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Europeans in-Between

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Europe.

Home for a New Type of Cultural Expression

Efrem Negusie

1 Introduction

More and more frequently one must consider translocation when talking about people anywhere. The issue of migration and translocation has been the concern of many scholars and others for a long time. From 1970 onwards, foreign citizens with regular residence permits in Italy have increased tenfold.¹ Recently, Italy has become the classic receiving country of immigrants.² Thus, migration in a globalized world has been seen as a diversification of cultures from the country of origin and receiving countries, resulting in a broad spectrum of economic, cultural and social backgrounds being represented by these new immigrants.³

People from different corners of the globe migrate and cross national borders and every migration flow leads to some long or short term settlement in the country of destination. This short or long term settlement often gives rise to the

¹ For more information see EMN, *The impact of immigration on Italy's society*, ed. IDOS – Italian National Contact Point, (Arti Grafiche – Pomezia, December 2004), 1.

² Kitty Calavita, *Immigration at the Margins: Law, Race, and Exclusion in Southern Europe* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 2.

³ Stephen Castles and Alastair Davidson, eds. *Citizenship and Migration* (Mendham, Suffolk: Macmillan press LTD, 2000), 54-57.

formation of ethnic communities in the host country.⁴ It is about this formation of communities and transcultural knowledge developed by specific Eritrean immigrants in Udine and Trieste/Italy that this research focuses on.

According to different scholars, mass migration from one part of the globe to another may result in the establishment and creation of new types of culture and community. Similarly, people in the country of destination, may root themselves in ideas and places, because they are so defined by others – by their otherness in the host society. During this time, the migrants find themselves in a strange fusion and unprecedented unions between what they were and their actual location; consequently, the reality would bring them to form a community and build it over time.

Coming to the core argument of this paper, this study argues that despite negative factors that the immigrants face at the country of residence, they are at a high level of integration and develop transcultural knowledge. Furthermore, I argue that the immigrants establish relationships with the country of origin and the host country which in turn gives rise to transcultural narratives that immigrants adopt to make sense of them in the country of residence. These dual relationships with the country of residence and country of origin developed by immigrants make them feel like having multiple cultures, feeling at home in both the society of origin and that of residence, and promote a form of transcultural capital despite the racial and external categorization as outsiders.

The research includes literature reviews and some life story interviews from Italy.⁵ The aim is to discover the different ways in which Eritrean immigrants' personal narratives and stories reveal their integration into the host society, form community and disclose particularities of how they adjust to living in Italy. Moreover, the research explores the development of the immigrants' cultural knowledge as a result of transnational dislocation and how they feel living in Europe.

Interviewees were asked questions such as: How do you feel being here in Italy? How do you feel your identity has changed since you arrived in Italy? How have you adjusted to living in Italy? The narratives show the significance of translocation while expanding cross-cultural understandings. Thus, the argument focuses on Eritrea and Italy, and the approach is to look at the ways in which immigrants form social and cultural capital.⁶

The Eritrean immigrants were chosen not because of the absolute size of the migration flow, but due to the different factors that draw attention to the impact of colonial ties and later patterns of migration and integration.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ The interview was conducted separately with ten Eritrean immigrants. Each participant was interviewed once. The language used in the interviews was Tigrigna (the official language of Eritrea). All quotes have therefore been translated by me from Tigrigna to English.

⁶ Ulrike Meinhof and Anna Triandafyllidou, "Beyond the Diaspora: Transnational practices as trans-cultural capital," in *Transcultural Europe: Cultural policy in a Changing Europe* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 200-223.

This study falls into three main divisions: the first section deals with different theoretical views on immigration and concepts such as identity, the way that immigrants change their identity, how and in what ways the immigrants are the same as or different from others that help migrants to adapt to the host society's culture or develop a hybrid culture that is acceptable to both the immigrants and the host society. In addition, the effect of globalization on the interdependence and interconnectedness of nations and immigrants such as Diaspora transnationalism, multiculturalism and identity will be assessed. The second section focuses on the analysis of the life story interviews which shows how the immigrants adapt themselves to living in Italy, what makes them form communities and the way that they develop transcultural knowledge despite racial discrimination in the host society. The final section gathers all the facts and suggestions of the study.

2 Theoretical Context

There has been a growing interest in the field of migration and transculturality, and in identities of immigrants in recent years. According to S. Grieshaber and G. S. Canella, identity is linked to society, power and a person's lived experiences, which are shaped by their various group memberships based on ethnicity, race, and nationality.⁷

Likewise, identity provides us with a location in the world and presents the attachment between us and the society in which we live. Moreover, identity provides a conceptual tool with which to understand and make sense of social, cultural, economic and political changes.⁸ However, identity is never static and contains traces of its past.⁹ In this paper, identity is examined by looking at how a person belongs to the community, the country of origin and residence. Related to this, as Jeffrey Weeks stated, identity is situated in a given social world and is the interface between one's subjective positions and social and cultural situations that gives a person a sense of personal location.¹⁰

On the other hand, according to Belay, "the multi-directional changes caused by the impact of globalization on cultural identity as part of international processes, and the challenges and opportunities posed due to the growing interconnectedness of nations in the negotiation of identities, result in tensions and

⁷ S. Grieshaber, "Identities and possibilities," in *Embracing identities in early childhood education: Diversity and possibilities*, ed. S. Grieshaber and G. S. Canella (New York: Teachers College Press, 2001), 173-187.

⁸ K. Woodward, *Identity and difference* (London: Sage, 2003), 1-6.

⁹ Jonathan Rutherford, ed. *Identity, community, culture, difference* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1990), 14.

¹⁰ Jeffrey Weeks, "The value of difference," in *Identity, community, culture, difference*, ed. J. Rutherford (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1990), 88-100.

transformations of identity.”¹¹ Here, the argument is, globalization has exposed individuals, communities and nations to diverse interactional conditions of utmost cultural ambiguity, which they are unable to handle. However, in this case, Belay failed to mention that globalization introduces a new territoriality to cultural identity which in turn influences interactivity and multiplicity in individual identities and cultures. Migrating to other countries and to different cultures in the globalized world exposes individuals and peoples to multiple “others.” Most importantly, this may contribute to individuals being able to compare and contrast their identity with those of others. Similarly, their ability to understand the concepts of “self” and “others” becomes better.¹² Therefore, immigrants become less parochial and can easily integrate into the host society. Thus, identity tells us who we are, how we relate to others and the place we live in, and helps migrants to adapt to the host culture or develop new cultures in harmony.

To understand identity, it is important to examine the concept of Diaspora as it can show the interconnectedness of immigrants and nations with the effect of globalization. Diaspora offers new possibilities to understand identity to visualize a future form of community not determined by place or nationality.¹³ According to P. Glory, Diaspora results in the scattering of people, due to different factors, and migration which results in opening the Diaspora culture to new influences and pressures.¹⁴ As pointed out, people cross national borders and start living in a different environment and culture which may be strange to them. And this could be a new influence and put pressures on them.

Similarly, as stated by Waltraud Kokot, Khachig Tölölyan and Carolin Alfonso, the concept of Diaspora has become an element of self-reference wherever, by access to new channels of communication, physical mobility results in real and imagined relations between diasporic communities and the homeland.¹⁵ In this case, Diaspora refers to the migrants who live outside of their place of origin and of course maintain transnational networks and have multiple relations with their place of residence and their homeland.

Transnational refers to processes of constructing and actively maintaining social fields across borders. These social fields are composed of relationships link-

¹¹ G. Belay, “Conceptual Strategies for Operating Multicultural Curricula,” *Journal for Library and Information Science* 33 (1996), 297.

¹² Niranjala D. Weerakkody, “Where Else Have You Been? The Effects of Diaspora Consciousness and Transcultural Mixtures on Ethnic Identity,” *Issues in Informing Science and Information Technology* 3 (2006), 712.

¹³ Paul Gilroy, “Diaspora and the detours of identity,” in *Identity and difference*, ed. K. Woodward (London: Sage, 2003), 301-342.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Waltraud Kokot, Khachig Tölölyan and Carolin Alfonso, *Diaspora, Identity and Religion: New directions in theory and research* (Taylor & Francis Group e-Library, 2004), 3-5.

ing the migrants to their communities of residence, as well as those connecting them to their homelands and/or other diasporic communities.¹⁶

As pointed out above, people move and cross borders and form social and cultural relationships with the host society and their country of origin. And these transnational networks enable migrants to form social and cultural associations which later can be an imagined transnational community.¹⁷ As a result of transnational networks and relationships with people who have different cultural background, migrants develop a multicultural identity and belongings, which in turn lead them to have a mix or hybrid of cultures and identities.¹⁸

It also has to be noted that through the interaction and exposure to new cultures, immigrants have the opportunity to explore their own personal and more flexible narratives of identity rather than throw away their culture in order to fit in to the host society. Thus, narratives of their life experiences can be seen as complex formations and can be observed in terms of the durability of the culture of settlement and the hybrid of cultures that they develop within a specified community.¹⁹ This mix or hybrid of cultures developed by immigrants may bring us to the concept of transculturality, since it is replacing the terms of “interculturality” and “multiculturality.”²⁰ Though it is a new and complex concept, “transcultural” defines a wide range of identities.²¹

By reminding of Wolfgang Welsch’s work, Cathy Covell Waegner, Page R. Laws and Geoffroy de Laforcade view transculturality as premises permeation, mixes, and cultural networking rather than as a clash of differences with stubborn hierarchies.²²

Similarly, “transcultural can be the mixtures of language/s, cultures and everyday life experiences that migrants may have been exposed to during some part of their life or time spent ‘in transit’.”²³

On the other hand, transculturality is a more pluralistic approach that encourages connections and transnational relationships involving greater participation and

¹⁶ Ibid, 4.

¹⁷ Joachim Schroeder, “Transnational perspectives on migration, employment and education,” 2009, 4.

¹⁸ Weerakkody, “Where Else Have You Been?,” 716.

¹⁹ Wolfgang Berg and Aoileann ni Éigeartaigh, eds. *Exploring transculturalism* (Verena Metzger/Anita Wilke editorial office, 2010), 10.

²⁰ Wolfgang Welsch, “Transculturality - the Puzzling Form of Cultures Today,” in *Spaces of Culture: City, Nation, World*, ed. Mike Featherstone and Scott Lash (London: Sage 1999), 194-213.

²¹ Cathy Covell Waegner, Page R. Laws and Geoffroy de Laforcade, *Transculturality and Perceptions of the Immigrant Other: “From-Heres” and “Come-Heres in Virginia and North Rhine Westphalia* (New York: Cambridge Scholars publishing, 2011), 28.

²² Ibid, preface.

²³ Weerakkody, “Where Else Have You Been?” 716.

interaction between different cultural groups.²⁴ Accordingly, transculturality may be achieved when immigrants conceive of new narratives of identity. These narratives of identity can accommodate the fluidity of different cultures and relationships that crosses national and cultural borders.²⁵ Likewise, immigrants have the opportunity to accumulate and accommodate different cultures and establish a new connection that can transcend borders. And this can be used as transcultural capital for them. Transcultural capital highlights “the strategic use of knowledge, skills, networks acquired by migrants through connections with their country and culture of origin which are made active at their new places of residence.”²⁶ From the definition, one can clearly understand how immigrants develop community and cultural knowledge through their personal and group development which results in the creation of transcultural capital that transforms the immigrants from a disadvantaged position into a new form of transcultural value.

As stated in the introduction, the dual relationship of immigrants to the country of origin and the country of residence gives rise to transcultural narratives that immigrants adapt to make sense of themselves in the country of settlement. Immigrants feel themselves to be rooted in diverse cultures, feeling at home in both the society of origin and that of residence, which promotes transculturality as a form of transcultural capital despite the racial and external categorization as outsiders. Here, being an immigrant is transformed into being someone who has a combination of different cultures, and has social networks both in the host country and the country of origin for the strategic use of knowledge, and communication networks.

3 Transcultural capital and Europe as a home

Cultural difference and subordination of one culture and people to the other had been dominant in the past. However, the conducive situation for integration and multicultural policy in Europe offers a way of breaking and dismantling structures of inequality and discrimination.²⁷

These convenient conditions in Europe allows the continent to have diversified cultures and a place for the creation of new cultures through the hybrid and mix which results in the interconnectedness of different societies through a network of cultures.

²⁴ Manju Jaidka, “India is my country but the world is my home: Transculturality through literature.” Paper presented at the first Conference on applied Interculturality Research, Graz, Austria, 7-10 April 2010.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Anna Triandafyllidou, “Sub-Saharan African Immigrant Activists in Europe: Transcultural Capital and Transcultural Community Building,” *Journal of Ethical and Racial Studies* 32, 1 (2008): 93-116. <http://mc.manuscriptcentral.com/rers> (accessed 1 September 2010).

²⁷ Berg, *Exploring transculturalism*, 11.

People migrate with their own cultures, experiences and careers and have to learn the rules of the new culture, adapt to these rules so that they can engage with the surrounding culture without losing their own cultural heritage.²⁸ In other words, migrants are learning the culture of the host society. This means they are accumulating cultural knowledge instead of assimilating into the host society completely and losing their individuality. Wolfgang Berg et al, indicating the work of Welsch, put the use of the term transculturality to convey the complex interconnections that bind different cultures together today.²⁹ Thus, the interconnectivity is a consequence of “the internal complexity of contemporary societies, the external networking in which they engage to build and develop links with other societies, and the tendency in all cultures today to be hybrid, as a result of increased mobility and communications technologies.³⁰ Accordingly, transculturalism challenges the categorization of people based on race or color and can help the migrants to overcome feelings of dislocation and of a sense of otherness. As a result of dealing with different customs and rituals, migrants develop transcultural capital and forms of cultural expression. As such, migrants’ feeling at home improves, because they are with their cultural heritage and individuality. In this situation, we can say that Europe is becoming a place of cultural diversity, a location where new cultures flourish as a result of a culture mix or hybrid.

4 Interview analysis

So far I have tried to illustrate how migrants interact and learn cultural knowledge to adapt to the host culture and develop transcultural capital and social networks through different points of view.

To support my argument, I also conducted interviews with ten Eritrean immigrants living in Trieste and Udine. While I am looking at the transcultural capital and the transcultural identity of the respondents, my evidence is based on social and cultural discussions, their experience and way of making sense of their lives. I have tried to gain a better understanding of immigrant daily activities through personal observation, interacting with them as we are from the same nation and speak the same language.³¹ And my observation and analysis focuses on the way they explain their daily activities, their relationship with their country of origin and of residence and the interaction among themselves.

Factors such as knowledge of the Italian language, the bad political situation in the home country, historical and colonial links forced Eritrean immigrants to mi-

²⁸ Ibid., 11.

²⁹ Ibid., 147.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Eritrea was part of Ethiopia before 1993. Since the researcher is from the northern part of Ethiopia called Tigray region, he shares the same language - Tigrigna which is the official language of Eritrea, which helped him to interact easily with them.

grate to Italy. According to the respondents, they are deeply integrated into the host society and have been established in Italy for many years, several are married to Italians.

Interviewees were asked how they came to Italy. Four of them respond that they came legally through parental ties, one as an orphan and the remaining through many difficulties crossing borders (Sudan, Libya) and finally as boat-migrants, they do not even want to remember that difficult situation and it was quite a long story as follows,

I came here in 2003, through Libya on a boat, and got a permit to stay as a refugee straightaway. And my interest was to get a job very soon, but months went by, I thought it would be easy here ... finally I decided to go to the UK illegally, I went there...after five months I was deported to Italy again as I gave my finger prints during my arrival in Italy, I worked in Rome in a fuel station, in a ship factory in Ankona, Monfalcone (Fincountry). In the end, I became the owner of a bar near the ship factory and employ young women, an Italian and a Romanian. I have married an Italian- Eritrean woman (14).

14 came to Italy through different ups and downs. However, he became the owner of a bar and employs two young women from other countries.³² Thus, he has integrated into the host society, learned the rules and customs and got married to an Eritrean-Italian woman. In this sense, he has strong social networks at his work place and with his wife's family. According to 14, he interacts with different people who came from diverse cultures at his work place (bar); as a result, he is developing transcultural capital and considers Italy his home. As many writers agree, relationships through marriage are a key manifestation of integration into the society. 14 has relationships with the country of origin and the country of residence through the transnational networks. Thus, integration with the host society means learning the culture which immigrants cultivate in addition to the culture of their country of origin.

Furthermore, respondents were also asked about the job, they express that they had gone through a very difficult situation at the beginning, and tried hard to find a job. To illustrate further, here is the story:

It was very difficult to find a job at the beginning, but after six months I got a job in the provincial refugee camp as a translator, that was the job I was looking for, because I can speak Italian, I learned my elementary school in Italian school in my country. It has been 8 years now since I came here (12).

³² I use numbers instead of mentioning the names of my interviewees.

According to 12, the colonial link and knowledge of the Italian language help her to integrate into the host society and to find a job. She said that knowledge of the host language greatly supported her to get a job. Here, we can take the ability to speak the Italian language and the knowledge of some Italian culture as a pull factor to migrate and integrate into the host society very easily. Certainly, these factors can be taken to be crucial for immigrants in terms of interacting with the host society, getting a job and further learning the cultures that can help them to integrate into the country of residence.

As feelings of being in Italy are concerned, respondents stated that they were insiders to both countries. They see themselves as privileged because they had the cultural knowledge and the communication skills necessary to act as channels of communication and exchange cultures between the two societies.

I came here in 1995, my father is Italian and my mother is Eritrean, I was born in Asmara (Eritrea)...I have worked in a ship factory here in Monfalcone since my arrival...and my wife is Ethiopian and we have one child. I am very happy to be here...I am rich in different culture, Italian, Eritrean and Ethiopian and to some extent Romanian in the work place. (15)

I really like to be here, when I was in Eritrea, I was totally narrow-minded, in Eritrea people only know foreigners from Italy and Ethiopia, nothing else. But here, I work in a big industry; all the workers are from different countries, I learn a lot, tolerance, facing different cultures which helped me to communicate with others, imagine 'having multiple cultures.' (17)

17 has tried to compare the cultural knowledge of when he was in Eritrea and of being in Italy. He called himself narrow-minded. However, according to him, he is now in possession of multiple cultures both from the country of origin and the country of residence. In this sense, the participant is in continuous contact with the host country, country of origin and to other people in the country of residence. That means, he is developing a transcultural social network.³³

From the interviews, the writer understands that Eritrean immigrants have strong relationships among themselves and with their family back home through the social networks.³⁴ Here, a parallel situation is found with their bridging social capital, which links them to the host society's culture and to the country of origin. In this sense, immigrants have developed a transcultural network. In other words, they develop links with the host society and others – as neighbors or work-mates. Hence, transcultural networks and bridging social capital links the immigrants with

³³ Berg, *Exploring transculturalism*, 10.

³⁴ Paul Kennedy and Victor Roudometof, eds. *Communities across Borders: New immigration and transnational cultures* (Taylor & Francis e-Library, 2003), 72.

heterogeneous groups. Thus, as A. Portes says, such networks, ties and knowledge that immigrants acquire become a form of social and cultural capital for them.³⁵ Events such as getting together, sharing cultures and personal opinions while enjoying both Eritrean-Italian traditional foods and music could be manifestations of integration and interaction with each other and the host society. This can be taken as a forum to understand each other and share cultures among themselves. In this case, immigrants are developing social relations, networks and connections with the host society. Likewise, they share the culture of their origin with their host society. According to the respondents, these occasions enable them to have strong social networks not only within the immigrant community but also with the host society, work mates, and exchange ideas reflected from diverse cultures.

I have been here for the last 17 years, my wife is Italian and we have two children...Italians are good for us, I even knew their culture before I came here, I can say half of the Eritrean people can speak Italian in my country. Europe is my home land. (21)

Here, 21 uses the words “us” and “Europe”, which refer to his family, Eritrean immigrants and his colleagues from Italy, Bangladesh, Romania and Slovenia. This shows how he is developing transcultural capital, despite separation from the country of origin.

We are here today to enjoy together, relax ourselves and strengthen our relationships in the future. It is exciting to be here with all these people who came from Eritrea and other countries. We feel better and knowledgeable than before, because we are rich in communication skills both here and there, my country is Eritrea, but my home is Europe. (24)

In this case, 24 tries to explain the importance of the community and the fact that he is feeling at home. He focuses on the social relations, communications that he has with others. At the same time, he is sharing his culture with others and participates in the community that brings people together and forms cultural expressions that can cross borders.

The other central question for the interviewees was the identification process, where to call “home”. According to respondents, their mind and heart belongs to Eritrea and Italy. Though they live in Italy, they love their country of origin and culture. Simultaneously, they love their country of residence too, because they are living in harmony and are integrated into the host society. To illustrate further the sense of feeling at home, here is another story:

³⁵ See A. Portes, “Globalization from below: The rise of transnational communities,” Working Paper WPTC-98- 01, 1997, http://www.transcomm.ox.ac.uk/working_papers.htm (accessed 22 November 2006).

I view myself like an Eritrean and Italian, as in an ordinary citizen, I have as many rights as everyone else. And if you ask me about culture, I see myself as an Eritrean and Italian too. (28)

In this case, 28 recognizes herself as belonging to both Eritrea and Italy culturally and in terms of social rights. She has embraced the democratic values and social rights of every Italian citizen and has made them part of her self-image. In this sense, she has internalized a multinational and multi-ethnic identity, which further would be transcultural identity. As the respondents expressed, the multi-relations with peoples of different culture would lead them to develop multi-cultural knowledge, which provides them with a sense of prestige and a sense of feeling at home. In addition, the writer realizes that Eritrean immigrants often feel that they are gaining transcultural capital and develop transcultural identity rather than feeling like they are losing part of themselves. Thus, the boundary is likely to be blurring and transcultural social networks have been established. Similar to Thomas Friedman, the writer believes that we are today living in a flat world where the playing field is so leveled that everyone has the chance to get on it and play.³⁶

Eritrean immigrants can speak at least adequate Italian, see themselves as culturally close to Italians, establish good relations with neighbors and try to strengthen their culture as a means of creating transcultural capital and transcultural identity, through interaction with other immigrants and the host society. Furthermore, they propose new forms of cultural expression that bring together different cultural influences and that call for the participation of people from different countries and cultures. They thus build a sense of community that finds its origin in Eritrea but that is formed and experienced in the country of residence, which embraces and mobilizes both immigrants and the host society in an open area of society.

According to the respondents, and as the researcher understands from the daily discussions, the origin, the economic and cultural ties that exist between the two societies, plays a vital role. Moreover, interviewees in their specific transcultural experience, reflect also on the importance of factors that characterize economic and deep social relationships between the country of origin and the country of residence starting from the time of the Italian colony in Eritrea.

Unlike the race relations theorists that attribute to the immigrants difficulties adopting to the culture of the host society,³⁷ the findings of the study indicate that the increased migration of people brings cultures into closer contact, and immigrants can act as cultural transmitters.

³⁶ See Thomas Friedman, L. *The World is Flat: A Brief History of the Twenty-first Century* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2005), quoted in Jaidka, "India is my country but the world is my home: Transculturality through literature."

³⁷ See Stephen Castles, *Ethnicity and Globalization* (London: Sage Publications, 2000), 37.

Conclusion

In this paper, I have attempted to illustrate how immigrants develop new cultural knowledge, social relations and community building through their personal and group development which results in the creation of transcultural capital that transforms the immigrants from a disadvantaged group into a new form of transcultural capital. It has also tried to demonstrate how the immigrants integrate into the host society and to what extent this relationship helps them to deal with their identity.

The findings of this study suggest that Eritrean immigrants in Italy are developing a cultural knowledge and strategy that will allow them to competently interact with the country of residence. They build transcultural capital to adjust, to adapt, and to find solutions for working together instead of coming into conflict with the culture of the host society. The reality of the respondents showed that immigrants give some and take some culture from the country of residence, which helps them to build transcultural capital and live in harmony in the country of residence with mutual cooperation, and cultural exchange.

More importantly still, the findings of the research point out that immigrants have hybrid, plural identities, influenced by culture waves, and the cultural exchange going on at every moment in the country of residence leads to the development of transcultural capital. Moreover, the findings of this paper show that the situation that put immigrants in a disadvantaged position at one time has changed and they are now able to build a better transcultural knowledge which can further give them a sense of pride, better communication, and a sense of feeling at home.

More essentially, the exchange of customs and traditions which goes into the formation of culture, leads them to have a wide transcultural network that will result in a greater chance for communication, linking up and understanding than ever before. This paper concludes that migration and migrants should not be seen as catalysts of society tensions, or, as Craig A. Parsons and Timothy M. Smeeding perceive, as sources of problems with differentiated cultures and difficulties integrating into the country of residence, but as sources of richness and cultural knowledge.³⁸

³⁸ Craig A. Parsons and Timothy M. Smeeding, eds. *Immigration and the Transformation of Europe* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 10.

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