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Narrative Networks: Italian Women in Dublin

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# NARRATIVE NETWORKS: ITALIAN WOMEN IN DUBLIN

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## 1) Global network analysis within migration studies.

There is a growing literature in migration studies on global networks (Boyd, 1989; Portes, 1995; Douglas *et al*, 2005). This is arguably linked to the general shift in network analysis, as Robert Holton notes, “from seeing networks as part of an organized system (Castells) to seeing them as nodes with a very fluid, mobile, and uneven set of flows (Urry)” (Holton, 2005 :76). This accrued meaning of networks seems in part to derive and in part to adapt to the contemporary differentiation, acceleration and globalization of migration patterns (Castles and Miller, 2005 :9)

### Social Capital

The heuristic potential of network theories within migration studies is evident in the cross-fertilization with social capital and ethnic entrepreneurship notions. Global networks are often theorized as migrants’ social capital, and social capital is seen as sustained by migrants’ networks (Massey at al, 2005 :96, Portes, 1995). In this sense migrants’ social networks are defined as “interpersonal ties that link migrants, former migrants, and potential migrants in origin and destination areas through the connections of kinship, friendship, and shared community origin” (Massey at al, 2005 :96). The existence of these ties is hypothesized to increase the likelihood of emigration by lowering the costs, raising the benefits and mitigating the risks of international movement (Massey at al, 2005 :96).

### Transnationalism and diaspora

Diasporic and transnational studies have brought a somewhat different emphasis to “the dynamics of interconnectedness” (Gilroy, 1993) inscribed in global networks. This approach has allowed us to grasp a more articulated understating of migrants’ belongings, of their fluid identities and trans-border communities, conceptualizing global networks as those inter-personal connections across borders which are also “inter-communal and inter-organizational” (Werbner, 2004 :896). Pnina Werbner emphasizes how in the “global village” these networks are sustained by daily contact by telephone, email, low cost flights mobile phone, which make instant connection and communication an experienced reality for transmigrants (Werbner, 2004 :896).

Paul Gilroy highlights the “extra-nationality, [and] trans-cultural and intercultural processes” that sustain global networks (Gilroy, 1997 :339). Global theories, according to him, do not allow the same theoretical progress as network analysis, because they possess a too “totalising immodesty and ambition” (Gilroy, 1997 :339). Perhaps this is too harsh a criticism, especially considering certain strands of globalization theories, which look at ‘the people side of globalization’ and bottom up forms of globalization. For example Braithwaite and Drahos advance an articulation of globalization with individual agency while distinguishing between “webs of powers” (elite networks of business and government officials) and “webs of dialogues” (look at the cooperation and sharing of knowledge) (Braithwaite and Drahos, 2000 in Holton, 2005 :77).

### Household networks

Another important contribution within migration studies, is that network theories have shed new light on household and family dynamics. Networks represent a meso-level of analysis which considers both the structural and individual forces shaping migration, and looks at how classed, gendered, sexualized member of the household influence and sustain migration projects (Phizacklea, 2000 :122; Hondogneu-Sotelo, 2003; Werbner,

2004). This has been particularly relevant in unpacking gender dynamics of migration, although the gendered nature of networks still remain largely undiscovered and gendered theorizations of networks still need to be developed.

Ultimately the intersecting contribution of transnational, diasporic and global perspectives in network analysis has been vital to conceptualizing the complexities of modern fluid societies. Within this framework, global networks can be understood as alternative or oppositional forms of contemporary belonging and citizenship, and network analysis as a site for thinking about the complexities of the social contexts in which migration occurs, especially the difficult question of connectivity and interaction among global subjects.

## **2) How is global network gendered?**

Women and men interact globally by responding to the dictates of gendered relations and gendered roles. However, few accounts have directly spelled out this important factor in migrants' global networks.

In part this is due to the well-established practice of gender blindness in migration studies, whereby women's lives are subsumed under men's lives. Arguably this might be related also to the difficulty, in a kaleidoscopic global mixing, of tracing the lines of specific gendered models. Understanding how gender models change and how women continue to be exposed to their specific and often limiting impact, is part of the challenge that global network analysis must take on.

However, some relevant literature has already been produced, especially about global networks of female labour migrants such as domestic workers. For example, Hondagneu-Sotelo shows how migrant women develop entirely different social networks and do not share the same ones of men, even within the same household economy (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2003). Phizacklea demonstrates how social networks and other migrant institutions support transnational migration, emphasizing the intersection of class and gender in forming network (Phizacklea, 2000: 31).

All over the world there is an important and wide-spread presence of migrant women's networks, even though they are not often visible and considered in mainstream discourses (in Ireland for example *AkidWa, Migrants' Forum, FM-WEPON*; worldwide *Filipinas Women's Network, Vital Voices Global Leadership Network*, to mention few). These networks are very active in supporting women, in promoting their needs, their rights, and in simply bringing women together. These are more formal and institutionalised types of networks.

In this paper I am presenting a case of migrant women's networks, which shifts the focus on informal and non-institutionalized networks. I look at the case of Italian migrant women in Ireland, especially at the women belonging to the older waves of migration of first and second generation of migration. These women are often isolated, in the absence of strong and cohesive associations and institutions for Italian migrants in Ireland, rearing their children and working for their families, often caught within the boundaries of their familial affiliations. The material presented is part of the research for my Phd. In particular I take into consideration women's narratives emerging from open-ended in depth interviews with 15 women aged between 15 to 65 years old. The women all belong to older waves of migration originating from the Frosinone area.

## **3) Italians in Ireland: chain migration and the family.**

The migration of Italians to Ireland has been constant since the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, even though the patterns of migration have changed over the years. In the last decades Italian migration has become globalized, in the sense that most migrants come from "a broad spectrum of economic, social, cultural backgrounds" (Castles and Miller, 2005). Their migration has also a diasporic character, holding multiple and fluid sense of belongings and identification (De Tona, 2004)

In the pre-war period, Italian migrants originated both from northern and southern regions, and worked as stucco and terrazzo makers (Reynolds, 1993). Italian migrants

soon started to move into the catering sector, especially the fish and chips shops. Early in the 20<sup>th</sup> century a chain migration from the Frosinone province, located between Naples and Rome, took place, literally colonizing the economic niche of the fish and chips business. Although, in the last decades, professional and student categories have been conspicuous too, the chain migration has continued and migrants have expanded their activities in the catering business till now.

The focus of this paper is on the specific group of Italian migrants of the older waves of migration who came from the Frosinone area. This group of Italians estimated to form 70% of the circa 5000 Italians resident in Ireland, are by large employed in the catering business, especially in the fish and chips shops. Women constitute half of this group, but have mainly remained invisible in all representations and public discourses concerning Italian migrants.

The groups of this chain migration are characterized by strong family links. They have dense kinship ties, which bridge families transnationally. Italian society is traditionally based on the cohesive role of the family. Families have been described as possessing the type of “intergenerational closure” characterized by a dense social structure of norms, extensive trust and obligations (Zontini, 2004 :5). As Elisabetta Zontini suggests, this has often been considered a negative aspect of Italian culture. This is visible in the negativity of the early notion of Banfield on Italian “amoral familism” (Banfield, 1958), and in the more recent view of Paul Ginsborg (2003) on the mafia culture based on the family model (Zontini, 2004 :6). However, it is more accurate to recognize the mixed implications of this Italian familism, the ‘protective net’ function on the one hand, and the prescriptive behaviour, rights and duties role on the other (Zontini, 2004 :13). This ambivalent position reflects itself in the mixed experiences of transmigrant Italian families. “For some, families are the basic units from which wider relations of cooperation and solidarity are built, for others they represent the limit of associative life and integration” (Zontini, 2004 :16). In diaspora, the Italian familism is not bounded in localised communities, but on networks where solidarity and trust operates transnationally, akin to the one of the family (Zontini, 2004 :6). Women play an important role in managing and designing transnational kin networks. In this paper I will explore how women are positioned within transnational family networks, questioning how gender is shaping, connecting or partitioning migrants’ networks.

#### **4) Narrative networks: female cross-cutting belongings.**

The interviews with the women who participated in my research reveal that despite the strong family ties, Italian migrant women and men have different networks. Men and women entertain all sorts of relationships with each other and by linking to each other in marriage, they powerfully link families together. However women’s most meaningful relations, which allow them to express their subjectivities to their fullest extent, are the ones with other women.

Women’s networks have two fundamental characteristics. Firstly, they are based on women’s narrative practices, narrative exchanges, narrative modes of expression. Secondly, they are influenced by the gendered role of women as the household’s ‘care and kin workers’.

The first point relates to the fact that traditionally Italian women are the emotional receptors of the family. They often traduce emotions into narrative practices. Women are the traditional tellers of family’s identities and of family annals of memories. They tell continuously to their children and especially other women, because women traditionally relate with each other narratively (Jedlowski, 2000; Cavarero, 1997). This is a common practice among Italian migrant women in Ireland (De Tona, 2004). Their shared stories form the structural ties of their networks.

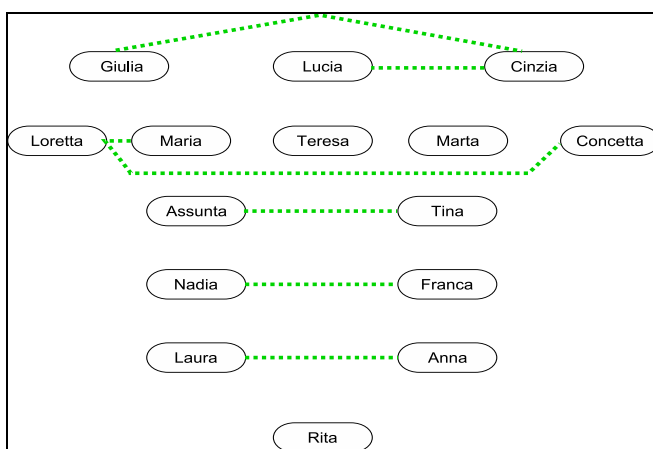
Secondly, their narrative ties are mainly built within certain structure of kinship or quasi-kinship (by which I mean the relations developed by fictive kinship relationships such as in-laws, god-parenthood, and all those relations modelled on relations of kinship, but created by convention). This depends on the fact that women of Italian extraction

have a major role in maintaining and structuring kinship ties. Michaela Di Leonardo shows in the case of Italian migrant in USA, that women have a greater share of kin work compared to men (Di Leonardo, 1992). She conceptualizes kin work as “ritual celebration of cross household kin ties, including visits, letters, telephone calls, presents and cards to kin; the organization of holiday gatherings; the creation and maintenance of quasi kin relations; decision to neglect or intensify particular ties; the mental work of reflection about all these activities; and the creation and communication of altering images of family in kin vis-à-vis the images of the others, both fold and mass media” (Di Leonardo 1992 :248). The women participating in my research have clearly confirmed such role. They are also doing the family care work, looking after their transnational families. This involves monitoring and meeting “the physical and emotional needs of individuals in more than one household, {in more than one country} and balance their time and energy between them” transnationally (Alicea, 1997 in Zontini, 2004 :11).

These gendered characteristics explain the importance, consistency and stability of women’s *narrative networks*. By narratives networks I explicitly mean the inter-subjective connections created by the same narrative practices which on the one hand are relevant for what ‘they tell’, and on the other hand are important for what ‘they do’, for their performative (Riesman, 1993) and transformative (Lentin, 2000) function. Narrative practices allow women to connect together and to form cross-cutting kin connections. Ultimately these ties are used to support each other and to bypass gender constraints. They also allow the circulation of material and symbolic possessions along these same ties.

I conceptualize women’s narrative connections as networks rather than other forms of social family groups, by virtue of certain specific characteristics. As suggested by Barry Wellman and Keith Hampton (1999), networks enhance “the ability to connect with a large number of social milieus, while decreasing involvement in any one [family] milieu”; they require “people to actively maintain their sparsely-knit ties and fragmented networks; by contrast, in [family] groups it is easier for people to sit back and let group dynamics and densely-knit structures do it for you”; networks foster “cross-cutting ties that link and integrate social groups [and families], instead of such groups being isolated in tightly-bounded little boxes”; ultimately, they reduce “ the pressures of belonging to [family] groups while increasing opportunity, contingency, globalization, and uncertainty through participation in social networks” (Wellman and Hampton, 1999 :7). Women’s narrative connections show to possess these specific characteristics.

**5) The graphs: ties and structure of the networks of the women I have interviewed.**



**Figure 1: Close kin ties**

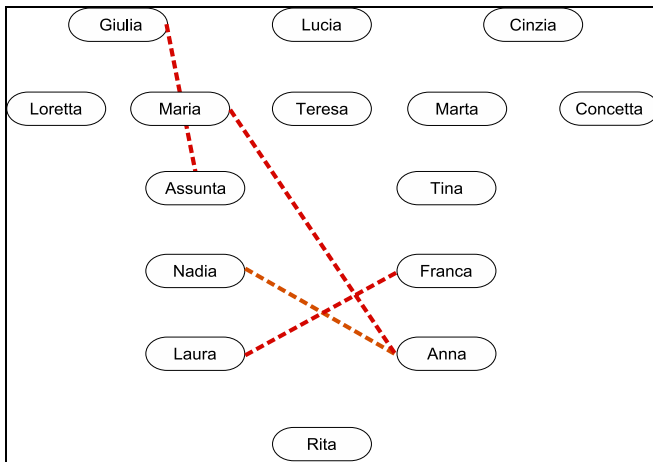


Figure 2: Quasi-kin ties

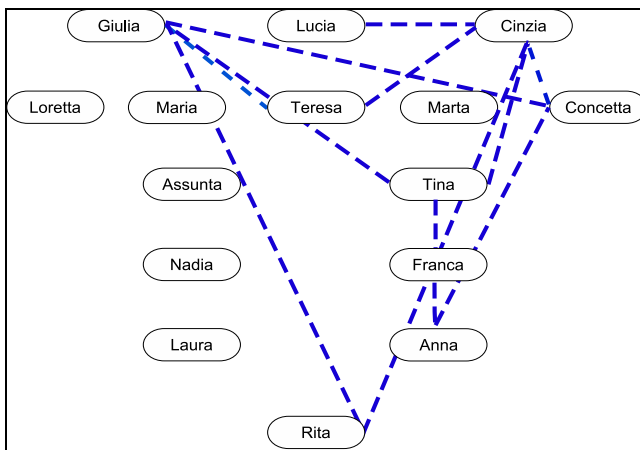


Figure 3: After-mass ties

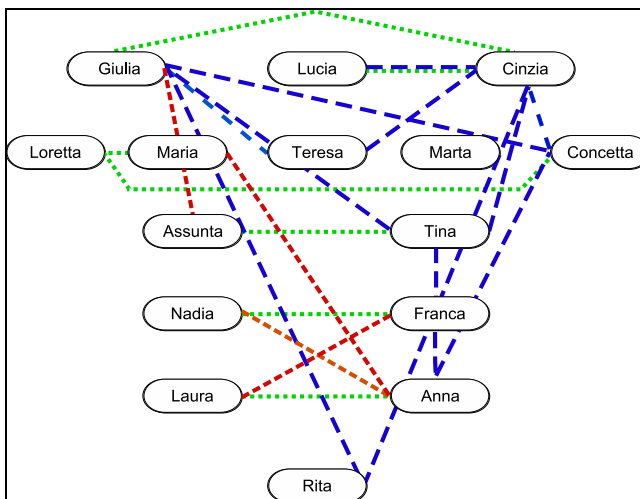


Figure 4: Networks blueprints

## 6) Women's kin work and ties

**Laura:** I remember my mum talking on the phone to my auntie Giuseppina, but not to her mum, my granny who died when I was 14. but then nonna Maria, she couldn't really

speak towards the end of her life, she couldn't really talk, so I don't think my mum would have talked to her on the phone, she would have spoken to my auntie, and my auntie would have told my mum how my grandmother was.

**Laura:** "any of the stories [my father] would have told me, and I can't really think [of many of them], I can think of a couple of stories about school friends"

Laura is a second-generation Italo-Irish young woman. Her narrative, as the many that emerge in my interviews, reveals to what extent women tell about each other and about their families, among themselves. Women maintain and ritually celebrate cross-household and trans-national kin ties. This was and is often done through the sending of letters, presents and telephone calls as Di Leonardo showed (Di Leonardo, 1992) but also through the actual sending, receiving, and moving around of relatives from one country to the other, to perform their kinship roles (parenting, grand-parenting, etc). Women are implicated first-hand in this transnational exchange of 'kin roles' by virtue of their position as mothers and the supremacy of motherhood in Italian traditional culture (Iacovetta and Gabaccia, 2002).

Most of my interviewees have some experiences of this kind. They tell how some of their children born in Ireland have been sent to Italy for a few months of the year with their grandparents and aunts. Sometimes they have been sent to other European countries where some other relatives are living. In some other cases they spend a few years in Italy, to study or attend courses. Some other children have been sent to Ireland to learn English. There is a constant movement of this sort and it is almost uniquely directed to households where women are present. It never happens to a male-only household.

Anna's story shows a similar experience. She has lived on and off in Ireland for the last 15 years, recounting at least 20 times she travelled to Ireland. Since she returned to Italy 10 years ago she came to Ireland every time a grandchild was born to help her three daughters, giving birth to seven grandchildren. She would then come for 3-4 months. Her story clearly shows how predominant is her role as a caring mother. She travels all across Europe to fulfil it. Anna does not speak English and when she is in Dublin, she is very isolated. She only leaves home to go to the nearby shops or school to collect her niece or to go to the Italian mass with some relatives, but she does not feel confident to go alone in the city centre for fear of getting lost. She resides alternatively with her two daughters' in Dublin. Anna's interview also reveals the importance she assigns to communicating and expressing herself, and the frustration for being unable to do so.

**Anna:** I couldn't understand [a movie in English], but I liked to watch. I understand few words, but I can't talk back, I can't talk back. It depends on the fact that I get angry. When I don't understand, I get angry. I would want to talk back, I would want to do that, but I can't and I get angry. (*My translation from Italian*)

Indeed, women like to communicate and tell many stories to each other, about their lives, their families and about their memories of Italy. Women are the main narrators of the family. They spend more time telling stories, they tell more stories and they place a higher value on stories as compared to men. Telling stories unites women, while creating common annals of memories for themselves and for their families. The channels, through which their stories circulate, form the structures of women's social networks.

The stories about women are told to women by women and construct a parallel world of meanings that often remains outside the hegemonic (male) sphere. When asked, women (stories) reveal the power of their agency in taking decisions about their lives.

**Assunta:** I liked mummy talking about all the fellows that used once to go out with her. ... One fellow used to go to the house of her mother and father and ask them 'why your daughter doesn't (sic) want to stay with me?' And my grandmother would say 'why don't you ask her?'



Particularly strong is the link of mother-daughter, and consequently their narrative exchange. Cinzia is 65 years old and she was born in Ireland. She rarely visited Italy.

**Cinzia:** We were brought up strict, not allowed to go out too much... mummy always spoke of Italy, always, I knew Italy in my mind before I went to Italy, I knew all about the country ... all the little towns around. (...) She told me how hard it was when she was growing up ... to work the land, and, things weren't just, you know, as easy. And we grow up knowing a lot about Italian way of life, but of the sort that, you don't you don't worry too much about it, you know! But then I loved go over to mummy; I remember all she said, the different place (sic).

Carla: Italy was the way you imagined it?

Cinzia: Ah yes, it was, it was. I liked it.

Cinzia shows how women's narratives are linked to memories. Daily practices of recounting sustain annals of personal and collective memories. Women are collectors of dislocation stories (Knowles, 2003 :142) and tellers of new diasporic belongings. These belongings are built however on 'familiar' territories of kin relations.

Rita's story highlights how strong female kin relations are. Rita lives very isolated in a small town in the Irish countryside, rarely returning to Italy to visit her family there. She has been heavily abused by her husband. He abandoned her in the last years, after 20 years of marriage and domestic violence.

**Rita:** My mother told me to stay away from him, because she saw all what happened. When I was ringing my mother I was telling her all. Everything the years, and she said to me, Rita, you should have left him years ago. The first time when he hit you, you should have left him.

This extract shows how solid the narration is, to the extent that Rita can say that her mother actually *saw* all it happened to her while she was talking over the phone. It is a narrative act that bridges distance powerfully and links women tenaciously together.

Women are often isolated in their private household spheres. "Women are behind the counter (of the fish and chips) and rear children" (Marta's interview), as one woman says. In the economy of the fish and chips shop, they are an important labour force, because they are cheap and flexible labour. There is a heavy burden of trust and obligations for women.

'Behind the counter' women are very active in supporting each other. Kin or quasi-kin female networks are activated to help bypass gender constraints and to reduce the pressure to adapt to traditional gender roles. Networks can be activated or partitioned at will. The ties of these networks are formed choosing among those with whom affinity is experienced. They cross-cut family alliances and cross-cut transnational female kinship groups as well. Therefore networks generally favour the women participating in them, even though they can also subjugate other women who are outside the network. Networks can be silent and latent, but can always be reconnected and used. Ultimately networks are a powerful social resource for women.

Concetta tells for example of her aunt who first left her hometown in Italy and subsequently encouraged her to move to Dublin. In this case the aunt-niece link is turned on to support a migration project, bypassing the powerful mother-daughter link.

**Concetta:** And the reason [my aunt] came was that they were quite well off, well not well off, but you know they got barn, you know after the war it was bad for everybody. And she was 24 and she thought she was going to be left zitella (single). She won't get anybody to marry her. So she came here with some people she knew, so she said, you grow up and come over, there is a nice family here and you know, you like it and you'll be much better than you are [in Italy]. And so I came, my father didn't want, my mother didn't say much but let me go.

The agentic power of women lies in this capacity to turn on and off the ties of their networks *narratively* and to allow narrative practices to activate and deactivate connections. The narrative networks are mediated through telephone calls and the sending and receiving of letters, presents, and 'kinship roles' as mentioned above. However they remain fundamentally based on a face-to-face kind of interaction. The women whom I interviewed meet regularly in Ireland, as well as in Italy during summer visits and other returns. They also meet in other European cities while visiting their relatives living there. In Dublin they meet during home visits and during family religious celebrations and ceremonies, such as christening, weddings, etc. Apart from other sporadic occasions (Italian national day celebration organized by the Italian Embassy; Italian cultural events, such as dancing ball, arts exhibition, etc) some Italian migrant women also meet regularly during the Italian mass, held in a church in central Dublin. After the mass, they go together to a coffee shop and spend an afternoon chatting together. I could count at least 30 women related to the 15 women I interviewed, who meet for coffee after the mass. They have been meeting quite regularly every Sunday for the past 20 years. Regularly does not mean all the women at the same time. This is a diasporic network, with women living between different European countries. In the year of my fieldwork in 2004, there were on average 4-6 women meeting for coffee after the mass. In one occasion I met Lucia, who was born in France by an Italian migrant family returning from America, where they had moved in the early twentieth century. She met and married an Italian man, whose family came from the same Frosinone province, where her family originated. They moved to Ireland 30 years ago to work with some of her husband's relatives. Now Franca has returned to France to take care of her aging parents, but all of her children live in Ireland. She tells that most of the women of the 'mass networks' are linked to her family through some kin connections. She also says that meeting them for coffee after the mass is not different from meeting them in their village in Italy, during summer time returns or at a wedding in France or anywhere else.

The women who meet at the mass used to meet for dinners together. A story about their dinners reveals how women-only networks are formed. Women have specific gender-related interests and sensitivities, which seem unsharable with their men.

**Giulia:** I have sister-in-laws (sic) and friends, and once in a while say, every five or six weeks, we used, we stopped now, go out and have a meal together, and catch up with all. They'd be talking of their children and grandchildren, and we'd been talking of all this little gossips you know! Who has another baby coming, who is next, and it's nice (sic) ... No husbands came, they don't come, just five, or six of us, going for a restaurant, for a meal (sic) Oh our husbands wouldn't have come. They wouldn't. We'd talk, I don't know about baby, children, and food, cooking, they didn't want hear all that.

That women have different networks is confirmed also by Nadia's Story. Here it is clear that women look for support in other women, and that quasi-kinship ties are developed to substitute, as in this case, absent-diasporic ones.

**Nadia:** I remember one time, coming home from school and the lady in question was in our house, and she was crying and she had a black eye, because basically her husband had hit her and so she came to my mum, she came, because her mother was in Italy (...) She came to our house and she was crying and it was obvious that her husband had hit her, I don't know perhaps she might have pushed her, and she was bruised, so obviously, but, I remember my dad basically didn't tell her to go home, but basically he said that, she is his wife and she has to go home. Basically what he was saying is that this is just the way it is and that's the way men are and that's the way women are, and you'll accept that. And that was my dad, that my dad said that (sic).

Not all the women of the same family would want to be part of, or would be part of the same women's networks. Women actively select their networks, and resist being

included in networks just by virtue of family affiliation and loyalty. Here is how Laura expresses it.

**Laura:** You know at mass, all the women, they would hang together, I mean, I don't know anything about their lives, whether they had Irish friends or whatever. I just knew that I had a lot of Irish friends, and that's where I am, and I go to Italy every summer, that's it. But for them, they seem to be more involved in them; it is just not really what I want. It just seemed very traditional and very family orientated and I don't know, I wasn't really, I didn't feel part of it"

Thus, it is not infrequent that even isolated women like Rita would form cross-ethno/national ties with other women of the towns in which they live.

Rita: [I have a] broken hearth ... [and] is nice to go and show a real face in the shop, you know, you kind of have to meet yourself and be happy, you know what I mean? ... There is a few [women] you know, I talk to them. Some women that come in the shop and all, whatever happens and everything (sic).

### **7) Conclusions: 'Why don't you ask her?'**

Women's narratives show a recognition of the complexities of migration, of the fact that women migrate for many reasons, and as one of my participants says women "went away [to Ireland] to work, and that's not really why they went away. But in fact, sure there were plenty of other reasons why [they] went away, [they] wanted a better life, [they] wanted to see more than [their] provincial town" (Laura's interview).

The women of my sample are also aware of the complexities which structure their networks, such family relations and ties. These women have tight family connections. In most cases, non-kinship networks are shaped by their kinship ties. However, through cross-household networking they manage to loosen and broaden their connections. This allows women to be part of diversified and overlapping cross-household groups and to share a wide range of information and knowledge. The networks they form help them to resist and negotiate gender constraints, inscribed both in the Italian traditional culture and in their condition of diaspora in the Irish context.

In the literature on social networks, there is a strong emphasis on the question of communication and information sharing (Wellman and Hampton, 1999). This is a key element in understanding the nature of these connections between women as networks. Women inhabit a world of information and knowledge parallel to that of men. Among themselves, women tell different stories about their lives and their actions. The stories they share construct the ties of their connections. Stories go from one woman to another, who may pass them on to other women. However, not all women know the same story at the same time. The knowledge they share is not available at all time to all women. However, this knowledge has an empowering effect for all women of the networks. Women learn of each other's stories through gossip and anecdotes, which travels far, across boundaries, distances and ruptures. These stories tell of how women can subvert gender norms; even if on the surface hegemonic discourses are not contradicted, because women's stories stay often among women, and men don't necessarily know about these stories. Men's (hegemonic) family stories tell of reassuring traditional gender models of women, caring and modest mothers and wives 'behind the counter'. Women's stories *to themselves* tell instead of the subaltern, counter-reality of women's diasporic and transnational lives, where women ultimately do have power over their lives.

Through these stories and through the act of connecting through stories, women learn ways of empowering themselves, but also empower themselves through the process of telling. By telling stories to each other women activate latent kinship networks with other women. These networks support women across national boundaries; they spread as far as migrants go. They also remain strongly based on face-to face kind of interactions. When women meet, networks are actually reinforced and linked together. In part this is an outcome of the sharing of transnational kinship roles, as mentioned above (transnational

mothers follow their daughters abroad and children are sent to Italy with their grandmothers and aunts, and nieces and nephews are sent to Ireland to learn English, and so on). Along the same ties where stories move, kin and kith travel too. Narrative networks are ultimately the most basic form of all kinds of networking.

In most accounts of network analysis, the emphasis lies on the question of connectivity, more than with the individuals themselves. The case of the women participating to my interviews shows that individual agency is always an important factor. Narrative networks are important, because stories connect women together, beyond the meaning of what they tell, but women are not less important than the relationships that link them. There is an essential link between the agency of women and the relations among women. One wouldn't exist without the other. Narrative networks, would not exist without the tenacious agency of women to break away from constraints, and on the other hand, women's agency is favoured and supported by their networks. Even when they are abused and isolated like Rita, women have an acute awareness of their gained social and economic independence through migration and their networks are an important instrument of agency, a way "to go and show a real face and everything, you know, you kind of have to meet yourself and be happy, you know what I mean?" (Rita's interview).

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