HOME, BELONGING AND COLLAGE-IDENTITIES: A CASE STUDY ON SECOND-GENERATION TURKS IN MODENA

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ABSTRACT

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The presence of new generations born to immigrants has fomented the involvement of the scientific community of many European and non-European states, setting into motion a proliferation of numerous researches on the topic, mostly with reference to possible inclusion strategies into the host society. Together with the topic of inclusion/integration of migrants and the ability of contemporary societies to coexist with and accommodate increasing cultural diversity, the debates among social scientists also focus on the theme of cultural identity and belonging. Second-generation immigrants' path, especially during adolescence, often lies on a thin line between inclusion and exclusion, between the observation and respect of the values of the heritage culture and the adaptation to those of the receiving country. The industrialized province of Modena only since several years has been dealing with its own cultural diversity- in 2011 it housed 4,366 Turkish immigrants and their children, more than one-fifth of the total Turkish population residing in Italy. Differently from adolescents who identify with only one nation-state, second-generation adolescents shape and negotiate their identities through two journeys: a journey to the origins (their migration experience or their parents'), and their everyday life journey in the Italian society. The question this thesis aims to answer is, who is

behind the term ‘second-generation Turk’? How did growing up in Modena as sons and daughters of Turkish immigrants shape their identities? Do they feel one can be both Italian and Muslim? What is their relationship with their origins and what trajectories do they draw for their future? And, perhaps the most important question: how does being born to immigrant parents shape one's sense of home and belonging?

ÖZET

YUVA, AİDİYET VE KOLAJ-KİMLİKLER: MODENA'DAKİ TÜRKLER ÜZERİNE BİR VAKA ÇALIŞMASI

Laura Zacchi

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Tez Danışmanı: Annedith Schneider

Göcmenlerden doğan yeni kuşağın varlığı, Avrupa ve Avrupa dışındaki birçok bilimsel topluluğun bu konu hakkında çok sayıda araştırma yapmasını teşvik etmiştir. Bu araştırmaların en başında, bu jenerasyonun bulundukları topluma dahil olma stratejileri bulunmaktadır. Göçebelerin topluma dahil olması / entegrasyonu ve günümüz toplumların gittikçe artan çesitli kültürleri içinde barındırıp, beraber varolması gibi konuların yanısıra sosyal bilimcilerin müzakereleri, kültürel kimlik ve sahiplenme gibi temaları da konu alıyor. İkinci jenerasyon göçebelerin geleceği, özellikle gençlik çağlarında, dahil olma ya da dışlanma, kendi geleneklerine saygı ve bulunduğu toplumun kültürüne ayak uydurma arasındaki ince çizgiye bağlıdır. Modena endüstriyel bölgesi kendi kültürel çeşitliliğini ele alalı sadece birkaç yıl olmuştur. 2011 yılında, 4,366 adet Türk göçebe ve çocuklarına ev sahipliği yapmıştır. Bu sayı İtalya'da yaşayan Türk'lerin beşte birinden fazlasını kapsamaktadır. Kendilerini sadece ülkenin kimliği ile özdeşleştiren gençlerden farklı olarak, ikinci jenerasyon gençler, kimliklerini iki yol ile şekillendirirler: Kökenlerine inmek (kendisinin ya da ailesinin göç etme deneyimleri) ya da İtalyan topluluğundaki günlük hayatları. Bu tezin cevaplamaya çalıştığı soru, "2. kusak Türk" teriminin arkasında kimin olduğu. Modena'da bir Türk göçmenin oğlu ya da kızı olmak kimliklerini nasıl şekillendirdi? Hem İtalyan, hem Müslüman olduklarını düşünüyorlar mı? Kendi kökenleri ile nasıl bir ilişkileri var ve gelecekleri için kendilerine nasıl bir yol çiziyorlar? Ve belki de en önemli soru: göçebe bir aileye doğmak, bu kişilerin yurt ve sahiplenme anlayışlarını nasıl değiştiriyor?

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INTRODUCTION

Undeniably, Italian society is becoming increasingly multicultural. The percentage of immigrants vis-à-vis the local population spanned from 6.5% in 2008, to 7.1% in 2009, to 8.1% in 2013[1]. In 2009, 16.5% of the total births in Italy have been children of immigrants, and in 2013, the number of students of foreign origins enrolled to Italian schools accounted for 786,630 units, 30,691 more than in the previous year (9% of the total student population)[2] On the whole,underage youth of foreign origins accounts for 900,000 individuals. These numbers prove that the phenomenon of immigration is (literally) changing the face of the Italian society to such an extent that anthropologists have claimed that contemporary immigration "seems to be challenging the very idea of nation-state"(Ambrosini, 2004).

Many are the definitions coined to describe children who leave their own home country because of choices made by their parents, or children who are born in a country different from the one their parents originated from. The long path of second-generation immigrants' self-discovery is disseminated of important encounters and 'areas' in which to feel at home, but at the same time it hides conflicts and many unfamiliar and hostile places. One example is the school environment: as we will see throughout in-depth interviews, the school is a place where there are both friends and enemies: at school the adolescent finds company but also solitude. If the identity formation process for adolescent of foreign origins

1 According to ISTAT (*Istituto Nazionale di STATistica – National Institute of STATistics*)
2 According to Notiziario Stranieri

stretches through the combination of the values they have discerned from their parents and those of the receiving society, then its outcome is inevitably particular kinds of collage-identities deriving from the combination of all these values.

Research has both the characteristic of divulging unbiased information and the power to stimulate critical thinking. In the Italian media, the rhetoric of right-wing politicians against the foreign 'invader' tends to be louder and more noticeable than those of the left-wing promoting tolerance and multiculturalism. Such conservative discourses betray a hidden fear towards the Muslim 'Other' and towards any kind of difference in general. By stressing the problems that immigrants bring to Italian society and by spreading general sentiments of fear through the media, right-wing politicians ensure that the segment of society lacking a sound knowledge of migration dynamics and policies inevitably ends up embracing such intolerant discourses without making insightful considerations. To aggravate an already problematic situation, the discourses saturating the dominant imaginary inaccurately collapse both first and second-generation immigrants into a single category. The result is then that an entire generation of children born in Italy, who speaks Italian as a first language, and who would otherwise call Italy their home, is relegated instead to the status of Other/outsider/stranger. Believing that accurate information is essential to formulate fair opinions, I hereby offer an authentic and vivid piece of evidence, a portrait of second-generation Turkish youth as it is.

Imagine a waiter holding two plates in perfect balance up in the air. While skipping children run in circles around him, he takes orders and tips, constantly receptive of everything around him. He makes his way confidently up and down the salon of a café carrying his two plates uncountable times per night, giving the impression that he knows by heart every inch of his work place. He is white skinned in an environment of mostly white skinned people, wears a uniform, and looks perfectly at ease with each of his moves at every different table he stops. We can

follow him once his shift is finished. He takes off his uniform, changes outfits, finds his way out the café, never leaving those two plates, which at the end of the shift still do not feel heavy, as if they were extensions of his arms. He walks on a very crowded central street in Modena, he enters some shops, lays unnoticeably one of the plates on the table and speaks in a flawless Italian. Then he stops by at another shop, lays the other plate, this time interacting in a language unknown to most around him. He packs up and goes again, holding with natural grace his two plates: the two faces of his identity. Unlike most individuals around him, this waiter walks on a *third space*, a place unknown by waiters who only bring with two hands one plate at a time… or, to break away from the metaphor, by those persons who only identify with one nationstate, one language, one culture. This waiter can be seen as a symbol of a so-called "second-generation" immigrant, a person born in Italy to an immigrant family. I decided to use this metaphor to symbolize the 'second-generation Turks' of Modena, young adults whose completeness is constituted by the unique feature of encompassing, to a different extent, two cultural identities: not only Italian-speaking Turks, but bilingual and bicultural people. Their peculiarity lies in the fact that they have a Turkish cultural background and and a everyday life in an Italian context, their friends are both Italian and Turks, they celebrate Ramadan and eat tortellini and they feel at home in their bicultural environment, their *third space*.

This research aims to be an ethnographical study on Italian-Turk adolescents residing in the city of Modena, situated in the center-north of Italy in the Emilia-Romagna region. The industrialized province of Modena only since several years has been dealing with its own cultural diversity and is particularly interesting in regard to this research because in the year 2011 it housed 4,366 Turkish immigrants and their children, more than one-fifth of the total Turkish population residing in Italy. Furthermore, when compared to all other cities in Italy, Modena has the highest population of Turkish inhabitants, according to ISTAT (*Istituto Nazionale di STAtistica – National Institute of STAtistics)*. As the presence of children of

immigrants in schools, especially of Turkish origins, is becoming increasingly visible, the challenge these children and adolescents have to face in their everyday lives in Italy are often discussed in regards to the themes of integration, assimilation, and policies of inclusion. Indeed, such growing percentages, backed by the increasing number of family reunifications, would be enough to justify any interest in researching the so-called second-generation Turks, but there are various other reasons to do so and other themes to explore. To begin with, in a globalized world where identity boundaries are becoming more and more blurred, I believe the theme of cultural identity and the sense of belonging of young immigrant children are of crucial importance. When the focus of a research is on cultural identity and identity trajectories of second-generation immigrants, I agree with Presciutti (2011) that the best sample to focus on is the one consisting of individuals who seek and negotiate their own sense of self on a daily basis: adolescents. Differently from other adolescents who identify with only one nation-state, second-generation adolescents shape and negotiate their identities through two journeys: a journey to the origins (their migration experience or their parents'), and their everyday life journey in the Italian society. In other words, they are required to do a work of 'mediation' between the values of the heritage and the host society, between the norms acquired during childhood and the new, sometimes unexplored ones they reckon with for their personal growth.

Whereas most researchers do not talk *with* their participants but they rather talk *about* them (that is to say, they do not take into consideration the perspective of the second-generations who remain voiceless all throughout the study), what my thesis aims to offer is a first-hand account of second-generation Turkish adolescent's experience of biculturalism. What to focus on in such a study? Through several in-depth interviews, I concentrated on the self-identification of Italian-Turks. Albeit it is not possible to generalize, the question this thesis aims to answer is, who "hides" behind the term 'second-generation Turk'? How did growing up in Modena as sons

and daughters of Turkish immigrants shape their identities? Do they feel one can be both Italian and Muslim? What is their relationship with their origins and what trajectories do they draw for their future? And, perhaps the most important question: how does being born to immigrant parents shape one's sense of home and belonging?

My thesis is the first and only study on adolescents of Turkish origins in Italy. Its ultimate purpose is not only to counterbalance the negative and biased information spread by the media about Muslim immigrants and their children, but also to give a human dimension to adolescents who are more similar to their Italian peers than what one might imagine—those who would otherwise be always perceived as abstract, faceless, disturbing Others. After all, if 'Otherness' is a social construction, this also means that it can be deconstructed. Also, I hope my findings will be of help to psychologists, teachers and perhaps even institutions dealing with adolescents of Turkish origins in understanding the causes of anxiety and despair some of these second-generation immigrants feel, and to implement the best approaches to achieve their full integration and well-being.

CHAPTER 1

A RESEARCH ON SECOND-GENERATIONS

1.1. The quest of identity of the second-generations

The presence of new generations born to immigrants has fomented the involvement of the scientific community of many European and non-European states, setting into motion a proliferation of numerous researches on the topic, mostly with reference to possible inclusion strategies into the host society. Together with the topic of inclusion/integration of migrants and the ability of contemporary societies to coexist with and accommodate increasing cultural diversity, the debates among social scientists also focus on the theme of cultural identity and belonging. Second-generation immigrants' path, especially during adolescence, often lies on a thin line between inclusion and exclusion, between the observation and respect of the values of the heritage culture and the adaptation to those of the receiving country. Broadly, the aspects which have been at the center of attention for decades revolve around notions of identity formation, belonging, and the fact of being *plural*, that is, feeling affiliation to norms, customs and sets of values of both the heritage and the host culture. At this stage it seems important to provide a definition of the notions of

culture and *identity*, terms that have been objects of much debate because they are, by definition, abstractions and attempts to derive general understanding of nuanced processes (Schwartz et al., 2006).

Identity has been defined in various ways by different scholars: according to some it is something "that does not exist, but rather is a "catch-all" term used to represent almost anything pertaining to the self" (Brybaker and Cooper, 2000, quoted in Schwartz et al., 2006), while to others it is something that exists but is constantly in flux and cannot be isolated as a permanent construction and therefore it cannot be defined as anything in particular (Gergen, 1991, ibid.). Others, like Erikson (1950, ibid.), conceptualize identity as resulting from a dynamic interplay between individual and context. Schwartz et al. contend that "identity is a synthesis of personal, social and cultural self conceptions". As for culture they define it as "shared standard operating procedures, unstated assumptions, norms, values, […] conventions about what to pay attention to and how much to weight the elements that are sampled" (2006:4). Cultural anthropologist Shore (2002, in Schwartz et al.) observes that culture represents ways of thinking that are internalized from the social institution operating within a given country or region. As a consequence "within each country or region the dominant group determines what 'culture' is" (ibid.)

According to Turner, people categorize themselves on different abstraction levels (1984, in Presciutti, 2009). Firstly, the individual self-identifies as a human being (*human identity*): his identity takes shape through the comparison with others, a comparison which highlights the resemblance to the members of the same species and the differences with the members of other species. The individual also self-identifies as a member of a group: *social identity* is the outcome emerging from this comparison. Finally, through the comparison with other persons, individuals become more aware of themselves and self-identify as unique (*personal identity*). However, as Presciutti observes, the ability of looking at oneself as an object of analysis is not

enough to speak about identity formation: other fundamental elements are a continuum of social relations, a collective memory and a shared daily life. In this sense one can say that only when in relation to the *universal* the individuals can acknowledge their uniqueness. Amin Maalouf wrote: 'each of us has two heritages, a "vertical" one that comes to us from our ancestors, our religious community and our popular traditions, and a "horizontal" one that is transmitted to us by our contemporaries and by the age we live in' (Maalouf, 2000, in Presciutti). In this passage, the author highlights that the notion of identity is further complicated by its *two-faced-ness*: on the one hand our identity is who we are supposed to be according to our ancestry, on the other it is the outcome of our interaction with the world out of home, which, through new inputs, force us to continually renegotiate the idea of who we are. This process is all the more interesting in regards to second-generation adolescents, because the characteristic of relating to two different worlds and histories inevitably makes them taking up different identifications. At this regard, Schwartz et al. (2006) talk about a schism between ethnic and cultural identity. Ethnic identity is here defined as "that aspect of acculturation that focuses on the subjective sense of belonging to a group or culture" and it "refers to an individual's sense of self in terms of membership in a particular ethnic group" (ibid.). It is "generally seen as embracing various aspects, including self identification, feelings of belonging and commitment to a group, a sense of shared values, and attitudes towards one's own ethnic group (ibid.). Perhaps the best definition of ethnic identity was given by Rumbaut, according to whom "ethnic identity is, in part, a way of answering the question “where do I come from?”(ibid.) Schwartz et al. suggest that second-generations' identities should not be considered as monoblocs; rather, each individual has both an ethnic and a cultural identity, and the two are independent. This being said, the process of acculturation affects one’s cultural identity but not necessarily one’s ethnic identity, hence people can identify to different extent to both their heritage culture and the host one. Assuming that identity is differentiated within, one could have a more or less strong national (feeling of belonging towards

the host society) and ethnic identity (feeling of belonging towards people of the same in-group).

Because of their complex and multifaceted nature, second-generations' identities have also been defined as hybrid (Bhabha):

> *"The migrant culture of the in-between, the minority position, dramatizes the activity of culture's appropriation beyond the assimilation's dream, or the racist nightmare, […[and towards an encounter with the ambivalent process of splitting and hybridity that marks the identification with culture's difference" (2004, in Ramone, 2011: 114)*

Homi Bhabha, considered the father of *hybridity* (Ramone, 2011:114), employed the term to challenge the classical dichotomy assimilation/otherization. Within colonial and postcolonial literature, the term hybrid most commonly refers to colonial subjects who have found a balance between Eastern and Western cultural attributes.[3] The notion of hybridity, which relies on a metaphor from biology, is

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3 Postcolonial literature emerged to challenge the assumptions and representations on which colonialism is based (Ramone, 2011:4), that is, a justified occupation and control of distant territories on the basis of a presumed European cultural, intellectual and even evolutionary superiority. Rather than admitting that colonization was an exercise in the exploitation of distant nations and their inhabitants by the European privileged classes, the arguments in colonial discourse arguments encompass the assumption that "the colonized" were primitive, infantile peoples in desperate need of the enlightenment that the European "enlightened" colonizers could provide. It is during the colonial era that concepts of "exotic" and "other" and the consequential dichotomies like '*us*' and '*them*' or '*self*' and '*other*' gained increasing importance. The reason for these dichotomies was justified by the colonizers as the natural effect of the encounter with people who were "different

commonly used in much broader ways, to refer to any kind of cultural mixing or mingling between East and West (Ramone: 211). Bhabha uses the term to explain a notion of 'in-between', in which humans are not "this or that"; but rather are simultaneously both this and that, and "neither this or that". Hybridity is positioned as antidote to essentialism, or "the belief in invariable and fixed properties which define the 'whatness' of a given entity" (Ramone: 211). If hybridity means in-betweenness, the condition of these adolescents is to feel *located* between two cultures/worlds/languages/expectations. In studies of identity formation of second-generation immigrants, the term has been used to convey an image of *self* which is characterized by "multiplicity, dynamism and flexibility. […] Being constituted by opposite poles, hybrids can hold different, even contradicting, identities with loose boundaries"(ibid.). Hybrid identities have also been referred to as existing in a *third space* (a hybrid, liminal space), envisaged by Bhabha as a stairwell: connecting two opposite poles (and everything contained in each of them), the stairwell makes each of them a part of each other (Ramone:114).

As remarked by Markova, "as others within, creators from diaspora and immigrant communities often deal with the inversion of identification processes in performing the freedom of being different from others as well as from their own selves in the interstice between cultures, roots and spatial distances. Therefore, identities will be considered as multiple, dynamic and constantly in-process social constructs, which are produced in between cultures, discursive spheres, real and symbolic spaces […] this reformulated time-space relationship is intrinsic for the construction of identity"(46). Notions of alternative spaces that are not home yet not unfamiliar, but rather places 'of representation' where the imagined and the real coexist, giving a sense of self and community, have also been theorized by French

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from Europeans and therefore flawed, monstrous, primitive, immoral"(ibid). In Marco Polo's famous memoir, stories and description of immoral behavior, cannibalism and loose sex boundaries abound and perpetuate a notion of European superiority against the exotic.

Marxist philosopher Henri Lefebvre and postmodern political geographer Edward Soja. Differently from Bhabha, who sees the third space as the contact zone between cultures, Soja and Lefebvre imagine it as a negotiation between real and symbolic dimensions. In The Production of Space (1991), Lefebvre defines space as "social space" and further divides it into three realms: the space perceived, the space conceived and the space lived. The first space (perceived) is the "real" space, the space of human interactions; the second one (conceived) is the space of knowledge and logic, where urban planners imagine things to happen and take place: it is the space of representation and imagination. Finally, the third one (lived) is the space modified over time by its use: where the imagined and the real are combined. Similarly, Soja's notion of thirdspace involves the "intersection between real and imaginary dimensions of a place. it encompasses the interrelated notions of "place, location, locality, landscape, environment, home, city, region, territory and geography" and establishes connections between the representational strategies of real and imagined places" (Markova, 2011).

As identity formation is deeply interrelated with the ways individuals take part in a given society, in order to better understand complicated narratives of identity construction and negotiation of second-generation adolescents, it seems useful to also look at the main acculturation theories. Through the analysis of different acculturation models, social scientists and researchers have been trying for decades to understand how second-generation adolescents keep balance between inclusion and exclusion. Presciutti contends that in Italy the prevailing model is assimilation, that is to say, the second generations should rapidly integrate into the host society and into its culture (Presciutti, 2009:65)

1.2. Second-generations: Acculturation Theories

1.2.1. Assimilationist theories: an inevitable assimilation?

Assimilationist approaches date back to the beginning of the twentieth century in the United States as a consequence of the massive migration flows which forced American social scientists to face the need to elaborate theoretical models able to explain the ways such immigrants integrated into American society. The first studies on the topic contended that assimilation is a one-way process which takes place gradually and of which the immigrants are not aware. Specifically, the notion of assimilation was coined by Park and Burgess in 1921, as a part of a study on how immigrants and their children become part of a host society. They view assimilation as "a transformation which takes place gradually under the influence of social contacts of the most concrete and intimate sort" and "a process of interpenetration and fusion in which persons and groups acquire the memory, sense and attitudes of other persons and groups and, by sharing their experience and history, are incorporated with them in a common cultural life" (Park and Burgess, 1921). Their theory suggests that by continuative cultural contact the immigrants become similar to the members of the host society to the point of becoming *like* them. Later on, sociologist Milton Gordon (1964) studied the issue further, detecting three stages of assimilation: cultural assimilation (in which immigrants adopt the language and customs of the host society), structural assimilation (in which immigrants integrate into school, employment and various friendships) and intermarriage, where immigrants complete their assimilation process by marrying members of the host society and having children with them (Hanlon and Vicino, 2014). In his view, what follows would be "ethnic identification with the host society and the ending of prejudice, discrimination and value conflict". It has also been argued that classical assimilation follows a "straight-line", meaning that the above mentioned process manifests itself over time and over new "generations" of immigrants (the youngest generations become more and more prone to become alike to the dominant group in

terms of culture, values, behavior, etc.) (Brown and Bean, 2006).

1.2.2. Acculturation vs Assimilation

John Berry challenged this long-held assumption with his alternative notion of *acculturation*. In most general terms, acculturation can be defined as "the process of cultural change and psychological change that results following a meeting between cultures" (Sam and Berry, 2010), “the process of cultural change and adaptation that occurs when individuals from different cultures come into contact” (Gibson, 2001, quoted in Schwartz et al.), “the process of adaptation along two dimensions: the adoption of ideals, values and behaviors of the receiving culture, and the retention of ideals, values and beliefs from their own culture of origin” (Phinney, 2001 in Schwartz), “a movement from traditional values and beliefs towards Western values and beliefs” (Hunt et al., 2004, ibid.). Acculturation and identity formation are concepts of primary importance in the case of immigrant youth (first- and second-generations), who grow up “holding up in the air” two different cultural words and (sometimes) dissonant cultural contexts. Although researchers have demonstrated that acculturation is an on-going mutual process influencing both the dominant group and the minority groups, social scientists tend to be more preoccupied to the adjustments it poses to the minority groups and the way they adapt to the new society. Successful acculturation of the individual belonging to a minority group is of primary importance because it relates to the individual’s mental and physical health, psychological satisfaction, high self-esteem, competent work performance, and good grades in school (Liebkin, 2001 in Phinney).

Berry's research about first and second-generation immigrants led him to claim that when two cultures (a dominant and a non-dominant one) come into contact, it is not inevitable that "the non-dominant group experience loss of distinctive cultural and behavioral feature to the point of becoming entirely assimilated into the mainstream group", but that there are three more possible outcomes, that he called

"acculturation strategies", based on the attitude of individuals of the non-dominant group towards the members of the in-group on the one side, and towards those of the dominant group on the other. The distinctions, independent from each other, are defined by Berry as (a) a relative preference for “maintaining one’s heritage culture and identity” versus not maintaining them, and (b) a relative preference towards “seeking relationships with other groups” and participating in the larger society versus avoiding such relationships. The different outcomes of his study show how well members of a minority group adapt to the host society. As a result of these choices, the first already known outcome, which he named “assimilation”, occurs when individuals do not wish to maintain their heritage culture and identity but instead seek relationships with the dominant culture; the second strategy, named “separation”, occurs when individuals of the minority group wish to seek interaction only within their own group; the third strategy, named “integration”, occurs when they wish to maintain their heritage culture while seeking interaction with the dominant group too; lastly, the fourth strategy, called “marginalization”, occurs when there is no particular drive to seek interaction with either the members of the in-group or the ones of the dominant group.

A similar framework is offered by De la Rosa (2000, in Harper). Driven by the belief that the second-generation youth are divided by a conflicting sense of double belonging and double loyalty, he maintains that in the process of constructing their identity, second-generation adolescents experience conflicting social contexts in which they attempt to incorporate both “here” (the dominant culture) and “there” (the heritage culture) into a meaningful sense of self: when there is a low level of cultural identification with both the heritage culture and with the prevailing European-American mainstream values, the adolescents are collocated “neither here nor there”; when a low level of identification with the heritage culture is combined with a high level of cultural identification with the prevailing European-American mainstream values, they are “here and not there”; when there are high levels of cultural

identification with the heritage culture but low levels of identification with the prevailing European-American mainstream values they are “there and not here”, and finally, when high levels of cultural identification with both the heritage culture and the prevailing one occur simultaneously, they are “both here and there”. Case studies4 on acculturation and its outcomes suggest that for immigrants and second-generation immigrants the ideal dimension is integration, that is, retaining their heritage culture while adapting to the host one. In terms of identity formation, this equates with a bicultural identity. Bicultural identities are thought to be the most adaptive (LaFromboise and colleagues, 1993 in Sabatier, 2008), contrary to marginalized identities, which are the least desirable (Berry, 1997, Berry and Sam, 2007).

Berry argued that the members of the minority group are ‘choiceless’ with regard to what strategy to implement to acculturate, assuming that much depends from the attitude of the dominant culture towards them. His claim is that integration can only be chosen freely and pursued successfully by non-dominant groups when the host society is welcoming and inclusive in its orientation towards cultural diversity. Fouron and Glick-Schiller, in their study on Haitian youth in New York, found that some students, when faced with discrimination, automatically withdrew into their ethnic group and decided that they should "go back to some place where they expect something of you, where they appreciate you, where they don't discriminate against you" (182). While agreeing that the extent of prejudice and discrimination influence both one's acculturation process and self-representation, other scholars suggest that whether immigrant individuals (a)hold onto their heritage culture beliefs more strongly, (b)allow these beliefs to coexist with those of the receiving society, or (c) discard heritage culture beliefs and adopt those of the

4 See Berry, Phinney, Sam and Vedder (2006) “Immigrant Youth: Acculturation, Identity and Adaptation”, and Berry(2008) “Globalization and Acculturation”

receiving culture, depends on a number of factors, including the degree of similarity between the two cultures (Brown, 2000 in Schwartz, Montgomery and Briones, 2008), the support for heritage culture beliefs in the new society (Rumbaut, 2011, in Schwartz et al) and the degree to which the cultural identity is flexible enough to accommodate seemingly incompatible belief systems (Jensen, 2003, in Schwartz et al). Other elements mentioned are gender, the strong/weak set of beliefs of the individual, and religion. One might want to take into consideration that in some nations religion is the most important definer of an individual. When religion is deeply interrelated within the one's lifestyle, the change of some behavior (even just the food to eat or the way to dress) would inevitably imply to take a step outside religion, therefore, would imply betraying one's own heritage culture. Besides, there are further elements able to hinder one's identification within the dominant group, such as phenotypic differences (e.g. the way one looks), even though this factor did not come up during the meetings I had with young adolescents of Turkish origins because of their white complexions and their physical degree of similarity with ethnic Italians. On the whole, the outcome (to take part into the host society or withdraw into the ethnic group) seems to depend to a big extent on the individual's will and aspirations.

With biculturalism in mind, Portes (1993) theorized a new notion of assimilation that he named selective assimilation, according to which "the acquisition of the necessary skills to obtain inclusion in the new context does not collide with the preservation and the observance of one's own cultural practice". In this study I will especially draw from this theory to explain the ways my participants find their 'balance' in the host society. More recent studies (Batainah 2008, Fouron and Glick-Schiller 2002, Falicov, 2005) describe new global forms of identifications: cosmopolitan, multiple or transnational identities. Although there is now an emerging scholarship of transnationalism, there is no common understanding about what is meant by transnational migration (Glick-Schiller, 2002). Glick-Schiller and Fouron

propose the following definition: "Transnational migration is a process of movement and settlement across international borders in which individuals maintain or build multiple networks of connection to their country of origin while at the same time settling in a new country" (171). Transnationalism is a dimension that cannot be experienced by those who identify with only one nation-state (Batainah, 2008). Presciutti (2009) observes that when thinking about identity formation, the experiences of migration and globalization make us consider the realm of the nation-state too limited. What's the next step, then? A universal citizenship or a system of multiple belongings?

1.3. The impact of labels we use

There is a big difference between first and second-generations of immigrants, even in the cases where the two are of the same age. The life experience of the youngest generations, both those born in Italy and those born abroad, is profoundly different from that of their parents who have experienced migration personally. To begin with, first-generation Turkish immigrants, commonly referred to as only *immigrants*, have different expectations and face different problems than their children (Ambrosini, 2005). Also, as observed by Thomassen, first- and second-generation immigrants "pose different challenges to society: challenges of a legal kind, pertaining to questions of citizenship, and challenges relating to broader social-cultural processes of integration." (2010: 25-26) Most likely a Turkish immigrant does not expect or even wish to be ever acknowledged as an Italian. Often fleeing from a situation of poverty, what the first generations migrated for in the first place was to find better opportunities for their future and economic stability. They wish to be respected by the local population while maintaining their cultural traits and habits, which are well distinct from the ones of the host country. As noted by Ambrosini (2005), while adapting to the new immigration context, the first generation migrants

do not necessarily aim at understanding it: they do not feel they have to develop a feeling of belonging to the host country. Implicitly, what they are asked to do is to respect its laws, to not reject its values, to not go against the dominant traditions and customs, to develop linguistic skills good enough to interact with the bureaucracy of its institutions…but not to elect this new context as the 'new home country'. On the contrary, for the following generation, exposed to the dominant culture since childhood, the boundary separating host and home culture is a thin line, sometimes blurred and nuanced. Both cultural identities can coexist and mingle. Besides, this generation has different necessities and expectations from the host society, given from the fact that they attend the same schools of their Italian peers, that some of them are native speakers of Italian, and that they might take part in some sport teams with Italian children. Not surprisingly, they demand to be recognized as a part of society and they expect to be treated just like anybody else.

"Juliet: Tis but thy name that is my enemy;

Thou art thyself though, not a Montague,

What's Montague? It is nor hand, nor food,

Nor arm, nor face, nor any other part

Belonging to a man

O! Be some other name!

What's in a name? That which we call a rose

By any other name would smell as sweet."

The label 'second-generation', which implies 'second-generation of immigrants' is a major issue of debate in migration studies. Indeed, "we do need analytical terms to think with, otherwise we cannot organize our data and we cannot delimit areas of debate" (Thomassen, 2009). However, as implied by Juliet in this passage or Romeo and Juliet, the words we use to define things have a great impact on the way we come to see and perceive those things. A good starting point to set in motion critical

thinking may be precisely the adoption of a more suitable term to define the second-generations. Why this need? Because (good) phrasing in the immigration discourse has the power to portray such persons as legitimate members of society…or not. This, in turn, affects the way they (a) acculturate and (b) perceive themselves. Thomassen argues that "good analytical concepts are close enough to reality to make sense, and abstract enough to be useful for comparison, […]", and that "the term 'second-generation' immigrants fails on both counts" (2010: 26). I agree with him that this widely used definition is inaccurate on different levels and ultimately ambiguous. First, its meaning is unclear and fails to define a "delimited time-period" (ibid.)5, as it creates "the false illusion of temporal simultaneity, shared identity and shared challenges across time and space". Uttering the word 'second-generation' does not give any hint on the age of a person, as second-generations do not belong to the same generation everywhere in the world! In countries with a long immigration tradition such as the U.S., the term 'second-generation' refers to adults who in turn have already given birth to third- and fourth-generations. In Italy, on the contrary, where the phenomenon of immigration is relatively recent, this label refers to a young stratification of society, mostly composed of children or adolescents. In fact, a 'second-generation immigrant' in America can be of the same age of the grandparents of a 'second-generation immigrant' in Italy, yet they are both referred to as 'second-generation immigrants', even if the only thing they have in common is the migration choice of their parents.

Secondly, the spectrum of term-definition spans from and encompasses (a) children born in Italy to immigrant parents, (b) children who arrived to Italy due to family reunification, and (c) children born in Italy from a mixed couple, with at least one parent who is Italian. In case of second-generation *strictu sensu*(a) the term is

5 Thomassen's argument is that first-generation immigrants do not belong to any generation, as "people who arrived in italy in 1982 or 2007 are all 'first-generation immigrants'. There will be new 'first-generation immigrants' in 2060, and there will also be new 'second-generation immigrants' in 2060." (2010:26)

inaccurate, because it defines as an immigrant someone who was born in an Italian hospital. Although children born in Italy to immigrant parents live in an environment drenched in their parents' experience of immigration, these children are not immigrants. Calling them 'immigrants' *otherizes* them, "freez[ing] a whole category of people into a position that identifies them with their parents" (ibid.), condemning children who to bear the stigma of being *in here* but not *of here* all their lives.

In the case of children born abroad who went to Italy after family reunification(b) the term once more lacks accuracy. The verb "to migrate" according to Collins dictionary means "to go from one country, region, place to another". As oversimplified an argument as this might seem, the verb implies active movement: would it be accurate to say that a baby who is not able to stand on his bare feet is capable of migrating? Can we define an immigrant somebody who with no understanding of what was happening to him/her was literally wrapped up and carried along as if s/he were a bag? And, as a grown up who has acquired his/her entire education in Italy, would s/he use the term "immigrant" as a self-identifier? I agree with Tailmoun (2011:143) that as the children of immigrants did not choose to leave but have instead been brought to Italy because of their parents' choice, they must be considered citizens like the children of Italians, their peers. Finally, in case of children born in Italy from a mixed couple(c) the term is again untruthful on two levels: not only they are not immigrants, but they grow up embodying two different cultures at home, most likely in a context in which much of the cultural "mediation" has already been "mediated" for them by their parents before they were born. Think about a child born in Turkey who moves to Italy together with his family. Now think about a child born in Italy to a mixed couple, one of whose parent is ethnically Italian and the other Turkish. The former has to find his identity among two strong often conflicting poles, the domestic and the surroundings, while the latter grows up in a mixed environment in which such poles have already been negotiated long before he was born. Besides, his position is more privileged because his being half Italian assures him the right to be treated as an equal in society.

1.3.1. Second-generations… Second-class citizens?

The hardship in finding a label that correctly represents youth with foreign origins is one of the backlash of the *jus sanguinis* citizenship model. If foreign children born in Italian hospitals were granted Italian citizenship at birth, a veridical label would be 'Italians with foreign origins': the term 'Italian' would indicate their citizenship and the fact that they have access to the same rights of their Italian peers. In countries like Canada or the Netherlands, where citizenship is given according to the *jus soli* principle, the child of immigrants is automatically referred to as a Canadian or a Dutch respectively. Various Italian scholars, anthropologists, psychologists also employ the term minori immigrati (underage immigrants), a term that excludes the 'second-generations' strictu sensu. In an attempt to solve the problem of diversification, Rumbaut (1997, in Ambrosini) has introduced the notions of generations 1,5-1,25-1,75. These three diversifications refer to the time of arrival into the host society: generation 1,75 defines persons who have migrated to the host countries between the age of 0 and 5; generation 1,5 defines those who have begun their education in their country of origin but completed it in the host country; generation 1,25 defines those who emigrated between the age 13 and 17. Albeit more precise, this diversification seems to not be wholly satisfactory either because it only considers the age of arrival. As pointed out by Clough-Marinaro, "the term is methodologically opaque because it does not distinguish between individuals born in Italy or abroad; those who have Italian citizenship or not; whether they have grown up within the Italian school system or are native speakers of Italian" (2010:7).

1.4. Suggestions for more integration-friendly labels

Numerous other definitions have been proposed, such as 'Sons of migrants' (Colombo, 2010 in Santerini, 2011), 'New Italians' (Dalla Zuanna, 2009, ibid), 'First

generation Italians' (Thomassen, 2005,). Although Thomassen's and Dalla Zuanna's propositions seem tempting, defining an individual an Italian involves certain citizenship rights to which the so-called 'second-generations' are not entitled. The new Renzi Government has recently proposed an amendment to the obsolete 91/1992 Citizenship Law which would see Italy doing away with the jus sanguinis and finally giving Italian citizenship to children of immigrants who have been residing in Italy for at least 6 years and have completed there a cycle of education. If his amendment will be accepted, then we will righteously talk about 'first-generation Italians', but until then, calling such children 'Italians' would give the misleading message that they enjoy the same rights of their Italian peers, which is not the case. However, it is also true that being called 'Italian' might make a child feel equal to his Italian peers and more 'included' in the Italian society: therefore such label, albeit inaccurate, at least would bring a positive connotation. Santerini(2011), a researcher on second-generation immigrants in Italy, in this regard argues that what label to apply depends on the quality of the experience of successful integration made in the place of birth.

With regards to the participants to my research, a term which is still not popular in Italy but that in my opinion should deserve some consideration is one containing two 'identities' glued together with the help of an hyphen. Word order here is of crucial importance: the meaning of the terms 'Turkish-Italian' and 'Italian-Turk' are different. The first part of the label highlights one's cultural identity, whereas the second part refers to one's ethnicity. The first part of the term is an adjective, and the second is a noun. While because of Citizenship Law 91/1992 a 'second-generation' cannot be defined as an Italian, it can still be called an Italian-Turk, that is, an ethnic Turk who identifies with Italy for myriads of reasons, firstly because s/he is a native speaker of Italian. Hence, all throughout my research I will be referring to my participants as 'Italian-Turks', or 'adolescents with Turkish origins', and I will specify for each case their age and their age at the time of their arrival (for those commonly defined as 'generation 1,5').

CHAPTER 2

ITALY: A COUNTRY OF MIGRATIONS

2.1. The Context

At the peak of his anti-immigration campaign entitled "Rejecting illegal immigration" at the break of the European elections of 22-25th May 2014, the Italian candidate of the Northern League party Angelo Ciocca created and then published on YouTube a touching video in which five documented immigrants in Italy, each one in his own language, discourage their compatriots from going to Italy, because "together with Spain and Greece" Italy is "the poorest country of the European Union", and going to Italy illegally would mean "going towards poverty and desperation". Abundantly criticized and mocked by the Italian left and blindly, passionately supported by the more conservative ones, the Lombard regional counselor explains that his videos are primarily meant to discourage illegal immigration, and are not, as many of his opponents have assumed, a move to discourage immigration in general. While his true intentions remain unsure, doubts linger, and it lingers a message as old as the Unification of the Republic, that is, Italy is essentially meant for Italians.

On the other (left) hand, the Italian Prime Minister and Florence city major

Matteo Renzi, as of May 9, 2014, proposed a reform to the timeworn 1992 Citizenship Law with regards to citizenship to the daughters and sons of immigrants: Italian citizenship to all children born in the country who have completed primary, middle or high school and whose parents are immigrants. Yes, because the Italian citizenship is ruled by the *Jus Sanguinis* model, which relegates these children to the status of *stranieri con permesso di soggiorno* (foreigners with a resident permit), at least until their 18th birthday, when they can request citizenship. If this reform will be accepted, that would mean that children of foreign origin would automatically become Italian citizens after completing elementary school and enjoy all the rights of their Italian peers. In this scenario of wide and passionate debates, at the center of the attention there are generally the threats/challenges multiculturalism poses to the Italian society at large rather than a more human dimension. Such threats, demonstrate Italy is still not ready to think of herself in plural terms.

2.2. Italy and the *promised land*: doesn't history teach anything?

Italians are not particularly fond of Muslim immigrants. This statement might seem to come out of context, but its strength lies in the fact that Italians seem to have forgotten that before being a country of immigration, Italy has long been a country of emigration.

> *"The Reign of these hopeless people is no longer this land. The other world is the Americas, whose soil has for the peasants a double nature. It is the land where they work, sweat and strive, where little money is saved with a thousand struggles and sacrifices, where sometimes they die and nobody remembers; but at the same time it is, without contradiction, Heaven, the*

Promised land." (Carlo Levi, Cristo stopped at Eboli)6

The Reign of the "hopeless people" described by Carlo Levi in his famous memoir, where people strive, struggle and sometimes die without being remembered is not (as one might mistakenly assume) Sub-Saharian Africa of the 21th century, from which thousands of souls try to reach the Italian coasts every day; on the contrary, he is talking about the desolate South of Italy of the 19th century, a place "where God never showed up". In the 19th century poverty forced many Italians to mass migrate to the Americas (the "Promised land") and Europe. Anthropological studies (see Gaspari, 2011) report that between 1876 and 1930, out of the 5 million Italian immigrants who came to the United States, 4/5 were from the South, representing such regions as Calabria, Campania, Abruzzi, Molise, and Sicily. People used to migrate to America by sea in very unsafe conditions. These decrepitated sailing vessels (often more than two decades old), packed in thousands people at a time, way more than what they were designed to carry, earning the notorious reputation of "velieri della morte" (death ships), because those who left did so without being sure of ever reaching the land again 7

"In the collective [Italian] imaginery of that times" – writes Gaspari - often there are steamships sailing across the Ocean, disembarkings in Ellis Island and Italians in the fazendas of Brazil or Buenos Aires". In America the early Italian immigrants settled in the states of the Eastern coast - New York, New Jersey,

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6 *«Il regno di queste genti senza speranza non è di questa terra. L'altro mondo è l'America, che ha per i contadini una doppia natura. È terra dove si va a lavorare, dove si suda e si fatica, dove il poco danaro è risparmiato con mille stenti e privazioni, dove qualche volta si muore e nessuno più si ricorda; ma nello stesso tempo è, senza contraddizione, il paradiso, la terra promessa.» (Carlo Levi, Cristo si è fermato a Eboli).*

7 MEI – Museo Emigrazione Italiana (Museum of Italian Emigration) *http://www.museonazionaleemigrazione.it/museo.php?id=5&percorso=2*

Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Massachusetts. Italian shops, restaurants, bakeries and pizzerias slowly transformed the landscape of some areas and constituted what become to be known as “Little Italies”. Early immigrants believed in the fairytales told by shipping agents (who profited by taking passengers overseas) and thought they would find luck and prosperity in America, but once they arrived they understood reality was not as fortunate as what they had been told it would be. Like the immigrants who reach Europe nowadays, Italians had to take up jobs that Americans would avoid, and they were willingly to work at lower wages. They would clean streets, wait at restaurants and hotels, sell fruit and vegetables and work in the construction sector. Not all of them achieved what they had dreamed of: some, despite their hard work, had to return to Italy as poor as they were before leaving. Together with economic problems, Italians had to face social issues as well: they were discriminated against because they were different than ordinary Americans, who used to call them "wop", "guinea", "dago".8

Contrary to Slovaks and Poles and other English-speaking workers, the Italians’ lack of knowledge of the English language confined them to unskilled jobs such as of laborers, loaders and pick miners. However, mostly Italians went to America with the dream of gaining enough money to buy land back in their home country, perhaps for this reason some of them did not consider it a priority to learn English or assimilate into American society.9

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8 Article on thehistorybox, see http://thehistorybox.com/your_the_writer/article_14a.html

9 America was not the only destination of Italian immigrants of the last century. The pace and numbers of emigration abroad were sensibly reduced during the Fascist Era (1922-1945), but rose again in the aftermath of World War Two with a change of direction. This time Italians were fleeing to Europe. In 1953, after Italy’s geopolitical borders were redesigned, those living in the once Italian Venezia-Giulia, Istria and Dalmatia had to leave their homes because they were suddenly now on then Yugoslavian soil, a nation they did not perceive as their own and in which their lives were in danger. At the same time, with the rise of industrialism, Italy signed agreements with various European states in need of a workforce for post war reconstruction: in 1946 with France and Belgium, in 1947 with Czechoslovakia , Sweden and Great Britain, in 1948 with Switzerland, Holland and Luxemburg, in 1955 with Germany. The stories of those families are best summarized in the famous words of the Swiss writer Max Frisch “We were looking for labor but men came instead”, with which he portrays the bewilderment of his compatriots when they faced Italian emigrants (who were supposed to only be a workforce) claiming for rights, reminding the Swiss folk that they too were human beings.

For a deeper analysis see

2.3. Italy 2.0 – Forget la *dolce vita*

The stories of Italian immigrants in the Americas, albeit presenting so many similarities to the stories of those who are now disembarking in Sicily or Puglia, have failed to give a human dimension to the representation Italy has of immigrants and the way Italian society deals with immigration at large.

Italians today listen to these stories from their grandparents and feel a timeless grief imagining the sufferance of ancestors who had to survive abroad under miserable living and working conditions and were often discriminated against. Nonetheless, when reading Italian newspapers and hearing the main discourse circulated by the media and right-wing politicians with regards to nowadays-immigrants in Italy and their families, it is obvious that theirs is a grief seemingly working in one direction only. The strength of my claim rests largely upon the preponderance of political discussion related to lack of acceptance of the current immigrant group. The events, cartoons and videos discussed below reveal a blatant prejudice towards a particular group: Muslims. This schism seems appears to be directed at nationality and religion.

Recently on the Italian local news it appeared that in the city of Treviso (in Northern Italy) there had been a case of discrimination against immigrants with regards to housing projects10. The distribution of housing projects in the Venetian city has long been administered by a Northern League's regulation that maintains that such houses could only be given out to people who had been residing in Treviso for at least 25 years. The outcome of this regulation is that only Italians are eligible for those houses, because most immigrants have been in Treviso for less than 20 years. The National Office for Racial Antidiscrimination (UNAR, Ufficio Nazionale

http://www.mtholyoke.edu/~molna22a/classweb/politics/Italianhistory.htm

1 0 http://tribunatreviso.gelocal.it/cronaca/2014/01/20/news/alloggi-popolari-il-nuovo-bando-apre-agli-immigrati-1.8509396

Anditiscriminazioni Razziali del Ministero) has denounced the discriminating nature of this regulation and is currently working on a more democratic version of it, according to which everyone will have the same opportunities to be eligible regardless of their status or race. When on TV the news was announced that the regulation was subjected to a change, Venetian citizens became very loud. The Northern League party denounced the fact to the media, saying, "We knew that, in the end, popular houses would be in the hands of imigrants." The change in the regulation was not done with the aim of positively discriminating immigrants over locals, but in order for both to have equal opportunities to obtain housing. However, by repeating the Northern League's claims, inaccurate on many levels, the media too contributed to foster an already latent discontent among the Italian population with regards to the immigrants.

Another example that has gained popularity on the Italian media is the anti-immigration campaign made by the Northern League's candidate to the European Elections Angelo Ciocca. He created and posted on YouTube two videos in which immigrants from Sri-Lanka, Pakistan, India, Angola and the Arab world discouraged their compatriots to migrate to Italy, explaining that Italy is now a country deeply affected by an economical crisis and that cannot give any hope for a better future to them. Of the video, that has already gone viral, there are two versions: one in which the immigrants speak their languages with Italian subtitles, and a second one where they speak Italian. His is the first anti-immigration propaganda employing immigrants to stop illegal immigration. Some medias of the left have declared: "This move was surprising. Or maybe not, if you know who performed it" (De Angelis, 2014).

Most recently, on May 22th Mario Borghenzio, member of the European Parliament and of the Northern League's party, gained some attention while visiting the multiethnic school Pisacane, situated in the most ethnically diverse site of Rome,

Torpignattara. This site normally receives very positive feedback because it houses many different ethnicities who tend to get along fairly smoothly. To have an idea of how multicultural are the site and the school, it is worth mentioning that as of 2013, out of 216 students, 176 were of foreign origin. Borghenzio stopped right in front of the school, grabbed a megaphone and began a delirious talk which reached its peak in the following lines *"Basta invasione! Roma agli italiani! Questo è un quartiere invaso! La Lega dice: Lo libereremo!"* ("No to invasions! Rome to the Italians! This is a seized site! The League says: we'll freed it!") Perhaps not caught too off guard, some mothers who were attending the little talk interrupted him and shooed him away, accusing him and the Northern League of being "criminals".11 The politician of Moroccan origins, Khalid Chaouki who works for a more tolerant and multicultural society, commented: " We won't allow anybody to make their electoral campaign out of the skin of the weaker ones, and neither to use racist slogans in front of a school. School is a sacred places, and us people of Carlo Pisacane of Torpignattara are unbelievably proud of it."(my translation)12

2.4. L*'immigrato irregolare*: politics and social networks in Italy

Italian politics are now very active on social networks, too. Most politicians and journalists have a Twitter and a Facebook public profile. The outcome obtained by typing on Google two simple words as 'Immigration Italy' makes obvious that "public discourse about immigration in Italy, both in political campaigning and in the media, continues to focus largely on new arrivals and the security and cultural threats

1 1 http://www.romaitalialab.it/borghezio-fossa-dei-leoni-cacciato-dalla-scuola-pisacane-torpignattara/
For the video see http://www.tgcom24.mediaset.it/politica/2014/notizia/borghezio-davanti-a-scuola-contro-gli-immigrati-cacciato-dalle-mamme_2046741.shtml

1 2 *"Non permetteremo a nessuno di fare campagna elettorale sulla pelle dei più deboli, né di usare slogan razzisti davanti a una scuola. La scuola è un luogo sacro, e noi, della Carlo Pisacane di Torpignattara, siamo incredibilmente orgogliosi"*

that they allegedly pose (Clough Marinaro, 2010).

In order to monitor all these electoral campaigns and their discourses at the break of the European Election of May 25th 2014, some Italian anti-xenophobia associations such as Lunaria and 21Luglio have created an Observatory for the Protection of Migrants' Human rights (Osservatorio a Garanzia dei Diritti Umani dei Migranti). Their aim was to "discover whether and how in the current electoral campaign the immigration phenomenon is exploited to spread messages of intolerance, stigmatization and hatred towards immigrants, asylum seekers and refugees." The Observatory monitored public discourses, press releases, interviews, information shared via social networks, political vignettes and public demonstrations. Since February 1st 2014, they found 88 cases in which the theme of migration was employed to foster anti-immigrant sentiments. Four were the themes which came up more often: first, a presumed "invasion" of Italy by sea: "*What they call immigration is, in fact, an invasion*" (Matteo Salvini, 5 may 2014, livesicilia.it), "*Stop to invasions, our borders need to be defended"* (Matteo Salvini, Facebook profile: april 16 2013); Secondly, an opposition between Italians and immigrants: "*We stand for Italian citizens!*" (Carlo Fidanza, 15 april 2013, adnkronos). Third, a virus called "Ebola" brought by immigrants from their home countries that is threatening to affect the Italian population: Allam does not leave any room for doubts when he shares on Facebook the vignette discussed below: "*Ebola arrives in Italy"* (Magdi Cristiano Allam, facebook profile, 21 april 2014). Lastly, the stigmatization of Islam, best expressed by Matteo Salvini in an article on La Repubblica dated 13th March 2014: "*In the world Christians are killed in the name of Islam*" (nobody made him notice that either his words had been taken out of context or he had blanked out on two centuries of history about the Crusades and the massacres in the name of Christendom). As a result, such messages have been denounced by the Observatory for the Protection of Migrants' Human rights because they spread unjustified alarms and enmity towards immigrants.

Meanwhile, the national head of the Italian police Alessandro Pansa as of May 9th alarmed the population on a social network claiming that among illegal migrants there are without any doubt some terrorists trying to penetrate the European world.13Examples are numerous. Magdi Cristiano Allam, Egyptian-born Italian journalist now politician campaigning with the Fratelli d'Italia (Italian Brothers) for the European elections goes even further. Initially renown in Italy for being against Islamic extremism, he is now becoming loud with an anti-immigration discourse which fosters xenophobic sentiments. These are three vignettes he posted on his Facebook public page.

In the first one there is a journalist who is greeting a newly arrived group of immigrants. He kneels to greet a sick-looking girl (touch of class: her Teddy Bear is replaced by a skeleton), saying: "Welcome to Italy!"- he says- "What's your name sweetie?" She introduces herself as Ebola. Ebola is the name of a virus supposedly widespread in some African countries. The vignette implies not too subtly that immigrants bring along the danger of a mass infection, immediately denied by the

1 3 *http://www.mattinonline.ch/il-capo-della-polizia-italiana-tra-i-clandestini-ci-sono-terroristi-islamici/*

Italian Ministry of Health, which posted an article on its website reassuring the Italian population that such alarm is definitely unfounded.14 Magdi 'Cristiano' Allam himself offers an interesting case study of successful integration in Italy. Himself originally from Cairo, he shows a peculiar taste in publishing such a vignette. Despite a conversion from Islam to Christianity, Allam has told news reporters that he currently feels no affiliation to any particular religion, perhaps to decry any objections that a real 'Christian' would not deny a hand to those in need. Magdi Allam is a valid example of someone coming from a Muslim country who has succeeded in being accepted into the Italian society by assimilating to it. The right-wing politician is often been referred to as a "perfect example of moderate Muslim who managed to integrate into the Italian society" (http://www.tempi.it/archivio_dett.aspx?idarchivio=10275#.U3vNPFh_upU=). How so? Marrying a Catholic woman, taking harsh positions against radical Islam and then eventually converting to Christianity during Easter of 2008 (I attended the presentation of and the following interview about "Grazie Gesù", the book he wrote immediately before converting) only to declare now that he feels no affiliation with any religion whatsoever. His anti-immigration propaganda is granting him a one-way ticket to an increasing popularity in social networks (as of May 18th 2014 he has 53,721 followers on Facebook). Comments on his public posts are often very positive, "*You are a great Italian!"* (18th may 2014), "*You are the best political character now in Italy!"* (17th may 2014), "*By your side until victory and afterwards!#LetsVoteAllam*" (12th May 2014). Under these circumstances, one could cautiously hypothesize that in Italy one integrates via assimilation. If immigrants are ready to Italianize themselves, then the membership to the Italian club is granted.

1 4 http://www.salute.gov.it/portale/p5_2.jsp

The second vignette represents the city of Bruxelles, house of the European Parliament. The only people we see in the picture are women wearing their hijab, and men with long beards dressed up in a stereotypical Muslim vest. The titles says "Welcome to Bruxelles! European model of integration". The vignette implies that Bruxelles has now been overtaken by Muslims. Magdi Allam explains via Facebook: "If the word "integration" means "Islamic city", then the integration wanted by the European Union can stay in Bruxelles! WHAT DO YOU THINK ABOUT IT?"(My translation) 15

1 5 "*Se la parola "integrazione" vuol dire "città islamica" allora l'integrazione che vuole l'Unione Europea, se la tenga Bruxelles! VOI COSA NE PENSATE?"*

In the third vignette he is mocking the left-wing Prime Minister Renzi who has recently shown his determination to amend the 91/1992 citizenship Law and to spread a message of integration in schools among Italian children and childrens of immigrants. The vignette, implying that Renzi's idea of integration gives all sort of liberties to Muslims, show a person wearing a burqa who says to the children "Kids, we decided upon new uniforms for the teachers!" and it is titled "Renzi: 'Integration begins at school!' ". Once again, right-wing politicians spread the message that making room for people with different cultures in our society comes at the price of renouncing to some of our own.

2.5. Amnesia or an impossible "unity in diversity"?

Both the early Italian immigrants and the immigrants in Italy fled their countries because of poverty or the fear of being killed, survived dangerous journeys by sea, lived in miserable working and living conditions and went through acute discrimination from the locals because their poor use of the language, their looks and their cultural identities. And yet these common experiences are quickly forgotten the moment a new boat reaches the Italian coast, to the point that Umberto Bossi, right-

wing politician, casually notes: “In America they shoot illegal migrants…”16 The main discourse is one which leaves little or no room for mercy or solidarity: the immigrant is seen as a burden, sometimes even as an enemy, definitely as someone who is unwelcome and unwanted because his alien (Islamic) culture is thought to be conflicting with the Italian culture and society. How so? The Italian intellectual and writer Erri de Luca describes this phenomenon of (let us call it) amnesia in an interview on the online immigration magazine Libertà Civili (2011):

> *“We Italians of the 20th century have been the most copious travelers of Century One of big migrations. Those who came afterwards simply deny their belonging to the family they originated from. They deny it in the name of their [now] full pockets”*(my translation) 17

This suggests that Italians’ denial of their past comes from the fact that nowadays, being in a privileged position, they do not bother to unsettle themselves and extend a hand to help those who are in need. However, is it only a matter of simple egoism that pushes Italians to take such harsh positions towards immigrants? I claim another point to take into consideration is the natural consequence of the media’s insisting xenophobic discourses: an opposition between “Us” and “Them”, the known and the unknown, the safe and the unsafe, the traditional and the exotic. As Annedith Schneider notes, "Europe in the last few years has become less and less welcoming of immigrants and more receptive to populist discourses that portray

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1 6 *http://cerca.unita.it/ARCHIVE/xml/15000/13557.xml key=immigrati&first=531&orderby=0*

1 7 *“Noi italiani del 1900 siamo stati i più numerosi viaggiatori del secolo uno delle grandi migrazioni. Quelli venuti dopo, semplicemente rinnegano l’appartenenza alla famiglia da cui provengono. La rinnegano in nome del portafoglio sazio.” (Erri de Luca, interview on Libertà Civili, Vol. 6, 2010)*

immigrants, especially Muslim immigrants, as irredeemably other and outside the national norm" (Schneider, 2014).

Anthropologist Talal Asad believes that “it is their attachment to Islam that many believe commits Muslims to values that are an affront to the modern Western form of life” (Asad, 2002: 210). As a matter of fact, as the latest news on the Italian media prove, “ admittedly there is no shortage of voices that respond to such anxieties with characteristic liberal optimism” (ibid.) yet. His analysis of Muslims and European identity suggests that Muslims are “in” Europe but not “of” it, that is to say, Europe and the nation-states of which it is constituted do not allow Muslims to belong in there. In detecting the causes of this perennial exclusion, he maintains, it is necessary first to consider the way in which Europe envisages itself. His hypothesis is that in this representation there is no shared past or memories with Muslim societies. I take it for a fact that the key influences on Europe have been the Roman Empire, Christianity, the Enlightenment and industrialization (Wintle, in Asad). Several peoples and cultures inhabit the European continent, but it is also believed that there is a single history that articulates European civilization and therefore European identity.

These four historical events, which are what have come to be defined as “European civilization”, have not influenced Muslim immigrants' experience, and it is precisely for this reason, he asserts, that they are not those whose home is Europe (215).

In a *Time* magazine cover story dated 1992 about Turkey’s possible incorporation into the European Union, a German diplomat asserted that Turkish membership “would dilute Europeanness” as, according to him, Turkey had a history of attempted invasions of the Western territories (Asad: 211). Not only European and Muslim societies do not share a common history or fight along, in some cases they were even enemies. Seen from another angle, that battle could be seen as a battle between Christianity and Islam, which adds fuel to the already latent fire.

Of similar views is Ruth Mandel, who in her study of Turks in Germany observes that "a major hindrance to the cultural and political enfranchisement of these minority groups lies in their continued attachment to the ideal of an organic community, that is, of belonging to a common people bound by language, history and tradition" (206). Contrarily to Asad, she does not propose any solutions or strategy to penetrate the apparent unconquerable German "special club". Her stance is that it is essentially impossible to be accepted in the Heimat as a German: either one was born a German, or he never will be, regardless of what he does or how he acts. It is implied that Germanness is not a skill that can be taught or learned. "Mimesis does not reflect a stable essence; rather, it is a creative and recreative process of self-making" (213).

I claim that in the case of Italy the ultimate concern of Italians is not one of ethnic belonging but rather that they want to know what to expect from their neighbors. Did anybody ever tell Popes Woytila, Ratzinger, or Francis, none of whom speak perfect Italian, as immigrants, to go back home? One might argue that they are Catholic and not Muslim, but it seems Italians' discrimination towards non-Italians stems not only from differences in religion: some Albanians are Catholic, Romanians and South Americans likewise, and still denied inclusion. It is tempting to assume that what bothers most in countries like Italy is that they don't mind immigrants' presence, having had enough time to get used to foreigners in their midst, but an immigrant is welcome only if s/he conforms to the majority group, the Italian club.

From most of the discourses urging Islam out of Italy, I understand that the problem is not that we do not share a common past: what Italian society seems to be wishful for is to share a common present identity, an external demeanor that is never too late to embody. From another angle, Italians are afraid and not pleased by whatever represents a difference from the standard Italian identity but they are indeed willing to make room for newcomers provided that these newcomers, in turn, be willing to

discharge those nuances of their cultural traits considered incompatible (in this sense, I mean different) and conform to the majority group. The tricky aspect of this cosmetic change is its own paradox: Italian = not Muslim. So once again, Asad's complaints that there is no room for Islam in Europe proves truthful. Of a similar mind is Jean-Marie Le Pen who, taking the case of Muslim immigrants in France notes: "To be a French citizen is to reflect, as an individual, the collective personality that was founded in the French Revolution and embodied in the laws and conventional practices of the French republic and that is recounted in its national story. Although that personality may not be regarded as eternal and unchangeable, it represents a precondition of French citizenship" (quoted in Asad: 224).

2.6. Immigrants with Italian citizenship or *Italians*?

> *"To build together the right Italy, we shouldn't have a short-term memory and forget the damages created by the right-wing in these interminable years of governance, beginning from the Bossi-Fini and Maroni-Berlusconi laws, their requests to doctors to denounce sick immigrants when undocumented, and so on and so forth.*
> *Particularly on the crucial themes of immigration and citizenship rights to children born or raised in Italy, the Northern League has created the enemy. The immigrant has become the scapegoat without right to speak on whom the NL poured their ineptitude to govern Italy and govern immigration with respect to the fundamental rights of people, without discrimination, as our Constitution rules."* (Pierluigi Bersani, 2013:1, my translation)

The two basic principles regulating the status of a citizen are the jus soli and the jus sanguinis. The former is related to an "ethnic-cultural" conception of the

identity of the nation, essentially seen as a community of descendents; its application tends to limit the inclusion of immigrants in the national community, even when they are stable residents. The principle of the *jus soli*, on the contrary, gives citizenship status to those who are born within the geopolitical borders of a nation-state, independently from the citizenship of their parents. According to the 91/1992 Citizenship Law with its *jus sanguinis* principle, Italian citizenship acquired by descent, which means it is "handed down" and "inherited" from one's genealogy. The law states: s/he is Italian by birth if both or at least one parent is Italian. Contrary to the *jus soli* model in force in other European countries such as France and the Netherlands according to which the child of immigrants automatically acquires the citizenship of the country of birth, the jus sanguinis confines the son of immigrants to the limbo of "foreigner", or, if not a proper stranger, certainly not an Italian. As written on the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs' website, in fact, "Italian citizenship is granted to persons born on Italian soil (1) whose parents are unknown, stateless or cannot pass on their citizenship to their child according to the laws of the State of which they are citizens; (2) of unknown parentage found on Italian soil and whose natural citizenship is impossible to ascertain. […] Foreigners, even those not of Italian descent, born on Italian soil can claim Italian citizenship after continuous residence in Italy up to legal age, and upon declaration of desire to do so. That declaration, to be presented within one year of reaching the age of 18, must be accompanied by the following documentation: (1) birth certificate, (2) certificate of residence."

If one examines this Law closely, its implications on a now multicultural Italian society are much more tragic than a first examination. Casting the child of immigrants to the status of foreigner until of age does not only define a modus operandi, but is, tragically enough, also a modus vivendi. It says: 'Italian-ness' is handed down through descent, blood, ancestors. The Law implies that either one's ancestors were Italians, white, Christians, have experienced Fascism and the Unification of the Italian Republic, or the person cannot be Italian. In other words,

one cannot become Italian; one has to be born with that entire legacy in his/her blood. This unethical ethnic bind has to influence their identity formation somehow.

Persons who are born in Italy from immigrant parents can apply for Italian citizenship once they turn 18 and within one year, under the condition that they have been residing in Italy legally and without interruption. To make matters worse, as Clough Marinaro observes, "the current Bossi-Fini immigration law makes their right to reside in Italy dependent on a legal work contract" (2009). This means that at time of application, the individual must be either in school or legally employed; otherwise, they may face the same fate of undocumented immigrants, that is, the deportation to the country of origins of their parents, a place they may have never seen. The long-term damage is that an entire generation grows up being a "foreigner with a residence permit" ("straniero con permesso di soggiorno") in the only country they have ever known. Anthropologists specialized in migrations suggest two possible solutions to this problem (Giro, 2010: 30): in the first case, the child of immigrants born on Italian soil should acquire citizenship automatically at birth provided that at least one of his parents prove to have been residing legally in Italy for two years and possess a residence permit. The only requirement would be birth on Italian soil and legal presence of one parent (two years is the duration of the residence permit given to foreigners with a "lavoro a tempo indeterminato", unlimited job contract, which proves that their presence is stable). The second option, unrelated to of the place of birth, is to give the status of Italians to those who have been residing in Italy for at least six years, have completed a cycle of education or a professional course in Italy, and demonstrate knowledge of Italian language and culture. This second proposition which values the formation of the person and his/her individual identity over other aspects is the amendment proposed by the Italian Prime Minister Matteo Renzi (whose party most recently has won the European elections in Italy with a 40% of the vote). What remains to be seen is how long it will take for Italy, given the latest dramas of Angelo Ciocca, Magdi 'Cristiano' Allam, Mario Borghenzio and others, to

consider a detainee of the Italian citizenship a 'real' Italian.

2.7. Italy for the Italians?

Italy envisages itself as a nation-state, 'the state of the Italians'. As we have seen, the dominant discourse is one that implies, and in some cases it openly states, that immigrants and locals coexist in the same cities under a "Tolerance Regime" (Cologna, Granata and Novak, 2007). The integration model that characterizes Italy, according to Novak, even though never openly stated, is essentially assimilation. In other words, in order for an outsider to gain access to the 'Italian club', s/he has to conform to the written and unwritten rules of the Italian states. They are supposed to do so at the price, when clashes between the Italian cultural traditions and habits and those of the country of origin emerge, to abandon one's own in favor of the Italian ones. As a matter of fact, as Novak continues, there is a certain difficulty for the Italian society to think of itself "plural" in ethnic, linguistic and cultural terms: first and second-generation immigrants are still considered as (unwelcomed) guests, even in the case that they were born and had grown up in Italy. The only way they can integrate (thus gaining a presumed total inclusion) is to i*talianize* themselves.

However, even the main discourse about inclusion is articulated in nebulous ways. As Thomassen observes (2008), statisticians on immigration claim an estimated growth of immigrant population of approximately 250,000 persons per year, a number that does not take into consideration illegal immigrants who do not appear in the records of the state. A more sensate number, he argues, would be around twice as much, that is, "four hundred thousand immigrants", a phrase that leads right-wing extremists to launch the alarm that in six to eight generations Italy will basically become seized by immigrants and Italians will end up as a minority in their own country. Technically this discourse is accurate, but at the same time it is incorrect because it implies that the persons that will be born six to eight generations

from now in Italy, the great-great-great-grandchildren of those who are now immigrants, will still be defined as immigrants. Although we now do not know and cannot precisely predict how their identities will evolve, one could argue that such statement is incorrect because it does not consider three facts: first, even if the today's immigrants kept marrying and procreating with others of the same ethnicity, their sons and daughters might be completely assimilated into the Italian culture; second, even this case is still a minority case, nowadays we already see the first intercultural marriages, which gives room to contemplate the idea that future generation's ethnicities will be diluted and not merely "one ethnicity or the other"; third, it did not consider that fifty years from now and regardless of the color of their skins, those people will no longer be "immigrants", but considered by all means by the citizenship law as Italians. Indeed, at this point it is time to examine what "Italian" really means to Italians, that is to say, what notions, beliefs and collective memories "Italian-ness" encompasses.

2.7.1. Italian-ness 101: the Southern Question

A brief digression while exploring the issue of "Italian-ness": it is interesting to note that immigrants are not the only scapegoats for Italians.[18]

At the time of the unification of the Republic (1861) what afflicted Northern Italians was the assumed fact that between northerners and southerners there were certain cultural differences, they even looked physically different in some cases. This "Southern Question" still appears even nowadays, in the typical conversations among

18 Following the economic boom of the 1960s, Italy experienced a dense internal migration: from the South, people moved to the traditionally more productive northern territories of Italy. Between the 1980s and the 1990s, the Leaguers' main discourses were focused on an (assumed) inferiority of Southern Italians and the declared wish to limit the number of southerners in the North of Italy (Chaouki, 2014: 2) He explains that, as a matter of fact, the aversion towards the South of Italy has been for two decades the "forte" of the NL.

Italians about the differences between Northerners and Southerners. Generally there are some assumptions that encompass the belief that Northern Italians are hardworking while Southerners are lazier and that in the South people tend to be more family oriented but also rougher, louder, and lacking some sort of manners. A notorious example comes from the performance of Matteo Salvini's in 2009, not a random man, but the number one of the Lombard League and a current member of the European Parliament with a past in the Italian Parliament. In the month of July Salvini gave his best singing along with his followers in Pontida, one of the oldest League's slogans: "*Senti che puzza, scappano anche i cani, sono arrivati i napoletani*" (Chaouki, 2014: 4) The song, which in Italian rhymes, means, "Can you smell this stink? Even the dogs run away, people from Naples have arrived!"
However, even though Northern League politicians Umberto Bossi or Matteo Salvini have a grotesque history of trying to part Northern and Southern on the basis that they are immeasurably different, when it comes to expand the definition of 'italian-ness' politicians from neither area seem to hesitate to speak using the singular:"Italy is one".

2.7.2. Italian-ness 102: The last white rabbit to pull out the magician's hat

"*Milan seems to be an African city because of the number of foreigners*"
– Silvio Berlusconi (La Stampa, 4th June 2009, in Clough Marinaro, 2009).

"The sense of Berlusconi's remark" explains Marinaro, "is that a person cannot be Italian and black" (ibid.) Italian-ness seem to be on the one hand the ultimate requisite to be granted inclusion, and on the other a vulnerable rose to be defended from the winds and flows (of migrants) that can spoil and harm her. If you ask an Italian person what best represents Italy, in most cases they toss words which somehow define what is considered typical of the Italian culture and what they feel more affiliated to, like pizza, pasta, ice-cream, Ferrari, fashion. Interestingly enough,

when matters of citizenship to immigrants or inclusion are discussed, suddenly elements such as religion, the Pope, skin color, maybe even a common history - things that, to use Thomassen's phrase, an Italian "normally wouldn't wait to get rid of" (32), are quickly invoked as *sine qua non*. Everywhere, individuals' cultural identity has a core of values that hardly changes, but its margins are continuously reshaped and transformed by every kind of interaction people have with the 'outside'. Italians watch American movies, learn their values, apprehend some new lessons. Is this considered dangerous? No. Another example? Facebook. In a social network where everything one posts become quickly of public domain, we see what happens on the other side of the world and they see what we do, what we like, what we think. Inevitably, these 'cyber exchanges' dilute the margins of *Italianness,* rendering it transnational. Also, fashion and looks are continuously transformed once a popular singer or actress appears on a video on YouTube or posts a picture on Facebook or Instagram. Don't we get inspired on how to dress once someone famous makes a shirt/jacket/hairstyle the thing to have? Don't adolescents immediately reproduce the same styles of their favorite singers? They do. Thanks to Myley Cyrus and Rihanna, an entire generation of Italians have become relatively more audacious. And yet nobody has ever accused Miley Cyrus' *twerking* or Rihanna's half-naked breasts' selfies, both of which have literally gone viral on the Italian media, to offend the Catholic Religion and to attack the integrity of our *Italianness.* But the image of a veiled woman, or the word "Muslim" does. Clough-Marinaro asserts:

> "*Italianness is still widely constructed as something culturally and socially homogeneous. Underlying these discourses is still the tenacious assumption that being Italian is synonymous with being white and Catholic. […] The question of who is a 'real' Italian is one which is at least as old as the unified Italian state.*"
> (Clough Marinaro, 2009:10)

I agree with Clough Marinaro that Italians tend to hide behind concepts such as a common history and religion to give reason to otherize immigrants, but they fail to be credible: World War One is assumed to have left the country more divided than before and as regards religion, even if "the near totality of Italians" are nominally catholic […] "clericalism and anti-clericalism have caused more divisions in the country than they have healed". If Asad read this, he would argue: "Fighting along together against a common enemy might not mean being united, but not doing so certainly implies being not." The irony lies in the fact that when it comes to personal freedoms and life choices such as having sexual intercourse before marriage, using contraception or the right for women to have an abortion, the Church is often denounced for its being obsolete, but while explaining why a Muslim cannot be seen as a 'real' Italian, everyone is surprisingly quick at invoking Christianity as one of the *sine qua non* qualifiers of Italian-ness.

CHAPTER 3

NARRATIVES ON BICULTURALISM AND NEGOTIATIONS OF HOME AND BELONGING OF SECOND-GENERATION TURKS

3.1. Methodology

This research has been carried out between February-April 2014. In order to focus on the narratives of my participants and to have a more profound and round insight of their daily practices and identity trajectories, I decided to carry out in-depth interviews of about one-two hours each with small groups or single participants. This allowed me to formulate a more precise analysis of their identity formation in their everyday life.

As anthropologist, Spradley (1979) highlights the importance of qualitative interviews for the collection of data. He explains that ethnographic interviewing involves two stages: developing rapport with the participants and eliciting information. I chose this kind of approach driven by the belief that I share with him that establishing a sort of a basic relationship of mutual trust between the interviewer and the participants encourages the latter to share more information about themselves

and to talk more freely. Spradley stresses that rapport doesn't necessarily involve deep friendship between two people, but "it can exist in the absence of fondness and affection". Spradley defines four stages of the interview process: (1) apprehension, where both the researcher and the participants still don't know precisely how the interview will develop and have feelings of uncertainty; (2) exploration, when the basis of the rapport are laid; (3) cooperation, where a sort of basic mutual trust is established and the researcher and the participants become more comfortable around each other, and (4) participation, when the participants feel comfortable enough to share information about themselves.

Before each interview I felt nervous. Twice it happened that I was so nervous that although I was using Google Maps to drive to the place of the interviews I still got the wrong road and arrived late. As I had no clue as to whom I was going to meet, I didn't know what would be the best way to establish a *connection* with them. Also, what were they expecting from me? Would I manage to make them feel at ease and at the same time to not loose the purpose of the interview from my sight? Furthermore, not knowing what were their feelings about being interviewed, I have been extremely careful to never use the word *interview* while introducing myself to them: I rather preferred to say that I was having *a conversation* with them, an *encounter*, a *talk*. At the very beginning of each interview I normally introduced myself and gave precise information about myself, my research-field, the reason I chose to live in Turkey and why I was carrying out such a study. I always did so aiming at gaining a sufficient level of trust that allowed them to feel safe and do the same with me. I patiently answered to each of their questions at any moment of the interview and I have always been enthusiastic to share my feelings about Turkey and life in Turkey. I wanted them to feel that, although it was me asking the questions and they were the object of my study, there was not such a thing as a relation of power between us: just like I was doing, they could feel free to enquire about my opinions too.

My sample consists of 14 adolescents of Turkish origins: 10 females (Ender, Ece, Beren, Beren O., Sibel, Sebnem, Serap, Yagmur, Mine, Zeynep, Zehra, Hale,) and 3 males (Sinan, Oscan-Oscar and Taner), aged 15-22. Two of them are 26. To protect confidentiality and anonymity in this thesis I did not use their real names.

The basic questions asked, which might vary depending on how the interviews developed, were:

(i) Where and when were you born?

(ii) If you were born in Turkey, how old were you when you came to Italy?

(iii) What school are you enrolled at?

(iv) Do you like going to school? Why? Why not? Do you think school is important for your future?

(v) How many languages can you speak?

(vi) What language do you speak at home?

(vii) What language do you speak with your siblings? And with your friends?

(viii) Do you have more Turkish or Italian friends?

(ix) Is it easy to become friends with Italians?

(x) Do you feel you have to act like an Italian if you want to have Italian friends?

(xi) If you came to Italy during elementary school, how long did it take for you to learn Italian? How were your first years in Italy like?

(xii) Do you feel closer to the Turkish or the Italian culture?

(xiii) How often do you visit Turkey?

(xiv) How do you spend your time when you are in Turkey?

(xv) Do you have many friends in Turkey?

(xvi) Would you like to live in Turkey in the future?

(xvii) Where is home for you?

(xviii) What is your opinion of Italy and Italians? Do you think the Italian culture and the Turkish culture are similar?

(xix) Would you say that you are religious?

(xx) Have you ever experienced discrimination based on your ethnicity or on your religious faith?

In order to find my participants, I contacted the Milad Turkey-Italy Association of Modena, that I had been visiting the previous summer and where I had met its responsible person, Beren. In February, she helped me contact Turkish adolescents for my project and scheduled my first interview with three girls. I then kept contact with two of those girls who introduced me to some of their Italian-Turkish friends. In order to find other participants, cliche as it might seem, I also went to several Turkish restaurants and Kebab cafes. There, one dinner after the other, I exposed my research to the owners and asked if they had children or relatives which would be interested in taking part to my study. With their help, two Turkish guys contacted me via e-mail. I went to three high schools in Modena, the Technical Industrial Institute Primo Levi, the Professional High school for Fashion and Design Carlo Deledda and the Gymnasium Allegretti. At the Gymnasium, after a long interesting talk with the school director in which she showed great enthusiasm for my research, I was given the names the three Turkish students enrolled at her school. Of them, only one was interested in taking part to my study. However, the place where I could find most participants, as anticipated by Milad, has been the Professional high school for Fashion and Design. I have also been visiting the Immigration center, where I carried out two interviews with Dr. Alessandra Lotti and her colleague Dr. Andrea Ruffaldi, in order to see the Turkish minority of Modena from the perspective of two intercultural operators.

As we will see, some of my participants self-identify as both Turkish and Italian, others only as Turks. Some are affiliated to Milad and some are not. Those belonging to Milad were not necessarily more 'integrated' in Modena than those who don't (by 'integrated' I mean having Italian friends and in general seeking interaction with Italians). Those of my participants who were best 'integrated' into the Italian

society (without necessarily being assimilated into it) were those who did not belong to Milad and who were entirely socialized into an Italian environment. They were those who could counteract boldly any form of discrimination and stand up for their rights and pride. Some participants felt more affiliated to the Turkish culture, others to both. They all speak Italian at different levels of proficiency. For all these reasons, and also seen the small sample and its wide diversity within, I cannot consider their answers representative of all second-generation Turks residing in the Modena province. However, the common pattern is that they all display a great affection for Turkey and the Turkish culture, to which they feel they belong.

3.2. The Milad Turkey-Italy Association

The Milad Turkey-Italy association of Modena was established at the end of the 1990s by the early Turkish immigrants of Modena and it's important with regard to this research because it is the institution most of my participants refer to. Initially Milad was only consisting of a study room with a prayer room attached in which the early immigrants could pray in Turkish. As the Turkish community began increasing in number, it become crucial for them to find a place to gather, both in order to pray and also as way to preserve their cultural heritage. After a couple of years from the first Turkish arrivals in Modena, Milad rented a Mosque in the center of the city, which came to be known as the Turkish Mosque, and which is considered the first 'root' the Turkish community set in Modena. Among those people, mainly coming from the province of Corum and with no or little education, there was a group of more educated individuals which was keen on establishing connections with the city itself and on opening up to the Italian new context. As a result, the Association was transformed into a place where the oldest immigrants volunteered to teach Turkish children the Italian language and help them with their school homework. One of the

cornerstones of Milad is, in fact, to promote education.

Since 2005, Milad has doing meaningful things for the integration of the Turkish minority in Modena. the volunteers have been collaborating with the Immigration Center of Modena in various cultural events, the most important of which were two events called Visible Cities and Multicultural fest respectively. They also participated in an event created by the Immigration Center called Open Mosque: once a month all the mosques of Modena are open and welcome visitors from all ethnic and religious communities and the authorities; the imams invite the guests to listening to the call to prayers and they explain to them the history of the ezan. Also, every year at the end of the Ramadan they organize a big Turkish dinner to which they invite representatives of various associations such as the city major, directors of hospitals, schools directors and so on, in an attempt to show to people of Modena their willingness to be a part of the host society, and also to show them traits of the Turkish culture. Furthermore, they also organize language exchanges and volunteer to teach the Turkish language to Italian adolescents aged 12-17 for free, who are then brought in a trip to Istanbul to perform at the Olympics of the Turkish Language. One of the intercultural operators I have talked to at the Immigration Center, Andrea, told me the previous year he had been to Istanbul with her daughter (who took part in the Turkish language competition) and they were both amazed by the greatness of the event, which he told me it was funded by the Turkish Government with the aim of "building bridges and good relationships with Europe". They, together with other children and their families, were taken to visit newspapers, to talk to intellectuals and professors, and so on. Beren, a 26-year-old Turkish girl and the now-representative of Milad confessed me that it had been difficult to find participants because Italian families had been suspicious towards Turkey and Islam, and that only few of them were interested to take the language course and be taken to Istanbul. She also asked me if I could help them finding participants, for the reason that, as an Italian, she assumed people would have given me more credit than what they normally give them. During another interview with an intercultural operator at the Immigration

center of Modena, Dr. Alessandra Lotti told me that the Turkish minority in Modena is atypical, it is one of a kind, it is better organized and certainly the most involved of all ethnic minorities in establishing good relationships with the Modenese society.

Milad is inspired by the creed of Fethullah Gulen. After vising the Milad center the first time last summer, Beren and Elyas, the two adults in charge, gave me three books about Fethullah Gulen: one was his authorized biography, and the other two were his thoughts about religion and life. Although the Gulen movement inspires very strong feelings, both negative and positive in Turkey, the intercultural operators of the Center for Integration of Modena spoke very positively about Milad. One of them told me that Milad is an international movement helped by public funds , that it is rigorous, but also that, compared to other associations of ethnic minorities in Modena, Milad is the most open and the most active in promoting intercultural events. Andrea and Alessandra never had the feeling that the members of Milad were somehow trying to convert them to Islam or to promote Islam, and neither did I. The impression I had is that their basic aim is show that Islam does not necessarily equate with terrorism and that two different religions such as Islam and Christianity can coexist and get along.

One afternoon that I was spending some time with two of my participants over a kebab, they told me:

> *"Gulen is one that really devoted himself to religion… through his books he explains us how good Muslims should behave like… They [people] have said so many things about him…like, that he got married four times, that he lives in a big villa…stuff like that, but none of it is true. He lives inside a room…He doesn't want to go back to Istanbul because he would be in danger there, so he's staying in the US… In the world there were Muslims before he came, it's not that he is the father of Islam or anything like that… Like, it's not that people*

believe in him, we believe in God. He 's a person like us.There are many imams in the world, I mean… at the end of the day Gulen is just an imam like all the others." (Ender, 19, born in Italy)

"I belong the Association and so do my parents… but only because I spend some of my time at Milad it doesn't mean that I have to wear the headscarf and pray… they only want us to study…they want us to show that us Turks study and get good results at school… because most foreigners don't do well at school, they get married early and end of the story. Milad wants people to get an education. We don't go to Milad to learn about religion…just to do our homework and study..." (Ece, 16, in Italy since she was 2)

Overall, the young adolescents I talked to had a good opinion of Milad. After talking with some of them it seemed to me that for the Turkish community, more than a religious center, Milad was a place where to preserve their traditions, gathering with other Turkish families, maintain friendships and good relationships with each other. None of the girls I interviewed seemed particularly devoted to Islam or eager to convince me about the benefits of being a Muslim. Apart from the head of the Association, Beren, none of them was covered, and they all seemed ordinary adolescents of no ethnicity in particular, just like anybody else.

3.3. Family and school and language: Acculturation and identity formation's main variables

Everyday life and the future of the second generation youth, as observed by Ambrosini (2005) are mediated and shaped by their surroundings, that is the social institutions that they interact with in their socializing process. Of crucial importance, at this regard, are the roles of the culture of origin (absorbed through the family) but also of school, where children, often completely immersed in an Italian environment

of which they are a small minority, are taught the language, values and customs of the Italian state. School is particularly interesting for another reason too: it is the first place where they face their own difference, where they assess the attitude of their Italian peers towards them, where they experience integration or exclusion, key factors affecting second-generation immigrants sense of identity and belonging in the host country.

3.3.1. The relationship with family and the origins

The family is the first social institution to mediate the fate of the second-generation youth (Bellone, 2010). In the relationship between first and second generation immigrants, one of the elements more often emphasized in sociological studies is the ambivalence between the preservation of the codes and practices of the culture of origin, and the tendency to slowly become more and more similar to their Italian peers. On the one side there is the family willing to control the choices and the behavior of the children imposing its authority: on the other, there is an ongoing experience of the new society, one that emphasizes values such as emancipation and equality. Second generations have thus the double-responsibility of both treasuring the parents' cultural identity and promoting their own autonomy.

As second-generation youth begin school, they have more opportunities than their parents (especially, as we have seen, their mothers, who stay at home and take care of the house) to integrate in the receiving society, especially because they learn Italian sooner and better. Through school they therefore find themselves for the first time in an environment of compromises, a hazardous space in which both ends of the line are equally demanding. At the one end they feel compelled to obey to their family's authority and to follow the values inspired by their traditional society: parents virtually expect, demand or prohibit certain things to their children (especially when females). At the opposite end of the line, the environment outside home, albeit technically not "raising its voice" to force children into doing anything,

is in its own way equally demanding: inclusion comes at the price of having to adjust to the mainstream “fashion”. If one wants to achieve inclusion in a particular group, s/he must adopt a similar lifestyle.

Studies on second-generation youth suggest that more than facing problems related to their ethnicity and role as “mediators” between the family and the outside environment, second-generation immigrants have the same problems, hopes and expectations of all young adults of their age, regardless of their background (Bellone, 2012, Carbone, 2008). However agreeing to some extent, my research on adolescents of Turkish origins suggests that in most cases my youngest participants feel double-burdened: not only they are (or have been) living through stressing teenage years, but they also have to keep in balance the two 'plates' metaphor, e.g., two cultures coming with sometimes opposite expectations.

The problems arise specially when it comes to the lack of freedom to go out with friends at night and have a boyfriend. If they were still living in Turkey they would be playing by the same rules of the game, once in Italy intergenerational communication is more complicated. Such demands for freedom cannot be translated to their parents because it is not only language that is translated but also culture. We could compare the foreigner who is coming to terms with the new host culture with a second-language learner: just like the grammar of a foreign language, each culture has particular written or unwritten rules; it is not responsibility of the learner to necessarily understand them or agree that they make sense, but he indeed has to know how to use these rules if he wants to become fluent in that language. Parents tend to close their eyes in front of (the 'grammatical' unwritten rules of) a culture that, when taken up, can potentially put a distance between themselves and their children. There is a variety of reasons why this might happen: perhaps they are afraid their children won’t identify with the heritage culture anymore, or they fear to lose them to the new society, or simply because for them preserving their culture is a priority. Sibel recounted me of how it is sometimes exhausting to embody the

second-generation dualism when parents are more conservative than the average Italian parents.

- For example this is how it is at home for me: my parents are not very strict, when I want to go out they let me go, they let me go clubbing too… but when it comes to guys it's a no-no! They say "No guys until you are 23-24, then you'll find one and get engaged and then you'll get married". The thing is, this here in Italy is basically out of the question. In these teenage years what you do is you meet a guy, you think he's cute, you talk to him and stuff like this. For example last summer I met an Italian guy and we begun seeing each other, and now we're dating… but at some point I had to tell it to my mom, otherwise it was getting hard to lie every time I was going out to see him… now every time I go out with him she begins complaining "what if this and that one see you, what if that family sees you, what would they think", and so on and so forth. At some point it gets unbearable… so once again I begun to make up lies to see him…You see I try to adjust to both… to both the Turkish and the Italian lifestyle.

- Do you think they would be less strict if you lived in a bigger city and dated a Turkish guy?

- No. At the end of the day if I lived in a bigger city it would be even worse because they wouldn't allow me to go out AT ALL. There are loads of Turks in Modena and if one of them saw me they would tell it to my father. "
(Sibel, 16, born in Italy)

Yagmur is an example of how youngsters, facing generational and cultural dissonance, respect and oblige to their parents when under their gaze but avenge their own individuality and autonomy when alone.

- See, our parents only think: "You can go to school… or not… for one day you will get married anyway…and at school you're no good." This is what they say… but I don't want to get married now…one day sure, but not now…I have to live my life a little first!" (Yagmur, 17, in Italy since she was 3)

- …Except that your mother is not gonna let you live your life like she was an Italian mother! If you don't go to school your mother will send you to a husband! Haha! (Ender, born in Italy)

- My mother wants to send me straight away to a marriage…but my dad doesn't want to. He says: "until you are 30 you stay here next to me"! (Yagmur)

- Bravo! (Ender)

[Question] Do they allow you to have a boyfriend?

- No… but I have a boyfriend. Well, two. One is back in Corum, the other one is here. I know [laughs]… but what can I do? I talk to the one in Corum often, and he asks me "are you being faithful to me?" and I always say "Yes! Sure", but I mean what can I do? If he was here sure, I would be dating only him, but he's far. So I am seeing this other guy, he is 22. We meet at Ender-Giorgia's place because her parents are not at home during the day. He calls me like five times per day and when we are speaking he laughs, so I say "What's so funny? If you talk to me you don't laugh", then he tells me that he likes girls who do not smoke, and when he says so I light a cigarette… and he says that he doesn't like me when I curse, so I do it in front of him. He doesn't do anything to me, if it was my parents, they would kill me! [laughs]

- Would you like to live in Turkey?

- Are you kidding? Turkish families do not let you go out at night!
(Yagmur)

– Compared to other Turkish families we had more freedom… the daughters of some family friends could not go out at night, and their parents imposed them to read the Quran… At home this never happened to us… I mean, my mother tried but she soon saw that there was nothing to do so she gave up! [laughs]… We were not allowed to spend the night out, you know, sleepovers at friends' and stuff…when we went out we had to be back by midnight, if we were to go clubbing we could make up some lie...

Question: Were you free to date when you were living at home with your parents?

- No…My boyfriend and I moved in together some years ago…We have been together for 8 years now! To be with him I ran away from home in 2005 because I didn't get along with my parents. My mother didn't accept my boyfriend, she wanted me to be with a Turk, but I was in love with him. Then last year I introduced him to my family, now they like him a lot. I even took him to Turkey after my parents moved back last year, I showed him around Istanbul and Bursa and he loves the Turkish food so it was easier for him too to be at my place there. But you know were I in Turkey it would have been different. In Turkey you cannot live with a guy if you're not married." (Mine, 26 years old, in Italy since she was 4)

“Adolescence? A little hard…we were 4 daughters, perhaps partly because we were females and partly because of some... poverty I'd say…there were many things we could not afford that our Italian friends could…we were different on an intellectual and ecnomical level: they were going out every weekend, buying nice clothes etc… I could do that too, but I had a time limit to respect and I could not afford to go shopping for clothes often, we were four daughers, you know… I tried to do the same things of my friends but I couldn’t all the time… it was different for me.” (Zeynep, 26 years old, in Italy since she was 6)

One topic that often occurred is the anxiety of Turkish mothers compared to Italian ones who are less strict and controlling, and the Turkish way in general that is more strict.

*"I would like to visit Turkey on my own but my mother is terrified. We have been talking about this for a year now and she says "If you go, take the pepper spray with you". You know that kind of spray? "You cannot go out without your sister!" she says. My mom watches the news on TV a lot and often she sees that girls in Turkey are kidnapped or raped. But I say it is not because it's Turkey, I think the same kind of things can happen to a girl in Modena or Bologna too. Here on the news we only see the bad news. I hate the Turkish TV because they only show protests, and women who are kidnapped or raped and such things. I mean of course parents get paranoid. Not possible for me to ...not go out here! Here no problem really, but when in Turkey I can't go anywhere alone. But really, I think, Istanbul is full of people day and night...so even if I meet a bad guy there are for sure other 100 who would help me!" (*Sibel, 16, born in Italy)

"I prefer life in Italy because you have more freedom. In Turkey if you date a guy everyone knows it straight away! But of the Turkish family I like that the always defend you no matter what, while if you have an Italian family and

you're in trouble you have to get away with it alone. My mother calls me every 2 seconds: "Where are you, what are you doing?"- she asks." (Ece, 16, in Italy since she was 2)

"Last year during the protests my sister was there. My mom was panicking, she used to call her all the time and say "please don't go out, don't go out!", and my sister was like "Mom please, if you don't get in the middle of it nothing happens!" (Sebnem, 17 years old, in Italy since she was 4)

However, not all families represent the stereotypical Turkish strict family. Despite the mothers are often portrayed as anxious and strict and the fathers are rarely mentioned, in some cases it is the father who grants freedom. Ender recounts:

"My dad never complains. If I say "I'm getting married", he's ok. If I don't get married, he's ok. I go and live by myself, he's ok. If I don't go, he's ok. He trusts me even too much, he gives me a lot of freedom. He left his home when he was 17 and since then he won (kazanmak)...I mean, he did and gained everything by himself. When he came to Italy he didn't know anybody here, he did not go to school but he learned many things anyway living life. He wants that I live my life too...both the good and the bad, he says "you'll learn what's right and what's wrong", this is why he lets us do everything. Just an example: my mom didn't want me to go to Milan alone by train, she was like "Absolutely not, out of the question, you're not going alone!". My dad said "Do you have a mouth? Can you speak? Good, then go!", and he sent me to Milan by myself. He's like that, I love him. My sister is 22 and she now studies in Bologna. My mom told her:"Why Bologna? You'll have to go there by yourself. Pick a university in Modena instead!", and my dad was like:" Just go, you speak Italian, how can you get lost!". My dad has even been to the United States. Now he works in a construction site, but he's not a common worker...he goes and comes back from

work whenever he wants..." (Ender, 19, born in Italy)

3.3.2. School: between education…

- I'm 15 and still a student of middle school…but I don't like school…I don't like anything about school…"

Question: Why?

- Sıkıldım okulda…(I feel bored to death at school). One of my professor when I ask to go out tells me "yeah good, go out…go, take a walk", another must have called my family at least 50 times… This is the first time I go to school three days in a row. (Serap, 15, in Italy since she was 7)

– During middle school I used to be a good student… Whenever I got a bad mark I would cry to much…When I was about to finish I went to take the final exam and my professors told me:"You're about to go back to Turkey, so…we'll let you graduate". They didn't want me anymore in that school…but I think it was also because I was not behaving very well.

Question: What do you mean?

- I was snapping at them, I was rude… (Yagmur, 17, born in Italy)

- I'm 19 and I quit school last year and I regret it already... it was easy for me, I was just lazy... can you believe that in the physics exam I only studied ten minutes and got 7,5? (out of 10). I opened the book, read, closed it, that's it.

(Ender, born in Italy)

- I study and study, but then I forget everything... for this reason I don't like to go to school...[...] I don't understand anything... not because of the language... it's just the things they teach I don't understand"(Yagmur)

-Next year I would like to go to the Deledda school too...(Serap)

*-You should go to the Corni Professional school... people don't do ***** there!*(Ender)

-That's unfair! In all schools students do something! (Yagmur)

- Nah. People who choose that school do the first 2 years in the city center, then they move to the other faculty at the campus... but the first two years ruin people. Don't pick a professional school... I was telling this to my cousin too yesterday: pick a technical school instead, never a professional one. If you're smart, professional schools are a waste of time. I was like "Talk to me, are you dumb? No. Then why would you pick a professional school. Everyone has a brain, people just need to learn how to use it. I quit school and I regret it so much." (Ender, 19)

To further complicate an already delicate issue, some uneducated parents who see marriage and the consequent making of a family as a priority, do not motivate their children to do well at school, with the consequence that the latter don't put effort and if they meet difficulties they simply give up.

- I failed a year...before this school I was studying Arts. It's a difficult school...apart from drawing, I was good at that, for this reason I had chosen it. But then I failed a year...Thing is: you also have to behave well with your professors...I'm sure I failed a year also because I was always rude with them. My parents don't care about school...all they think about is..."go to school, or not...you're gonna get married at the end...and anyway, at school you're not any good. (Yagmur, 17)

"I wanted to go to university so badly. I even started university but I had to work too to save some money. Working and studying at the same time meant that I was not good enough at either. My supervisor at work told me that I ought to give more, be better, you know? So I left university." (Sinan, 22, in Italy since he was 7)

3.3.4. …and discrimination

However, school is also the place where episodes of racism take place. Especially after September 11, the Western perception equates Muslims not only with conservatism and gender imbalance, but also with terrorism and danger. The negative representations of islam in the western world should not be underestimated when analyzing the trajectories of acculturation of Italian-Turks.

The ways second-generations define themselves are not only influenced by their heritage culture, but also by the acknowledgements they received by the mainstream society. One of my youngest participants, Serap, who came to Italy when she was 7, told me: "At the beginning I had some Italian friends but they were making fun of me because I couldn't speak Italian well. So if you ask me if I feel more Turkish or more Italian, well I feel more Turkish, because they make me feel

more Turkish". As Julia Kristeva writes in her book Strangers to Ourselves, "The foreigner comes out when the awareness of my difference arises and and he disappears when we all acknowledge ourselves as foreigners, unamenable to bonds and communities" (1990:) How can they self-identify as Italians if the ethnic Italians constantly remind them of their difference, showing hostility and discrimination? Why would they even try to adhere to the values of a society who denies them full acceptance? This phenomenon, called 'daily racism' (Essed, 1991, in Carbone) or 'routine racism' (Gilroy, 2006, ibid.), seems to be a component of society itself, perpetuated by, for example, shop assistants who behave differently according to whether the customer is Italian or not, by Italian peers at school and even by professors. Not surprisingly, facing such a negative and discriminatory attitude, adolescents' first reaction is to withdraw, group up and increasingly identify with the Turkish minority.

> *"At school there's this girl, right? She... like, as soon as she sees you, she gives you a dirty look. Not only to me, but also to other friends of mine who like me are not Italian...like Turkish, Moroccans... She stares at me while I talk to other girls...like, they're in my class so I speak to them and then walk with them towards our classroom...so this girl comes and tells me "What are you doing here? Go away"...I mean, she's even younger than me...[...] she's not the only one doing this, there are other guys who come up to you and say:" Go back to your country! We don't want you here"...Many guys... I don't know why they do that..."*
>
> (Ece, 16, in Italy since she was 2)

> *"I prefer people from Naples...they're very nice. They're very different from people in Modena. Sometimes people here are just too racist, I met many of them. At school there was this Italian girl who was correcting me all the time as I was speaking Italian...so once I told her:" If you want I can teach you*

Turkish", and she said "No, I don't want to."

(Zehra, 17, in Italy since she was 6)

*-Until the end of middle school everyone at school used to make fun of me because of my name...They used to call me "Enderno" (celery), or "Se*a"...I was always quiet. That's when I changed my name into the Italian name "Giorgia". When I went to high school I began hanging out with people who didn't mind getting into fights sometimes, and I began beating up those who dared to make fun of me. Now when I meet my old friends from middle school along the street we don't even say hi...maybe just one or two.*

Question: Don't you think talking with them instead of beating them might have been an option?

- I speak about the same topic three times with people...if they don't get it, I find another way to make myself understood...

(Ender, 19, born in Italy)

-At school it used to be ok...of course at the beginning it's never nice...you don't speak, you don't understand and if they make fun of you, you can only say "yeah yeah"...you can't defend yourself. Now that I'm out of school is allright...of course there are always prejudices. You see it and you understand it...always... even if they tell you "of course not", you feel it...you understand it. You close one eye, turn your back and leave.

Question: You think if you behave like an Italian that would stop the prejudices?

-Maybe, but if I did, I would be pretending, I would be insincere because I

would be forgetting my past.

(Cihan, 22, in Italy since he was 7)

Also, when this kind of discrimination is perpetuated by professors, some students get to the point of willing to quit school.

-At school things are not that good because of the professors, but at least I have many Turkish girlfriends there.

Question: What do you mean? Don't they treat you well?

-Professors? Absolutely not. The foreigner is treated badly... when I was in middle school it happened to me so many times... for that reason I don't like that much going to school now and I can't wait to get out of it.

(Zehra, 17, in Italy since she was 6)

"There are some professors who try to hide it, but deep down they are a bit racist. I never had problems but I heard other people saying these things. If you wear the headscarf at school people don't like it, professors don't like it, they give you a bad grade even if you don't deserve it, only because they say "you are a muslim, for sure you don't know anything". You know on the one hand I understand them: now in Italy there are too many immigrants, and there is a big economical crisis..." (Beren, 17, born in Italy)

"When I was going to elementary school I had many Italian friends...there were Italian girls and Turkish girls like me and we used to play all together. My problems begun when we moved to another city...I had problems also with professors because they were racist, they didn't want foreigners in their classes

and they didn't treat us nicely. They were one voice with the Italian students, they used to say they didn't want foreigners there, they told me "You are Turkish and you have to live like us Italians and be Christian"...but I want to live as a Turk because I am proud to be Turkish. For the future I don't know…I would like to change school but in most of the others the workload is too much." (Ece, 16, in Italy since she was 2)

3.4. Languages - The choice of Turkish for identity preservation

"When we are back in Turkey for the summer, speaking two languages really makes me life easier. For example: imagine that we are sitting all together as guests with friends and relatives for dinner. I don't like onions, but I can't say that I don't want to eat them because that would be considered rude. So I can tell it to my mom in Italian, and she answers in Turkish in a loud voice, making sure everyone hears:" Haven't you eaten enough?"...this way I can get away with it without causing issues. Some other times we spend hours at relatives' place and it gets very boring. When I can't take it anymore, I just tell my mother in Italian "can we go?", and a little after she says in Turkish that it has got late and that it's time for us to go. Here in Italy when out we speak Turkish when we don't want other people to understand us and the same goes for Turkey. The tricky thing is that we are so used to speak in Turkish when we want to make sure nobody understands, that the first days of holidays in Turkey we often get confused and say at a loud voice things in Turkish...but there people understand us!" (Ender, 19, born in Italy)

The spoken language is one the strongest indicators of one's origins. A foreign accent, or the lack of any particular Italian regional accent, instantly betrays one's foreign origin. Another strong indicator, perhaps the strongest one, is one's phenotype, that is, one's features and skin complexion, but this does not apply to Italian Turks that I met because their fair complexions easily allow them to camouflage and "pass for" Italians. Most of the Italian-Turks I spoke with are bilingual, hence able switch between the two languages with no apparent effort. Apart from some exceptions, they all told me they speak Turkish at home with their parents, Italian with their siblings and a mix of Italian and Turkish with their Turkish friends.

3.4.1. The language *of home*, the language *at home*

Generally, between parents and children, even when the former are fluent in Italian, Turkish is the language chosen for interaction. Turkish parents want their children to speak Turkish in order to preserve the family's cultural heritage. A Turkish mother living nearby my house in Italy told me once that she used to speak to their children (of 9 and 7 respectively) in Turkish, but they would answer back to her in Italian and they would speak Italian to each other, so at some point she too begun to speak with them in Italian: this way she too could practice the language. When her husband found out about that he was very upset, he told her to speak to them in Turkish only, "They will learn Italian at school anyway," he said, "if they don't speak Turkish at home with us in time they will forget it…what will it happen when my parents or your parents will call? How will they be able to talk to our children if they are not able to speak Turkish?"

Also, since the children are socialized into an Italian environment through school, parents are afraid that acquiring Italian as a second language comes at the price of forgetting Turkish. Ece told me: *"At home we have to speak Turkish,*

otherwise our parents scold us, they say:" Don't speak Italian or you will forget Turkish!" Another reason for speaking Turkish at home is that some parents cannot speak Italian. Similarly to most immigrant families with more than one child, in the Turkish family too the mother's role is to take care of the house, cook, iron, clean. Contrarily to the children and husband who, thanks to school and work respectively, practice and improve the language on a daily basis, for these women, despite the years they have spent in Italy, Italian is still somehow a foreign language. One Turkish girl, whose family has been residing in Italy for more than fifteen years, told me "I have to speak Turkish at home because my mother does not speak any Italian".

> *"My parents had this in mind: let's go to Italy, let's stay 10 years, make money then go back and have a good life. They never really adapted or integrated to the life here because they thought they would leave at some point. I don't have any memory of my parents going out to a restaurant or to eat pizza... they were only saving money to get ready for their Big Day, the day in which they finally would go back home...Then because of the [economical] crisis their plans went up in smoke. My mother lost her job, she changed her temper, she became an aggressive woman that she was not before."* (Sinan, 22, in Italy since he was 7)

Another girl, Serap, said: *"I speak Turkish with my family and sometimes when I get mad with them I speak Italian...I can say everything I want, they don't understand."* (Serap, 15, in Italy since she was 7)

It happens, however, that in some cases the husband and the children function as helpers and help mothers learning Italian:

> *"When my mom reached my dad here in Italy, she didn't speak any Italian. So every evening, when my dad came back from work, he would write down a list of new Italian words for her...so every day she learned new words. Also, when I*

was born we used to be the only Turkish family in the neighborhood, so she had to speak Italian.... then my parents opened a Turkish restaurant, and it was then that she learn italian well." (Ender, 19, born in Italy)

"Some afternoons after school when I was doing my homework, my mom used to sit next to me, and I was showing her what I had been doing…together we would read some texts and I would translate them for her… once, when we went out to do the shopping I used to speak in her behalf, but some years ago I stopped translating, I told her "I can help you, but if you want to ask something, you do it yourself", I wanted her to practice Italian with somebody other than me or my brother… now her Italian is not perfect, but it's good. Now she's the one who goes to school to talk to teachers to see how my little brothers are doing…" (Zehra, 17, in Italy since she was 6)

3.4.2. Language's quality

As for the quality of the language, not surprisingly, those who grew up with few or no Turkish friends and instead only socialized with Italian friends are able to speak Italian impeccably. Two of them in particular, Sibel and Sinan, surprised me for the outstanding Italian they are able to speak. Not only in terms of grammar precision and good use of conjunctives (a tense that many Italians, especially the less educated ones, fail to use), but in their stylish and peculiar choice of words, symptom of (I assume) a devotion to reading and a devotion to school.

"Honestly? I know the Turks from [city name]... no way. I don't have Turkish friends, I don't want to... It's not that I don't want to join the group of Turkish people...but you know, I live in Vignola [small town one hour drive from Modena, ndr]...here there are only two Turkish families: mine and one from

[city name], and they have three sons. I was born here, I went to kindergarten here and I always had Italian friends... Growing up I realized that the two mindset are incompatible...like parallel lines, they never cross."
(Sibel, 16, born in Italy)

"When we arrived I had no Turkish friends in my neighborhood and at school either, so I had to learn Italian if I wanted to make any friends. My classmates were very nice to me, I guess they were curious about me…this new, exotic thing had arrived from far away, I was blond and I looked like them but I couldn't utter a single word in their language. They instantly liked me and took me under their wings…we were sitting together at school and playing football together in the city's team in the afternoon…in one year I felt Italian had become my second-first language!"
(Sinan, 22, in Italy since he was 7)

"I'm from Corum...now there are a lot of families from Corum in Modena, but when we came we were one of the first ones... so as a child I used to spend time both with my sisters and with my Italian friends from school and I grew up like that. My best friends are Italian, actually one of them is from Eritrea but she was adopted so we were speaking Italian together, and my boyfriend is Italian too. I speak Italian with my sisters and their husbands and I speak Turkish with their children because they want them to learn Turkish, otherwise when they will begin going to school they will only speak Italian and they won't ever be able to speak with anybody when they'll take them to visit Turkey… my Turkish is good, like I can easily talk with everybody when I go visit my parents who now live in Bursa and I understand everything, but I make mistakes sometimes, and I don't know how to write it properly. " (Mine, 26, in Italy since she was 4)

However, as I observed as I was proceeding with the interviews and meeting

more participants, the degree to which one is capable of speaking a second language is also due to ones' personality. Ender, for example, was born in Italy: she was both socialized into an Italian environment since kindergarden and into a Turkish one through Milad. She privileges Turkish friends but has Italian friends too. Thanks to her being outgoing, brave and curious, her preference to group up with Turkish friends did not prevent her from learning flawless Italian. However, it did prevent her from learning a correct 'classic' Turkish.

"My sister and I used to speak only in Italian to each other. My younger cousin struggled speaking Turkish even at home because she was used to speak only Italian…now she is taking a Turkish language course. At home with our parents we try to speak Turkish in order not to forget it because with our friends we only speak Italian, and also to understand each other better with our parents. Which language we speak better? I would say Italian… If anything, we should try to fix our Turkish! Sometimes we even speak the Modenese dialect!"
(Ender, 19, born in Italy)

-I would like to take Turkish classes to speak a better Turkish. People understand me when I speak Turkish, at home with my parents I speak half Italian and half Turkish and it's like the worst thing to do! I shouldn't do that. I begin a sentence in Turkish and I end it in Italian or I speak Turkish with some Italian words…it's very wrong because this way one doesn't speak neither Italian nor Turkish. With my sisters I speak in Italian and they answer in Turkish, they don't speak Italian as well as I do even if they have been here, like me, for 13 years. I would like to take Turkish lessons, like foreigners here when they study Italian. If one day I am to go back to Turkey to begin university there I would feel so displaced.

Question: Why don't you try to improve your Turkish by speaking with your

parents in Turkish?

-We come from a small village and we speak a dialect. We don't speak the Turkish spoken in Istanbul, like "nasilsiniz…napiyorsunuz…", in our dialect after any word you add a particle, "gari"…for example, if you want to say "gidiyorsunuz", you say "gidiyorsunuz gari"…you always add gari at the end. It is like "come on!". It's like…in Corum they add "heri", they can say "hadi heri!"…we say "hadi gari"…"gidelim gari"…it doesn't have a meaning and it doesn't have a translation. I think If I tried to learn Turkish with my parents I wouldn't be able to learn a decent Turkish anyway. (Zehra, 17, in Italy since she was 6)

*"Turkish is full of tricks, if you write vowels with or without dots the meaning changes! Like, if you write 'oldu' without dots it means 'it happened'. If you write 'öldü' with dots it means 'it died'. Same things with ı and i. If you write 'sıkıldım' it means 'I got very bored', but if you write 'sikildim' it means 'I f*ck', that's why when we write texts on our Italian phone we omit the vowels, we only write skldm, otherwise we would be writing 'I f*ck' to each other... see? It's so hard for me to write Turkish...it's easier to speak it!"*
(Ender, 19, born in Italy)

On the contrary, those of my participants who choose to socialize into a Turkish environment (at home and in their free time with their Turkish peers) don't perceive Italian as a first language. During an in-depth interview, two of my female participants lamented the fact that they find it difficult, at times, to express themselves in Italian. They could speak a fluent Italian with no particular accent but their effort to speak correctly was somehow noticeable, even if one of them has been in Italy since she was seven and the other was born in Italy. One of them, Yagmur,

told me she stayed at home with her mother (who doesn't speak Italian), until she was 10.

-At home I speak Turkish with my mother and my sister and… with my friends I also speak Turkish. It's easier to speak Turkish.

Question: Do you prefer spending time with Turkish friends than Italian?

-Yes… I have more Turkish friends… maybe because because I began school in fourth grade.

Question: Weren't you born in Italy?

-Yes, but I stayed at home with my mom until fourth grade. My older sister was going to school and she was teaching me everything she was doing. Then when I was 11 I began to go to school too

Question: I see… And were you excited to begin school and meet Italian children, make friends?

-I was… every night before going to bed I used to pray God that everything would be ok the morning after! ...Do you speak English or Turkish at university?

-I speak mainly English.

-That's so nice. I would like to learn English too... but it's so hard. You know, at home Turkish, at school Italian and they you study English but they teach it to you in Italian.

(Yagmur, 17, in italy since she was 3)

"When she was a child and she was learning Italian, my little sister used to toss random words...if with those words she could make up a sentence with a meaning, good enough, otherwise she wouldn't really care. Now she's ten, she was born in here but until she was four or five she had troubles with speaking Italian because at kindergarden she used to stick to our cousins and speak Turkish…Her teacher told us that every time there was something to do, an activity or a game to play, they would group up and speak only Turkish together."

(Ender, 19, born in Italy)

"When I arrived I was seven. I had already did one year of elementary school in Turkey but I had to start again here at school in Italy. At school some Italian children were making fun of me because i was Turkish and I used to cry every day. Now I have more Turkish friends, because... because it's easier this way. I speak Turkish with my family and sometimes when I get mad with them or my brother I speak Italian...I can say everything I want, they don't understand."

(Serap, 15, in Italy since she was 7)

3.5. Hyphenated identities defying any precise definition

In this section, I focus on the narratives of second-generation Turkish adolescents and I explore how they negotiate their ethnic and cultural identities in their everyday life. Additionally, I also explore how the combination of the migration past of their parents and the contemporary Italian context affect their acculturation process and, in turn, their making of home.

In her research on second-generation Italian-Canadian women, Papayinnais observes that the boundary between sameness and difference has nothing to do with biology but is instead a social construct. Belonging within any given group is always relational and dependent on the flexibility and mutability of the boundaries separating “insiders” from “outsiders. I share Papayinnais' feelings that the adolescents I have interviewed for this study "asserted multiple, and sometimes conflicting, spaces of belonging […] While they may position themselves within a specific category, beyond the surface of these labels [their] identities are shifting”.

Very often, as my interviews ended and I was listening to the narratives of my participants through the recordings I had made, I caught myself wondering whether the reason why my participants weren’t consistent in the way they defined themselves (sometimes as Turks, sometimes as Italian) was just a lack of knowledge of all the available, different labels coined by anthropologists and sociologists to describe bicultural persons. Their struggle was evident. As observed by Batainah in her study on Arab-Australians, in some cases the internal contradictions expressed during the interviews are the result of a lack of available language to articulate such particular identities; as a consequence, they look for stable binaries that fail to encapsulate their reality, giving rise to frustration and misrepresentation of their identities (2008:172). However, many confessed to me that before we met they had never given much thought about how to define themselves. Did I instill painful doubts into their minds, I wondered afraid, or did I perhaps give them new room and elements with which to think about themselves? Although I like to give credit to the second option, there have been times when I felt guilty about intruding in some persons’ lives and forcing them to focus on their being 'different' from the dominant ethnic group. While talking with them I had never openly implied that they were, but my questions about their habits, the use they made of Italian and Turkish languages, and the way they defined themselves at some point surely did. Several important questions follow: if before our meetings they had never spontaneously thought about

their identities, and if my questions left some adolescents confused or even speechless, is it because they are not aware of a word able to perfectly encapsulate their identities? Whereas Hall (in Ewing Pratt) makes the assumption that identification is a self-conscious process, I agree with Ewing Pratt that "the individual might be quite unaware of shifts in positioning […] but at the point when the speaker […] looks back self-reflexively and also attaches a label to the subject position they have occupied, that label becomes an identity" (Pratt, 2008). Even though with the best of intentions, was I deceivingly violating them? An alternative explanation could be that labeling the identity they inhabit is of no real importance to them. These questions have tormented me ever since. Naming is important, in some cases even necessary, but at some point I wondered who needed labeling to be satisfied: if it was them, or if it was me. Anyway I proceeded, driven by the firm belief that "far more is at stake here than academic definitions"(Glick-Schiller: 193).

3.5.1. Ambivalence or confusion? When one is plural

In an attempt to explain how these adolescents negotiate their complicated identities, I begin from the narratives of Sinan, Sebnem, Sibel an Ece.

> *-I am Turkish, but you can call me Luca. To those who ask me why Luca I answer that it's to make things shorter and easier. For example, when I'm at work and talking on the phone, I say my name is Luca Bergonzini and I give them my work email, which is under my Italian name, it's easier...nobody knows how to spell my real name anyway, and it looks better if they think I'm Italian. I do it to make my life easier. I know my identity, I am Turkish. My family is Turkish, my Facebook is Turkish, but...my name is Luca [laughs]*
>
> Question: Smart...and you have a fake Facebook too, under your Italian name Luca?

-Actually... I used to, yes.

(Sinan, 22, in Italy since he was 7)

"I feel Turkish! Well…not Turkish-turkish…more Italian, to be honest."

(Sebnem, 17, in Italy since she was 4)

"I am 100% Turkish and proud to be! The other day at school during our biology class we were talking about the fact that some students went to England and they found carpets on the floor in their houses there. You know, in Turkey too we walk on carpets and take off our shoes when we enter the house. They said "It's not hygienic to have carpets at home and walk around without your shoes", then I quickly raised my hand and said "listen, I am Turkish and at home we have carpets, but my mom cleans home every single day, and in my opinion is more hygenic to take off your shoes when at home instead of walking around with ur shoes on!" Got it? When someone says something wrong about Turkey I freak out! But I am also Italian, in a way...all my friends are Italian, I don't hang out with Turkish people much because there are none in Vignola, and my language is Italian...more than Turkish […] I'm Turkish, I'm not ashamed to say that I'm Turkish. There are some other people (not Turkish) who are ashamed to say where they come from... but me? If I could, I would tattoo my nationality on my forehead. When people ask me if I have the Italian citizenship I always say "Thank God I don't"...even if I am about to obtain it. If I could choose I would keep only my Turkish one, but having an Italian citizenship helps you with university...it makes some processes easier. I wanna study Medicine at the University of Bologna and become a surgeon. My boyfriend Matteo has the same dream too, so we will try to get into the Medicine school together" (Sibel, 16, born in Italy)

While trying to find a word able to embody and describe the identity of my participants, I realized I was putting myself in a position of power. Although my research was meant to be a rainbow of voices of Turkish-Italian adolescents, I could not simply offer their stories: I had to connect and analyze their narratives to give a direction and a purpose to my study. While trying to be as neutral as possible, during all my in-depth interviews I have been cross-analyzing their words, sentences, behaviors, even body language in order to be able label their identities somehow. Therefore, while deep down I was looking for every possible stratagem to envisage them in my mind as the Italians that they wanted me to see them as, I also began questioning the impartiality of my own perspective. I initially felt like labeling them as 'Turks', because this is how I perceive somebody born to ethnically Turkish parents. It has to be said that this label obviously doesn't carry along any negative meaning, but I realize my perspective was biased by what I am, and what I am is somebody who spent most of her formation years in Italy, that is to say, in a nation-state where only ethnic Italians are seen as Italians. At times I wished I was bicultural myself, in order to not let them confuse me with their often conflicting statements. In an attempt to clarify this complicated identity issue, I draw from different theories of identity formation that I believe to be the most adaptive to define the young Italian-Turkish adolescents I interviewed.

3.5.2. **Hyphenated identities, switching selves?**

Katherine Pratt Ewing observes that the idea of a fixed culture and fixed identities stems from old anthropological approaches that presumed that 'cultures' were timeless traditions. As a consequence, modern law has given rise to a proliferation and naturalization of identity, creating and policing many of the categories that individuals are obliged to take up as identities (2008:117). As claimed by Batainah in her study on Arab-Australians (2008:171), inconsistent self-identifications are not the product of confusion, but rather of ambivalence: due to the nature of values and their embeddedness in one's identity, a clear belonging to one defined value system is not

possible for the participants and hence an overlap in the manifestation of values occurs. New approaches, however, demonstrate that the individual does not need to take up one single identity, and that instead they can take multiple, cross-cutting identities (Ewing Pratt, 2008:118). This would explain the very diverse answers my participants gave me during our encounters. When facing such diversity in self-identifications, as well as the degree of language speaking skills, degree of religiosity and of integration into the Italian society, it becomes clear that it is not possible to name neither a fixed identity nor a common 'acculturation' strategy that is valid for all the second-generations at once.

> *"When we consider the temporal flow of experience, we can observe that individuals are continuously reconstituting themselves into new selves in response to internal and external stimuli. They construct these new selves from their available set of self-representations, which are based on cultural constructs. The particular developmental histories of these self-representations are shaped by the psychological processes and the experiences of the individual. As a result of these processes of self-reconstitution, an external observer may see shifts in self-representation of which the participants in an interaction are unaware. These self-representations are accompanied by changes in other attitudes an in emotional state" (Ewing 1990: 258, in* Ewing, 2011:121).

Her theory is founded on the assumption that these mostly unconscious, inconsistent self-representations are symptom of a situation in which the individual, instead of being a blend or a hybrid, has two definite identities that 'switch' and come to the surface according to the context. Ewing also calls this phenomenon 'illusion of wholeness', meaning that the individual is completely unaware of such inconsistent self-representation. This would explain why during most of the interviews it has been not rare to hear the individual self-identifying in opposite ways, as in the example of

Ender:

> *"Honestly? I don't know why, but I feel more Italian, maybe because we [Italian-Turks] have so many things in common with Italians: our outfits, the way we behave, how we look and act. From what I see when I go back to Corum, the city where my parents come from, the Turkish girls there spend most of their time at home, they don't go out very often. Here us girls go out whenever we want and with whom we want, and our families know everything. So I would say we are more similar to Italians in this sense. At least, I feel more Italian."*

Later on…while talking about the headscarf…

> *"...But in a way it is bad [that I don't wear it] because everyone thinks that I am Italian, and this is not always good, because I am Turkish, and you have to show to people around you that you are Turkish and not Italian."* (Ender, 19, born in Italy)

The hypothesis of Schwartz et al. becomes interesting here if we think that nearly all Italian-Turks who took part to my study provided "multiple, inconsistent self-representations that are context-dependent and may shift rapidly" (Pratt Ewing, 2008:121) defined themselves as Turk and at some point contradicted themselves and self-defined as Italians. Following Schwartz and others, this could mean that they feel Turkish is their ethnic identity and Italian their cultural identity. When I asked why they feel they are Turks, the answers coming up more often were that their parents are Turkish and that they speak Turkish at home. However, because they obtain their education in Italy, dressing in a very typical Italian fashion, have Italian friends, and can speak Italian as if it was their first language, at some point or another

of our conversations they also honestly self-identified as Italians, which, according to Schwartz et al., is their cultural identity. However, this would not entirely explain Islamic religious beliefs or preference over Turkish dishes, both of which are more related to culture than to ethnicity. This could be explained by elaborating the notion of two independent selves and hypothesizing that while the ethnic identity is one and it is related to one's origins, the cultural identity is a result of selective acculturation. Not an Italian cultural identity, then, but a collage of the two. My decision to use the label "Italian-Turks" comes from there.

Of all my participants, only one seemed to have a well-defined, strong cultural identity. Taner, a male of 20, arrived in Italy when he was two after family reunification and begun kindergarden in Modena. During an interview we had over Skype, he told me that he feels 100% Italian. In what follows I report his feelings about Italy and Turkey:

> *-To be honest, I don't like the Turkish mentality. I have Turkish friends in Italy but I feel that I am different from them…like, I feel I am European…Italian. From Italy I got the way I speak, the way I relate and deal with people, I got friends, the typical Italian kindness…let's say I got the good habits of the Italian culture! I also lived in Germany for a couple of months and I saw that Italians and Germans are very different… German people are more…withdrawn, they are colder. I don't know, I feel truly Italian! I even curse in Italian when I am mad! When I'm at home with my parents I feel like I was their adopted child…because at home they have a totally different mentality and life habits…You know what was the first thing I did when I was in Germany? I looked for Italian people… not Turks, Italians! This should make you understand how I feel… Now I'm doing an internship at a firm in Bursa, and people here call me "italyan", the Italian! I miss Italy a lot…seriously…I'm so looking forward to go back there.*

Question: Haven't you ever questioned your identity? Not even when you were a child?

-No, because as I said I arrived and begun kindergarden and I immediately had Italian friends… Even now when I meet Italians I feel like I am one of them. You know when I hear the Italian anthem I get so excited I feel my heart is pounding…when I hear the Turkish one I feel like laughing and dancing! Some things really come from your heart!

Question: You think somebody in order to have Italian friends should act Italian?

-Well of course…if you want them to be your friends and if you want people to consider you an Italian it's not enough to have the Italian citizenship…I obtained it 2 years ago but I had Italian friends before too…There are other things…for example you have to speak Italian and show that you know very well the culture too! It's not that I can expect to speak Turkish with them…

Question: Do you speak a better Turkish or Italian?

-Good question! I don't know… It depends. There are some things, some topics that I normally speak about when with my family…well, those things, I am able to say them better in Turkish… but everything else I think I can say it better in Italian.

Question: Would you say you are a religious person?

-I am a Muslim… Religion is another story. I believe in Islam, but I feel my

nationality is Italian, and of this I am very sure… and by the way, I also know of Italians who have converted to Islam!

(Taner, 20, in Italy since he was 2)

3.6. Being bicultural

Portes theorized a new notion of assimilation that he named selective assimilation, according to which "the acquisition of the necessary skills to obtain inclusion in the new context does not collide with the preservation and the observance of one's own cultural practice" (Ambrosini, 2005, in Bellone, my translation). This new kind of assimilation occurs when the person picks certain elements of the host society such as its language, some food or fashion habits, the ability to cook Italian dishes, etc, while not abandoning the observance of traditions, values and bonds of the culture of heritage. For example, one of my participants, Mine, told me that although she is able to cook delicious Italian food, at home she enjoys cooking Turkish food for her Italian boyfriend and friends:

"I love cooking, especially Turkish food…I can make baklava, borek, sarma…My boyfriend likes Turkish food a lot too, so I cook often for him. Before I went to Turkey to visit my parents last month I made a Turkish dinner and we call our friends…They liked everything but I was so upset that they didn't eat my sarmas! I also prepared the karnik, a dish with eggplants… my mother used to cook it all the time at home…so I asked her the recipe! When I was a child my mother used to cook so much, she was cooking everything at home, even bread. At some point I grew so fed up of Turkish food that for years I only ate Italian food and at home with my boyfriend we were always cooking Italian! But then I started missing Turkish food…so now I call my mother very often and ask her the recipes! My boyfriend and my friends tell me that I'm a veeeeery good cook!"

Sebnem, 17, told me that, despite she is not very religious, she is always happy to celebrate Muslim festivities with other Turks in Modena:

Question: To which culture you would say you relate more? Turkish or Italian?

-I would say both… At Christmas my Turkish friends and I give each other presents for example. But we also celebrate Bayram! We celebrate with our families and other Turkish friends. Even if we live in Italy we haven't stopped celebrating it…we do it among ourselves. My mom prepares revani cake, it's so delicious. I love spending time all together.

To render the concept more "visual", one could imagine a patchwork-like blanket composed of thousands of yellow and red pieces of different sizes and shapes. Not an orange blanket, not a blend of red and yellow, but a piece of art which every element is one of a kind and distinguishable, and all of them together constitute the final outcome. Berry assumed that those second-generation immigrants able to relate to both cultures represented the most desirable case of acculturation. Talking about the Turkish minority in Modena during one of my interviews at the Immigration Center, Dr. Alessandra Lotti told me:

"In the very moment that this young Italian-Turks or Turks or how you prefer to call them expose themselves to their Italian peers and lifestyle, the latter in turn are exposed to the Turkish youth… When different people get closer, they influence each other, they all change… Young Italians may learn some more things about Turkey and the Turkish culture and young Turks learn the messages we bring, our lifestyle, our ideas on gender and sexuality for example. Everyone changes, slowly. We all inevitably change. Once I was talking to this educated Turkish girl; I asked her: what do you think about homosexuality?

And instantly she said "Aaahh eeehh homosexuality! I don't know", but then she added :"well wait, I once had this professor, he was absolutely gay, and he was really nice to us and a good professor too". So you see? History and migration combine things…they transform societies and people. The young Turks here in Modena, those who will be able to embody both cultures, will be the most successful in terms of integration".

3.6.1. Embodying two cultures: a sometimes *open* relationship with one's origins

What is peculiar and very energizing of spending time with the Turkish-Italian girls I reached through Milad is their enthusiasm for both the Italian and the Turkish culture and their eagerness to share stories about the Turkish culture with me. It was a limpid Saturday afternoon, and after picking the girls from school after classes, we all went to a kebab cafe run by two Kurdish guys in the center of Modena. The two owners kept offering us tea and joined our conversations, and so did the waitress, a very nice second-generation Tunisian girl. As we were sitting and drinking dark tea, Ender and Ece begun talking about weddings in Turkey and showed me pictures of Turkish wedding dresses. I interpreted the enthusiasm with which they described dresses and ceremonies was a reflection of their attachment to the Turkish culture and their willingness to show their culture to an outsider (me) as a way to establish a relationship between the two worlds they belong to and to connect them.

-Have you ever been to a Turkish wedding? It lasts 3 days. When you get married, the first day it's just you and the girls and they apply henna on your hair, and you dance all together. The second day they put henna on your hands, the "home" [family] of your boyfriend comes to your home and takes the henna from the girl, and he wears it too! Then the last day he comes with he car and takes you and then he takes you to your new home...

Question: Aren't weddings celebrated in Mosques like Italian traditional

weddings in churches?

-No, the guy from the town council comes, like ... the city major! But you see, in the Turkish culture if you only do the religious wedding, your husband can leave you using only 3 words. Three words are enough. If he says "boshol, boshol, boshol" three times, you are divorced. Yes Ece, you didn't know that? It's like that...even after 40 years of marriage, he can say that and you're divorced, even when he says it as a joke. The woman has to go back home with her parents. For this reason they celebrate both weddings, the religious and the official one...so the woman is more guarded.
(Ender, 19, born in Italy)

-Uc defa?! Inanmiyorum (Three times? I can't believe it)
(Ece, 16, in Italy since she was 2)

-Yes yes... there are people who marry at the town council first, just so they can go around and say they are husband and wife, then after a year or so they organize the religious wedding and the party with friends etc... (Ender)

"I prefer Turkish wedding dresses… they are full of pearls and more colorful! Im gonna show you the pic of a Turkish bride! This is my cousin who got married last Spring in Turkey. During the engagement party the dresses are generally more colorful. You throw this party and it's implied that within one year the couple gets married...but it's never for sure! a friend of mine after the engagement broke up...it's never 100% sure. In Turkey, until you're literally married, your relationship is never 100% safe!" (Ender)

Their position of biculturalism not only makes some of them well integrated in

Modena, but it allows them to look to some conservative traits of the Turkish culture with a critical eye. Having been raised in a city of the center-north of Italy, Ender repeatedly said she feels Turkish (ethnical identity) but at the same time she admits to look at some things with a very 'Italian' gaze.

> *"You know, yesterday we were counting the Turkish girls who were going to the same [Italian] school as us, they were 15 girls, now they are all married and most of them have kids or they are pregnant. They are still 17, 18, 19 years old… I told myself "I grew up. I didn't realize it but I must have grown up meanwhile". One of my friend's sister got married last year and now she has a baby boy…and I have other friends who now are married… and this summer a friend of mine with whom I used to play when I went to Turkey in summer will get married too… It's a disaster! When I talk about this with my mom, she begins shouting "Shut up, why would you think about this, you're still a child!" and she says the same to my older sister who is 22. She is against marrying too early. She says "at least wait until you're 25!".*
>
> (Ender, 19)

I purposefully highlighted the Italian nature of her puzzlement because it is precisely how she introduced her reflection: just like an Italian girl of her age, she was quite perplexed when she found out that some of her former classmates were pregnant, saying that "for an Italian it just feels too early".

3.6.2.The necessity of making oneself understood

In what follows I report a conversation with three participants about Italian people's perception of Islam. When asked about the attitude of Italians towards covered women, they took a very interesting stance: surprisingly, they did not blame Italians for their general discriminatory attitude; instead they blamed Muslim women for not explaining the reasons behind their choice of wearing the headscarf. Furthermore,

they patiently expressed their opinions to me and justified them. I found this attitude remarkable both because of their young age (19 and 16 respectively) and also considering that in their everyday life the mainstream discourse is one that privileges the Italian culture over any other, with no real justification for that. As Lotti remarks, those Italian-Turks who manage to hold their two identities together grow up to be resourceful young adults with better critical skills than their teenage peers. When it comes to culture, members of the dominant group of the same age do not feel they have to explain the hows and whys of their stances: they take things for granted because it is the only culture they know and they value it above all else. Therefore, in a way, one could expect that Ender, Beren and Sebnem too might feel the right to not explain to anybody the reasons behind certain cultural traits, taking the precise same 'nationalist' stance their peers take. An opposite but equally sensate explanation is that it is specifically their being members of a minority that makes them feel called to give raison d'être of some behavior one could quickly label under the nebulous label of culture. Whatever the reason, they shown an ability to think critically with regards to both their cultures.

Question: Do you think the way italians look at you would change if you wore the headscarf?

-It depends on the person. I would say most people don't get too close if one is covered.
(Ender, 19)

- I think Italians' bad attitude is a consequence of the fact that in general people here don't know our religion well. For example: uneducated people think that Islam equates with terrorism, they have this idea in mind. They think that all Muslim women wear it [the headscarf] because they are forced to. They have this prejudice that you are a Muslim then you have to be a terrorist. Those who

know our religion are different, they stay close to us. A Turkish guy of my school asked me several times why I don't wear the veil… and I tell him: "Because wearing it or not is my own decision". One day he told me that in his opinion it was a bad thing to ignore this predicament…He said: "It's more mature to wear than to… not wear it only because you're afraid people would judge you. (Beren, 16)

*- My older sister decided to wear the headscarf when she was 17. She had many girlfriends already so when she decided to cover she did not have any problem at school… but yes, this was because she already had many friends. Everyone used to ask her "Is it because your parents forced you to?" Italians think that our families impose it to us. An example: at school I used to take a Religion class (*note- in Italy Catholic Religion is taught from elementary to high school, but it is not compulsory). They didn't talk only about Jesus or the Catholic religion, so I was curious and I used to attend that class too. One of my classmates from Morocco is covered and she doesn't attend that class. Once a friend of mine raised his hand during the lesson and said "Professor, did you know that if Amira* doesn't wear the headscarf her parents will kill her?" I looked at him and said: "Look at me, I don't wear it and I am still alive". (Ender)*

- Turkey is a democratic country and we can do whatever we want, but if you were born in Saudi Arabia, Iran or Afghanistan and you didn't wear the headscarf you parents would kill you for real! It is compulsory for them. So when an Italian ask these girls why they wear the headscarf they don't say they do so because of religion and because they really believe in what they're doing, they only say that their parents forced them to wear it. What does an Italian think then? "If this girl is forced to wear it, I will never go to her home (Beren)

- These Turkish girls telling around that they wear the headscarf because they are forced by their parents are to blame... If Italians think so badly of us it's only their fault. If one wears that veil because her family forces her to, then it is a meaningless choice." (Sebnem, 17)

- I believe it is also their parents' fault… because they do not teach their children the reasons why they should cover, and because they do not let their children decide for themselves. (Beren, 16)

Question: What you think would be a solution to be accepted as Muslim religious girls in Italy?

- If you fight for your values and explain to the Italians why you use it, ok maybe they won't think you have good reasons, but at least they'll realize you have reasons…then they can accept you because they think "she has a head and she uses it"… but if you tell everybody "I'm covered because my family told me to" then Italians see you as a stupid ignorant and they avoid you. (Beren, 16)

- The key is the way you say, explain and do things. For example, when my sister decided to cover, people used to ask me: "Why don't you cover your hair too?" …Because doing it or not is my choice! My parents begged my sister to take it off, they used to tell her "It is too early, please take it off". My mother for an entire month every day went on and on telling her the same things, she was like "You will regret it with time", but my sister kept it anyway. Eventually my parents gave up…. At home nobody ever asked me to wear it, never ever, but when we go to Turkey and our relatives see my sister they tell me "Why don't you wear it too? You would look prettier if you did!" Once I even had a fight with my sister because of that, I was like: "See? Now because of you look at what I have to hear! (Ender*)*

- There are also very nice people, they are curious, they try to understand. But others, when they see a girl wearing a headscarf… you know… if you ask for directions for example and you are wearing it those people don't even look at you. But to some extent it is Muslims' fault too because they cannot defend themselves. Do people threaten you? Then answer them, defend and explain your decision! (Sebnem, 17)

- Many years ago I think Italian nanas too used to wear headscarves. But today it's extremely rare to see an Italian old woman covered. Nobody wears it anymore." (Ender, 19)

- Nuns are still covered I think…but if a Muslim girl wears it the veil is automatically associated with terrorism." (Beren, 16)

Question: Would you be ready to explain to Italians why you do certain things that are typical of your culture?

-It takes time. You have to be always ready to giving them your reasons…You have to explain everything, all the time… it's the only way for them to understand and respect you. (Ender)

3.6.3. School uniforms and decor

Also, they have the good quality of praising sides of the Turkish culture without necessarily judge or put the Italian culture under a bad light. When I asked what they thought it was better in Turkey, unexpectedly Ender brought up… the school uniform! We then had a lively conversation in which the three girls were trying to explain to me why they believe the 'Turkish way' at school is preferable:

- You know something that I really wish there was in Italy? School uniforms! It was the thing that I wanted the most when I was studying at middle school. Wearing the uniform and live that way throughout primary, middle and high school! They use it in Turkish schools. Each school use a uniform of a different color! When I was in middle school I was using clothes like the ones I am wearing now... and there were other girls who were only using expensive brands...so you see? You have these thoughts..."Ah, if I could afford the same style..." If at school you use a uniform, you're all the same, there is no difference...nobody knows if you're wealthy or poor, if you have problems etc. It's a beautiful thing, so it doesn't hurt when you see girls with expensive clothes. I really wanted to wear a uniform so badly. You know until high school in Turkey you cannot go to school wearing nail polish...and with long nails either. Every Monday morning they check you out! (Ender, 19, born in Italy)

- There are girls at my school who come to classes with very big cleavages...I mean, imagine: you're at school in front of a professor who is talking to you...and you look like that. I think it's not that cool... I wouldn't feel that good. I don't know...I just don't think it's a good thing. In Turkey you have a uniform and you carry your books by hand. Everyone understands that you are a students. Here at school they're too...free." (Beren, 16, born in Italy)

- I experienced both realms: uniform when I was in Turkey and casual here... uniform are so comfy! If I tell you what they did to us girls at school in Turkey... they checked your skirt...they even lifted your shirt to see if underneath you had rolled the skirt up!They checked if you had wore foundation, nail polish, the lenght of your nails... at middle school even the color of your elastic band: it had to be either black or blue. I lived my teenage years like that. I was so happy when I came to Italy because I knew I could wear any... toka neydi? Hair clip...or colorful elastic... Now you can in Turkey too. Now rules have been

changed, they have more freedom. (Beren O., 26, in Italy since she was 17)

Beren O., among my participants is the one who came to Italy when she was older and is therefore the one with the strongest Turkish ethnic and cultural identity. However, she admitted that since she has migrated to Italy some things that she agreed upon as a Turkish student in Turkey now seem silly to her:

"You know Ataturk, right? Well, the Ataturk-obsession begins at elementary school. I swear, they make us learn by heart his mother's name, his sister's name, his birth date... I will never forget the dates of birth and death of Ataturk, how many things he has done, when he died how he died how he was buried, and so on. Today all of this seems stupid. Ok, sure, he is an important figure for Turkey, but teaching every side of his life, his principles, his point of views like he was a God is wrong...people don't go to school to become copies of Ataturk! As a Turk, you have to live, do and think the way he did. It is the only example of person that you have to become, it's not a good thing. We study every single thing that he does... "and he begun like this...and he stood in front of the window to look at the soldiers...then he thought he too might want to be a solier..." ok, but... I mean I am not saying he did wrong things, not at all... but the way they enter the conscience of people by making them learn all of this...is just... not right." (Beren O., 26)

- I don't even know when he was born. (Ender, 19)

- He was born and he died on November 10 at five past ten. On kasim ona bes gece Atuturkun oldugun gunu. At school once a year on that day at that time you have to stay quiet and pay respect for one minute...even if a bee bites you you cannot move...now all of this seems to me so stupid. (Beren O.)

- See? But at least you know these things. On the one side it is good that you know when he was born and when he died. I don't know when he was born, when he died, the name of his mother, sister or daughter! You know it's bad 'cause...I don't know anything really about Turkey! (Ender, 19)

- Me neither, but theoretically we should know.... we should do something to learn it at least. (Beren, 16.)

- ...If you nam e a city in Turkey I don't even know where it is. (Ender)

However, not everybody manages to successfully embody dualisms. At the Immigration Center, intercultural operator Lotti told me: "*Most young Turks embody their duality successfully… in fact, those who are resourceful enough know how to use their contradiction very well....They become people with great personal resources, some even become intercultural mediators. But not everybody manages to internalize both worlds. There are also some less resourceful ones for whom this duality brings conflicts… either within the family or within oneself. Some of the second-generation Turks that we have seen in recent years are basically neglected by everyone. When they are here in Modena they are "foreigners", and when they go back to Turkey people tell them: "you're an Italian!". They live in a very peculiar existential condition. They are not capable of adhering to one model or the other, and this is specifically when episodes of deviance happen."*

One of the problems with Turkish male adolescents regards their educations: while nearly all Turkish girls are enrolled to the Professional Fashion high school Deledda, guys either do very poorly at school or don't go to school at all. *"Most uneducated families don't really encourage their children to go to school. If a boy wants to study, that's fine, if he doesn't then he is supposed to find a job, simple as...*

which in most cases means working in the construction sector with their fathers. In doing so, these families deny their children the big opportunity that migration offers: to improve one's status thanks to education. I am not saying "send your children to university", but at least they [the Turkish families] should encourage them to complete high school. Sons of immigrants are already in a delicate position because the immigrant past of their families... those who at the end of middle school quitted studying to begin working...well, most likely will never be able to see beyond the little environment of the Mosque...the integration process of this youth is very much contained." (Ibid.)

3.7. Where is home?

3.7.1.Multifaceted identities… multiple homes?

"My grandfather was working in a circus. He travelled Europe for half of his life, and he noticed that at that time in Italy where was a good life, so after much thinking he decided to settle down in Italy. He withdrew from the circus company he was working for and went to Italy and begun working in a different field. After some time he called here [in Italy] my grandmother, my aunt and my uncle. My mother (his daughter) had just got married in Izmir, so she and my dad decided to stay in Turkey for a while, for many years actually! They only decided to come over here in 1997. The rest of our family was in Italy, and when they came visit us in Izmir they had these beautiful cars... you know how it works, you see something beautiful and you want to have it too. Back then in Turkey people were poor, not like nowadays. When my father left for Italy I was 6 years old. I still remember very well the night that he left, it was New Years

Eve. After a year and a half he took us as well. I was 7, I was studying at elementary school. One night, without any explanation, they woke me up "Come, let's go!". So we left. We traveled by train until Cezme, when we reached Bari by ship. In Bari I had my first pizza, it was so delicious, it had wurstels on it. Then we immediately moved to Modena. At the beginning we were living in a house in a village. You know, those first times were harsh: you have your school, your friends, you know everything, you know how to do everything... then you come here and you become invisible." (Sinan, 22, in Italy since he was 7)

"If home is where the heart is, and one's heart is with one's family, language and country, what happens when one's family, language and culture occupy two different worlds?" (Falicov, 2005)

Although most of the young Turks I interviewed have no recollection of Turkey as it was before they left it, they too refer to Turkey as home and keep this relationship solid and "real" by engaging in friendships with the other Italian-Turks residing in Modena. Sarah Ahmed has written extensively about the relationship between migration and identity in relation to a notion of "home", both in the sense of being-at-home and of leaving-home. A Pakistani-born Londoner, she moved to Australia as a child and has wondered what place to call home ever since. She argues that in some cases the notion of home is reconfigured by those who have left home through the forming of communities that create multiple identifications through collective acts of remembering in the absence of a shared knowledge or a familiar terrain.Ahmed's essay raises two key questions, which I believe are an important start point for this chapter: "what does it mean to be at home?" and "How does it affect home ad being-at-home when one leaves home?"

Home as been defined by various sociologists, psychologists and

anthropologists as "the place where one is known and trusted and where he knows and trusts others, where he is accepted, understood, indulged and forgiven, a place of rituals and routine interactions, of entirely predictable events and people, and of very few surprises, the place where one belongs and feels safe and where s/he can accordingly trust his/her instincts, relax, and be him/herself" (Storti, 2005), "a purified space of belonging in which the subject is too comfortable to question the limits or borders of her or his experience, indeed, where the subject is so at ease that she or he does not think"(Ahmed, 2009), the place "where there is 'being but no longing'" (Persram:1996, in Ahmed). To be at home would therefore imply "absence of desire, and the absence of an engagement with others through which desire engenders movement across boundaries". Of course the notion of home can have diverse implications. Ahmed suggests "home can be where one usually lives, or it can mean where one's family lives, or it can mean one's native country".

Echoed by these words, nearly all my participants told me that when they think of "home" , it is Turkey they think about. I considered this confession almost heartbreaking since, as I will explain in what follows, from their recounts it clearly emerged that the place they call home doesn't call them "home" back. When they go to Turkey, they are usually guests at some relative's house, they have to hide some parts of themselves and behave in certain ways considered "decent" in order for people not to "gossip" about them, they have relatively less freedom than when in Italy, and they seem to not get along well with the local Turkish girls, who see them as pretentious and full of themselves. Besides, most of them have never experienced life in Turkey for more than some months during the summer and have little or no memories of Turkey as it was before leaving it as little children. Yet, for them Turkey represents home. In fact, they were all very excited to talk to me, an Italian settled in Turkey and free to stay as long as she wanted, and they were burning of curiosity to ask me several questions:

"Can you take me with you? I'm begging you! I want to see Istanbul…it's my dream. But on TV we only see protests and rapes…if I was there my parents wouldn't let me go out alone…ever! And it would be hard for me… here I can, but there…it's forbidden. How are clubs like in Turkey? What do you do in the weekends? Do you go shopping often? Is it true that there are two Zaras in Istiklal? I am talking about my country with you, and I don't know anything about it..." (Zehra, 17,in Italy since she was 6)

I argue that the strong feelings they have towards Turkey emerged and grew through a so-called "collective memory", that is, a notion of homeland that is recreated, mediated and perpetuated through practices and loyalties taking place within the family realm. Falicov observes that Middle Eastern families (perhaps all migrant families) tend to raise their children with the idea that home is the place they have left,and that the place of the origins has to be considered one's country and culture (2005). Indeed, parent-child memory talk has been proved to shape children's subsequent remembering and shaping of values and beliefs (Wang, 2004, ibid.). In almost all the literature on transnational identities it is the tension between the imagination and the real and perceived ties to a home that stands out most clearly (Hage 1998, in Batainah, 2008). Home is the element that binds an identity to two or more places simultaneously, and knowledge or experience of the homeland may not necessarily come through first hand experience. The mythology associated with home that is passed from first generation immigrants to their second generation offspring work to keep real transnational ties to the homeland alive (Batainah, 2008: 164). Feelings of belonging to a "home" they have only superficially experienced do not originate from their own personal memories, but from the recounts taken from the memories of those who have experienced then left it. In such a context, it seems sensate to presume that their attachment to Turkey might be the outcome of an

unconscious/purposeful maneuver of their parents to perpetuate their own heritage culture and their own personal attachments while in the host country and "hand them down" to their children. From the same token, it is possible to think of children of immigrants as "emotional transmigrants" (Wolf, 2002 in Falcon:402) to the extent that their cultural attachment is mediated thought their parent's attachment.

Sibel is an adolescent born in Italy. Among all the participants of this study she is the one who has shown highest levels of integration in the Italian society: she is socialized in an entirely Italian environment, she attends the gymnasium with good results and dreams of getting into university and studying medicine to pursue a career as a doctor. Her boyfriend is Italian and so are all her friends. However, she self-identifies as a Turk, and despite the fact that she has been in Turkey only several times, her words mirror a commonplace phenomenon of second-generation immigrants negotiating their sense of identity and belonging across nation-states (Batainah, 2008:163). Sibel feels at home in Modena, but she doesn't consider Modena her home. For her "the real 'home', the very space from which one imagines oneself to have originated, and in which one projects the self as both homely and original, it is the one that is the most unfamiliar: it is here that one is a guest, relying on the hospitality of others" (Ahmed: 330).

-Take me with you please! I would do anything to see Istanbul! It's my dream...Isn't it dangerous though? My parents are afraid to let me go to Turkey… they're afraid that I like it too much and that I never come back! I miss it so much… after two years that I don't go there I feel the need to go! It hurts almost. Don't you ever feel the need to go back home?

-It depends on what you mean by home.

-Home is... like, the place you feel you belong to. (Sibel, 16, born in Italy)

"If I could make a wish, it would be to go to Turkey"I would like to go to Turkey…since we came to Italy some bad things happened. I think if we stayed in Turkey it would have been different, better. Even now we are going through bad times. My dad is a worker and now because of the crisis things are not going well. My mother is a housewife, you know, if you have three daughters to take care of you have to clean, iron, cook… at the beginning my dad was gaining good money, he used to have a good salary. It was not him who had to look for work…it was work looking for him! Not it's like a desert…nobody calls, but but bills need to be paid like before. It's not like now there's this crisis so bills don't arrive…they arrive anyway. My dad didn't come here to ruin us, I know that, 13 years ago Turkey was in far worse conditions than now. Now it's going great for them. Many Turkish people we know moved back to Turkey and now they live like they were kings and queens. Now the economy is going better there and we could also make investments. Besides, if we went back we wouldn't have to pay for the rent because we have our own house there…two actually…one in Corum and the other in the village. There I could even find a part-time job. My mom could too…here it's so hard…even finding a job In a café is super hard. I know my dad is thinking abut going back to Turkey when he will receive his pension… which means in a long time…here in Italy you get there when you are 100 years old!!! Besides, I am still going to school, one of my sisters graduated from the gymnasium and she's looking for a job but she hasn't found any yet. If my dad said "I leave you two here together…your sister can work and you can study in a small apartment…", but that's not an option either. Even seven years ago, when we were doing well, I always preferred to be living in Turkey. My dad really did it for our future, but I see my two cousins (one is 21 and the other 14)…each of them has her own credit card…they live greatly and their dad has a simple little shop…they are not super rich, but they're happy. Anyway, even if I could leave school and go back there it would

be almost impossible…I got all my education in here…like, on the one sideI would like to go there…but on the other I simply cannot." (Hale, 19, in Italy since she was 6)

3.7.2. "At home" when at home?

"Once when I was in Turkey one day I went to school with my cousin because I wanted to see what is like to be at school there… you know, the students wearing uniforms, the classes, these sorts of things. So I was there sitting next to my cousin and the professor arrived and everybody quickly stood up. I didn't move and my cousin whispered to me "stand up, quick, quick!"…Then they began the history class talking about Ataturk… I was so foreign that I didn't know anything about him. […]

They were reading, writing and I… I don't even… I mean I can write of course, but I get confused with the letters…the little dots over the vowels for example… I don't know when I should write them… It was so different for me! Their classes last 45 minutes, then they have a 15 minute break…every class is like that. In Italy you only have one break during the morning, so when I saw everybody leaving after the first hour of classes I asked my cousin :"Where is everybody going?"...for me it was so strange." (Ender, 19)

Clifford Jansen (1988, in Papayiannis) in a study about the the problems faced by Italian youth in Canada, claims that they are unable to identify with the hometown of their parents and at the same time they are not fully accepted by their Canadian peers. Second-generation youth feel marginalized, according to Jansen, because although they have ties to two cultures, they do not identify fully with either group and are therefore "caught between two culture". Likewise, my participants seem to consider Turkey home but they have feelings of estrangement when there.

Differently from those individuals who identify with only one nation-state and never left "home", in fact, the issue of belonging for my participants is further complicated by the fact that they consider Turkey their real home, but they are more familiar with everyday life in Italy. Almost all of them at some point admitted that when they visit Turkey during the summer holidays they feel sometimes uncomfortable. Sibel, for example, when there doesn't have a functioning mobile phone with which to keep contacts with her friends back in Modena, she has no friends in Turkey to spend time with (and no freedom to do so even if she did) and all she does as her time in Turkey goes by is receiving her extended family at home one day after the other. Ender has to wear long skirts and loose t-shirts or people from her köy (village) gossip about her being "too European" and local girls thinks she displays an attitude, and same goes for Hale. Yagmur is not free to go basically anywhere, and meeting up with guys is out of the question, and Nürten, despite she is a grown up woman of 26 years old, has to be walked everywhere, even to her relatives' house which is right next to her parents'.

> *"I would love to go to Turkey, but I know it would be hard because I am not used to that. Perhaps if I went to a big city I wouldn't have many problems but… I am from Denizli, like not really from there but from a small village close to Denizli, a place where everyone knows everyone. If I moved there I couldn't do anything. If I was there I should always be accompanied by my sisters or my parents. When we go back there during the summer the house is literally packed with relatives and guests of all sorts. Imagine: you spend there a month and a half and only two weeks while cleaning up the house. Nobody helps you. Relatives are not angels, so you have to clean it up yourself. Then every evening relatives and friends come to visit you, so when my sisters and I go out we have to do it without being noticed. All the doors in our house are always open, so everyone sees what you're doing. So we just sneak out without telling anybody*

[...] When I am there I am always by myself. There is always something to do...you can go to visit an aunt, to buy some food... but at some point you miss your friends. Besides, when I'm there I don't have the phone...it gets blocked... and I don't have a computer either. Like, what one should do is buying a Turkish mobile phone, but they're very expensive in Turkey...Imagine spending one month and a half without a phone and a computer!" (Sibel, 16, born in Italy)

"They have prejudices. They think you are different and that you feel you are better than them. They say "She comes from Europe and she's cocky". But then when they get to know you they find out there is no difference. It happened to me last summer: the girls with whom I used to play when I was I was little ignored me, just because I come from Europe. That really hurt because during my childhood I spent every summer with them. When I asked the reason to my neighbor, an old friend of mine who was not talking to me, she said "Because you come from Europe". So I said "So what? You want to go and play in the mud like we used to? Let's go, I can do that". It's the way they see you, you come from Europe, your clothes are more stylish. You don't feel the difference, but they do […] there are many girls who were born in France or Germany who feel they are pure Germans or French and when they go back to Turkey they act all snobbish, so the Turkish girls ignore them, they don't talk to them and think that we are the same, but we are not! If you ask me, we are all human beings, it is not that I am better than them. Think about a policeman: when he wears his uniform and a gun he doesn't become better than us. When I go back to Corum I try my best to conform to their Turkish way, instead of wearing jeans I wear long skirts or loose trousers, I don't wear any makeup, no nail polish, I try to look like them so they don't think that I think I am better than them, but they think so anyhow. And it hurts." (Ender, 19)

"Two years ago at my elder sister's wedding my other sister and I saw that the Turkish girls there were like super arrogant and pretentious. We were like:" Wait a minute, where have we ended up at?!" I am not really one of those girls who thinks big of herself and stuff...if anything, with my sisters when we are there we try to do the opposite! Also, we live in a small town so everybody knows everybody...that time we were there my sisters and I used to spend our evenings outside, next to our house, and we would stay until 4am. But people there talk a lot...if you go around with tight leggings and stuff they gossip... I don't have friends there." (Hale, 19)

"I miss Turkey, but every time I go I get so bored... There's nothing to do and my relatives keep telling my parents that it's dangerous that a girls goes out by herself even to take a walk when outside it's dark...so I always sit at home, watch TV, eat... My family is very conservative, two years ago I met a guy through my cousins and we saw each other sometimes, but I always had to make up lies, like I was telling them I was going out with one of my cousins, but then one day a friend of my family saw me out with this guy and ran to tell my mother. From that moment on, they check on me even more often than before..."
(Yagmur, 16, in Italy since she was 3)

"I miss Turkey but honestly I don't see myself living there… when I go to Turkey people have problems with me. They say "You come from Italy, go back to Italy." I happened in 2009…I was with my brother in Turkey for the holidays and a group of guys told us "Go back to Italy"
(Sebnem, 16, in Italy since she was 4)

- As a woman, I wouldn't like to live in Turkey. Where we come from women are supposed to stay at home, cook, raise children...none of them work. I only know one woman who has a job...but she works out of desperation because her husband's mother lives in the flat above hers and goes to check on her all the time using excuses, like that she needs something, or she cannot understand something or she cannot read something on a manual...things like these. So that friend of mine just found a job to avoid that situation. But generally in Turkey women have to do everything. For me of course it's different: I go there only two weeks and all my relatives come to visit me so I'm always in and out of home...I have to make tea, to bring food on the table... two weeks it's ok, but I wouldn't like to live like that... Also, women are not treated well. One thing that gets me mad is the fact that all taxi drivers magically get lost when you get on a cab. They just play you around...even me that I'm Turkish! Besides, going out at night is absolutely forbidden... In the Asian side women are scared, they say it's dangerous. And it doesn't look good if a woman goes out by herself... every time I want to go somewhere my cousins [here she means "male cousins"] escort me...always...even if it's just to go back home from my relatives' place that's like round the corner of my own place.

Question: When you were a child did you ever wonder where was home for you?

- Yeah...I think deep down home to me was Turkey... but I didn't know where was home because I didn't know precisely what my parents wanted to do. I was always wondering "What if we go back to Turkey?"...I didn't know what were my parents' intentions. Were they going to go back and take some of us [her other sisters], or...all of us? Turkey was home to me because there I had cousins, aunts and uncles, my grandparents... but we used to go there once a

year...we would visit all of them then come back to Italy. Like, at the end of the day I have basically seen nothing of Turkey!"
(Mine, 26, in Italy since she was 4)

Some of my participants told me that when they go to the Turkish Anatolian villages their family originate from feel sometimes bewilderment because there girls wear the headscarf.

- All the girls I know from the villages wear the headscarf and they never go to the city. I would say 90% of them is covered.(Ender, 19)

- Only those who are not going to school. Those who study are not covered. (Beren, 16)

- My cousin is a student and she is covered. Some people wear it because their parents force them to. They don't study, they live in a village and they keep the headscarf and when they take it off they do it in places where their parents cannot see them. But there are also people who want to wear it. One of my cousins is a student and wears a headscarf because she wants to. For example: she wears tight jeans and t-shirts, but she does not take off that headscarf!(Ender, 19)

-The girls who go to school sometimes take the headscarf off. They only wear it when they go back to the village because that's the custom there, so in order to not be too different from everyone else they wear it there.(Beren, 16)

Question: Does it look bad for a girl not to wear it?

- Yes, but in the past it was worse. My mom once told me that her parents made

her wear the headscarf right after she finished elementary school.(Beren, 16)

- *My mother used to wear it when she was living in the village, but when she arrived here in Italy she took it off straight away.*(Ender, 19)

Ender and Beren, when talking about the time spent in their Turkish villages during the summer, depict a realm in which they feel foreign, especially Ender, for whom it is *otherizing* and somehow disturbing to see Turkish girls of her age wearing headscarves. What disturbs her the most is not the presence of the veil itself, but the discrepancy between the way she perceives the headscarf (as a symbol of a woman's committment to religion), and the way the Turkish girls in her village seem to wear it, as a meaningless accessory. The fact that most of these girls are forced by their parents to wear it becomes evident when Ender explains that those girls take it off once they step out of home, or that they dress in a "provocative" way that is not consistent with the more chaste and modest style that is expected from a covered girl. The sight of such phenomena is puzzling for girls like Ender and Beren, who have been raised in an environment where religion and its practices are openly discussed and explained and where parents are not strictly conservative. Additionally, it seems that to Ender the headscarf is also a symbol of backwardness: at some points she said that when her mother arrived in Italy "she took it off straight away", as if when finally in a liberal place she could get rid of a meaningless accessory. To her these conflicting feelings become all the more disturbing the moment that she perceives discrimination from the Turkish girls in her village for her not being "fully Turkish", that is, the moment she feels deprived of the possibility (even the will, perhaps) of considering Turkey "home".

3.8.In lieu of a conclusion

Globalization and migration have seen the rise of new form of identifications and belonging that trespass the boundaries of the nation-state. Since the phenomenon of immigration in Italy relatively recent, research about immigrants and their children are still quite rare. Mostly, the aspects researchers tend to focus on are the challenges that cultural and ethnic diversity bring to an increasing multicultural state. Although most recently some studies have also begun to focus on the social and cultural practices of this youth, as well as their sense of home and belonging (see Bellone, Carbone, Presciutti), in nearly all of them the adolescents of foreign origins become the "object" of the study and they are talked *about*, rather than being free to express themselves. In an attempt to answer to some crucial questions about adolescents of Turkish origins regarding their experience of encapsulating two worlds at once, I carried out an ethnographical research on a sample of sixteen adolescents where, through in-depth interviews, they recounted me their daily life, their cultural, religious and social practices, and the sometimes conflicting feelings towards their culture of origin. The accounts of my participants about their feelings of home and belonging are complex to capture and understand for an outsider who only identifies with one cultural world. Such complex identities have also been defined as *transnational*. I here employ a notion of transnationalism that is not described as "a process of movement and settlement across international borders in which individuals maintain or build multiple networks of connection to their country of origin while at the same time settling in a new country" (Glick-Schiller: 171), but

as a condition in which individuals manage to relate to two different worlds and at least partly identify with two different cultures. What renders the process unsettling for them is that transnational identities exist in a dimension that is not experienced by those who identify with a single nation-state (Batainah, 2008:164). My participants identify with both states and call Turkey "home", but all throughout the accounts of their vacations in Turkey they did not describe a home-like situation. None of them told me about some unforgettable meaningful event experienced when there, or about the feeling of finally being among their own people. If anything, what they point out is the boredom, the lack of freedom and some sort of discrimination from their Turkish peers. Turkey is supposed to be the place in which they expect to be accepted, protected, welcomed, a place where anywhere they look they can find their mirror images, but it is hardly the case. All of my participants have experienced at least once discrimination for their being "not fully Italian" in Italy, but they experience they same discrimination in Turkey for their being Italian-like. Seaman (1996 in Ahmed, 1999: 336) talks about “the feeling of being at home in several countries, or cultures but not completely at home in any of them” and Ahmed further develops this notion taking the case of the “Global Nomads” community, which she calls a “community of strangers”, that is individuals who feel at home within a group of other individuals that might not have anything in common except for the experience of being “expats”. I try to explain this phenomenon employing Lefebvre's, Soja's and Bhabha's notions of *third spaces,* spaces that are the mediation of the “real” and the “perceived” (Lefebvre and Soja), or the encounter between two different cultures (Bhabha). More specifically, I took Bhabha's definition of *third space* and lightly twisted it, claiming that my participants feel at home in a *space* shared by other individuals of Turkish origins who, like them, reside in Modena. Although their personalities, degree of Turkish/Italian languages proficiency, and attitudes towards Turkey and Italy differ to one another to some extent, they have created strong bonds based their common experience of biculturalism and all the joys and hassles derived from it. A clear example is Sebnem's recount about

celebrating both Chrismas and Bayram with her "Turkish friends". Here, she means Italian-Turks like herself. McCaig, in Ahmed, contends that “The ease with which global nomads cruise global corridors often gives rise to an expanded world view, the capacity to extend their vision beyond national boundaries” (337), and Ahmed adds that this 'journey' “leads to an expansion of vision, an ability to see more”, and, I add, to an expansion of wisdom.

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