Egiziani-Italiani: Balancing Two Identities

A Brief Ethnographic Exploration of Clash, Cultural Pluralism and Identity-Negotiation in Milan, Italy.

An Honors Capstone Project by
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Abstract: This project sought a nuanced understanding of migration and identity negotiation among Egyptian immigrants in Milan, Italy. The primary goal was to identify components of cultural pluralism and sources of cultural clash via ethnographic research. In this paper, I analyze the experience of immigration based on research conducted over three months among Egyptian-Italians with family-run businesses and native Milanese in two neighborhoods salient for their immigrant population. A thorough review of related literature preceded my research and is also provided for context. Findings show that there are critical differences in the immigration experience of Muslims and Non-Muslims and that language use is the primary means of identity negotiation. Additionally, standards and expectations relating to sexual activity, religious practices and social behavior are the definitive topics for clash or cultural pluralism. Analysis suggests that the existence of common Mediterranean values could form the basis of pluralism in Milan. Cultural clash in the communities studied could derive from a crisis of Italian identity as a result of changing demographics (European integration, low fertility rates, aging population, and high rates of immigration) and differences in norms of behavior between immigrant and non-immigrant communities.

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Preface

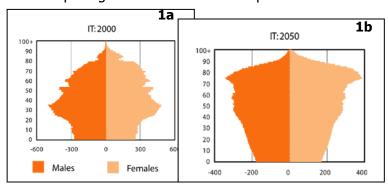
Honors Capstone Research Project

This project was intended to cap off my studies at American University in Political Science, Anthropology, Arabic and Italian and in a way that combines all my interests and provides practical application. Research was organized in pursuit of finding an alternative perspective (less pessimistic and more pluralist) on the current demographic situation and political and cultural discourse about immigration in Italy. This paper captures both my brief ethnographic experience in Milan and provides a literature-based context from which these interactions can be examined. My notes, a chaotic string of Arabish and Italiarabano, reveal something new and provocative every time I read thru them, so this paper presents a work-progress, or better, only an introductory investigation of the issues and themes addressed. This project was conducted during Spring 2008 under the supervision of Professor David Vine in compliance with the University Honors Departments' Capstone requirements for General University Honors.

Introduction

"The statistical conversion of Italy from a country of net emigration to one of net immigration in the early 1970s was the combined product of three different migration trends: the constantly declining flow of emigrants; the steady profile of return migration; and the dramatic rise in immigration, mostly from the developing world, which grew wit an accelerating rhythm through the 1970 and 1980s."

Italy has traditionally been labeled a country of emigrants, with Italians constituting some percentage of the population in every Anglo-Saxon country in the world. During the past two or three decades however, Italy has transformed into a country of immigrants. Italy's fertility rate has been below replacement rate since 1975². This has created an age structure that is posing serious problems to the labor force, health care, retirement system



and immigration policy. As seen in the figure below (1a), the young generation is only about half the size as the largest baby boom cohort, so a projected population pyramid for 2050 (see 1b) is quite alarming. The xenophobia that underlies much of the literature regarding immigration and demographic change in Italy is based on the fact the population of Italy is shrinking, and given the higher fertility rates of immigrant women, the percentage of native Italians is doing so somewhat more drastically.

Immigration during the past three decades is not simply comparatively very high, but also distinct because the majority of immigrants are arriving from the developing world. Immigrants compose approximately 5% of the Italian population ³. Most recent immigrants are settling in the North, from many different countries (see figure A, in appendix) with large percentages of them from Romania, Morocco, China and Albania. According to ISTAT, there are almost 60,000 Egyptians in Italy, the largest percentage of which are living in Milan.

Methods & Methodology

"The ethnographer's central purpose it to describe a social world and its people." 4

This projected was conducted under the assumption that stories of real, human experience can provide equally as dependable insight about handling Europe's changing face as academic or statistical research does. Ethnography is usually conducted over a matter of years and this endeavors lasted only a couple months, so by no means are my findings a collection of polished, holistic thoughts, but they are an honest attempt to frame some very charged issues in a more human and distinctly ethnographic way. In terms of methodology, ethnographic research naturally lends itself to relativism. I tried to approach research thru the lens of constructivism, and ultimately my methodology can best be described with what Genzuk calls naturalism, which implies that social events and processes must be explained in terms of their relationship to the context in which they occur.⁵

The goal of this project was to compare the literature on demographic change and cultural 'clash' in Northern Italy to the actual experiences of immigrants living in Milan. To meet this end, I approached my research with two primary research questions: (1) How does the experience of Egyptians in Milan complicate traditional concepts of integration or acculturation; clash versus pluralism? And (2) how do Egyptian immigrants define and sustain their identities? I had not expected the majority of my research to take the form of participant observation but it proven both unavoidable and infinitely effective. In total, I conducted approximately 450 hours of participant observation. In addition, I conducted approximately 200 hours of interviews that ranged from unstructured and very informal, to semi-structured and formal, with

a total of fifteen participants. "Fieldwork" began on January 20^{th} 2008 and was completed April 1^{st} 2008.

When I use the phrase 'participant observation' I refer to two separate ideas: One of which is dealt explicitly in this paper and the other simply tints the perspective thru which I understand and experience my research. The first is the traditional means of participant observation, in which the 'observer' shares in the daily life of the 'participants', attempting to merge themselves with the daily grind of those they observe in hopes of better understand them and their social organization. Additionally, I was a 'participant observer' (or, 'observing participant') during my research in the fact that I myself am a Muslim and therefore am an object of my own study. While my own experiences is not central in this analysis, having been able to understand some of the challenges presented by Italian society to being Muslim first hand, I feel I was better able to connect with some participants. Initially I felt that this was irrelevant to my project but to be honest, my own behavior has reflected the behavior of many other Muslims in Italian society and it has helped me understand strategies of assimilation.

The literature component of my research includes scholarly journal articles, academic lectures; EU, UN & Italian census data; EU Commission reports; newspaper articles; ethnographies and ethnographic how-to books/articles.

Sites & Individuals

"Ethnographic field research involves the study of groups and people as they go about their everyday lives". 6

The 'research site' for this project is hard to define. Ultimately this project was conducted in two specific sites (family-run business) in Milan and complemented by additional conversations and interviews in other nearby places of the city. The first site was *al-Radroon Islamiyya*, a small market and Islamic butchery that also sells fresh *shwarema* (kebab) most days. The small shop with its butcher's counter, a few shelves sporadically stocked with imported canned foods and dry goods, and large shish kebab rotisserie is located on Via Giovanni Antonio AMADEO, at the outskirts of Milan's "Little Egypt" community. The business is staffed exclusively by family members, but some are cousins of cousins and quite distant in their family relationship. The shop opened about a decade ago by Hamada, who is originally from Mansoura, a large village outside of Cairo. I visit the *negozio arabo*, as it is referred to as most people on the street and all Milanese who are familiar with it, every other day for 1 to 3 hours in the afternoon and early evening. The clientele is a mixture of passersby and Milanese

who enjoy the kebab and regular costumers from nearby neighborhoods who come to buy meat that is *halal* (slaughtered according to shari'a law or Islamic guidelines).

As mentioned, the surrounding area of the *negozio arabo* complemented my experience with the shop. I had hoped to conduct my research in Milan's "Little Egypt" but the streets that constituted that weren't exactly listed in LonleyPlanet. My haphazard strategy of locating it was simply to scope out every kebab shop I could find and to keep a keen ear out for *3amayya* (Egyptian Arabic) while walking down the street or riding public transportation. Ultimately, this strategy coupled with happenstance prompted my 'discovery' of "Little Egypt". 'Little Egypt" lies within the triangle formed by Via Abruzzo near Porta Venzia, Via Giovanni Amadeo in Ortica, and Via Monza near Lambrate (see figure B, in appendix).

The second site was Trippoli, a pizzeria owned by an Egyptian family who immigrated to Milano five years ago. They are five brothers who own two other restaurants in Milan. All the brothers are married to Egyptian women and they were married before coming to Italy. The family is Coptic (Orthodox/Eastern Christian) and originally from Asyut in Upper Egypt along the Nile. The entire staff is Egyptian, and related to the brothers if not by family than by church affiliation, except for two Italians. There is also a small troupe of solicitors who are Egyptian that wander into the restaurant to sell long-stem roses or other fresh flowers some nights.

Pasquale (Ba'ha) is the manager of Trippoli, and his brothers Paolo (Basil) and Mario (Maged) manage the two other restaurants that their family owns. Pietro (Peter) and Guiseppe (Yusef) are Pasquale's younger brothers and they work at Trippoli as servers. Giacomo (Shady) a cousin, works as a chef. There are several other cousins/church community members that do other jobs in the kitchen as assistant chefs, dishboys, or maintenance. Anna-Maria and GianLuca are the only Italians at the restaurant. AnnaMaria is a server originally from a small town south of Milano and GianLuca is a pizza chef originally from Sicily. I visited the pizzeria 3 evenings each week beginning during the pre-dinnertime calm and staying until the staff anxiously waits their tip-out to head home for the night.

The restaurant is located in Chimiano, an area of Milano that has been profoundly changed by recent immigration. Chimiano until recent years (about 1990) was considered an 'old' area of Milan, characterized by small grocery stores rather any 'super mercati' and most concretely by the use of a dialect specific to Milan. Via Padova, one of two major streets in Chimiano, is the street most frequently referred to when discussing the recent immigrants, particularly from North Africa. Via Padova was once a street characterized exclusively by the

Milanese dialect, now general Italian echos thru the streets as much as – or even less than - Spanish, Portuguese, Arabic, Farsi, Hindi, Bengal, Korean or Chinese.

Ethnographic Research versus Scholarly Literature

I am the Muslim immigrant they read about in papers or see on the news. I am not an accountant or an Egyptian or an Italian... I am their immigration problem.⁷

What follows is ethnographic evidence from my experience in Milan in support of - and in contrast to - scholarly literature about migration, demographic changes and Arab/Muslim immigrants living in Italy. I have arranged this discussion loosely by theme and analyzed some the conversations and experiences I had alongside assumptions and suggestions offered by prominent literature.

The Migration Experience of Muslim versus Coptic Egyptian Immigrants & Language Use a the Primary Means of Identity-Negotiation

One unexpected outcome in my results was a very clear contrast between the Muslim and Coptic Egyptian immigrants I came to know and how they adapt to or define their Italian identity. "I am equally Italian as I am Egyptian," these are the words of a Coptic-Egyptian man who has lived in Italy for 5 years, in comparison to this statement, "Even with Italian citizenship, I will always be Egyptian" said by a Muslim Egyptian who has lived in Milan for more than 20 years⁸. Similarly, the Muslim Egyptians reported a deep nostalgia for " 'hayat helwa' fi masr" the sweet life in Egypt, in contrast to the same words used by Coptic Egyptians to describe life in Italy. People's feelings rarely fall into binary concepts of good or bad, better or worse, when it comes to places they live their lives, since each place or phase in life is simply different rather than better or worse. The exception I've observed however is that the people I've come to know and their feeling on which life is 'sweeter'. Without exception, Muslim immigrants to Milano refer to life in Egypt as sweeter, and Coptic immigrants refer to life in Milano as sweeter. Furthermore, Christian immigrants when asked have no interest - no dream - of returning their families to life in Egypt. In contrast, every Muslim immigrant I encountered holds a deep lust for life in Egypt and dreams one day for themselves or their children to return to Egypt. Mahmood from the *negozio arabo* has spent 21 years (more than 2/3 of his life) in Milano and yet still longs to return to Egypt and hopes that his children will return there if he doesn't. In contrast, Pasquale, the owner of Trippoli, has been in Milano for just 5 years and

has no interest whatsoever in ever returning his family to Egypt, in fact he is working on finding immigration options for his elderly parents to come before they die.

Names also served very different roles for the people I came to know during their migration experience. Each member of the Tripolli family took a new name – comparable to their previous name, but distinctly Italian – upon moving to Italy. For example, Pasquale (Italian for Easter) was born as Ba'ha (After the Coptic holiday that celebrates the second rising of Christ). Similarly Yousef became Giuseppe, both of which translate into English as Joseph. Some were less identical, though: Frankie was previously Sha'dy. For these men, taking a new name was a "putting a face to their new life". I asked if there parents in Egypt still referred to them with their original names and their responses were varied and uneasy... One man expressed that he wished his family could speak Italian, so they could understand. Another, simply gave his parents "Italian" names as well.

In stark contrast, when I asked the guys at negozio arabo about their names and if they influences their treatment or way they identified themselves in Milan, I received passionate explanations' of the pride – but also frustration – they have in their Muslim names. Mustafa's, a clerk at negozio arabo, response was particularly poignant:

"Do you know why I named my son Ibrahim? He will live his life in a Christian world, in a Catholic country and I pray that his name, in the memory of the great prophet, will act as a bridge. Between him and different people, between his traditions and their traditions. I pray that it will be a source of strength and inspiration to him, not something that makes it hard to find work or gives him hard times in school..."

Another staff member replied, "Come on – you know how it is – you do it too – you did it too us," he paused and then feigned my Arabic accent "Ismy Aminah" [I'm Aminah]...These names, these beautiful Muslim names, group us together no matter where we go in the world."¹⁰ As Ahmed explains, "The concept of the *ummah*, community of brotherhood, may be intangible and even amorphous but it is powerful. It allows ideas to be carried across national borders and can generate emotions where Muslims live. It is the notion of the *ummah* that triggers a response when Muslims see or hear scenes of other Muslims being denied their rights or being brutally suppressed when voicing them"¹¹

The theme of names fit into the larger picture that my new acquaintances were drawing for me. Without exception, the primary tool for identity negotiation for the immigrants I interviewed is mastery of Italian. Conversely, one of the most sensitive and xenophobia-

inducing topics for native Milanese is prominence of other languages. One Milanese native who lives near Via Padova expresses, "This area of my city was once a place where one always heard the dialect of Milano. I like the foreign cultures, the foreigners...But this is my street. I want my Milano. I want to hear my Milano on my street."

I observed that anytime I was in public with an Egyptian immigrant friend they would speak with me in simple Arabic or broken English but would go out of their way to make small talk with passerby in perfect, colloquial Italian. When questioned about this, one young man told me, "Speaking good Italian is the only weapon I have." He expressed feelings of pride in his Italian language skills and said that they provided protection to be Egyptian "in other ways". I later learned that his wife wanted to master Italian so that she could explain that why she wears the veil and respond to the intolerant glares she received.

In the same way that language was Osama's weapon, a Tripolli worker, Carlo, described his 'weapon' to me. 'Shooft di in Qahira?" [You've seen this in Cairo?], the young man asks me as he pulls up his sleeve exposing a 7-inch tattoo of the Virgin Mary cradling Baby Jesus encircled by a golden hallow, almost in an act of defense or as if it was a sort of gang symbol.

"Iowa, tabaan..." [yes, of course], I reply politely and explain, "Kanet tedrees inklezeea 3nd Saint Barbara's kul al sena ma3dia" [I taught English classes at Saint Barbara's last year] as if my experience was my own weapon.

His face softens, "Saint Barbara?"

"Ah, fi Mar Girgis" [Yep, in Coptic Cairo]

"Si... bellisima" [Yes, very beautiful]

This encounter shows that even if Coptic migrants describe a more pleasant migration experience, they still feel pressure to defend themselves as a member of Italian society with a multifaceted identity.

Promiscuity as a Mechanism for Assimilation or Isolation & Religious Beliefs Versus Religious Practices

Less politically correct than language use, the second most common source of cultural pluralism or clash was on the topic of promiscuity or casual sex. The biggest challenge I faced in this project was the inconvenience and disrespect of men thinking that my ethnographic endeavors were secretly an excuse find a boyfriend, husband, or sex partner. Nevertheless, this was enlightening because the majority of Egyptian immigrants in Italy are male and all the male migrants I came to know either felt isolated to a more conservative Muslim community because

of norms in sexual behavior for Italian males *or* actually felt pressure to engage in promiscuous activity as a form of assimilation.

Ronald Inglehart and Pippa Norris have investigated a similar source of cultural tension. In fact, their article "The True Clash of Civilizations" places their own research in relation to hyperbolic text of Samuel Huntington, one of the first scholars on clash. Their research on 'world values' juxtaposes Western versus non-Muslim (primarily Muslim survey-takers) options on democratic performance, democratic ideals, political and religious leadership, gender equality, divorce, abortion and homosexuality against one another and shows that while Huntington is correct about a "cultural fault line" between the Western and Muslim worlds, they refute his work by claiming that divide is characterized by values related to sex rather than democracy. Their research shows that Muslim societies embrace democratic ideals but prefer more conservative social norms. Similarly, my research suggests that the conflict between plural identities as both Muslim and Italian is not rooted in political differences but rather values related to sexual behavior and other social practices.

The most reassuring for an appeal to pluralism that my research uncovered is the distinction between religious beliefs and religious practices. One theme that was reflected in many of my interviews was not an incompatibility of Islam or Islamic beliefs and Italian culture, but rather the practice of Islam and Italian culture. Some Milanese expressed comfort that Egyptian-Italians have a strong sense of religious identity because "believing in Good is part of being Italian" unfortunately, across the board the Milanese I came to know felt that wearing the veil, formally attending mosque, or simply not eating pork are offensive, un-Italian, and inappropriate for life in Italy¹³. Again, Norris and Inglehards commentary about the separation between liberal and democratic echoes clearly: One Milanese man put his frustrations in this way: "It's not fair that they expect tolerance here – their country doesn't give my people that... I couldn't go to Morocco and ask them to build me a church, could I? They think they can come here and ask for mosques and all these shitty Muslim things."

Conclusion

"In short, whoever you may be. To this conclusion you'll agree. When everyone is somebody. Then no one's anybody!" — William Shakespeare

The findings discussed here are, without exaggeration, only a small sliver of the research I conducted, yet the only topics that felt ripe enough to really engage with. So, what conclusions can be drawn from this brief experience? From these moments and daily

encounters? What are the answers to my research questions? How is it that these central questions seem to get lost among the answers they reaped? Perhaps the safest response to these questions, and certainly the most representative of a true student or ambitious researcher is simply that after this short-lived investigation, further research is essential. That considered, in this conclusion I will take a pithy stab at answering the questions this research sought, and then present several proposals for further research.

The primary research question was what are the components of cultural clash and pluralism between native Milanese and recent Egyptian immigrants in Milan? As demonstrated by my ethnographic evidence, the primary sources of cultural clash are ... The foundations for cultural pluralism can be clearly found in this research in language use. Additionally, there are subtle suggestions that the existence of common Mediterranean values may also pave the way to cultural pluralism. Most provocatively, a significant source of cultural clash may actually be rooted in Milanese society itself, given the considerable demographic, political, and economic changes Italy has experienced in a relatively short time. Every participant in my research noted how transition to the Euro damaged their financial stability noticeable. Older participants remarked upon their deep sense of nostalgia for a Milan that has disappeared into the cosmopolitan city. These insecurities can easily lead one to demonize or at least scapegoat immigrant communities. This is further complicated by the fact that recent politics of Italy have entertained politicians like Berlusconi who claims the superiority of Italian culture¹⁴.

The secondary research question was how do Egyptian immigrants define and sustain their identities throughout the migration experience. The first and foremost mechanism that Egyptians in Milan use to negotiate a dual or plural identity as both Egyptian and Italian is the use of the Italian language. Additionally, some immigrants find that adapting their religious practices, without changing their religious beliefs, also provides an avenue for a dual or plural identity. In contrast, an immigrant's identity as a member of the Egyptian community is defined in the same ways: they continue to speak Arabic in their house or with fellow Egyptians and they maintain their religious and cultural practices. Obstacles in identity-negotiation arise when a person feels isolated to or from one of their identities by social behavior. This is best demonstrated in the Islamic dress, sexual behavior, or simply dietary regimes of the Muslim participants in my research. Wearing the veil immediately isolates a woman from fully integrating into Italian society, but this gesture may also be a deeply important characteristic of her Egyptian, and Muslim identity. In the case of Coptic Egyptians, it

seems that far more components of pluralism exist than those for clash, undoubtedly as a result of their religious similarity to native Milanese and predisposition to appreciate life in Italy having faced discrimination or persecution during their lives in Egypt.

Opportunities for Continued Research

"Sometimes questions are more important than answers." – Nancy Willard

Mediterranean Values?

"The triple dimension of the Mediterranean space: a sea, a space, and a region, its politics and pace" 15

Surprisingly, a search of the terms "Mediterranean values" elicits documents discussing, describing, and debating the concepts of social life in the ancient empires of Greece, Rome, or even Islamic Spain. Occasionally the term "Mediterranean values" also brings forth articles examining and analyzing biblical texts or traditions and their impact upon social justice or behavior. It seems that any contemporary understanding of a common set of values present in the Mediterranean region is not discussed in the literature today. This is shocking consider the clear suggestion in my conversations with Egyptian immigrants in Milan that there is a significant common fabric in the life of Egyptians and Italians, one sewn together with values and expectations relating to the concepts of 'honor' and 'shame'. These words, of course, have many times been connected to Abrahamic religious texts and historiography of the Mediterranean region, but a use of the terms as a commonality between North African Mediterranean society and European Mediterranean Society is lacking.

Proposal for Continued Research: Examine the components of pluralism present between natives and migrants in Mediterranean Europe to create a definition of what might be considered 'Mediterranean values'. This could offer pro-dialogue politicians, policy-makers, scholars, and even civilians an outstand basis from which dialogue or even multicultural policy could derive.

An Approach to Italian Curricula that Recognizes the Arab History of Southern Italy and the Mediterranean Region

"They are all Catholic schools. Every school is Catholic, public or private, because the church makes the decisions about funding and these things... My history [Sicily] is not taught here...I feel like I am ...misleading?... my students... They think that Arabs in Italy is a new idea." 16

One avenue I was not able to thoroughly explore while in Milan was the dynamic of an Italian teacher who invited me to visit her classroom and review her curriculum. As a native of Sicily, she always reflected on how unjust it seemed that with the greater inclusion of Arabs in

Italian public schools the rich history and Arabic influence on Southern italy is not discussed in her history curriculum at any point. Furthermore, a historical approach might be a worthwhile strategy for Italian policy-makers. Last year Alicia Abad and Monica Seco, two Spainish political historians, published an article entitled, "Religion and Politics in the Mediterranean: An historical perspective" that has made the discourse surrounding secularism, modernity, politics, religion and cosmopolitanism become more moderate and deeply connected to Spanish history. This is relevant, because a degree of denial is present in the perspective of some Italians, or other demographically threatened communities, that today's demographic changes are simply an obstacle their societies are facing during this half-century. When in reality, no matter the outcome of these demographic developments, the waves of recent immigrants, political and social reaction to them, the creation of plural identities or emergence of cultural clash, and the economic turns that occur simultaneously will seriously characterize Italy, and perhaps Europe, throughout the 21st [22nd]. After all, "human migration is rooted in specific historical conditions that define a particular social and economic context."¹⁷

Proposal for Continued Research: Create a unit that covered Arab influence in the Mediterranean, particularly Italy, that the Italian education system could incorporate into national curriculum to make schools more inclusive of New Italians, students of foreign ancestry.

My Milano

The heart-breaking tones of nostalgia that resonate from my conversations and encounters with elderly people in Milan reach a new echelon of significance when I consider them against the landscape of today's global culture that Enloe and Zalewsky present:

"In a global age, one characterized by a global menu, global music, and global time, the resurgence of claims to identity might be seen as a response to a fear of disappearing into bland sameness...The fight for identity may, at one level, be an example of resistance to such an image of global uni-identity. Alternatively, the struggle for identity may be a reaffirmation of belonging, in a post-modern, post-local age. This desire mat be fuelled by nostalgia, a nostalgia for 'tradition', which might be constructed as nostalgia for the nation-state, the icon of modernity." ¹⁸

A project that investigated the feelings of nostalgia among older Italians could both raise awareness of the challenges presented by aging population and low fertility rates, as well as reinstall a sense of lost identity in the midst of Milan's ulta-cosmopolitanism.

Proposal for Continued Research: An in-depth ethnographic examination of Milan today, with special attention paid to the cosmopolitan nature of the city and the challenges of cosmopolitanism as expressed by older inhabitants.

Italarabono (Arabo + Italiano)

Had language skills, time and expertise allowed me to treat my brief research in Italy from anthro-linguistic perspective I certainly would have. Language is a key indicator of identity, and as Enloe and Zalewski note, "language is not simply a naming device, it is also a creative device" ¹⁹. The strategies and compromises Egyptian-Italians made between their two mother-tongues were fascinating. It was not until I returned to the US and began conversing with Egyptians here that I realized how Italian-ized my Arabic had become. Furthermore, my experience at the *negozio arabo* always hinted at a set of unwritten rules about who to approach in Arabic or who to greet in Italian. Coupled with the disturbing conversations with Osama about the use of language in public, this could be a really insightful project in understanding identity-negotiation via language use²⁰.

Proposal for Continued Research: An anthro-linguistic study of language-use about Egyptian-Italians.

Italian Politics & Media Characterization of Immigrants

"There are so many words to describe us... I don't even know what to call myself "21

There are strong correlations to the political discourse of Berlusconi (the new Italian President) and some of the Milanese I interviewed, especially regarding the superiority of Italian culture. Several scholars have already investigated the way that the press navigates how immigrants are characterized by public discourse, so a similar investigation into the political platforms of Italian candidates might demonstrate similar findings.

Proposal for Continued Research: A media analysis of recent political campaigns in Milan and their impact on policies and/or social realities for immigrants within that politicians constituency.

Remittances & Social Status

"When my cousins send their money home, they send their Friday nights home too."22

This quote is one of my favorite collected while in Milan because it addresses so many levels integration and assimilation into Milanese culture. Not only is the speaker belittling the social status a remittance-sender receives in their home country, but given his identity as an

Egyptian he also touches on a deeper-seated cultural adjustment: the concept of a 'Friday night' – an opportunity to relax, have fun, and celebrate the end of the work week – is a 'Thursday night' in Egypt given that the weekend is Friday and Saturday. More pertinently, each of the first-generation male Egyptian immigrants I spoke with discussed with me the remittances they send back to Egypt. Some provided straight-forward numbers, while others offered narratives of the needs of their families back home...A few, however, intricately discussed with me the sacrifices and benefits of sending remittances, identifying a inverse relationship between sending remittances home and social status in Milan. This complicated traditional assumptions about the way ""transmigrants maintain multiple familial, social, economic, and political ties to both their country of origin and their country of settlement and live their lives across national borders."²³ Nina Glick Schiller and Georges Fouron argue that migrants become incorporated in two nation-states and thus "contribute and maintain, contest, challenge and revalue structures of power in both locations."²⁴ Coupled with individual migrants intentions to return eventually to their country of origin or not further complicates this dynamic. I was unable to address this topic fully while in Milan and would consider reproaching it with a deeper understanding of transnational economics.

Proposal for Continued Research: An anthropological perspective on the economics of - and social capital created by - remittances.

F.S. Internazionale

"Inter: Stranieri di merda'25

My favorite research-distraction while living in Milan was attending the football matches. I became an *Interista* - Inter fan. Inter, the nickname for F.S. Internatiozionale, celebrated it's 100th anniversary during my stay in Milan and I received quite the history lesson. Every city in Italy has two teams, one given the name of the city (For example, Roma, Milano, etc.) and another opposing team (Inter, in the case of Milan). I found it only appropriate that F.S. Internazionale, since its inception, has been a team for New Italians, a team of immigrants. Currently, only 2 players on the squad are of Italian-descent, and in the history of Milan there has never been more than 5 Italians on the team during any given season. I've offered this suggestion last because I don't know what significance research about Inter could generate, but it seemed thought-provoking enough to mention nevertheless.

Proposal for Continued Research: An comparison of Milan versus Inter supporters in Milan? Might there be patterns in the social, political, or financial characteristics of Milan residents that support each team, respectively?

Notes

Appendix

A1. Bibliography with selected annotations

These annotations were intended to summarize the works I reviewed specifically about demographic change, international migration, Muslims, and cultural dialogue in Europe, to situate those pieces within the broader pool of literature, critically evaluate the claims made within them, and provide some biographic information about the authors.

Abad, Alicia Mira & Monica Moreno Seco. "Religion and Politics in the Mediterranean: An Historical perspective," *History & Anthropology,* September 2007, vol:18, Iss: 3, pgs:275-290

Article tackles the complex relationship between secularism, modernity, politics and Religion in the Mediterranean via the case of Spain-Maghrebi interactions. Continue...

Ahmed, Akbar. Islam Today. London & New York: L.B Taurus Publishers, 1999

I selected the first chapter of Ahmed's text because it raises substantive questions that contribute to and complicate the vacuous binary of 'Islam and the West'. His discourse situates the differences between Islam and the West in realistic, applicable, and relatable contexts across the Muslim world (rather than just the Arab Muslim world) and provides questions about the value and creation of dialogue and considers if it is possible to forge plural or multiple-identities with out sacrificing a religious identity or sense of religiosity. My criticism of this piece, and much of Ahmed's work, is that it draws from extremely specific cases of Muslim identities, Islamic practices or even interpretations of Islam which make for an outstand read but present impossible challenges when attempting to translate his work into practical application or social theory. Dr. Ahmed is an American University professor and the current Ibn Khaldun Chair. He is renowned for his pro-dialogue scholarship, innovative interfaith solutions, and progressive research strategies. His understanding of dialogue as a powerful political tool is based upon his experience as a British immigrant of Pakistani descent and a life-long study of Jinnah. His scholarship is also heavily influenced by Sufi Islamic principles of tolerance and nonviolence.

Allievi, Stefano. "Sociology of a Newcomer: Muslim Migration to Italy - Religious Visibility, Cultural and Political Reactions," *Immigrants and Minorities,* November 2003, Vol:22, No:2&3, pgs:141-154

This article address the religious (as opposed to ethnic or cultural) presence of Islam in the European public debate, deemed relevant because "Islam has also become a significant religious presence in Italy". Allievi describes the main aspects of this presence with the "sociography" of Islam in Italy and then addresses on how Islam and Muslims have become an object of debate in the Italian public space, in political, religious and cultural circles. Allievi underlines the fronts upon which residents feel tension or discord. Allievi's text is heavily based in theory, as he draws from both Edward Said and Samuel Huntington, as well as much of his past work. His discussion of media is informed almost exclusively by La Republica, a moderate-right Milanese paper. I appreciate Allievi's work because his motivation for writing about Muslims in Europe and interest in international migration is rooted in the pursuit of pluralism, yet he truly draws from scholarship across the 'dialogue' spectrum. Allievi is a professor of

sociology at the Faculties of Sciences of Communication and Political Sciences at the University of Padua. He specializes in migration issues, in the sociology of religion and cultural change, and has focused his studies and research on the presence of Islam and on cultural pluralism in Europe.

Allievi, Stefano. "Islam, Europe's Second Religion: the new social, cultural, and political landscape" in *Islam in Italy*. Wesport, Conn: Praeger, 2002.

Allievi, Stefano. "The Islamic Presence in Italy: social rootedness and legal questions," *Islam in Italy*. Wesport, Conn: Praeger, 2002.

Allievi, Stefano; Dassetto, Felice. "Introduction" Social Compass, 1999; pgs:46-51

This brief article satisfies many of the same questions as Ahmed's article above asks. Allievi and Dassetto's introduction depicts the transition that research relating to "new social realities" in Europe has gone thru, explaining that researchers initially took orientalist approaches, then acknowledged the knowledge based in and derived from the Muslim world, and after that, engaged themselves (beginning in the late 1980s) in an ideological interpretation of belonging to Islam, which depicts any manifestation of Islam as a political act. Allievi and Dassetto claim that this approach has forced research to "to negotiate proximity to and distance from the anthropology and sociology of religions, which in Europe is limited to an anthropology or sociology of Christianity." The authors introduce the new "geo-religious" space that is developing in Europe and most specifically Italy. Their text is based on the results of a workshop on "Conversions to Islam in Europe" held in January 1998. The text is printed in French but available in an English translation.

Anderson, Gerald F., Peter Sotir Hussey. "Population aging: A comparison among industrialized Countries," *Health Affairs*, May/Jun 2000, Vol:19, Iss:3, pgs:191-201

This article is an excellent introduction to the challenges posed by an aging population. It provides statistics from the past 30 years to clearly define the demographic changes industrialized countries are facing and presents the impact of these changes are having upon health expenditures, insurance coverage, and other policy implications. Unfortunately, this article focuses exclusively upon the USA, Canada, France, Germany, Japan, New Zealand and the UK, and does not discuss Italy. Anderson and Hussey are researchers at Johns Hopkins School of Hygiene and Public Health.

Arie, Sophi. "A rising tide of Muslims in Italy puts pressure on Catholic culture" *The Christian Science Monitor*, 10 November 2003. http://www.csmonitor.com/2003/1110/p07s01-woeu.html

Arie's article describes the political reaction and possible solutions to the rise of non-Muslim students in Italy's unofficially Catholic schools. The article begins with a description of refugee-immigrant communities in Rome and the demographics of Muslims in Northern Italy. Arie discusses Italy's move to secularism in the 1980s but also notes legislation from the 1920s that still contributes heavily to education policies. Arie also identifies Muslim parents of school-age children who claim that any gestures by the government to make schools more 'secular' is ultimately negative for them because it isolates them and creates tension between Catholic neighbors and classmates. Her brief treatment of recent Italian politics suggests that this is not in the near future. Arie's piece is relevant to this review of literature because she captures the words of Muslim families that disentangle arguments about secularization from those made about

pluralism. As stated by other authors, secularism is creating more problems than diversity. Her article fails to distinguish between economic immigrants and forced migrants (refugees) in the Muslim community, which have divergent interests in Italian politics and represent two very different populations in the Italian economy.

deMattei, Roberto & John O'Sullivan. "Christians, Muslims and Secularists in European and Italian Politics" (Lecture) Washington, DC: Hudson Institute, 3 October 2007. Audio available at: http://www.hudson.org/index.cfm? fuseaction=hudson upcoming events&id=440

deMattei's lecture dealt the changing religiosity and demographics of Europe and Italy, specifically. He discussed the divergence between the European Union and European Civilization and organized the current challenges for European states in terms of the threat of immigration on European civilization and changing values and expectations within the state that exacerbate the challenges. He claims secularists are as detrimental to European state politics and European culture as immigrants with divergent beliefs. His lecture echoed with racist, euro-supremacist and xenophobic tones with claims such as "we must demonstrate Christian superiority over Islam". His statements were based on surveys of Muslims living in Europe and political discourse between European, North African and Middle Eastern political leaders. Well-published and generally distinguished in Italian academia, Roberto de Mattei is a Professor of Modern History at the University of Cassino. Since 2004 he has served as Vice President of the Italian National Research Council, in charge of the Human Sciences Sector. From February 2002 to May 2006 he was Advisor to the Italian Government on International Affairs. From 1982 to 2006 he was President of the Centro Culturale Lepanto. deMattei's lecture captures the arguments, concerns, and policy agenda of conservatives in Italy today and correlates with the other literature in this review to provide a vivid and concise description of those views. His arguments lack a treatment of traditional identity politics, dismiss any merit in theories of cultural dialogue, and most problematically compare and contrast the words and emotions of civilian Europeans against those of Muslim leaders, which creates exaggerated, unrealistic or sometimes entirely constructed examples of cultural clash.

Esposito, John L; Voll, John O. "Islam and the West: Muslim Voices of Dialogue" in Hatzopoulos and Petito (eds.), Religion in International Relations: The Return from Exile. Palgrave: Macmillan, 2003.

I selected Esposito and Voll's chapter from this collection because it sets the concepts of clash and pluralism (discussed by Esposito and Voll as 'dialogue') in a context of Islamic history and Muslim intellectual thought. This paper uses the cases of Anwar Ibrahim, Mohammad Khatami, and Abdurrahman Wahid as the models for creating "new perceptions of global interaction" during the next century. They offer helpful definitions of 'old terms' (ex: "Secularization – that is, the personalization of religion and the separation of "religious" activity from the secular/political public arena" (239)) along side a thorough review of literature (particularly that of Peter Berger regarding secularization theory) and then renovate even older terms to promote new ideas about cultural dialogue. For example, Esposito and Voll use the term convivencia – a throw back to the political and social environment of Roger II's Siciliy that was peacefully inhabited by Jews, Christians and Muslims like much of Spain and other islands in the Mediterranean – to describe the goals of their dialogue frameworks. The most applicable case study the authors discuss for my research is that offered about Abdurrahman Wahid, the first

elected president of Indonesia, about cosmopolitan Islam and global diversity. Wahid's philosophy represents an Islamic neomodernism that advocates a progressive Islam that is democratic, pluralistic, and tolerant (256). When explaining the key condition for pluralism in his country, Wahid alludes to "the blending of religion and culture, Islamic beliefs and values with local cultures and practices." (256). Coincidently, the use of the descriptor 'cosmopolitan' is also provocative considering the term has emerged in dialogue with many Milanese along side their frustrations with the city's changes during recent decades. Renowned scholars of Islamic history and dialogue, Esposito and Voll are the Director and Assistant Director of the Center for Muslim and Christian Understanding at Georgetown University.

European Commission, "How Europeans see themselves — Looking through the mirror with public opinion surveys," *'European documentation' series,* Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 2001. (56pgs)

The European Commission has been measuring public opinion to inform itself on the views of EU citizens since 1973. Over the past 25 years, the Commission's public opinion surveys have collected information about nearly every aspect of European Union life. The European documentation series is conducted in association with Gallup and is similar to the Eurobarometer surveys but the European documentation series has traditionally focused on salient sectors of society, giving voice to young people, women or top managers, and elderly in their public opinion surveys. As the title implies, this publication provides readers with a picture of how Europeans see themselves by looking at a variety of subjects: citizens' values and life satisfaction at the end of the 20th century, European citizenship, public opinion towards the European Union, public support for the policies of the European Union, public opinion towards a number of issues that EU citizens worry about. The final chapter of the brochure looks towards the future by looking at people's expectations of the 21st century, people's perceived and desired role of the European Union in the 21st century. This article presents tremendous opportunity for comparing and contrasting the responses elicited in my own research against that of the EU. This piece is stronger than other Eurobarometer reports because it recognizes both positive and negative reactions and also makes adjustments (or notations) to represents periods of transition within the EU that might affect surveyors' responses.

European Commission, "Intercultural dialogue in Europe" Eurobarometer, No: 217, 2007

This article is the summary of the final report of fieldwork conducted in November of 2007 with European residents regarding intercultural dialogue. This topic was chosen in celebration of the fact 2008 was declared the Year of Intercultural Dialogue in the European Union. The data was collected in all of the EU25 (full European Union including recent member/transition) states and is remarkably representative considering the holistic survey of residents across several age, income, gender, and ethnicity brackets. The main findings of the research were that almost three-quarters of EU citizens believe that people with a different background (ethnic, religious or national) enrich the cultural life of their country; that day-to-day interaction among people belonging to different cultures is a reality in Europe, that 'cultural dialogue' or 'clash' is most commonly perceives on the basis of ethnicity, and that the dominant sentiment in the EU is intercultural dialogue is beneficial, but for many, carrying on the cultural traditions is equally important. Additionally, the report suggests that Europeans

attribute a variety of meanings to the expression "Intercultural dialogue in Europe" and that most of these are positive and described with words like, "conversation", "cooperation", "exchange" and "mutual understanding". Ironically, only one-fifth of the people survey "admitted to having a great interest" in any EU-sponsored intercultural dialogue events or programming. This piece stands out in my literature review as being one of the most optimistic as well as representative. Ironically, however, is that its primary flaw is its sugar-coated nature and failure to address concerns, fears, and hesitations to migration and multiculturalism. This is probably a product of the fact the phrase 'intercultural dialogue' predisposes an interviewee to remark on positive encounters, where as a more loaded phrase (international migration, etc) merits less rosy-colored responses.

Inglehart, Ronald; Norris, Pippa. "The True Clash of Civilizations," *Foreign Policy,* Mar/Apr 2003, No:135, pgs:62-72

Inglehart and Norris' piece provocatively reacts to Samuel Huntington's "The Clash of Civilizations" agreeing that there is indeed a "cultural fault line" between Western and Muslim civilizations but arguing that that fault line is not characterized by democracy but instead by sex. Their research is based on data collected by Freedom House regarding democratic ideals, the World Values Survey, and independent surveying that addressed gender-equality and attitudes towards divorce, abortion, and gay rights. Ultimately their article argues that democracy is not incompatible with Muslim culture in any way, but that the Western practice of democracy is reflective of liberal values not essential to the definition of democratic ideals. Basically, Inglehart and Norris feel that Muslim countries could elect their leaders in a fair and contested election and still maintain deep-seat anti-Western sentiments or practices based on their more conservative social norms. They also offer a 'barometer of tolerance' in which the Scandinavian countries almost side Germany, New Zealand, Canada and the US rank the most tolerant of both democracy and gender equality. Egypt, Itan, George and Azerbaijan rank the lowest. Egypt, according to their research, is described as 40% of those surveyed hold 'democratic values' and all but 10% agree that men hold more important social and political responsibilities than women. Their article begs a more nuanced understanding of democracy in a global political environment. Ingelhart is the program director of the Center for Political Studies at the University of Michigan's Institute for Social Research and directs the World Values Survey. Norris is the McGuire lecturer in comparative politics at Harvard University's JFK School of Government. Both have published several articles relating to the gender gap and cultural differences and their impact on political and social processes.

ISTAT (Instituto Nazionale di Statistica), "La popolazione straniera residente in Italia," *Statistiche in breve,* 17 ottobre 2006.

This publication provides the most comprehensive, accurate, and comprehendible data regarding all foreign residents (legal, illegal; temporary and permanent) in Italy currently. All the data is courtesy of il Servizio Popolazione e cultura and is based on government documents and records, census, immigration, asylum and deportation statistics in addition to research conducted by ISTAT researchers. This piece was most useful because it broke down statistics about migrants to describe where specific ethnicities settle, which migrants (ethnically or regionally) find employment in specific sectors, and how long certain migrants stay and the way in which they do so legally or

illegally. The draw back, unfortunately, is that ISTAT only publishes in Italian and provides very little analysis for the exquisite data it presents.

King, Russell; Andall, Jaqueline. "The geography and economic sociology of recent immigration to Italy," *Modern Italy*, 1999 Vol:4 Iss:2, pgs:35-158

This article provides an overview of the geography and economic sociology of recent immigration to Italy. Their arguments stress the regional diversity of the immigrant experience within Italy and the diversity of migratory types and nationalities which have entered the country of the past 30 years. In the conclusion of the article the authors present a brief analysis of the Italian political response to the country's relatively new status as a receiver of large-scale immigration. Their discourse is strong and clear, but nearly out-dated as much of their data is based on the 1991 census. King's interest in Italian demographics derived from his early research on land reform in southern Italy. His later work focused on Albanian migration in Spain which as led to more general studies of migration and cultural pluralism in Italy. Andall is a lecturer in Italian studies at Bath University and served as King's research assistant.

Kurtz, Stanley. "Demographics and the Culture War," *Policy Review,* February & March 2005, Pgs:33-46.

Kurtz's piece comprehensively introduces and examines the new demographics of today's global society and their implications upon economics, political behavior, and even genetics. Kurtz bases many of his assumptions and draws all the statistical information and projections from four books grappling with new demography. In many ways his paper can be considered a literature review of Ben Wattenberg, Kotlikofff&Burns, Peter G. Peterson, and Philip Longman's most recent texts about demographic change. The 'culture war' he describes is a vaque 'war' waqed with fertility rates and births, directed by cultural and religious values and expectations, and fought un pursuit of demographic hegemony. Unlike many articles on this topic, Kurtz does not focus exclusively upon the clash of the West with Islam or even the rise of Muslims in non-Muslim countries. Instead, Kurtz highlights possibilities for conservatism to triumph in the political and social environment of the New Demographic Regime and warns his readers of the dangers of a revitalized conservatism. A criticism of Kurtz article is that he offers successful pro-natalist policies as the means of mollifying obstacles posed by new demographics, yet he fails to properly address what pro-natalist policies consist of, how they relate to political conservativism, and what cases of pro-natal policies have been successful. Stanley Kurtz is trained in both anthropology and psychology and has coined the phrase "culture war" in American scholarship, but has also published extensively on religion and family life.

Macura, Miroslav; MacDonald, Alphonse L. & Haug, Werner, "The New Demographic Regime: Population Challenges and Policy Responses," *United Nations Economic Commission for European Population Fund.* United Nations: New York & Geneva, 2005

This 300 page read fully addresses the demographic changes occurring in Europe and the entire spectrum of policy implications for them. It addresses low fertility, issues such as childbearing and parenting, morbidity and mortality, reproductive health and international migration. Much of the information presented derives from The European Population Forum. This publication includes the keynote and background papers prepared for that Forum. Hosted by the Government of Switzerland, the Forum was

jointly organized by the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (UNECE) and the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA). Three hundred and sixty experts attended the Forum and this contributed to this publication. They were from the executive and legislative branches of government, academic and research institutes, civil society organizations and the private sector, and they came from 47 UNECE member states. This publication has four major themes: Global population and development trends from a European perspective; enabling choices thru policy related to childbearing and parenting in low fertility countries; morbidity, mortality and reproductive health: facing challenges in transition countries; and management and integration of international migrants. Population ageing was not included as a theme as it was the topic of the UNECE Ministerial Conference on Ageing held only just over a year prior. The two most relevant topics addresses in the article are those of the distinctly European perspective on international migration and demographic change and the integration of international migrants. The consensus from the forum as well as the publication is that migration and the integration of migrants is a concern (that has led to an intense social and political debate about the future of migration in multiple countries) but is nevertheless, essential and important for national economies. Furthermore, the publication confirms that "while better integration of migrants into their host society is an agreed objective across the region, in many instances policies to facilitate this remain to be developed and implemented". In its conclusion, the contributors explain that "reliable information on the situation of migrants is a pre-requisite for the development of such policies" which speaks directly to the relevance of my project.

Massey, Douglas; Arango, Joaquin; Hugo, Graeme; et al. *Worlds in Motion: Understanding International Migration at the End of the Millennium.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998.

This text was used in Ambassador Quainton's honors colloquial course entitled "New Demographics and Public Policy". I referenced chapters nine, International Migration and Community Development, and four, Coming to Terms with European Migration, of the text, as well as several of the charts and tables in my literature review. Chapter nine introduces classical and neoclassical views on microeconomic theory relating to migration and examines community remittance-use in to discuss the New Economics of Labour Migration. This piece was particularly useful in combination with the New Poverty Studies text which provided a discourse on remittances based on ethnographic research as opposed to statistical research. Additionally, Massey et al.'s text presents results from a study that specifically addressed the impact of remittances sent home to Egypt (Adams 1991 and Amin & Awny 1985, qtd. from pages 258). Chapter four introduces the demographic changes and challenges effecting Europe in recent decades and provides several useful EU and UN provided charts describing immigration rates. The drawback to several of these charts is that they lack data more recent than the year 2000. Additionally, much of the dense economic theory presented in chapter nine is irrelevant or too controlled to reflect or enhance my research.

Rath, Jan; Penninx, Rinus; Groenendijk, Kees & Meyer, Astrid. *Western Europe and its Islam.* Leiden, Boston and Köln: Brill, 2001.

Paradoxically, this book, with Dutch and German authors, focuses primarily on the Dutch situation but approaches its conclusions as representative of events in Europe as a whole. The book also contains a comparative analysis referring to Belgium and the UK, two countries that quite obviously do not necessarily represent Europe. The

introductory chapter opens with three important questions that are effectively 'European', even though exemplified through essentially Dutch examples, these questions address (1) the creation of Muslim institutions, which render the presence of Islam visible in the public space; (2) the subjects (i.e. the factors and agents) that play a role in the process of institutionalization; and (3), how the political discussion about this issue is conducted in social terms (not only at the political level) towards the increasing presence of Islam in the public space. The first question (institutionalization of Islam) is understood through a thick and complex model that depicts seven spheres: the religious, the legal, the educational, the social (in the strict sense of health and social care), the socioeconomic, the sociocultural and, finally, the political sphere. The second question (factors and agents) includes key local, national and international factors and actors, Muslim and non-Muslim. The third question is responded with an evaluation of ideological issues facing Europe today. The authors use a term, mediasphere, which shows that the discourse on Islam in Europe is fueled heavily by media (this is echoed by Italian-specific work conducted by Sciortino and Colombo). Despite its release in 2001, the book is already outdated, consider that the first line of the text to 5-6 millions of Muslims in Europe, while they are now at least triple that.

- Ramadan, Tariq. "Islam Today: The Need to Explore Its Complexities" 22 August 2007

 Published in the Nieman Reports. Summer 2007. Issued by Nieman Foundation for Journalism at Harvard University http://www.nieman.harvard.edu/
- Ramadan, Tariq. "Europe and its Muslims: Building a Common Future" 12 July 2007 CISMOR, Doshisha University.
- Ramadan, Tariq. "The Pope and Islam: The True Debate" 21 September 2006
- Ramadan, Tariq. "Islam in Europe" 27 September 2004, from the October 31, 2006 edition http://www.csmonitor.com/2006/1031/p01s04-woeu.html

I had the privilege of corresponding with Dr. Ramadan while interning at the Middle East Institute. His work focuses on Muslims in Europe and he believes that the next two decades in Europe will be characterized by the transition of Muslim involvement in civil society and see the solution for current challenges to be found in Muslim converts and/or second- generation immigrants in Europe who are able to foster common values and invest in a joint-future between Muslims and native Europeans. Ramadan's articles are

Roggero, Maria. "Muslims in Italy" in *Muslims in the West: from sojourners to citizens.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002. Pgs131-143.

Roggero's article is from a collection of articles about Muslims in Western countries. Her article approaches the post-World War II Muslim immigration situation in Europe both numerically and in terms of cultural impact. Her article was informative for my research because first it compares Muslim immigration in Italy to that in other countries, then it offers marginally helpful statistics about immigrants countries of origin, level of education, frequency of mosque attendance and family characteristics (all from research conducted in 1998), then the paper lists all Islamic Associations in Italy with a general overview of their primary objective and who sponsors their efforts – this was helpful for identifying possible sites in Milan. In her conclusion, she addresses the complicated situation for Muslim converts and Muslims in mixed marriages. Ultimately, Roggero's

- article lacks a strong argument about pluralism or clash and instead offers a straightforward overview of 'Muslims in Italy'.
- Saint-Blancat, Chantal and Fabio Perocco. "New Modes of Social Interaction in Italy: Muslim Leaders and Local Society in Tuscany and Venetia" in *European Muslims and the Secular State*. Ed. Jocelyne Cesari and Sean McLoughlin. Hampshire, England: Ashgate Publishing Ltd. 2005
- Sciortino, Giuseppe; Colombo, Asher. "The flows and the flood: the public discourse on Immigration in Italy, 1969-2001," *Journal of Modern Italian Studies,* Vol:9 No:1, pgs:94-113 (2004)

Sciortino and Colombo's present an outstanding evolution of public discourse on immigration in Italy using media from 1969 thru 2001. The article traces the changes in the characteristics used to describe foreigners in weekly presses article over the past 30 years, as well as context, frequency of immigrants in the news, and salience within the print layout. Additionally, they compare the findings of their media review to the reported statistics of immigrants, deviance in immigrant communities, and crimes committed by immigrants. Ultimately their article makes very provocative claims about the media's impact about immigration including (1) an initial explosion of interest in immigrant-related news has slowly faded in the past decade, (2) the modifications in word usage to describe immigrants (references to work have declined while distinctions between legal and clandestine have increased), (3) an exaggeration of crimes committed by immigrants or a dismissal of crimes committed by non-immigrants, (4) the correlation between security concerns and stories that cover immigrants, suggesting that the larger social and political discourse on immigration is fueled almost entirely by the media. Sciortino and Colombo's article drew from several databases and included papers across the Italian political spectrum.

Sciortino, Giuseppe; Colombo, Asher. "Italian immigration: the origins, nature and evolution of Italy's migratory systems." *Journal of Modern Italian Studies*, Vol:9 No:1, pgs:49-70.

The second article I reviewed by Colombo and Sciortino analyzes the latest data on foreigners currently living in Italy and organize where immigrants originate, why they migrate to Italy, where they settle, and what percentage are provided with residence visas, citizenship and/or family reunification privileges. Their article stands out again others because their arrangement of data suggests that the last two decades have seen a decrease in the number of foreigners living in Italy. The short coming of their analysis is that they fail to accentuate that the percentage of North African, Middle Eastern and immigrants from other Muslim countries has increase significantly during the past two decades lower immigration rates. Colombo is professor demographics at the University of Bologna and Sciortino is a historian from University of Trento. Their article draws from a wide pool of scholarly literature in addition to Italian census information and government reports. Their research was made possible on behalf of the Department of Educational Sciences at the University of Bologna.

Statham, Paul. "Resilient Islam: Muslim Controversies in Europe" *Harvard International Review,* Fall 2006; Vol:24 No:3, pgs:54-60.

Statham's short Harvard International review article describes the public policy debates over the political accommodation of ethnic minorities of migrant origin in Europe and

explains why the fieriest debates have pertained exclusively to Muslim immigrants. His piece was useful in my literature review for distinguishing between the concepts of multiculturalism and civil integration. As he states, "there has been a shift from multicultural policies towards more civic integrationist policies in transforming multicultural principles into policies." (54) He describes the historical incompatibility of Islamic practices and liberal European values and ultimately claims that acculturation and political accommodation rest in 'the extent to which Muslims which to practice such cultural traditions" (54) One flaw in Statham's treatment of the current political situation is the fact he sets practice of cultural traditions in contrast of following "norms, values, and principles of liberal democracy". "The physical appearance of Islam to migrants is not just a 'homeland hangover' of new arrivals and older people, but often is a source of identification for second- or third-generation youth who are trying to find their place between the culture of their parents and the indifference, rejection, and sometimes outright racism of their country of birth" (57) "Islam is more visible than Hinduism. It places strong demands on its followers in regard to their public behavior and interactions with core institutions."(60) His sources are the Eurobarometer survey... The article also offered an informative side panel about asylum procedures and refugeerelated policy in the Common European Asylum System (CEAS). The article is extremely useful also for offering a comparative perspective to which to describe the Italian immigration experience. Statham summarizes the Dutch, British, French and German experience of immigration suggesting that in the case of the Netherlands, conferring groups rights too easily promotes factionalism; in the case of the UK, political participation of Muslims with group-specific demands can produce "seemingly irreconcilable conflicts"; in the case of France, strong assimilative pressures can push immigrants away from an interest in political identity and promote the adoption of a "neutered or politicized Islam"; and in the case of Germany, that immigrants must constitute a political part of a society before they can impact the politics within it. Statham, trained in sociology and past editor of the American Journal of Sociology, sis the founder and director of the Center for European Political Communications (EurPolComm).

Weigel, George. "Europe's Two Culture Wars" Commentary, May 2006, Vol:121 Iss:5, pgs:29-36

Weigel's commentary clearly echoes Professor DeMattei's lecture discussing the forces that currently threaten European civilization and state stability. Weigel addresses the specific case of Spain to illustrate the two forces undermining Europe (immigration and secularism) and then continues with brief of analysis of Belgium's, Italy's, and Britain's experience of Muslim immigrants. Weigel's commentary on Italy was particularly useful given his concise summarization of recent Italian politics and an accurate portrayal of post-WWWII changes within Italy regardless of immigration. Ultimately, Weigel's commentary borders on the extreme and is certainly pessimistic of Europe's future explaining that "the successor population" is already in place and the only remaining question is "how bloody the transfer of real estate will be". He concludes with a xenophobic call to action for Europeans against the "Nihilism rooted in skepticism, issuing in the bad faith moral relativism and Western self-loathing, comforting itself with a vacuous humanitarianism" that has "contributed to killing Europe demographically and to paralyzing Europe in the face of an aggressive ideology aimed at the eradication of Western humanism in the name of a lethally distorted understanding of God's will." The weakness in Weigel's piece is that it draws from scholars, politicians and pundits on only one side of the political and religious spectrum and do not address any means of establishing a cultural pluralism or multicultural principle in Europe. Well-known in the Catholic community as an author, political scientist, and social activist, Weigel is also a senior fellow at the Ethics and Public Policy Center and previously founded the James Madison Foundation.

Wihtol de Wenden, Catherine. "Assimilation and Struggle: Maghrebi Immigration and French Political Culture" *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs;* Summer 2003; Vol:4 Iss: 2, pgs:69-74

WihtoldeWenden's paper focuses exclusively on the case of first- and second-generation Moroccans in France. Her data derives from French census data and previous scholarship on acculturation and racism in France. Her commentary discusses impact of Maghrebi immigration upon French political culture. This piece is useful because it highlights some ways in which Italy is the exception for recent immigrants: Italy lacks a colonial legacy in North Africa. Wihtol outlines three patterns of behavior for North African immigrants: (1) those that assimilate, (2) those who maintaining invisibility by living in homogenous ethnic communities and generally avoid being active in French public life, and (3) those that fight for recognition by adopting republican values and participating in political affairs while continuing to embrace their cultural and ethnic identities. Wihtol is a political scientist and lawyer who currently serves at the director of research at CNRS (CERI), a French research center.

Zalewski, Marysia; Enloe, Cynthia. "Questions about Identity in International Relations" International Relations Theory Today. London: Polity Press, 1995.

Zalewski and Enloe introduce the traditional and contemporary theories of identity politics and then apply them to international politics and policies. Both scholars are salient for their work in feminist political theory and gender studies. This piece forms the basis of my understanding of identity politics and their use in this investigation.

Zincone, Giovanna. "The Making of Policies: Immigration and Immigrants in Italy" *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, April 2006, Vol:32. No:2, pgs:347-375

Zincone's analysis takes the systems approach to disentangle recent Italian politics and examine the making of immigration policy. Her article claims that (1) there is a relative continuity of immigration policies regardless of changes in the governing coalition, (2) policy changes relation more to conceptualization and policy-framing rather than actual policies, and (3) there is a discrepancy between a general public rhetoric hostile to illegal immigration and the public action that has simply introduced mass regularizations. Her article is based on empirical research conducted under two coalition governments. Her pieces is relevant to my research because it provides a practical understand of how Italian policies are drafted and how (if) policy-making changes based on the governance of a particular coalition. She also offers a useful framework for describing policies and policy-makers in their stance towards immigrants and immigrations labeling their approaches solidarist, functionalist, legalitarian, multiculturalism and identitarian. Zincone is the President of FIERI, an international organization of students and young professionals that celebrates Italian culture, promoted US-Italian initiatives, and preserves Italian identity and culture in an integrating and globalizing Europe.

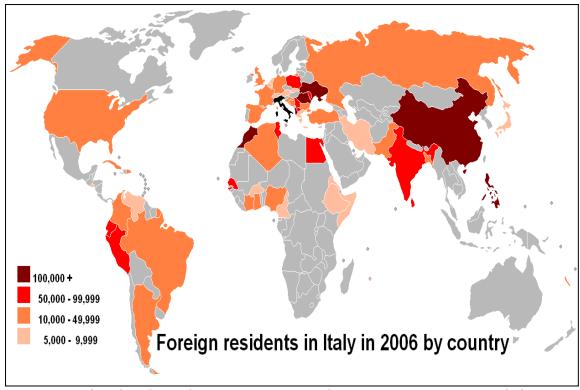
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A2. Figures referenced not featured in-text

Figure A: Foreign Residents in Italy in 2006 by Country



As expressed in this chart, there are approximately 60,000 Egyptians currently living in Italy.

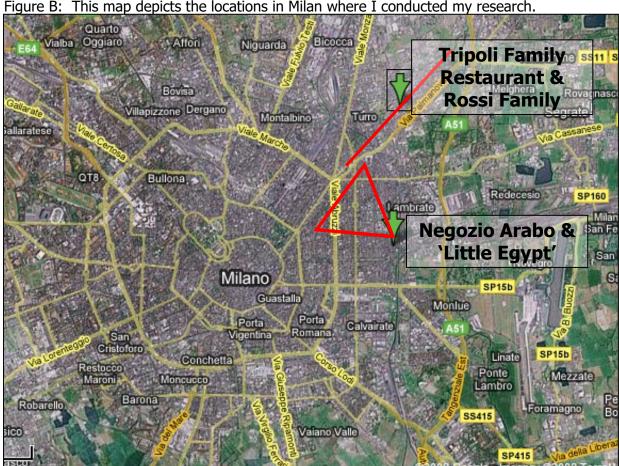


Figure B: This map depicts the locations in Milan where I conducted my research.

Figure C: Photo of graffiti on a tram seat, Reads: Inter Stranieri di Merda [Inter Shit Foreigners]





Figure D: All the nationalities represented by F.S. Internazionale. Taken at 100th Anniversary match.

A3. Abbreviated Daily Log [location of notes]

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Jan 21: Arrived in Milano, Alessandro [black note book, jan 21]
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- Jan 22: Senegalese Immigrants (Iman, Mary), Alessandro [black note book, jan 22]
- Jan 23: Senegalese Immigrants (Hakim) [black note book, jan 23]
- Jan 24: Discovered Negozio Arabo, Met GianMario and Antoinella Bellati [laptop: Negozio Arabo & Calcio]
- Jan 25: Negozio Arabo re: NGO Islamic Relief [laptop: Negozio Arabo]
- Jan 26: No research
- Jan 27: Maria-Rosa [laptop: Milan]
- Jan 28: Negozio Arabo [laptop: Negozio Arabo]
- Jan 29: Met Strippoli [laptop: Stippoli, Bellati]
- Jan 30: Family & Remittances; Alberto [laptop: Negozio Arabo]
- Jan 31: Family, Religion & Language [laptop: Strippoli]
- Feb 1: Alberto, Maria-Rosa & Navigli [laptop: Milan]
- Feb 2: Religion & Remittances [laptop: Negozio Arabo]
- Feb 3: No Research.
- Feb 4: Remittances & 'going-back' [laptop: Negozio Arabo]
- Feb 5: Remittances & 'going-back' [laptop: Strippoli]
- Feb 6: Language [laptop: Negozio Arabo], Osama! [laptop: Milan Osama]
- Feb 7: Online Research, No Research/Fieldwork [laptop: Notes from Online]
- Feb 8: Maria-Rosa, Fernando, Stefano, Alessandro, Alesio, Ricky [laptop: Milan, Brazillians]
- Feb 9: The Whole Family, Racisim/Terrorism [laptop: Strippoli], Osama! [laptop: Milan Osama]
- Feb 10: Sex! [Laptop: Bellati, Milano, Strippoli, Negozio Arabo, Osama]
- Feb 11: Language [laptop: Negozio Arabo]
- Feb 12: Money &Quality of Life [laptop: Strippoli], Osama! [laptop: Milan Osama]
- Feb 13: Business [laptop: Negozio Arabo]
- Feb 14: Business [laptop: Strippoli], Osama! [laptop: Milan Osama]
- Feb 15: Practicing Islam, Hamada, wives [laptop: Negozio Arabo]
- Feb 16: No Research.
- Feb 17: Osama [laptop: Milan Osama]
- Feb 18: Religion [laptop: Negozio Arabo],
- Feb 19: Met Riyoko, Alessandro [laptop: Milano]
- Feb 20: No research.
- Feb 21: 'Egyptian space' [laptop: Negozio Arabo]
- Feb 22: No Research/Fieldwork, in Saint Katrina [reading]
- Feb 23: No Research/Fieldwork, in Saint Katrina [reading]
- Feb 24: No Research/Fieldwork, in Saint Katrina [reading]
- Feb 25: Lifestyles & Expectations [laptop: Strippoli], moved in with the Bellati's.
- Feb 26: Women [laptop: Negozio Arabo]
- Feb 27: No Research/Fieldwork (at the Bellati's)
- Feb 28: No Research/Fieldwork (at the Bellati's)
- Feb 29: Money & Quality of Life; Break-in at the Bellati's [laptop: Negozio Arabo, Bellati]
- Mar 01: Pasquale's Family; Alessandro [laptop: Strippoli, Bellati]
- Mar 02: Dinner w/GianMario, Rita, Roberto, Alessandro [laptop: Bellati]
- Mar 03: Online Research, Reading & Writing Up [literature review]
- Mar 04: Racism/Terrorism/'Mafia' in Milan; Maria-Rosa, Alberto [laptop: Negozio Arabo, Milano]
- Mar 05: Miscellaneous! [laptop: Negozio Arabo]
- Mar 06: Participant Observation: Negozio Arabo [black note book, 03.06]
- Mar 07: Participant Observation: Negozio Arabo [black note book, 03.07]
- Mar 08: Participant Observation: Negozio Arabo [black note book, 03.08]

- Mar 09: Participant Observation: Negozio Arabo [Tape2a]
- Mar 10: Participant Observation: Strippoli [black note book, 03.10]
- Mar 11: Participant Observation: Strippoli [black note book, 03.11]
- Mar 12: Participant Observation: Strippoli[Tape2b]
- Mar 13: No Research/Fieldwork, Spring Break [writing up]
- Mar 14: No Research/Fieldwork, Spring Break [writing up]
- Mar 15: No Research/Fieldwork, Spring Break [writing up]
- Mar 16: No Research/Fieldwork, Spring Break [writing up]
- Mar 17: No Research/Fieldwork, Spring Break [writing up]
- Mar 18: No Research/Fieldwork, Spring Break [writing up]
- Mar 19: No Research/Fieldwork, Spring Break [writing up]
- Mar 20: No Research/Fieldwork, Spring Break [writing up]
- Mar 21: No Research/Fieldwork, Spring Break [writing up]
- Mar 22: No Research/Fieldwork, Spring Break [writing up]
- Mar 23: No Research/Fieldwork, Spring Break [writing up]
- Mar 24: Formal Interviews: 'Mercato Arabo' [Tape 3a]
- Mar 25: Formal Interviews: Strippoli [Tape 3b]
- Mar 26: Formal Interviews: Bellati [Tape 4a]
- Mar 27: Formal Interviews: Maria and friends [Tape 4b]
- Mar 28: Thank yous & good byes
- Mar 29: Left Milano
- Mar 30 April 15: Writing Up and Preparing for Capstone Conference
- April 16: Presented research at Capstone Conference
- April 17-28: Finalized paper.
- April 18: Organized Reimbursements for Capstone Grant Funding
- April 21: Finished collected Reimbursements for Capstone Grant Funding
- April 28: Submited final paper to Prof. Vine for grading
- April 7: Submitted final paper to Honors Department for cataloging in university and Honors libraries.

A4. Interview Schedule for Formal Interviews

These questions were asked in one or two of the languages below and usually with the assistance of a native Italian speaker.

- What is Italian?
- How do you consider yourself Italian? How do you consider yourself to be Egyptian? In what ways are you both?
- Do you hope for your children to be Italian?
- How often do you send money home? How much? What happens to the money? Why
 do you send remittances?
- How often do you or your family return home? Will you return home permanently? Do you plan to bring more family to Milan?
- What's the biggest challenge for Egyptians in Milan, in your opinion?
- What do you think the source of racism in the city and newspapers is? Why do you think so many Milanese are xenophobic?
- Do you think it's possible to be both Muslim and Italian?
- What do you think about my project and my past months here?

A5. Proposal for Honors Senior Capstone Project:

Ethnographic Research among Muslim immigrants in Milan, Italy

I propose as my capstone a 6-credit independent study project in anthropology. This project will be to conduct ethnographic research in "Little Egypt" and other areas of Milan, Italy, to examine the community interaction, social networks and cultural nuance of Muslim immigrants living in Northern Italy, in the greater context of demographic change in Italy. The ethnographic project will be accompanied by a literature review and will culminate in a paper discussing the findings and implications of the research.

My *primary research questions* are: How does the experience of Muslims in Milan complicate traditional concepts of integration, adaptation, acculturalation? How do Muslims define and sustain their communities and what implications are present regarding broader Italian society?

Many secondary research questions support this inquiry...

- Who are the Muslims living in Milan? How long have they been there? Where do they come from? How do they identify themselves? How do they identify themselves? Are they communicating and interacting in Italian? In multiple languages? Where, specifically? Are they Italian citizens? How do they feel about Italy's changing demographics?
- Is the Muslims community visible? (i.e.: presence of mosques, *hijab*, Arabic script, etc.) Is there a difference between how Italians view Muslims and other non-Catholics?
- How are social networks formed among Muslim immigrants? Is there a trend in family structure among the community? How many children? How many languages do they speak? Where do they go to school? How long have their parents been married? Where they married in Italy? What generational trends or changes have they noticed in their family?
- How do Muslims in Milan perceive current tension between Muslims and non-Muslims in Italian society and Europe? How do they measure "integration"? What ways do they feel integrated in Italian society? What are their strategies of negotiating Italian life with their former lifestyle?
- What are the sources of right-wing criticism of Muslims living in Italy? Are there correlations to Italy's current cultural situation and anti-Semitism in the post-war era? What is the greater context of discrimination in Italian society? How is the case of Milan comparable to other cosmopolitan European cities? Does Northern Italy compare to the southern Italian experience of immigration?

The *personal significance* of this research is to cap off my studies in political science, anthropology, Arabic, and Italian at AU in a way that combines all my interests and provides practical application of the skills I've learned.

The *greater significance* of this research is to add to scholarship on demographics in Europe from an ethnographic perspective, and to provide a brief case study from which a framework for cultural dialogue or Italian multiculturalism could possibly derive.

In terms of *methodology*, my fieldwork will take a mixed-method approach grounded in constructivism and other relativist theory.

Methods include:

- An in-depth literature review of readings in political science and anthropology regarding Muslim immigrants in Italy, Islam in Europe, minority communities, and contemporary Italian and European politics.
- Interviews and surveys.
- Observations and ethnography.

I appreciate your consideration in approval for this proposal. Please review the following Work Plan for complete details.

Amy 'Aminah' Teachout AUID# 1628715, SPA '08 amytea@gmail.com

A6. Work Plan and Work Submission Deadlines:

Community-building and integration of Muslim immigrants in Milan, Italy

Summary of Submission Expectations

Interview Schedule and Pilot Survey (5%)	Pre-Departure
Progress Report w/ Field Notes (10%)	19 February
Literature Review w/Annotated Bibliography (15%)	26 February
Summary of Interviews Conducted w/Analysis (15%)	. 19 March
Results and Preliminary Analysis (10%)	. 11 April
Final Paper (45%)	. 28 April

Proposed Syllabus

Anth490: Independent Project in Anthropology // 6-credits // Advisor: David Vine

Pre-Departure Fall Semester & Winter Break

Draft reading list. Begin literature review. Define research question & methods. Prepare interview schedule. Prepare any disclaimers, information sheets, etc. Gather all required materials. Translate relevant materials and generally prepare to conduct interviews in English, Egyptian Arabic, Italian, and possibly French. Touch base with known contacts. Make list of goal interviewees and contact information. Collect site information.

* Submit Interview Schedule and Pilot Survey

Week One Jan 21

Scout sites and introduce project. Take initial impressions and refine research method. Identify possible interviewees and informants. Continue literature review.

Week Two Jan 18

Conduct informal interviews. Begin collecting life-histories and community-histories with semistructured interviews. Decide time-frame(s) for observation. Collect local demographic information. Continue literature review. Schedule "official" interviews.

Week Three Feb 4 and Week Five Feb 11

Continue informal interviews. Begin observation. Continue literature review. Continue life-histories with unstructured interviews. Create index. Conduct "official" interviews.

*Submit Progress Report w/ Field Notes, 7 February

Week Six Feb 25 and Week Eight Mar 3

Finish observation. Conclude literature review. Continue life-histories and community-histories with unstructured interviews. Complete all "official" interviews. Revise index and synthesize field notes. Organize biographic and demographic data.

*Submit literature Review w/Annotated Bibliography

Week Nine Mar 10 and Week Ten Mar 17

Synthesize research with readings and begin analysis. Write-up interview results as field notes proper.

*Submit Summary of Interviews Conducted w/Analysis

Week Eleven Mar 24 thru Week Thirteen April

Continue writing-up and begin final paper. Find peer-editors to get feedback.

*Submit Results and Preliminary Analysis

Week Fourteen Apr 14 thru Week Sixteen Apr 28

Complete final paper. Course reflection and evaluation.

*Submit Final Paper

Preliminary Reading List

- Allievi, Stefano. "Islam, Europe's Second Religion: the new social, cultural, and political landscape" in *Islam in Italy*. Wesport, Conn: Praeger, 2002.
- Allievi, Stefano. "The Islamic Presence in Italy: social rootedness and legal questions" *J* in *Islam in Italy*. Wesport, Conn: Praeger, 2002.
- Balfour, Rosa. "Italy's policies in the Mediterranean" in *The Euro-Mediterranean partnership:* assessing the first decade. Journal. Year. vol, no, pgs.
- Emerson, Robert M; Fretz, Rachel I; Shaw, Linda L. *Writing Ethnographic Fieldnotes*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995. pgs 1-38, 66-107, 169-208
- Luciano, Musselli. "Religious freedom and the neutrality of the state: the position of Islam in the European Union" *Journal.* Year. vol, no, pgs.
- Lofland, John. *Analyzing Social Settings: A guide to qualitative observation and analysis* (3rd Edition) University of California, Davis: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1995.
- Melotti, Umberto. "Migration Policies and political Cultures in Europe: A Changing Trend" *Revue internationale de sociologie.* Year. vol, no, pgs.
- Peccoz, Roberta. "Islam in the European Union: Italy" in *Islam and the European Union. Journal.* Year. vol, no, pgs.
- Roggero, Maria. "Muslims in the West: from sojourners to citizens" in *Muslims in Italy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002. pgs131-143.

- Saint-Blancat, Chantal and Fabio Perocco. "New Modes of Social Interaction in Italy: Muslim Leaders and Local Society in Tuscany and Ventia" in *European Muslims and the Secular State.* Ed. Jocelyne Cesari and Sean McLoughlin. Hampshire, England: Ashgate Publishing Ltd. 2005
- Schiller, Nina Glick; Fouron, Georges. "I'm Not a Problem without a Solution" in The New Poverty Studies' The Ethnographic Power, Politics, and Improverished People in the United States. Ed. Judith Goode and Jeff Maskovsky. New York: New York University Press, 2001
- Schmidt di Friedberg, Ottavia. "Intercultural relations and religious authorities: Being Muslim in the Itlaian Public Sphere: Islamic Organizations in Turin & Trieste" *Journal*. Year. vol, no, pgs.

A7. Application for Research Grant

UNIVERSITY HONORS CAPSTONE GRANT SPRING 2008 APPLICATION

Date of Application: 01/17/08, revised 01/25.08

Name: Amy A Teachout AU ID: 1628715

Address: 4100 Nebraska Ave NW Washington DC Phone: 909.844.0583
Graduation Year & Semester: Spring 2008 Email: amytea@gmail.com

Major: Political Science Minor: Anthropology

Name of Capstone Advisor: David Vine

Phone Number (advisor) 202.412.9972 Email: davidsvine@gmail.com

Project Start Date: 01/21/08 Project End Date: 04/11/08
Total Cost of Project: N/A Total Requested for Grant: \$172

The **objectives** of my capstone project are to

- o To examine the community interaction, social networks and cultural nuance of Muslim immigrants living in Milan, Italy via ethnographic research.
- Compare the literature on demographic change and cultural 'clash' in Northern Italy to the actual experiences of immigrants living in Milan.
- o To cap off my studies in political science, anthropology, Arabic and Italian in a way that combines my interests and provides real experience in how these disciplines can interact in research.

I am requesting a grant to enhance my project with the below expenses. Please note this is an amendment to my previous request. I previously requested funding for a digital recorder or audio tapes, a USB memory stick, and printing costs. Audio tapes will be entirely satisfactory because I found a way to convert audio tape to an electronic form. My other requests have remained relevant.

I had not expected access to free internet in Milano to be so scarce. In fact, most apartments are not outfitted in internet access and no public spaces offer free wi-fi. Instead, there are internet connection points which range from 2Euro to 8Euro per hour for internet use. I have found a very affordable one within walking distance of my apartment. The cost of internet is 2 Euro per hour. I anticipate touse the internet both to correspond with my capstone advisor (once weekly) as well as to access articles from online databases and other online resources. I estimate the time and cost of my project-related internet use to be 5 hours each week. This is 10E, or \$16, each week for the 8 week period of fieldwork. Thus, I request 80E (or \$128) to cover the cost of **internet access** while in Milan.

The first component of my research includes informal interviews, however later in the project I would like to conduct longer, structured interviews with my informants. For this reason, I invested in several **blank audio tapes**. I expect to conduct 10-15 hours of interviews, which would require 5-10 tapes. The cost of these audio tapes is \$5.49, as quoted by BestBuy.

The majority of my notes and literature will be kept on my laptop. The worst imaginable scenario while conducting research would be if I was to lose my notes. I plan to be attentive to this and upload drafts, notes and important articles to the Internet; I would like to invest in a **2G USB memory stick** that I can use to preserve my material. Storing my literature and notes on a USB stick would also ensure I can easily and safely access my documents from any public computer while in Milan.

Printing costs can be cumbersome. I do not own a printer, so I will be forced to print my final capstone paper (approximately 40 pages) at the university library or public internet cafe. I printed articles relevant to my research and photocopied several chapters of books to take with me to Milan, exhausting my university-provided \$25 printing allowance. Thus, I request funding to cover the costs of printing my final paper. Two copies are requested for the Honors library, while I will also need to provide one to my capstone advisor, and would like to print one for my portfolio.

Please find below a summary of product and cost information for the above-mentioned items.

Thank you for your consideration,

Amy Teachout

Item	Cost	Grant Requested	Priority
Blank audio tapes	\$5.49 + tax	\$6.00	2
	Quote provided by BestBuy		
2GB USB Memory Flash Stick	\$19.99 + tax	\$22.00	3
	Quote provided by BestBuy		
Internet Access for research- related use (5hrs/week, 8 weeks)	40hrs @2Euro/hr	EUR80 = \$128.00	1
Printing of my Final Paper – 40 pages x 4 (two copies for Honors	160 pages @\$0.10/page	\$16.00	4
Library, one copy advisory, one for my self)			

Total Grant Requested: \$172 A9. Electronic Components

The disk below is loaded with (1) an electronic copy of this paper, (2) a slideshow that accompanied the presentation of my capstone research at the 2008 American University Honors Capstone Conference, and (3) An audio-recording of my presentation at this conference.

A10. The final pages are receipts used for reimbursements.

Thank you.

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<sup>1</sup> King, 137
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² Fertility rates, Italy

³ Population demographics Italy

⁴ Emerson and Shaw, 68

⁵ "Methods, Objectivity, Ethnographic Insight and Ethnographic Authority", upenn.edu

⁶ Emerson and Shaw, 1

⁷ Tape 1b (Osama)

⁸ Feildnotes: Negozio Arabo3, Trippoli 2

⁹ Fieldnotes: Negozio Arabo 14-16, Trippoli 7, Rossi 5

¹⁰ Ibid, Negozio Arabo, 15

¹¹ Akbar, 8

¹² Fieldnotes: Rossi 14

¹³ Fieldnotes: Milano (Alberto) 3, Rossi (Rita) 6

¹⁴ Zincone, 450

¹⁵ Marquina, Antonio & Brauch, Hans Gunter. "*The Mediterranean Space and its Borders, Geography, Politics, Economics and Environment.* Madrid: UNISCI & AFES-PRESS 2001

¹⁶ Fieldnotes: Milano (Maria)

¹⁷ Macura et Al., 3

¹⁸ Ibid, 302

¹⁹ Enloe & Zalewski, 290

²⁰Discussed in Progress Report 1, Submitted - April 2008

²¹ Fieldnotes:

²² Tape 2a (Osama)

²³ Sassen 1998 qtd. Schiller & Fouron, 322

[?] Ibid, 322

[?] Ibid 323

²⁴ Ibid, 324

²⁵ See figure C, in appendix