, social and political protests carried out mainly by young students were already taking place in Italy during the period 1965-67. In particular, these protests concentrated on school reforms (for example, the 'battle' for the *settimana corta* at school in 1965), and sexual education in schools (for instance, in the aftermath of *La Zanzara* affair, in 1966). More on this can be found in Ghione and Grispigni, eds, *Giovani prima della rivolta*, and Giachetti, *Anni sessanta comincia la danza*.

⁴³ 'Series 3, Episode 3', *Studio Uno*, RAI, RAI Teche Archives, 27 February 1965.

programme as a consequence of the lack of time also arguably shows how the opposition *giovane*/'adult' was not yet extensively used in Italian popular culture.

The fourth series (1966), instead, directly interpellated young people for the first time, reflecting the broader interest of Italian popular media in the young audience. From 1965, a proliferation of media forms specifically directed at young people as an audience took place. *BIG: il settimanale giovane* was first published in June 1965 after the success of the magazine *Ciao amici*, first published in 1963. The magazine *Marie Claire* changed its name to *Giovani*, officially becoming a *giovane* magazine in 1966. These *giovani* magazines mainly featured music and gossip on music stars; however, they also included reports on fashion trends, society and news from foreign countries, especially the United Kingdom. Moreover, as Daniele Magni points out,⁴⁴ the period between 1965 and 1967 was the most productive of the *Musicarello* film genre: in these films, not only did the *giovani* stars actively promote their records, but they also presented a specifically *giovane* language and style to their fans. Television started to consider young people as a target audience through programmes such as *Stasera Rita*,⁴⁵ hosted by Pavone, and *Diamoci del tu*,⁴⁶ hosted by Caterina Caselli and Giorgio Gaber. In these entertainment programmes, the hosts exclusively addressed young people watching the show from home, by using terms like 'ragazzi' or 'giovani'. Radio programmes, and most notably *Bandiera gialla*, hosted by Renzo Arbore and Gianni Boncompagni and broadcast from 1965 to 1970, were also media forms specifically directed at Italian youths. These television and radio shows mainly had a musical theme, but they also discussed the problematic relationships between *i giovani* and 'adults'. For instance, the television programme *Diamoci del tu* featured a weekly comic sketch called 'tribuna beat', in which an 'adult' person, usually a role performed by a comedian, was put on mock trial in front of a court of *giovani*. Not only did these sketches magnify the incommunicability between *i giovani* and the 'adults' by insisting on differences between the two groups' language, music and style, but by using comedy they also trivialised some common themes of inter-generational struggles, such as the alleged lack of respect of *i giovani* for their parents and the habit of young people running away from home – a practice that, according to *giovani* magazines, was particularly common amongst Italian youth. These media forms, then, started to directly interpellate young people while at the same time contributing to the construction of the category itself, by defining those traits, appearances and behaviours which were considered as

⁴⁴ D. Magni, *Cuori matti: dizionario dei musicarelli italiani anni '60* (Milan: Bloodbuster, 2012), pp. 38-39.

⁴⁵ *Stasera Rita*, RAI, RAI Teche Archives, 1965.

⁴⁶ *Diamoci del tu*, RAI, RAI Teche Archives, 1967.

belonging to *i giovani* and those which were not. This process gave *i giovani* a status of their own, which did not need to refer to childhood in order to be distinguished from the 'adults'.

This proliferation of popular media products aimed at young people influenced the presence of *i giovani* on *Studio Uno* 1966. The 1966 series was divided into four cycles made of five episodes each, and while musician and presenter Lelio Luttazzi was the main host of the whole series, he was joined by four different female co-hosts, who led one cycle each: actress Sandra Milo, and singers Ornella Vanoni, Rita Pavone and Mina. The role of the co-hosts was to lead the last slot of the show, performing and introducing guests. In this series, *i giovani* started to be a substantial part of the cast of the show: throughout the season the set featured one or two *pedane* within the audience area, which were exclusively used for the performances of *giovani* singers and bands. In particular, the cycle co-hosted by Pavone featured *i giovani*'s difference with the 'adults' as a main topic in the show, not only through the presence of Pavone herself, but also through the performances of *giovani* guest stars, comic sketches on the incommunicability between *i giovani* and 'adults' performed by Bice Valori and Walter Chiari, and a memorable opening theme – 'Il Geghegè', by Bruno Canfora – that further highlighted the different language used by *i giovani* to communicate.⁴⁷

Articles in Italian teen magazines such as *Big* welcomed the choice of introducing *i giovani* on *Studio Uno* 1966:

La cintura di salvataggio [per *Studio Uno*] è dunque proprio questa ragazzina antidiva [...]. Una ragazzina che vi salva uno spettacolo nel momento giusto [...], che dice nell'orecchio di Falqui e Sacerdote: 'Volete salvare tutto? Allora fate così. Anche quando non sarò in scena con i *collettoni* e le *collettine*, non vi dimenticate che avete deciso di piacere ai giovani. Quindi niente vecchi tromboni e battute cretine'.⁴⁸

The arrival of Pavone and *i giovani* on *Studio Uno* is emphasized in the article, and it is presented as the recognition of young people's social influence. The quotation also shows how Italian teen magazines identify Pavone as a spokesperson for *i giovani*, as she seems successful enough to influence the director's and the screenwriter's decisions and to appeal to the young

⁴⁷ The lyrics of the song 'Il Geghegè' (Canfora, 1965) invite *i giovani* to use the expression 'geghegeghegeghegè' in order to 'dire quello che vuoi, ma che dire non sai'. A meaningless phrase, then, becomes part of the language through which the *giovane* community can express itself.

⁴⁸ S. Modugno, 'Stasera Rito: Rita Pavone lancia il fratello in "Studio Uno"', *Big*, 18.2 (6 May 1966), pp. 10-12 (p. 11).

audience at home.

Young versus *Giovane*: Mina versus Rita

In order to explore the practices through which the *giovane* identity was constructed in *Studio Uno* 1966, an analysis of Pavone's star persona and a comparison between Pavone and Mina is beneficial in the light of the former's media role as a representative for *i giovani*. The quotation above defines the 1966 *Studio Uno* co-host Rita Pavone as an 'antidiva': the choice of this term to describe the *giovane* star proves how the *giovane* identity was often presented in opposition to 'adult' roles such as, for women in the media, the *diva*. A comparison between Pavone and Mina, *Studio Uno*'s ultimate diva,⁴⁹ is helpful not only because the two singers had the same co-hosting role in the show, but also because they were a similar age. Mina was only five years older than Pavone, and as she was under 30 at the time of the show, she could still be considered 'young' in age. However, her star persona was constructed as a *donna*, while Pavone embodied the *giovane* identity. The difference between the two singers was rendered in the show through several strategies that connected their star persona with those practices constructing the *donna* and the *giovane* as ideological identities.

The contrast between Pavone and Mina is firstly delineated by the way in which the two singers are named in the show: the choice of terms signals an ideological definition of social categories. In *Studio Uno* 1966, Mina is always referred to as a 'donna', while Pavone is named a 'ragazzina'.⁵⁰ Moreover, when introducing a performance in which Mina sings several Beatles' songs, she refers to *i giovani* with a 'voi':⁵¹ by using the second person plural pronoun, Mina distances herself from the category she is interpellating. Pavone instead always talks about *i giovani* using the pronoun 'noi': in this way, she declares her belonging to the community of *i giovani*.

The use of the plural pronouns 'noi' and 'voi' in referring to *i giovani* also suggests the plural, communitarian construction of *i giovani* in popular media. Jacopo Tomatis claims that during the 1960s young people started to 'perceive themselves as a social group, a national community with shared values and tastes'.⁵² The idea of youth as a community was often

⁴⁹ R. Haworth, 'Making a Star on the Small Screen: The case of Mina and RAI', *Journal of Italian Cinema & Media Studies*, 3.1-2 (2015), pp. 27-41 (p. 32).

⁵⁰ Walter Chiari refers to Pavone as a 'ragazzina' in 'Series 4, Episode 11', *Studio Uno*, RAI, RAI Teche Archives, 23 April 1966.

⁵¹ 'Series 3, Episode 3', *Studio Uno*, RAI, RAI Teche Archives, 27 February 1965.

⁵² J. Tomatis, "This is Our Music': Italian Teen Pop Press and Genres in the 1960s', *IASPM@journal* 4. 2 (2014), pp. 24-42 (p. 30).

conveyed in media representations by portraying young people in a group: in *Studio Uno* this effect was given by the presence of Pavone's *corps de ballet*, the *Collettoni* and (starting some episodes later) the *Collettine*. The *Collettoni* and the *Collettine* were a constant presence during Pavone's television appearances throughout the singer's 1960s and, in part, 1970s career.⁵³ They introduced Pavone's performances, usually with a song, symbolising the authority given by young people to Pavone as their representative. Moreover, with the first appearance of these dancers in *Studio Uno* 1966 Pavone tells the audience that she needs their support in order to get over her stage fright. The usefulness of the community of *i giovani* is underlined, as if being in a group would make young people stronger. Also, the fact that Pavone expresses a fear of being on stage underlines her *anti-diva* construction: Pavone's claim of feeling uncomfortable on stage makes her an ordinary person, far from those aspects of divinisation that are considered to be part of the construction of a star.⁵⁴

On the contrary, Lelio Luttazzi alone introduces Mina solemnly: 'Signore e signori... Mina!'. Unlike Pavone, Mina rarely performs with someone else on stage. Mina's solitude on a stage that is frequently empty and the stillness of her performances can be interpreted as a strategy for emphasising her extraordinary vocal and bodily features. Mina is constructed as a *diva*: when she sings the camera lingers on her face and gestures, through which she expresses and transmits emotions to the audience.⁵⁵ Moreover, in the 1966 series, Mina's heavy make-up and bleached hair offer a sexualised image of the singer, which was absent from her previous appearances in the show. Costumes also accentuate Mina's trademarks: in her history of fashion and RAI, Fabiana Giacomotti points out that Mina's costumes in *Studio Uno* were designed to highlight hands and shoulders.⁵⁶ The stress on hands accentuated the singer's gestures and thus emotions, while the focus on shoulders can be seen as a strategy to emphasise the upper part of the body without concentrating on the breasts, therefore showing a respectable sexiness. Additionally, in the 1966 series Mina wears long and fitted evening dresses. Although these outfits add drama to the singers' performances, they do not let her move, so that even if she tries to dance, she can only outline movements.

In Pavone's case, the audience's attention is focused instead on her entire body. Movement defines Pavone's performances, as she always dances with her *corps de ballet*, thus

⁵³ First appearing in Pavone's performances in *Studio Uno*, 1962-63, the *Collettoni* and the *Collettine* kept on introducing Pavone's performances in the programmes *Stasera Rita*, *Studio Uno* 1966, and in *Ciao Rita*, RAI, RAI Teche Archives, 1971.

⁵⁴ Morin, *The Stars*, pp. 37-68.

⁵⁵ Haworth, 'Making a Star on the Small Screen', p.32.

⁵⁶ F. Giacomotti, *La TV alla moda: stile e star nella storia della RAI* (Rome: Silvana Editoriale, 2015), p. 21.

affirming the importance of music and dance as part of the *giovane* identity. The entire body in motion becomes Pavone's trademark, as a description of the singer in the magazine *Big* shows: 'Si muove sempre. Oltre che con la bocca, parla con le mani, con i piedi, con la testa, con le braccia. Fa venire il mal di mare'.⁵⁷ Movement is also recalled when Pavone does not dance: for example, when she speaks after a performance, she does so with shortness of breath thus underlining the physical exertion of being *giovane*.⁵⁸ Style also accentuates the importance of motion: Giacomotti notices that Pavone's costumes in the show were designed to

enfattizza[re] il carattere volitivo e la giovane età puntando sul binomio bianco-nero per [Pavone] e per tutto il suo corpo di ballo, i 'collettoni' e le 'collettine': abito optical, calze nere, stivaletti a tacco basso, ideali anche per valorizzare le complesse coreografie di Hermes Pan.⁵⁹

Pavone's style was not only determined by the singer's need to dance during her performances, but also by the trends promoted by the newly-formed youth fashion industry.⁶⁰ The most noticeable change in Pavone's persona from her appearances in the 1962-63 series of *Studio Uno* to *Studio Uno* 1966 is indeed her style. Even if the singer does not change her musical repertoire, her style is radically different: it does not recall children's fashion as in 1963, but it is characterised by low-heeled boots and optical miniskirts. In other words, Pavone's style in the show not only contributes to construct her as a *giovane* but also defines what style *i giovani* needed to conform to: the *giovane* fashion that, according to an article appeared in *Big*, started to be commercially produced in 1965.⁶¹

Low heels, short dresses, and the absence of low necklines in costumes emphasised Pavone's bodily difference from Mina and the *maggiorate*,⁶² busty Italian actresses and television stars of the post-war era. Pavone's costumes tended to stress the absence of curves and the singer's thin physique. Moreover, her androgynous appearance was accentuated by a short haircut and the apparent absence of make up. As Toschi points out, the way in which Pavone's body was presented suggests an ambivalence of sexual roles and an emphasis on

⁵⁷ Modugno, 'Stasera Rito', p. 10.

⁵⁸ 'Series 4, Episode 15', *Studio Uno*, RAI, RAI Teche Archives, 21 May 1966.

⁵⁹ Giacomotti, *La TV alla moda*, p. 91.

⁶⁰ On the creation of 'youth' fashion, see E. Ewing, *History of Twentieth Century Fashion* (London: B.T. Batsford LTD, 1974), p. 177.

⁶¹ Anon, 'Chi è senza miti scagli la prima pietra', *Big*, 1.1 (7 January 1966), pp. 8-13 (p. 10).

⁶² The term *maggiorate* has been introduced in the 1950s to define Italian curvy actresses such as Gina Lollobrigida and Sophia Loren. On the origin of this term, see S. Gundle, *Bellissima: Feminine Beauty and the Idea of Italy* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2007), pp. 149-150.

adolescence that cancels the singer's sexuality.⁶³ This absence of sexuality is evident if we compare Mina's and Pavone's relationships with men on the show: men as potentially sexual or romantic partners are only acknowledged in Mina's case, while with Pavone men always show a paternal attitude. Pavone's first guest on the show is comedian Walter Chiari: the physical difference between the two characters is immediately noticeable, as Pavone is much shorter than Chiari. The comedian's behaviour also suggests a father-daughter relationship, as he greets Pavone by kissing her on the forehead and giving her a flick on the cheek.⁶⁴ Before performing a comic sketch on the national elections, Chiari also establishes his paternal role when he takes Pavone by the hand and accompanies her off the stage to sit amongst the audience because, in Chiari's words, 'Rita non ha l'età'.⁶⁵ However, the singer is twenty years old, only three months away from gaining the right to vote: this quip, more than remarking on Pavone's age, highlights another aspect associated with the *giovane* identity, that is political disengagement. The construction of *i giovani* through practices linked to free-time activities produces the image of a politically disengaged *giovane* who is not interested in opposing the 'adults' except in the form of a musical and style challenge. Although not referring to childhood anymore, Pavone's status as *giovane* is accentuated by the absence of sexual interest towards her, and by her politically neutral representation.

Conversely, Mina is always greeted by her male hosts with a kiss on the hand or on the cheek, and her guests continuously gaze at her body, as demonstrated by the fact that most of them comment that she has lost weight. Mina is a tall woman who is often taller than her guests, and her height puts her body into the foreground, favouring her objectification. Mina's body is frequently touched, gripped, and kissed by her male guests. In one of the most famous performances of the show, comedian Alberto Sordi defines her 'na fagottata de robba', 'a bunch of stuff' in Roman dialect, in this way literally objectifying her.⁶⁶ Sexual puns are also frequent: when Mina says 'dobbiamo fare qualcosa insieme' to her guest, singer Gilbert Bécaud, he replies 'Spegnete le luci!'.⁶⁷ As Rachel Haworth points out, in *Studio Uno* Mina conforms 'to the determining male societal and behavioural values of the period'.⁶⁸ Male societal values influence not only Mina's but also Pavone's relation to men, as they both do not speak much in the presence of the male guests of the show. In other words, when

⁶³ Toschi, 'Maschere e vocalità', p. 80.

⁶⁴ 'Series 4, Episode 11', *Studio Uno*, RAI, RAI Teche Archives, 23 April 1966.

⁶⁵ 'Series 4, Episode 12', *Studio Uno*, RAI, RAI Teche Archives, 07 May 1966.

⁶⁶ 'Series 4, Episode 20', *Studio Uno*, RAI, RAI Teche Archives, 25 June 1966.

⁶⁷ 'Series 4, Episode 17', *Studio Uno*, RAI, RAI Teche Archives, 04 June 1966.

⁶⁸ Haworth, 'Making a Star on the Small Screen', p. 34.

interacting with men, the right to speak is not given to subordinate identities such as women and *i giovani*. This explains why Mina can be so overtly harassed, while Pavone's presence is only the excuse to make comic sketches about *i giovani*.

By being co-hosts, both singers share the role of educating the *Studio Uno* audience. If, according to Haworth, Mina's role is to broadcast the image of a respectable woman,⁶⁹ Pavone's role is to teach the audience what a respectable *giovane* is, thus linking this identity not only with specific styles, appearances and bodily practices, but also with appropriate behaviours, such as political disengagement and the absence of sexuality. A comparison between Mina and Pavone confirms how the *giovane* identity is defined by practices rather than age: the way in which the two singers perform, their style, and their attitude towards men, distinguish and define them more than their generational belonging.

Between two stages: *i giovani*'s performing spaces on *Studio Uno* 1966

The educative function of *i giovani* on *Studio Uno* 1966 is also related to the space they occupy when performing in the show, which might suggest comparisons to the space given to young people in Italian society. *Studio Uno* 1966 presented two secondary performing spaces, the so-called *pedane*, which were separate from the main stage. These *pedane* were located amongst the audience and they were reserved for the performances of *giovani* bands and singers. Moreover, Lelio Luttazzi clearly defined them as a space for *i giovani*: he directly addressed young people every time he introduced a band playing in the separate space, calling it 'il vostro palco' and asking the audience to pay attention as one of 'their' stars was starting to play. The *pedane* thus identified *i giovani*'s performances: when the 'adult' actress Monica Vitti is imitating Caterina Caselli, she sings 'Nessuno mi può giudicare' on the secondary stage, in order to make her imitation more effective.⁷⁰ The *pedane* spatially changed throughout the four cycles of the 1966 series: in the first two cycles, there were two *pedane* amongst the audience, and consequently there were two performances of *giovani* singers or bands in every episode. In the third cycle, when Pavone was co-hosting the show, Pavone's musical guests on the main stage were mostly *giovani* singers such as Johnny Halliday, Nancy Sinatra and Carlo Pavone, Rita Pavone's brother, and therefore the *pedana* was reduced to one, as Luttazzi explains at the beginning of the cycle:

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ 'Series 4, Episode 3', *Studio Uno*, RAI, RAI Teche Archives, 26 February 1966.

Questa sera lo stato maggiore di *Studio Uno* ha deciso che al posto di due pedane ce ne sarà una sola. Ma questo anche in virtù del fatto che data la presenza di Rita Pavone, la quantità di musica dedicata a voi ragazzi nell'economia generale dello spettacolo è già sovrabbondante.⁷¹

In this cycle, then, the presence of *i giovani* is defined by Luttazzi as 'sovrabbondante', thus signalling that adults and families remained the preferred audience of the show – and underlining the authority of adults in deciding how much space should be given to *i giovani* on *Studio Uno*, and their power to take it away. In the fourth cycle of the series, co-hosted by Mina, the *pedana* was removed from amongst the audience and put on a side of the main stage. During this last cycle, the only *giovane* guest regularly playing on the *pedana* was Caterina Caselli, at the time the most influential *giovane* singer who was still not a television star.⁷²

Despite the presence of *giovani* singers on both stages, the creation of the *pedana* seems to establish a hierarchy between 'acceptable' and 'less acceptable' *giovani*: while some of the *giovani* performers could be included in the traditional space of the show, other performers were relegated to a secondary space. In order to understand this differentiation, it is essential to describe the performers playing on the *pedana*, who were mainly popular bands like Equipe 84, The Rokes, I Delfini, I New Trolls, and Rocky Roberts and the Airedales. These *giovani* differed from the star Rita Pavone because they were less well known by an adult audience. However, they were already popular among young people, as their frequent presence in magazines for young readers testifies. The participation of these bands to *Studio Uno* 1966 came after several complaints appeared in *giovani* magazines about the lack of *giovani* band's performances on Italian television. For instance, a 1965 article in *Ciao amici* argued that RAI did not allow *i giovani* to perform on television because of their physical appearance:

No amici, levatevelo dalla testa: [...] tutti i complessi vocali famosi, italiani e stranieri, in televisione non li vedremo mai! Sembra infatti che la commissione di vigilanza radio-televisiva abbia scoperto che la visione di capelli lunghi e spettinati (simbolo ed emblema di molti complessi) suscita nei giovani d'oggi chissà quali

⁷¹ 'Series 4, Episode 11', *Studio Uno*, RAI, RAI Teche Archives, 23 April 1966.

⁷² Caterina Caselli's first television show as a host, together with Giorgio Gaber, is *Diamoci del tu* by Romolo Siena.

istinti e reazioni; detta commissione ha quindi 'suggerito' ai teledirigenti responsabili di 'evitare' la comparsa sul video di 'complessi con i capelli lunghi'.⁷³

This quotation underlines that these bands were characterised by a specific hairstyle, which was not accepted by the adults for it did not conform to traditional standards of masculine appearance. In *Studio Uno* 1966, Luttazzi still emphasises the difference in style of these *giovani* bands. For instance, he introduces the band I Delfini by saying: 'ne vedo uno che sta addirittura dando delle impennate con la testa per sistemarsi a posto i capelli, come un puledro'.⁷⁴ The animalisation of the young man here might express the discomfort of the host towards the young man's long hairstyle. To refer to Morin's analysis of James Dean's style, the style of the bands playing on the *pedana* represented the 'panoply of adolescence', or 'a wardrobe in which is expressed a whole attitude towards society: [...] ostensible signs (having the value of political badges) of a resistance against the social conventions of a world of adults'.⁷⁵ The use of style to differentiate between *giovani* and 'adults' was accentuated by the fact that, in *Studio Uno*, the bands never speak with the hosts, nor is any space given to them in the show except for their musical performances. Their role in the show does not involve any contact with the 'adults' nor with the main stage. This distance magnifies their difference not only from the adult audience but also from Pavone, whose role as a host and her interactions with the guests in the programme make her presence more 'acceptable' to the audience. The previous section has demonstrated how Pavone was presented in *Studio Uno* as apolitical and asexual: although she was different in style from the 'adults', she was endorsing the ideological rules that made her respectable, while at the same inviting young people to imitate these rules. Conversely, long hairstyles were not only an attribute of male attractiveness for *i giovani*, but also a typical physical feature of the 'beats di strada',⁷⁶ namely those young people who were starting to gather and protest in big Italian cities such as Milan and Rome. Therefore the *giovani* bands playing on the *pedana* were not only sexually attractive to their audience, but they also physically recalled the political young people demonstrating in public places throughout Italy. As a consequence, they were considered as 'less acceptable' for the adult audience, and they were relegated to a secondary space.

⁷³ R.C., 'No ai capelli lunghi', *Ciao amici*, 16.2 (13 November 1965), pp. 25-27 (p. 25).

⁷⁴ 'Series 4, Episode 2', *Studio Uno*, RAI, RAI Teche Archives, 19 February 1966.

⁷⁵ Morin, *The Stars*, pp. 124-25.

⁷⁶ On the 'beat' phenomenon in Italy, and especially in Milan and Rome, see R. De Angelis, 'Il beat italiano' in *Giovani prima della rivolta*, pp. 73-84.

The spatialisation of 'less acceptable' *giovani* bands might echo spatial issues regarding young people's place in Italian society: the *pedana* in *Studio Uno* mirrors the presence of spaces specifically dedicated to young people in Italian towns. For instance, Corso Europa in Milan is described as follows in a 1966 article in *Marie Claire Giovani*:

Quella strada, dove ci riuniamo, si chiama Corso Europa, ma ormai tutti la indicano come la 'via dei giovani' perché è il luogo fisso dei nostri quotidiani appuntamenti [...]. Qui in Corso Europa ci sono i 'nostri locali': il Copacabana, che funziona tutto il giorno [...]; il Paip's dove andiamo di solito alla sera a ballare [...]. Nella nostra via di giovani ce ne sono sempre. A qualsiasi ora andiamo troviamo sempre qualcuno con cui fare quattro chiacchiere e uno shake.⁷⁷

The quotation shows the strong connection between the *giovanese* identity and spaces specifically designed for young people: Corso Europa here functions as a meeting point for Milanese youth. However, the creation of *giovani* spaces is ultimately controlled by adults, such as in this case the owners of music clubs. Furthermore, the spaces reserved for *i giovani* in this street are spaces of disengagement: in these areas, *i giovani* are only allowed to perform free-time activities connected to the consumption of goods such as music. When young people occupy public spaces, instead, and they express social and political stances, they are seen as out of place. For example, when a community of beatniks from all over Europe held a sit-in at Piazza di Spagna in 1965⁷⁸ – thus occupying a public space in order to carry out a peaceful demonstration – they were accused by *giovani* magazines of occupying a space that was not 'their own'.⁷⁹

This exclusion might be viewed in relation to Nirmal Puwar's definition of 'space invaders', a term which she uses to identify women and racialized minorities entering political and social spaces from which they have been historically or conceptually excluded. As Puwar puts it,

social spaces are not blank and open for anybody to occupy. There is a connection between bodies and spaces which is built, repeated and contested over time.

⁷⁷ B. Bonazzoli, 'La via dei giovani', *Marie-Claire Giovani*, 14 (2 April 1966), pp. 6-10 (pp. 9-10).

⁷⁸ On the *capelloni* of Piazza di Spagna, see also D. Giachetti, *Caterina Caselli: una protagonista del beat italiano* (Rome: Alegre, 2006), p. 70.

⁷⁹ For example in G. Steni, 'Capelloni a congresso. Abbasso il D.D.T.!', *Big*, 18.1 (7 October 1965), pp. 52-53.

While all can, in theory, enter, it is certain types of bodies that are tacitly designated as being the 'natural' occupants of specific positions.⁸⁰

Similarly, the relegation of 'less acceptable' *giovani* to the *pedana* can be interpreted as a strategy to diminish the anxiety caused by *i giovani*'s invasion of an 'adult' space such as television. *Giovani* bands are allowed to enter *Studio Uno* as far as their participation is limited to musicmaking, therefore to an activity considered acceptable and hence naturalised on the television screen. As Doreen Massey has also noted, a limitation and separation of spatiality can be linked to social control, as the 'private' space has traditionally been reserved for women while the 'public' space has been occupied by men.⁸¹ In *Studio Uno* the creation of a specific area for 'less acceptable' *giovani* can symbolise social control over a subordinated and possibly dangerous group.

However, excluding *giovani* bands from the main stage, and thus highlighting their difference, can also be seen as a strategy to attract an audience of young people. By directly addressing young people, Luttazzi delineates a favourable audience for these performances. A mini-audience of young people dancing and (young women) screaming gathers under the *pedane*, and the camera takes shots of the bands from a low angle looking up at the stage, in order to make the viewer feel as if he/she is physically participating in a live concert. As Karen Lury has noticed in her book on 1990s British youth television, recreating a 'live' music performance can be considered a strategy to allow young people to have their own, separate space, and to virtually escape from the family environment in which they are watching television.⁸² As a consequence, young people watching *Studio Uno* at home would feel simultaneously excluded from the main stage but included in the community of *i giovani* represented around the *pedane*. Comedian Bice Valori clearly emphasises this separation by saying that young people only follow the programme because of the artists performing on the *pedana*.⁸³

If the *pedana* is designed as a space created to relegate 'less acceptable' *giovani* and to appeal to an audience of young people, the function of the *giovani* stars occasionally appearing on the main stage is more complex. It can be argued that, as *Studio Uno* was a programme traditionally aimed at an audience of adults and families, the function of *i giovani*

⁸⁰ N. Puwar, *Space Invaders: Race, Gender and Bodies out of Place* (Oxford; New York: Berg, 2004), p. 8.

⁸¹ D. Massey, *Space, Place and Gender* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), p. 179.

⁸² K. Lury, *British Youth Television: Cynicism and Enchantment* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001), pp. 44-86.

⁸³ 'Series 4, Episode 11', *Studio Uno*, RAI, RAI Teche Archives, 23 April 1966.

on the main stage was to communicate with this specific section of the audience. Therefore, the familiarity with the *giovani* stars playing on the main stage was guaranteed by their connection to adult institutions such as the family or the recording industry. For example, *giovane* singer and actress Romina Power is accepted on the main stage because she performs her role as the daughter of actors Tyrone Power and Linda Christie.⁸⁴ Her status, then, is given by the popularity of her family: the questions put to Power after her performance all refer to her father. Similarly, the *giovane* singer Carlo Pavone is allowed to perform on the main stage because he is Rita Pavone's brother, and the two sing a song together recalling Rita's career.⁸⁵ Other *giovani*, such as Nancy Sinatra or Johnny Halliday, can access the main stage because they are successful international artists. Their authority is then bestowed for economic reasons by an 'adult' institution, namely the recording industry, which accords them the power to become spokespersons for an entire community via the main stage.

Pavone and Caterina Caselli seem to have a liminal role in the show, which is aimed to please both the adult and the young audience. Pavone is allowed on the main stage because she is a television personality and a successful singer, but she is also a *giovane* star expressing her difference from the 'adults'. When introducing her, Lelio Luttazzi calls her '[la] vostra, e anche [la] nostra, Rita Pavone', signalling that she is both 'yours' (the young people's audience) and 'ours' (the adults' audience) star.⁸⁶ Similarly, the displacement of the *pedana* from amongst the audience to next to the main stage when Caselli becomes the regular guest in the last season of the show can be seen as the recognition of Caselli's commercial importance.⁸⁷ This spatial change demonstrates how Caselli can perform next to the main stage because of her commercial power as a singer, but the strategy of leaving her on a separate space is useful to please the young audience.

An analysis of the *Studio Uno* performing spaces shows how the presence of *i giovani* both on the main stage and on the *pedane* had an educative function. On the main stage, Pavone explained what it meant to be *giovane* by performing specific practices and behaviours, thus educating both the young and the adult audience on the ideologically respectable *giovane*. The *pedana* effectively showed adults a spatial control of 'less

⁸⁴ 'Series 4, Episode 10', *Studio Uno*, RAI, RAI Teche Archives, 16 April 1966.

⁸⁵ 'Series 4, Episode 14', *Studio Uno*, RAI, RAI Teche Archives, 14 May 1966.

⁸⁶ 'Series 4, Episode 11', *Studio Uno*, RAI, RAI Teche Archives, 23 April 1966.

⁸⁷ In February 1966, just a few months before the broadcasting of these episodes, Caselli participated to the Sanremo Festival with the song 'Nessuno mi può giudicare'. She did not win the festival; however, the song was an enormous success in terms of record sales. The single sold 500,000 copies, over the 300,000 copies sold by 'Dio come ti amo', the Sanremo festival winner. See Giachetti, *Caterina Caselli: una protagonista del beat italiano*, p. 49.

acceptable' *giovani* and simultaneously pleased the young audience, as it played with the sense of belonging to the community of *i giovani* by creating a connection between identity and *giovani* spaces.

Conclusion: The Construction of the *Giovane* Identity on *Studio Uno*

This article has demonstrated how television, and entertainment programmes, can be used as historical sources to problematise the increasing social, political and economic role of young people in 1960s Italy. The presence of *i giovani* on *Studio Uno* testifies to the growing recognition of young people as a separate category in Italian society and to a general desire to understand and characterise this emerging generational identity. Images of *i giovani*, embodied by stars such as Rita Pavone, influenced the social perception of young people, and the overall expectations about this new social agent. The bodily movements, style, and spatialisation of *i giovani* on *Studio Uno* 1966 suggested how young people should look, how they should behave and the space they should occupy in Italian society. The construction of *il giovane* in *Studio Uno* had the double function of reassuring the adult audience and favouring young people's sense of belonging to a community of peers and their consumption of musical and fashion products. However, the connection between free-time activities and *i giovani* as broadcast by entertainment shows contributed to the construction of the respectable *giovane* as a politically and socially disengaged subject.

The definition of *i giovani* as a performative identity that is constructed through practices rather than expressed by age is a useful tool to analyse how popular media addressed issues of power between generations in the Italian society of the 1960s. Yet, Michel Foucault underlines that 'where there is power, there is resistance'.⁸⁸ Despite outlining the subversive potential⁸⁹ of these representations, this article has not considered the role of young people in resisting the homogenising media construction of *i giovani* during the 1960s. This aspect is equally overlooked and would thus benefit from further research.

⁸⁸ M. Foucault, *The History of Sexuality: An Introduction*, trans. by Robert Hurley (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978), p. 95.

⁸⁹ On the subversive potential of performative identities, see Butler, *Gender Trouble*, pp. 163-80.