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Summary

It is a largely accepted idea that complexity and recent global phenomena have generated a multi-layered diversification process in Western societies. Migration phenomena are largely responsible for this process both in receiving European societies as well as in original sending countries. Migration has been and continues to be a ubiquitous human experience. Yet, while this fact has aided the understanding of the world as something other than a mosaic of distinct cultural spaces with clearly demarcated borders, it has not decreased the incomprehension, fear and suspicion with which non–European migrants are often greeted within the industrialised cities of Europe. This article deals with one aspect of this process that seems to be quite underestimated in media, public opinion and academia. It is the idea that "ethnicity" can be approached, explored and investigated as a heterogeneous and multi-faced form of diversity itself. This is what can be defined as "diversities within diversity". Departing from the presentation of an empirical research in Genoa it will be possible to analyse these phenomena at two different levels: namely, in terms of methods and methodology. By focusing on the idea of livelihood and employing an approach based on *"Tracing"* techniques, different ways of acting and being Moroccan migrants in Genoa will be revealed, presented and discussed. This method newly integrates both quantitative and qualitative information. It will allow us to analyse the experience of livelihood in a way that will reveal the simultaneous existence of many underlying different invisible and unconscious social constructions as well as visible concrete and conscious expressions of everyday life. Disclosing how the same people in the same local context produce different "adaptive" strategies and lifestyles will lead to outline a potential conceptual methodological framework of reference based on an open/close principle. In this case ideas of openness and closeness will be assumed in a dialectical double-faced process. It is not only a matter of how systems can be defined open or closed by themselves, but also how the encounter and interplay of many different systems – *generation of diversity* - establish the conditions and limits within which different individuals can reproduce their culture as social actors- *production of diversities*. After having discussed the methodological implications of this approach it will be possible to draw some final theoretical considerations. If we believe that new ways of investigating social phenomena are a determinant in the way we describe, analyze, explain and understand their complexity, we should recognize that not only theory might generate and define what we call social reality but also vice-versa. Approaching the world out there in new ways might result in rethinking and adjusting the conceptual taxonomies that drive social scholars in their search for gaining and catching social reality. This principle becomes crucial if we want social sciences to be heuristically oriented, in other words if we want to develop the capacity to hand back positive analytical readings and comparisons of social phenomena as well as useful recommendations for policy makers.

Keywords: Migration, Italy, Morocco, Methodology, Tracing, Open/close Model

JEL Classification: F22, O15, J15, O18

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1.Introduction

It is a widely accepted idea that complexity and recent global phenomena have generated a multi-layered process of diversification in Western societies. Migration phenomena are largely responsible for this process both in the receiving European societies as well as in original sending countries.

Migration has been and continues to be a ubiquitous human experience. Yet, while this fact has aided the comprehension of the world as something other than a mosaic of distinct cultural spaces with clearly demarcated borders (Gupta & Ferguson, 1992) it has not diminished the incomprehension, fear and suspicion with which non–European migrants are often greeted within the industrialised cities of Europe.

This article deals with one aspect of this process that seems to be quite underestimated in the Italian media, public opinion and academia: it is the idea that "ethnicity" can be approached, explored and investigated as an heterogeneous and multi-faced form of diversity itself. This is what has been defined as "diversities within diversity" and this is the main topic that this brief paper will focus upon.

By showing that, despite popular beliefs, there is not a single diversity but different diversities within diversity, it will be possible to outline and discuss an analytic research procedure that refers to the notion of "tracing". After having developed a potentially useful methodological framework it will be possible to discuss this case study within light of a possible methodological approach centred on an open/closed system of categories.

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2. Conceptual framework

A few premises and a contextulization of the topic are necessary in order to shape the potentially interesting outcomes and comments on how Moroccan migration in Genoa can be approached, described, analysed and summarized in a way that might be representative of an articulated, multi-faceted and multi-layered socio-cultural phenomenon.

First of all the Moroccan migration to Genoa, and more generally to Italy, is a quite recent phenomena, especially if we compare it with other European contexts. Like other situations, it is also characterised by a strong dynamic and in the last two decades it has undergone interesting changes in its typology, distribution, quantity and character. None the less it has not been a random process but rather it appears that socio-cultural and economic traits of Moroccan migrants in Genoa are the result of an interplay between various elements and factors at local, national, international or transnational levels.

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In this context and for the objectives of this paper I will present data about the Moroccan community in Genoa by dividing them into two main complementary sections. The first one will deal with what I call the "*informational*" dimension (quantitative) while the second will deal mainly with "*relational*" (qualitative) aspects of the phenomenon. The integration and interchange of both will let me demonstrate how in this case a form of supposed homogeneous diversity is fragmented at least into two different forms of diversity. The crucial point is that only through this approach it is possible to reveal some of the intrinsic aspects of the Moroccan migrant community in Genoa that otherwise might be left un-examined

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One of the four principles of the "Pragmatics of human communication" (Watzlawick Beavin & Jackson, 1967) explains how human communication by all mean is devised into two dimensions: the informational and the relational one. When we communicate one another we normally use two different layers of communication by which we normally pass through two qualitatively different set of information. Watzlawick call them the "*numeric*" and the "*analogic*" dimension of communication and they serve two different functions: the first is turned to transmit numeric information (content data) and the second instead aims to support the former with "information about the relation". These two levels together let people reach the objective of a meaningful communication process within the frame and context of that given situation. As in our case at least two different communicative dimension are employed – viz. the relation between researcher and informants and the communicative exchange between researchers and their academic/scientific audience- a brief analytical comment can be drawn.

Within this context and by analogy, what Watzlawick means for "*numeric*" may be referred much more to precise or content data - what we broadly call the quantitative dimension- while "*analogic*" information might be assimilated to the contextual relational set of information that pertains much more to the qualitative sphere. In this case the distinction is not strict and mutually exclusive as often quantitatively oriented data may contain as well relational information and vice-versa.

The point is that in social sciences, when we produce texts at all level and by all mean, we do it as a result of a researching process based on communication. This has to deal with the "research attitude" we want to employ and by which we aim to answer some problems and research question. This attitude is crucial. There apparently seems to be a certain resistance to blend quantitative with qualitative approach. Large debates have arisen on which one might be more profitable and useful in social sciences and different sub-disciplines have stick and build up their fortunes with one against the other. Of course what we know about social phenomena is largely determined by this choice and the same research questions might be answered differently, whether we focus on a quantitative or a qualitative approach. But like in the pragmatic of human communication, where no level of communication can be completely eliminated from the process, also in social sciences the balance between the two different attitudes should be accounted seriously. Here, therefore I propose *tracing* as a potential useful integration strategy between quantitative and qualitative oriented approaches.
Finally it should be also stressed that this dichotomisation is factual and not substantive; migrants themselves do not manage and see their lives and experiences in these terms and perspectives. It is therefore a procedure to give an intelligible shape and sense to what it appears to be a complex and articulated representation of Moroccan presence in Genoa.

Another important aspect that should be clarified concerns the key element that has been employed in this work: the notion of livelihood. As we shall see from data presented below, livelihood strategies are probably the most relevant factor in determining diversities among Moroccan groups. Livelihood can be investigated from two different perspectives as it appears to be both strongly influenced by local contextual factors as well as other internal determinants belonging to traditional aspects of Moroccan culture.
Despite all Moroccans in Genoa are sharing certain general and common basic principles on how subsistence and wealth for themselves and their families should be produced, they differ sensibly in the ways in which they adapt and manage their strategies and actions to reach this goal. The nature and the causes of these differences can be found mainly in some socio-cultural differences brought in the receiving contexts from the sending ones during the migration process. As was stated before these elements can become obvious only if a crosscutting analysis of "quantitative" data and "qualitative" information is employed. Both dimensions are necessary and reciprocally integrating.

Livelihood, both as a categorical and practical notion, can be seen and analysed as a contextual "form of life" (Hannerz: 1994, 1996) and in its composition we should be aware that there is and external and an internal dimension in its realisation. Whatever we look at in the social arena, it has both a phenomenological and more intrinsic implication. A good example, by analogy, is the question of how our sight is organised: unless an individual is not blind everyone experiences images throughout a complex physical and neuron-physiologic system. None of us, except for trained medical practitioners, are aware of how it does actually work - but this ignorance would indeed not keep us from seeing. However the evaluation of our sight and its qualitative appreciation are the result of two different analytical dimensions and examinations accordingly. They are called "*visus*" and "*fundus*" examinations of our organ of the sight: the eye. If the former is turned to reveal potential damages and deformations at the superficial structural level of our sight organ, the latter is turned to reveal malfunctions in the internal part of the eye. Despite the fact we use two different examinations, our sight is produced by a "holistic" process that turns physical images produced by light in the eye into electrical nervous stimulus to be transmitted to our brain for elaboration. With the same modalities and circumstances the concept of livelihood, like other social manifestations of everyday life, could be examined from a "*visus*" and "*fundus*" perspective. Probably no Moroccan, nor any of us, would be able to distinguish naturally between these two dimensions as any of our actions is the result of a continuous dialectical exchange between self and other, inside and outside, individual and social, public and private. This process is holistically based on both conscious and sub-conscious behaviours, attitudes and practices and for social actors it is very difficult to determine clearly what it belongs to one or another what it pertains to. It is from an external analytical point of view that is possible to draw this distinction. This is useless for social actors as members of a given social group as the process of enculturation provides a valuable and meaningful framework of reference, while it might become significant for the same individual subjects undergoing a introspective process and researchers who want to look at social phenomena in a more articulated perspective.

In the same way quantitative data and qualitative data provide us with superficial (and not in pejorative terms) and in-depth information about social phenomena and migrants' livelihood in particular. Like the "*visus*" and "*fundus*" parameters, quantitative and qualitative approaches are not mutually exclusive but they can contribute together to our understanding of these social phenomena. If quantitative data can provide us with a shape, qualitative information can be useful to articulate the nature and consistency of the working processes inside that shape. The first is not exhaustive by itself while the second is not sufficient without the first.

3. Moroccans in Genoa

Recent international literature about Moroccan migration to Europe and Italy (Carchedi & Mottura, 1990; Salih, 1999; Bencherifa & Berciane & Refass, 1992; Chattou, 1998; King & Black, 1997, King J., 1993) provide us with an articulated and complex characterisation and a heterogeneous composition of migrant population by age origin education and motivation to migrate. These data challenge a well consolidated perception and imagination in Italian media and public opinion where all migrated communities and in particular the Moroccan one are perceived as homogeneous, close and crystallised social systems with negative cultural and social attributes and traits.
Deeper analysis provide us with a totally different situation: Moroccan migrants have and show distinctive individual and collective characteristics, they migrate under the pressure of different circumstances and motivations and as a consequence they manage different migration projects. Meanwhile most of Moroccans in Genoa maintain strong and significant ties with the home country: their typology, nature, intensity and orientation may vary sensibly. These differences depend not only on historical and cultural variables generated in Morocco but also on processes of selective composition based on cultural and regional differences in the receiving contexts.

To get more in detail about Moroccan the presence in Genoa, and according to the previous discussions, the following distinction can be presented and discussed:

- Relevant quantitative data about Moroccan migration to Genoa are: origin, gender, age, language, education, occupation, family composition, housing and spatial distribution
- Important qualitative information about this community are: migration project and process, motivation, cultural heritage, cultural identity and perception of belonging, social networks, religious orientation

Beginning from the first and treating the second in a comparative perspective with the first it will be possible to shape clearly the existence of different ways of being, living and acting as a Moroccan in Genoa.

3.1. Informational data analysis

Generally speaking the Moroccan migration in Europe and in Italy follows 4 general patterns with distinctive weights according to local contexts: regular immigration based on familiar reunions, immigration of legal seasonal workers, migration subjected to irregular working conditions and illegal immigration.

Nowadays, despite the overall number of migrants in Italy and Genoa cannot be comparable to other EU contexts, Moroccan migration shows a very consistent trend and consistency. According to most recent statistical data available (Genoa Town Council: 2005, Ambrosini-Ravecca- Erminio: 2005) the Moroccan population in the metropolitan area of Genoa is composed of 2860 registered legal residents plus an additional number of occasional residents[1] and a percentage of illegal population that can be estimated in a mean ranging between 10% and 15% out of the legal one[2]. The Moroccan ethnic group therefore turns out to be the third largest migrant community in Genoa and more importantly the largest if only Islamic countries are considered.

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Given this, Moroccans in Genoa mostly come from a specific geographic area of Morocco delimited by the triangle of Settat, Khouribga and El Kalaa des Sghrana (Central Plateau)[3] This is a typical rural region of central Morocco and it is mostly inhabited by Arab-speaking tribes. In the ’70 this area had been largely affected by droughts and economic crisis that pushed a large portion of population to migrate both towards urban settlements in Morocco as well as toward Europe and Italy.

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The typical Moroccan migrant in Genoa is male and aged between 12 and 45[4]. Females do not exceed 22% of overall Moroccan population living in Genoa. Generally Moroccan migrants reside in Genoa alone or at least with a small number of familiar contacts. It happens often that individual adults come abroad in the company of a younger sons or nephews in order to maximise the

[1] The occasional residents refers to: people who legally live in Genoa but they registered place of abode is somewhere else, people who legally live and reside out from Genoa but for different reasons come temporarily in Genoa and those who legally enter in Italy through Genoa and stay in town for the time necessary to arrange they position and plan. Therefore the number of this figure may vary considerably according to many different factors. It is estimated anyway that the average number during the year do not exceed the 10% of whole population.

[2] value in line with the national figure.

[3] The place of origin can be determined either on the basis of the documents provided at the moment of registration or the information provided personally in informal context. Personal experience during a survey carried out in 2000 for the Genoa Univ. research project on educational issues among migrants, showed me that the official place of origin stated in the passport does not reflect often the real background of Moroccans. Especially those who come officially from Casablanca have their roots and still maintain strong ties with the families and households that still live in rural areas. In this sense it is important to be aware that there might be a shift between official data and the real situation: often Moroccan migrants in Genoa have experience before international migration forms of internal movements along the axes rural-urban or tribal-urban.

[4] 85% of the whole population falls within these range

advantages of the migration especially in terms of economic income and migration strategies[5]. Only recently (last 5 years) figures provide us with a tangible presence of whole families due to reunion process of residing husbands with their immigrating wives and children.
Language and education figures show us a quite homogeneous snapshot: the largest part of the migrated population is Arabic speaking while only a few Berbers speaking are counted. The level of education is very poor both if we compare it with levels of the residing population, other migrated communities in Genoa and Moroccan communities in other urban Italian areas. Literacy levels in standard Arabic (*Foskha*) and French are very low and the most frequently used language is an Arabic dialect (*Derija*). Estimates calculate that the illiterate population is around 45%. Recent figures are following a decreasing trend due to the rising numbers of immigration of the educated, the urban and a generally younger population.
In terms of occupation, Moroccans in Genoa are divided into 3 main professional activities: street vending, the building industry and ethnic/commercial entrepreneurial activities.
If street-vending represents the original and historical occupation of Moroccans in Genoa, the rapid growth of the migrant population during the early '90s has forced a lot of Moroccans to find occupations in the flourishing building industry and more recently to invest money and resources into self-employed businesses and commerce mainly focused to providing targeted services to their own community.

Finally, spatial distribution and housing are other relevant indicators of the altered social conditions within this community in the last two decades. Despite the fact that nowadays most of Moroccan migrants live in the old city centre (*Centro storico – medina kdima*) the spatial distribution has changed slightly. Economically more successful migrants and those with rejoined families have moved out from the old town towards surrounding neighbourhoods in search of better accommodation. Especially the enlarging presence of whole families has pushed them to change housing strategies. Originally most Moroccan migrants were sharing houses and costs together, and the logic of this process was basically oriented by the nature of their origins and belonging and managed though social networks and relations within the community. With the arrival of more educated, urban and young migrants the rules and mechanisms that have governed housing have changed. Currently it is more likely that tenants will join together and share flats more on the basis of economic opportunity and friendship relations rather than on the social connections and ties based on a common regional, local and tribal origin and implied obligations.

3.2. Ethnicity and Moroccan identity formation process

At this stage the key notions that need a brief analysis and comments are the ones of "ethnicity" and "socio-cultural identity". Both concepts refer to a generative process of identification that might be produced at different level. The former can be assumed in this context as the relevant outcome and result of the latter.
Ethnicity formation as a process is, at least, generated through two different levels: the one constituted by the external dimension – viz. the receiving society – and the internal one based on migrants' self-representations in relation and/or opposition to the receiving societies (Amselle: 1990). In addition, even if it is formally seen as a part of the external category, there is also the researcher's perspective. In certain circumstances it is slightly different as its position might be not clearly and definitely ascribed totally to one of the two levels. No matter if it is much more attached to the external dimension – viz. the sociological attitude- or to the internal perspective –viz. the anthropological one– but it is crucial to stress that at least it is itself located in between the two

[5] The case of Moroccan migration strategy in relation to the 1996 norms on migration is a great example. In fact, according to the ruling norms people who have children in schooling age who attend school regularly are entitled to an advantage in the concession of residing permits.
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potentially different spheres and it works on its continuous and dynamic process of meaning construction and relationship building.
This process is based on the idea that social construction of identity as well as “ethnicity” is a symbolic entity generated by an “ Us/Them relationship” (Wallman: 1979,1986) structured on the “collective Self/Other definition process” (Fabietti: 1998).

These collective definitions are produced by the interaction of forces coming from outside the social groups and the process of self-definition operated internally by every group. External elements are normally super-imposed by the unequal distribution of material and non-material power between majority residents and minority migrant groups. Both levels contribute differently to create “ethnicity” as a collective sense of belonging.
But it is not sufficient and satisfactory to put the question of “ethnicity” in exclusively relational terms between inside and outside. More comment and analysis is required at the “internal” level in order to reveal how not an identity nor an ethnicity but a plural declination of these terms come into play.
In certain circumstances identity formation process at the internal level of a social group is not a homogeneous process and some differences are generated. Especially within migrant communities “different identities” appear as the result of dialectical and critical process of self-definition based upon different views of what people think they are or they could or should be as well as what they “are believed they are” as result of the process of social confrontation. These differences are often labelled and demarcated as “different regional ethnicities” and are justified by interpretative categories that come from outside and are applied in the local system to justify and categorise differences useful to support and re-negotiate the continuous dialectical process between the internal and external dimensions, between “Us” and “Them” as relevant social categories. In certain circumstances pejorative attributes and stigmas imposed on some “ethnic” groups by the majority are justified and arranged by the latter claiming existing relevant differences in tradition and socio-cultural heritage at local and regional levels in sending countries.
As a consequence, every ethnic identity or identities can be imagined always as the result of a “contextual” and “contrastive” process, where differences are produced as the result of social interaction (Barth: 1994) and contact between groups in social spaces is demarcated by borders and boundaries (Wallman: 1986). Following Barth’s idea, ethnic groups are logical categories of attribution and identification produced by social actors; this process determines the sense and orientation of interaction between individuals and groups. It becomes meaningful not only according to the notion of cultural diversity but also on the assumption that “ethnic boundaries”(Wallman: 1979,1986) are existing and functional. In order to maintain these boundaries and to perform consistently as social actors, individuals and groups need tangible and visible – both internally and externally- characteristic signs and elements that could point to and stress “ethnic belonging”. Some of these “socio-cultural traits” are chosen and used as ethnic markers and this process of emphasis can be defined as a relevant production of ethnic identity.

With reference to the point I would make clear in this paper, specific attention and consideration should be paid to the “contextual” dimension of the identity formation process. Normally all cultural traits that are employed or dismissed - while constructing, presenting and supporting their own identities – are contextually generated and valued according to the local context (space). These traits can change not only according to space but also according to time: the same traits in the same places might be valued differently according to changing historical circumstances. What was good yesterday might not be good today and vice-versa. Therefore different places and different moments might lead to the production of different positive and negative evaluations of identical traits and values. Even if ethnicity is a continuous process of interplay between inside and outside, between different and even opposite points of view, priority should be given to this notion of boundaries.

By stressing this it is possible to explain certain contradictions and paradoxes in current large-scale social phenomena. For example it can be explain how globalisation, while attempting to produce a homogenisation process ends up with empowering differences and "ethnic identities" at the local level. In fact by promoting contacts between cultures and groups, and fostering material and non-material fluxes between boundaries, globalisation requires individuals and groups to maintain much clearer and tighter categories of self-identification. As a result it would be much more reasonable to call this process "*glocalisation*" rather than globalisation (Robertson: 1995).
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Another crucial element in our debate is the process of social categorisation as the instrument by which groups define themselves in relation/opposition to other groups. Ethnic belonging - following Hannerz's point of view - is a crucial element, along with gender and age, in determining and orientating groups' behaviours and social relations strategies: they define in fact the range of available roles for certain individuals and categories.
This categorisation process has consequences at three different levels: at the personal, relational, economic and political levels.
Individual personal level – outlined by Hannerz as a "form of life"- can be described as the contextual expressions in everyday life of cultural models and categories that are constantly experienced, modified and re-negotiated by members of a certain group. They represent the mean through which single individual recognizes his belonging to and his being claimed by a common cultural background. The construction of ethnic identities therefore passes through this selective process and these identities themselves have a cognitive function (Barth: 1994) as they allow one discriminate between people that share the same common rules and those who do not.

At the economic level ethnic categorisation phenomena generate ethnic patterns in livelihood and working strategies with the consequence of creating a process of discrimination and ghettoisation toward certain groups and categories. According to their origin and the type of belonging he experiences, an individual might have access only to certain occupations within specific economic niches.

In addition to this it is important to point out how these categorisation processes are bi-directional and not uni-directional as is often thought and described. The attention we pay to the "internal" mechanisms and factors that generate and organise social and cultural life of migrant groups is small by comparison. When we employ a strong economic and political perspective it becomes inevitable that migrants and their communities are passively constrained into categories imposed from outside. There is no doubt that out-group forces are very relevant when we deal with migrant communities in a receiving context, but at the same time we should be aware of internal forces that govern, orient and manage social, cultural and economic life of migrant members of a given community. Concerning the form of life notion it becomes evident from the empirical data presented that at least two mechanisms are generated. First of all Moroccan migrants in Genoa, despite the fact they are ethnically well identified and categorised, have developed different adaptive strategies. These actually differ considerably and there is no justification to this if only out-group mechanisms are invoked as determinant. Secondly, only if we explore in-depth the socio-cultural mechanisms that manage at the local level the relational processes among Moroccan migrants- the in-group mechanism-, it will be possible to reveal how traditional cultural models have been transplanted and re-modelled partially from the sending to receiving countries. In our case it appears that, despite a process of homogeneous categorisation imposed by the out-group, Moroccan communities have arranged two basically different and somehow contrasting models that can be referred to as principles and values coming from their tradition and heritage.

At first sight there is no evidence of such a diversification and conflict, and this is due to two different reasons. On the one hand there is the well establish categorising process operated by the residing communities towards Moroccan migrants: they are all the same, they are all "*maghrebbini*"(Dal Lago: 1994) and they behave all in the same way. On the other hand there is the traditional Moroccan social organisation based on *segmentarism*. It is not matter of transferring "tout court" this model from sending to receiving contexts but it is to claim that a traditional "*formae mentis*" is employed to manage social relations within and outside the community in receiving countries. This is not the place to discuss segmentary theory[6] and its consequences but I would only point out how a segmentary logic can be employed by migrants to interact in the public spheres according to the particular person they are facing. This mechanism leads Moroccans to adopt simultaneously different patterns and codes of relation according to the target they are referring to at that moment – either members of their group, members of their community or non-members. At the same time they can show off both strong conflictual and supportive attitudes and that happens according whether or not non-group and non-community members are involved. This mechanism offers a strong, tight and compact image of Moroccan community to external viewers – the intercultural dimension- but if the level goes down to a intra-cultural level – between members of different groups – the conflictual and contrasting dimension appears to become relevant is an extremely influential factor in Moroccan social life. Synthetically Moroccan migrants close ranks when facing external situations and relations while struggling and fighting constantly when amongst themselves.

Finally the idea of "collective naming" fits perfectly in our debate as normally ethnic groups are primarily identified by names (Fabietti, 1998). These might be imposed externally as well as produced internally. But generally it is the result of a dialectical interplay between the two dimensions. There is an utility both at internal and external level into adopting such ascription process as groups can form significant interpretative categories by which operate distinction and evaluation of otherness in social arena and confrontation. These mechanisms are not generated "a priory" but are always context related and suffers from different variables. These circumstances provides the background for very different reaction to otherness and its identification and categorisation: very often in fact naming processes imply underlying moral and ethical judgements and process of negative stereotypisation based on stigma and criminalisation process. In the specific case of Moroccans in Genoa collective naming mechanisms work both at intercultural level – between residents and migrants- (see the inappropriate use of the word "*maghrebbini*" for example) as well as at intra-cultural level namely between different sub-components of Moroccan community (see for example the use of "*Mdini*" and "*Aroubi*" words as presented in the following chapter).

3.3. Relational data analysis

The aforementioned quantitative data shows a consistent and peculiar trend of Moroccan population as well as a well-defined shape and typology of Moroccans community. Of course more detailed quantitative information might give a more precise and balanced idea of what Moroccans do, where and how they live as well as how they are integrated economically, socially and culturally in the receiving context. But it would be more interesting at this stage to cross-refer these data with significant qualitative information outlined in the introduction. The main question here is: does

[6] For a exhaustive reading on segmentary social organisation in Morocco and its implications see: **E.Gellner's** "*Saints of Atlas*" (1969), **H. Munson Jr.** "*Rethinking Gellner's Segmentary Analysis of Morocco Ait 'Atta*" (1993) in Man new series Vol.28 –2, **M.E. Combs-Schilling** "*Family and friends in a Moroccan Boom Town: The Segmentary debate reconsidered*" (1985) in American Ethnologist Vol.12-4, **A. Hammoudi** "Segmentarité, strtification sociale, pouvoir politique et sainteté: réflexions sur les theses de Gellner (1974) in Hespéris Vol 15 pp.147-180.

qualitative data help us to understand better and map the diversities within the diversity of Moroccans in Genoa?
In our case the answer is yes even if it does not mean that qualitative data are organised separately: the data collection process instead is integrated and different methods and approaches connect with one another and interplay together.

Employing an ethnographic approach based on in-depth interviews, life histories, network analysis and tracing Moroccan migration trajectories –viz. between urban Italian areas and rural Moroccan regions – it is possible to reveal how in Genoa the Moroccan community is divided into two great sub-groups both with distinctive characteristics and socio-economic and cultural traits.

On the one hand there is the oldest part of the community, the one who has arrived first since from the early '70s and that has its origins in the rural areas of the central plateau. On the other hand, there is the new part of the community that is constituted mainly by migrants from urban areas of central Morocco, namely region of Great-Casa, Settat and Khouribga. This is not a factual distinction but there is an important cultural implication. According to relevant literature on Morocco (Hart, 2000; Rosen, 1984; Eickelman, 1985; Geertz& Geertz & Rosen, 1979) the country is historically and culturally devised along three different axes: the ***Arab/Berber***, the ***Bled El Mackzem/ Bled Ein Siba*** and finally the ***urban/rural-tribal division***.
If formally the first is not influential in our case as nearly no Berber speaking migrants live in Genoa, the second and the third are more influential in shaping and generating differences among Moroccan migrants in Genoa. The distinction based on *Bled El Mackzem (lit. land of obedience) and Bled Eins Siba (lit. land of dissidence)* is of political nature and it is historically relevant to understanding patterns of migration from Morocco to Europe. The first term refers to areas and regions in Morocco that have been under the political, economic and military control of the ruling power (Sultanate, Caliphate, Monarchy) while the second refers to areas who have been always refusing the secular and political recognition of ruling power. For both of them the religious role of the Sultan, Caliph and King has never been questioned. Regarding migration, the first Moroccan regions that have faced a strong emigration flow toward Europe after the independence, were the far North *Rifian* regions and the Southern region of *Souss*. Both were historically belonging to the land of dissidence, were mostly of Berber origin and after independence from France in the early '60s The monarchy was very keen to support their exit from the country hoping to diminish riots and resistance. In the following decade the conjunction of apparently rich returning migrants and the economic crisis in the most loyal regions, other tribes kept on demanding for passports to migrate to Europe. It is the exemplary history of the Beni-Meskine tribe (Alzetta: 2005) whose members where the first to reach Italy from the Chaouia region thanks to the support of the powerful Internal Affairs Minister Ben Bassri who was of Beni-Meskine origin himself and has ruled the country for more than 30 years. These peoples and all their neighbours were illiterate peasants whose economic subsistence was based on agriculture and livestock husbandry. Actually in Genoa a large part of the Moroccan community comes form this region and in certain cases the migrants' presence has reached the second generation.
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Finally there is the distinction between urban and rural-tribal origin. Generally speaking it is a relevant factor throughout Italy and more importantly at the Genoese level. At the present stage the balance between the two groups is quite significantly in favour of rural origins even if the presence of urban origin migrants is constantly increasing. However the crucial point is not the statistical figures and trends but the social and cultural traits connected with this distinction. Long-term research in the field has provided different socio-cultural and economic attitudes well represented by very different social and cultural typologies. First of all the age and the gender composition vary sensibly and working age groups and females are much more represented within the urban groups. In addition, the level of education and type of employment are even more significant as basically all

migrants of rural origin are illiterate or semi-illiterate while the level of education among the urban origin group are much more similar to other migrant communities figures. As it for employment nearly all the migrants of rural origins are dedicated to street vending and in certain circumstances run food and cloth stores that serve the community. Most successful rural origin migrants manage the letting network in the community: they let flats from Italians and other migrants in order to sub-let beds and rooms to their community members with the advantage of having a secure income for themselves. On the other side of the community there are urban origin migrants who normally are working as employee in Italian companies especially in the building and tourism sectors. Most successful runs "ethnic" business such as Islamic butcheries, ethnic food stores and small building/refurbishing companies.
This differentiation reflects both the nature and limits of the Genoa economic system as a whole but also, more interestingly, it is the mirror, the visible superficial manifestation of an intrinsic difference in terms of applying and enforcing (in their migration experience) the different symbolic and non-symbolic systems of values that come from traditional Moroccan socio-cultural heritage. This principle is reflected in the traditional dialectical distinction between the words "*Mdini*" – literally translated as town people- and the term "*Aroubi*" –namely meaning countryside people or peasants-. Both terms can simultaneously refer to morphological elements of Moroccan traditional society and to meaningful evaluative terms to identify individuals with largely recognized and widely accepted traits, stereotypes and habits. In the migration context these differences are well known, as elaborated in Morocco, and suffer of disruption and distortion due to the changed social conditions of migrants. If in Morocco the dialectical confrontation between urban citizens and rural peasants is based on categorisation processes that affect only the symbolic spheres of self-definition, in migration contexts these same ideological constructions are used as meaningful instruments to exploit other non-group Moroccan members of the community. On the one hand urban origin migrants accuse their rural counterparts for encouraging the negative stereotypes that the Italian resident community have developed along the years and on the other side rural origin migrants consider the newly arrived urban origin migrants as being troublemakers due to their efforts to negotiate and claim social rights in front of the resident Italian community. Before their arrival the community was living on its own and trying to be as invisible as possible. This attitude has been always considered as the only way to live work and reach their goal without creating problems with resident peoples and to their own community. Within this frame strong arguments are currently made as it concerns religious orientation and practices and the attitude toward the social process of confrontation with the hosting society. While most rural migrants have opted for a segregationist attitude toward the Italians (normally they do not interact or have stable relations with Italians and other migrants than Moroccans) urban origin migrants have been forced, for contextual reasons, to interact with local community in a much more dialectical way. September 11th events have dramatically accentuated this situation of conflict within the community and it has generated a larger gap between the two groups. In these circumstances it is not only a matter of symbolic domination between two traditional distinctive ways of being (Rosen: 1984) - as it happens in Morocco - but it becomes a source of conflict and exploitation between the two groups. Any occasion is a chance for stressing the other's group responsibility for the poor living conditions in Genoa with the result of a tight distinction between members of the two groups.

The problem of time is another distinctive factor within this debate. Time is strictly linked to the idea of migration project and its transitory or durable nature. Rural origin migrants are much more exposed to instability and uncertainties due to their livelihood strategies and living conditions based mainly on autonomous and seasonal activities. In addition, large part of the community was largely irregular with working and selling permits until enforcement of Bossi/Fini law in 2003. In order to minimize risks and consequences of this instability rural origin migrants have developed strategies based on two attitudes:

- The aforementioned strategy of separation (characterised by high mobility both nationally and internationally)
- The creation and maintenance of extensive social networks based on the belonging to the same geographical and tribal area and social obligations typically framed in chain migration processes.

These are the elements that manage the effective shape and traits of the rural origin Moroccans sub-groups in town. According to this logic, more internal divisions reflect the transplant of traditional norms, habits and principles of relation among socio-organisational elements of traditional Moroccan rural society. Potential conflicts mainly concern the control over certain areas of the economic informal system and the related economic opportunities. They often reflect original division generated historically in Morocco.

The other group – viz. urban origin migrants- shows different attitudes toward their experiencing and planning life and livelihood at local level: they are much more incline to seek for stability and continuity. They invest much more personal social and cultural resources in their migration project and look forward for stable employment and acceptable housing condition. Their social attitude is much more individually oriented because social obligations, traditionally determined by their belonging and networking, have faded since their social experiencing urban life-styles in Morocco. This process, however, does not affect by any mean their sense of belonging to a cultural common heritage. This process falls into the aforementioned segmentary idea. As a consequence urban and rural origin migrants do not like each other and do not often interact, but as soon as a social event challenge and put into danger the community as a whole, they are able to stick together and to act as a single entity.

Another relevant difference is related to mobility and opportunity to maintain significant and constant ties with the home country. If apparently it is believed that there is a direct correlation between wealth richness and frequency of trips and sojourns back to Morocco, the reality is exactly the opposite. The conjunction of time/space compression phenomena - generated by the development of the mean of communication- (Harvey, 1989) and the relative in expensive costs of travels back and forward, has advantaged the more economically disadvantaged migrants. In fact rural origin ones, due to their living and employment conditions, have the opportunity to go back home more often and longer in compare to their urban counterparts.

The possibility to move relatively freely between the sending and receiving country mainly depends on the nature of the economic opportunities and income. Rural Moroccans in Genoa, in fact, are largely involved in some areas of informal economies such as street vending and temporary and short-term work in the black labour market that suffer from discontinuous courses (Reyneri, 1996). If on the one hand this highly insecure condition do not guarantee Moroccan migrants with an high income in comparison with the opportunity available in other Italian local contexts, on the other hand, it offers the opportunity to earn more money they could ever have risen in Morocco and to travel home more frequently. The schedule of these movements is in accordance with the seasonal tendency of labour opportunities and some culturally determined commitments related to religion and kinship obligations.
More recently and following socio-economic and political devolution of nation states and promotion of free circulation within the European community, a consistent number of rural origin migrant have developed a kind of transnational life-style. This phenomenon has provided especially street-vendors with a triple advantage: being at home more often, minimising livelihood costs during the bad vending season in Italy (late Autumn and Winter), maintaining and enforcing the socio-economic position generated by their status and rights as documented migrants in Italy.

4. Tracing

In order to reveal and analyse circumstances and modalities of diversity formation within a given context, a different approach called "*tracing*" is claimed to be potentially useful.

Simply speaking, *tracing* can be conceived as a composition of both different disciplinary and methodological elements that are employed complementarily and simultaneously in order to analyse social phenomena. The intrinsic instability and fluidity, which make these phenomena difficult to be investigated, are approached with a linear research process, based on both qualitative and quantitative methods focused on invisible traces left by people.

The term is borrowed from nuclear physics where the invisible world of atomic structures become intelligible through the study of traces left in experimental media and instruments. This conceptualisation becomes useful in social sciences if two implicit points are put forward. The two most intriguing characters of *tracing* might be therefore: the multi-disciplinary dimension and the multi-layered methodical approach. On the one hand, *tracing* perspective applied to the study of migration calls into play geographical, historical, socio-cultural, economic and psychological dimensions supported by different social sciences sub-disciplines (Preston: 1992). On the other hand, *tracing* can provide integration between informational and relational data by simultaneously moving back and forth between migrants' trajectories. Different research techniques and methods - both quantitative and qualitative can be employed at this stage. This might let researchers to better follow the changeable and instable characteristic of migration flows and contexts.

As a consequence the main issue is how extensively *tracing* is able to go if the objective is to produce meaningful and intelligible accounts? Two potential ways of proceeding arise as an answer. First of all a multidisciplinary dimension can be employed but it appears quite difficult to provide consistent and relevant results, unless a team of different scholars and researchers is engaged. Secondly and from our point of view more importantly, it is possible use "tracing" as a form of an integrated research process within a single given disciplinary framework.

Apparently nothing new has been said about *tracing* but Preston's comments on this point can be useful (1992). In fact, while studying pilgrimage phenomena across cultures, the author has noted some relevant concerns on *tracing* as a potentially innovative investigating tool. First of all, pilgrimage, is a process that lasts dynamically over time and space. Being a constant flux it requires particular attention to the dynamic processes of its formation, realisation and implementation over time and space. In the same way, we believe that migration can be similarly represented and described.

Even if in recent years an extensive "trans-national" literature has been developed in social sciences with the aim to analyse recent global migration processes, relatively few scholars have seriously taken into account the methodological implications of this perspective. Very often it has been agreed that current instruments and methods were still useful and there was no need for a radical re-consideration of methodology and its practical enforcement in the field. Apparently *tracing* seems to fit this position as no instrument, methods or research technique has been outlined and presented as truly new. But, as far as we can see, the fact that old "ingredients" and "instruments" may be dramatically revisited and arranged in a way that could reveal visible and invisible, material and non material "traces" left by migrants and their communities over time and space, is a relevant issue to be kept into account.

If it is not a comprehensive review of current methodologies, it might be argued that there is not a substantial modification of approach but only a new word is added to our scientific vocabulary. In replay to this it should be pointed that novelty does not stand in a systematic blend of different methods, but in an appropriate combination of instruments according to the various contexts arising constantly in the field and along the axis of migration process.

To be more clear on this point, it would be useful to compare tracing with the widely extensive method called "network analysis" (Mitchell: 1983). Tracing is a methodic approach that can be differentiated from social network analysis by some specific elements:

- Tracing focuses on social phenomena in a double implied approach: the first –that pertains also to social networks- focuses on social actors lives and ageing in the social sphere but with a more extensive attitude. As a consequence the problem of how much large we can push our analysis can makes the difference. I claim with this that a network analysis focused on migrants' networks connections cannot be broaden both on the axis of space and time. Most concerns are about time as network analysis can mainly shot an instant moment of the social and cultural production of significant actions, relationships and interchanges. What often network analysis is accused of, concerns the impossibility to represent the fluidity along the time of the networking process and all its potential forms of modification and change following different contextual circumstances.
- Another important aspect that network analysis might neglect – and tracing aims to consider indeed- is the qualitative and causal nature of network relation production and reproduction. Network analysis offer a great deal while exploring the constituency, modalities and extension of individual and social relations within a given and well-defined frame of acting. None the less it becomes very difficult to reveal the qualitative dimensions of these processes, as networks tell us how these processes happen and how they are shaped but they do not explain why and by which mean they occur.

On the contrary, tracing tries to enforce in its way of proceeding both spatial and time dimensions. It has to deal with the continuity of social actions and their contextualization within the wider sphere of social life of informants. It explores their ways of acting upon both the pressure of internal and external forces, those forces that shape consciously and sub-consciously the "*visus*" and "*fundus*" dimensions of "*forms of life*" as presented by Hannerz (1992).
More precisely as it concerns "*visus*" dimension -the one that is the phenomenic result of peoples' performing in social arena - network analysis and tracing share common features. But here, I claim that tracing can better catch the fluency of this processes by developing its proceeding along longer slots of time. In conjunction and more importantly to this, tracing, by trying to track down constantly trajectories and traces left behind by social actors, might better respond to our interpreting and investigating necessity about the "fundus" dimension of the same social phenomena.

But in which respect we can define traces and how we can connect them to people's actions and acting: in other words how and according to what we can decide what is a trace? Which is valuable and which is not and to what respect and extent they are representative of direct objective of our researching?
First of all any aspect of people's social life, production and reproduction might be investigated following the traces that they left behind. These traces can be both material and non-material and more importantly they are historically and contextually specific. Therefore there are no strict rules and principles by which a certain culture, via their producers, marks times and spaces of its existence with univocal and constant traces and landmarks. In different contexts and in the same context but in different historical moments, traces may mutate and change according to different patterns. These patterns are formed thought the interplay of both concrete social processes and ideal mental construction of meaning and valorization. This same process is similar to the one described by Appadurai and Kopitoff (1986) about commodities and the way they change their status from being "*things*" to a "*certain kind of thing*" under the influence of different forms of politics (viz. the one of authenticity, knowledge, of expertise and so on)

Traces are therefore potential socio-cultural markers that are released and can be tracked down for the porpoise of investigating migration phenomena under a migrants'/social actors' perspective. But more importantly, in this framework, traces should be connected to the networks and flows they belong to. Throughout this way of proceeding, traces become important elements and useful tools in the analysis of migration phenomena and the generation of diversities within diversity in social arenas. They can contribute with their indirect nature to reveal the contextual qualitative and less visible circumstances and determinants that sustains the generation formation, typisation and reproduction of migrants' actions and social networks. Paraphrasing tracing, by employing this double-faced attitude, can make intelligible social phenomena by both " following the elephant himself in the savannah" and "interpreting and studying the foot-prints that he lefts behind during his wondering about" (Wallman: 2006, personal communication). In our opinion the added value of tracing stands in the latter point.

By this way, *tracing* is capable of capturing migration periodicity and the flow of behaviour moving back and forth migrants' networks. Different qualitative patterns can be better put into focus and assessed, if a broader cultural context is taken into account - as reference - while investigating in a given moment and a certain place, context, event or situation. If migration processes and more interestingly migrants' experiences are potentially spatially and temporally stratified, *tracing*, as a consequence, will require a researching process on the move (Marcus, 1998). It demands researchers to be able to enter and follow migration flows along their trajectories and modalities (Clifford, 1992). Then *tracing* pays attention, much more than other perspectives, to movement and flows processes with the consequence of the detriment of migration axes' bottom ends. When we want to reveal cultural formation across and within multiple spaces and different times, methods designed around chains, paths, threads, conjunctions or juxtaposition become more relevant, and *tracing* is well oriented in this sense (Marcus, 1995).

"Revealing traces along these flows" is the most important element, as migration itself is essentially a timely and spatially marked circulation of peoples, ideas, symbols, experiences and money. This circulation produces traces or visible signs of the former presence or passage of persons, things or events' happening. Migration offers migrants the opportunity to move both vertically and horizontally. Migrants, at the same time, can enlarge, throughout their experience of displacement, their links and ties to different social spaces and can modify constantly their vertical position in their social spaces of reference and as direct consequences of experiencing migration. Looking at the traces left by migrants in this respect, can better shape both the processual nature of this social phenomenon and provide differential perspectives on migrants' lives and experiences.

More extremely, tracing can challenge the present canon of academic researching and it can help us in contemplating the value of more imaginative application of our methodologies. It calls for the complementary fusion of our methodologies to forge a deeper more penetrating analysis of dynamic social phenomena like migration is.

5. Conclusion

A final consideration should be paid to outline the contextual research experience of Moroccan migrants in Genoa, with its methodological implications, and to fit it more largely into the framework of migration studies. First of all, small migrant community's local analysis, due to its methodological nature, offers a restricted and narrow account of migration phenomena. But secondly and more importantly it can represent a deep oriented account of social actors' actions behaviours and orientations in context. The main point here concerns how such in deep and quantitatively reduced data can be representative of the whole phenomenon – how the particular can be representative of the universal.

Tracing like other similar techniques has not the objective to provide an extensive reading of wide social phenomena but it aims to achieve an intelligible vision and understanding of contextualized social phenomena. Tracing can be imagined both as an attitude and a method, it shares at different level common features and problems with the case study approach. Like case study approach, tracing is characterised by the detail and particularity of the account, it better deals with the *imponderabilia* of everyday behaviour and it requires an ability to decide where to enter and when to exit the flow. In this framework it is possible for tracing to reveal subtle socio-cultural mechanism that underlie, and in certain sense orient, the phenomenic structures of relationship of migrants as social actors. Tracing definitively can help researchers to better "map and measure" diversity in local contexts. By tracing trajectories and traces of migrants' passage it is possible to determine some categorical or taxonomic elements that shape migration phenomena as the result of meaningful actions of people. Among all its potential methodical developments tracing like case study focus on theoretical connections of events so that it could be possible to exhibit morphologies of social structures and organisations.

In this respect the open/close model as proposed by Wallman (1984; 2002) can contribute to this debate and to widen our analytical perspectives. Synthetically openness/closeness distinction can be approached from two different perspectives: a theoretical stand-point – viz. as a starting and/or end point of the speculative process- and a contextual and relational point of view –viz. as an instrumental tool to reveal and to outline different combination and interplays between individuals, groups, communities and larger social systems-. In this latter respect, this perspective can be conceived as a way to constrain universality into conditions and limits within which certain social phenomena and constructions occur and to make them intelligible. Definition of what is open and what is closed is not an "a-priori" process, but it requires a double oriented attitude that moves our understanding process from the universal to the particular and vice-versa. Finally and more interestingly for our debate, by employing a open/close model it can be possible to reveal and put into focus two different dimension of the diversification process in social systems, namely the generation of diversity and the reproduction of diversities. By adopting an open/close framework, these two levels can be clearly justified and analysed as two potentially separate dimensions within the migration process as a whole. We suggest this distinction is crucial for our understanding of migration as a socio-cultural, context related and situated fluent phenomenon.

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