The Challenges of Second Generation Immigrants in Italy

A Comparative Analysis between Italian Immigrants in the United States and Egyptian Immigrants in Italy

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Abstract
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A Comparative Analysis between Italian Immigrants in the United States and Egyptian
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(Under the direction of Professor Donald Searing)

Italy, a traditional nation state with a long history of emigration, is currently at a cross-road as it faces an immigration crisis. This comparative analysis between Italian immigrants in the U.S., during the late nineteenth century, and Egyptian immigrants in Italy, during the late twentieth century, is meant to illustrate how Italy could utilize its firsthand experience as an emigrant country to tackle its current immigration problems. Differences emerge in the comparison highlighting three problems which currently impede the integration of second generation immigrants in Italy. The first two problems, the Italian government's approach and the jus sanguinis citizenship laws, can be attenuated, if not solved, by legislative action from the Italian government. The third problem, the Islamic religion, lacks an immediate solution because of its international dimensions. The future integration of second generation immigrants in Italy is dependant upon the way in which Italy confronts these three problems.

To my parents, Emilio, Thomas, and second generation immigrants in Italy.

Acknowledgements

First, I would like to thank my parents. It is because of our experience as a family that I believe immigrants can integrate into a host society while maintaining cultural heritage. As a second generation immigrant in the United States (my parents are originally from Bologna, Italy), I am fortunate and proud to boast the fusion of two cultures. My brothers and I were born and raised in the U.S., but maintained our Italian culture through lifestyle, language, and by returning to Italy at least once a year. My parents provided us with the opportunity to grow with a dual-identity, American-Italian, and my firsthand experience attests that it is possible to live in a multicultural society in which children of immigrants can represent a blend of two different cultures.

I would also like to thank other individuals who have contributed in their own ways:

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PART I – BACKGROUND

1. Introduction

In this paper, I will address the problem of contemporary immigration in Italy, a challenging political issue which affects economic, social, and political aspects of Italian society. This immigration phenomenon has created a multicultural society, and the successful integration of new immigrants in this society is fundamental for the well-being of the country. Italy has had many difficulties in accepting immigrants and integrating them, while ironically overlooking the difficult experiences that Italian emigrants have had abroad. These Italian emigrants were able to generate a vast network of Italian descendants abroad who continue to strongly value their Italian heritage and identify with a dual or hyphenated identity, such as Italian-Americans. Thus, it would seem desirable that Italy allow the immigrants in its country the possibility of constructing parallel dual-identities, as their Italian ancestors did one century ago. I want to show how Italy could utilize its firsthand experience as an emigrant country and use this knowledge as a starting point from which to tackle its current immigration problems. Lessons learned from the past could promote this integration process and improve the conditions of current immigrants in Italy, thereby benefiting the entire population.

I will compare two immigrant groups with similar migration characteristics; Italians who migrated to the United States between the late 1880's and early 1900's, and Egyptians who migrated to Italy during the late 1900's. I will focus on the Italian community in the large industrial cities of the North-Eastern United States, and the Egyptian community, one of the largest and best integrated, in Milan.

Focusing on the second generation of immigrants, children of immigrants who are born and raised in the host country, I will examine the similarities and differences between the two experiences

and provide a comparative analysis. I will attempt to illustrate how the integration of second generation immigrants is an essential element in creating a well-functioning society and that, for Italy's current situation, history has many lessons to offer. Unfortunately, Italy has thus far failed to integrate this second generation; neither has it allowed the second generation to construct dual or hyphenated identities. Many cannot acquire Italian citizenship even if born in the country.

I believe there are three main problems which impede the integration of second generation immigrants in Italy: the Italian government's approach, the jus sanguinis citizenship laws, and the Islamic religion. The future integration of first and second generation immigrants will depend on the way in which Italy tackles these three problems.

2. Major Theories and Concepts

I will discuss the integration theories of temporary immigration, assimilation, and multiculturalism. I will also utilize Michael Walzer's theories, presented in the book *On Toleration,* to illustrate the scope of toleration in diverse societies. Walzer's discussion of toleration contrasts nation states, which are exemplified by countries like Great Britain, the Netherlands and Spain, with immigrant societies (also termed multicultural societies), which are exemplified by the United States, Canada and Australia. France, for Walzer is a mixed case. I will evaluate the Italian case in relation to such examples.

2.1 Models of Integration

Temporary Immigration

Temporary immigration is based on the concept of a guest worker, for example the "gasterbeither", the predominantly Turkish immigrants in Germany, employed in the German reconstruction after the Second World War. The immigrants that comprise this group are male workers without their families. They are legal immigrants, who possess a temporary contract and receive economic benefits. These immigrants are considered workers, and thus their integration with

the native population is limited (Berti 2007). This type of immigration may create a situation in which immigrants are accepted into a country to fill jobs that natives do not want anymore; and the immigrants must be willing to accept low status in society (Ambrosini 2004).

Assimilation

Assimilation is a form of integration by which immigrants are absorbed into the host society and are expected to shed their heritage in order to fit in. Assimilation can be forced upon immigrants such as in the French case, or it can involve a more subtle process such as the in the United States. I will discuss the Portes and Rumbaut model of selective assimilation in a later section of this paper. Their model highlights the importance of a dual identity, made up of one's heritage and of the new culture. Selective assimilation allows for the dual or hyphenated identity because it allows the second generation to acquire both the languages and customs of the native and host country while minimizing intergenerational conflicts.

Multiculturalism

In the multicultural model, different cultural and ethnic groups reside together within a shared social and political framework. The multicultural society, one in which minority groups retain their cultural heritage and identity while participating in society, is the opposite of the melting pot society, in which minority groups are absorbed into the dominant culture. A perfect multicultural society would have the following characteristics: a widespread acceptance of cultural diversity, low levels of racism and discrimination, positive attitudes between the differing groups, and a sense of attachment or identification with the larger society. In addition, the minority group would accept the basic principles and values of the larger society, while the dominant group would adjust its national institutions to best fit the needs of all citizens. In practice, racism and discrimination still occurs, and although cultural and ethnic differences are tolerated, respected, and valued, often they may not be

favored by the dominant group. In a multicultural society, citizenship is easily attainable and immigrant associations are valued (Berry 2006).

2.2 Theoretical Conception of Toleration

Toleration is a factor which determines how a society approaches diversity. It varies according to historic traditions and cannot be altered over a short period of time. However, it is useful to understand the different approaches in order to address the challenges posed by a demographically heterogeneous society such as Italy.

Immigrant Societies

Countries defined by Walzer as immigrant societies, such as the United States, are comprised of a self-acknowledged immigrant population. Walzer's society of immigrants is similar to the multicultural model, except that the state recognizes its citizens as individuals who possess rights and obligations, not as members of groups. He also believes that the state tolerates minority organizations, although the individual's membership in the organization is considered secondary to the individual's membership in the state. Most citizens have a dual identity: politically they identify with the state, while socially they maintain a strong identification with their traditional culture. Minority groups may encounter organizational difficulties because the state is not required to facilitate their foundation or existence. Therefore, in the absence of strong leadership and organization, minority groups tend to weaken and fade (Walzer 1998).

Traditional Nation States

Nation states, traditionally homogeneous in nature, are composed of a dominant group which organizes the society in the image of its historical traditions and values. Minority groups try to retain their diverse culture, religion and history in the private sphere, while the nation state is skeptical about these distinctions and demands assimilation (Walzer 1998).

Italy, traditionally a nation state, is on its way to becoming a society of immigrants. But, following the traditional nation state pattern, the Italian state still does not allow for dual identities, and the native population still demands assimilation to Italian culture. This nation state model does not facilitate the existence of minority cultures.

PART II –CASE STUDY

3. Overview of Two Immigrant Groups

Italian Immigrants in the United States

Italian migration to the New World began in the middle of the nineteenth century. During this period, 800,000 Italians moved to the United States. This migration continued throughout the early twentieth century. Between 1900 and 1915, 3.5 million Italians entered the United States through Ellis Island. The majority were farmers, about 20 per cent were artisans, all predominantly from the South. Their emigration was originally seen as temporary, driven by the necessity to find employment. In fact, about half of the Italians that emigrated during this period returned home after a successful period of employment (Vecoli 2005).

The Italian immigration to the United States was centered on a system of networks through which immigrants in the United States would recruit family members and friends in Italy when employment opportunities were available. This system of recruiting through intermediaries also became subject to criminal activity, which was widespread throughout the Italian community in the United States at the time (Vecoli 2005).

In America, Italians clustered in big cities and small industrial centers in the Northeast, where they were part of the working class, employed in the construction of railways, sewers, tunnels, docks, and cities. Although the majority came from rural backgrounds, they did not enter the agricultural sector. They grouped together in small communities, known as "Little Italies," which emerged because of the networks of Italians mentioned above, and because employment opportunities were often concentrated in certain areas. These communities strengthened familial solidarity and the Italian regional identities of the immigrants and thereby impeded their integration into American society

(Vecoli 2005). During World War One, Italians entered the industrial, mining, and restaurant sectors, where they demonstrated a strong entrepreneurial drive (Vecoli 2005).

Italian immigration ceased by the end of the 1920's. The Immigration Act of 1924 established a quota system based on national origin, and the immigrants who were already settled in the U.S. began to move into skilled positions (Vecoli 2005).

Second Generation Italian Immigrants

The second generation, the children, began to outnumber the Italian immigrants themselves by the 1920's: and by the 1940's this group reached adulthood. Like all second generation immigrants, these Italian-American children experienced the difficulties of being between two cultures. Their Italian traditions dominated in the private sphere, but their Americanization in the public sphere often produced intergenerational conflicts. Many eventually assimilated completely into American society. This generation remained part of the working class and initially had little social mobility. During the 1930's and 1940's its members began to participate in the political arena. It is important to note that the citizenship laws of the United States readily made this cohort into American citizens, which facilitated their Americanization. World War Two also served as an integration experience, as many Italian-Americans pledged their loyalty to the U.S. by entering the army, while others left their Little Italy communities to seek employment opportunities elsewhere. These new employment opportunities eventually opened doors to the middle class (Vecoli 2005).

In 1966, the American Italian Historical Association was founded. The third and fourth generations of Italians demonstrated a new sense of pride with respect to their heritage. This was facilitated as a result of Italy modernizing and becoming world-renowned for fashion, travel and, food. The American view of Italians is no longer negative. Instead, many Americans admire Italy and its culture. By the 1990's, Italian-Americans were well-integrated and economically successful in America's middle class (Vecoli 2005).

Egyptian Immigrants in Italy

Egyptian immigrants were amongst the first to settle in Italy and their community seems to be one of the better integrated. Notwithstanding its much smaller size, it is comparable to the Italian emigration to the United States. As of the year 2000, 90,000 Egyptians resided in Italy (Fargues 2005). Egyptian emigration to Italy followed the male migration model, in which the majority of emigrants were unmarried young males in search of economic opportunities. This emigration was initially seen as temporary; however, it evolved into a permanent one over the years. Similar to the Italian emigrants, the Egyptian community in Italy created a network of assistance by which family and friends were recruited to Italy. Over two-thirds of Egyptians had information regarding Italy before their arrival in the country. Later, female emigration was heavily tied to the male one; two-thirds of the women who immigrated to Italy already had a partner there. In general, the Egyptian immigrants were almost immediately inserted into the labor market, where they have shown a strong entrepreneurial drive (Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche 2000).

In contrast to the Italian immigrants to the United States, the Egyptian immigrants to Italy encountered problems in acquiring the necessary documents to enter the country, and often entered illegally only to gain legal status over time. In addition, a recent study has found a remarkably high level of education among Egyptian immigrants[1] even though these immigrants often work at low skilled jobs which do not require their advanced educational background (Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche 2000).

The Egyptian emigration commenced between the mid 1960's and the 1970's when unskilled rural laborers left Egypt in search of economic opportunities, followed by skilled workers. That made Italy one of the most popular destinations within the European Union (European Commission 2000). Egyptian immigrants migrated to the northern region of Italy, settling in Lombardia and its capital city of Milan, because of the employment opportunities there. As of 2005, the Egyptian community

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[1] Thirty percent of those interviewed for the survey possessed a university degree (Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche 2000).

was one of the top five largest immigrant groups in Lombardia, while they represented the largest group in the province of Milan: 20,979 Egyptians, representing 12.9 per cent of the immigrant population. That same year 3,766 Egyptian businesses were registered at the city of Milan Chamber of Commerce. This figure reflects the entrepreneurial drive of the Egyptian community, the largest group of foreigners to be registered, with 20 per cent of foreign businesses in the city (Caritas 2006).

The Egyptian community in Milan has founded the Italian-Egyptian association. In 2003, it had 75 registered members, although many more people participated in events; and it set a goal of 300 members by the end of 2008. This association was created to promote cultural exchange and to demonstrate that a dual-identity is possible. The organization proposes cultural and social events to create relationships between immigrants and Italians and offers courses such as Arabic language, make-up, belly dancing, and cooking. The organization also offers services more specific to the Egyptian community such as an after-school care program and it assists new immigrants during their transition to Milan (Nassar 2007).

Second Generation Egyptian Immigrants

Second generation Egyptian immigrants are beginning to be visible members of society, totaling 5,777 individuals as of 2001 (ISTAT 2001). The visibility of Egyptian second generation and more generally that of all second generation immigrants is also due to the fact that the immigrant population is reproducing at a much faster rate than the native population. The fertility rate of foreign women is 2.4 compared to only 1.25 for Italian women[2] (Caritas 2006).

In 2005, the average Egyptian woman had four children, whose integration as children seems to be successful especially at younger ages. By being born in Italy, the members of this generation are fully Italian, and although they may learn the Arabic language and cultural traditions in the home,

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[2] These figures illustrate that without immigrant mothers; Italy would have a negative growth rate because population replacement rate is attained with a fertility rate of 2.1. Although beyond the scope of this paper, it is important to note, that due to the above mentioned fertility characteristics, the demographic representation of Italy will undergo further dramatic changes in the near future and this issue requires immediate policy attention.

they are raised as members of the Italian society. As the children of economically well integrated immigrants, most are raised in a financially stable environment which is an important factor in the integration process.

The Egyptian second generation, like other second generations, faces one major problem: it does not have Italian citizenship. This creates difficulties for these cohorts because it complicates employment and educational opportunities once adulthood is reached.

4. Comparison of the Two Immigrant Groups: Their Role in the Host Society

4.1 Host Country Approach to Immigration

American Approach

Immigrants who rapidly Americanize after a relatively short period of time have always been portrayed as a necessary part of American society. The American approach to immigration has undergone three different phases. During the first period, the laissez faire phase from 1780-1875, immigrants were welcomed into the U.S. because they were seen as an integral element of American expansion through westward exploration. The second period, 1875-1920, was one of qualitative restrictions during which the U.S. restricted the entrance of certain groups, for example the Chinese. Since 1921, the U.S. has implemented quantitative restrictions on the basis of national origin, employer preference, and family reunification.

In 1924, the Immigration Act was passed, to limit the number of immigrants through a quota system, the "national origins quota system," which heavily favored the entrance of Europeans. Admission into the United States was based on national origin, and seventy to eighty per cent of the quota was reserved for northern or western Europeans. This act was changed in 1956, and since then the priority for acceptance is no longer national origin but family reunification or skills and accomplishments (Huong 2006).

The American approach to immigration has always been well-defined; specific procedures have been implemented based on the various approaches. This has been especially critical for the U.S.

since it was created as an immigrant society. Regulation has always been a central element of the process. Nonetheless, the U.S. is also home to many illegal immigrants who do not abide by the legal immigration process.

The Italian immigrants were a fruitful part of the early twentieth century American economy, even though as Europeans they were subject to discrimination because they were not from northern or western Europe. Since the end of the twentieth century immigrants have predominantly originated from Asia and Latin America (Huong 2006).

Italian Approach

Italy is a latecomer to experience the immigration phenomenon compared to other European countries. Italy developed into a country of immigration only during the 1970's and 1980's, while its European counterparts such as Germany, France, and Great Britain, experienced the phenomenon twenty years earlier. Italy was, by contrast, traditionally a country of emigration. From the late nineteenth century until the middle of the twentieth century, Italian citizens in search of a better life scattered all over the world, from the American continent to Australia.

Italy has a number of useful instruments which it could utilize to approach the immigration phenomenon; its history of emigration, the prolonged experiences of its European neighbors, and its internal migration from South to North during the 1950's.

The internal migration is a firsthand experience which demonstrates that the Italian society can adapt to newcomers. An interesting comparison can be drawn between the migrants and host society of the internal migration and immigration today. This comparison shows that Italian society is capable of integrating new members although this process may require a transition period of several decades. The southern migrants of the internal migration can be compared to current immigrants, while the northern Italians can be compared to the modern Italian society. Many southerners only spoke dialect and not Italian; they were of a low economic status and were migrating in search of employment; and their cultural traditions such as food and holiday celebrations were different than those of northern

Italians. For all these reasons, southerners were not welcomed into northern society and were subject to strong discrimination. Southern migrants would often seek to live together and many cities risked the formation of small ghettos excluding these newcomers. However, today, sixty years later, these problems have been overcome, with many useful lessons learned that could be applied to the current immigration situation.

As of 2005, the legal foreign population in Italy was 3,035,000 representing 5.2 per cent of the total population. It is estimated that this number could be increased by up to 1,000,000 if one were to include illegal residents as well. The majority of immigrants, 59.5 per cent, live in the North and 27 per cent in the Center of the country; in both areas they represent more than 5 per cent of the population. Only 13.5 per cent of the immigrant population lives in the South, a slim 1.5 per cent of the resident population there. Rome and Milan are the cities with the highest percentage of immigrants, 11.4 and 10.9 per cent respectively. Currently, the largest immigrant communities in Italy are from Romania, Albania, Morocco, China, Tunisia, Philippines, Senegal, Peru, Egypt, Ghana, and Sri Lanka (Caritas 2006).

The small to medium size businesses that drive the Italian economy are located in the North, both in the Northeast and in the industrial triangle of the Northwest, Milan, Turin, and Genoa. Many immigrants are employed in the industrial and metal-mechanic sectors. In addition, immigrants are employed in the hospitality sector, restaurants and hotels, the agricultural sector, typically in the form of seasonal employment in the South and some parts of the North, the service sector, the construction sector, and domestic care, especially for the elderly.

Italy was not prepared to take in immigrants or to contemplate a transformation from being a country of emigration into one of immigration. Since the beginning of this transformation, Italy has struggled with the immigration phenomenon. Overall, Italy has utilized a passive approach, unable to actively promote integration policies until fairly recently. Contrary to many other countries, Italy lacks a concrete approach to immigration; its practice is not based on one specific model and is therefore difficult to define. Italy has always confronted the various flows of immigrants on a case to

case basis. For example, rather than confronting illegal immigration and the large number of illegal immigrants on Italian territory, when the number of illegal immigrants becomes too elevated, the government typically declares a crisis and issues decrees to legalize thousands of illegal immigrants who can demonstrate their residence in Italy as of a certain date.

One of the main problems in managing immigration in Italy is the weakness of the central government. This regime pattern of a weak central government has created a society with strong regionalisms and thus a divided society which relies and trusts the local and regional authorities more than the central government. Since the welfare system provided by the central government is weak, the regional actors and the private social sector have taken the lead in immigrant assistance. This has created a fragmented network of assistance and integration policies, with significant differentials between the resulting policies from city to city. The private social sector, initially led by catholic organizations such as Caritas, which still today is the leading source of documentation regarding immigrants in Italy, began to flourish in the 1990's. Caritas has been the predominant actor in this sector ever since. The private social sector covers an array of services for immigrants (and Italians as well); for example, initial assistance in accessing housing and health benefits, employment search (often in the black market or precarious positions), and language training. This assistance network, allows immigrants to have a starting point, however, it is often not enough to truly include immigrants in society or to provide them with the realistic possibility of achieving socio-economic parity with the natives. As the private social sector has evolved, many organizations are now offering services beyond basic assistance, focusing more on the successful integration of immigrants: for example, promoting integration programs, organizing cultural events, educating teachers and social workers etc. Increasingly, the private social sector and the government cooperate. The government will provide funds for special projects to promote integration, and the private social sector will create and implement the necessary services. However, the system remains fragmented and lack of cooperation between cities does not allow for knowledge sharing and strategy building.

Another problematic factor for Italy is the heterogeneity of the immigrant population, which comes from over 190 countries. This complicates the phenomenon, because a single integration policy or approach cannot address the situations of the vast variety of immigrants.

4.2 Political Conditions: Citizenship Laws

United States: Ius Solis

In the U.S., ius solis, or birthright citizenship prevails for the majority of individuals; the only exceptions are diplomatic families, and a few other cases. As articulated in the 14th Amendment of the United States Constitution, a child born on U.S. territory acquires citizenship even if the parents are not American citizens (U.S. Government 2007). This allows the children of immigrants to immediately gain citizenship and identify as Americans. Many immigrants become American citizens through the naturalization process which has specific prerequisites. The following is not intended to be a detailed description of the naturalization process but rather an illustration of its main feature for comparative purposes. Eligibility requirements for the naturalization process include five years of legal residence or three years of legal residence for individuals married to a citizen, without excessive time spent outside the country during the residency period (U.S. Government 2007).

As of 2004, the foreign born population residing in the U.S. was 11.8 per cent of the total population. The naturalized American citizens represented 4.5 per cent of the entire population (U.S. Census Bureau).

Italy: Ius Sanguinis

In Italy, the ius sanguinis citizenship law prevails, whereby citizenship is only granted to the children of Italian citizens. Italy remains one of few countries to follow the ius sanguinis principle. Birth on the Italian territory does not provide citizenship, thereby excluding second generation immigrants from being full members of the society in which they are born. Italian Law number 91 of 1992 declares that second generation can access citizenship upon reaching adulthood. However, this

citizenship is not granted automatically. The previous law of 1912, number 555 article 3, allowed for automatic citizenship rights for second generation residents on their eighteenth birthday, while the new 1992 law requires that these individuals apply for citizenship in the one year period between their eighteenth and nineteenth birthday. They must demonstrate continuous residency since birth and citizenship is by no means guaranteed once this process is completed. If one is lucky enough to attain citizenship, it has often taken many years to achieve. Ironically, this law gives foreign citizens, who reside abroad, with Italian descent easier access to citizenship than foreigners who have permanent residency in Italy (Andall 2003).

The citizenship application process is long and complex and is an obstacle for the complete integration of second generations. These young individuals are Italian in all respects: they were born in the country, they speak the language fluently, they attended Italian schools, etc. However, they are not considered citizens, which is incompatible with the model of a multicultural society.

The simplest and most common manner to attain Italian citizenship is through marriage. In 2003, 84.2 per cent of naturalizations occurred by marriage (Corio 2004). Once married to an Italian citizen, only six months of residency are necessary for eligibility to apply using this naturalization process.

Citizenship can also be acquired through permanent residence, although the residency period necessary for eligibility differs according to country of origin. Preference is given to European Union citizens for whom four years of residence is required, five years for asylum seekers, and ten years for immigrants from any other non-EU country. It must be noted that applying for citizenship in no way guarantees attaining it, for the process remains subject to "governmental judgment" (Corio 2004).

The fact that the children of immigrants do not gain citizenship makes them people who do not belong either in the society in which they were born and grew up or in their familial country of origin. This is a dangerous recipe which has produced explosive results in France, where children of immigrants have rioted because of their missing identity and lack of equal opportunities within French society. The French case is somewhat unusual because many of the immigrants arrived from ex-colonial countries with French citizenship, and consequently the second generation immigrants

held French citizenship as well. Nonetheless, these French citizens still feel like second class citizens. In Italy, the idea of second class citizens would be even more problematic considering that these second generation immigrants are not even Italian citizens thereby have many fewer rights and obligations than Italians.

There is an ongoing political debate regarding citizenship for immigrants and their right to vote. The government has discussed and proposed to lower the number of years of legal residency that are required to apply for citizenship, but the Italian population is highly divided on the issue[3].

4.3 Economic Conditions

The economic conditions of immigrants are an important question for the immigrants, the host society, and the integration process. Both the Italians and Egyptians who emigrated were predominantly able-bodied men in search of employment opportunities; once they arrived in their respective host countries they were immediately inserted into the labor market. A significant amount of remittances were sent back to the native countries by both the Italians and the Egyptians, especially in the initial periods.

Economic parity with the native population is one of the most important elements in enabling the integration of immigrants. Currently, immigrants in Italy face obstacles in entering the labor market. Immigrants have a high unemployment rate, 20 per cent, compared to 8 per cent for Italians. In addition, immigrants are often found in precarious jobs and seasonal employment with low income levels, which binds them to lower social class status. Immigrants are often employed in positions which Italians no longer want to perform, predominantly in the industrial, construction, services (such as domestic work, child care, and elderly care), agriculture, and hotel industries. In many cases, this sort of employment may only allow for survival and may block possibilities of attaining higher living standards similar to those of the native population. In addition, this sort of employment is not the kind

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[3] For example, a 2006 survey about the opinion of Arab citizens conducted in five major Italian cities revealed that only 51.7 per cent of Italians are favorable to give the right to vote to immigrants who have resided in Italy for over ten years (Caritas 2006).

that allows for career advancement, thus limiting social mobility. Due to their placement in the labor market, immigrants often belong to the lower social class, thereby impeding interaction with a wide variety of Italians.

Although economic parity is far from being achieved, immigrants in Italy are a significant part of the Italian economy. As of 2006, these immigrants seemed to be fairly economically integrated, as demonstrated by the following statistics. The average age of immigrants was 36, 80 per cent were employed with an average salary of €1,179 per month, 14 per cent owned a business, 16 per cent had a mortgage, 50 per cent rented housing, 55 per cent owned a vehicle, and 60 per cent possessed a bank account (Caritas 2006:157).

The Egyptians in Italy have been an economically active group since they first arrived. The Egyptian community produces about 5 per cent of the total number of foreign business owners in Italy. Egyptian businesses are often in the following sectors: restaurant and hospitality (often owning pizzerias and kebab shops), construction, and the professional service sector (Caritas 2006).

4.4 Cultural Conditions

Naturally, the cultural differences that immigrants bring to the host country, language, culinary traditions, religion, and holidays, are immediately noticeable in the host society. Initially, for both Italians in America and Egyptians in Italy, cultural diversity was quite high.

Both Italian and Egyptian immigrants emigrated from developing agricultural countries with hierarchical societies, traditional values, and illiterate citizens, making it foreseeable that the impact with a modern, progressive, consumerist, and Western society could potentially be tumultuous in many respects.

As immigrants begin to absorb the host country lifestyle, some of their cultural differences become accepted over time. In the case of Italian immigrants in the U.S., by the late twentieth century, Italian culture became widely admired. This pattern occurs after continued interaction and the process is slowly starting in Italy as well. Italians are becoming increasingly curious about their Egyptian and

immigrant neighbors and want to learn more. Egyptian, and other ethnic food restaurants are emerging, and Italians have shown interest in other cultural aspects such as Arabic courses, cooking classes, etc.

Intercultural associations are being instituted around Italy to promote cultural interaction. These associations are not limited to the private social sector; some are organized by city governments, universities, or socio-cultural organizations such as the Italian-Egyptian Association in Milan. This type of knowledge exchange and relationship building through the civic society is one of the necessary elements of a multiculturalist society. The second generation immigrants in Italy have also shown initiative in this area and have organized several nationwide organizations. The virtually based, G2 or Generazioni Seconde, was founded by second generation youth to provide an opportunity for interaction amongst second generation and amongst their Italian counterparts. This organization is set up through an internet site and blog but not limited to the World Wide Web. G2 promotes awareness of the immigration phenomenon, for example, by organizing exhibitions and school forums. The organization "Giovani Musulmani d'Italia" has given young Italian Muslim second generations the opportunity to gather for social and religious events. A newly launched project has created a magazine insert entitled, Yalla Italia, or Let's Go Italia, for a non-profit magazine. This monthly insert is written exclusively by second generation Muslim youth who write articles on a wide array of interesting themes. These examples represent the first instances of second generations coming together collectively on a nationwide level. In the future, cultural associations will prove to be a critical component of the integration process in Italy, because only by allowing for interaction between immigrants, their children, and the host society will integration occur.

4.5 Religion

Religious diversity is a critical cultural difference which affected both the Italian and Egyptian immigrants, although the issue is more challenging for the Egyptian immigrants of Muslim faith in

Italy today. The negative image of Islam in the world today has repercussions for Muslim integration into Western societies; it has become a global problem, not one that can be tackled in Italy alone.

As Catholics, Italian immigrants to the United States were discriminated against by the predominantly Protestant population. The folkloristic way in which Italian immigrants practiced their faith, venerating patron saints and religious statues, was viewed suspiciously by the native population. This negative view of the Italian's religion eroded over time, especially as the second generation assimilated to the American culture and practiced their Catholic faith in a more American manner.

Egyptian immigrants are predominantly Muslim, although there is a significant community of Christian Egyptians, and they face a much greater challenge than did Italian immigrants in the U.S.. The Egyptian Muslims, as Muslims, are viewed with suspicion by most of the Italian population. Since September 11, 2001, Islam has often been directly associated with fundamentalism and terrorism, and for this reason anti-Muslim sentiment is widespread. It is important to note that Egyptians are often discriminated against because they are Muslim, not because of their nationality.

Italy is a peculiar case because although it is a secular state, the Catholic Church has a significant role in the country's political life. This has created difficulties for the emergence and recognition of other religions. The Islamic religion, the second most practiced religion in the county, is denied recognition by the national government, primarily because of the requirement that there be religious pacts between the national government and the religious "leader" who represents the religion as a whole. The Islamic religion does not have a hierarchical structure and given the variety of Islamic organizations throughout the country, recognition of one single leader for the Muslim community is not feasible.

The Muslim community faces many obstacles in practicing its religion. For example, the construction of mosques is highly debated, controversial, and complex. The global "war on terror" has stigmatized the Islamic community for many people, and this is becoming a significant barrier to integration in the Italian community. Egyptian Muslims will continue to face discrimination until the Italian people are willing to accept that in a secular nation, citizens should be free to practice the

religion of their choice. Interfaith dialogues have been promoted recently, which may be the first step in promoting mutual understanding and disseminating knowledge regarding the issue.

4.6 Discrimination

Italian immigrants were victims of strong racial and religious prejudice and were not immediately accepted into American society. The temporary nature of the Italian immigration created further problems with the Italians' integration. Italian immigrants expected to remain in the United States only for a limited period of time and therefore often refused to learn the language and resisted assimilation (Vecoli 2005).

In Italy, the highest incidents of documented discrimination occur in the North and Center of the country, mainly because that is where the highest number of immigrants live. The Egyptian community, as part of the larger African community, continues to suffer from discrimination, which occurs predominantly in the labor and housing markets (Caritas 2006).

Discrimination in the housing market is an important aspect to note because this may cause the formation of immigrant neighborhoods, which has occurred in some of the larger Italian cities. The tight housing market often impedes individual immigrants from attaining housing. As a result, immigrant networks are formed by people who have found stable situations in the host society, and they assist other immigrants in the housing search. Immigrant neighborhoods form due to the congregation of many immigrants in one area, often in the outskirts of the city because of lower prices, risking the creation of ghetto-like communities. Immigrant neighborhoods are often avoided by native citizens, thereby reducing the interaction between the two groups. On the other hand, cities like Turin have experienced this phenomenon but have reacted with public initiatives to counter the formation of ghetto immigrant communities. It is important that other Italian cities follow their lead.

Table 1 below summarizes the comparisons made in this section between the Italian immigrants in the United States and the Egyptian immigrants in Italy, and particularly between their roles in the host societies.

5. Comparative Analysis of Second Generation Immigrants: Italians and Egyptians

In this section, I will analyze the second generations of Italian and Egyptian immigrants and will compare their experiences. In order to do this I will analyze the first generation immigrants as well. First, I will use Berry's acculturation strategies to compare the two groups. Second, I will use the Portes and Rumbaut's selective assimilation research.

5.1 Acculturation

When new individuals enter a society, a process of acculturation occurs. The most common definition of acculturation is the 1936 one of Redfield et al., "those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups" (Sam 2006:11). Acculturation occurs across all levels. In this paper, I will focus the psychological acculturation process, which is based on the transformation of affective, behavioral, and cognitive elements (Sam 2006). Berry 1990, 1993, 2003, 2006, identifies a method to categorize acculturation strategies both with respect to the ethno-cultural groups and the larger society. Figure 1 below illustrates how the model identifies four possible outcomes resulting from the process of psychological acculturation. The possibilities for the ethno-cultural groups are integration, assimilation, separation, and marginalization while for the larger society they are multiculturalism, melting pot, segregation, and exclusion. These outcomes are conditioned by two elements, the maintenance of one's heritage culture and identity and the degree of relationships sought among groups. I agree with Berry that integration of ethnocultural groups in a multicultural society is the optimum scenario. This allows ethnocultural groups to maintain their heritage and traditions while being part of a larger society and seeking interaction and relationships with all groups.

Table 1: Comparison between Italian Immigrants in the U.S. and Egyptian Immigrants in Italy and Their Roles in the Host Society

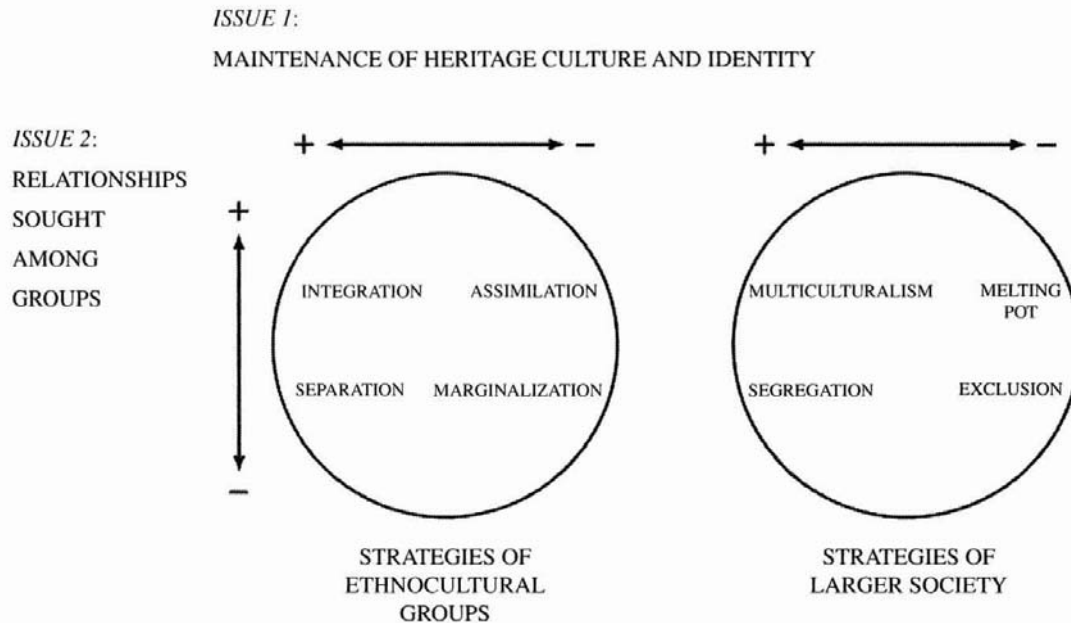|	Italian immigrants in the United States	Egyptian immigrants in Italy	Comparison: similar or different	Outcome
Host country approach	"Nation of immigrants"— regulated process	Passive approach that lacks regulated or defined approach	Different	*PROBLEMATIC OUTLOOK* Government needs to regulate the process and actively promote integration
Political conditions: citizenship	Ius solis	Ius sanguinis	Different	*PROBLEMATIC OUTLOOK* Ius sanguinis must be adopted
Economic conditions	Immigrant community active and inserted	Immigrant community active and inserted	Similar	Immigrants and future generations are on integration path
Cultural conditions	Immigrating from a traditional agricultural society to a modern Western society— impact tumultuous but assimilation or integration over time	Immigrating from a traditional agricultural society to a modern Western society—impact tumultuous but assimilation or integration over time	Similar	Immigrants and future generations are on integration path
Religion	Catholic immigrants in Protestant America— discriminated against initially	Islamic immigrants in a traditionally Catholic society— external variables make this a potentially PROBLEMATIC ISSUE	Different	*PROBLEMATIC OUTLOOK* "Global war on terror" has stigmatized the Islamic community for many people—becoming a significant barrier to integration
Discrimination	Initially high	Initially somewhat high but not necessarily targeted at the Egyptian community rather the larger immigrant community	Similar	Immigrants and future generations are on integration path

ISSUE 1:

MAINTENANCE OF HERITAGE CULTURE AND IDENTITY

ISSUE 2:

RELATIONSHIPS
SOUGHT
AMONG
GROUPS

+ ←——————→ –   + ←——————→ –

INTEGRATION   ASSIMILATION   MULTICULTURALISM   MELTING
                                                        POT

SEPARATION   MARGINALIZATION   SEGREGATION   EXCLUSION

STRATEGIES OF   STRATEGIES OF
ETHNOCULTURAL   LARGER SOCIETY
GROUPS

Figure 1: Acculturation Strategies in Ethnocultural Groups and the Larger Society [4]

Italian Immigrants

During the early twentieth century, the American society was a melting pot, immigrants were expected to assimilate and Americanize. First generation Italian immigrants failed to assimilate because they maintained a high level of heritage culture and identity, for example by congregating in Little Italy communities, where they had a low level of interaction with other groups. As illustrated in Table 2 below, the Italian immigrants' acculturation strategy was separation.

This failed assimilation of first generation Italian immigrants left second generation immigrants in a difficult position. They had to reject their Italian heritage, essentially by rejecting their parents' lifestyle, in order to integrate into society. This complete Americanization, through which the Italian language was lost in order to fit into the mainstream culture, discouraged a dual or hyphenated identify and led to intergenerational conflicts. This loss of heritage, culture, and identity resulted in assimilation, as can be seen in Table 2.

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[4] Source: John Berry's Acculturation strategies in ethnocultural groups and the larger society, The Cambridge Handbook of Acculturation Psychology, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p.35.

Table 2: Comparative Acculturation Strategies: Italian Immigrants in the United States and Egyptian Immigrants in Italy [5]

Ethno-cultural group	Acculturation Strategy	Larger Society	Acculturation Strategy
First generation Italians	Separation	American society	Melting pot
Second generation Italians	Assimilation	American society	Melting pot
First generation Egyptians	Separation	Italian society	Exclusion (socially but not economically)
Second generation Egyptians	Half-way between separation and integration	Italian society	Undecided—potential to move from exclusion to multiculturalism (some want melting pot)

Italian second generation immigrants therefore experienced the phenomenon of role reversal, a trend that often occurs in working class immigrant families which are not absorbed into the host culture. The children of these immigrant families, who become more familiar with the host society than did their parents, become responsible for making important family decisions. This can be a difficult situation because parents may lose the authority over their children (Portes and Rumbaut 2001).

Italian second generation immigrants did not benefit from a dual-identity through which one could appreciate both heritage and the new culture. It is interesting to note that later throughout the course of the twentieth century, the Italian-American heritage resurfaced as a positive element to boast about, and even today Americans are very proud to claim Italian descent.

Egyptian Immigrants

Italian society's acculturation strategy with respect to the first generation Egyptian immigrants was one of exclusion as represented in Table 2. The Italian society of the late twentieth century was not prepared to accept Italy's new role as an immigrant country, both because of the rapidity of the

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[5] Source: Adapted from John Berry's Acculturation strategies in ethnocultural groups and the larger society, The Cambridge Handbook of Acculturation Psychology, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p.35.

change from an emigration to an immigration country, and because of the reluctant reaction to accept difference.

Although the Egyptian immigrants were economically integrated into society, they were socially and politically excluded, and therefore, as represented in Table 2, the first generation Egyptians' acculturation strategy was separation. The Egyptian community, the Italian government, and the Italian population did not seek interaction. The Egyptian community maintained its heritage culture and identity, especially through the creation of networks[6].

Italian society shows characteristics of several acculturation strategies with respect to second generation Egyptian immigrants. First, there is a large segment of the Italian population that has minimal contact with immigrants and continues to be strongly anti-immigrant, thereby displaying characteristics of the exclusion model. Second, there is a segment of the Italian population that would like to adopt the melting pot strategy, for they understand that immigration is irreversible. However, they want immigrants to completely assimilate to Italian culture. Finally, there is a segment of the Italian population which believes that Italy should become a multicultural society.

One major problem is the citizenship rights of the second generation immigrants, who are currently excluded. The issue of citizenship creates difficulties for members of this cohort because it complicates both practical and personal elements in their lives. The Italian society's approach towards immigrants will steer the future of the acculturation process, which could shift from exclusion to multiculturalism.

I believe that Egyptian second generations are currently half-way between separation and integration, they have both maintained their culture and integrated into Italian society.

The Egyptian second generation has maintained its cultural heritage by learning Arabic, returning to Egypt during summer vacations, and following Islamic or Christian religious practices.

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[6] It is important to note that the Egyptian community is not united in one single group due to the religious divide between Egyptian Christians and Muslims.

The Egyptian second generation are children of economically well integrated immigrants. The majority of these children are socially integrated, especially at younger ages. When children are in elementary school, diversity is less visible than during adolescence and adulthood. By being born in Italy, this generation is fully Italian, and although they may learn Arabic and Egyptian cultural traditions in the home, they are raised as members of the Italian society. The following examples, by no means an exhaustive list, highlight the integration: these children enjoy the same music and films as their Italian counterparts; they play on the same sports teams; and they shop in the same stores. After adolescence, signs of the exclusion model, see Table 2, are prevalent and second generation immigrants often have difficulty inserting themselves into the labor market. The Egyptians face one major problem, like other second generations, their lack of Italian citizenship hinders integration even though it is an element that they cannot change.

The Egyptian second generation meets every precondition to be considered integrated in the Italian society; however, this integration is dependant on a number of variables beyond its control including: the acceptance of the Italian society, the opportunity to create relationships with the Italian people, and the opportunity to attain Italian citizenship.

5.2 Assimilation

Portes and Rumbaut have researched second generation immigrants in the United States and have identified a process of segmented assimilation, which they claim is affected by a number of external variables that cause different realities between immigrant groups. I believe it is important to discuss this model of segmented assimilation because it is a part of the acculturation process that second generations experience. More importantly, it highlights the importance of a dual or hyphenated identity. This type of assimilation does not require immigrants to lose their heritage; rather it promotes the apprehension of the new culture while maintaining the old one as well; comparable to the concept of integration shown above in Berry's acculturation strategies.

Portes and Rumbaut have a devised a model which is based on the following four factors: "1) the history of the immigrant first generations; 2) the pace of acculturation among parents and children and its bearing on normative integration; 3) the barriers, cultural and economic, confronted by second-generation youth in their quest for successful adaptation; and 4) the family and community resources for confronting these barriers" (Portes & Rumbaut 2001:45-46).

Table 3 below, illustrates the acculturation process by evaluating specific elements regarding first and second generation immigrants that are related to the broader factors mentioned above. These elements are: "1) children learning English and American customs; 2) parents learning English and American customs; 3) children's insertion into ethnic communities; and 4) parent's insertion into ethnic communities" (Portes & Rumbaut 2001:45-46).

Table 3: Types of Acculturation across Generations [7]

Children's Learning of English and American Customs	Parents' Learning of English and American Customs	Children's Insertion into Ethnic Community	Parents' Insertion into Ethnic Community	Type	Expected Outcomes
+	+	−	−	Consonant acculturation	Joint search for integration into American mainstream; rapid shift to English monolingualism among children
−	−	+	+	Consonant resistance to acculturation	Isolation within the ethnic community; likely to return to home country
+	−	−	+	Dissonant acculturation (I)	Rupture of family ties and children's abandonment of ethnic community; limited bilingualism or English monolingualism among children
+	−	−	−	Dissonant acculturation (II)	Loss of parental authority and of parental languages; role reversal and intergenerational conflict
+	+	+	+	Selective acculturation	Preservation of parental authority; little or no intergenerational conflict; fluent bilingualism among children

The most desirable outcome of selective acculturation occurs when first and second generations learn the language and customs of the host country while maintaining ties to their respective ethnic communities. Selective acculturation allows for dual or hyphenated identity because it allows the

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[7] Source: Portes and Rumbaut's Types of Acculturation Across Generations, Legacies The Story of Immigrant Second Generation, (Berkley :University of California Press, 2001), p.54.

second generation to acquire both the languages and customs of the native and host country and minimizes intergenerational conflicts. Table 4 illustrates my analysis of the Italian immigrants in the United States and the Egyptian immigrants in Italy based on the Portes and Rumbaut model.

The Italian immigrants experienced dissonant acculturation. Rapid assimilation of the second generation occurred because this cohort was Americanized while simultaneously loosening its ties with the Italian ethnic community. Once again, I would like to demonstrate that the complete assimilation of the Italian second generation does not demonstrate Portes and Rumbaut's optimal outcome of selective acculturation. The expectation of complete assimilation of immigrants, which is currently upheld by many Italians, is not the optimal solution.

Using this method of comparison, the Egyptian second generations are not similar to the Italian second generations in the United States because they are not completely absorbed into Italian society. Egyptian second generations do not have the chance to become Italian citizens and, because of this, they have not loosened their ties with their ethnic community. I believe the Egyptian second generation are in-between the poles of consonant resistance to acculturation and selective acculturation, and the outcome in this acculturation process depends on how Italy confronts the three main problems which are impeding the integration of second generation immigrants.

6. Main Problems Impeding Integration of Second Generation Immigrants in Italy

In this section, I will highlight the main problems which impede the integration of second generation immigrants in Italy: the Italian government's approach towards immigration, the ius sanguinis citizenship laws, and the Islamic religion, which applies to many Egyptians and other Muslim immigrants. I will reference Table 1 for the analysis.

Table 4: Portes and Rumbaut Acculturation Strategies Applied to Italian and Egyptian Immigrants

	Children's Learning of Host Country Language and Customs	Parent's Learning of Host Country Language and Customs	Children's Insertion into Ethnic Community	Parent's Insertion into Ethnic Community	Type	Outcome
Italian immigrants	+	-	-	+	Dissonant Acculturation I	Rupture of family ties and children's abandonment of ethnic community; limited bilingualism or English monolingualism among children
Egyptian immigrants	+ (But difficulty in completely identifying with host country—citizenship laws)	± (In between positive and negative)	+ (In some cases youth are looking to religious customs—Islam—for identity. Problematic due to external variables)	+	In-between consonant resistance to acculturation and selective acculturation	Immigrants are still retaining their cultural traditions and heritage but I do not believe they are resisting integration, however, if they are not accepted into the host country, this may be the result. Potential for selective acculturation exists, however, if not endorsed the situation can be become problematic

Source: Adapted from Portes and Rumbaut's Types of Acculturation Across Generations, Legacies The Story of Immigrant Second Generation, (Berkley :University of California Press, 2001), p.54.

Italian governmental approach

As a latecomer to experience the immigration phenomenon, Italy was caught unprepared to react; however, thirty years have now passed since the country has become an immigration country. Italy needs to determine a regulated approach because it has an extremely high number of illegal immigrants living on its territory, which poses potential security threats. Opinion polls during recent years have documented an increasing fear of immigrants among citizens, because Italians believe that both illegal and legal immigrants are involved in criminal activities. It is, however, evident that these two groups cannot be artificially related. In fact, while legal immigrants tend to be law-abiding, illegal ones may have "no other choice" but to resort to criminal activities that are then exaggerated by the media for their high visibility.

I believe it would be desirable if Italy could promote the concept of dual or hyphenated identity, allow for the organization of minority groups as part of civil society, assist immigrants in the acculturation process through educational initiatives such as language training and professional formation for job inclusion so that they can identity with other members of society, and allow immigrants the possibility of attaining citizenship. The separation of church and state must be enforced in order to ensure a truly secular state in which all religions, Islam as well as Christianity, are accepted but limited to the private sphere.

For the benefit of the Italian society as a whole, the government needs to actively promote the integration of second generation immigrants. The success or failure of the government's integration policies will be obvious during the lifetime of the current generation.

Citizenship Laws

Citizenship is a formal element which allows an individual to feel part of a society, "it exhibits the state's power to include or exclude individuals" (Andall 2003:289). Due to ius sanguinis, second generation immigrants have difficulty acquiring citizenship. The lack of citizenship has created an

insider/outsider relationship in Italy, by which second generation immigrants are second class citizens who do not have full rights and obligations.

The second generations are confronted with a difficult reality because although they were born in Italy, many continue to be foreigners, which complicates the integration process. The lack of citizenship creates many obstacles, both emotional and practical, regarding employment opportunities and legal residence, not to mention the difficulty with personal identity if one is not considered a citizen of the country one considers home.

The example of the second generation Italian immigrants, who gained citizenship upon birth and Americanized rapidly, demonstrates that citizenship is a key factor for integration and assimilation. The research on American second generation immigrants has demonstrated that the most successful form of integration is one in which a dual-identity prevails. For second generation immigrants in Italy, belonging to a dual-identity is complex, because although they may feel Italian, the society in which they live does not recognize them as such. The emerging research on second generation immigrants has demonstrated that identifying as an Italian becomes more difficult as children reach adolescence, whereas this does not seem to become an issue during primary school.

It is important to note that citizenship is not the only element necessary to guarantee the integration of immigrants in a society. In France, both second generation and many first generation immigrants have attained French citizenship, and yet many integration problems continue to prevail. The riots of 2005 in the Paris suburbs demonstrated that the second generation immigrants, who in this case were citizens as well, did not feel integrated in French society. These youth are marginalized from society and live in the "banalieus" or ghetto-like communities on the outskirts of Paris. This French example suggests that citizenship is not the single magical answer to integration; other concerns such as socio-economic parity subsist (Wihtol de Wenden 2004). Nevertheless, citizenship is one of the fundamental elements to promote integration and to create a sense of equality between second generation immigrants and the host society. I believe that the Italian law number 91 should be revised in order to make citizenship subject to birth right privileges.

Islam

The Islamic religion is the most problematic of the three elements. The problem is not the Islamic religion itself, but rather the broader global context that we live in today. Since the terrorist attacks in New York City on September 11, 2001, Islam has been in the public eye, viewed as a dangerous and fundamentalist religion. Italy has many Muslim immigrants, including the Egyptian community, and Islam is now the second most practiced religion in the nation. However, people are afraid of this new religious culture, and for this reason they are not willing to accept it. Italy is traditionally a Catholic country, even if only a very slim segment of the population practices their faith, and the Catholic Church itself feels threatened by Islam. The Catholic Church's dominant role in all aspects of Italian society does not enhance the acceptance of new religious faiths.

The global "war on terror" has stigmatized Islam. The war in Iraq, the war in Afghanistan, the media, and many national governments around the world have sensationalized the issue of fundamental religious terrorism, and the result has been critical for Muslim immigrant communities which suffer discrimination and suspicion. Muslim communities in Italy have often been marginalized, thereby hindering integration and creating a dangerous situation by which the weakness of moderate Islam may strengthen conservative and fundamentalist Islam.

The most troublesome aspect of this problem is that its future course is subject to world events, which are occurring on a global scale, and Italian society cannot confront it alone. If fear of Muslims continues to be spread throughout the world, integration of Muslim immigrant communities will continue to be extremely challenging and perhaps impossible.

PART III – CONCLUSIONS

7. Conclusions

Italy, a traditional nation state with a long history of emigration, is currently at a cross-road as it faces an immigration crisis. Second generation immigrants are now a numerous and visible part of society. Their integration, which is necessary for the well-being of the country's future, depends on new, creative, and generous efforts on the part of the Italian government and its people.

A comparative analysis between the Italian immigrants in the U.S. and the Egyptian immigrants in Italy has been the focal point of this paper. Italian and Egyptian emigrations have similarities as they both followed the male migration model, in which the majority of emigrants were unmarried young males in search of temporary economic opportunities. Both generated a network of assistance by which family and friends were recruited and female emigration followed. In addition, both suffered from discrimination that decreased over time. Moreover, both displayed cultural variations which were mitigated through integration and assimilation.

Three main differences between the cases emerged when comparing the two emigrations: the host country's approach towards immigration, citizenship requirements, and religious practices. With respect to the first difference, while the United States was already established as a nation of immigrants with a regulated immigration process, Italy has a passive approach that lacks regulation. Second, the U.S. exercises ius solis, granting birthright citizenship, while Italy exercises ius sanguinis, only granting citizenship to the children of Italian citizens. Third, even though Catholic Italian immigrants were partially discriminated against by a predominantly Protestant America, the Islamic immigrants in a Catholic country such as Italy face still more severe opposition.

These differences between the two groups highlight a set of three main problems obstructing the integration of second generation immigrants in Italy today. The first two problems can be attenuated,

if not solved, by legislative action from the Italian government; however, the third problem lacks an immediate solution because of its international dimensions. First, the Italian government should consider instituting a regulated immigration process in order to better control the phenomenon. Second, it should consider granting birthright citizenship or ius solis, in order to allow second generation immigrants to become citizens. With respect to the third problem, it is not simply dependent on the domestic arena but rather the international one. In the midst of the "global war on terror", the Islamic community has been stigmatized as fear has penetrated many western societies, which have reacted by excluding Muslims. Although Italy alone cannot confront this issue, Italy can improve its domestic situation by opening the door to a more secular society which truly allows for freedom of religion while promoting education and interfaith dialogue. Additionally, Italy needs to find a way to accept the Islamic faith as a part of its society.

Immigration phenomena have transformed societies around the globe throughout history and have enabled the fusion of cultures to shape nations as we know them today. Integration discourse is not simply a political issue; rather, it is today the cornerstone of any civil society.

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Personal Interviews and Visits

Personal Visit to "La Casa della Cultura Islamica" to discuss future project for a new mosque, July 2, 2007 Milan, Italy.

Personal Visit to "Moschea di Viale Jenner", August 24, 2007 Milan, Italy.

Personal Interview with Paolo Branca, August 7, 2007 Milan Italy. Researcher of Islamic Studies, Università Cattolica del S. Cuore di Milano Department of Letters and Philosophy, Milan, Italy.

Personal Interview with Paolo Del Nero, July 19, 2007 Milan Italy. Provincial Council Member and Assistant to the Town Councilor for Education, Family, and Social Policies, Milan, Italy.

Personal Interview with Anna Cimoli and Riccardo Mauri, July 24, 2007 Milan, Italy. Community of Sant'Egidio, Milan, Italy.

Personal Interview with Luca Bettinelli, July 31, 2007 Milan Italy. Director of the Office of
        Foreigners at CARITAS, Milan, Italy.

Personal Interview with Monica Molteni, August 3, 2007. Office of Foreigners, City of Milano,
        Milan, Italy.

Personal Interview with Professor Paolo Branca, August 7, 2007 Milan Italy. Researcher of Islamic
        Studies, Università Cattolica del S. Cuore di Milano Department of Letters and Philosophy,
        Milan, Italy.

Personal Interview with Ahmed Abdel, August 13, 2007 Milan Italy. Regional Director of Giovani
        Musulmani d'Italia, Second Generation Egyptian, Milan, Italy.

Personal Interview with Hakim, August 14, 2007 Milan Italy. Egyptian Immigrant and Owner of
        Ristorante Da Hakim, Milan, Italy.

Personal Interview with Monica Napoli, August 17, 2007 Milan Italy. Director of Centro COME
        (private third sector organization), Milan, Italy.

Personal Interview with Mohamed Nassar, August 19, 2007. President of the Italian-Egyptian
        Association and owner of Ristorante Nassar, Milan, Italy.

Personal Interview with Sherif El Sebaie, August 21 and 23, 2007. Egyptian immigrant, journalist,
        Arabic studies and Islam researcher, financial consultant for Banca San Paolo, Milano and
        Torino, Italy.

Personal Interview Martino Pillitteri August 19, 2007 Milan, Italy. Editor in Chief of Yalla Italia, a
        newspaper insert written by second generation Muslim immigrants. Milan, Italy.

Attended a brainstorming session, August 22, 2007 for an upcoming issue of "Yalla Italia," a
        newspaper insert in the non-profit publication "Vita." This one-of-a-kind publication features
        pieces written by and about 2nd generation Muslim Italians. The meeting was attended by
        Prof. Branca, editor Martino Pillitteri, and Vita's Vice Direttore Giuseppe Frangi. Milan, Italy.

Personal Interview with Laura Vento, August 23, 2007 Torino Italy. Centro Interculturale Comune di
        Torino, Torino, Italy.

Personal Interview with Ilda Curti, August 23, 2007 Torino Italy. Town Commissioner for Integration
        Politics, Torino, Italy.

Personal Interview with 3 researchers, August 23, 2007 Torino Italy. FIERI, the Forum Internazionale
        ed Europeo di Ricerca Sull'Immigrazione, Torino, Italy.