The report is the result of work
by the expert task force, established
as part of the "System for evaluating
integration policies and projects"
coordinated by ISTAT
and the Ministry of the Interior
and funded by the European Fund
for the Integration of non-EU
immigrants (EIF).
The objective of the scheme was
to propose approaches, sources and
innovative methods for constructing
integration indicators to help in the
design and evaluation of policies.
The report addresses some of the
many dimensions encompassed in the
integration of foreign nationals (work,
school, relationships, health, etc.) and,
at the same time, tackles the issue
of policy evaluation. The ultimate aim
of the work is to provide tools that
will contribute to a more appropriate
method for designing policies aimed
at encouraging the integration
of non-EU immigrants and for
evaluating their impact. The report also
serves as a tool for updating statistics,
by offering concrete suggestions, for
each of the subject areas addressed,
for adapting survey information
and administrative records to meet
governance requirements.

Integrat/on
Knowing
Measuring
Evaluating

International Conference
Rome, Italy - June 17-18, 2013

Integration

Knowing, Measuring, Evaluating

Co-funded project by

UNIONE EUROPEA   Istat   MINISTERO DELL'INTERNO

European Found for the integration of non-UE immigrants

Integration

Knowing, Measuring, Evaluating

International Conference - Rome, Italy - June 17-18, 2013

Integration
Knowing, Measuring, Evaluating

Index

Introduction

The most recent information portrays a country in which the resident foreign population numbers more than four million, about seven percent of the total population. The diversity of the immigrants' countries of origin is a particular feature of immigration in our country. In Italy, foreigners who are legally resident, come from every part of the world, notably from the former "countries in transition" (generally referred to as Eastern Europe), from North Africa, Asia and Central and South America. Once a country that immigrants passed through, Italy has now become one in which immigrants are a fundamental part of society, albeit - in some localities - not yet fully integrated.

A trend towards stabilisation can be seen in declining numbers of new arrivals, and an increase in those involving family reunification. This is certainly a positive change towards a multi-racial and multi-ethnic society and, at the same time, one that brings with it a greater degree of social integration and dialogue among cultures.

The most recent "European agenda" for the integration of third-country national (COM (2011) 455) confirms that integration "is an evolutionary process". Therefore, integration policies should aim at increasing active participation and social cohesion, by removing barriers to employment, education and language learning, and struggling against Racism and Racial Discrimination. A genuine "bottom-up approach" can assist in achieving those goals, which represent a crucial step in settling down and becoming part of the host society.

Thus a constant and precise monitoring by all policy makers is increasingly required to provide guidelines in order to focus policies on integration and social cohesion. To this end, high-quality statistical information, analyses and forecasts are essential to understand a deep and complex social mutation.

It is therefore no longer enough to know how many foreigners are living in our country or only what their socio-demographic characteristics are; it is now essential to know how to identify what immigrants represent in terms of behaviour, lifestyles and cultural models, as well as the needs and expectations they are cherishing.

For this reason, the responsible authority of the European Fund for the Integration of nationals from non-EU third-party countries entered into partnership with ISTAT (The Italian National Institute of Statistics), with the overall objective to improve the information value of available sources and to design new bases of information. The specific objective is to promote awareness of the issues, using innovative methods to share, and disseminate accurate information that can offer a complete as well as objective picture of current migration and the approaches to the integration of immigrants, for the purpose of supporting policy implementation measures.

The first step implied a process of validating data supplied to Eurostat in relation to residence permits - in accordance with Clause 6 of EC Regulation 862/2007. The regulatory provision addresses the need to provide up-to-date, objective and reliable information on migration and asylum, comparable in a European context. Thanks to cooperation between the Ministry of the Interior and ISTAT, archives of administrative data became the more and more performative for statistical purposes.

The recently adopted pilot project allows for a "longitudinal" reading of residence permits by means of record-linkage techniques. Consequently, it is possible to trace the migratory path of non-EU nationals after their arrival in Italy, chronologically following their stages of integration.

The analysis also makes it possible to assess the internal mobility of foreigners from outside the EU, a topic analysed only obliquely to date, by using aggregate data (Casacchia et al., 1999; Pugliese, 2006; Casacchia et al.; Casacchia et al. 2010; De Santis 2010).

Each statistical source on migration flows and foreigners in Italy offers a partial view of immigration, but fortunately they are numerous and their information potential is enormous. In order to realise a complete framework of the migratory position in Italy, in a migration mainstreaming perspective, it was necessary to go beyond the approach of recording individual events, which was initially typical of the main approaches, in favour of a standpoint aimed at creating an "information system". This is a change that requires receptiveness to interdisciplinary research topics, in order to improve the content of the analyses based on demographic data and provide elements for establishing conceptual frameworks, within which the information generated can gain significance and increase its information potential. To satisfy emerging information requirements, ISTAT has revised the statistical information models, in terms both of content and of data organisation.

On the one hand, the aim is to combine information from different sources at the *output* stage, to achieve increasingly greater coverage of information on different aspects of integration and, on the other hand, the systematization of information and further study of the integration issues is also occurring at the *input* stage. In recent years, in addition to the statistical information collected through the *ad hoc* form included in the most extensive national Labour Force survey (RFL, 2006) and the survey on the "Living conditions of foreign nationals" (EU SILC 2009), ISTAT has completed the first sample survey on the "Condition and social integration of foreign nationals" (2011-2012), carried out specifically on a sample of 12,000 households containing at least one foreign national.

The survey was conducted by the Italian National Institute of Statistics in partnership with the Ministry of Interior, to deepen individual and family migration patterns, the acquisition of citizenship, the linguistic integration, characteristics of three different metropolitan environments (Rome, Milan, Naples).

The survey will provide a wealth of information to widen the knowledge about migration and the integration process in Italy. The objective is to use indicators constructed from administrative data sources together with those constructed from a sample survey, in an integrated manner.

The sample data sources actually have the advantage of supplementing the informational framework with qualitative information that can capture opinions and behaviour not otherwise recorded by the administrative sources, as well as ensuring information about the subjective and relational component of integration.

Since the adoption of the Common European Principles for integration policies, it has become apparent that there is a need to set clear objectives, indicators and mechanisms for evaluating integration projects and policies. The project to establish a statistical monitoring system to evaluate the dynamics of integration is set in this European context.

To this end, the programme initiated by the Ministry of the Interior and ISTAT will result in a set of indicators being defined to fully exploit the available data and information, making the most of all existing sources. Indicators are expected to identify prior areas for a successful integration process.

The establishment of a monitoring system is a fundamental requirement to identify needed measures for different target groups (beneficiaries) and to evaluate their effectiveness.

The project undertaken by the Ministry of Interior and ISTAT is therefore designed to:
–   offer new and updated data, which will enable more accurate and dynamic analyses on migration trends within the country;
–   record progress and trends in integration and any critical issues that may arise in the various project and geographical areas;

– provide decision-makers, including those at local level, with a knowledge base that enables them to prepare appropriate measures to strengthen the activities directed at encouraging the processes of immigrants' integration into the host society.

It is in this context that the Expert Taskforce oversaw the production of this report, attempting for the first time a systematic cooperation and full implementation of the General Approach to Migration and Mobility proposed by the European Commission, useful to guide and harmonise the integration policies adopted by individual Member States. The Taskforce involved representatives from the Ministry of the Interior and ISTAT, highly specialist academics, the Ministry of Labour, the Ministry of Education, the Bank of Italy and the CNEL (National Economy and Labour Institute).

From a practical point of view, the set of integration indicators has to be annually monitored by the inter-institutional Expert Taskforce. This is in fact a work in progress to better understand the complexity and evolution of immigrant integration; the priorities that future measures should address; quality and effectiveness of their implementation.

The project is primarily aimed at enhancing the systematically and regularly collection and organisation of statistical data and information produced by official statistics.

Six main activities articulated the project:

– a review of the scientific literature on the definition of integration and on integration indicators;
– definition of "foreigner" and "target population";
– theoretical definition of "integration";
– identification of similar experiences in Italy and in European and non-European contexts;
– identification of the knowledge requirements and the information available;
– construction of the indicators, starting with the statistical data produced from the official statistics.

With the need to provide information support for the development of policy makers' operational strategies, consideration was given to the information requirements outlined by the public institutions involved in the project, as part of the Expert Taskforce's work. The policy areas identified as priorities for the analysis and monitoring of integration processes for non-EU nationals are those relating to *work and living conditions*, *social relationships* and *linguistic integration*, *second generations* and *educational inclusion*, *health* and *access to health services*, *active citizenship* and *localities*.

Employment status is a priority factor in the integration process for immigrants and difficulties in gaining employment represent the greatest barrier to integration. Labour market integration is a necessary precondition for any discussion on the social integration of foreigners, while job insecurity implies greater instability, not only in financial but also in social terms (Golini 2004).

Also networks of social relationships play a key role in integration processes. It is well known that, as well as being channels for mobility, migrants' social networks are avenues for settling and putting down roots; these are capable of changing contexts and affiliations from within and ultimately recreating genuine local communities. These are (usually not very visible) bottom-up processes, in many cases unrelated to theorised - but rarely followed through - models of integration pursued by national policies (Sciortino 2006).

The cultural dimension is also essential to the integration process and, within this, *language* is a particularly significant core indicator. For this reason, measurement and evaluation of linguistic integration in the host country becomes a priority. To fully implement the regulatory provision of the Integration Agreement, it is really necessary to understand the effects of measures intended to support language learning for immigrant populations in the host society. It is also necessary to adopt a demo-linguistic approach that shows the relationships between linguistic integration and socio-cultural characteristics of territorial specificities (Termote 2008).

Information on the *state of health* and *access to health services* for foreigners resident in our country today is still rather sketchy. Many people have pointed out that the emigration process exposes individuals to periods of increased vulnerability due to being "uprooted" from familiar cultural environments. The health of immigrants is closely related to the systems for reception and the procedures for social inclusion in the host country. An efficient monitoring of these features is therefore essential to match supply with demand and the specific health needs of this population.

In the initial stages of migration, the foreign immigrants comprise practically the whole immigrant population, but in time they come to represent only a proportion of it: *naturalised immigrants* and *second generation* immigrants become groups progressively substantial (Strozza et al. 2002) in the context of integration dynamics.

Acquisition of citizenship is a positive sign of current and future integration, since being a citizen of a country well defines rights and responsibilities. Second generations, children and young people born in Italy with at least one parent who is foreign or from a foreign background, represent a significant proportion of young immigrants and present both a great challenge and a huge potential for Italian society and for integration policies.

Integration is also the product of different combinations of social, cultural and economic conditions and *policy* measures put in place at both national and local level. Environmental conditions are, therefore, a factor that can affect the progress of migrant integration. *Different geographical areas* offer not only different attractive features, but also different life opportunities, strongly depending on the ability of local administrators and non-profit sector organisations in starting genuinely inclusive projects. The analysis related to different areas should therefore highlight the comparative strengths and weaknesses of certain Italian areas, in order to better focus investment on a real and multidimensional integration.

A methodical framework and a deep knowledge of the issue constitute an essential scientific tool to support policy measures: this Report of the Expert Taskforce's work offers a first reflection to plan future initiatives aimed at those goals. The analyses described in the book do not pretend to be exhaustive and, at this stage of the work, do not claim to have produced empirical results. They represent, rather, an attempt at conceptualisation, at definition of the theoretical aspects of the fundamental dimensions of integration, highlighting the potential that already exists in knowledge terms and, conversely, the information gaps that still remain in the framework of official statistics.

The identification of these two elements, therefore, existing potential and information gaps, provides the foundation to continue to fine-tune a measurement system for the integration process in the years ahead. This system will have much more theoretical and operational value, the more it is shared by the institutional parties who, for their mandate, are called upon to move from the theoretical level of knowledge to the operational level of planning, implementing and evaluating integration policies.

1 - The Concept of Integration[1]

1.1 Introduction

The debate on the integration of immigrants into the receiving societies is vast in scope. Anyone who types the words integration and immigration together into Google will have, as of May 2013, twenty-five million pages to choose from, and that is only as far as the English language is concerned. The participants in this debate are not only researchers and academics: the voices of politicians, activists and journalists are by far the majority. The scope of the debate can be understood only by bearing in mind the great importance attributed to the topic in the public opinion, especially in western countries. All surveys carried out in the past decades show a considerable level of concern about the social consequences of spatial mobility processes and widespread dissatisfaction with the policies set in place by governments to manage them. Accompanying this is an equally pervasive conviction that the integration models traditionally adopted by European countries up to now have been inadequate or even deeply wrong. This explains, for example, the relevance attributed in all European countries to the affirmations by Tony Blair (in 2005), Angela Merkel (in 2010) and David Cameron (in 2011) that the integration strategies pursued to date - and identified with 'multiculturalism'- have "failed", or indeed have given rise to "tragedies".

To what extent are these fears based? Does an immigrant integration crisis really exist in western countries? But, above all, what are we talking about when we say "integration"? To answer this question is difficult, because the necessary information is often lacking. However, another difficulty of at least equal relevance arises from the strongly polysemantic character of the terms used: those who respond to the question are not always referring to the same processes that the asker had in mind. As a result, there is a risk of continuously producing a superficial consensus or generating an unjustified dissent. It is likewise important to stress that this polysemantic character does not derive from the superficiality with which issues are addressed, though this is undoubtedly present. It derives above all from the considerable complexity of the subject these terms are rooted in. We talk about "Immigrant integration" on different analytical levels with the involvement of players with different aims who attribute different meanings.

To gain an adequate understanding of the debate, we need to be aware that the debate on "immigrant integration" uses this term both as an analytic category (for the purpose of describing, understanding and explaining reality) and a practical category (with the aim of transforming it). In analytical terms, the word "integration" can be used to refer to one (or more) states of a given social system in which there is (a) a high degree of structural interdependence between the foreign population and native population and (b) a relatively stable structure of mutual expectations which regulates their interactions in such a way in order to let them sufficiently predictable to all participants. However, many of these "integrations" - analytically coherent and empirically observable in reality - would not be recognised as adequate in the current European debate on immigrant integration. They do not, in fact, provide a sufficient basis for using the term as a practical category, for regulatory purposes. From the standpoint of integration as a practical category, in order for us to be able to talk about "integration", it is not sufficient that there is a series of empirical indicators attesting the actual social interdependence between natives and immigrants

---

1. Main chapter contributors: Corrado Bonifazi, Domenico Gabrielli, Giuseppe Sciortino and Salvatore Strozza

(and the high mutual predictability of their interactions), but it is also essential that such interdependence respects the basic values of modern liberal societies, that such interdependence complies with criteria of equity and that the system of expectations is at least consistent with liberal values. Integration is viewed not as a photograph of the reality, whatever it may be, but rather as a process geared toward a state of social life deemed desirable and such as to enable individuals to pursue a "good" or "civil" life (Zincone 2000). "Integration" - just like "democracy", "social cohesion", "justice", "equality" and so forth - always refers to what a society should be, and therefore, by definition, any empirically existing society is always less integrated than might be hoped for (Sciortino 2012). It is precisely the existence of this regulatory need that often, and inevitably, makes every attempt to define and measure the process of immigrant integration controversial.

1.2 Emergence of the concept of integration between North America and Europe

The use of the term "integration" to define the outcomes of migration processes in western liberal democratic societies is relatively recent. Until the early 1970s, the term "integration" was rarely used with reference to the long-term effects of migration flows. In scientific debate, scholars on migration flows instead used a complex of distinct terms: assimilation (Thomas and Znaniecki 1918; Gordon 1964) absorption (Eisenstadt 1975), acculturation or enculturation (Redfield et al. 1936; Gans 2007), inclusion (Parsons 1994) and incorporation (Portes 1989). The first, assimilation, was by far the most popular. According to this perspective, immigrants, and above all their descendents, were destined to adopt attitudes and behaviours increasingly similar to those of the indigenous population, until eventually becoming undistinguishable in terms of social status and cultural profile. After a first period of spatial contact between natives and immigrants following migration flows, a period of competition over resources and opportunities and a period of progressive accommodation, the distinctive traits that enabled one group to be distinguished from the other, would disappear (Kivisto 2005).

From an academic viewpoint, this perspective was both a description of the empirical process and an assertion of the strength of the liberal tradition: in an open society, where everyone could get ahead, the most enterprising individuals and families would have spontaneously realised the advantages of abandoning "primitive" styles and values (typical of their society of origin) and adhering to more modern models which would bring greater social rewards. This «academic» use of the term should thus not be confused with the assimilation policies pursued by the United States government (and not only) in the first decades of the 20th century. Indeed, these aimed to force the assimilation process through initiatives which discouraged the use of languages other than English and rewarded the rapid acquisition of U.S. citizenship (and renounce of previous citizenships).

The concept of assimilation began receiving a large amount of criticism starting from the 1960s, for reasons tied both to the cultural climate of western societies and to the change in migration flows. In particular, it was disputed that insertion would lead to a progressive reduction in the differences between the native population and the immigrant population, both assumed to be internally homogenous to a large extent. Starting from the end of the 1960s, there was a rediscovery of the profound heterogeneity of contemporary societies (Sciortino 2003). If they are no longer seen as monolithic entities but rather as a mosaic of different subcultures characterised by profound (and often irreconcilable) differences, one of the comparative terms ends up disappearing. It is easy for both scholars and militants to point out that assimilation (as a political objective) in reality means assimilation into the lifestyles and values of the white middle classes. The emergence of such concepts as «integration» or «inclusion» signals precisely the intention of overcoming this presupposition by focusing instead on a process that leads to a generalization

of the symbolic confines of the community, enabling the acceptance, in good faith, of culturally various groups as being equally entitled to belong to the national community with equal rights and equal obligations (Parsons 1994, Alexander 2001). If policies pursue "integration" instead of assimilation, it means that those holding political power have given up the attempt to "force" specific forms of culture or collective identity on the population within their territory (except those that are strictly necessary for the survival of the state itself as an autonomous entity). The Anglo-Saxon idea of "integration" thus reflects the idea of a procedural state (a common highway, not a common destination), which refrains from interfering in the private lives of citizens, since it does not possess a universal model of public or private morality. But this fact of giving up the idea of cultural homogenization implies a large increase in responsibility as far as socio-economic openness is concerned. Whereas assimilation placed the burden of proof on immigrants - who had to demonstrate that they "deserved" success by abandoning attitudes and actions incompatible with a modern social order - the original concept of integration places the burden of proof on the receiving society, which must demonstrate that it is not violating principles of fairness toward individuals outside the dominant groups.

One must be careful not to make the mistake, typical of handbooks of political theory, of viewing "assimilation" and "integration" as polar alternatives. On the contrary, an increase in integration can often speed up the assimilation process (Gans 1997), while even the most liberal forms of positive recognition of cultural differences reflect and presuppose a solid common ground (Smelser and Alexander 1999). Given greater opportunities and less discrimination, a larger number of immigrants tend to more quickly abandon ethnic institutions and networks, maintaining only some specific and selective aspects of the cultural traditions of their parents (Alba and Nee 1997). There is in fact no doubt that integration as a guiding concept of democratic policies requires and promotes socio-economic assimilation, i.e. the reduction and disappearance of structural inequalities between natives and immigrants with access to socio-economic resources (Saraceno et al. 2013).

The idea conveyed by the concept of "integration" thus involves a set of processes of settlement and stabilization of migration flows, with different times and mechanisms. The outcomes of this process depend both on the characteristics of the migration system individuals participate in and the characteristics of the differentiated social spheres of the receiving society. In other words, the characteristics of the immigrants, including their previous cultural inheritance, can play different and even opposite roles in this process.

The best example of this perspective is the theory devised by Alejandro Portes and George Rumbault, based on wide research conducted on the descendents of immigrants in the United States, and known by the name of "segmented assimilation" (Portes 1989; Portes and Zhou 1993; Portes and Rumbaut 2001; Rumbaut and Portes 2001). This theory aims to highlight the diversity of the experiences of different migration flows in a differentiated society and notes the existence of three main trajectories. The first is classic assimilation into the socio-economic ranks and lifestyle of the American "white" middle class. However, Portes and Rumbaut do not view this outcome as one to be taken for granted, but rather only one of the possible outcomes. Another equally relevant one is downward assimilation, which due to urban segregation exposes the children of the immigrants to the lack of educational and job opportunities typical of the underclass, favouring contact with the latter and imitation of its adaptive behaviours. The result is a process of assimilation that is greatly negative for the children of the immigrants, who abandon the values and preferences of their parents, often strongly acquisitive. A third trajectory is that of immigrant families who maintain strong community ties inspired by the country of origin, and exert strong social control over their children through these networks. What makes this third trajectory interesting - typical of many communities of Asian origin - is that it enables considerable social mobility thanks to a reduced socio-cultural assimilation into the surrounding environment. According to this perspective, the idea of a homogeneous assimilation into a single model

is replaced by a variety of paths whereby immigrants, and above all their children, fit into the social stratification of American society with different outcomes, depending both on their initial characteristics and the opportunities present in their environment.

Comparatively speaking, European reflections on integration processes are much more recent historically and maintain distinctive features. This reflects both a very different migration history and a different institutional context. Contrary to what most people think, the experience of the main immigrant-receiving countries in Western Europe is not tied to the fact of being countries with a recent immigration history. In the past centuries, Western Europe has always been a continent in movement (Bade 2000). What distinguishes the European situation is rather that European elites have never perceived processes of spatial mobility as a crucial dimension of the state-building and nation-building process. And this was particularly true in the period between the end of the Second World War and the mid 1970s, when Western Europe was one of the main migration magnets on the planet. In that period, which lies at the basis of the present European situation, labour-importing countries implemented pervasive policies designed to control the foreign population, while integration policies received substantially marginal attention (Hammar 1985). This was because of two assumptions that were so pervasive as to be practically taken for granted. In the case of intra-European flows, some countries considered assimilation to be an inevitable outcome that required no particular interventions. In the case of non-European flows, on the other hand, it was assumed that the cultural and religious differences were such as to make such workers fundamentally non-integratable, so that their presence was destined to be temporary and reversible. This assumption of temporariness was not a subject of discussion among political decision-makers until at least the early 1970s, when the presence considered as temporary proved instead to be permanent, and these immigrants still constitute - together with their descendents - the largest segment of the foreign population present in Western Europe (Eurostat 2000).

It is only when governments acknowledged the stable character of the foreign population, and the impossibility of forcibly reducing it, that immigrant integration became a relevant political issue. A dual policy emerged, one that preached the need to implement systematically restrictive measures toward potential new entries, while at the same time favouring the integration of the immigrants already present into the social structures of the host society (Sciortino 2000). The latter need became more pressing as a result of the change in the economic structure of the countries of Northern Europe. The immigrant population residing in the countries of Northern Europe, strongly concentrated in the mining and manufacturing industries, was now characterized by a high rate of long-term unemployed, largely dependent on welfare (Brochmann and Jurado 2013). In this context, starting from the second half of the 1980s, a first debate arose across Western Europe concerning immigrant integration processes and the role policies could play in favouring them.

At first this debate centred mainly on the attempt to distinguish whether there were any integration models compatible with the different political cultures of European countries. It was assumed, that is to say, that each European country had a precise distinctive identity, which in some way restricted the pursuit of immigrant integration to specific characteristics. Two attempts to classify these 'national models' proved to have particular influence. The first, centred mainly on the conception of "citizenship", distinguished between European countries, that were strongly assimilationist, and European countries that on the contrary favoured an ethnic type of belonging, based on descent. Brubaker, for example, studied the history of citizenship policies in France and Germany and highlighted that relatively similar migration flows produced very distinct integration conditions in the two countries (Brubaker 1992). This gave rise to the idea of two different conceptions of integration, one based on rapid legal equality but also scant tolerance toward any form of "community" or distinctive identity; the other characterized by strong legal exclusion but more willingness to recognize the distinct cultural rights of the excluded. Another

typology with similar aspirations was proposed a few years later by Stephen Castles, who drew a distinction among countries in Europe based on subordinate inclusion (which the author calls "differential exclusion"), assimilationist countries and pluralist/multicultural countries (Castles et al. 1984). Subsequent research developments, however, brought to light how such differences are less decided and less stable than had been argued. The analyses brought to light a certain process of convergence toward a de-ethnicized model (Joppke 2010).

In Europe as well, however, integration has come to be viewed as a set of differentiated processes. Researchers have thus begun focusing on the presence of different dimensions of integration, each endowed with a certain degree autonomy relative to the others (Entzinger e Biezeveld 2003). According to the prevalent interpretation in the literature, it is necessary to distinguish among at least three different dimensions of the immigrant integration process: the socio-economic, legal-political and socio-cultural dimensions. In the European context, most attention has undoubtedly been given to socio-economic integration, in terms of reducing inequalities, and socio-political integration. In recent years, however, a trend has emerged toward a convergence among the integration policies pursued by the different European countries, toward an objective which is commonly defined as "civic integration" (Joppke 2007). This perspective is expressed in the expectation that the precondition for immigrant integration is a rapid, governed acquisition of the language, history and civil rules back European countries, where immigrants arrive. This perspective, in other words, places the burden of proof on immigrants who must demonstrate their desire to be integrated by learning the language of the host country and knowing about its history and laws and formally expressing their adhesion to constitutional values (e.g. equality between men and women).

2 - Integration and Integration Guides[1]

2.1 The European context

As already stated elsewhere, in recent decades increasing attention has been paid to the issues of migration and integration, along with the changes in the socio-economical context of the host countries, and in the causes and features of international migrations. In fact, on an institutional level, in Europe, starting from the early seventies, the range of regulatory interventions intended to control international migration have intensified, and in this field, interventions to promote the integration of immigrants in the territory have played an increasingly important role, through specific social policies and welfare. Immigration and asylum have also become increasingly important in the European Union, after the Treaty of Amsterdam in 1997 shifted the issue from the third to the first pillar of the community, thereby becoming a subject of direct competence of the Union. As stated in the Tampere summit in 1999, the so-called "communitarisation" of the European policies on immigration and asylum resulted not only in the regulation of legal immigration, hindering irregular immigration and suppressing human smuggling, but also the expansion of the rights of legal immigrants and the introduction of measures to fight discrimination and racism. Despite considerable difficulties and many obstacles, clearly highlighted in the Laeken European Council in December 2001, the harmonisation of European regulations and interventions in the field of immigration and integration of foreigners continued in the following years.

An important step in this process is represented by the Hague Programme, adopted in November 2004, by which the Commission has encouraged Member States to maximize the positive impact of migration, through greater integration of immigrant communities (Eurostat 2011). In practical terms, this has resulted in the identification of a common framework for the integration of non-EU citizens, in which concrete measures have been proposed at national and EU level to implement the *Common Basic Principles* identified. Among these was also stressed the need to "carry out national evaluations and to enhance the capacity to collect, analyse and disseminate national statistics related to integration. In addition, statistical tools and common indicators should be developed at European level", highlighting the need to support political measures with specific interventions to develop the ability to monitor integration processes using appropriate statistical tools. The conclusions of the Ministerial Conference of Potsdam in May 2007 followed in the same direction, inviting Member States to promote the development of common indicators, and the Vichy Conference the following year, which confirmed that direction.

The Stockholm Programme, adopted in 2009, was the decisive breakthrough in this process, laying the ground for the development of a system based on indicators in a number of areas to monitor integration processes. This intention was transformed into reality during the conference of experts held in Malmö, also in 2009, which set out a detailed proposal for indicators that was later inserted in the Declaration of Zaragoza in April 2010. In particular, the latter document stated the need: "to promote the launching of a pilot project with a view to the evaluation of integration policies, including examining the indicators proposed in the Annex to this document and analysing the significance of the defined indicators taking into account the national contexts, the background of diverse migrant populations and different migration and integration policies of

---

1.   Main chapter contributors: Corrado Bonifazi, Domenico Gabrielli, Giuseppe Sciortino and Salvatore Strozza

the Member States, and reporting on the availability and quality of the data from agreed harmonised sources necessary for the calculation of these indicators".

Four areas of interest were identified for monitoring the process of integration: employment, education, social inclusion and active citizenship. For each of these, specific indicators have been identified, along with possible statistical sources. These included a considerable number of sample surveys, which allow us to collect individual data and thereby gain a more comprehensive interpretation of integration processes. Eurostat (2011) has taken steps to implement the provisions of the Declaration of Zaragoza, calculating the indicators proposed for EU countries and analysing the existing statistical problems. In this case, surveys of reference have been those on the labour force, income and living conditions (EU-SILC) and the OECD review on Student Assessment (PISA), in addition to some specific sources of an administrative nature.

Ultimately, in the last ten years the process of integration measurement has recorded a significant acceleration within the EU, leading to some important results. Indeed, a set of common indicators is now available, allowing us to monitor some important aspects of integration dynamics and representing a useful starting point for possible improvements to be introduced at both national and EU level. Not to mention that in recent years, other international organizations have also gained experience in establishing the areas of interest, such as the selection and analysis of thematic indicators: the OECD has recently proposed a comparison between the 34 OECD countries based on 21 indicators related to seven key areas of integration of immigrants and their children (OECD 2012); the UNECE has set up an international task force to study socio-economic integration of the second generation born abroad also in the longitudinal axis (Maheux 2013). The change is even greater when you consider that at the beginning of the last decade, this kind of development appeared very unlikely (Bonifazi and Strozza 2003). In fact, not only were there differences in national legislation as there are today, but no common or shared commitment regarding integration had yet been reached, capable of allowing us to measure the phenomenon on a scale. Moreover, migratory situations were still very different from each other: attention to the second generation of immigrants, for example, was only a priority in traditional host countries, while it was still marginal in the new immigration target countries, where the phenomenon was very limited. Given such a varied underlying framework, it was difficult to achieve comparable integration measures in the different EU Member States, also because of the lack of coherence between the data sources, the categories identified and the type of information actually available (Salt et al. 1994; Krekel and Poulain 1998; Poulain et al. 2006).

These problems have not been entirely overcome, but it is clear that the efforts made in recent years by Eurostat and the national statistical systems have greatly improved the situation. Nonetheless, the procedures used to monitor the integration of the immigrant population in European countries still remain very diverse at a national level. In fact, although the way the monitoring systems function depends primarily on the statistical sources available, the very structure of the national statistical services themselves, and especially the policies put in place in each country, continue to influence and direct the collection of information on integration processes (Bijl and Verweij 2012). Among other things, in some cases the action of specific structures or coordinating bodies may also be relevant, resulting in the creation in several countries of specific bodies, such as a ministry, responsible for coordinating political action and to act as a reference point for the definition of indicators and monitoring the integration process.

2.2 The Italian experience in the field of integration indicators

2.2.1 *The beginnings, the activities of the Commission and aggregate indicators*

With the expansion of foreign community in Italy in recent years, and above all its stabilisation in the territory, the need to measure and monitor the inclusion of immigrants in the various areas of Italian society has also become increasingly important in Italy. In our country, interest in this issue began to emerge in the early nineties, when some scholars began to study the social integration of immigrants, providing an overview of the situation on the basis of information derived from field surveys carried out in the eighties in several areas of the country (Birindelli, 1991), conducted as part of the so-called first coordinated research on foreign presence in Italy (Federici, 1983; Natale, 1988). Interestingly, one of the main aims of the second coordinated survey, carried out between 1993 and 1994 in some specific territorial areas, was the need to gather information on the living conditions of foreigners, in particular regarding two aspects: their employment and housing situation (Natale and Strozza, 1997).

The gradually increasing importance attributed during those years to the theme of the economic and social integration of immigrants is proven by the range of initiatives, two of which seem particularly significant. The European seminar on *"Measuring Migrants' Integration"*, held in Rome in 1991, led to a debate among scholars from various countries regarding the concepts, dimensions and indicators of integration, with particular attention to the information framework available (Cagiano de Azevedo et al. 1992). The specialized session on "Migration in Italy: socio-economic integration and the second generation" - held as part of the Conference by the Italian Statistical Institute on "Continuity and discontinuity of demographic processes" held in Calabria in 1995 - allowed us to re-examine the main concepts used in the international literature and to propose measures and techniques for analysing the integration of immigrants in Italy on the basis of statistical material available at the time at aggregate level (Baldacci and Natale, 1995; Casacchia and Strozza, 1995).

It was already clear that there were many different perspectives and angles from which to view integration, different survey methods and different types of information needed, and specific methodologies and analysis techniques to be applied. First of all, it is not easy to give a fully shared definition of the concept of integration. It is certain that it is a dynamic and multidimensional phenomenon (Cesareo, 2009). Depending on the participation of immigrants in the economic, social and cultural development of the settlement country, and the resulting development of the position occupied in various areas, such as employment, housing arrangements, education and political participation, an attempt can be made to measure the evolution and level of integration achieved. As a process, integration includes all the ways in which the immigrant is "incorporated" into their adopted country. The term integration, however, expresses a complex concept whose meaning, as noted above, may vary in time and space depending on the country, political and historical circumstances of the phase of immigration (Golini and Strozza 2006). Integration can thus take on very different characteristics and forms, in a spectrum ranging from assimilation to multiculturalism (Coleman, 1994). The areas considered significant and, therefore, the indicators of interest, and the method of constructing these measures, must therefore take account of the reference model. Even the perimeter of the community of interest itself varies in time and space (Bonifazi and Strozza, 2003): in the oldest host countries, albeit with different approaches, the challenge is often able to give children and grandchildren of immigrants (second and third generation) the same opportunities as their peers, promoting social mobility through education and proper job placement; in Italy, as in other European countries which have only recently become target areas, the focus was essentially placed on the first generation of immigrants, and only recently, with the recomposition of families and the increase in births to

foreigners, to the education of the second generation (Ambrosini and Molina, 2004; Casacchia *et al.* 2008; Dalla Zuanna *et al.*, 2009; Besozzi et al. 2013).

At an institutional level, it should be emphasized that it was only with the Turco-Napolitano Law (Law no. 40/1998) and the subsequent Finance Act (Legislative Decree no. 286 of 1998) that a body was established for the first time in Italy, the Commission for integration policies of immigrants, which plays an advisory role and is responsible for drafting the Government's annual report on the implementation of policies for the integration of immigrants. The Commission encouraged the move towards a model of integration defined as "reasonable" (Zincone, 2000). In this context a precise qualification of the concept of integration was provided to underpin the regulatory action: "a process of non-discrimination and inclusion of differences, leading to contamination and experimentation with new forms of relationships and behaviours, in the constant and daily attempt to hold together the universal principles and particularities" (article 3 of Law 40/98). Integration should therefore "prevent situations of marginalization, fragmentation and segregation, which threaten social balance and cohesion, and affirm the universal principles such as the value of human life, the dignity of the person, the recognition of women's freedom, the enhancement and protection of childhood, regarding which exemptions may not be granted, even in the name of different values." The Commission therefore saw key features of reasonable integration as the integrity of the people and communities involved in the migration process, positive interaction and peaceful coexistence among all communities, including of course the local community (Zincone, 2000). The Commission also argued that "if integration is defined as integrity and low conflict interaction, any kind of diversity is not accepted or rejected on the basis of abstract parameters, but only if it violates the fundamental rights of the person and if it creates conflicts, only if it is perceived as destructive of civil life" (Zincone, 2000).

Based on this definition of integration, the Commission identified the different aspects that must be taken into account for the construction of an adequate measurement system for the process of integrating foreign communities. It was emphasized that not all the measures that had been proposed were effectively constructible: in some cases due to the lack of necessary data, in others, to the failure of the data to match reality (Golini *et al* .,2001). Some general aspects of integration were set down, subsequently divided into specific areas, and measurements and indicators were developed for each. The four general aspects express the main areas that come into play in the integration process: a) demographic features, social and territorial differences which are the basic requirements, and are mainly attributable to the human and social capital of immigrants; b) relations with the host community and that of origin, in an attempt to evaluate the tendency to stabilization and interaction with the national population; c) effective integration and full participation at school and work, since education and employment are key factors for integration and social mobility; d) the conditions of life and active participation in daily life, testifying to a full and positive process of interaction with the host environment. The four dimensions were divided into 12 specific areas which, in turn, gave rise to various indicators (Golini *et al.*, 2001).

Particular attention was paid to the feasibility analysis of constructing the indicators proposed, taking into account the availability and capacity of the data available to adequately capture the phenomenon being studied (Garrett *et al.*, 2001; Strozza *et al.*, 2002). A crucial factor in preparing the integration indicators is the exact definition of the population groups to which the data refer. At least three interest groups can be identified schematically, each with different needs and levels of social participation: naturalized foreigners, legal immigrants (resident and non-resident in Italy) and clandestine immigrants. The internal structure of immigrant communities is also heavily affected by these different groups, reflecting different stages and migration patterns (the more recently established communities have a higher proportion of clandestine immigrants and fewer naturalized ones) which correspond to varying levels in the tendency towards integration in the host society. The importance of being able to consider all three segments

, or at least to assess their size, was emphasised, as each of them affects the host society in different ways and is the target of specific social policies (Golini *et al.*, 2001; Strozza *et al.*, 2002). Often, however, the data collected and/or available still refer mainly to the central group, composed of the foreign resident or legally domiciled population. Moreover, some indicators are still difficult to construct because of the lack of correspondence in the groups in question between numerator and denominator; the frequent lack of some data is combined with the lack of solidity of others, both in relation to each national group and the territorial detail necessary.

The attempt to monitor the integration of immigrants by constructing specific indicators for the main nationalities in the country, already undertaken in the mid-nineties and developed within the Commission, continued even after the Commission was closed after 2001. The International and European Forum on Migration Research (Fieri) proposed a review of current national information and analysis of the situation in the light of integration indicators that can effectively be calculated (Golini *et al.*, 2006) and, subsequently, an analysis in the Italian regions and in the four major provinces (Rome, Milan, Turin and Naples), with a specific focus on integrating immigrants in Piedmont and Turin (Fieri, 2007; Zincone, 2009). A further study has also been proposed through the construction, divided by nationality, of specific indicators, in addition to those contained in the grid prepared as part of the Commission works, relating to foreign citizens and those who have acquired Italian citizenship who were officially recorded as residents in 2001, divided by current or previous citizenship (Zindato *et al.*, 2008).

Still based on aggregate statistical data, from official survey sources, another line of study has been developed by the National Council of Economy and Labour (CNEL) which has been publishing reports in collaboration with the Italian Caritas foundation since 2002, in its eighth edition in 2012, on "Indicators for Integration of immigrants in Italy" aiming to rank large areas, Italian regions and provinces according to their potential for integration (CNEL, 2007; 2009; 2010; 2012). The analytical measurements and summary procedures used, have changed over time, but the approach is essentially the following: three areas were identified (recently named territorial attractiveness, social integration and job placement), and an artificial index is calculated for each using a specific set of basic indicators (5 indicators were used in the last edition for each of the three thematic areas). These three indices are used to draw up a ranking of Italian provinces and regions for each of the three specific areas; an overall summary index is then calculated that allows you to sort the list in different areas (provinces and regions) based on the overall integration level of immigrants. This index is calculated using only two of the three areas: social and work integration (CNEL, 2012). In recent Cnel (trade union) reports, it is emphasized that it is not the level of integration *actually* reached that is measured but rather the *territorial preconditions favourable* to integration processes. In this sense, the aim is to measure the *potential for integration* specific to each territory; in other words "to determine how the structural preconditions of a certain context are more or less favourable to trigger and/or to the success of the integration processes *on-site*" (CNEL, 2012).

The two paths followed therefore draw attention on one hand to the wide range of nationalities represented among immigrants, with a strong heterogeneity of demographic and social features, migration patterns, expectations, possibilities and methods of integration, and on the other to the differences in various local Italian environments relating to the high demand and features of immigrant labour, options for stabilization and opportunities for social integration of newcomers. These are two essential factors that as far as possible should be considered together (Cappelli and Strozza, 2010), although even today, official data from total population surveys only allow us to capture some aspects of integration and not always in the most appropriate way.

2.2.2 *Recent development, national and local surveys and individual indicators*

Generally, to try to reduce the gaps in the information available, the need for information contributed by sample surveys carried out on a national level of the entire population (i.e. involving Italians and foreigners) and/or specific surveys of the foreign population (or of foreign origin) has been emphasised, to be repeated periodically (Strozza *et al.*, 2002; Golini and Strozza 2006). For several years, some of the most important national sample surveys have ensured representative information on foreigners and sometimes even some special interest groups.

In particular, since 2005, Istat has begun publishing data and indicators from the ongoing labour force survey, also in relation to the subset of foreign residents. This was possible because in the process of reorganizing the survey, carried out in 2003-2004, a careful examination was made on the fulfilment of the given sample with that of the reference universe; operating solutions have been identified to ensure the representativeness of the foreign residents sub-sample. Therefore, in recent years the traditional indicators on integration in the job market have also been published for the foreign population, broken down by gender, territorial residence and main nationalities or large areas of origin (see, Istat 2008b in particular). The survey for the second quarter of 2008 also provided for an ad-hoc module on "Integration of migrants and their descendants in the job market" aimed at foreign or naturalized citizens aged 15 to 74. Agreed at European level, this module was designed to gather information on: any assistance received in Italy to find work and the contribution to integration in the job market provided by public and private services, the recognition of qualifications and the perception of being able to find appropriate work for individual professional skills. Solely with regard to foreign workers, information on the ability to use the Italian language in different contexts was also collected: at work, at home and with friends (Istat 2009).

In 2009, for the first time Istat carried out a survey of "Income and living conditions" on a sample of over 6,000 households with at least one foreign resident in Italy (overall more than 15,000 individuals). This survey, which was funded by the Ministry of Employment, used the same methodological tools as for the "Income and Living Conditions - EU-SILC" survey (questionnaires, survey techniques, methods of correction, imputation, integration of data, etc.), collecting a series of quite similar socio-economic information. The snapshot of families with foreigners provided by this survey can then be compared with that of households composed only of Italians, derived from the EU-SILC survey also conducted in 2009. An initial note reported the main results based on the most relevant characteristics of households with foreigners, living conditions and some indicators of economic hardship and material deprivation (Istat, 2011a); in a subsequent contribution the main monetary variables detected in the survey were analysed and, in particular, household and individual net income (Istat, 2011b).

A central role will certainly be played by the survey on "Conditions and social integration of foreigners" launched in May 2011 and completed in early 2013, whose design dates back to a few years ago (Sabbadini, 2008). It refers to the first sample survey on this theme planned by Istat as part of the multipurpose surveys on families. The goal is to provide information on the living conditions of foreign citizens (including naturalized citizens) to support immigration policies providing assistance, support and integration for the foreign population in the economic and social reality of the country. The information requested relates to different aspects of individuals' life: family, weddings, children, education, religious affiliation and linguistic diversity, migration history, work history, current working conditions, state of health, use of and access to health services, lifestyles, social relationships, social participation, experiences of discrimination, safety, experiences of victimization, housing conditions, etc. The survey was designed on a sample of approximately 12,000 households with at least one foreigner (or foreign origin) distributed among about 800 Italian municipalities of different demographic sizes. The sample design ensures the

possibility of macro-level analysis of geographic areas, but with an over-sampling in the cities of Rome, Milan and Naples to ensure the representativeness of data even in the three Italian towns with a higher population.

Without doubt, these national sample surveys will greatly enrich the information available, allowing us to create aggregate integration indicators on specific aspects of the phenomenon, draw comparisons with the local population and to deepen, even at the micro level of individual issues that has so far been impossible to handle adequately on the basis of data derived from official statistical or administrative sources. Precisely in order to overcome the limitations of the available statistics, numerous field surveys have been carried out in Italy over the past thirty years with the aim of obtaining statistical information on the living conditions and the integration process of immigrants at national level and/or in specific territorial contexts[2]. It should also be noted that in recent years local authorities (municipalities, provinces and regions) have stepped up their attention towards immigrants and their interest in acquiring more information through the intensive use of administrative data, surveys and especially through the promotion of cross-sample surveys. These surveys do in fact appear to be essential for monitoring the situation because they enable us to acquire information that is impossible to obtain from administrative surveys and also to extend our knowledge even to non-resident legal immigrants and clandestine ones, categories that are hardly ever recorded by official sources (Strozza et al. 2002). Not to mention that some specific problems encountered in sampling of immigrants, such as the inadequacy of the lists from which to extract the sample because of their bias (not exhaustive) and difficulty in updating the territorial references of a particularly mobile population, have been addressed and overcome using *ad hoc* techniques, such as sampling by centres and aggregation areas (Blangiardo 1996; Baio et al. 2011).

In this regard, by far the most significant experience has been in Lombardy. Since 2001, the Regional Observatory for Integration and Multi-Ethnicity (IMRO) has organised an annual sample survey on the foreign population in the region through the Ismu Foundation. The sample size is considerable: depending on the year, it ranges between 8,000 and 9,000 foreigners aged 14 and over from less developed countries and Eastern Europe (Blangiardo, 2013). The questionnaire consists of a fixed part repeated every year, containing information on individual and household aspects as well as general information on working and living conditions, and a special in-depth analysis part that varies from year to year. The information obtained allow to examine specific aspects of immigrant integration, analysing the temporal evolution in the different territories of the region and separately for the most numerous nationality (see, for example, Blangiardo, 2013).

On a national scale the ISMU Foundation has also conducted some important sample surveys, often carried out in collaboration with other agencies and with the support of local partners. Within the project "The South after the great regularisation", a survey in 2005 of 30,000 foreigners (22,000 in the provinces of the South and some 8,000 in the Centre-North), for example, aimed to analyse the effects of regularisation in 2002 (ex Bossi-Fini Law and subsequent legislation), in particular on the process of finding employment for immigrants (Blangiardo, Farina 2006). Some integration theme indicators were also calculated and with specific reference to work, the role of demographic, social and migrant features of foreigners was examined Blangiardo et al., 2006). Ismu also organized the sample survey on "Careers of working immigrants" (PER.LA), which covered just over 16,000 foreigners above 18 years, specifically addressing issues relating to regular employment integration, examining in particular employment research strategies, the role of intermediaries and the importance of education and training, and has proposed a typology of foreign workers (Ismu, Censis Iprs, 2010).

---

2. For a review of those carried out until the beginning of the last decade, please refer to Bonifazi et al. 2003 and Conti et al. 2006.

With specific reference to integration measures, by far the most significant survey among those promoted by Ismu was connected to the research project "Measuring the level and differential aspects of integration in some territories - Year 2008" which involved 20 local research units. The development of a questionnaire specifically designed to measure the integration of immigrants and its administration to a representative sample of more than 12,000 foreign adults, both resident and non-resident (legal or clandestine), selected using the same technique in 32 territories (municipalities, metropolitan areas or provinces) covering all Italian subdivisions. In fact, the information gathered considerably exceeded the limits of those drawn from current or occasional official surveys available at the time. Based on the data acquired, it was possible to calculate four thematic indices at the micro-individual level (for each sampling unit) related to its cultural, social, economic and political integration, as well as an overall index calculated as the average of the four specific index values. Furthermore, the universe considered, also included the non-resident immigration component, extending the focus to a certainly significant but little known segment of the migration universe. Undoubtedly there are still some limitations. In particular, a comparison with the Italian population does not appear possible, and the transversal nature of the survey does not allow to an effective longitudinal reading of the integration process. The proposal by the ISMU Foundation, whose main results are collected in the volume edited by Cesareo and Blangiardo (2009), seems nevertheless to be a significant step forward in more than one direction: towards the expansion of the information base, in favour of more comprehensive discussion measures and indicators of thematic integration and synthesis, on the route to an empirically documented discussion of integration and possible determinants. The insights offered in some of the local contexts in which the survey was carried out (see, for example: Berti, Valzania, 2010; Ammann et al., 2010; Zurla, 2011) are a clear example of the stimuli and the synergies developed within the project.

Ultimately, from the stage at which attention was directed almost exclusively to the construction of ranges of aggregate indicators, mostly with complete survey data, for official statistical or administrative purposes, in recent years steps were taken to formulate micro-individual integration indicators constructed using information gained from ad hoc surveys, which capture specific aspects of the way immigrants adapt to their host environment. This broadening of perspectives is undoubtedly connected to the evolution of the information framework. It must be emphasized that it will soon be possible to extend the analysis of integration measurements through experiments and empirical tests that use the wealth of information Istat data from the sample survey on "Conditions and social integration of foreigners" and the census on the resident population; the survey results will be available within a few months. Specific surveys continue to be important at a regional and local level and could be useful in the future to assess the impact of integration policies introduced by local authorities.

Generally, considerable developments were made in recent years in setting up systems to monitor the process of integration at a national and public level, showing the importance of the efforts and commitment of the different actors in this process. There is still of course, a whole host of problems that must be kept in mind when assessing the activities carried out so far, and especially in the preparation of future interventions to improve what is currently available. First, indepth analysis has confirmed the need to face the issue of integration on various levels, and that it is useful to identify the specific components to be analysed and the specific persons who deserve attention. A precise spatio-temporal contextualization of the phenomenon is necessary, taking into account the historical-institutional and socio-economic aspects of the various host situations and the detail of different migration flows. The term integration is in fact still used to designate concepts and processes. The problem of definitions is still highly important both in evaluating integration and policies, and also because the sectors to be taken into consideration and the elements to be assessed may change considerably, in different territorial contexts. Moreover, integration should be seen as a dynamic, multi-dimensional process, which is neces-

sary to analyse the changes over time with regard to different areas of integration. This situation invites us to consider the possibility of developing tools that enable a longitudinal reading of the phenomenon (Jacobs 2010).

Another aspect to consider is represented by the reference categories. Currently, the European Union considers legally resident non-EU citizens as main target groups, but these, actually are only a part of the community really involved in integration processes. In fact, based on the aspect to be studied further, the *target group* may include all legal immigrants (including those from the European Union) or even clandestine ones, naturalized immigrants and, in addition to the first generation, the second and the third, composed of the children and grandchildren of immigrants born in the host countries. In general, it is obvious that all categories that may be disadvantaged and at risk of exclusion or discrimination (Council of Europe 1997) require attention. In practice, however, it is clear that when creating indicators, reference should be made to categories that can be precisely delineated and above all identified within a statistical survey. In this sense, it is desirable that these aspects are taken into greater consideration in setting up sample surveys and in current surveys.

The availability of national sample surveys enabled Eurostat (2011) to calculate most of the indicators identified in the Declaration of Zaragoza and, in general, enables many in-depth analyses that were not possible a few years ago. To increase the chances of finding these statistical sources and improving its quality, we must continue working in this direction, always extending the range of sub-samples of foreigners represented and trying to expand it to other possible reference communities. To this end, a major step forward would be represented by a retrospective sample survey or sequel, allowing us to gather information that takes into account the duration of migration, one of the key elements of integration. It is also important to be able to compare the situation of immigrants with the native population, by providing a control sample of citizens. This last aspect is particularly important if we consider that the indicators of integration must be interpreted, besides the temporal evolution (e.g., duration of the presence or, better, per generation of immigration) allowing us to grasp the dynamics of the process, also in terms of the comparative dimension which enables us to evaluate the distance between the immigrant population and the majority population that serves as a reference, with the same major demographic and socio-economic conditions. Finally, an aspect not to be overlooked is the need for tools that allow an interpretation of the phenomenon in smaller territories than those used in national surveys, also thanks to the considerable experience gained in this field by the Italian scientific community.

Bibliography

Alba, R. e V. Nee (1997), "*Rethinking Assimilation Theory for a New Era of Immigration.*" International Migration Review XXXI(4).

Alexander, J.C. (2001), "*Theorizing the 'Modes of Incorporation': Assimilation, Hyphenation and Multiculturalism as varieties of Civil participation.*" Sociological Theory 19(3) : 237-.

Ambrosini M., Molina S. (a cura di) (2004), *Seconde generazioni. An introduction to the future of immigration in* Italy, Giovanni Agnelli Foundation, Turin.

Ammaturo N., de Filippo E., Strozza S. (ed.) (2010), *The life of immigrants in Naples and in the vesuvian countries. Empirical research on integration*, Franco Angeli, Milan.

Bade (2000), *Europa in bewegung. Migration vom späten 18. Jahrhundert bis zur gegenwart*, München, Beck Verlag; trad. it. *L'Europa in movimento. Le migrazioni dal settecento ad oggi*, Bari, Laterza, 2001.

Baio G., Blangiardo G.C., Blangiardo M. (2011), "Centre Sampling Technique in Foreign Migration Surveys: A Methodological Note", *Journal of Official Statistics*, 27(3): 451-465.

Baldacci E. e Natale L. (1995), "Devianza e integrazione degli immigrati stranieri: una verifica empirica", in SIS, *Continuità e discontinuità nei processi demografici*, Conference on 20 to 21 April 1995 Arcavacata di Rende, Rubbettino: 545-552.

Berti F., Valzania A. (eds.) (2010), *Le nuove frontiere dell'integrazione. Gli immigrati stranieri in Toscana*, FrancoAngeli, Milano.

Besozzi E., Colombo M., Santagati M. (a cura di) (2013), *Misurare l'integrazione nelle classi multietniche*, Fondazione ISMU, Milano.

Bijl R., Verweij A. (eds.) (2012), *Measuring and monitoring immigrant integration in Europe*, The Netherlands Institute for Social Research / SCP, The Hague.

Birindelli A.M. (1991), "Gli stranieri in Italia: alcuni problemi di integrazione sociale", *Polis*, a. V, n. 2: 301-312.

Blangiardo G.C. (1996), "Il campionamento per centri o ambienti di aggregazione nelle indagini sulla presenza straniera", in A.A.V.V., *Studi in onore di Giampiero Landenna*, Giuffrè editor, Milano.

Blangiardo G.C. (eds.) (2013), *L'immigrazione straniera in Lombardia. La dodicesima indagine regionale*, Ismu Foundation, Milano.

Blangiardo G.C., Farina P. (eds.) (2006), *Il Mezzogiorno dopo la grande regolarizzazione. Immagini e problematiche dell'immigrazione vol. III*, Ministero del Lavoro e delle Politiche sociali, FrancoAngeli, Milano.

Blangiardo M., Strozza S., Terzera L. (2006), "Indicatori di integrazione degli immigrati in Italia", in G.C. Blangiardo, P. Farina (eds.), *Il Mezzogiorno dopo la grande regolarizzazione. Immagini e problematiche dell'immigrazione vol. III*, Franco Angeli, Milano: 153-189.

Bonifazi C. e Strozza S. (2003), "Introduction", *Studi Emigrazione*, XL, n. 152: 690-696.

Bonifazi C., Caruso M., Conti C., Strozza S. (2003), "Measuring migrants integration in the nineties: the contribution of field surveys in Italy", *Emigration Studies*, vol. XL, n. 152: 855-884.

Bonifazi C., Strozza S., Vitiello M. (2012), "Measuring integration in a reluctant immigration country: the case of Italy", in Bijl R., Verweij A. (eds.), *Measuring and monitoring immigrant integration in Europe*, The Netherlands Institute for Social Research / SCP, The Hague: 183-199.

Brochmann, G. and T. Jurado, Eds. (2013) Europe's Immigration Challenge. Reconciling Work, Welfare and Mobility. London, I. B. Tauris.

Brubaker, R. (1992), Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany. Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press.

Cagiano de Azevedo R., Di Prospero R., Di Santo P. (Eds.) (1992), *Measuring Migrants Integration*, European seminar, Roma

Cappelli C., Strozza S. (2010), "Segnali di integrazione: alcune possibili letture", in N. Ammaturo, E. de Filippo, S. Strozza (eds.), *La vita degli immigrati a Napoli e nei paesi vesuviani. Empirical research on integration*, Franco Angeli, Milan: 211-240.

Casacchia O. e Strozza S. (1995), "Il livello di integrazione socio-economica degli immigrati stranieri: un quadro di riferimento", in SIS, *Continuità e discontinuità nei processi demografici*, Conference 20-21 April, Arcavacata di Rende, Rubbettino: 553-560.

Casacchia O., Natale L., Paterno A., Terzera L. (eds.) (2008), *Studiare insieme, crescere insieme? Un'indagine sulle seconde generazioni in dieci regioni italiane*, FrancoAngeli, Milan.

Castles, S., H. Booth e T. Wallace (1984), Here for Good. Europe's New Ethnic Minorities. London, Pluto Press.

Cesareo V. (2009), "Quale integrazione?", in V. Cesareo, G.C. Blangiardo (eds.), *Indici di integrazione. Un'indagine empirica sulla realtà migratoria italiana*, FrancoAngeli, Milan: 11-28.

Cesareo V., Blangiardo G.C. (eds.) (2009a), *Indici di integrazione. Un'indagine empirica sulla realtà migratoria italiana*, FrancoAngeli, Milan:

Cesareo V., Blangiardo G.C. (2009b), "Il confronto territoriale", in V. Cesareo, G.C. Blangiardo (eds.), *Indici di integrazione. Un'indagine empirica sulla realtà migratoria italiana*, FrancoAngeli, Milan: 125-131.

CNEL (2007), *Indici di integrazione degli immigrati in Italia. V Rapporto*, Documenti n. 44, Roma.

CNEL (2009), *Indici di integrazione degli immigrati in Italia. Il potenziale di inserimento socio-occupazionale dei territori italiani. VI Rapporto*, Roma.

CNEL (2010), *Indici di integrazione degli immigrati in Italia. Il potenziale di integrazione nei territori italiani. Analisi dell'occupazione e della criminalità per collettività. VII Rapporto*, Roma.

CNEL (2012), *Indici di integrazione degli immigrati in Italia. Attrattività e potenziale di integrazione dei territori italiani. VIII Rapporto*, Roma.

Coleman D. (1994), *International migration: regional processes and responses*, UN Economic commission for Europe, UN Population fund, Economic studies n. 7, New York e Geneva: 41-76.

Conti C., Strozza S., Spizzichino D. (2006), "La capitale multietnica. Caratteristiche, inserimento lavorativo e bisogni degli immigrati stranieri a Roma", Sonnino E. (eds.), *Roma e gli immigrati. La formazione di una popolazione multiculturale*, FrancoAngeli, Milano.

Council of Europe (1997), *Measurement and indicators if integration*, Community relations series, Council of Europe Publishing, Strasbourg.

Dalla Zuanna G., Farina P., Strozza S. (2009), *Nuovi italiani. I giovani immigrati cambieranno il nostro paese?*, il Mulino, Bologna.

Eisenstadt, S.N. (1975), The absorption of immigrants : a comparative study based mainly on the Jewish community in Palestine and the State of Israel. Westport, Conn., Greenwood Press.

Entzinger, H. and R. Biezeveld (2003), Benchmarking in Immigrant Integration. Rotterdam, European Research Center on Migration and Ethnic Relations.

Eurostat (2000), Demographic Statistics - data 1960-99. Bruxelles, European Commission.

Eurostat (2011), *Indicators of Immigrant Integration. A pilot study*, Methodologies & Working papers, European Union.

Federici N. (1983), "Le caratteristiche della presenza straniera in Italia e i problemi che ne derivano", *Studi Emigrazione*, a. XX, n. 71: 297-305.

FIERI (2007), *Integrometro II. Immigrati stranieri: segnali di integrazione*, Research funded by the CRT Foundation within the Alfieri Project, Turin.

Gans, H.J. (1997), "Toward a reconciliation of 'Assimilation' and 'pluralism': the interplay of acculturation and ethnic retention." International Migration Review 31(4): 875-892.

Gans, J.H. (2007), "Discussion article. Acculturation, assimilation and mobility." Ethnic and Racial Studies 30(1): 152-164.

Golini A., Strozza S., Amato F. (2001), "Un sistema di indicatori di integrazione: primo tentativo di costruzione", in Zincone G. (eds.), *Secondo rapporto sull'integrazione degli immigrati in Italia*, il Mulino, Bologna: 85-153.

Golini A., Strozza S. (2006), "Misure e indicatori dell'integrazione degli immigrati", in Golini A. (eds.), *L'immigrazione straniera: indicatori e misure di integrazione*, il Mulino, Bologna.

Gordon, M. (1964), Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion and National Origins. New York, Oxford University Press.

Hammar, T., Ed. (1985) European Immigration Policy. A Comparative Study. Cambridge, MA, Cambridge University Press.

Heckmann F., Köhler C., Peucker M., Reiter S. (2010), *Quantitative Integration Research in Europe - Data Needs and Data Availability*, PROMINSTAT Working Paper No. 3.

Ismu, Censis, Iprs (eds.) (2010), *Immigrazione e lavoro. Percorsi lavorativi, Centri per l'impiego, politiche attive*, Quaderni ISMU 1/2010, Milano.

Istat (2008a), *La presenza straniera in Italia: l'accertamento e l'analisi*, Atti del convegno (15-16 December 2005), Roma.

Istat (2008b), *Gli stranieri nel mercato del lavoro. I dati della rilevazione sulle forze di lavoro in un'ottica individuale e familiare*, Argomenti n. 36, Roma. http://www.istat.it/dati/catalogo/20090109_00/.

Istat (2009), *L'integrazione nel lavoro degli stranieri e dei naturalizzati italiani*, In-depth analysis, 14 December. http://www3.istat.it/salastampa/comunicati/non_calendario/20091214_01/testointegrale20091214.pdf.

Istat (2011a), *Le famiglie con stranieri: indicatori di disagio economico. Year* 2009, Statistics in short, 28 February. http://www3.istat.it/salastampa/comunicati/non_calendario/20110228_00/testointegrale20110228.pdf.

Istat (2011b), *I redditi delle famiglie con stranieri*, Statistiche report, 22 December. http://www.istat.it/it/archivio/48675.

Jacobs D. (2010), "Monitoring migrant inclusion in the European Union. Towards the longitudinal study of migrants' trajectories", European Migration Network 2010 Conference on "Long-term follow-up of immigrants' trajectories", Brussels.

Joppke, C. (2007), "Beyond national models: Civic integration policies for immigrants in Western Europe". West European Politics 30(1): 1-22.

Joppke, C. (2010), Citizenship and Immigration. London, Polity.

Kivisto, P. (2005), The revival of assimilation in historical Perspective. Incorporating Diversity. P. Kivisto. Boulder, CO Paradigm Publishers

Krekels B., Poulain M. (1998), *Stock de migrants et population d'origine étrangère-Comparaison des concepts dans le pays de l'Union Européenne*, Eurostat Working Papers, No. 4.

Maheux H. (2013), "Measurement of the Socioeconomic Conditions of Migrants: the UNECE experience", International Conference "Integration: Knowing, Measuring, Evaluating", Rome, June 17-18.

Natale M. (1988), "La ricerca coordinata universitaria", *Studi Emigrazione*, a. XXV, nn. 91-92: 371-381.

Natale M., Strozza S. (1997), *Gli immigrati stranieri in Italia. Quanti sono, chi sono, come vivono?*, Cacucci Editore, Bari.

OECD (2012), *Settling In: OECD Indicators of Immigrant Integration 2012*, OECD Publishing.

Parsons, T. (1994), Comunità societaria e pluralismo. Milan, Franco Angeli.

Portes, A. (1989), "Contemporary Immigration: Theoretical Perspectives on Its Determinants and Modes of Incorporation." International Migration Review 23(3): 606-629.

Portes, A. e G. R. Rumbaut (2001), Legacies. The Story of the Immigrant Second Generation. Berkeley, University of California Press.

Portes, A. e M. Zhou (1993), "The new second generation: segmented assimilation and its variants." The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science 530: 74-96.

Poulain M., Perrin N., Singleton A. (eds.) (2006), THESIM: Towards Harmonised European Statistics on International Migration, Presses Universitaires de Louvain, Louvain-la-Neuve.

Poulain M. e Herm A. (2010), *Population Stocks Relevant to International Migration*, PROMINSTAT Working Paper No. 11. http://www.prominstat.eu/drupal/?q=node/73.

Redfield, R., R. Linton e M. J. Herskovits (1936), "Memorandum for the study of acculturation." American Anthropologist 38: 149-152.

Rumbaut, G.R. e A. Portes (2001), Ethnicities: Children of Immigrants in America. Berkeley, University of California Press.

Sabbadini L.L. (2008), "Nuove prospettive per l'analisi delle condizioni di vita degli stranieri a partire dalle indagini campionarie dell'Istat", in ISTAT, L*a presenza straniera in Italia: l'accertamento e l'analisi*, Atti del convegno del 15-16 dicembre 2005, Roma: 131-137 http://www.istat.it/dati/catalogo/20081217_00/.

Salt J., Singleton A., Hogarth J. (1994), *Europe's International Migrants - Data sources, Patterns and Trends*, HSMO, London.

Saraceno, C., N. Sartor e G. Sciortino, Eds. (2013), Stranieri e diseguali. Bologna, Il Mulino.

Sciortino, G. (2000), L'ambizione della frontiera. Le politiche di controllo migratorio in Europa. Milan, Franco Angeli.

Sciortino, G. (2003), "From Homogeneity to Difference? Comparing Multiculturalism as a Description and as a Field for Claim-Making." Comparative Social Research 22: 263-285.

Sciortino, G. (2012), Ethnicity, Race, Nationhood, Foreignness and Many Other Things: Prolegomena to a Cultural Sociology of Difference-Based Interactions. Oxford Handbook of Cultural Sociology. J.C. Alexander, R. Jacobs and P. Smith. Oxford, Oxford University Press: 365-389.

Smelser, N.J. e J.C. Alexander, Eds. (1999), Diversity and Its Discontents. Princeton, Princeton University Press.

Strozza S., Natale M., Todisco E., Ballacci F. (2002), *La rilevazione delle migrazioni internazionali e la predisposizione di un sistema informativo sugli stranieri*, Rapporto di Ricerca, n. 02.11, Commissione per la Garanzia dell'Informazione Statistica (Cgis): 243.

Thomas, W.I. e F. Znaniecki (1918), The Polish Peasant. Monograph of an Ethnic Group. Chicago, The University of Chicago pres.

Zincone G. (2000), "Introduzione e sintesi. Un modello di integrazione ragionevole", in Zincone G. (eds.), *Primo rapporto sull'integrazione degli immigrati in Italia*, il Mulino, Bologna: 13-120.

Zincone G. (eds.) (2009), *Immigrazione: segnali di integrazione*, il Mulino, Bologna.

Zindato D., Cassata L., Martire F., Strozza S., Vitiello M. (2008), "L'integrazione come processo multidimensionale. Condizioni di vita e di lavoro degli immigrati", *Studi Emigrazione*, n. 171: 657-698.

Zurla P. (eds.) (2011), *La sfida dell'integrazione. Un'indagine empirica sulla realtà migratoria in Romagna*, Franco Angeli, Milano.

3 - Employment and economic Conditions[1]

3.1 Integration in the labour market

The work context plays a fundamental role in the integration process. It has a strong impact on the lives of both immigrants and their families: being "excluded" from the labour market leads to serious risks of vulnerability, conditions of isolation and exclusion from the social and economic life of the host country; on the contrary, being "included" means being able to give a "sense" and to justify one's own immigration project, and it obviously means being able to count on an income, and above all, being sure of a legal residence permit.

The importance of the economic integration of immigrants and their active participation in the labour market is of course a primary objective, declared in the integration strategies of the European Union, and in the policies enacted by Member States (Blangiardo et al. 2006). On the European Union level, much progress has been made in more recent years with the adoption of common principles conceived as the base of the integration initiative promoted by the European Union (Council of the European Union 2004). According to the definition of the European Council, "*Employment is a key part of the integration process and is central to the participation of immigrants, the contributions immigrants make to the host society, and making such contributions visible*". The complete fulfilment of the objective in the employment context presumes, as indicated in the document, the recognition of the qualifications obtained in the country of origin, the implementation of training opportunities in the workplace and the enacting of political initiatives that promote access to professional mobility programmes. Thus, the inclusion of immigrants in the labour market influences the integration process of the host society, especially that of Italy, in which immigration still has a strong economic connotation: "The market is proving to be a crucial instrument of functional integration. It is not only the Italian economic system that can benefit from useful immigration, but the immigrant himself also finds it easier to integrate when employed in useful employment, as he will be equipped with the resources, contacts and the sense of dignity that comes from knowing that he is involved in a socially recognized occupation [...]. Economic integration is an important element of a good lifestyle" (Zincone 2000: 69].

The inclusion of immigrants and their descendants in the labour market is not only important in economic terms, providing security against poverty and social exclusion, but it also impacts social integration as a whole. Therefore, the objective is to identify indicators that, from various points of view, are capable of evaluating not only the immigrant employment features, but also critical aspects involved in the integration of immigrants in the Italian labour market. This will make it possible to better understand whether the integration policies, implemented, or not implemented, up to now in our country, are liable to mitigate or accentuate the fragility factors of immigrants, with consequences for the entire society. Although Italy has become a country of immigration to all effects, it is only in recent years that official statistics is taking steps to record the difficulties experienced by immigrants in entering the labour market, through the creation of various kinds of indicators. Istat survey on the "Labour force" since 2005 and the more recent Multiscope survey on the "Conditions and integration of foreign citizens" (2011-2012) provide an

---

1. Main chapter contributors: Gian Carlo Blangiardo, Monica Perez, Luciana Quattrociocchi and Roberta Zizza

important contribution in increasing available information. We must also keep in mind the surveys periodically carried out by the Ismu Foundation, which provide valuable information, even when only restricted to Lombardy, on the integration of illegal immigrants in the labour market (ORIM 2012).

An integrated use of the sources makes it possible to firstly analyse the quantitative scale of the insertion of immigrants in the labour market, through two main global indicators, the unemployment and the employment rate.

In general, the employment rate shows that immigrants arriving in our country always seem to be in a better position in terms of participation in the labour market compared to Italians, with the exception of those who arrive to join their families, or due to humanitarian reasons. In fact, in terms of quantity, the numbers of immigrants incorporated in the labour market is relatively high, for several reasons. Firstly, we must remember a) the age structure of the immigrant population, which tends to be made up of young adults and for which employment rates are high, and b) a great demand for non-qualified work. To this must be added the difficulty of immigrants in obtaining unemployment benefits in our country, as well as the lack of any reliable, informal family assistance networks, the result being that immigrants are forced to accept any kind of work.

The unemployment rate, and in particular the long-term unemployment rate shows the criticality in accessing the labour market, therefore representing a crucial indicator of social exclusion. The unemployment risk also depends on the legal condition of the immigrant. There is a considerable variation in the unemployment rates, between those that have a valid residence permit, and those who have acquired Italian citizenship, and those that find themselves to be in an illegal condition either because their residence permit has expired, or they have entered the country illegally and weren't able to obtain indemnity.

On a regional level the unemployment rate also shows a strong negative connotation in relation to the numbers. This is probably due to the marked territorial mobility of immigrants, who initially enter the south of the country and then continue their migratory route towards northern regions where it is easier to find job. The employment rate is speculated: the immigrants remain in the southern regions, which allows for few employment opportunities for Italians, only if they find job, otherwise they proceed towards the northern regions or countries offering more opportunities.

Although those indicators precisely show the level of participation in the labour market, they do not reveal much about the intensity and quality of employment. A variety of employment aspects must be considered in order to be able to assess whether differences exist between foreign and native workers: ranging from the social and demographic features of the migrants (gender, level of education, age, ethnic group etc.) to employment stability; from the number of hours worked to professional segregation; from the prevalence of self-employment to the knowledge of the language and possible discrimination.

The major obstacle for immigrant women regarding entry in the labour market is a lack of a family network for childcare, and the consequent difficulty to balance family and work life. Survey data on the labour force show that the unemployment rate among immigrant women is double that of Italian women. While the latter are often destined to a continuing condition of inactivity, immigrant women are compelled, due to greater economic necessity, to extend their search for work for longer periods, therefore contributing to an increase in the unemployment rate.

Regarding education levels, for immigrants that have obtained an educational qualification abroad, the possibility that this is recognised in the country of arrival, is often fraught with obstacles, and this often results in situations in which the immigrant worker is over-qualified for the work that he does. Immigrants living in our country have levels of education similar to those of Italians, but higher qualifications do not correspond to a higher level of professional employment.

Almost all immigrants are employed as workers or in non-qualified work, and fill the labour demand of low-technology, innovation or service industries, or families as well. However, those are high-risk employment situations, as these kinds of industries, in the absence of any profound product innovation, have a high probability of exiting the production process, and immigrant workers employed there, being generally younger, are, unlike their Italian counterparts, unable to rely on long-term labour mobility up until retirement (Reyneri 2007).

The high incidence of fixed term contract work among specific groups (immigrants, young workers, etc.) may be interpreted as a sign of the dualism that exists in our national labour market, characterized by the presence of workers capable of finding a stable career and *well-paid* jobs, and others that are unable to do so. In terms of integration, the number of work hours is also an important indicator that makes it possible to measure the degree of use of employment in the market. From this point of view, part-time employment, which is common amongst immigrants, is generally associated with lower pay rates, less training, fewer opportunities for career progression and a greater degree of employment uncertainty. Nevertheless, part-time work may sometimes be a personal choice and, therefore, it cannot be systematically associated to a limited level of integration in the labour market. Therefore, the level of part-time work amongst immigrants needs to be interpreted also in light of further indicators, such as those relative to the voluntary choice of working fewer hours and those relating to work satisfaction.

In general, in relation to working positions, the access to self-employed work by immigrants is considered an indicator of the capacity of creating new activities and new jobs, as well as an adequate degree of economic soundness and the strong capacity to integrate into the economic fabric of the host country. In fact in order to be able to start up a company, to be self-employed or access a free-lance field, it is necessary to have acquired the necessary professional competence, as well as to be familiar with local labour market. We must also remember, in this regard, that immigrants probably have greater difficulty in obtaining access to credit, therefore lacking of the necessary capital to start their own business.

Another important requirement to access to non-manual and qualified work is the knowledge of the host country, language, the knowledge of the relative labour laws, and familiarity with the mechanisms that govern the labour market, as well as the knowledge of the professional aspects involved in the job concerned. Some time is needed to achieve adequate levels of those competences that are similar to those of the natives. In particular, due to is a net increase in the percentage of immigrants involved in intellectual, clerical or specialised roles, it has been estimated that an average of 13 years of presence in Italy is needed (Reyneri 2007).

3.2 From the principles to analysis tools: what indicators need to be adopted to measure the level of integration?

Studying integration from an empirical point of view involves, first and foremost, a quantitative approach with a clearly evaluative bias. In Italy, as in the rest of Europe, many attempts have been made to create indicators systems capable of measuring intensity and trends (in a systematic manner and in different areas of the host society), in full compliance with the principles expressed by the European Council. The development of indicators in the various policy areas - see the set of the so-called "Saragozza indicators" recently proposed at the European level - and the corresponding evaluation mechanisms would make it possible to monitor the various phases in which the countries place the development and implementation of their integration policies. Even through the exchange of information on respective measuring systems, a comparative learning and knowledge-sharing logic would make it possible to learn from previous experience, thereby avoiding the repetition of past errors.

In terms of methodology, measurement systems can be proposed for the evaluation of integration processes (in time and space and in relation to the different populations or sub-populations object of the comparative study), which are all based on two fundamental analysis strategies. The first, which can be defined as the "macro approach", is based on the use of indicators that distinguish the population under examination, with reference to a given time and specific territorial focus. These are derived from the use of statistical sources that, in correspondence to the target population or to each significant sub-group - defined by common structural (personal and contextual) and territorial features - provide the main variables "associated with the level of integration"; variables with which it is possible to develop an appropriate set of integration indicators to be assigned to the population as a whole or to each of the sub-populations considered.

Approach, defined as the "micro approach", aims to measure the integration level obtained by the target population using a procedure which, starting "from the bottom", sum together the individual integration score totals. In this case also, the reference base is made up of variables "associated with the level of integration", but the specific nature of the micro approach consists in the fact that the information provided by the variables is assessed, not in aggregate terms, but for each unit of the target population, so as to be able to determine the relative integration score. The subsequent processing of the individual scores will make it possible to attain a set of indicators, but the results will be more detailed and more flexible compared to those obtained using the macro approach since the data can be adapted according to the various structural and territorial features of the target population (Box 1).

In terms of sources, we must point out that, while the macro approach may also make use of data originally grouped together according to relevant features (starting from variables such as: gender, age, region, etc.), the micro approach requires access to databases containing individual profiles derived from universal surveys, (census results or similar) or, more often, from sample surveys.

Box 1 – The Micro approach by individual scores of integration

> *Very apt to investigate differential aspects of the integration corresponding to local areas or to specific sub-populations and to control the effects of local or specifically oriented policies.*
>
> **Basic tools**
> *A census or a representative sample of the target population.*
> *A methodology able to assign an integration score, according to a preliminary definition of integration, to every statistical unit of the universe / sample.*
> *Steps required in order to assign an integration score to every statistical unit:*
>
> **STEP1 Selection of a set of indicators** *according to the accepted definition of integration;*
> **STEP2 Choice of a set of corresponding variables** *(from the population dataset) whose modality can be ranked according to a scale of integration (growing from low to high);*
> **STEP3 Identification of the integration scores** *(ranging from -1 to +1) to be assigned to the modalities of each selected variable by processing the frequencies of the sample distribution of the variables themselves according to the following rationale: the top (or the bottom) modalities receive the higher (or the lower) scores the more they are not shared within the population;*
> **STEP4 Assignment a vector of scores to each statistical unit**, *according to its vector of modality of the variables under consideration;*
> **STEP5 Attribution of the final integration score** *to each statistical unit through the average of the corresponding vector of scores and addition of the new variable "integration score" to the population dataset;*
> **STEP6 Processing the variable "integration score"** *together with structural data of the target population (personal features, education, social inclusion, etc.).*

Whatever the chosen approach, an essential premise in assuring an integration level measurement capable of reflecting the concept, in line with the shared definition consists in the avail-

ability of adequate sources, oriented towards the understanding of relevant aspects highlighted in the integration process.

In this respect, both the official statistical system as well as certain initiatives developed in various institutional and academic spheres appear to be able to offer important contributions to the development of knowledge, both in terms of methodology and information flow organization.

In relation to the development of instruments with which to express, even in a comparative perspective, the level of integration of the foreign population living in Italy, an initial analysis of the active sources in terms of official statistics with relative evaluation of the structural and territorial detail on which to rely using aggregate data (macro approach) takes to identify the availability of the indicators as shown below (Table 1).

Table 1 – Employment and economic indicators available with reference to the foreign population residing in Italy

	Employment indicators	
1	*Employment rate*	Employed foreigners from 15-64 years of age and over / foreign population from 15 -64 years of age and over *100
2	*Unemployment rate*	Unemployed foreigners from 15-74 years of age/ foreign labourforce *100
3	*Activity rate*	Immigrants belonging to the labourforce / resident foreign population of 15 years old, and over*100
4	*Percentage of foreign employees with permanent /non-permanent contract*	Foreign employees with permanent /non-permanent contract /foreign employees *100
5	*Percentage of full time foreign employees*	Full time foreign employees / employed foreigners *100
6	*Incidence of over-educated foreign employees*	Employed foreigners with qualification higher than that generally required to carry out that job / employed foreigners *100
7	*Percentage of foreign employees with more than one job*	Foreigners with more than one job / employees*100
8	*Proportion of foreign employees working in a working environment with a high percentage of the local population*	Foreign employees who work only or mainly with local people /foreign employees *100
9	*Incidence of foreigners living in a family in which nobody is employed*	Foreigners that live in families with at least one component of 18-59 years of age[1] in which nobody works or receives a pension/ foreign resident population of 18-59 years of age *100
10	Satisfaction with the work done	Percentage of foreigners that have expressed a medium work satisfaction score of between 8 and 10 (on a scale of 0 - 10)
	Economic indicators	
11	*Risk of poverty and social exclusion[2]*	Foreigners that risk poverty or serious deprivation or very low working intensity (see note)
12	*Housing quality indicator*	Foreigners that live in overcrowded housing, without hygiene facilities or with structural problems /resident foreign population*100

	Employment indicators	
13	Ownership of a home in Italy indicator	Foreigners that live in their own home/foreign resident population100
14	Possession of a current account in Italy indicator	Foreigners that possess a current account/foreign resident population*100

1. All the families of students between 18-24 years of age are excluded
2. EUROPA 2020 indicator. It considers the percentage of people that find themselves in at least one of the three conditions: a) they live in families with low work intensity, that is the components aged between 18-59 work for less than one-fifth of their time; b) they live in families that are on the poverty line, that is, they live in families with an equivalent income (after social benefits) under the poverty level fixed as 60 percent of the family income distribution median in the country of residence; c) they live in families in conditions of severe material deprivation, that is people living in families to which at least 3 of the following material deprivation factors apply: i) in arrears in the payment of bills, rent, mortgage or other loans, ii) inadequate heating, iii) inability to meet unforeseen expenses; iv) inability to provide an adequate meal at least once every two days; v) inability to go on holiday at least one week per year; vi) unable to afford a colour television; vii) unable to afford a fridge; viii) unable to afford a car; ix) unable to afford a telephone.If participation in the labour market is an important element in promoting integration as well as an essential premise for the development and maintenance of adequate economic resources, the presence of families that are completely excluded from the labour market, without even one component employed (Table 1- indicator No. 9), may, by contrast, be an important marginality and social exclusion signal to be monitored.

It must be pointed out that the proposed indicators can normally be based on further information available from the source from which the base aggregates are derived. Amongst which, the social and demographic features of the individual (gender, age, nationality, country of birth) are undoubtedly essential elements, but so is the information that identifies specific reference groupings, such as first or second generation (which can be re-constructed in detail if one has individual information on current citizenship, birth, country of birth of the individual and, if possible, similar details on parents); even other elements related to immigrants' dynamics insertion in the labour market, such as how long they have lived in Italy, can also help in evaluating to what degree foreigners in Italy are rooted and established in the country. In line with the indications provided by the international literature, the first three indicators of the working sphere (employment rate, unemployment rate and activity) relate to the quantitative aspects of immigrant integration in the labour market, while subsequent ones relate to what may be considered the working qualitative area and in which the features of the job are normally explored (such as the economic sector, job position, professional qualification, type of contract, the working hours, etc.)

Indicators of both areas characterise the labour integration of immigrants in Italy. As already mentioned, despite a high level of participation in the labour market, in some cases even exceedings that of Italians (young and elderly men), this shows that foreigners are subject to a high degree of vertical segregation (Reyneri 2005): employment tends to be concentrated in low qualification jobs, often given little importance at an economic or social level, and often de-qualified compared to their actual level of education. Immigrant workers also experiment a high level of horizontal employment segregation; they are much more concentrated than Italians in only a few economic sectors; mainly the manufacturing industry, the building sector and as care workers in the case of men, and in the hotel and catering and care sectors in the case of women; they appear to be almost excluded from the Public Administration sector, as well as the education and public health sectors.

In an attempt to assess the propensity for stabilization based on processes that promote the interaction of immigrants with the native population, an aspect, which may be interesting to follow up on, concerns relations between immigrants and Italians in the workplace (Table 1- indicator No. 8). A strong presence of Italian colleagues, clients and/or suppliers within the working environment in which there is a foreigner, is useful to continually stimulate and prompt the immigrant to, both non-voluntarily and spontaneously, interact with the native population. As

happens in other contexts, for example in the case of friendships or relations in mixed family units, this type of relationship may be considered an indicator of less social distance between the groups that may further promote the integration process. Even language learning could benefit from "mixed" working relationships, especially in activities that involve the individual being exposed to, and interacting with, a variety of people.

Another aspect, which may be useful to follow up on, is that of work satisfaction (Table 1-indicator No. 10). This is a subjective indicator based on the cognitive sphere of the individual, that is the evaluation made by an individual of a specific aspect of his work, in relation to specific personal standards (expectations, desires, previous experience etc.).

Starting from the assumption that the subjective aspects are of great informative and analytical value, that perceptions and evaluations impact individual choices and the means by which individuals exploit opportunities, the use of this indicator makes it possible to consider another important aspect of the immigrant integration process.

With reference to immigrant inclusion process in the labour market, the recent survey undertaken by Istat on "The condition and social integration of foreign citizens" includes a section on the history of immigrant employment, through which important stages in the working life of the immigrant have been explored; first of all the work experiences before coming to Italy, with information on the last job undertaken in the country of origin, or in the last country the immigrant lived in before arriving in Italy. Secondly, the survey concentrates on the first job in Italy and on the current job.

This information is very interesting for the study of occupational mobility of immigrants in Italy, which can be examined both in relation to the migratory aspect or in relation to the process of immigrant integration in the labour market that the immigrant goes through upon arrival in Italy; attempting to understand for example if, and under which conditions, and in which groups do actual working position changes occur, rather than mere job changes, even many years after initial arrival.

Beyond the employment aspect, the availability of adequate economic resources for immigrants is undoubtedly an element that impacts the economic and financial integration level in the host society.

In this area, an initial indicator concerns the income available to households. In regards to immigrants, this indicator comes from the "Living conditions of families with foreigners" survey, carried out by Istat in 2008-2009[2]. In order to be used in comparative terms, the income available to households needs to be treated using equivalence scales that, by taking into account the family composition and 'scale economies', make income aggregates equivalent in the measurement of inequality between the different population targets.

A more complete indicator of income available to households, as it includes an estimate of the underground economy, is that calculated by Istat as part of the national accounts system which, however, does not apply at the time, to the foreign population living in, due to the impossibility of breaking down the "foreign" component into the relative reference macro-aggregates. The most commonly used indicators in the economic condition analysis is that proposed by "Strategia 2020", approved by the European Union, on the risk of poverty or social exclusion. It indicates the proportion of those to which applies at least one of the conditions of economic hardship, which are risk of poverty, serious deprivation and very low work intensity.

Also the ownership of a home, or the availability of accommodation of adequate quality standards, and the possession of a current bank account are significant elements that play an important role in evaluating the achievement of adequate living standards by foreigners in Italy.

---

2. The survey is an enlarged edition of approximately 6 thousand families with at least one foreigner, of the EU-Silc survey on income carried out annually by Istat.

The information needed to create indicators is generally deducible from large-scale sample surveys conducted by Istat on the national level. The main ones being the current survey on the workforce, to which can be added the more recent multi-purpose survey on "The conditions and social integration of foreign citizens" conducted on a national sample of about 10 thousand resident families with at least one foreigner[3], which was devised using an ad hoc survey format in order to carry out a detailed examination of the conditions of the foreign population residing in Italy. Furthermore, the expansion of the sample dimensions in the three cities of Milan, Rome and Naples provides an interesting experimental scope for the planned indicators in the assessment of integration policies available at a local level.

However, it must be pointed out that if sample surveys have the advantage of offering a full range of detailed information on the topic, which is often difficult to deduce from administrative sources, generally suffer of the limitation of not being able to provide statistically representative data on a restricted territorial scale, unless specific sampling extensions in order to guarantee territorially detailed estimates, as specified above.

This limitation is generally more pronounced if one gathers the foreign component of the population, which is difficult to represent adequately in the current sample surveys, aimed at the totality of the resident population, due to the reduced numerical consistency of this sub-sector of the population compared to the rest of the population, and also due to the inconsistency of the distribution of foreigners throughout the territory.

However, it is understood that since the reference statistical material can generally be traced back to current sampling results, the macro approach, giving exemplified indicators may conveniently be backed up by a microanalysis based on individual survey data. This approach may be even more advantageous when the micro-data from the 15th census of the population becomes available. The opportunity of adding an "integration score" variable to the foreign component in the census finding database, with its excellent territorial detail, and the possibility of assessing the differential aspects according to the (structural and contextual) features found, would undoubtedly provide a very satisfactory result. Furthermore, access to the census micro-data would make it possible to back up the integration measures directed to the foreign population - in particular those of non-EU origin - with similar comparative evaluations on Italian citizens.

3.3   The contribution of other sources

The contribution of official statistical sources is only a part of the information sources available to assure an efficient reading of the level of integration of the foreign population. In fact, there are other materials available and precious coming from institutions and research bodies. In particular, recognizing their methodological value, it seems useful to recall herein two different experiences activated in this regard: one originating from the Ismu Foundation and the other one from the Bank of Italy.

This, as we shall see, uses some applications that exemplify the procedure for constructing economic integration measurements, both in terms of the labour market and in terms of financial and patrimonial conditions. The goal is to define a path that, with the necessary adaptations, could be incorporated in the development of a system for monitoring the processes of integration that goes far beyond the territorial and sectorial borders of the following examples.

---

3.   In relation to the 10 thousand resident families with at least one foreigner, the individual sample dimension is of approximately 25 thousand individuals, as (over 21 thousand foreigners).

Example 1: the economic and work integration of immigrants present in Lombardy

From the results of the most recent survey by the Regional Observatory of Integration and Multi-ethnicity of the Lombardy region (ORIM 2012), duly compared with the results of the similar surveys conducted in the period 2007-2011, the aim is to examine the differential aspects of the economic and work integration of foreigners present in the region in 2012, and to then evaluate whether, and to what extent, based on the proposed indicators, the worsening of economic conditions due to the recent recession has had a negative impact on the process of economic and work inclusion of the population in question.

Data referred here in comes from the annual surveys conducted since 2001 as part of the ORIM operations (Blangiardo 2012). The results are based on a sample of 7-9 thousand units (according to year) selected using a centre sampling technique (Baio et al. 2011) concerning foreigners present in Lombardy, in whatever capacity (both with and without legal permits) coming from the so-called "Countries under strong migratory pressure"[4].

In order to provide a quantitative evaluation of the level reached by a foreign immigrant in terms of economic and work integration, a reasonable base hypothesis consists in the assumption that an individual aged between 20-64 years of age and who is: *included in the labour market* (being active) is involved in *legal and permanent employment* (or if self-employed, of stable type) and that this work provides him with *adequate economic resources* through *a profession coherent with his/her level of education obtained*, can consider himself as being in an ideal "optimum" condition. On the other hand, exclusion from the labour force (inactivity) or unemployment, a low wage and a job that involves work seriously below the level of education obtained are all detrimental conditions leading to the reasonable assumption that a state of exclusion exists, that is a low level of economic and work integration.

According to the indicators provided by the macro approach and indicated in table, as on 1st July 2012 out of the percentage of foreign immigrants aged between 20-64 active in the labour market of Lombardy approximately 85 per cent of the total have a legal work contract in over 2 out of 3 cases (even though 7.5 per cent have little job security), they have an income of over 1,300 Euro, in at least one-fifth of the cases, and have educational credentials coherent with the work carried out in almost half the cases.

As compared with 2007, still far from the first signs of the world economic recession, the proportion of the active population present in Lombardy has fallen by 5 per cent, confirming the growing difficult in entering and participating in labour market.

In terms of stability and legality of work, while the percentage of those unemployed (aged between 20-64) appears to have almost tripled during the period under examination, from a figure of 6.5 per cent in 2007 to 17.1 per cent in 2012, the proportion of workers with illegal work contract appears to have fallen by approximately 7 per cent, while those in more safer employment (with permanent work contract or in stable self-employment) has remained almost unchanged at a level of 61 per cent of the cases both in 2007 and in 2012. On the income distribution front, it must be pointed out that after the illusionary improvement in 2011, there has been a further burden on the lower classes; the portion of workers that, in 2012, earn no more than 1000 Euro per month has grown by 2-3 per cent in comparison with those of 2007.

Concerning the indicator measuring coherence between the work done and education received[5], the cases of inadequacy in terms of *over qualification,* between the level of education and profession applies to about a half of the cases both in 2007 and 2012, bearing witness to how the

---

4. According to a widely shared classification, all the less developed countries and the East European countries, including the newest community members, that have entered since 2004 belong to this sub-group.

5. The degree of over or under qualification is determined by comparing the highest qualification obtained by each employed person interviewed, with that normally required (at most) for the work involved. In fact

process of *brain waste,* affecting the more educated immigrants, is not provoked by the contextual economic conditions, but depends on a demand for immigrant workers that is predominantly concentrated on under-qualified jobs in industry and the service sector.

Table 2 – Foreign immigrant population aged between 20-64 in Lombardy in relation to certain economic and work indicators. In the years 2007-2012 (percentage compositions)

Integration indicators	2012	2011	2010	2007
Active and inactive				
Active	84,6	85,6	83,3	89,5
Inactive	15,4	14,4	16,7	10,5
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0
Legality, stability and professional guarantees				
Unemployed	17,1	13,9	15,9	6,5
Illegal /Unstable	6,4	6,9	6,0	7,8
Illegal/Stable	5,4	5,6	6,2	10,9
At risk of unemployment (a)	2,5	1,5	9,7	14,1
Legal/Unstable (a)	7,5	8,7		
Legal/Stable	61,1	63,4	62,2	60,7
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0
Net monthly employment income in Euro				
Up to 800 €	31,2	27,0	26,7	26,8
800-1000 €	23,3	21,0	24,4	25,2
1000-1300 €	23,6	22,2	25,4	26,6
Over 1300 €	21,9	29,8	23,5	21,4
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0
Profession conducted as compared to education received				
Seriously inadequate	10,4	9,6	9,3	11,4
Moderately adequate	40,5	40,0	38,8	38,6
Adequate	49,1	50,4	51,9	50,0
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

(a) In 2007 and 2010 the information was recorded with no distinction made.

Therefore, if we want to shift from macro indicators to micro indicators, we need to properly process the data for each foreign immigrant included in the ORIM 2012 survey relating to its professional conditions, type of work done, educational level and income in order to give them a

the qualification mode is divided into three categories: "no schooling or compulsory schooling", "compulsory schooling or secondary school qualifications", "secondary school qualifications, degree or higher".

Table 3 – Indicators of economic and working integration for certain features of the foreign population between the ages 20-64 that have immigrated to Lombardy. 2012

Features	Activity	Professional stability and guarantees	Net income	Over qualification	Indicator Average
Gender					
Men	0,112	-0,010	0,126	-0,005	0,055
Women	-0,118	0,011	-0,133	0,006	-0,059
Total	0,000	0,000	0,000	0,000	0,000
Macro area					
Eastern Europe	0,017	0,029	0,002	-0,068	-0,005
Asia	-0,025	0,057	0,012	0,054	0,025
North Africa	-0,067	-0,077	0,023	0,026	-0,024
Other Africa	0,060	-0,119	-0,005	0,048	-0,004
Latin America	0,058	0,069	-0,056	-0,019	0,013
Total	0,000	0,000	0,000	0,000	0,000
In Italy					
Less than 2 years	-0,054	-0,380	-0,167	-0,075	-0,169
From 2 to 4 years	-0,125	-0,178	-0,132	-0,009	-0,111
5-10 years	-0,011	-0,001	-0,047	-0,009	-0,017
More than 10 years	0,046	0,074	0,093	0,019	0,058
Total	0,000	0,000	0,000	0,000	0,000
Position					
Italian (also)	-0,026	0,027	0,046	0,049	0,024
From the EU	0,070	-0,015	0,015	-0,064	0,002
Long-term permit	-0,004	0,087	0,090	0,004	0,044
Short-term permit	-0,020	-0,031	-0,078	-0,001	-0,033
Illegal immigrants	0,122	-0,598	-0,266	0,045	-0,174
Total	0,000	0,000	0,000	0,000	0,000
Qualification					
None	-0,089	-0,144	-0,059	0,256	-0,009
Compulsory Education	-0,002	-0,032	-0,003	0,334	0,074
Secondary School Qualification	0,005	0,023	0,012	-0,157	-0,029
Graduate	0,009	0,040	-0,015	-0,353	-0,080
Total	0,000	0,000	0,000	0,000	0,000

score in relation to each of the four considered dimensions: professional activity, work stability and security, income and over qualification. Those scores, expressed according to a metric that gives a -1 value to the "worse" condition and a +1 to the "best" condition[6], will be subsequently summarised in the average score calculation (arithmetic) that is adopted as the corresponding expression of the economic and work integration indicator (average) for each subject[7]. The analysis of the average indicator values, as well as partial indicators, which are valuable for determining this, offers interesting elements to record variability, based on several important structural and context features, relating to the universe of the foreign immigrant population in Lombardy.

For example, Table 3 immediately shows that the male component in 2012, with an average score of +0.055 for the summary indicator, seems to be more integrated than the female component, whose average value is -0.059[8]. Women are penalised by lower participation in the labour market and an income that, far more frequently than males, does not exceed 800 Euro per month. With regard to areas of origin, Asians achieve the best result for the average economic and work integration indicator (+0.025), while North Africans reported the most difficulty (this score decreases to -0.024). An analysis of seniority migrants, along with the level of education and the legal and administrative status, is a key feature in reading and interpreting the economic integration dimension. It is clear that immigrants present in Italy for less than two years are positioned on decidedly low levels for all four dimensions considered, so much so that the average indicator is -0.169 compared to +0.058 average acquired by those living in Italy for at least one decade. As regards to the various legal and administrative conditions related to the presence, the average indicator ranks long-term residents (+0.044) at the top of the integration scale and illegal immigrants in terms of residence at the bottom end (-0.174); when we focus on qualifications, we clearly see that foreigners with a high school diploma or degree (respectively with an average score of -0.029 and -0.080) are somewhat penalised by an integration indicator that shows a low level of coherence between training experience and profession.

With regard to the comparison over time, made possible by taking as a reference "base score" those scores calculated in 2007 (base year) and applying them to the 2012 database[9], the results show that, in the most recent year before the economic recession, the average integration score regressed in correspondence to all features of interest, except for the female component and Latin American origins for which positive variations are shown (respectively 0.008 and 0.029 points; Tables 4 and 5).

---

6. For each mode of the variables considered, the corresponding score is obtained with the difference between the sums of frequencies (relative) of the previous mode minus the sum of frequencies (relative) of the following modes.
7. The metric ensures that the average score (extended to the entire population) of both partial indicators and those obtained by their synthesis is always null (by construction). The result is that the value assigned to each individual (or the average of the values for a group of individuals: males, Muslims, Eastern Europeans, and so on) expresses its (their) relative placement, measured along the entire axis of the *range* [-1; + 1] and should be interpreted with reference to a variable that, for the whole population concerned, has a zero average.
8. It is worth mentioning that the average overall score (for males and females together) is zero.
9. If it is true that the metric created each year for measuring integration ensures a correct relative comparison between corresponding features for the same year, it is also true that if you want to compare the same feature at different times, you get scores that derive from different metrics. For this reason, a correct evaluation throughout time requires a single set of scores for the different modes expressing integration levels. In this case, it was considered appropriate to take the scores calculated for 2007 and assign them to cases that in 2012 showed the corresponding mode. In doing so, it was possible to understand the progression or regression resulting from the shifting of the observed frequencies on modes that were more or less favourable to the integration process.

Table 4 – Indicators of economic and working integration per gender in the foreign population between the ages of 20-64 that have immigrated to Lombardy. 2007 and 2012 (based on 2007 scores)

Indicators	Year	Men	Women
Activity	2007	0,086	-0,104
	2012	0,063	-0,167
	Var. 2012-2007	-0,023	-0,063
Professional stability and guarantees	2007	0,034	-0,040
	2012	-0,051	-0,019
	Var. 2012-2007	-0,085	0,021
Net income	2007	0,164	-0,197
	2012	0,106	-0,158
	Var. 2012-2007	-0,058	0,039
Over qualification	2007	0,027	-0,032
	2012	-0,007	0,004
	Var. 2012-2007	-0,034	0,036
Average Indicator	2007	0,078	-0,093
	2012	0,028	-0,085
	Var. 2012-2007	-0,050	0,008

Table 5 – Indicators of economic and working integration according to origin, in the foreign population between the ages of 20-64 that have immigrated to Lombardy. 2007 and 2012 (based on 2007 scores)

Indicators	Year	Eastern Europe	Asia	North Africa	Other Africa	Latin America
Activity	2007	0.032	-0,024	-0,051	0,029	0,029
	2012	-0.032	-0,074	-0,116	0,011	0,009
	Var.2012-2007	-0.063	-0,050	-0,065	-0,018	-0,020
Professional stability and guarantees	2007	-0.023	0,078	-0,003	0,001	-0,066
	2012	-0.005	0,028	-0,119	-0,170	0,039
	Var. 2012-2007	0.019	-0,049	-0,116	-0,171	0,105
Net income	2007	0.012	-0,002	0,078	-0,027	-0,120
	2012	-0.022	-0,010	0,006	-0,026	-0,084
	Var. 2012-2007	-0.035	-0,008	-0,072	0,001	0,036
Over qualification	2007	-0.079	0,027	0,037	0,105	-0,019
	2012	-0.069	0,052	0,024	0,045	-0,021

Indicators	Year	Eastern Europe	Asia	North Africa	Other Africa	Latin America
	Var. 2012-2007	0.009	0,025	-0,013	-0,059	-0,002
Average Indicator	2007	-0,014	0,020	0,015	0,027	-0,044
	2012	-0,032	-0,001	-0,051	-0,035	-0,014
	Var. 2012-2007	-0,017	-0,021	-0,066	-0,062	0,029

With respect to the duration of stay (Table 6), the most obvious signs of deterioration are observed among those who have resided in Italy for at least five years, particularly among those who have resided here more than ten years. Finally, with regard to qualifications (Table 7), the average indicator shows an accentuated decrease among those who are formally void of any qualifications.

Table 6 – Indicators of economic and working integration based on duration of stay in Italy in the foreign population between the ages of 20-64 that have immigrated to Lombardy. 2007 and 2012 (based on 2007 scores)

Indicators	Year	2 Years	2-4 Years	5-10 Years	10 Years
Activity	2007	-0,071	-0,037	0,003	0,043
	2012	-0,101	-0,174	-0,060	-0,003
	Var. 2012-2007	-0,031	-0,137	-0,063	-0,045
Professional stability and guarantees	2007	-0,476	-0,226	0,063	0,178
	2012	-0,454	-0,232	-0,037	0,045
	Var. 2012-2007	0,022	-0,006	-0,100	-0,133
Net income	2007	-0,178	-0,164	0,003	0,155
	2012	-0,183	-0,154	-0,072	0,073
	Var. 2012-2007	-0,006	0,010	-0,075	-0,082
Over qualification	2007	-0,065	-0,029	0,005	0,029
	2012	-0,075	-0,010	-0,011	0,016
	Var. 2012-2007	-0,010	0,019	-0,016	-0,013
Average Indicator	2007	-0,197	-0,114	0,019	0,101
	2012	-0,203	-0,143	-0,045	0,033
	Var. 2012-2007	-0,006	-0,028	-0,064	-0,068

*Table 7 – Indicators of economic and working integration based on qualifications in the foreign popula-
tion between the ages of 20-64 that have immigrated to Lombardy. 2007 and 2012 (based on
2007 scores)*

Indicators	Year	No formal qualification	Primary and Middle school	High school	Graduate
Activity	2007	-0,043	-0,001	0,010	-0,005
	2012	-0,137	-0,050	-0,043	-0,040
	Var. 2012-2007	-0,094	-0,050	-0,053	-0,035
Professional stability and guarantees	2007	-0,068	-0,008	0,004	0,035
	2012	-0,193	-0,072	-0,010	0,009
	Var. 2012-2007	-0,125	-0,063	-0,014	-0,027
Net income	2007	-0,015	0,005	-0,001	-0,002
	2012	-0,078	-0,024	-0,011	-0,039
	Var. 2012-2007	-0,063	-0,029	-0,009	-0,037
Over qualification	2007	0,366	0,405	-0,208	-0,442
	2012	0,251	0,328	-0,158	-0,350
	Var. 2012-2007	-0,115	-0,077	0,050	0,092
Average Indicator	2007	0,060	0,100	-0,049	-0,104
	2012	-0,039	0,046	-0,056	-0,105
	Var. 2012-2007	-0,099	-0,055	-0,007	-0,001

Example 2: integration on the financial and property front

The use of the survey on "Italian household budgets", carried out by the Bank of Italy, gives an indication on the economic integration of non-EU foreigners in terms of their financial and property position.

The data processed comes from surveys carried out every two years by the Bank of Italy; for illustrative purposes, data from the last three editions of the survey were examined. The survey refers to residents only, and non-EU foreigners between 20 and 64 years of age were selected. The sample size is quite small, ranging from 297 observations in 2006 and 445 in 2010. The processing was carried out using sample weights, provided in the survey.

An adult who *has a current account or a postal or bank savings book*, is *a homeowner*, *has adequate financial resources* (obtained by working) *and property* can be considered fully integrated from a financial and property point of view. Economic resources refer to labour income (employee and independent), property refers to the set of real assets and net financial assets held by the family and made in terms of per capita.

According to the indicators provided by the macro approach and reported in Table 8, in 2010 one-fifth of non-EU foreigners owned a home, which is a slight decrease compared to the pre-recession period. The vast majority - at least 80 per cent - has a current account or a savings

deposit book at a bank or post office. The distribution of income shows a sort of polarisation in the period observed, with an increase in the amount of foreigners in the extreme classes - no income from work and at least 15,000 Euro of income earned per year - at the expense of those who earn between 10 and 15 thousand Euro per year. With regard to the indicator on household wealth per capita, there was an increase in the amount of foreigners who fall into the lowest wealth class, which is accompanied by a fall in the higher wealth class.

Table 8 – Non-EU foreign population aged 20-64 in respect to certain financial and property integration indicators. 2006-2010 (percentage compositions)

Integration indicators	2010	2008	2006
Primary residence ownership			
Owner	20,7	22,3	23,2
Non-owner	79,3	77,7	76,8
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0
Holder of a current account or savings book			
Yes	89,4	80,1	90,5
No	10,6	19,9	9,5
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0
Net yearly income			
No income	27,3	26,6	24,7
Between 1 and 10,000 Euro	21,0	22,7	21,2
Between 10,001 and 15,000 Euro	26,9	31,6	34,4
More than 15,000 Euro	24,8	19,2	19,7
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0
Net household wealth per capita			
Up to 100 Euro	33,0	26,9	27,1
Between 100 and 2,000 Euro	29,2	31,8	26,8
Between 2,000 and 18,000 Euro	22,5	26,4	22,3
More than 18,000 Euro	15,3	14,9	23,9
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0

Proceeding to the micro approach, as previously done, we allocated scores for each of the dimensions considered and created a summary score. Table 9 shows that, in 2006, there was a greater integration of the male component compared to the female component. The score of the women is penalised by the lower (or lack of) income, while in the other components, which are related to the family and not to the individual, women showed better results, plausibly reflecting the fact that, less often, they live in households consisting of a single individual (14 per cent of cases, compared with 27 per cent for men).

Table 9 – Indicators of financial and property integration for certain features of the non-EU foreign population aged 20-64. 2006

Features	Home ownership	Holder of a current account or savings book	Net income	Net wealth per capita	Average Indicator
Gender					
Men	-0,047	-0,011	0,277	-0,027	0,048
Women	0,053	0,012	-0,308	0,030	-0,053
Total	0,000	0,000	0,000	0,000	0,000
In Italy:					
Less than 8 years	-0,007	-0,000	-0,041	0,009	-0,010
Between 8 and 11 years	-0,128	0,079	0,124	-0,022	0,013
At least 12 years	0,081	-0,042	-0,002	-0,003	0,008
Total	0,000	0,000	0,000	0,000	0,000
Qualification					
Compulsory education	-0,059	-0,009	-0,008	-0,047	-0,031
High school diploma	0,081	-0,011	0,008	0,058	0,034
Graduate	0,011	0,095	0,017	0,036	0,040
Total	0,000	0,000	0,000	0,000	0,000

The results relative to migration seniority are less clear. Overall, it is noted that the non-EU immigrants present in Italy for no more than seven years have a lower degree of integration compared to those in our country for a longer period of time, but no further progress is registered for those with higher seniority. Finally, in respect to qualification, the degree of integration measured by the average indicator increases as the level of education increases, especially in relation to the income component.

The temporal comparison, carried out in a similar way to the previous and assuming the reference "base score" that calculated for 2006 (base year) and applying them to the individual data of 2010, shows a worsening of the average integration indicator for both men and women during the period (Table 10). For the first, this is solely due to the wealth component, while for the latter this is common to all profiles considered.

Table 10 – Indicators of financial and property integration for certain features of the non-EU foreign population aged 20-64. 2006 and 2010 (based on 2006 scores)

Indicators	Year	Men	Women
Primary residence ownership	2006	-0,047	0,053
	2010	-0,037	-0,008
	Var. 2010-2006	0,010	-0,061
Holder of a current account or savings book	2006	-0,011	0,012
	2010	0,026	-0,047
	Var. 2010-2006	0,037	-0,059
Net yearly income	2006	0,277	-0,308
	2010	0,311	-0,309
	Var. 2010-2006	0,034	-0,001
Net household wealth per capita	2006	-0,027	0,030
	2010	-0,153	-0,073
	Var. 2010-2006	-0,126	-0,103
Average Indicator	2006	0,048	-0,053
	2010	0,035	-0,109
	Var. 2010-2006	-0,013	-0,0056

3.4   Final evaluations and possible developments

Within the framework of the multiple dimensions potentially concurring to determine the degree of integration of foreign citizens, those relative to work and economic conditions in a broad sense offer a variety of view points: standard indicators such as employment status, income level, real and financial wealth may be usefully complemented by more qualitative factors such as job security and the correspondence between studies carried out and profession. One area not discussed herein, but strongly interrelated with the economic situation, is living conditions, which are increasingly identified with a wide range of factors, some of which of a relational nature.

This study aims to provide a methodological contribution by proposing two approaches, to be considered complementary for assessing the degree of economic and work integration. The first, macro in nature, is based on an analysis of aggregate indicators coming from official statistics; the second, micro in nature, succeeds in measuring integration starting with aggregation of scores attributed to integration at the individual level, obviating the need to define, derived by logic, the personal features with respect to which the degree of integration of a given population declines. The two approaches are exemplified, in the first case, by the calculation of the indicators that help to explore the quantitative and qualitative dimension of the integration of foreigners in the labour market and the economic conditions of foreigners, starting from aggregates available from official statistics and, in the second case, by applying the proposed methodology to data collected from the ORIM and the Bank of Italy. The range of the chosen indicators, although extensive, was bound by the availability of data and the possibility of selecting the population of interest namely the non-EU foreigners. In the case of the macro indicators, details on non-EU

foreigners may not be available; with the micro approach, the need to narrow the sub-group of foreign citizens can dramatically reduce the number of observations available, undermining the possibility of conducting more detailed analysis, or analysis with more geographical detail. In this perspective, the use of census data or data resulting from ad hoc surveys on the foreign population is strongly recommended; however, it is more difficult to collect data on the non-resident populations.

Bibliography

Baio G., Blangiardo G.C. e Blangiardo M. (2011), "*Centre sampling technique in foreign migration surveys: a methodological note*", in Journal of Official Statistics, vol. 27, 3, pp. 1-16.

Blangiardo M., Strozza S., Terzera L. (2006), Indicatori di integrazione degli immigrati in Italia, in Blangiardo G.C., Farina P. (a cura di), *Il Mezzogiorno dopo la grande regolarizzazione. Immagini e problematiche dell'immigrazione*, vol. II, Franco Angeli, Milano, pp. 153-189.

Blangiardo G.C. (a cura di) (2012), *L'immigrazione straniera in Lombardia*. La dodicesima indagine, Fondazione Ismu, Milano.

Council of the European Union (2004), Press Release, 2618th Council Meeting Justice and Home Affairs; Brussels, 19 November 2004 in http://www.consilium.europa.eu.

Ismu, Censi, Iprs (a cura di) (2010), *Immigrazione e lavoro*, Quaderni Ismu 1/2010.

ORIM (2012), *La presenza straniera in Lombardia*, in http://www.ismu.org.

Sciortino, G. (2012), Rassegna della letteratura in *Modulo esplicativo previsionale- Rapporto Finale, Ministero dell'Interno*.

Reyneri, E. (2005), Integrazione e lavoro in *La presenza straniera in Italia: l'accertamento e l'analisi, Istat*, Atti del convegno, Roma 15-16 Dicembre 2005.

Reyneri, E. (2007), La vulnerabilità degli immigrati in C. Saraceno e A. Brandolini (a cura di), *Disuguaglianze economiche e vulnerabilità in Italia*, Il Mulino Bologna.

Zincone, G. (a cura di) (2000), *Primo rapporto sull'integrazione degli immigrati in Italia*, Commissione per le politiche di integrazione degli immigrati in Italia, Il Mulino, Bologna.

4 - Second Generation
and Educational Attainment[1]

4.1   Definitional issues

According to the most recent estimates, more than 5 million foreigners live in Italy (more than 8% of the total population) of which at least 4 million are residents (approximately 80%). Beyond the figures, which could be subjected to some limited revision, this is without any doubt a large group with a high degree of heterogeneousness according to the area of origin, demographic characteristics, migratory models, duration of presence, degree of stabilization, and integration in the country's social and productive fabric (Rossi and Strozza, 2007).

Discussing foreigners (or immigrants) now means referring simultaneously to people who have just arrived with different migration projects, immigrants who arrived long time ago on a more permanent basis, as well as children who arrived together with their parents and those who arrived subsequently through family reunification schemes, or those who were born in Italy, who are about to enter, or have already been placed in the educational system, or have already finished their studies and are looking for a job or are already employed (Strozza, 2009). It is a complex and multifaceted group, in which problems regarding recent arrival coexist with the typical needs of second generation migrants. Although until a short time ago, attention was focused on the arrival and presence of first generation adult immigrants due to their large and increasing numbers and greater visibility, interest in immigrant children has grown in the last few years together with the increase in the arrival of foreign minors, with relatives, or those joining their families, and the considerable growth in births with at least one non-Italian parent (Strozza, 2009). It should be noted, however, that attention was paid to young foreign immigrant children from the beginning, from the first signs of foreign immigration, especially in contexts whereby their presence was relatively more perceived. For many years in Italian schools, at various levels (from the ministerial level to the specific initiatives adopted by teachers and related workers), an intense and constructive debate has been carried out on multiculturalism, internal organization, content, and new forms of teaching were adopted in relation to students with an immigrant background.

An important development of the last few years is the widespread perception held by politicians, related workers, and scholars that the building-up of a multicultural society with a low level of conflict is to be achieved by means of the effective integration of immigrants, especially those of second generations. In this respect, young foreign children have progressively taken centre stage; immigrant children have gone from being extras to being protagonists, and they could hold leading roles in the development of society in the near future. Italian scholars are well aware that the attention focused on the inclusion of second generations represents a privileged perspective, that enables us to observe a society that is rapidly evolving and to note the main issues and propose solutions (Ambrosini, Molina, 2004; Favaro, 2007; 2011; Dalla Zuanna et al., 2009; Ongini, 2011; Mussino, Strozza, 2012), with the awareness that the future of our society is being written today, guaranteeing younger birth cohorts equal dignity and opportunity for success, regardless of their origins (Strozza, 2009).

1.   Main chapter contributors: Cinzia Conti, Anna Di Bartolomeo, Fabio Massimo Rottino and Salvatore Strozza

This awareness, which aligns Italy more closely with traditional European countries of immigration where attention has long been focused on immigrants'descendants, is not matched by an adequate information framework (Bonifazi, Strozza, 2008), because currently no data exist allowing second generation migrants to be precisely quantified, and, more generally, because it is not always possible to adopt the same criteria to identify the group of interest because of different data collection procedures (Strozza, 2009).

The first obvious issue to be addressed is the definition of the target population and its possible division into subcategories. In a general sense, the expression "second generation" can broadly mean the group consisting of the immigrant children. However, this is only an apparent simplification and does nothing in order to solve the problem. In fact, it is necessary to define exactly the group of interest and to evaluate whether to take into consideration certain categories. Then it must be decided whether we are truly interested in all immigrant children, regardless of their parents' citizenship or origin. In other words and with specific reference to our country's situation: should the children of immigrants with Italian citizenship or, in any case, of Italian origin, be taken into consideration? Furthermore, is it necessary that both parents are immigrants or is just one immigrant parent sufficient? Do second generations include only children born in Italy or also those born in the parents' country of origin or in another country? If the children born abroad are taken into consideration, at what age must they have immigrated to Italy to be included in the group of interest?

There is no doubt that any answer given to the proposed questions can be validly justified. Thus it is an issue of choice. Attention would be directed exclusively toward people born in their host country or who immigrated at such a young age that they had not yet completed their education and whose parents are immigrants (Strozza, 2009). It is not easy to decide whether this condition should be observed for both parents or if it is sufficient to have just one immigrant parent. This decision is important as it establishes whether or not mixed couples'children will be considered. However, it should be noted that some of such unions result from the emigration of Italian citizens rather than from foreign immigration.

The next step is to implement the choices made by using the appropriate criteria for identifying such groups. The combined use of the *individual's country of birth* and *his or her parents'country of birth* allows us to define "second generation migrants" as a group of people born in the country from parents (or at least one parent) born abroad[2]. Although this solution seems to be the simplest, it is difficult to adopt for two set of (empirical and theoretical) reasons. First, detailed info on parents are scarcely available in Italian statistics (for details, see section 2). Second, adopting such definition in the Italian context is not exempt from criticism with regard to the homogeneity of the defined group (Bonifazi et al., 2008; Strozza, 2009). In fact, in countries with a considerable amount of emigration in the relatively recent past, such as Italy, second generation migrants identified in this manner also includes the children of mixed couples or Italian couples that were established abroad in Italian emigrants'host countries, and who then moved (back) to Italy. Perhaps the simplest solution is to classify this group on the basis of *parents'citizenship at birth*, excluding from the analysis at least those cases in which both parents have always been Italian[3], and keeping the children of mixed couples as a category *per se*. The same solution could be adopted for children born abroad with at least one parent born abroad who can be included in

2. This is usually sufficient to identify second generations in North America and, more generally, in Anglo-Saxon countries; however, in European countries the situation is more complicated. Furthermore, in the international literature there is no unequivocal position; in fact, to define second generations some authors believe that both parents must be born abroad, others feel that at least the mother must be born in a foreign country, because the mother has a more important role in initial socialization, and yet others think that at least the father must be born abroad, because generally the father plays a decisive role regarding the family's socioeconomic status.

3. This solution allows exclusion from the analysis a portion of the children of couples in which both partners are Italian or of Italian origin (descendants of Italian emigrants), but not the children of mixed couples that

the group of interest, provided that they arrived in Italy while still minors and that they have at least one parent with foreign citizenship at birth[4].

Immigrant children who arrived in their parents' host country when still minors were categorized by Rumbaut (2004) on the basis of their age at the time of arrival as generation 1.75, which includes young children who arrived at preschool age (younger than 6 years of age), generation 1.50, which consists of those children who arrived at primary school age (6-12 years of age), and generation 1.25, which contains immigrants who moved at secondary school age (13-17 years of age). This classification is based on the degree of influence of the country of origin (according to the age of arrival in Italy) over the children's way of life; this influence is exerted initially by the parents and subsequently also by the school. In fact, generation 1.75 (as is also the case for the second generation) is subject to influence by the mechanisms in connection with the country of origin only during the primary socialization phase through the family environment, while generations 1.5 and 1.25 are subject to the influence of the country of origin also in the secondary socialization phase, in which the parent is partially replaced by school and by the values taught there (Glick, Hohmann-Marriott, 2007).

This is an effective way to define a group that certainly cannot be classified as first generation, but which cannot be fully included in the second generation either. If the statistical sources do not contain the information necessary to be able to determine intermediate generations between the first and second generations, in a *continuum* articulated by sociocultural situations and various educational problems (Ambrosini, 2011), it is at least possible to consider separately immigrant children born in the country (second generation, in a strict sense) from the indistinct group consisting of those who arrived at preschool and school age (which can be labelled, on average, as generation 1.5).

4.2   From the definitions to the examination of the categories of interest in the main statistical sources

Until recently, the 2001 Census was the only survey in Italy capable of classifying the resident population on the basis of current citizenship and previous citizenship (for people who were not Italian from birth), as well as place of birth. Furthermore, following procedures similar to those adopted in other countries, it was possible to recover and attribute to at least a portion of the population information about their parents, if at the time of the survey the latter lived in the same dwelling as their children. Specifically, the procedure followed was to attribute to people who lived in the family as children information about parents' citizenship (current and previous only for people who were not Italian from birth) and place of birth (Bonifazi et al., 2008). For minors younger than 18 years of age the information in relation to at least one of the parents was there in almost all cases (more than 99.1%); therefore, processed data can be considered an important point of reference for evaluating the need to use complex criteria to adequately identify immigrant children, with their classification into subcategories while, at the same time, showing the limits and advantages of the groups most frequently used (for example, foreign minors).

were established in foreign countries following Italian emigration. However, this is a category whose relative importance should decrease over time.

4. This category would include minors who arrive with their parents, those who join their families, as well as those who come by themselves (generally defined as unaccompanied minors), whether or not they are refugees. Instead, the children of descendants of Italian emigrants who were born abroad and then moved to Italy would be excluded. Actually this group, which is sometimes included in the return migrants, could be included in the analysis as a category in its own right, since it is at least the third generation of emigrants (their parents were born abroad) and in many cases they know very little or nothing of the Italian language.

In 2001 almost 862 thousand minors with at least one parent born abroad were counted in the census, of which 678 thousand were born in Italy and almost 184 thousand born abroad (Table 1).

Table 1 – Resident population younger than 18 years old by individual's country of birth and citizenship, and parents' country of birth and citizenship. Italy, October 21, 2001. Absolute values and percentages.

| Minors' country of birth and citizenship[a] | Parents' country of birth | | | | Percentage of children born abroad | |
| | Total[b] | Both parents born in Italy | At least one parent born abroad | | Total | with at least one parent who is foreign or acquired Italian citizenship |
			Total	Of which: at least one parent who is foreign or acquired Italian citizenship		
Born in Italy	**9,551,244**	**8,799,996**	**677,917**	**368,621**	**7.1**	**3.9**
- Italians	9,410,561	8,798,117	541,660	232,427	5.8	2.5
- Acquired citizenship	3,389	935	2,421	2,359	71.4	69.6
- Foreigners	137,294	944	133,836	133,835	97.5	97.5
Born abroad	**281,924**	**87,503**	**183,985**	**170,622**	**65.3**	**60.5**
- Italians	89,541	54,810	32,736	20,449	36.6	22.8
- Acquired citizenship	45,453	32,273	12,784	11,728	28.1	25.8
- Foreigners	146,930	420	138,465	138,445	94.2	94.2
Total	**9,833,168**	**8,887,499**	**861,902**	**539,243**	**8.8**	**5.5**
- Italians	9,500,102	8,852,927	574,396	252,876	6.0	2.7
- Acquired citizenship	48,842	33,208	15,205	14,087	31.1	28.8
- Foreigners	284,224	1,364	272,301	272,280	95.8	95.8

Notes: (a) At the census data Italians are classified into two categories: those who have always been Italian (Italians) and those who became Italian (Acquired citizenship). (b) This also includes 83,767 cases (0.9% of the total) for which information is not available regarding their parents; only information regarding the specific individuals is available. Of these, 73,331 were born in Italy and 10,436 were born abroad.

Source: authors' elaboration on ISTAT data, 14th General Census of Population and Housing.

This total is considerably higher than the number of foreign minors, a group that is typically used in analyses, and that numbers a little more than 284 thousand residents, of which 272 thousand have at least one parent born abroad (96%). The difference between the first number (862 thousand) and the last number (284 thousand) can be attributed almost entirely to the approximately 574 thousand Italians, the great majority of whom were born in Italy (94.3%) with at least one parent born abroad. This is a particularly heterogeneous group given that it includes people with both parents who are Italian since birth (a little less than 322,000) - most likely the children of descendants of emigrants - and people with at least one parent who is foreign or who acquired Italian citizenship (almost 253,000). Therefore, the overall group of interest could

be represented by the more than 539 thousand minors, with at least one parent who was born abroad, and at least one who was a foreign citizen at birth. Almost 369 thousand of those minors were born in Italy (second generation), of which 232 thousand were Italian from birth and, therefore, being virtually all children of mixed couples, and almost 171 thousand were born abroad, of which 138 thousand were foreign citizens. This group does not include children of foreign origin who arrived in Italy following their international adoption (more than 32 thousand according to census data), nor unfortunately does it include the more than 10,500 foreign minors who do not live together with their families, and who in many cases are classified as unaccompanied minors. However, the latter group would be recovered by using information on parents as asked directly to the persons of interests (to exclude the former group, information would be requested on adoptive parents) rather than those deducted *a posteriori* for only those people living together with their parents.

The last demographic census not only recorded current citizenship and previous citizenship, for those who acquired Italian citizenship, but also asked for the individual's country of birth and his or her parents' country of birth (for those who resided in a foreign country, the month and year of the most recent transfer to Italy was requested only on the long form of the census model). Instead, the father and mother's citizenship is not asked for; therefore, it can be obtained precisely only for the youngest children, employing the same procedures that were adopted experimentally in the previous census. Only the insertion of census information into population registers and its updating over time will make it possible to have available municipal micro-data with detailed information on the parents' place of birth and citizenship on the LAC (*Liste Anagrafiche Comunali* - Municipal Population Registers, containing individual and household-level information of each person registered as resident in a given municipality at a given point of time).

Until now the only official survey recording citizenship (current and at birth) and country of birth for persons (statistical units) and their parents is the ISTAT sample survey on "Social condition and integration of foreign citizens which has been recently completed (the results of which will be available in autumn 2013). This survey will make it possible to estimate the size of the target population (immigrant children of foreign origin), by making a distinction between the second generation and the "decimal" generations and by keeping mixed couples' children separate from homogamous couples' children. Among other things, the survey contains a large section on training, with series of questions on native language, education level, enrolment, attendance, and the dropping-out of school, as well as integration and discrimination at school, which will make it possible to analyse in detail academic inclusion classified by migration generation.

However, two other ISTAT surveys are worth noting. The continuous Labour Force Survey includes the country of birth, current citizenship, and the year of arrival of the person, but not of his or her parents. But since all people living in the same household answer the questionnaire, it would be possible, on the basis of kinship, to deduce the information regarding the parents of children who live in their family of origin (almost all of whom are younger than 20 years of age), similarly to how it was done for the 2001 Italian census. Furthermore, the survey of the second quarter of 2008 included an ad-hoc module on the "Labour market situation of migrants and their immediate descendants", directed toward people with foreign citizenship or those who were naturalized at an age between 15 and 74 years of age. This module also contains information on the parents' country of birth and will make it possible, when re-proposed (in 2014, as stated in the European Statistical System Agreement), to study in greater depth the subject of employment placement classified by immigrant generation[5]. In the survey "Income and living conditions of families with foreigners" conducted in 2009, besides the information on a person's country of

---

5.   At the time of the survey, the second generation of working age still comprised a group that was too small to be able to be examined by means of a sample survey. For a comparative analysis among European countries, refer to the recent contribution by Alessio Cangiano (2012).

birth, citizenship (recording even more than one), and year of arrival (and age at the time of arrival), parents' country of birth is also recorded, thereby making it possible to identify the groups in relation to the second generation, and the "decimal" generations.

In reference to students in the Italian educational system, it should be noted that the surveys conducted by INVALSI (*Istituto nazionale per la valutazione del sistema educativo di istruzione e di formazione* [National Institute for the Evaluation of the Educational System for Instruction and Training]) for the National Evaluation Service, and the survey conducted by the OECD (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development), known as PISA (Programme for International Student Assessment), record students' and their parents' country of birth, as well as the year and age of arrival in Italy for those who were born abroad; however, they do not include information on the parents' citizenship. At a minimum, the student register contains information on the pupils/students' country of citizenship and country of birth, but up till now the Ministry of Education, University and Research (MIUR - *Ministero dell'Istruzione, dell'Università e della Ricerca*) has limited its attention in its publications to the student population with non-Italian citizenship (foreign and stateless people), making a distinction only in the last few years (since the 2007-2008 academic year) between those born in Italy (second generation) and those born abroad. The statistics that were published or in any case disseminated only rarely make it possible to classify foreigners as citizens of another country of the European Union (EU), or third-country nationals. This is why reference is made almost always to the overall group of foreigners and not to the subgroup of third country nationals.

4.3 Foreign students at school: indicators of educational outcomes and achievement

4.3.1 *The necessity of monitoring, and the selection of indicators*

Given the relatively recent character of foreign immigration to Italy, the impact of immigrant children is significant especially in the Italian educational system where, from the beginning, a large degree of attention has been paid on foreign children and their placement in the classroom. For many years in Italian schools, at various levels (from the ministerial level to the specific initiatives adopted by teachers and related workers), an intense and constructive debate has been conducted on multiculturalism, internal organization, contents, and new forms of teaching to be adopted toward students with a migration background (Favaro, 2004; 2007).

The educational integration of immigrant children is undoubtedly a primary goal of modern, multi-ethnic, and multicultural societies, because the accumulation of human capital constitutes a general prerequisite for better inclusion in the different spheres of everyday life and, above all, represents the basis for succeeding in the labour market (Crul, Schneider, Lelie, 2012). Many immigrants, who often have low professional qualifications, cannot count on consolidated social and work relations nor do they have accumulated socioeconomic well-being. Education likely has assumed greater value for them than for the local populations, because it is the main path for intergenerational upward social mobility. In other words, academic success could allow their children to earn higher wages and achieve higher social status for themselves and for their whole family (Di Bartolomeo, 2011).

Furthermore, the effects are much more general. How is it possible to ignore the fact that complete integration of the immigrant children in the labour market can correspond to them making a larger contribution to the country's economy that results in better attitudes of the receiving society toward immigrants and, generally, a more peaceful social climate? How is it possible not to consider that problematic integration into the labourforce, instead, can result in the marginalization and exclusion of a large part of immigrant children, undermining the possibility

of social cohesion and opening the door to a divided and conflictual society? These are reflections that are more valid for the children of immigrants who belong to the second generation subgroup who, since they were born and educated in the country have greater aspirations than their parents, and who are more similar to those of their peers in the majority group. These unfulfilled aspirations could result in even greater frustration and discontent of young people, with definite repercussions for society in general.

Four of the integration indicators proposed in the Zaragoza Declaration (April 2010) regard political area of education. Two of them refer to the level achieved by the adult population: the percentage with a tertiary, secondary, primary, or less than primary level of education for people between 20 and 64 years of age; and the percentage with a tertiary education for people between 30 and 34 years of age. Two other indicators, instead, refer to the younger population: the percentage of 18-24 years old who left the educational and training system too early, i.e., without having obtained an education qualification equivalent to at least a upper secondary school education[6]; number of 15-year-old students with low ability (low level of learning) in reading, mathematics, and science. The first three indicators were examined from the point of view of availability and quality of the data in a pilot sample taken by Eurostat (2011). On this occasion, since attention was basically focused on immigrant children, which in Italy includes few over thirty years of age, reference is made almost exclusively to measures that regard their inclusion in the national educational system.

Regarding the educational integration of these children, several dimensions deserve attention. In fact, it was emphasized how educational attainment, which is understood to be educational outcomes and achievement, should be considered together with - at least - other three dimensions. These dimensions are social interaction, in class and during extracurricular time, personal integrity, organized in terms of attitude with regard to language and culture of origin, and self-respect and personal confidence (Favaro, 2004; 2007). Success in school is certainly an important element of educational integration, but other aspects should not be neglected, which represent among other things the conditions and therefore the possibilities that positive courses of study are achieved (Besozzi, 2013). In this paragraph, however, we will limit our attention to the aspect of educational attainment that makes it possible to define educational integration in terms of the accumulation of human capital. Specifically, reference will be made to both learning outcomes and achievements, two distinct aspects that concern respectively the children's overall course of study in terms of educational continuity and their cognitive abilities in terms of academic results. Specific indicators clearly correspond to both aspects, which in any case are linked together. In fact, usually greater cognitive ability correspond to a higher rate of educational continuity, and likewise a longer course of study corresponds to greater cognitive abilities.

Learning outcomes indicators refer to the mechanisms of *vertical and horizontal differentiation* that are present in the educational system. *Vertical differentiation* corresponds to the mechanisms on the basis of which students initiate their course of study within the educational system and then follow over the years. Indicators of learning outcomes at a vertical level are: average age at the time of first school admission, the attendance rate for schooling before primary school (preschool and kindergarten), school attendance rate by age (or dropping out of school, which is the flip-side of the same coin), the average number of years of schooling or the average education level, repetition and dropout rates by order and level of education[7], as well as the rate of students

---

6. Another indicator proposed on an international scale in relation to this age group is the number of young people who are not working, not studying, and not undergoing training (Neet, *Not in Employment, Education or Training*).
7. Special attention is paid to students dropping out of school early, i.e., with at most a lower secondary school qualification (refer to OECD, 2005). As has already been noted, this aspect was also considered in the Zaragoza Declaration by means of the proposal of a specific indicator.

who are behind in their educational path (a delay of one or more school years) by age. These are aggregate indicators that can be used both for cross-sectional analyses (by school year) and longitudinal analyses (by generation - birth cohort), distinguishing at least the second generation from other immigrant/foreign children, if possible. The indicators on a micro-individual level include at least the probability of going on to the next level of education. *Horizontal differentiation*, instead, refers to the differences in the educational system within the same level of education that are determined by the number of existing programs for students of the same age (in Italy the distinction is between high schools and technical and vocational schools with regard to upper secondary education) and on the level of selectivity of the individual schools, and its possible effects of school segregation dynamics. With regard to this aspect, commonly-used aggregate indicators are the percentage of immigrant children by type of education or fields of study (possibly the dissimilarity in the distribution by type of school in comparison to the children of nationals) as well as, at a micro-individual level, the probability of choosing a specific type of upper secondary school or a specific field of study at university.

Learning achievements are commonly measured by the grades received at school during the year (for example, at the end of the first trimester/four-month term) or more often at the end of the academic year and by means of standardized tests on the knowledge and proficiency acquired in specific cognitive and disciplinary environments. The choice of which indicators to use depends directly on the purpose of the analyses to be conducted, because they have very different characteristics. Specifically, the earned grades acquired directly by the system, represent important information for the monitoring of academic progress, and guarantee the possibility of taking immediate - even preventive - action. But these are affected by the inclinations of individual teachers, and can be subject to evaluation strategies that vary from one school to another, and even within the same school among different sections. On the other hand, standardized tests are generally considered to be more objective and can be constructed in such a manner as to examine specific aspects in-depth, but they require the preparation of an ad-hoc survey, and could suffer from the so-called "cultural bias" (Desai et al., 2010), i.e. they are likely to include questions that are specific to a certain culture at the expense of children with a migration background.

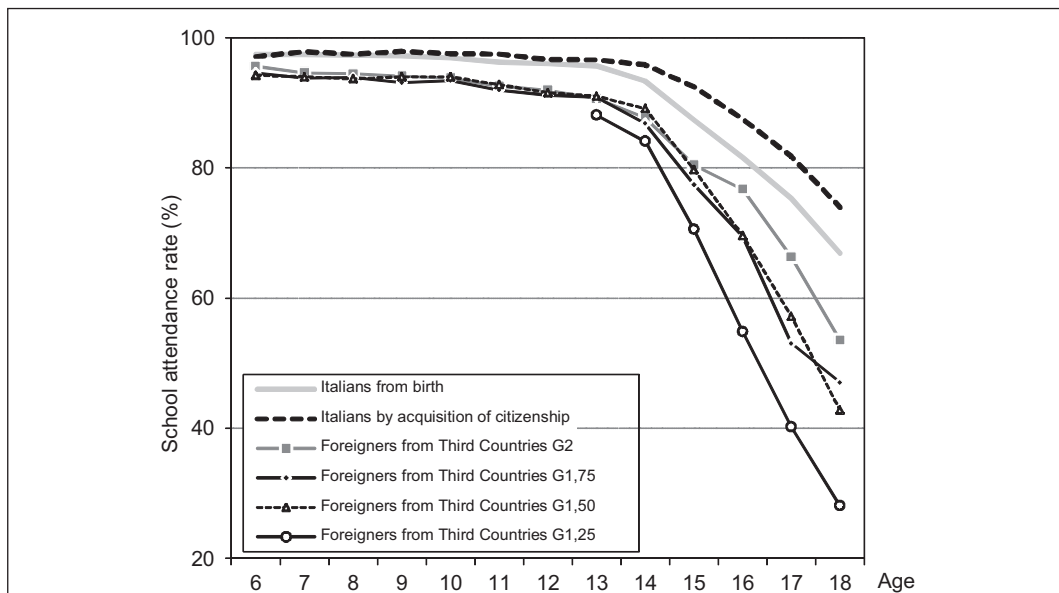### 4.3.2 *Learning outcomes: available data, results, and information needs*

Which of the indicators noted above can be calculated? With what continuity and detail? What considerations can be made regarding the educational outcomes of immigrant children students? And lastly, what questions (still) remain unanswered? These goals will now be used to try to examine the situation in Italy.

The school attendance rates by age could be calculated using as the numerator the data on school enrolments of the Ministry of Education, University and Research, and as the denominator the data on the resident population estimated by ISTAT. But the values are higher than 100% between 6 and 14 years of age, for both Italians and foreigners. This inconsistency, which was also confirmed for more recent years, is negligible for the former and significant for the latter, because it originates from the disparity existing between the data used in the numerator and denominator of the ratio. In the case of foreigners, this situation is mainly due to the fact that even though minor children may not be registered in the Municipal Population Registers (i.e. they may not be legal residents), because their parents are in Italy irregularly, they are permitted to obtain an education by Italian legislation - which has acquired international provisions. Therefore, not everyone included in the numerator is also included in the denominator of those rates calculated using data from such different sources. It has already been shown that consistency of data used in the rates'numerator and the denominator is achieved by using information from a single source. The census results

should make it possible to examine actual school attendance, even if limited to the resident population (Strozza, 2008).

2001 census data show how foreigners drop out of school before Italians do (Strozza, 2008; Dalla Zuanna et al., 2009). Up to 13 years of age the differences are quite small, but this gap widens progressively at older ages. The foreign children from third countries who drop out of school first are those who arrived in Italy at older ages. Those with the highest risk of dropping out of school are the ones who arrived in Italy during adolescence; however, dropping out of school prior to migration must not have been an infrequent occurrence in these cases. Instead, alarm bells are sounded by the increasing gap - in comparison with Italian children - of the risk of dropping out of school especially by immigrant children who arrived at preschool age (G1.75) or during compulsory education (G1.5). Already at 14 years of age less than 90% of these children still attend school, which is approximately 6 percentage points less than Italian children. At 16 years of age this proportion drops to less than 70%, with a gap that increases to 12 percentage points, and then reaches 20 percentage points at 18 years of age, when only a little more than one-third of the children from third countries who arrived in Italy before 13 years of age are still attending school. The comparison between school attendance rates by each age makes it possible to observe precisely how the gap between the different migration generations of non-EU children begins to widen progressively beginning at 14 years of age, and to such an extent that by 18 years of age the differences have become quite considerable (Fig. 1). The lower rate of school attendance is obviously in relation to the foreigners of G1.25, followed by those of G1.5 and G1.75, which do not differ from each other, with levels beginning from 16 years of age that are clearly lower than those of G2.

Figure 1 – School attendance rate by age of Italians by birth, those who have acquired Italian citizenship, and third country nationals according to migration generation. Italy, October 21st, 2001. School enrolments per 100 residents of the same age.

The total school attendance rate makes it possible to summarize the levels of school attendance over the entire interval from 6 to 18 years of age (corresponding to compulsory education and upper secondary school) and can be considered to be the average number of years of attendance per student (with the same structure per age). Its maximum level is 13 in the theoretical case in which no one drops out of the educational system before reaching the age of majority. Despite 2001 census data refer to a situation that has experienced considerable change due to the large amount of immigration that has occurred in the last decade, they allow drawing some useful considerations to define strategies in the analysis of most recent statistics. First of all it should be noted how differences by citizenship and migration generation can almost entirely be attributed to school attendance from 14 to 18 years of age (Table 2), i.e. upper school attendance.

Table 2 – Partial and total school attendance rates[a] *(average number of years of schooling) of foreign residents 6-18 years old by current region of citizenship and migration generation. Italy, October 21st, 2001*

Citizenship, migration generation	Partial school attendance rate			Total school attendance rate (6-18 years)
	6-10 years	11-13 years	14-18 years	
Foreigners				
- EU15	4,9	2,9	4,2	11,9
- New EU	4,8	2,8	3,5	11,0
- More Developed Third Countries	4,8	2,9	4,3	12,0
- Third Countries with SMP	4,7	2,7	3,1	10,5
Total	4,7	2,8	3,1	10,6
Foreigners from Third Countries				
- G2	4,7	2,8	3,6	11,1
- G1,75	4,7	2,7	3,3	10,8
- G1,50	4,7	2,8	3,4	10,8
- G1,25	…	…	2,8	…

Notes: (a) Sum of the specific school attendance rates by age (birth cohorts). (b) The More Developed Third Countries include the non-EU countries of Western Europe, North America (USA and Canada), Japan, and Oceania. (c) The Third Countries with Strong Migratory Pressure (SMP) include all the remaining countries not classified as More Developed.
Source: authors'elaboration on ISTAT data, 14th General Census of Population and Housing.

Foreigners' total school attendance rate is considerably lower than that of Italians (on average 10.6 in comparison to 12.1), but differences by region of citizenship are significant. More specifically, it should be noted that the children who are citizens of EU15 (and of more developed third countries) hold values that are similar to those of Italians, while those of third countries characterized by strong migratory pressure (SMP), and even those of new EU Member States, have considerably lower school attendance levels (respectively 10.5 and 11 years on average). Therefore, it is worth mentioning as monitoring carefully the situation of children from countries only recently admitted to the European Union, deserves much attention. Before the EU enlargement, they showed school attendance levels significantly lower than those of their Italian peers

and of the children originating in more developed countries (inside or outside the EU). Having confirmed that it is the adolescents of the "decimal" generations that most frequently drop out of school, it should be emphasized that the differences could be particularly marked when considering individual citizenship[8], with differentials that remain significant even after controlling for certain characteristics, as e.g. the migration generation (Strozza, 2008).

The considerable growth in foreign population was accompanied by a large increase of non-Italian students in Italian schools, which in the school year 2011-12 reached approximately 756 thousand or 8.4% of the total number of students (Ministry of Education, University and Research, 2012; Ongini, Santagati, 2013). The largest number of foreign students is found in primary school (almost 270 thousand students) where the largest absolute growth in the last ten years was recorded (185 thousand more) and where the impact on the total number of students has remained the highest (9.5%). This is followed by the lower secondary school, with 166 thousand foreigners or 9.3% of the students, and upper school, with slightly less than 165 thousand non-Italian students enrolled, which corresponds to 6.2% of the total. However, upper secondary schools recorded the largest relative increase, since in a decade foreigners increased by almost 140 thousand, i.e., almost five times the number recorded in the 2001-02 school year.

There was a considerable growth also in preschool and kindergarten: in the 2011-12 school year almost 157 thousand non-Italian children (9.2% of the total) were enrolled, which is slightly less than 120 thousand more than a decade earlier. However, it would be useful to precisely know how generalized is their presence in this cycle prior to compulsory education. In the 2001 census the difference between Italians and foreigners in the percentage of 3-to-5-year-old children who attend preschool and kindergarten was particularly large (more than 14 percentage points) confirming probably significant disparities in the possibility of accessing public and private services prior to compulsory education. It is worth monitoring this aspect, since the age of first access to school likely affects the academic results and course of study of immigrant children. In fact, starting school at preschool age allows at the least for greater language learning and, therefore, a greater possibility of success in the course of study.

The indicators that can be constructed with reference to the vertical and horizontal differentiation of the academic inclusion of foreign students doubtless provide a problematic outline of the situation. The data of the Ministry of Education, University and Research show that the percentage of promotions of foreign students is lower than that of their Italian classmates, and the disadvantage of the former grows correspondingly to the academic level until the first year of upper secondary school when it reaches 20 percentage points (less than 60% in comparison with almost 80% promoted) and in any case remains in the double digits in subsequent classes. Disparities are obvious also in the final examination admission rates for receiving lower secondary school qualifications and for the upper secondary school diploma. In fact, the results of the exams matter less than being admitted to the final exams themselves (Strozza, Mussino, 2011). For example, for the exams for the third year of lower secondary school in the 2009-10 school year, 96% of Italian students were admitted, while less than 92% of the second-generation foreign students and only 87% of foreign students born abroad were admitted. No significant differences were observed between Italians and second-generation foreigners in admission to the state examination for the upper secondary school diploma; the proportion of foreigners born abroad admitted to the examination was lower, though not by much. Because these data are cross-sectional, they do not allow a reading by birth cohort; therefore, a comprehensive examination of the results of the educational process is not possible. However, the fact that these results are substantially consolidated allows us to consider the situation to be very problematic. If it is taken into account that
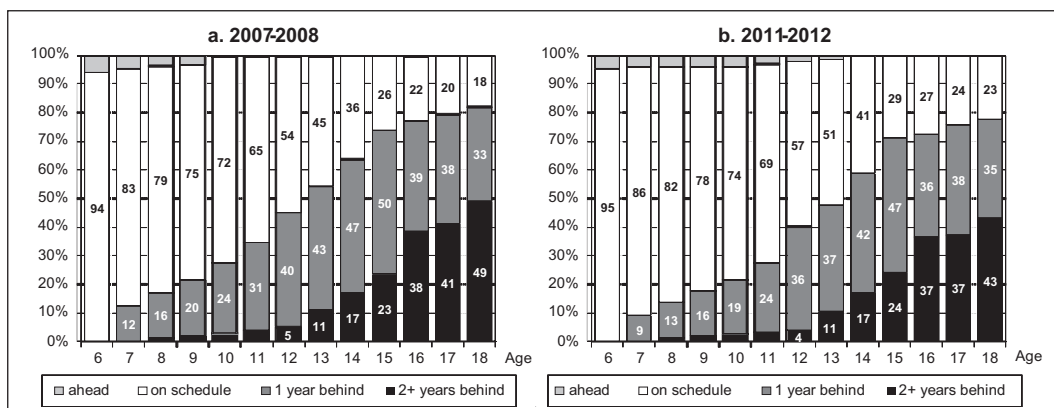
8. The school dropout rate in the first two education cycles is basically low and without much differentiation; therefore, the large disparities recorded for the group in the education period considered can be attributed almost entirely to the increasing school dropout rates from 14 years of age and over, which vary to a large degree between the various nationalities.

foreign students have a higher school dropout rate and a lower rate of promotion in comparison with their Italian peers, with disadvantages that increase as they get older, it should be clear that the small disparity recorded in the admission to the final examinations for upper secondary school and their results do not allow for optimism, since it is due to the high degree of selection experienced by the group of non-Italian children before being just one step away from receiving their diplomas (Strozza, Mussino, 2011).

A rough evaluation of the students who drop out of school can be made on the basis of the data of the last two school years provided by the Ministry of Education, University and Research. The difference between the students enrolled in a specific phase of the education cycle and those "expected to" based on the data of the previous year should, in fact, be determined by the people leaving the educational system due to the abandonment of their studies, acquisition of Italian citizenship, death, or moving to another country. The "expected" enrolled students are the same as the enrolled students of the year before in the previous class to which must be added the new enrolled students and the students who are repeating a year in the class and from which must be subtracted the students who were repeating a year in the previous class. This simple balance equation applied to the data of the 2010-11 and 2011-12 school years has given rise to in an especially high estimate of the number of students dropping out in upper secondary schools (more than 25,000), and especially in the changeover from the first to the second class (approximately -12,000)[9]. Although these are very approximate estimates, in a cross-sectional analysis, they seem to indirectly signal the need for longitudinal data that would make it possible to follow the history of homogeneous cohorts of children as they progress in their course of study.

It should also be taken into consideration that the inclusion in lower classes with regard to the student's age, the lack of attendance, and repeating some school years could result in a widespread situation of being left behind, a situation which is growing quickly with the increase of education levels. Slightly less than one-quarter of foreign students enrolled in primary school, as well as half of those in lower secondary school and almost three-quarters of those in upper secondary school are behind in their course of study (Fig. 2).

Figure 2 – Non-Italian students by their course of study situation (educational path) according to age. Italy, 2007-2008 and 2011-2012 school years. Percentage values

Source: authors' elaboration on data of the Ministry of Education, University and Research.

9. Even though this refers to previous birth cohorts and, partially, to first-generation migrants, these results seem to be consistent with the particularly high proportion of 18-to-24-year-old foreigners who dropped out of school early (46%, which increases to 49% for citizens of third countries), which among other things is considerably greater (27 percentage points more) than that of their Italian peers (Eurostat, 2011).

Also, not only the majority of foreign students are behind in their educational path, but the proportion of students that are behind by more than one year is strongly growing with increasing age. The largest step is between 15 and 16 years of age, and this is an indication of how the changeover from lower to upper secondary school is the largest obstacle. The same reasoning is valid for Italians, shifted by one year of age, since among the latter until compulsory education, being behind affects only a negligible proportion of the school population, and in upper secondary schools it is considerably less than that recorded for foreign children (Mussino, Strozza, 2012). It is true that in the last few years the situation has improved slightly (refer to Figs. 2a and 2b), but it should be noted that the weight of the second generations has grown in comparison to the "decimal" generations: i.e., those children who should study in Italy from 3-5 years old and do not suffer from retrocession at the first instance of admission to school due to inadequate knowledge of the Italian language. Therefore, it is difficult to say how much this improvement is due to initiatives implemented by the schools and how much, instead, it is a result of the changes that have taken place in the structure of the foreign school population by migration generation. In any case, the situation remains extremely problematic.

Being behind at school, especially more than a year, could also be one of the key factors that contributes to drop out of school or at least choose a course of study that is less challenging and more oriented toward quick placement in the labour market. This hypothesis could find some support in the data of the Ministry of Education, University and Research on enrolments in upper secondary school by type of school. Foreign students are distributed among the various type of schools in different manner than Italians are, with a clear-cut preference for vocational schools at the expense of the high schools (Table 3).

Table 3 – Distribution of the percentage of Italian and foreign students by type of upper secondary school. Italy, 2011-12 school year

Type of upper secondary school	Percentage by type of secondary school			Location of foreigners[a]	
	Italians	Foreigners born in Italy (G2)	Foreigners born abroad (G1.5)	Foreigners born in Italy (G2)	Foreigners born abroad (G1.5)
High school focusing on classical studies	11,1	4,7	3,6	0,42	0,32
High school focusing on sciences	23,8	14,3	9,8	0,60	0,41
High school focusing on languages	0,7	0,7	0,3	1,11	0,40
Artistic education	3,8	3,6	2,9	0,95	0,78
Former high school focusing on education	8,4	5,4	5,0	0,64	0,59
Technical school	33,3	40,8	38,0	1,22	1,14
Vocational school	18,9	30,6	40,4	1,62	2,14
TOTAL	100,0	100,0	100,0		
Index (percentage) of dissimilarity with Italians		38,5	52,3		

Notes: (a) Ratio between the percentage in that type of school for one of the two groups of foreign students (born in Italy or born abroad) and the percentage of Italian students (for example, for vocational schools 40.4/18.9 = 2.14 for foreigners born abroad in comparison to Italians). (b) Subtotal of the differences in absolute value between the percentages of Italians and of the foreigners of one of the two groups in each type of secondary school.

Source: authors' elaboration on data of the Ministry of Education, University and Research (Ongini, Santagati, 2013).

The dissimilarity with respect to Italians in the distribution by type of school appears to be particularly large in the case of foreign adolescents born abroad (52.3%). These students choose vocational schools twice as often, and high schools approximately only one-third as often as Italian students. Therefore, there is an obvious horizontal differentiation in school inclusion, despite the fact that the course of study is chosen only after 8 years of compulsory education and probably another 3 years in the preschool phase. There are various factors that could be relevant, such as suggestions from the families and teachers, and in any case the frequent situation of being behind in their course of study, which could lead toward a less theoretical and more vocational education as well as to drop out of school.

A higher school dropout rate, less success in studies, frequently being behind in the educational path, and a focus on courses of study leading to immediate placement in the labour market are the obvious signs of problems in the inclusion of immigrant children in the Italian school system. These elements are closely linked. Unfortunately, no information is currently available which would allow to identify the whole target population (immigrant children), classify it by migration generation, and take into account sex and detailed citizenship. Moreover, connections are missing among the various phases of the educational process that begin with admission into the educational system, and thus it is impossible to connect the courses of study and choices of the students and their families, except by making assumptions.

4.3.3 *Learning achievements: characteristics and informative contribution of the PISA and INVALSI surveys*

Attention to learning achievement and the techniques for evaluating it in Italy has grown strongly since the 1990s for national and European reasons. At the national level the affirmation of the principle of academic autonomy, sanctioned by law in 1997 (Italian Law no. 59/1997) and then elevated to constitutional level in 2001 (Italian Constitutional Law no. 3/2001), considered the implementation of a rigorous system of evaluation of the "autonomous" decisions of the individual schools to be a fundamental pillar. On the European level the Treaty of Lisbon and its subsequent applications have confirmed the need to "increase the quality and effectiveness of the educational systems"[10], especially with regard to competency in mathematics, science, and technology, as well as in reading[11]. It has frequently been found to be desirable to construct common indicators and evaluation tools for academic performance[12].

In the same manner, the European Union recognizes education to be a fundamental tool for the goal of effective integration of children with a migrant background, noting the need to implement interim measures[13] and at the same time suggesting specific indicators of learning[14]. Following the information above, two main surveys were designed aimed at evaluating the academic performance of children with an immigrant background in the Italian context, i.e., the INVALSI tests and the international PISA survey.

Both surveys make use of standardized tests whose purpose is to measure the children's cognitive abilities in the three disciplinary areas considered to be fundamentally important in Europe: reading (Italian in the INVALSI tests), mathematics, and science[15]. Even though the two surveys have similar characteristics, important differences exist with regard to the statistical

---

10. Conclusions of the European Council, Stockholm, March 23-24, 2001, no. 100/01.
11. Conclusions of the European Union Council, May 5-6, 2003, no. 8486/03.
12. 2006 Common Intermediate Report of the Council and of the Commission on progress made in connection with the "2010 Education and Training" work program, no. 2006/C 79/01.
13. Conclusions of the European Union Council, November 26, 2009, no. 2009/C 301/07.
14. The above-cited European Ministerial Conference, Zaragoza, April 15-16, 2010.
15. Currently, however, the INVALSI tests cover only mathematics and Italian.

universe (reference population), the test contents, the nature of the survey (universal vs. sample), evaluation methods, and not least the indicators that can be deduced from them.

With regard to the first point, the INVALSI tests are directed toward all students of the second and fifth years of primary school, the first and third years of lower secondary school, and the second year of upper secondary school (INVALSI, 2012a). In its turn, the PISA survey focuses only on the 15-year-old student population. The selection of two different groups is due to the different goals of the two surveys: while the goal of the INVALSI survey is to evaluate academic performance at the beginning and end of the course of study of each education level for the purpose of examining the capabilities of the individual schools in educating the students, the PISA survey is focused on evaluating to what extent the students who are at the end of their compulsory course of study (15 years old on average in OECD countries) have acquired the necessary competencies for participating fully and consciously in social life and for entering the labour market. In this sense it is clear how in Italy the INVALSI survey is considered more appropriate when taking into account immigrant children, since these children are more concentrated in primary school and lower secondary schools.

Regarding the contents, the INVALSI standardized tests are similar to international tests, even though the differences in the contents and in the procedures for constructing the test folders are not insignificant. In the Italian (reading) test, not only is reading evaluated, but attention is focused also on grammar competency, as well as the ability to grasp coherence relations and textual cohesion. The mathematics test evaluates the same content areas as the international tests, even though the specific subjects within the areas are expressly connected with the curricula specified by Italian regulations. But the biggest difference is in relation to the procedure for constructing the test folders connected with the type of survey: sampling design for the PISA survey and universal asset for the INVALSI surveys. While in the first case the test folders are not identical for all students, in the second case (INVALSI tests) the test folders are the same.

Regarding evaluation procedures, in both of the surveys the points obtained by the children are then summarized and evaluated on the basis of a (continuous) theoretical scale of points constructed by means of the "Item Response Theory" method[16]. On the basis of this scale the PISA survey also identifies "levels" of performance that correspond to different degrees of cognitive ability acquired by the children[17]. It follows that the INVALSI tests allow the reconstruction of the two types of academic performance indicators into Italian and mathematics: Students' average performance and the percentage of correct answers. In turn the indicators that can be deduced from the PISA survey in reading, mathematics, and science are the following: the students' average performance and the percentage of students in each "level." On a micro-individual level, PISA also provides the possibility of analysing the probability of obtaining higher academic results on the continuous scale, as well as the probability of obtaining results that are better/worse than a specific "level."

From both surveys' results, the greater learning difficulties of immigrant children emerge in comparison to those of their Italian peers. An examination of the INVALSI results for the 2011-12 academic year confirms the disadvantage of foreign students, who at all educational levels have considerably lower scores both on the Italian and on the mathematics test than their Italian classmates (Table 4). The worst results are especially in reference to foreigners who were not born in Italy (which we have defined as generation 1.5), who have a particularly large differential in comparison to Italian students, while the students born in Italy (second generation) have scores that are more similar to the Italians' scores on both tests (Ongini, Santagati, 2013).

16. For the methodological details refer to OECD, 2012.
17. For details refer to the website http://www.oecd.org/pisa/. This classification into levels is the basis on which the Zaragoza Declaration proposes considering the percentage of children with a low degree of cognitive ability.

Similar results are noticed also from PISA-2009 results (Fig. 3): the differential is much more marked for generation 1.5, and it gradually decreases for the second generation and for the children of mixed couples.

However, it is useful to present some specific considerations on the differences that were recorded: a) at first glance it is not possible to note linear progress in the changeover from one educational level to another (INVALSI tests); b) the disparity in the Italian test seems to be more marked than that which is observed in reference to the mathematics test (both surveys).

With reference to the first point, it should be noted, however, that the significant reduction in the gap that is observed in the third year of lower secondary school could be due to the fact that the national test was performed, as required by Italian Law no. 176/2007, within the context of the final examination for the first education cycle, that is, to the group of students that does not include those who were not admitted to the final examination. Therefore, these exclusions, which affected foreigners to a greater degree than Italians (11% vs. 3.6%), likely influenced the test's "positive" results. In the second year of upper secondary school, the differential in scores roses, even though it was less than that recorded for the first year of lower secondary school. Therefore, it is possible to assume that, in the absence of differences in the definition of the reference populations, a progressive decrease of the Italian-foreigners differential is recorded over educational cycle. This may be explained at least by the better selection of the second group, which experienced a higher school dropout rate than the first group.

Table 4 – Score differences on the Italian and mathematics tests between foreign students born abroad (G2) and born in Italy (G1.5) in comparison to Italian students, by type of school and year. Italy, 2011-12 school year

Type of school and year	Italian test		Mathematics test	
	Foreigners G1.5	Foreigners G2	Foreigners G1.5	Foreigners G2
"Raw" differences				
Primary school - second year	-23	-16	-16	-12
Primary school - fifth year	-28	-16	-18	-11
Lower secondary school - first year	-35	-16	-20	-7
Lower secondary school - third year	-20	-7	-11	-3
Upper secondary school - second year	-28	-10	-16	-7
"Adjusted" differences (a)				
Primary school - second year	-6	-5	0	-2
Primary school - fifth year	-8	-6	-3	-2
Lower secondary school - first year	-13	-6	0	2
Lower secondary school - third year	-7	-1	1	4
Upper secondary school - second year	-9	-2	2	1

Note: (a) These results are obtained controlling for the following characteristics of the students and the courses: gender, course of study situation (educational path), difference regarding the class average in the admission grade only for the third year of lower secondary school, difference regarding the class average of the grade in Italian and mathematics, the type of school attended only for the second year of upper secondary school. The reference category is an Italian male student on schedule with his course of study who attends a technical school in the case of enrolment in second year of upper secondary school.
Source: INVALSI (2012b).

With reference to the second point, the results of the INVALSI tests and of the PISA survey confirm (if there was need for confirmation) the importance of the disadvantage suffered by foreign/immigrant children in learning the Italian language. Fewer "raw" differentials were observed, in fact, on the mathematics tests in comparison to Italian and science (the latter on PISA). By controlling for specific individual and academic characteristics[18], the differentials in Italian and science remain large, but the differential in mathematics decreases significantly (PISA) or disappears (INVALSI)[19]. In this sense, rather than strong mathematics skills, it shows that children of immigrant origin struggle when faced with questions in the form of text (instead of formalizations and symbols).

This particularly interesting information invites a greater use of the results of the INVALSI tests at least in two additional ways: by detailed citizenship and area of residence. In this case the universal asset of INVALSI represents a clear advantage, making it possible to evaluate differences in learning linked to the language of origin or to other differentiation factors among the different foreign nationality groups (or with foreign origin) present in Italy. At the same time, academic inclusion is concretely accomplished in local environments (provinces, cities, individual schools), as it is more generally the case with the integration of immigrants.

Figure 3 – Differential between the average performance of immigrant children and Italians by subject and category with and without control over individual and academic characteristics (a), 2009

Notes: (a) The individual characteristics taken into consideration are the child's gender, his/her socioeconomic and cultural background (highest work and education level achieved by the parents and the economic and cultural assets possessed by the family), the family structure (presence of brothers and sisters and family type), and the language spoken at home. The academic characteristics taken into consideration are the school's ethnic and socioeconomic concentration (high vs. low); the type of school (public vs. private), and the academic resources (e.g., laboratory equipment, computers, etc.). (b) AP stands for average performance.
Source: authors' elaboration on PISA data, 2009.

18. For the INVALSI tests the differential is controlled for gender, regularity of studies, and scores (Table 4), while for the PISA survey the socioeconomic and cultural background, the language spoken at home, the children's family structure, as well as the school context were taken into account (Fig. 3).
19. This difference can probably be attributed to the fact that the PISA survey, because it refers to the entire 15-year-old population, also contains the group of students repeating a year who are in lower school levels than the second year of upper secondary school, the reference population in the INVALSI test, which would, therefore, be positively selected in the case of immigrant children.

In the same manner, the PISA survey presents two characteristics that make it an important analysis tool which complements the INVALSI survey. Specifically, the inclusion of a large amount of information on an individual, family, and academic level allows for a detailed analysis of the learning achievement determinants (as e.g. the language spoken at home, school characteristics, etc.). Lastly, the comparative structure of the survey makes it possible to statistically compare the experience in Italy with that of other countries in which immigration has occurred for a much longer time (Di Bartolomeo, 2012).

4.4 Local and prospective experiences for measuring school inclusion

On the regional and local level, various initiatives have been implemented in the last few years to evaluate the school inclusion of immigrant children, which have focused their attention also on aspects such as the practices employed by the schools upon initial arrival, during placement in the class, and in the course of study, relations with peers (in the school environment and outside of it) and with teachers, the involvement of the children's families in the education project, as well as other initiatives undertaken and the role played by the third sector. Specifically, through the use of the tool of focus groups with school directors or with teachers and trainers it was possible to address the questions of learning, knowledge of Italian for communicating and for study, the relationship with the foreign families, the presence of prejudices, and the support and accompaniment of immigrant children in their course of study (Besozzi, 2013; Palmieri et al., 2013). In the recent survey by ISMU Foundation on a sample of 1,040 Italian and foreign students enrolled at a lower secondary school in Lombardy (which has requested an exception for classes that exceed 30% of students with non-Italian citizenship), the goal was to make available a wide range of indicators to build a tool enabling to measure the levels of integration of foreigners in the educational system and verify the relationship with a series of factors that include the important factor of the atmosphere in class between peers and with the teachers (Besozzi, 2013).

Local social researchers and policy makers can certainly play a fundamental role in monitoring the school inclusion, in identifying good practices, and in verifying the effects of any initiatives; however, it is also important to attain an information framework that is able to be used to carefully evaluate the situation on a national scale, and prepare general intervention measures. With regard to the above, it should be noted that in the cross-sectional monitoring guaranteed by the data of the Ministry of Education, University and Research, a wider definition of immigrant children must be adopted, one that does not limit the focus only to foreigners and that makes it possible to distinguish the different migration generations. It would also be necessary to classify the related analyses by detailed nationality (current or at origin), at least for the largest migrant communities, so as to be able to verify if and to what extent academic trajectories differ according to origin. The last demographic census and especially the sample survey on "Social condition and integration of foreign citizens" would guarantee rich information and possibilities for analysis that were previously unthinkable. However, these are surveys that are not able to monitor continuously educational processes as INVALSI and ministerial surveys do.

Being integration a dynamic process, the longitudinal approach is of fundamental importance. Only thanks to the longitudinal perspective, it is possible to follow educational trajectories within the entire academic experience noting strengths and weaknesses of the different courses, and making it possible to give immediate and timely responses to the main questions. With regard to the above, it seems possible to follow two paths: on the one hand, to direct the Ministry of Education, University and Research toward improvement and more intensive use of the student register data even though this is limited to public schools and their equivalent; on the other hand, to evaluate the opportunity to carry out periodically retrospective surveys (or to prepare ad-hoc

module in wider surveys) of young people, for example 15-29 years old, which would not only reconstruct their previous course of study, but could acquire information about the first placement in the educational system, about the role of the family in support and in educational choices (for example, help or checking homework by parents or brothers or sisters, interaction with the school), about academic and family contexts, and other aspects that can affect the integration of the immigrants' young children.

This second path appears to have already been cleared by several important European experiences such as the TIES project (The Integration of the European Second Generation) focused on descendants of immigrants from Turkey, ex-Yugoslavia, and Morocco in eight European countries (Crul et al., 2012). Therefore, international experiences and the experiences of countries in which immigration has occurred for a much longer time should also be looked at to establish the most suitable tools for monitoring the phenomenon. In this sense, if it is true that attention must be focused on the academic path of immigrant children, it is equally true that another (very sensitive) issue related to the entrance of immigrant children in the labour market will soon become a challenge to be faced. The use of retrospective surveys on young people on the TIES survey model could be a longitudinal tool capable of taking into consideration simultaneously the course of study and the professional career; however, there are many examples in which it would be possible to refer to European countries, and countries outside of Europe in which immigration has occurred for a much longer time[20]. These experiences should be referred to the monitoring of the integration of immigrant children so that as to find solutions, in order to remain a resource rather than become a social problem for the host country.

Bibliography

Ambrosini M., Molina S. (a cura di) (2004), *Seconde generazioni*, Fondazione Giovanni Agnelli, Torino.

Barbagli M., Schmoll C. (a cura di) (2011), *Stranieri in Italia. La generazione dopo*, il Mulino, Bologna.

Besozzi E. (2013), "Introduzione. Verso strumenti di misurazione dell'integrazione scolastica", in Besozzi E., Colombo M., Santagati M. (a cura di), *Misurare l'integrazione nelle classi multietniche*, Fondazione Ismu, Milano: 9-24.

Besozzi E., Colombo M., Santagati M. (a cura di) (2013), *Misurare l'integrazione nelle classi multietniche*, Fondazione Ismu, Milano.

Bonifazi C., Gallo G., Strozza S., Zincato D. (2008), "Popolazioni straniere e immigrate: definizioni, categorie e caratteristiche", *Studi Emigrazione*, n. 171, pp. 519-548.

Bonifazi C., Strozza S. (2008), "Informazione statistica ed esigenze conoscitive sull'immigrazione straniera: realtà, problemi e prospettive", in Istat, *La presenza straniera in Italia: l'accertamento e l'analisi*, Roma: 187-212.

Boudon, R. (1974), *Education, Opportunity and Social Inequality*, Wiley, New York.

Brinbaum Y., Heath A. (2007), "Explaining ethnic inequalities in educational attainment", *Ethnicities*, 7(3): 291-304.

Cangiano A. (2012), *Immigration policy and migrant labour market outcomes in the European Union: New evidence from the EU Labour Force Survey*, Fieri Working Paper, Torin.

Casacchia O., Natale L., Paterno A. e Terzera L. (a cura di) (2008), *Studiare insieme, crescere insieme? Un'indagine sulle seconde generazioni in dieci regioni italiane*, Franco Angeli, Fondazione ISMU, Milano.

20. By way of example only, refer to the *Generation 2004* survey developed by *Centre d'études et de recherches sur les qualifications* in France, which follows a cohort of young people who left school in 2004 regardless of the level of education attained, or *Echantillon Démographique Permanent* (EDP), a French survey that makes it possible to follow over time a sample of the population measured in different censuses, or the *Longitudinal Survey on Immigrants* currently in force in Australia, Canada, and New Zealand.

5 - Health Conditions and Access to Health Services[1]

5.1 Introduction

The search for health integration indicators requires a preliminary conceptualisation of the mechanisms that explain the connection between migration and health for three reasons. On the one hand, the migration-health connection involves the classic "distal" determinants of health, i.e., those circumstances of life that are discussed in other chapters of this report. To some extent these indicators pertaining to work, education and home, for example, are those that satisfactorily forecast in advance the integration that will arrive in the health sector, which forms one of the main, although unintentional, results. At the extreme opposite, that of the observed health results, it is important to remember that the health aspect of immigrants is considerably sensitive to selection mechanisms typical of individual migrant history. If the health indicators do not consider these health-influenced mobility processes, then they can give distorted images of integration. Lastly, health results are often the outcome of a very latent pathogenic process that lends itself poorly to the objects of monitoring and correcting integration policies and interventions. Effort has to be put forth to identify indicators able to gather intermediate results of short latency, but that are strongly predictive of the end health outcome.

A recent examination of literature [Spadea *et al.* 2013] reviewed the major explanatory mechanisms of the connection between migration and health, above all considering the studies conducted in Europe owing to the greater similarity with Italy as regards both the countries of origin of the foreigners present and the characteristics of the health systems and their information and statistics systems. The chapter will use this review to outline the conceptual framework of reference and will then examine the connections and their indicators that must be monitored in order to assess the integration.

5.2 The theoretical picture

From a theoretical viewpoint, the immigrant's health problems can be separated into three large categories: problems with importation, problems with uprooting and problems coming from acculturation and social inequality phenomena.

The importation problems arise from genetic traits, as in the case of thalassaemia, or from endemic exposures in the countries of origin. Endemic exposures give rise to immediately diagnosable pathologies, as is the case of tuberculosis or HIV, or manifest their effects on health over the long term. That is the case of *Helicobacter Pylori*, which can transform into a stomach cancer, of hepatitis B that can be associated with liver cancer, or of HPV (*Human Papilloma Virus*), related to cancer of the cervix. These are the only tumours common in poor countries [Ferlay *et al.* 2010], which are starting to also be observed amongst groups of immigrants in Germany [Ott *et al.* 2008] and in Italy [Manneschi *et al.* 2011].

The migrant experience over the short term gives rise to uprooting problems that for the most part emerge in the form of acute psychic and mental health disorders, with their somatiza-

---

1. Main chapter contribututors: Giuseppe Costa, Luisa Mondo and Maria Teresa Spadea

tions (e.g., gastric ailments), and of a search for comfort in non-essential habits that may lead to substance and alcohol abuse, with resulting health risks, including loss of control and violence. These manifestations are mostly found amongst those who were forced to migrate, as in the case of refugees or those applying for asylum [Pfarrwaller e Suris 2012].

Problems tied to acculturation and social inequality phenomena constitute a much heavier weight, and more long-term.

The acculturation process affects the state of health, especially when the immigrant changes lifestyles, which progressively adapt to those of the population of the host country. Acculturation above all causes the majority of behaviours at health risk to rise (smoking, substance abuse, diet and physical exercise), but also leads to a better knowledge of the offer of health services, and hence better access to primary care services and screening [Lara *et al.* 2005]. These acculturation processes vary with basic culture, age upon arrival and time elapsed since immigration. For example, the predominance of excess weight and diabetes amongst immigrants in the United States [Oza-Frank and Narayan 2009; Oza-Frank et al. 2011] grows the longer the migrant experience lasts, with an adaptation speed higher amongst those who arrive at a working age.

Another constant phenomenon added onto the foregoing is that as time elapses from his migration, the immigrated foreigner tends to accumulate disadvantages in living and working conditions that reflect the typical conditions of the lower social segments of the native population, whose negative effects on health are by now well-known and documented in all European countries [Mackenbach *et al.* 2008]. A significant part of the immigrated foreigner's health disparities would therefore be mediated by social deprivation [Nazroo 2003; Malmusi *et al.* 2010].

This picture can then be distorted by health-related selection mechanisms: the "healthy migrant effect" and the so-called "salmon effect" [Razum *et al.* 2000; Razum 2006; Ullmann *et al.* 2011]. The first is based on the assumption that people who emigrate for a voluntary work or study project are on the average healthier than their peers who do not leave their country of origin and those of the countries of arrival (this would occur neither when rejoining families nor for forced migration). The second mechanism is that for which a migrant decides to return to his country of origin when he falls ill, because he does not have his network of family and friends in the host country, which would be needed to handle his illness. So as time goes by after migration, the epidemiological aspect of these minorities loses the "healthy migrant effect" advantage and approaches that of the host population or becomes worse, due both to the acculturation mechanism and hence sharing risk factors of the host country and to a shift toward the social inequalities of health and hence of the constant exposure to the risk factors typical of poverty (housing insecurity and overcrowding, poor protection at work, poor diet, psychological discomfort, difficulty in accessing national health services), up to the point of reaching what is called "exhausted migrant effect" [Bollini and Siem 1995].

If social inequalities are the primary result of the immigrated foreigner's health history, then it is a good idea to fully understand its generation mechanisms. Diderichsen's diagram [Diderichsen *et al.* 2001], altered to take into consideration some specific characteristics of the health of immigrants (figure 1), stresses that the social position of people, i.e., the level of control they have over material resources, status and social networks needed to build a destiny, influences exposure to health risk factors (psycho-social, behavioural, environmental factors and limited access to treatments) and, as a consequence, health results. The last link of the causal chain emphasises the reverse process, namely the possibility that becoming ill might jeopardise the social career of a person. The diagram then illustrates the four basic mechanisms (*red arrows*) through which health inequalities may emerge. The first is the social stratification in itself, meaning what determines the formation of social position, influenced by the economic and social context and by the policies governing it. The second is that for which social position affects the social distribution of exposures to risk factors. The third mechanism views social position involved in the alteration of people's vulnerability to the negative health effects of exposure to a risk factor. The fourth

mechanism states that social position makes sick people more or less vulnerable to economic and social consequences (impoverishment, downward social mobility).

In general, the entire conceptual diagram identifies mechanisms of action on health non-specific of immigration. The problems of importation are shared with the travellers' experience, those of uprooting with the effects of all of life's critical events, those of inequality with the experiences of the more unfortunate social classes. Nevertheless, the immigrant experiences them with a particular intensity and frequency. Moreover, what specifically characterises the health experience of foreigners immigrating from developing countries, and particularly those without a regular residence permit, are the potential phenomena of racial discrimination, language and cultural barriers and legal restrictions that worsen the effect on the health of the other processes in progress [Nazroo 2003; Larchanché 2012] (*the interactions between the various mechanisms and the immigrant's status are represented by the blue arrows in the diagram*).

Interaction of migration with the social stratification mechanism is well-documented in the other chapters of this report. Migration usually entails segregation into the more under-privileged social positions with which it shares the most important social determinants of health: unhealthy and crowded housing, inadequate education, social and family isolation, particularly risky situations for the maternal and children's area, and temporary, uncertain and low-quality work.

As for the second mechanism - inequalities in exposure to the risk factors - it has already been previously explained that acculturation increases the immigrated foreigner's adoption of unhealthy behaviours, even if with significant cultural diversity. Moreover, the unfavourable living and work conditions associated with the migratory experience more frequently expose immigrants to environment and work risks related to hygiene and safety. Racial discrimination experiences raise specific psycho-social risks for immigration, and the differences in accessing healthcare and in the outcome, even when there are no formal obstacles to gain access to treatments, may limit total satisfaction of the health requirement: limitations in the ability to perceive the need and to transform it into demand, barriers that hamper actual accessibility, and limitations of the quality of the service rendered, all factors that can restrict the health results as compared to what is expected.

The mechanism of greater vulnerability to the effects of the various risk factors on health is well illustrated by the extreme cases of some minorities, such as the nomads. The last sensational epidemic of measles in Europe took place in Bulgaria in 2009, with over 24,000 cases and 24 deaths. They were almost all concentrated amongst the nomads because of their particular susceptibility due to a lack of primary healthcare coverage, meaning both immune vaccinations and an ability to promptly turn to treatments.

Lastly, the mechanism of vulnerability to the social consequences of the illness, namely reduced income because of the cost incurred for the treatments or even unemployment due to an impossibility to perform previous duties, may be amplified by legal repercussions like loss of residence permit for work.

It has already been said that the time elapsed since immigration changes the aspect of health problems, both in the sense of acculturation and in that of segregation into social inequalities. But time is collinear with age, and health is a state that radically transforms more with age than with other dimensions of wellbeing. This means that the health aspect of immigrated foreigners transforms with time not only due to acculturation and social segregation problems, but also because of the ageing of the cohorts who have undergone some major migratory flows. Therefore, in an early phase we expect a basic profile characterised by the health problems of the young adults, i.e., made up of problems of the maternal and children area and of traumatological problems tied to safety issues. On the other hand, all the problems of chronic morbidity make their début with ageing, and later on those of being unable to be self-sufficient arise. In Italy the populations with older migratory histories like those from North Africa may already be facing the problems
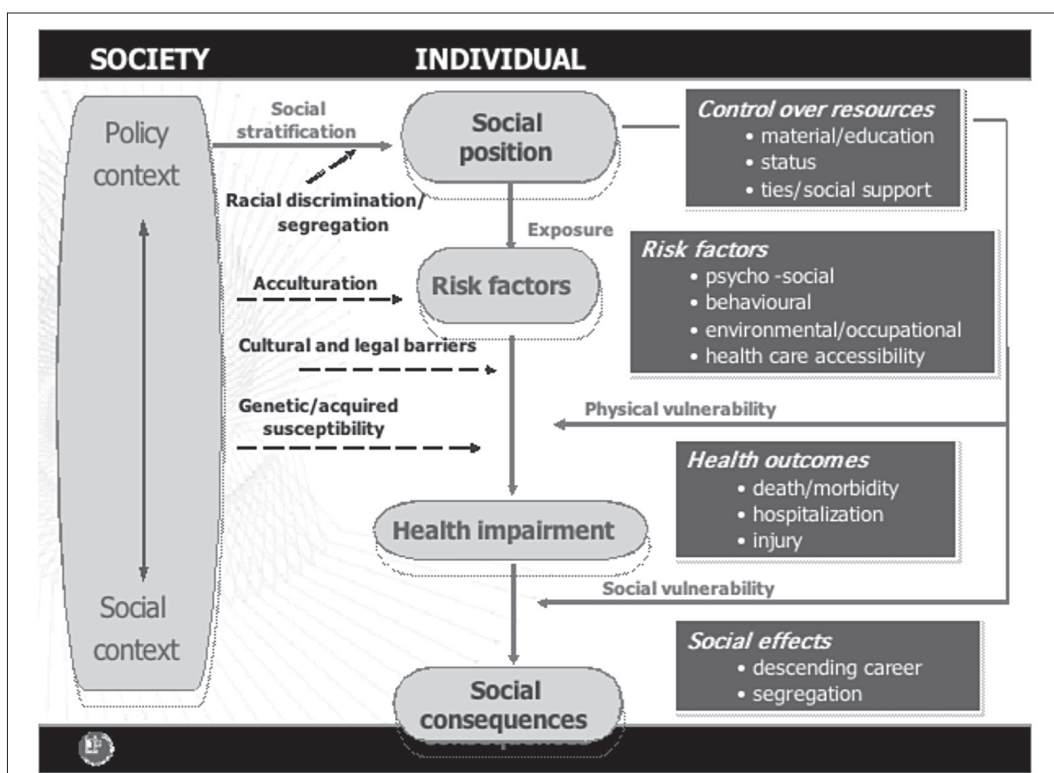
of chronicity, while the more recent cohorts from Slavic countries should still be experiencing the first category of problems.

Lastly, if we want to give an order of importance to the mechanisms described in this conceptual picture and documented in literature, we could say that the relative impact of importation problems on health is moderate, while the positive impact of the healthy migrant effect over the short term and above all the mostly negative effects of the acculturation processes besides the definitely negative effects of broadening the differentiation of social inequalities of health over the medium to long-term are more significant.

The diagram also suggests that the entire history of the health profile has to be interpreted in light of the knowledge of the pressure factors of the context and of the policies that are operated in it, which as regards health are both those that influence migration and social stratification (which are however discussed in the other chapters of the report) and those that structure and regulate healthcare from prevention to treatment, of which the monitoring should bear in mind. Recent surveys carried out by the *Società Italiana di Medicina delle Migrazioni* (SIMM - Italian Society of Migration Medicine) and by PEHRG (Poverty and Equity in Health Research Group) [Giannoni *et al.* 2013] provide a picture quite useful for the health policies protecting the health of the immigrated population adopted in Italy.

Figure 1 – Mechanisms of generating social inequalities of health

modified by Diderichsen *et al.* 2001

5.3 The indicators helpful for monitoring the health profile of immigrants in Italy

In conclusion, the conceptual picture makes it possible to identify the dimensions of the health history of the immigrant that are worthy of being monitored with adequate indicators (their value for the purposes of assessing integration will be discussed in the final paragraph):

– all that dimensions that denote the degree of control of the person over the possibility to meet the legitimate expectations depict the main distal determinants that have an impact on health: exposure to disadvantages in work, education, language, income, and the home (which other chapters of the report deal with);

– the frequency and intensity of exposure to the four main health risk factor categories (lifestyle, psycho-social factors, living and work environment factors, limitations in accessing treatments) represent the most important dimension to monitor for prevention purposes, since it measures the direction and intensity with which effects on health tied to the acculturation and social segregation mechanisms will manifest in a short latency time period;

– the occurrence of the main subjective (self-assessed physical, psychological and mental health) and objective (illness, disability, death by cause) health problems is naturally the most important dimension to monitor for healthcare system planning and reorganisation purposes, considering that its interpretation is restricted by both long latency problems (especially for the chronic illnesses) and the selection problems already mentioned (healthy migrant effect and salmon effect); furthermore, choosing the priority indicators for the monitoring depends on the phase of the migratory history in which the subject finds himself: in early phases the birth course or traumatology may be the most sensitive dimensions, whereas in later phase all health dimensions considered for the Italian population should be considered (using, for example, the indicators selected for BES);

– vulnerability to the effects of the risk factors on health concerns the possible heterogeneity of this effect across the various groups of migrants: this association at times can be highly specific, as in the case of the importation health problems, characterised by a particular susceptibility either inherited or endemic in the country of origin; in other cases it can be more generic and derive from the common difficulty in facing risk factors, as for the language barriers in accessing the treatment services or the prevention messages;

– social vulnerability to the effects of the illness experience regards the risk that the person's living conditions (work, home, education, income) worsen due to experiencing the illness;

– the impact of the pressure factors and health policies in the national and regional context involve the ability of the offer of the public health system (national health service) and private health system (unconventional medicine and market) to meet the prevention and treatment of health problems.

In addition to identifying the dimensions to monitor, the monitoring system also needs some methodological and transversal attention:

– the indicators and their reciprocal relations for the immigrant population should be available so they can be compared not only with the native population, but also between the subgroups of the immigrant population, at a disaggregation level that corresponds to the selection and vulnerability problems pointed out and to the temporal transformations expected in the health profile:

· the basic health profiles (immigrants and natives), as these are highly heterogeneous populations in terms of age, suggest stratifying for at least two age brackets (young adult and elderly);

· the temporal transformation of the health profile from the time of immigration suggests stratifying the observations in terms of duration from the time of migration;

- in order to be able to appreciate and control the main selective migration mechanisms conditional on the state of health, it is advisable to examine the data for the major migratory experiences (voluntary, forced, rejoining);
- aggregation of the areas of origin should consider the various levels of health offer and of local health protection (lack of vaccine campaigns, structured screening programmes and supervision of other important risk factors): for example, the common European affiliation of the new member countries would not permit measuring the differences of vulnerability/susceptibility pointed out by the example of the Bulgarian measles epidemic;

– the close dependency of health on the age profile makes standardising all necessary measures by age crucial for the phenomena measured, under penalty of the impossibility to effectively interpret the associations observed;

– the coincidence between acculturation and social segregation mechanisms in migratory history suggests introducing systematic attention to the comparison between the intensity of the social differences in the health indicators in the different groups considered (native, and their breakdowns).

On this basis Table 1 describes the indicators that can be examined for monitoring and assessing integration from the health viewpoint. The table also attempts to rate and rank indicators a degree of importance in terms of ability (high, medium, low), to predict the level of integration in terms of health, each for the dimension of its competence.

Table 1 – Monitoring indicators

Health dimension	Indicators (prevalences)	Importance	Availability
Distal determinants	All indicators on the social determinants identified by the other chapters of the report	High	See other chapters
Risk factors that mediate the impact on the health of the distal determinants	Smoking habit	High	ISTAT Omnibus Survey of Health and Special on Foreigners
	Alcohol abuse	High	ISTAT Omnibus Survey annual
	Excess weight/obesity	Medium	ISTAT Omnibus Survey of Health and Special on Foreigners
	Little physical exercise	Medium	ISTAT Omnibus Study Health
	Use of contraceptives	High	ISTAT Special Study of Foreigners
	Employment in jobs at risk for hygiene and safety	High	ISTAT Special Study of Foreigners - Longitudinal Whip Survey on Health
	Residence in housing at risk for hygiene and safety	Low	Census
	Episodes of discrimination	Medium	ISTAT Special Survey of Foreigners
Vulnerability of risk factors to effects on health: adequacy of the treatment system	Controls in the absence of complaints or symptoms	Medium	ISTAT Omnibus Survey Health
	Access to female oncological screening	High	ISTAT Omnibus Survey Health
	Recommended paediatric vaccinations	High	ISTAT Omnibus Survey Health
	At least one GP/paediatrician visit	High	ISTAT Omnibus Survey of Health and Special on Foreigners
	At least one specialist visit	Medium	ISTAT Omnibus Survey of Health and Special on Foreigners
	At least one specialist examination	Medium	ISTAT Omnibus Survey of Health and Special on Foreigners
	Recourse to private physicians for visits or examinations (*out-of-pocket*)	Medium	ISTAT Omnibus Survey of Health and Special on Foreigners
	Recourse to unconventional medicine	Medium	ISTAT Omnibus Survey of Health and Special on Foreigners
	Use of medicines	Low	ISTAT Omnibus Survey of Health and Special on Foreigners

Cont.

Health dimension	Indicators (prevalences)	Importance	Availability
	Recourse to hospitalisation	Low	ISTAT Omnibus Survey of Health and Special on Foreigners
	Inappropriate recourse to hospitalisation	High	NSIS SDO
	Recourse to Emergency Department	Medium	ISTAT Omnibus Survey of Health and Special on Foreigners
	Recourse to family planning clinic	High	ISTAT Omnibus Survey of Health and Special on Foreigners
Health outcomes	Subjective physical, psychic and mental health not good	Medium	ISTAT Omnibus Survey of Health and Special on Foreigners
	Accident-induced traumas (at the workplace, in living environments, in transport vehicles)	High	ISTAT Special Survey of Foreigners
	Violence-induced traumas	High	ISTAT Special Survey of Foreigners
	Hospitalisations due to accidents and hospitalisations due to traumas	Medium	NSIS SDO
	Period of first visit during pregnancy	High	CedAP
	Premature births	High	CedAP
	Underweight births	High	CedAP
	Neonatal mortality	Medium	CedAP
	Recourse to induced abortion	High	NSIS SDO - IVG
	Infectious diseases	High	NSIS Flow of infectious diseases - SDO
	Hospitalisations due to psychiatric pathologies	High	NSIS SDO
	Taking of antidepressants/ anti-psychotic drugs	High	NSIS Flow of pharmaceutical prescriptions
Social vulnerability to illness experience	Part-time work or failure to seek work due to illness	High	ISTAT Special Survey of Foreigners
	Families impoverished due to health costs	High	ISTAT Study on Consumption

Cont.

Health dimension	Indicators (prevalences)	Importance	Availability
Health policies, accessibility and usability of services	Registration in National Health Service of minors with parents without residence permit	High	SIMM Survey
	Mandatory registration in National Health Service of those regularising their status	High	
	Mandatory registration in National Health Service when issued the first residence permit	High	
	Voluntary registration of persons over 65	High	
	Guaranteed treatment for those without residence permits	High	
	Preventive supply of STP code for those without residence permits	High	
	Definition of exemption code X01	High	
	Mandatory registration of European Community parents of Italian minors	High	
	Voluntary registration of resident European Community citizens	High	
	Minimum healthcare equalisation for those without residence permits and Europeans not registered with the National Healthcare Service	High	

5.4 Data available on the indicators

The main sources of information useful for outlining the health profile of the immigrant population in Italy are on the one hand the current healthcare and statistics information systems (death files, hospital discharge files, certificates of childbirth care, etc.), and on the other hand the sample surveys on "Health conditions and recourse to healthcare services" that ISTAT periodically conducts. Processing the data of the recent survey on "Condition and social integration of foreign citizens" will provide further in-depth analyses of the ques-

tions on the impact of the various mechanisms explained in the foregoing paragraph still open in literature.

The analysis of the current flows provides a more objective and timely picture of the mortality and morbidity of foreign citizens as the information is gathered for all citizens, regardless of their residence and legal status. However data describe only the cases in which demand and supply have come together. What remains in the shadows is the unsatisfyied health demand, or the demand that has been answered in informal healthcare networks operating within the host community or in the decision to voluntarily repatriate (the so-called "salmon effect"). On the contrary, the ISTAT sample surveys collect a large amount of information not otherwise available (on risk factors and on accessing healthcare services, for example), but it is limited to the regularly resident population in Italy and, as a result, can provide a distorted picture of the health problems that strike mostly foreigners not following the entry and/or residence rules in Italy.

Below we will summarise the chief results published in Italy and published in the previously mentioned review [Spadea *et al.* 2013] regarding several of the health indicators selected and described in Table 1.

The 2004-2008 mortality rate amongst resident foreigners, for whom it is possible to get the denominator of reference, confirms the advantage foreigners have over the Italians: approximately 30% amongst men and 40% amongst women. However, the mortality rate is not the best indicator of the state of health of a population on the average young and, as previously stated, subject to selection mechanisms, especially in the case of voluntary migrants. The standardised hospitalisation rates amongst resident foreigners coming from countries suffering from strong migratory pressure are invariably lower than those of the Italians in both sexes (again leaving out the causes tied to pregnancy and childbirth), with a total advantage similar to that of the mortality rate [Geraci e Baglio 2011]. In addition to the "health migrant" effect, we have to also consider the possibility of a more restricted access to the hospital facilities due to the various cultural and administrative-legal barriers in place, even though the right to health for all foreign citizens on the territory is basically guaranteed in Italy, regardless of their legal regularity [Geraci and El Hamad 2011]; this holds particularly true for mental healthcare [Ballotari *et al.* 2012].

Furthermore, there are no systematic data on a national scale on the incidence of the various pathologies, measured using population registers and hence able to give a picture that is more correct than what comes from the hospitalisation data, which by necessity are limited to the more serious events leading to hospitalisation. Compared to a 60% lower incidence in men and 45% in women on the whole for all tumour locations, on a local scale the data of the Turin Longitudinal Study and the Piedmont Tumour Register [Spadea *et al.* 2009] reveal an excess risk for tumours of viral origin, such as a 20% excess risk for liver cancer among men and a 86% excess of cervical cancer among women. These data confirm the mechanism of importation diseases.

The data of the 2005 ISTAT survey allowed to calculate the prevalences of various health indicators standardised by age [Gargiulo *et al.* 2008]. The health profile of the foreign resident population is seemingly better than that of Italian citizens. Of the foreigners, 85% of men and 75% of women have a good or very good assessment of their health, compared to 76% and 68% of Italians Nevertheless, the picture seems to be much more complex and heterogeneous when we analyse the health indicators for the various countries of origin in detail. For example, citizens coming from Morocco have a health profile in both sexes on the average worse than that of the other foreigners and very similar to that of the Italians. This suggests the theory that the acculturation and social segregation mechanisms in the long-standing trains of migrants have already been able to jeopardise the capital of health imported with the healthy migrant phenomenon.

If we then switch from the health indicators to analyse the behaviours harmful for health and the preventive behaviours, namely the factors determining the health of foreigners over the upcoming decades, the picture becomes grimmer. As for the smoking habit - the greatest risk factor for a vast number of pathologies - the advantage over the Italians grows smaller.

If indeed the predominance of smokers is lower amongst foreigners (28% vs. 31% in men and 15% vs. 20% in women), the predominance of heavy smokers is, on the contrary, the same (13% in men and 4% in women). A strong heterogeneity among countries is also confirmed, this time much to the disadvantage of the Eastern European countries, and Albania and Romania above all. The disadvantage of foreigners seems marked, above all as far as the stance on prevention is concerned. Let's take the early diagnosis of female tumours as an example. Compared to 72% of Italian women who undergo pap tests in the recommended age bracket, only 53% of foreign women declare they have done so. Once again a strong heterogeneity is noticed not only among countries, but also - and above all - based on the woman's level of education, which confirms the important role the socio-economic position plays within the complex connection between migration and health.

Data of the ISTAT survey on reproductive health point to a level of medicalisation of the birth course definitely lower amongst foreign women. Lower medicalisation does not always in itself constitute a disadvantage. On the contrary. That is the case of resorting to Caesarean delivery, which is lower amongst the foreign women (25%) compared to the Italians (36%), even though the percentages in both cases are much higher than the maximum value of 15% recommended by the WHO [Who 1985]). Low medicalisation is however often a sign of a lower level of healthcare. Foreign women, in fact, receive less information on the possibility to perform a prenatal diagnosis of chromosome problems (63% vs. 88% Italians) and undergo their first pregancy visit and examinations later (89% go to their first vist and only 69% their first ultrasound scan within the first trimester vs. 95% and 88% Italians, respectively). On the contrary, the number of foreign women who breastfeed is higher (88% vs. 81%), although in this case as well there are signs that Moroccan women are falling into line with less healthy habits, with 79% of women breastfeeding.

Resorting to the voluntary induced abortion (IVG) is another critical aspect of the health of immigrant women. Although lower in the last seven years, above all amongst foreigners, the abortion rates are still about four times higher in women coming from countries suffering from a strong migratory pressure than in Italian women (24.1 per 1000 and 6.6 per 1000, respectively, in 2009 [Italian Ministry of Health 2012]). Moreover, foreign women more repeatedly have recourse to induced abortion and especially for them, alarm signals are sounding from several sources concerning recourse to illegal induced abortion (unassisted pharmacological abortions, in unauthorised surgeries or in a stage of pregnancy later than the twelfth week).

The labour market represents a huge potential risk for foreign workers because they usually perform work and jobs in conditions of higher exposure and less safety [Capacci e Sgarrella 2012]. Estimates gathered from the national WHIP-Health (*Work Histories Italian Panel*) sample survey allow us to assess the incidence of accidents amongst foreigners in connection with various characteristics of the workers insured with INPS [Bena *et al.* 2012]. During the period 2000-2005 employees, males and labourers show an excess of accident risk of foreigners coming from countries suffering from a strong migratory pressure at 7% (95%CI: 4%-10%) in young people and 30% (95%CI: 27%-33%) in the older ones, with heavy heterogeneity between the countries of origin [Giraudo and Bena 2012].

5.5 Health indicators for integration

Dimensions and indicators helpful in monitoring health were identified in the foregoing paragraphs with the aim of recognising which mechanisms might generate health disadvantages in the migratory experience and of assessing their importance. What are the implications of monitoring health for the purposes of evaluating integration and its policies? The answer naturally depends on the definition we give to the concept of integration and related policies.

Both the health indicators (those of the quicker reaction and sounder risk factors) and the morbidity indicators (with greater latency and more subjected to selection bias) are good for assessing the integration operated by pressure factors and policies that move the distal determinants. They are therefore handed to the respective chapters as their outcome indicators, which are marginal and non-intentional but non less important. The health indicators join the assessment of the distal determinant policies also as proxies of the value, statutory and behavioural models expressed by the interethnic changes that emerge on the scene of the social changes.

On the other hand, the health indicators are also direct indicators of the way with which an important part of welfare, health, takes part in the tasks of assimilating and promoting social cohesion through its ability to meet the prevention and treatment needs in a manner that is sensible, appropriate, universal and proportionate to the need.

We have to admit that Italy is one of the few European countries that ensure also foreigners without residence permits access to healthcare against sharing in the expense just like the Italian citizens [Fra 2011]. Application of the regulations is instead not uniform throughout Italy, which gives rise to geographic inequalities in actual use of the services. The State-Regions Conference[2] tried to remedy this diversity with official documents that defined application policies and priorities in the planning objectives, which was also supported by a renewed process and result monitoring ability. What also contributes to making the National Health Service's response to the health needs of immigrant foreigners more homogeneous and flexible is an original and effective formula of cooperation between institutions, the tertiary sector and professions [Biglino and Olmo 2012]. One example of this is the Immigration and Health Groups (GrIS) of SIMM, territorial units in which public authorities, volunteer centres and associations of lawyers, mediators, psychologists, social workers and other figures who deal with migrants have networked with each other. Their goal is to promptly intercept problems of healthcare malfunctioning, test immediate solutions through volunteer services and turn them into new rules and procedures whose adoption in the healthcare service will be promoted through awareness campaigns and advocacy.

This combination of health offers could only benefit from a current system of integration indicators for health that stimulates and simplifies activation of equity audits to improve preventive healthcare pathways and healthcare facilities by focussing attention on the major inequalities to the disadvantage of the immigrant foreigners that occur on the risk factor, adequacy of treatment, and healthcare, social and rights vulnerability level.

With regard to assessment of the policies, the public health service is perhaps better prepared than other sectors for providing ideas and research opportunities; the counterfactual paradigm has found the most evolved levels of method and application in experimental and quasi-experimental conditions in medicine. The public health service can offer many opportunities for assessing the effectiveness of interventions aiding integration, such as familiarisation with the services, language and cultural mediation, transcultural personalisation of the offer in active and low-threshold interventions, above all in prevention, and the introduction of anti-discrimination measures. A few examples of experimenting targeted solutions for the vaccine prevention or tumour screening interventions have already been carried out [Giannoni *et al.* 2013] and the healthcare environment could be the least hostile to spreading a systematic programme for assessing the effectiveness and impact of integration policies in the sector.

2. http://www.gazzettaufficiale.it/atto/serie_generale/caricaDettaglioAtto/originario?atto.dataPubblicazioneGazzetta=2013-02-07&atto.codiceRedazionale=13A00918&elenco30giorni=false

Bibliography

Ballotari P, Sardonini L, Bevolo P and Giorgi Rossi P. 2012 *La salute mentale degli immigrati: analisi di prevalenza nei residenti in provincia di Reggio Emilia*, in «Epidemiologia e Prevenzione», vol. 36 suppl. 5, p. 35.

Bena A, Leonbruni R, Giraudo M and Costa G. 2012 A *new Italian surveillance system for occupational injuries: characteristics and initial result*, in «American Journal of industrial medicine», vol. 55, pp. 584-592.

Biglino I and Olmo A. 2012 *La salute come diritto fondamentale: una ricerca sui migranti a Torino*, Torino, Laboratorio dei diritti fondamentali, Rapporti di ricerca LDF No. 01/2012.

Bollini P and Siem H. 1995 *No real progress towards equity: health of migrants and ethnic minorities on the eve of the year 2000*, in «*Social Science and Medicine*», vol. 41, pp. 819-828.

Capacci F and Sgarrella C. 2012 *Migrazioni, salute e sicurezza sul lavoro,* in «SaluteInternazionale. info», http://www.saluteinternazionale.info/2012/04/migrazioni-salute-e-sicurezza-sul-lavoro/

Diderichsen F, Evans T and Whitehead M. 2001 *The social basis of disparities in health,* in Evans et al. (eds), Challenging inequities in health: from ethics to action. New York, Oxford UP.

Ferlay J, Shin HR, Bray F, Forman D, Mathers C and Parkin DM. 2010 *Estimates of worldwide burden of cancer in 2008: GLOBOCAN 2008*, in «International Journal of Cancer», vol. 127, pp. 2893-2917.

Fra, European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights. 2011 *Migrants in an irregular situation: access to healthcare in 10 European Union Member States*, Vienna.

Gargiulo L, Iannucci L, and Tinto A. 2008 *Salute e ricorso ai servizi sanitari della popolazione straniera residente in Italia*, in «Statistiche in breve - Sanità», Istat.

Geraci S and Baglio G. 2011 *Salute degli immigrati, in* «Rapporto Osservasalute - Stato di salute e qualità dell'assistenza nelle regioni italiane», pp. 219-249.

Geraci S and El Hamad I. 2011 *Migranti e accessibilità ai servizi sanitari: luci e ombre, in* «Italian Journal of Public Health», vol. 8 suppl. 3, pp. S14-S20.

Giannoni M, Casucci P and Ismail Z. 2012 *Disuguaglianze di salute ed equità nel ricorso ai servizi sanitari da parte dei cittadini stranieri nelle regioni italiane,* Milano, Franco Angeli.

Giraudo M and Bena A. 2012 *Lavoro temporaneo e salute: rischio infortunistico e possibili effetti della crisi,* in «Epidemiologia e Prevenzione» vol. 36 suppl. 5, p. 50.

Lara M, Gamboa C, Kahramanian MI, Morales LS, and Hayes-Bautista DE. *2005 Acculturation and Latino health in the United States: a review of the literature and its sociopolitical context*, in «Annual Review of Public Health», vol. 26, pp. 367-97.

Larchanché S. 2012 *Intangble obstacles: health implications of stigmatization, structural violence, and fear among undocumented immigrants in France*, in «Social Science and Medicine», vol. 74, pp. 858-863.

Mackenbach JP, Stirbu I, Roskam AJR, Schaap MM, Menvielle G, Leinsalu M and Kunst AE for the European Union Working Group on Socioeconomic Inequalities in Health 2008 *Socioeconomic inequalities in health in 22 European countries,* in «New England Journal of Medicine», vol. 358, pp. 2468-2481.

Malmusi D, Borrell C and Benach J. 2010 *Migration-related health inequalities: showing the complex interactions between gender, social class and place of origin, in* «Social Science and Medicine» vol. 71, pp. 1610-1619.

Manneschi G, Crocetti E, Puliti D, Zappa M, Sacchettini C and Paci E. 2011 *L'incidenza dei tumori in cittadini nati in Italia e in immigrati di prima generazione*, in «Epidemiologia e Prevenzione», vol. 35, pp. 292-296.

Italian Ministry of Health 2012 *Relazione del Ministro della Salute sulla attuazione della legge contenente norme per la tutela sociale della maternità e dell'interruzione volontaria di gravidanza (legge 194/78)*, http://www.salute.gov.it/imgs/C_17_pubblicazioni_1824_allegato.pdf

Nazroo JY. 2003 *The structuring of ethnic inequalities in health: economic position, racial discrimination, and racism*, in «American Journal of Public Health» vol. 93, pp. 277-84.

Ott J, Paltiel AM, Winkler V and Becher H. 2008 *Chronic disease mortality associated with infectious agents: a comparative cohort study of migrants from the former Soviet Union in Israel and Germany*, in «BMC Public Health», vol. 8, pp. 110-118.

Oza-Frank R and Narayan KMV. 2009 *Effect of length of residence on overweight by region of birth and age at arrival among US immigrants,* in «Public Health Nutrition», vol. 13, pp. 868-875.

Oza-Frank R, Stephenson R and Narayan KMV. 2011 *Diabetes prevalence by length of residence among US immigrants*, in «Journal of Immigrant and Minority Health», vol 13, pp. 1-8.

Pfarrwaller E and Suris J.C. 2012 *Determinants of health in recently arrived young migrants and refugees: a review of the literature,* in «Italian Journal of Public Health» vol. 9, pp. e7529-1 - e7529-13.

Razum O. 2006 *Commentary: Of salmon and time travellers - musing on the mystery of migrant mortality*, in «International Journal of Epidemiology», vol. 35, pp. 919-921.

Razum O, Zeeb H and Rohrmann S. 2000 *The 'healthy migrant effect' - not merely a fallacy of innacurate denominator figures*, in «International Journal of Epidemiology», vol. 29, pp. 191-192.

Spadea T, d'Errico A, Demaria M, Faggiano F, Pasian S, Zanetti R, Rosso S, Vicari P and Costa G. 2009 *Educational inequalities in cancer incidence in Turin, Italy*, in «European Journal of Cancer Prevention», vol. 18, pp. 169-178.

Spadea T, Fossarello L, Mondo L and Costa G. 2013 *Le condizioni di salute,* in Saraceno C, Sartor N, Sciortino G (edited by). Stranieri e disuguali. Le disuguaglianze nei dirittie nelle condizioni di vita degli immigrati, Modena, Pubblicazioni della Fondazione Ermanno Gorrieri, Il Mulino (under publication).

Ullmann SH, Goldman N and Massey DS. 2011 *Healthier before they migrate, less healthy when they return? The health of returned migrants in Mexico*, in «Social Science and Medicine», vol. 73, pp. 421-428.

WHO 1985 *Appropriate technology for birth,* in «the Lancet», vol. 2, pp. 436-437.

6 - Interpersonal relationships and linguistic integration[1]

6.1 Introduction

In the European debate on the integration of immigrants in the receiving societies, a certain deviation can be noted between two levels: that of debates in public opinion and in political competition, and that of the indicators proposed by national and European institutions to track the phenomenon and to orient policies.

In the first, a central theme is social integration interpreted in a strict sense, such as the inclusion of immigrants in everyday social life of the society in which they have been placed. For example, public opinion is very sensitive to the risk of seeing the migration process give rise to social groups that are closed in on themselves, socially segregated, and with priorities and lifestyles that are reciprocally unknown and very independent. It is feared that immigration could encourage social fragmentation and that the increase in heterogeneity may not be accompanied by the development of an adequately solid collective identity (Putnam 2007). There are those who are afraid not only that this could cause a strain in the strong link that exists between language and nation, but that it could result in a break in communications between natives and autochthons that would reinforce relationships *within* the two groups and discourage those *between* groups. These types of worries are disseminated horizontally in public opinion, regardless of the proclivity of some of its sectors to attribute this risk to the cultural characteristics of the immigrants themselves and other sectors to see them as the product of insufficient openness on the part of the natives. Furthermore, awareness of these risks is currently widespread, even among the decision makers, at the level of both the European Union and its individual Member States. For example, this awareness is crucial for understanding the current emphasis that is placed on the "civil" integration of immigrants, which is seen as overcoming the mistakes of the previous multicultural policies (Carrera and Wiesbrock 2009, Goodman 2011).

However, at a large degree this awareness seems to be missing, from the debate dedicated to the attempt to build a system of indicators able to measure the progress of the immigrant integration process, the purpose of which is to orient political action. Reviews of the literature and the preparation of conceptual frameworks for orienting the system of indicators traditionally provide strong support to these aspects, defining integration also in terms of the absence or reduction of relational and communicative breaks (Council of Europe 1996, Entzinger and Biezeveld 2003). However, this aspect is greatly reduced or even disappears from the actual group of indicators selected by European institutions or international organizations.

The important work that led to the adoption of the so-called "Zaragoza indicators" resulted in a system that was to a large degree focused on *socioeconomic* integration and, in a more experimental manner, on legal and political integration (Eurostat 2011). The recent proposal by the OECD focuses on a vaster group of processes, which in any case are restricted to the differences between natives and immigrants on the labour market, in access to crucial social resources (homes, health, education), and in electoral participation (OECD 2012). Also in this case integration is seen as a process for reducing the disparity of life opportunities between the two groups

natives and autochthons. The same language skills are measured mainly in instrumental terms, as an aspect that can contribute to improving active participation in the education system and the labour market, rather than for its consequences on sociability and social life. Analogous considerations are valid also regarding attempts to develop systems of specific indicators for the individual Member States. A recent review of past experiences shows that the "official" systems are considerably restricted to socioeconomic integration and that the few experiences regarding relational and communicative integration were mainly pursued in the context of academic research (Neederlands Institute for Social Research 2012). Also in the context of Italy, only the experience of the *Integrometro*, which was developed by Fondazione ISMU, structurally includes the relational and communicative aspect in its conceptual and operational definition of the immigrants' integration processes to be monitored (Cesareo and Blangiardo 2009, Boccagni and Pollini 2012).

However, the reasons for this deviation are not the result of an "error." Instead, it is due to the difficulty of assigning a public importance, explicitly connected to policies the orientation and to the relational and communicative aspects. Regarding this, in fact, there are at least three difficulties to be taken into consideration. First of all, interpersonal relationships belong to that which, in a liberal society, is considered the private sphere, in which individuals have the right to autonomously pursue their own life projects. Interaction during leisure time, the type of social networks to which one belongs, the language spoken in the home, and the preference or lack of preference for partners of certain origins are all aspects regarding which a political decision maker cannot and must not intervene. Secondly, the intergenerational reproduction of inequalities on an ascriptive basis constitutes a clear violation of the equality of opportunity, one of the key values of modern democratic societies. Therefore, there is a large consensus for the fact that, regardless of one's own preferences regarding migration policy, the structural permanence of systematic socioeconomic differences between natives (and their descendants) and resident immigrants (and their descendants) represents a problem for integration. In the same societies, on the contrary, there is a positive value for diversity and a systematic suspicion regarding the possible use of political power and the law to impose or favour specific versions of the "culture" or the collective "identity." Consequently, the attempt to develop indicators able to measure relational and sociocultural differences frequently encounters high levels of conflict (Tribalat 2010). A third reason involves the fact that the European States' information apparatuses have extensive expertise in the construction of indicators on socioeconomic inequalities, but possess fewer of the conceptual and technical skills necessary for defining and measuring the relational differences. Here the problem is not just the heterogeneity among immigrants, but also the heterogeneity of the natives. Modern developed societies are strongly pluralistic societies characterized by the coexistence of a high (and growing) number of relational and subculture networks that are equally legitimate. The increase in heterogeneity in connection with the processes of spatial mobility represents only one of the sources of this increase in social heterogeneity, which can be evaluated in turn only in the context of overall pluralism: phenomena of social closure and breaks in communications do not regard only interactions and personal relationships between natives and autochthons, but also exist, perhaps even at a larger degree, among the natives themselves (Sciortino 2003).

Therefore, some good and important reasons lie behind the choice to focus on the aspect of socioeconomic inequality. This effort is necessary, but not sufficient. These regulatory and cognitive reasons lead us to believe that the attempts to provide an adequate information framework to the political decision makers and to public opinion cannot focus only on the "hard" aspects of the inequalities and discriminations in the labour market and the education system, but must pay attention to the (only apparently) "soft" aspects of sociocultural integration as well.

Regarding the regulatory aspect, the recognition of liberal self-restraint in relation to political intrusiveness in the spheres of private life can and must calmly be accompanied by the recognition of the importance of public action in guaranteeing some institutional prerequisites for the

development of social processes capable of reducing, breaking, or eliminating the ascriptive barriers to personal interaction between members of different groups. It is true that modern social life does not require, within reasonable limits, a similarity of members' preferences and behaviour. But it is also true that the functioning of the public sphere is not only the result of the pluralism of its expressions, but also due to the fact that these expressions are in communication with each other. The depth of differences is not intrinsically an indicator of a low degree of integration, if accompanied by high levels of reciprocal exposure. Limited differences, instead, can be divisive if they are (a) reproduced systematically through the various social environments and (b) accompanied by breaks in communications. If this is true, the conceptual and empirical opposite of integration is not diversity so much as segregation, especially when it occurs in systematic terms throughout a multitude of social cleavages. This vision of integration, as opposed to segregation - and reciprocal exposure as a key aspect of the integration process - is currently widespread in studies on the integration of immigrants mainly in the attempts to construct spatial segregation indicators (Massey and Denton 1993, Simpson 2007). However, it is possible to identify the same logic in the studies conducted in other social contexts such as educational institutions, the labour market, and the same networks of friends (Burgess, Wilson et al. 2005, Currarini, Jackson et al. 2009, Schlueter 2011). In addition, it should be noted that a segregated structure for social interactions comprises fertile ground for the development or reproduction of social processes that result in unequal acquisition of resources and negations of reciprocal recognition. Lastly, it can be maintained that the absence of heterogeneous social circles has serious consequences on the quality of democratic life (Anderson 2010). Therefore, there are good reasons to believe that relational and communicative integration - even if not subject to direct action - should play a role in the monitoring systems whose purpose is to orient the public discussion and the integration policies pursued.

Important empirical considerations must be added to these regulatory reasons. In fact, dynamics of socioeconomic integration do not intrinsically produce sociocultural integration. There is a high degree of independence among the integration aspects (Cesareo and Blangiardo 2009). Studies carried out in Italian school classrooms show how foreign students very rarely experience their sociability in segregated networks, but in spite of this they experience extremely high levels of inequality in the academic success they achieve (Cvajner 2011, Rivellini, Terzera et al. 2011). It can be assumed that the older migrants think even less about sociocultural integration and that it can be considered an indirect result of the stabilization process (Vervoort and Dagevos 2011). This does not mean, however, that frequency and skill in the use of the language and the reduction in the levels of segregation in interpersonal relationships cannot empirically be seen also as crucial for reducing the levels of socioeconomic inequality and for improving attendance in the education system. In fact, it is possible to maintain that the networks of interpersonal relationships are the infrastructure through which circulates social capital, that is, all the current or potential resources that result from belonging to a more or less institutionalized network of relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition (Bourdieu 1980). The separation of interpersonal networks, for members of the most disadvantaged groups, can lead to greater difficulties in acquiring the resources - from information on work opportunities or access to social resources to the behavioural and cognitive characteristics distilled into the tacit knowledge of specific social contexts - that are crucial for socioeconomic inclusion.

6.2 Linguistic integration

In the Italian political debate the problem concerning the linguistic integration of immigrants has arisen only recently, but the entry into force of the integration agreement[2] has definitely brought it to the foreground. In fact, the agreement requires a foreign citizen[3] to pledge to achieve specific levels of integration during the validity of the residence permit: an adequate knowledge of the Italian language, sufficient civic knowledge and culture, and guarantee to fulfil compulsory education requirements for minor children. One month before the residence permit expires, at the One-Stop Service Point of the Interior Ministry, it is required to verify the degree of integration achieved by means of the verification of the credits earned by the foreign citizen through training programs or courses. If the number of credits earned is not sufficient, the foreign citizen can take a test to demonstrate his or her level of knowledge of the Italian language and of civic culture and civil life in Italy.

This agreement was strongly inspired by the French integration contract and represents the first attempt to take into consideration the cultural aspect of the integration process. Deeming that knowledge of the phenomenon is a necessary condition for being able to adopt appropriate public decisions, this session's goal is to establish how to measure and evaluate the role played by the Italian language in the immigrant integration process.

The systematic observation of linguistic behaviours is a completely new requirement for official Italian statistics. However, it is just the first step toward the construction of an evaluation system that makes it possible to take into account changing trends to plan and adjust the best strategies to be adopted on the basis of the information progressively produced.

If integration dynamics depend on reciprocal interaction between an individual and his or her context, defining immigrant population's linguistic behaviours is not really sufficient. In fact, it will be necessary to analyze the Italian language as a vehicle for transmitting the cognitive heritage, i.e., a "shared feeling" that defines the sense of belonging to the national identity. This signifies not limiting integration to the mere possession of requisites based on objective criteria (i.e., citizenship) or subjective criteria (i.e., language skills), but to consider the complexity of the phenomenon in the context in which it occurs.

Above all, this analysis perspective entails the solution of two issues of a conceptual and methodological nature: a) the definition of the context of reference and b) the choice of linguistic indicators.

a) The context of reference

Conventionally, an individual's interaction environments are those connected with the public sphere (work, school, public services, political participation, and exercising rights and performing duties) and the private sphere (family relationships, relationships with relatives, and friendships). However, in practice there are aspects that are common to both spheres (such as volunteer environments) and cross-sectional aspects (such as the relationship between an individual and mass media).

---

2. Italian Presidential Decree no. 179 of September 14, 2011 regarding the provisions of the integration agreement between foreigners and the state, in conformity with article 4-bis, paragraph 2, of the unified body of provisions governing immigration and regulations on the condition of foreigners, as specified in Italian Legislative Decree no. 286 of July 25, 1998.

3. The integration agreement is signed by a foreign citizen who enters Italian territory for the first time and submits a request for a residence permit for a period of no less than one year, and who is older than 16 years; for minors between the ages of 16 and 18 years, the agreement is signed by their parents or by the person holding parental authority. The following people are exempt from the agreement: foreign citizens who suffer from pathologies or disabilities to such an extent as to seriously limit their self-sufficiency or cultural language learning; unaccompanied minors, trafficked persons, and victims of violence or serious exploitation; and all minors under the age of 16 years.

From the point of view of language, obviously the public sphere is characterized by the use of the official language. Therefore, the first and most important step toward integration is having sufficient levels of understanding and usage of the host country's language; however, for the purpose of facilitating the arrival phase of immigrant populations, some services can be provided in a language different from the official language[4].

In the context of private relationships, instead, any linguistic imposition would be interpreted as interference by the public decision maker in the sphere of personal freedoms. Therefore, the de jure language is often accompanied by a de facto language, i.e., the language used daily.

Integration, which is a two-way process between the immigrant population and the resident autochthon population, has different speeds. Gender studies have shown that men experience a quicker integration process than women during the first years in the host country, but in the medium and long-term women's integration accelerates. Therefore, in the analysis of the integration process resident populations' structures in a specific territory are to be taken into account.

Historical geopolitical conditions can explain the different degrees of concentration of immigrant communities in Italy. The relative ease of the procedures for joining families and the migrants' networking represent factors that attract them toward specific territories. In general the resident foreign communities support migrants during the integration process, but they can also represent a braking factor that radicalizes an attachment to their origins that can result in forms of self-segregation and the consolidation of linguistic barriers.

The children born to foreign citizens represent 14% of the total number of children born in Italy in 2012. This figure, disseminated by the Parliamentary Cultural Commission, together with the figure of the foreign population with valid residence permits (approximately 4 million), shows a not insignificant situation of young foreigners. If to this is added a higher birth rate for the immigrant population than that for the Italian population, it is easy to imagine how the presence of second generations of foreigners is a very large subgroup of the foreign population and to which attention must be given. In fact, these young foreigners will remain in Italy, will attend Italian schools, and will speak Italian with their classmates; when they are 18 years old, they will also be able to acquire Italian citizenship. But what level of integration will they achieve? Will they feel like Italians or foreigners? Will they cultivate a single sense of national belonging or more than one?

Therefore, the linguistic integration process is a long process that will intersect all the other demographic and social processes that over time will continue to occur, although with various characteristics and dynamics.

b) The linguistic indicators

Choosing an indicator means identifying a tool of measure able to represent the observed phenomenon. Indicators that can be used in the context of policy must have the capability of monitoring and evaluating the degree of success of policies and related political actions. Indicator's statistical significance - that is, its ability to represent the observed phenomenon - must, therefore, be accompanied by its usability, which is its ability to be easily used by policy makers who usually need to take decision and plan political actions quickly and under conditions of imperfect information.

In re-proposing the division between the public and private spheres, the following principal indicators can be considered: the language used in the public sphere (the language used at work, the language used by public services); the native language (which may or may not be the language of origin); and the language spoken in the home.

The language used in the public sphere is generally defined as the language used by individuals when performing their main public activities: work, relations with public administrations, etc. Regarding this indicator, however, several defining problems are encountered; for example,

---

4.   The experience of cultural mediators is significant in this context.

what activities are considered "public." Regarding the private sphere, a first indicator is the native language, also known as the mother tongue. On the basis of a common accepted meaning, the mother tongue is not exclusively the language of one's mother, but in an extended sense it is the language of one's childhood. The literature offers a considerable number of different definitions ranging from the language of the country where one was born to the language learned during the first months of life (conventionally identified as the preschool period). In 1959, the United Nations proposed the definition of "spoken language" as the language used during infancy, without taking into consideration whether this language was also used subsequently, in school age, and whether it continued to be understood by an individual even subsequently. In fact, regarding an individual's life experience, the language learned during the first months of life could be forgotten when he or she becomes an adult. But at this point there is the problem of what level of understanding is to be taken into consideration, keeping in mind that the self-certification of learning levels and knowledge is essentially subjective. It is obvious that only by clarifying the aspects regarding the definition - and their application - the indicator will become significant regarding the origin and the cultural heritage acquired by the family of origin.

The second indicator selected in relation to the private sphere is the language spoken at home. The language spoken with the closest family members is surely important for understanding the identifying traits of an individual's customs, culture, and habits. But like for the other indicators, the question is posed in temporal terms. It is important to emphasize that language transfer may not coincide with economic independence and/or passage into adulthood; this is the reason why it is necessary to know when it occurs. Another factor to take into account is the extended circle of family relations. Especially for the new generation, the friendship environment can be a determining factor also for linguistic choices; by the way, the language most frequently spoken with friends is another important aspect to be analysed.

Focusing attention on the Italian context, first of all it is necessary to ask what effects were produced by actions in linguistic field adopted with regard to the foreign immigrant population (such as literacy courses and training courses for taking the linguistic knowledge test in conformity with the integration agreement) and implemented at various territorial levels.

In the context of an integration system that takes into account policies and actions that facilitate and support language learning by foreigners, decision makers have a strong need to have available information on the knowledge and use of language by the immigrant population and to follow its evolutive dynamics, even with regard to the demographic, economic, and social behaviours that can be observed in various territorial contexts. How do you project and realize a database that satisfies that need? In contrast to other countries[5], in Italy the population census does not explore linguistic aspects. The first database able to provide a large range of information on the immigrant population, which is also useful for constructing linguistic indicators, is based on the survey on the "Social condition and integration of foreign citizens." The sample survey, which was included in the 2011-2013 National Statistics Program, was carried out by ISTAT (Italian National Institute of Statistics) in 2011-2012 regarding the foreign population residing in Italy. As a result of an agreement between the Ministry of Interior and ISTAT, the survey was implemented with a specific form concerning linguistic behaviours and migration routes; , with an extension of the sample to naturalized citizens as well as to the local areas of Rome, Milan, and

5. In Canada, the USA, and Switzerland the censuses collect language data, making a distinction between the language spoken in public (the language used at work, the language used to communicate with public administrations, etc.) and the language spoken in private (the native language, the language spoken at home, etc.). Specifically, the Canadian census, which takes place every five years, allows a large number of linguistic indicators to be determined: the first official language spoken in the country, the language used at work, the native language, the language usually used at home, the language most spoken within the family, and languages known.

Naples. On the basis of the results of this survey[6] it is now possible to produce a first overview of the role of the Italian language in the immigrant'integration process.

The relationship between language of origin and Italian language is analyzed herein for the four largest communities of citizens from outside the European Union who are residents in Italy. From the ratio between those who continue to speak their mother tongue at home and those who, instead, speak Italian at home, it is possible to estimate the rates of linguistic mobility from the language of origin (different from Italian) to Italian, which are useful for evaluating the power of attraction exerted by the Italian language in comparison to other languages spoken by foreigners.

Table 1 – Foreign citizens who are at least 6 years old and resident in Italy by mother tongue and Italian language spoken at home , with friends , at work – Years 2011-2012 (percentages)

Current citizenship*	Mother tongue		Spoken language: Italian		
			Spoken at home (a)	Spoken with friends (a)	Used at work (b)
Albania	Albanian	89,9	33,5	63,7	92,5
	Other language	10,1	69,2	84,7	97,4
	Total	**100,0**	**37,1**	**65,8**	**92,7**
Ukraine	Ukrainian	64,7	58,8	57,2	97,9
	Other language	35,3	69,0	58,0	96,9
	Total	**100,0**	**62,4**	**57,4**	**97,6**
Morocco	Arabic (16 language varieties)	91,3	19,8	47,9	95,0
	Altre lingua	8,7	54,1	79,8	87,9
	Totale	**100,0**	**22,8**	**50,8**	**94,6**
People's Republic of China	Chinese (12 language varieties)	95,0	7,1	28,1	51,1
	Other language	5,0	55,4 *	80,8 *	24,6 *
	Total	**100,0**	**9,5**	**30,8**	**51,0**

* Largest extra-UE communities in Italy

(a) Percentage of foreign citizens who are at least 6 years old and speak the same language of origin.

(b) Percentage of foreign citizens who are at least 15 years old and speak the same language of origin.

Source: ISTAT, survey "Social condition and integration of foreign citizens" - 2011-2012 - Provisional data.

The results of the ISTAT survey "Social condition and integration of foreign citizens - 2011-2012" show that the mother tongue of a large portion of foreign citizens who live in Italy is the

6. The breadth of the survey will permit a multilevel analysis of the various aspects that were recorded, including the linguistic aspect, both within the individual aspect and between this aspect and the other integration subject matters, thereby allowing interaction between the various domains of study. Furthermore, the presence of both objective and subjective variables makes it possible to achieve a more in-depth knowledge of the migrants' profiles and quality of life.

language spoken in their country of origin; despite the fact that this situation is predominant among people belonging to the various communities, it is interesting to note that the number of foreigners who use the Italian language is not at all insignificant, especially in some communities: this is the case for 33% of Albanians who speak Italian at home in comparison with 90% of Albanians who state that their language of origin is Albanian. The percentage of those who speak Italian at home rises to 58% for Ukrainian citizens, who in 65% of the cases have Ukrainian as mother tongue and in 31% of the cases Russian.

On the other hand, it appears that the power of attraction of the Italian language is weaker among those belonging to the Moroccan and Chinese communities: only 20% of the Moroccans with Arabic as mother tongue speaks the Italian language at home; this figure drops to 7% in the case of citizens of the People's Republic of China.

The situation appears more favourable if the power of attraction of the Italian language in the context of friendships is analyzed. On average, the incidence of those who speak Italian with their friends is 64% for Albanians whose mother tongue is Albanian, 57% for Ukrainian citizens whose mother tongue is Ukrainian, and 48% of Moroccan citizens who speak Arabic as their language of origin. The 28% of Chinese citizens is particularly significant, because it is indicative of a trend that, if confirmed in the future, could signify the opening up of new prospects of integration for a population that appears not to be very disposed toward this process, taking into consideration the low inclination showed by this community toward changing the language they speak at home.

Lastly, if the public sphere indicator - represented herein by the language spoken at work - is taken into consideration, it can be observed that the dissemination of Italian in a public environment is markedly greater than that in the private contexts that have been considered up until now; this evidence empirically confirms the relative representativeness of this indicator in the context of the integration process.

Table 2 – Foreign citizens (at least 6 years old) resident in Italy who have Italian as mother tongue and do not speak Italian at home and with friends – Years 2011-2012 (percentages)

Current citizenship	Mother tongue: Italian	Spoken language: non Italian	
		Spoken at home	Spoken with friends
Albania	7,5	21,0	6,0
Morocco	6,1	31,1	5,6
People's Republic of China	4,3	35,4	5,9

Source: ISTAT, survey "Social condition and integration of foreign citizens" - 2011-2012 - Provisional data.

The mirror-image problem to the power of attraction is a language's ability of resistance. A language's vitality, that is its ability to remain alive over time, is measured in this context with reference to the population of foreign citizens with Italian as their mother tongue who are able to maintain the use of their language of origin (i.e., Italian) as a language frequently spoken at home. This indicator also represents an approximation of the level of radicalization of the Italian tradition and culture as the culture of origin passed down by means of the use of the language, which is inversely correlated with the power of attraction exerted by the other languages. The data listed in the following table show the capacity of "erosion" toward Italian language exerted by foreign languages for three of the main communities of resident citizens from outside the European Union. It can be noted, in fact, that 21% of the Albanians who have Italian as their language of origin (equivalent to approximately 8% of the resident Albanians) state, however, that

they do not speak Italian in the home; this figure increases to 31% for the Moroccans (of which 6% has Italian as their language of origin) and 35% for the Chinese (of which 4% has Italian as their language of origin).

Adopting the indicator "language usually spoken with friends," the percentage of erosion of the Italian language appears markedly more limited for all three of the populations under study. This result is consistent with the conclusions arrived at by measuring the power of attraction of the Italian language.

This brief analysis makes it possible to underline the importance of a new approach in relation to integration policies directed at facilitating learning the host country's language by the immigrant populations. This approach is based on the process of linguistic mobility, that is, on the acquisition of the host society's language, defined as the language of family relations. Therefore, it is not the de jure language, but the language used strictly in the social environment that becomes an important indicator of the transference from the culture of origin to a new cultural environment, such as that which is found in the host society. The ability to hold a conversation or to write properly in the language of the migration destination country establishes the language learning level on a scale for measuring knowledge of the language; on the other hand basic knowledge of the host country's language is a necessary, but insufficient, condition for the integration process. Linguistic mobility accompanies and characterizes an individual's life cycle. The language spoken in the home, which can differ from the native language, but in any case pertains to the private sphere of interpersonal relationships, appears to be a particularly significant aspect in this context.

Lastly, the progressive use of the host country's language in the family environment is potentially projected in the future, becoming the prerogative of the new generations, further complicating the process of intergenerational transmission of the culture of origin. The analysis of this process will make it possible to highlight the differences and quantify the effects that the adoption of an action (in a wider and more coordinated sense of an integration policy) causes on the implementation of cultural integration of immigrant populations. By bringing to the forefront the sociocultural implications stemming from the application of regulations that promote language learning by the immigrant populations in the host society, this approach seems crucial for planning future public action.

6.3   The composition of the interpersonal networks

In the sociological analyses there is considerable insistence on the importance of the richness and composition of personal relationships for understanding the actual integration process of immigrants and, more generally, minorities within a society. It is noted how in the development of personal relationships there is a strong tendency toward homophily (McPherson, Smith-Lovin et al. 2001). That is, a person's relationships tend to favour individuals who are similar in socioeconomic terms, status, ethnicity, and culture (Currarini, Jackson et al. 2009). However, this tendency is not absolute; instead, it originates from a group of structural aspects (for example, residential or school segregation) and symbolic aspects (Kossinets and Watts 2009, Wimmer and Lewis 2010, Sciortino 2012). Generally it is assumed that the existence of personal relationships that go beyond racial, ethnic, or national boundaries show how those boundaries do not constitute a barrier that is so strong as to make difficult the recognition of mutual affinity and the willingness to develop a relationship on that basis characterized by varying levels of intimacy, sharing, and trust. Furthermore, whether or not friendships exist among members of different groups in a society is considered an indicator of the social distance among the groups. In the social distance scale developed by Emory Bogardus, which was published in 1926, the willingness

to have friends from a specific ethnic category is considered a clear indicator of low social distance between the two groups (Bogardus 1926).

Unfortunately, the level of knowledge of the forms of sociability in modern societies is still very insufficient (Palisi and Ransford 1987, Fisher 2011). In general, in studies on personal relationships, one encounters not only serious problems of definition resulting from the fact that such relationships are perceived and defined in a very different manner by different population segments (Allan 1998, Horenczyk and Tatar 1998), but also problems regarding recording the data, since the relational data necessary for best applying the techniques for analyzing social networks are not particularly well suited to being used in sample surveys. The research that has been conducted up until now, however, shows how immigrants tend to have smaller and more compact social circles than do the natives; this is not surprising given the fact that a considerable portion of personal relationships are formed during childhood and adolescence, that is, generally before emigrating. Therefore, the acquisition of new friendships is a process that requires a certain amount of time, but which is considerably affected by age, quality of life, participation in the labour market, and the acquisition of the Italian language.

With regard to the study of the integration processes, the greatest interest is in the *composition* of the networks of friends and in the types of social participation that seem to encourage to a greater degree the formation of inter-ethnic relationships. In the case of Italy, the available information originates mainly from the ISTAT surveys, the Fondazione ISMU surveys, and some local surveys conducted mainly in the middle schools and high schools. ISTAT, for example, documents how eight Italians out of ten have some type of personal relationship with at least one foreigner, in the sense that they know the foreigner's first name and they stop to talk, at least briefly, when they meet him or her by chance (Istat 2012). For the foreign population the main source, instead, is surely the survey on the "Social condition and integration of foreign citizens." Fondazione ISMU has collected first and many times, information on the friendship composition of networks of foreign citizen. From this research emerges the important role of migration seniority in the probability of having Italian friends. Furthermore, during the process of establishment, it seems to increase the heterogeneity of the immigrants' networks of friends since they develop personal relationships with Italians without renouncing personal relationships with their fellow citizen (Cesareo and Blangiardo 2009). Furthermore, important differences emerge by gender and by national community of origin. Instead, the local surveys on foreign students are currently the only ones that provide fully relational data regarding the networks of friends in the school classes or institute classes (Casacchia, Natale et al. 2008, Cvajner 2011, Rivellini, Terzera et al. 2011). Also in this case the studies seem to indicate the great importance of migration seniority and the important role that gender, linguistic skills, and national origin play in the development of heterogeneous friendships. Qualitative studies took into consideration the different forms of friendship existing in the different migration systems involving Italy (Cvajner 2009, Cvajner and Sciortino 2010).

The available information from a sampling source make it possible to generate a limited, but not insignificant, number of indicators on the heterogeneity of the immigrants' friendship ties. The first indicator can be expressed by the percentage of foreign immigrants in Italy whose own personal relationships include Italians.

However, this indicator does not make it possible to evaluate the centrality of those relationships in the entirety of the network of the interviewee's personal relationships; this problem is made even more serious by the fact that the networks vary considerably in terms of breadth and, above all, the importance attributed to the relationship and the subjective perception that each person attributes to the type of relationship. For this reason it is useful to analyze also the overall composition of the networks based on personal relationships, focusing on the overall composition of the group of people or on the relationships deemed to be more significant by the interviewee. In the first case, followed up on by the surveys of Fondazione ISMU, is recorded the percentage of

groups of friends composed exclusively of foreigners, of Italians, or with a predominance of one of these two categories. In this manner it is possible to note that the number of immigrants in Italy who have exclusively foreign friends is relatively small and mainly consists of immigrants who have just arrived, while approximately half have a network of friends that includes a considerable number of Italian friends (Cesareo and Blangiardo 2009).

It could be interesting to evaluate also the indicator in relation to the type of group. Among the particularly young foreigners (between 6 and 13 years of age), in which there is a strong presence of second generations, the ISTAT survey shows that the number of mixed friendships is quite high (83%), while the number of children who only have foreign friends is very limited (approximately 3%); also, one out of ten has only Italians in his or her circle of friendships.

Another indicator that is used refers, instead, to whether or not there are Italians in the circle of closest personal relationships (the three, or five, "most important" friends).

This approach was favoured in the ISTAT survey that explores foreigners' personal relationships, developed in Italy, beginning from the most important people, and after enumerating and describing the three main personal relationships on the basis of several characteristics (nationality, type of relationship, reference context in which they developed). The indicator can also be classified in relation to the characteristics of the foreigner interviewed, thereby increasing its explanatory significance.

Some first results would document that approximately eight out of ten foreigners (14 years old and older) have important people in Italy[7], and more than one-third (35%) has developed a relational network that contains Italians: for almost one-fifth (18%) of the foreigners the network is mixed (consisting of Italians and fellow citizen); smaller, but still significant, is the number of foreigners whose network of important relationships includes only Italians (15%) (Table 3).

However, the presence of only fellow citizen seems to be the majority case in the network of important relationships in Italy (62%); this is mainly due to the fact that this is based to a large degree on the circle of relatives (38%), which includes a large number of fellow citizen (90%).

Also gender and migration seniority seem to play an important role, by encouraging in women and foreigners who have been in Italy for a longer amount of time a greater propensity for personal relationships with Italians. Differences seem to emerge also in relation to origin.

If the network of personal relationships is reduced to only the important people outside the circle of relationships with relatives and any partner, four out of ten foreigners, instead, have developed a network of friends in Italy.

The possibility offered by the survey to classify the indicator in relation to migration seniority and in relation to the context in which the relationship developed (workplace, neighbourhood, or recreational activities) seems to be an interesting direction to pursue. This would result in an indicator that is decidedly more restrictive than the first one, which refers to the most important and selective personal relationships, in which the homophily is presumably stronger. When using it, it is fundamentally important to keep in mind that it refers to the type of personal relationships in which the increase in heterogeneity is slower; since such relationships are often representative of the entire biography, they have a greater probability of being formed before emigration and of surviving physical distance. In other words a core of important friends consisting exclusively of fellow citizen does not necessarily imply either a tendency toward ethnic closure or the absence of Italian friends in the overall network.

---

7. Within the survey "Social condition and integration of foreign citizens" the most important people are defined as those persons with whom the foreigner talk about important issues (job, family, love, health, etc.).

Table 3 – Foreign citizens (at least 14 years old) classified by citizenship of foreigner most important people in Italy, gender, age, and length of stay in Italy – Years 2011-2012 (percentages)

	Citizenship of foreigner most important people in Italy							
	Only Italians	Only fellow citizen	Only other citizenship	Italians and fellow citizen	Italians and other citizenship	Fellow citizen and other citizenship	Italians, fellow citizen, and other citizenship	Total
Gender								
Males	11,4	68,8	1,5	15,2	0,9	1,2	1,0	100,0
Female	18,6	56,6	1,0	20,2	1,5	1,4	0,7	100,0
Age								
14-24	10,3	62,7	0,8	21,9	1,0	1,6	1,8	100,0
25-44	15,2	62,2	1,5	18,0	1,2	1,3	0,7	100,0
45-64	19,5	61,0	1,0	15,6	1,2	1,1	0,6	100,0
65-74	18,4	64,0	1,7	10,9	2,3	2,7	.	100,0
75 and older	21,2	55,5	2,3	18,3	0,4	0,4	1,9	100,0
Length of stay								
Foreigners who have lived in Italy since birth	17,6	49,7	1,2	0,5	0,7	3,4	1,2	100,0
11 and older	18,7	58,3	1,3	18,4	1,4	1,2	0,8	100,0
8-10 years	14,1	60,8	1,3	20,8	0,9	1,1	0,9	100,0
5-7 years	12,1	67,5	0,9	16,1	1,1	1,5	0,7	100,0
Younger than 4 years	6,0	76,5	1,5	11,8	0,8	1,6	1,8	100,0
Total	**15,4**	**61,9**	**1,3**	**18,0**	**1,2**	**1,3**	**0,9**	**100,0**

Source: ISTAT, survey "Social condition and integration of foreign citizens" - 2011-2012 - Provisional data.

Furthermore, due to the important effect of communication skills in the construction of interpersonal relationships, this indicator could be further refined by combining it with the information on the foreigner's linguistic skills.

6.4 Family structures and domestic cohabitation

One of the most important changes regarding immigration in Italy is the strong family stabilization process, with a growing number of immigrants who reunite members of their families or start new families in Italy (Interior Ministry 2007). This process is already very important in the study of integration processes, since the reuniting of one's own family and establishing a new

family indicate a long-term migration project and require the continuous acquisition of a minimum of social resources. Therefore, it is not surprising that the percentage of immigrants who live with their own families was an indicator that was used frequently in studies on the integration of immigrants in Italy (Cibella 2003, Golini 2006, Decimo 2007).

Beginning with data available from the general census of the population or from sample surveys, it is possible to construct indicators on family size, composition, and type. From a methodological point of view also the sample surveys that were conducted in Italy in the last decade, mainly on a local or regional basis, such as those carried out by Fondazione ISMU, represent significant experiences in the construction of measurement systems for assessing integration processes.

The survey on "Social condition and integration of foreigners," carried out by ISTAT, represents another step forward in this direction. The vast range of information that can be derived from the survey, available on a national and sub-national scale, makes it possible to analyze families with foreigners and to classify them in relation to information of a demographic and socioeconomic nature. It is possible to differentiate families by the number of members, separating those without a nucleus, that is, single-member families whether living together or not, from families with a single nucleus (with or without other people) and from families with more than one nucleus.

Couples can be analyzed by differentiating those who are married from those who are not married, exploring also in this case the type of composition on the basis of the partners' gender and citizenship or other characteristics such as whether or not there are children.

If the reference unit is considered to be a foreign individual instead of the family, it is possible to know how many foreigners live in nuclear families in comparison to those who live alone[8]. The possibility of classifying the information on foreigners not only by the type of family, but also by other individual characteristics such as gender, age, area of origin, citizenship, or their partners' cultural profile represents a further level of detail. The possibility of collecting cultural differences that are very diversified between the partners, for example, beginning with information on religious beliefs, which is also available from the ISTAT survey, makes it possible to achieve a deeper level of mixing among individuals than that which is expressed by nationality alone.

But the composition of foreigners' families is connoted very often also by the presence of a portion of the household that lives elsewhere, giving rise to the so-called transnational families, "separated" between the migration country and the country of origin. In these contexts foreigners deal with family problems and emotional problems. Their children often experience new forms of solitude, because they do not live with their mothers, who live elsewhere, continuing to work as domestic helpers or care-givers. Divorces also occur, with consequences that can easily be imagined. Therefore, limiting the possibilities to only indicators that are able to identify the structure and composition of foreigners' families in Italy, without examining what changes this could have undergone in the migration process and what constraints in the form of nuclear members are still present in the country of origin after the event, could constitute a limit to the true family identity of foreigners in Italy. Therefore, detailed information on married couples separated by distance is another important goal that must not be neglected in the evaluation of the composition of foreign families, as is also the case for information on children living in the household established in Italy and information on the children not living there. Lastly, it is necessary to keep in mind that the use of indicators from this source does not exhaust the universe of sentimental relationships of the foreign population, because it is based on sharing the same "house" i.e., living - at

8. According to the ISTAT definition the family nucleus is "the group of people living together who are connected by bonds as a couple and/or by parent-child bonds. The couple is married or living together, without children or with children who have never been married; the nucleus can be comprised also of just one parent with one or more children who have never been married."

least partially - in a common dwelling. However, there are also sentimental relationships that are not located in that common residence, but this does not negate their relevance in terms of personal well-being and rooting in the area. This is particularly important in the case of immigration, since there are segments of the foreign population that are not insignificant - for example, co-resident domestic workers - for whom it is often impossible to establish domestic cohabitation, without this implying a lack of sentimental relationships.

For the purposes of this paper, an important aspect of the integration process is whether or not there are couples of which one member is foreign or of foreign origin. As in the case of friendships, it is noted whether there is a tendency toward homophily (endogamy in this case) between natives and immigrants, and how strong this tendency is. This is a very important indicator, because the existence of mixed couples is a strong indicator of the absence of barriers to meeting, courting, and developing a common and intimate project by individuals belonging to the two communities (Tribalat 1996)[9]. The establishment of such relationships is also an indicator of low social distance between the two groups: continuing with the example of Bogardus's scale, the willingness to evaluate a member of another group as one's own partner is interpreted as an absence of social distance (Bogardus 1926).

By analysing couples - living together - with at least a foreigner, in the majority of cases a fellow citizen is chosen as the partner (54%); the percentage is higher (60%) if the relationship is a marriage. Different data can be observed in the case of non-marital relationships; in fact, mixed couples are much more frequent (70%) among the couples who live together but are not married and there is a clear predominance of mixed couples in which the male is Italian and the female is a foreigner (61%).

Table 4 – Couples (living together) with at least one foreign partner (at least 14 years old) according to the type of union and the partner's nationality – Years 2011-2012 (percentages)

	Mixed couple	Of which: Italian male, foreign female	Of which: foreign male, Italian female	Foreign couple - fellow citizen	Foreign couple - not fellow citizen	Total
Married couple	38,3	28,8	9,5	60,3	1,3	100,0
Non married couple	70,3	60,8	9,5	24,9	4,8	100,0
Total	43,6	34,1	9,5	54,5	1,9	100,0

Source: ISTAT, survey "Social condition and integration of foreign citizens" - 2011-2012 - Provisional data.

Another way of looking at the same phenomenon is to focus on the marriages that take place every year. The mixed marriage rate represents a frequently used integration measurement; it is an important indicator of the degree and quality of the relations and exchanges between the local population and new arrivals. It expresses the number of marriages in which one spouse is Italian and the other is a foreigner in comparison to the total number of marriages that take place in Italy. Because in Italy data on marriages are collected through an administrative survey[10] , this

9. Regarding the interpretation of this indicator, it is necessary to examine in more detail the subsequent observations of Tribalat (2010) and the considerations of Todd (1994).

10. The survey on marriages has been carried out by ISTAT since 1926; information on the citizenship of the spouses was introduced on the data collection form beginning in 1995 and finalized in 1997. The marriages

indicator has advantage of being available at municipality level; it is also possible to arrange the data in a historical series, which is useful for evaluating the trend of the phenomenon over time.

In the context of monitoring the integration of the foreigners, this indicator has some informational limits, because it does not take into account marriages that took place in foreign countries. Furthermore, this rate could be affected by changes in the regulations. For example the approval of Italian Law no. 94/2009 (art. 1, par. 15) - which requires a foreigner who wishes to contract marriage in Italy to submit not only the traditional Certificate of No Impediment (Certificate of Legal Capacity to Contract Marriage) , but also "a document certifying the legality of the foreigner's stay in Italy"- could be the reason for the change recorded that year. In 2009, in fact, mixed marriages were about 32 thousand, showing a decrease of almost 5,000 units in comparison to the previous year that indicated a halt in the increasing trend that had been recorded since 1995.

Therefore, the introduction of specific regulations can influence the decision of where to have a wedding, causing the couple, for example, to decide against having the wedding take place in Italy and to get married in a foreign country instead. Furthermore, this indicator does not take into account unions not formalized by a marriage.

Table 5 – Main characteristics of marriages that take place in Italy. Years 2008-2011 (absolute values and percentages)

	2008	2009	2010	2011
Total number of marriages (absolute values)	246.613	230.613	217.700	204.830
Annual change	-3.747	-16.000	-12.913	-12.870
of which:				
Both spouses are Italians				
First marriages (absolute values)	185.749	175.043	168.610	155.395
Change in comparison to the previous year (absolute values)	-6833	-10.706	-6.433	-13.215
At least one spouse is a foreigner				
First marriages and subsequent ones (absolute values)	36.918	32.059	25.082	26.617
Change in comparison to the previous year (absolute values)	2.359	-4.859	-6.977	1.535

Source: ISTAT, Survey on marriages

are those that were recorded during the calendar year in the register of the Vital Records Office of the city in which the marriage took place.

Figure 1 – Marriages with at least one foreign spouse, classified by type of couple. Years 1995-2011 (absolute values and percentages)

Source: ISTAT, Survey on marriages

Whether using the information on domestic cohabitation or using the marriages data, it is necessary to be aware that the percentage of marriages or mixed couples living together cannot automatically be considered an indicator of a "predisposition" to being open or closed to a specific national community (Decimo 2007). In fact, it must be remembered that the different communities of immigrants in Italy are strongly differentiated in terms of gender (while the mixed relationships in our country mainly involve Italian males) and marital status: in some communities women migrate before the marriage or after a separation from their spouse, while in others immigrants arrive in the country already married or, in any case, already committed to a marriage.

Bibliography

Anderson, E. (2010). *The Imperative of Integration*. Princeton, Princeton University Press.

Barsotti, O., F. Benassi, M. Toigo, S. Venturi and L. Porciani (2007). Transmigrants. The Integration Process and Links with the Country of Origins. Pisa, DSMAE - Università di Pisa.

Boccagni, P. and G. Pollini (2012). *L'integrazione nello studio delle migrazioni. Teorie, indicatori, ricerche*. Milano, FrancoAngeli.

Bogardus, E. S. (1926). "Social Distance in the City." *Proceedings and Publications of the American Sociological Society* **20**: 40-46.

Bourdieu, P. (1980). "Le capital social: notes provisoires." *Actes de la Recherche en Sciences Sociales* **31**: 2-3.

Burgess, S., D. Wilson and R. Lupton (2005). "Parallel lives? Ethnic segregation in schools and neighbourhoods." *urban Studies* **42**(7): 1027-1056.

Carrera, S. and A. Wiesbrock (2009). Civic Integration of Third Country Nationals. Bruxells, Center for European Policy Studies.

Casacchia, O., L. Natale, A. Paterno and L. Terzera, Eds. (2008). *Studiare insieme, crescere insieme? Un'indagine sulle seconde generazioni in dieci regioni italiane*. Milano, FrancoAngeli.

Cesareo, V. and G. Blangiardo (2009). *Indici di integrazione*. Milano, FrancoAngeli.

Church, J. and I. King (1993). "Bilingualism and Network Externalities." *Canadian Journal of Economics* **26**(2): 337-345.

Cibella, N. (2003). Indicatori dell'insediamento e dell'integrazione degli immigrati in Italia: una rassegna. *Un'immigrazione normale*. G. Sciortino and A. Colombo. Bologna, Il Mulino: 311-350.

Corbeil, J. C. (2007). *L'embarras des langues*. Montréal, Editions Québec Amerique.

Council of Europe (1996). Measurement and Indicators of Integration. Strasbourgo, Council of Europe.

Currarini, S., M. O. Jackson and P. Pin (2009). "An Economic Model of Friendship: Homophily, Minorities and Segregation." *Econometrica* **77**(4): 1003-1045.

Cvajner, M. (2009). Non solo domestiche: reti amicali e vita sentimentale delle donne immigrate. *Badanti e Co. Il lavoro domestico straniero in Italia*. R. Catanzaro and A. Colombo. Bologna, Il Mullino: 134-164.

Cvajner, M. (2011). "Migrant friendships, migrant loves - taking the sociability of second generations seriously." *Journal of Modern Intalian Studies* **16**(4): 465-477.

Cvajner, M. and G. Sciortino (2010). "A tale of networks and policies: prolegomena to an analysis of irregular migration careers and their developmental paths." *Population, Space and Place* **16**(3): 213-225.

Decimo, F. (2007). Le famiglie degli stranieri. *Primo rapporto sugli immigrati in Italia*. M. dell'Interno. Roma, Ministero dell'Interno: 132-154.

Entzinger, H. and R. Biezeveld (2003). Benchmarking in Immigrant Integration. Rotterdam, European Research Center on Migration and Ethnic Relations.

Eurostat (2011). *Indicators of Immigrant Integration - A Pilot Study*. Bruxelles, Eurostat.

Fisher, C. S. (2011). *Still Connected: Family and Friends in America Since 1970*. New York, Russell Sage.

Ghio, D., O. Barsotti and S. Venturi (2011). Lingua e cittadinanza: criteri alterntivi per identificare una popolazione e le sue dinamiche? Pisa, DSMAE - Università di Pisa.

Golini, A., Ed. (2006). *L'immigrazione straniera: indicatori e misure di integrazione*. Bologna, Mulino.

Goodman, S. W. (2011). "Measurement and Interpretation Issues in Civic Integration Studies: A Rejoinder." Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies **38**(1): 173-186.

Istat (2012). I migranti visti dai cittadini. Roma, Istat.

Kossinets, G. and DuncanÂ J. Watts (2009). "Origins of Homophily in an Evolving Social Network." *American Journal of Sociology* **115**(2): 405-450.

Marmen, L. and J. P. Corbeil (2004). *Les langues au Canada. Recesement de 2001*. Ottawa, Statistique Canada.

Massey, D. S. and N. Denton (1993). *American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of the Underclass*. Cambridge, Harvard University Press.

McPherson, M., L. Smith-Lovin and J. Cook (2001). "Birds of a Feather: Homophily in Social Networks." Annual Review of Sociology **27**: 415-444.

Ministero dell'Interno (2007). Primo rapporto sugli immigrati in Italia. Roma, Ministero dell'Interno.

Neederlands Institute for Social Research (2012). *Measuring and Monitoring Immigrant Integration in Europe*. Den Haag, SCP.

Oecd (2012). Settling In: OECD indicators of immigrant integration. Paris, Oecd.

Palisi, B. J. and H. E. Ransford (1987). "Friendship as a Voluntary Relationship: Evidence from National Surveys." *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships* **4**(3): 243-259.

Putnam, R. (2007). "E Pluribus Unum: Diversity and Community in the Twenthy-First Century." *Scandinavian Political Studies* **30**(2): 137-174.

Rivellini, G., L. Terzera and V. Amati (2011). "Individual, dyadic and network effects in friendship relationships among Italian and Foreign Schoolmates." Genus **LXVII**(3): 1-27.

Schlueter, E. (2011). "The Inter-Ethnic Friendships of Immigrants with Host-Society Members: Revisiting the Role of Ethnic Residential Segregation." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* **38**(1): 77-91.

Sciortino, G. (2003). "From Homogeneity to Difference? Comparing Multiculturalism as a Description and as a Field for Claim-Making." *Comparative Social Research* **22**: 263-285.

Sciortino, G. (2012). Ethnicity, Race, Nationhood, Foreigness and Many Other Things: Prolegomena to a Cultural Sociology of Difference-Based Interactions. *Oxford Handbook of Cultural Sociology*. J. C. Alexander, R. Jacobs and P. Smith. Oxford, Oxford University Press: 365-389.

Simpson, L. (2007). "Ghettos of the mind: The empirical behaviour of indices of segregation and diversity." *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society. Series A: Statistics in Society* **170**(2): 405-424.

Termote, M. (2008). Nouvelles perspectives démolinguistiques du Québec et de la région de Montréal, 2001-2051. Quebec, Gouvernement du Québec.

Tribalat, M. (1996). *De l'immigration à l'assimilation: une enquete sur les immigrés et leur enfants*. Paris, La Découverte.

Tribalat, M. (2010). *Les yeux grands fermés* Denoël

Van Parijs, P. (2000). "The ground floor of the world. On the socio-economic consequences of linguistic globalisation." *International Political Science Review* **21**(2): 217-233.

Vervoort, M. and J. Dagevos (2011). "The Social Integration of Ethnic Minorities: An Explanation of the Trend in Ethnic Minorities' Social Contacts with Natives in the Netherlands, 1998-2006." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* **37**(4): 619-635.

Wimmer, A. and K. Lewis (2010). "Beyond and Below Racial Homophily: ERG Models of a Friendship Network Documented on Facebook." *American Journal of Sociology* **116**(2): 583-642.

7 - Active Citizenship[1]

7.1 Introduction

The purpose of this introduction is to offer a brief methodological reflection on citizenship as a criterion traditionally used to identify a population and its dynamics, before moving on to consider empirical measures. Classifying a population according to citizenship also means implicitly acknowledging this category as representative of the sense of belonging to a national community. Naturalisation therefore becomes a *crucial* element of the integration process: but is it realistic to place central importance on the legal dimension rather than the inherently multidimensional nature of the integration process?

The analysis of demographic phenomena, particular in regard to migration, is often conditioned by the limited availability of data. The use of citizenship as a criterion to classify a population obviously allows the use of data sources that serve administrative purposes and are based on national legal principles. Community provisions also tend towards the choice of the legal criterion of citizenship to distinguish a national population, or one belonging to a Member State of the European Union, from third-country nationals. Taking into account the United Nations recommendations on international migration statistics, the EC statistical rules on immigration and asylum[2] identify citizenship as the "particular legal bond between an individual and his or her State, acquired by birth or naturalisation (...), according to national legislation". This choice involves an implicit assumption that an immigrant population remains "different" as long as it retains its original citizenship, and is then assimilated or becomes indistinguishable from the actual population of the host country.

Through this approach, the analysis of the phenomenon tends to reflect national legislations more than actual individual processes. It also becomes difficult to situate the phenomenon of intracommunity migration in a European dimension in which migration and integration policies are regulated according to principles of mutual responsibility and solidarity among EU Member States. Conversely, the multidimensionality of the integration process requires the need for an integrated approach to the phenomena that can also allow the interaction among individuals and society to be reconstructed in the phases subsequent to naturalisation.

An integrated approach dispenses with the notion that isolating a phenomenon from its context allows its role to be identified more easily and allows a more satisfactory explanation of the behaviour strategies of social groups and populations. In terms of policy planning, this means taking into account both the economic consequences (employment, housing, the demand for public services, etc.) and the social, cultural and political repercussions (including naturalisation) that are inseparably linked to the experiences of migration, thereby adopting a substantive rather than formal concept of citizenship. Each country has its own traditions regarding citizenship: from the definition of its social contract, to the rights and duties of its citizens and its forms of participation and democratic representation. Integration is a long-term process, which is not limited to attainment of legal status or length of stay in a country. The assessment of an

integration process necessarily requires definition of the institutional aspect: the legal criterion of nationality and active and passive electoral rights are certainly significant factors in terms of civic integration. Nevertheless, regardless of the origin of the people in question, the analyses should highlight patterns of behaviour and assess their development in terms of the migration history of individuals and groups, from their original citizenship to acquisition of the citizenship of the country of destination, rather than simply in relation their change in legal status. In fact, authentic integration should allow migrants to preserve their cultural identity while becoming part of the host society.

The importance of this subject was also recognised by the Zaragoza Declaration, which included active citizenship among the relevant areas for the monitoring of integration processes. This is certainly an aspect of integration that is difficult to analyse and in regard to which, moreover, the same document highlights the lack of shared agreement among Member States regarding the indicators to be used. The core indicators used by the Declaration include: the share of immigrants that have acquired citizenship, the share of immigrants holding permanent or long-term residence permits and the share of immigrants among elected representatives. Thus two of the indicators refer to formal citizenship and the third refers to the sphere of substantial citizenship. This third indicator is particularly problematic, however, and is not calculated in many countries, including Italy.

7.2   Italian legislation on citizenship and long-term residents

As previously mentioned, the legislative aspect acquires particular importance in the measurement of this factor of integration processes, determining the procedures and criteria with which immigrants can fully enter the host society, with complete rights, passing from the status of "foreigners" to that of "citizens". The legislation in Italy is based on Law No. 91 of 1992 and subsequent amendments. The 1992 provision confirmed the principle of *jus sanguinis*, already present in the Civil Code of the House of Savoy, as the primary means of transmission of citizenship, determining that a "child whose father or mother are citizens" is also a citizen by birth.

According to the current legislation, non-EU adult immigrants can acquire citizenship "*through residence*" "if they have been legally residing in the country for at least ten years" (Article 9 of Law No. 91 of 1992). This period is reduced to five years for refugees and stateless persons and to four years for EU nationals. Residence must be continuous, however, and "persons considered legally resident in the country are those who reside there having fulfilled the legal conditions and requirements governing the entry and residence of foreigners in Italy and those concerning population registration". The deadline for the decision is seven hundred and thirty days from the date of submission of the application. In practice, however, it often takes longer than this. The regulation also requires the civil status officer of the municipality where the foreigner resides to notify the person concerned of the decree granting their citizenship within ninety days of its receipt. At this point, the foreigner is obliged to take an oath of citizenship. Article 10 of the Law states that "the decree granting citizenship has no effect if the person to whom it refers fails to promise on oath to be loyal to the Republic and to uphold the Constitution and laws of the State within six months from notification of the decree."

Citizenship through residence may also be granted to:
–   a foreigner whose father or mother or a second-degree relative in the direct ascending line were citizens by birth or who was born in the territory of the Republic and, in either case, has been legally residing there for at least three years (Art. 9(c)(1)(a));
–   an adult foreigner adopted by an Italian citizen who has been lawfully residing in Italy for at least five years since the adoption (Article 9(c)(1)(b));

– a foreigner who has been employed in the public service of the Italian State, whether in Italy or abroad, for at least five years (Article 9(c)(1)(c)).

Citizenship may be granted *through marriage* if an applicant, whether foreign or stateless, who is married to an Italian citizen has been legally residing in Italy for at least two years since the marriage[3], pursuant to Article 5 of Law No. 91 of 5 February 1992, as amended; in the case of spouses living abroad, the application may be made after three years from the date of marriage. These time periods are halved when there are children born to or adopted by the spouses. At the time of adoption of the decree granting citizenship, the civil effects of the marriage must not have been dissolved, annulled or terminated and the spouses must not have separated.

Minor children of a person that acquires or reacquires Italian citizenship, if living with the parent, also acquire Italian citizenship, but can renounce it once they reach legal age if they hold another citizenship (Article 14 Law 91/92). In this case of acquisition by transmission from parents, the child must live with the parent on a stable and demonstrable basis, with appropriate documentation (Article 12 of the Regulation Implementing Presidential Decree 572/93).

The acquisition of citizenship by choice requires foreigners born in Italy, who have resided there legally and without interruption until their coming of age, to declare their intention to choose Italian citizenship within one year from that date (Article 4(2)). The person concerned must make this declaration of intention to the civil status officer of their municipality of residence. The recent "FARE" decree (Decree Law No. 69 of 21 June 2013, "Urgent provisions for economic recovery") has provided in order to simplify the procedures for recognising the citizenship of children born in Italy to foreign parents once they come of age - in the cases envisaged by law - to prevent administrative complications or non-fulfilment on the part of parents or civil status officials from hindering the attainment of citizenship. For example, for those born in Italy to foreign parents the law states that: "once the individual concerned reaches eighteen years of age, the civil status officials are required to send them notification, at their officially registered place of residence, of the possibility of exercising the right referred to in Article 4(2) of Law No. 91 of 1992 before their nineteenth birthday. Failing this, the right may also be exercised after that date".

In regard to the rules for long-term residents, however, since 8 January 2007 the residence permit for foreign citizens has been replaced by the EC residence permit specifically for this type of immigrant, in accordance with the Consolidated Immigration Act. This type of residence permit has permanent validity and can only be applied for by those who have held a residence permit for at least 5 years. The application needs to be submitted together with a copy of the applicant's tax return (income must not be less than the annual amount of social benefits); for domestic workers (domestic help/caregivers) social security (INPS) payment slips or analytic contribution records are required. The application may also be submitted for a spouse that is not legally separated and not below eighteen years of age, for minor children (including those of the spouse or born out of wedlock), for dependent adult children permanently unable to provide for their own basic needs due to health conditions involving total disability and, finally, for dependent parents. To obtain an EC permit also for family members requires, among other things, an income sufficient for the size of the family. If there are two or more children under 14 years of age, for example, the minimum income must be twice the annual amount of social benefits; applicants must also prove their knowledge of the Italian language through documents or suitable tests. Children under 14 years of age, including those born out of wedlock, are not obliged to take a test.

---

3. The law originally provided for a period of six months, which was increased to two years in 2009.

7.3 Long-term residents, acquisition of citizenship and naturalisation: from the regulation on migration statistics to the Zaragoza Declaration

Regulation (EC) No. 862/2007 of the European Parliament and of the Council on Community statistics on migration and international protection was approved in 2007. The legislation has brought substantial changes, leading towards a harmonisation of migration statistics in the context of the European Union, and has stimulated discussion within individual countries aimed at improving the collection and processing of data on the presence of foreigners and on migratory movements. The decisions made in Italy to adapt the statistical system to the requirements of the Regulations have been geared towards better use of available administrative records, also through the integration of micro-data from various sources. The process has occurred gradually, thanks to increasingly close exchanges and communication between the two main bodies of data holders and producers of statistics on immigration: the Ministry of the Interior and Istat. To a certain extent, this process anticipated the more stringent indications of the Zaragoza Declaration, which, as has already been pointed out, identify the proportion of long-term residents to total residents and the number of acquisitions in a given year compared to the total foreign population among the indicators to be measured.

Table 1 – Long-term residents according to citizenship (percentages)

Citizenship	Share of long-term residents 2013 stock (total)	Share of long-term residents 2013 stock (holders only*)	2007 entries (holders only*)		
			% still present in 2013	% long-term residents from the total flows for 2007 present in 2013	% long-term residents of total flows for 2007
Morocco	64,4	59,1	66,8	27,2	18,2
Albania	66,3	63,8	69,9	29,6	20,7
Ukraine	49,3	49,3	75,4	20,5	15,4
Moldova	39,3	38,6	76,2	20,8	15,9
China	39,0	34,4	74,9	5,9	4,4
India	52,1	45,4	60,9	25,5	15,5
Bangladesh	53,7	46,5	70,5	18,9	13,3
Philippines	49,5	47,5	55,2	8,9	4,9
Sri Lanka	52,3	47,2	72,2	13,7	9,9
Peru	50,5	48,5	68,8	17,5	12,0
Tunisia	66,2	59,4	52,3	28,9	15,1
Total	54,6	50,4	63,2	22,5	14,2

Note: (*) The figure refers only to residence permit holders and does not count those included on the permit of another person; in particular, children under 14 years are excluded. At present, no tax identification number is listed in the Ministry of Interior archives for accompanied minors below 14 years of age, and it is therefore not possible to implement the record linkage procedures used for residence permit holders.

Source: Istat processing of Ministry of the Interior data.

With regard to the first indicator, it should be noted that Regulation 862/2007 requires the provision of statistical data on the number of long-term residents seeking citizenship (Article 6(1)(b)). However, this indicator, calculated on the basis of residence permits, has several limitations that need to be considered. In particular, the "cross-sectional" calculation can give rise to misleading results when nationalities with different average lengths of stay in the country are compared. In Table 1 we have attempted to present the situation for the main communities present in the country, calculating the share of long-term residents in relation to various possible reference populations.

The first and most direct way to calculate this share is to compare long-term permit holders to the total number of residence permits currently valid for the same period. The results of this calculation are given in the first column of the table and show that the Eastern European communities, which only began to establish themselves as a major presence in the country since 2004, have a lower than average share of long-term residents: Moldova, in fact, amounts to 39.3% and Ukraine 49.3%, whereas the overall figure is 54.6%. Communities such as Moroccans and Albanians, whose migratory process has been under way for a longer period, have higher than average values, amounting to 64.4 and 66.3% respectively. It would be mistaken, however, to attribute this difference entirely to migration patterns that involve a less-rooted presence; as it is well known, the integration process unfolds over time and the most appropriate study approach to capture this aspect is a longitudinal one. If, in fact, we use the cohort of new permit holders from 2007 as the reference population, i.e. the total arrivals for that year or only those that are still living in Italy in 2013, the gap is noticeably reduced, particularly for Moldavians.

This simple example, beyond the specific aspect considered, shows that in the coming years it will be increasingly important to calculate this indicator using a longitudinal approach, identifying the potential beneficiaries in relation to whom the share of those who have actually applied for and obtained a long-term permit is to be calculated. At present, these calculation methods are applied to specific cohorts of permits granted in a given year, as was done for the previous calendar year. It would be desirable, however, for the length of stay to became a known and reliable variable for all permit holders in order to accurately identify the population actually "at risk" of qualifying for long-term residence permits.

Table 2 – Long-term residents according to sex and reason (percentages)

Reason for entry in 2007	% of 2007 flows present in 2013			% of long-term residents from total flows for 2007 present in 2013			% of long-term residents out of total flows for 2007		
	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total
Work	60,6	73,5	66,1	8,7	14,5	11,4	5,3	10,6	7,6
Family	63,8	67,4	66,3	44,4	56,2	52,8	28,3	37,9	35,0
Study	26,5	29,1	27,8	9,9	11,5	10,7	2,6	3,3	3,0
Asylum/ humanitarian	50,3	50,7	50,4	1,9	1,8	1,9	0,9	0,9	0,9
Other reasons	33,8	32,4	33,1	9,5	14,2	11,8	3,2	4,6	3,9
Total	58,5	68,1	63,2	14,5	29,6	22,5	8,5	20,1	14,2

Source: Istat processing of Ministry of the Interior data.

The usefulness of having a more nuanced picture of these processes is also confirmed by the data in Table 2, in which the proportion of long-term residents was calculated in the same
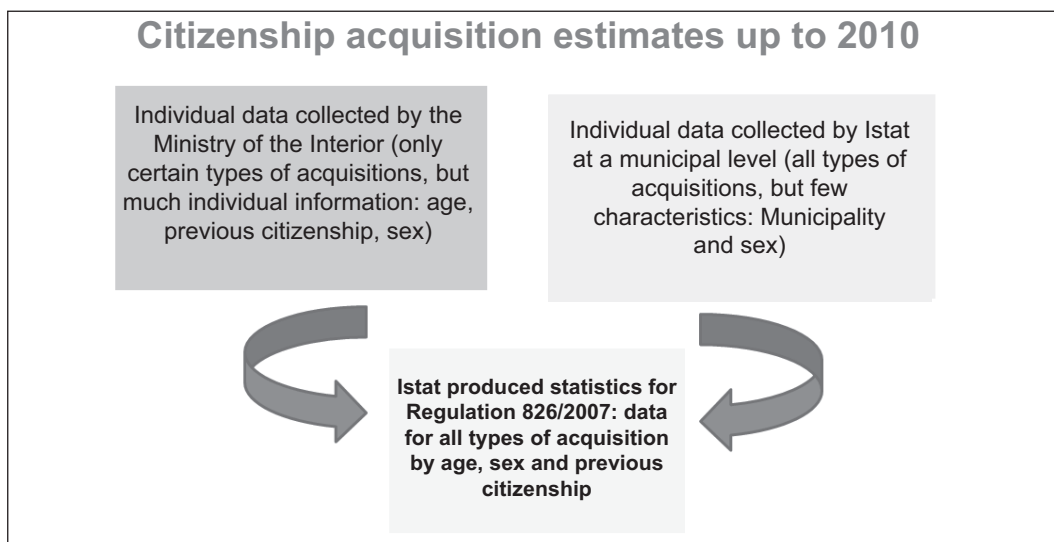
manner as in the previous example, though examining the reason for entry in 2007 and sex. In this case, the highest share of long-term residents is clearly seen to be comprised of women and those holding permits for family reasons[4]. The share of people that entered Italy in 2007 for other reasons, and had already acquired a permanent residence permit in 2013, is seen to be decisively lower. This situation also applies to permit holders for employment purposes, among whom males account for a share of 8.7%, whereas that for females amounts to 14.5%.

A problem that needs careful consideration for the calculation of this indicator in the future is that some foreigners who leave Italy are not deleted. This problem has always plagued registry data, but it now also risks having an increasing affect on long-term residence permits. There is at present no efficient cancellation system when people leave Italy, even for long periods. The solution might require both the use of more administrative records for monitoring presence in the country, and periodic applications, through the use of some type of administrative instrument, as confirmation of presence in the country.

As regards the acquisition of citizenship, however, the European Regulation has already required information on "persons having their usual residence in the territory of the Member State and having acquired during the reference year the citizenship of the Member State and having formerly held the citizenship of another Member State or a third country or having formerly been stateless, disaggregated by age and sex, and by the former citizenship of the persons concerned and by whether the person was formerly stateless."

At the time the Regulation came into force, the sources on the acquisition of citizenship in our country (Fig. 1) did not allow the required data to be directly produced with the necessary breakdowns.

Figure 1 – Method for surveying acquisitions of citizenship until 2010

The Ministry's microdata, while providing all the necessary variables of detail, does not cover acquisitions of citizenship by transmission from parents or those by foreigners born in Italy who

---

4. It should be noted that applications can also be made for spouses that are not legally separated and not below eighteen years of age; minor children, including those of the spouse or born out of wedlock; dependent adult children permanently unable to provide for their own basic needs due to health conditions involving total disability and dependent parents.
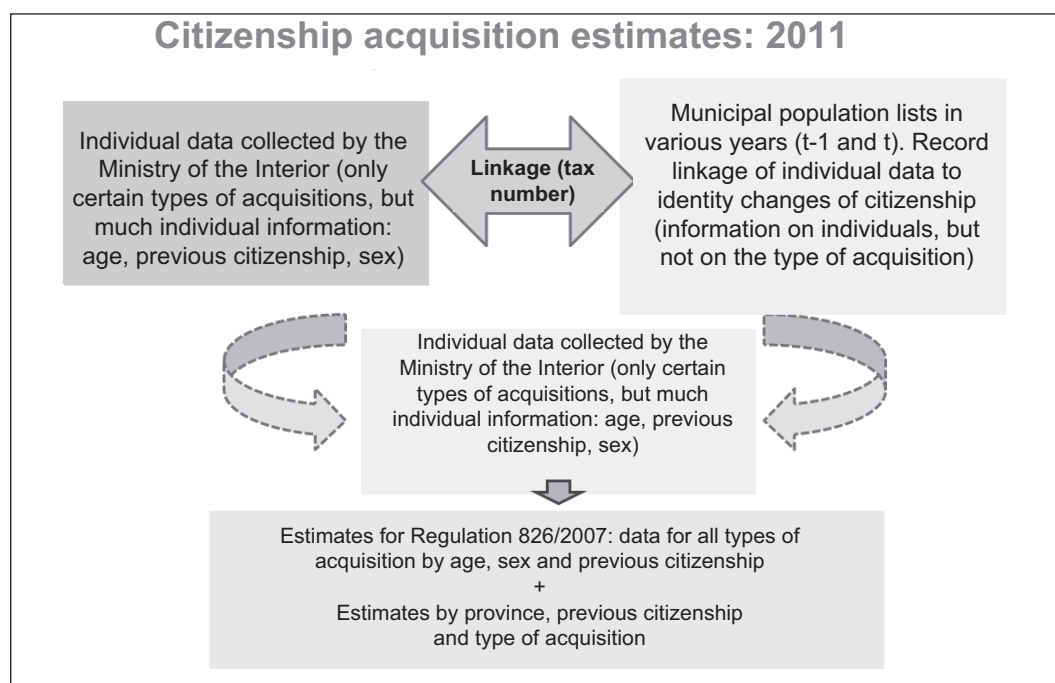
choose to acquire citizenship at the age of 18. In the case of the aggregate survey carried out by Istat based on municipal registers, while the data available showed all the acquisitions of citizenship by residents in Italy, it did not provide the necessary breakdowns. During the first years in which the Regulation was in force, therefore, steps were taken to provide estimated figures based on the integration of the two sources. It should also be noted that microdata was not available in the case of the Istat survey.

In early 2011, a series of activities were launched to improve the information produced and make it more responsive to the needs of the country. In particular, the set of sources used and the variables considered were increased and the estimating methods were changed.

Regarding the sources, the following became available for use:

1) two municipal registry lists (LAC - *liste anagrafiche comunali*): one extracted on 31 December 2010 and one updated to 8 October 2011;
2) individual Ministry of the Interior data sets, complete with tax identification numbers;
3) data from surveys and calculations regarding the foreign resident population and its movements.

Figure 2 – Method for surveying acquisition of citizenship since 2011

The various data sets were linked together using record linkage techniques. At an initial stage, tax identification numbers were used as a key. Deterministic linkages were subsequently created using different sets of variables. Ministry of the Interior data was linked to municipal registers to recover the reason for acquisition in the greatest possible number of cases. In this case, the naturalisations were only for reasons of "marriage" or "residence". The record linkage between the two subsequent municipal population lists allowed to include also the acquisitions of adults that were not registered in the Ministry dataset, acquisitions of children granted citizenship by transmission and acquisitions of persons born in Italy to foreign parents who chose Italian citizenship at eighteen years of age. The estimation process was concluded through the use of

probabilistic techniques to complete the missing information. The relationship between Istat and the Ministry has been of fundamental importance in this improvement process, with both bodies seeing the importance of working together to improve the quality of information regarding an aspect that has become important for the monitoring of active citizenship.

The calculation of the citizenship acquisition indicator with a longitudinal perspective envisaged by the Zaragoza Declaration could provide a further step forward in this direction. The indicator is currently calculated as: "The ratio between the number of residents who acquired citizenship in a country during a calendar year and the total number of resident foreigners in that country at the beginning of the year." However, as highlighted in the same document, the term 'naturalisation rate' in this case "may be misleading since the acquisitions considered are all modes of acquisitions in force in each country, and not only naturalisations (residence-based acquisitions requiring an application by the person concerned). The indicator can be computed for specific groups of foreigners (for example third country nationals), for specific age groups and/or for men and women separately."

In fact, even in this case the longitudinal approach may be of particular interest, especially for acquisitions that are confirmed through residence[5]. The need for a cohort approach has been emphasised for some time in regard to naturalisations in the strict sense (Perrin, 2006). This perspective has recently been proposed once more by Reichel (2011), who stressed that: "To do so, it would be necessary to base the rate on the foreign population actually eligible for naturalisation, or as statisticians call it, the population at risk of experiencing an event. As pointed out by Nicolas Perrin (2006) a cohort approach towards measuring rates of citizenship acquisition would allow the calculation of the likelihood of obtaining citizenship for individual cohorts of immigrants which would provide a much better measure of the impact of policy measures on patterns of citizenship acquisition." The same author also points out that the lack of appropriate data makes it difficult to calculate longitudinal naturalisation rates, which require the availability of information on the year of immigration. This is, however, the direction in which several countries are moving, also due to the availability of statistical sources based on registers that allow the extraction of longitudinal data (ibid.).

With regard to the Italian situation, efforts have been made to illustrate the usefulness of a longitudinal approach by using the situation of the ten largest communities in terms of the number of oath takings for acquisition of citizenship in 2011 as a reference (Table 3). The shortage of some information prevents the calculation of effective longitudinal measures, but even by considering approximations, the greater accuracy of this type of measurement compared to the cross-sectional approach can be clearly seen. Firstly, it should be noted that the oaths taken in any given year are the result of applications submitted over a wider period of time. Secondly, it seems clear that attempting to relate acquisitions more accurately to the actual population at risk leads to significantly higher values than those obtained by simply dividing them by those valid during the year of oath taking; and this occurs despite the fact that the denominators considered in the two other proposed calculation hypotheses are, by force of circumstances, even larger than the actual reference community.

5. For weddings, for example, a linkage could be envisaged between the archives that register this type of event (marital status and registrar's office) and data on acquisitions.

Table 3 – Oaths taken in 2011 for the acquisition of citizenship for residence by year of application for the top 10 nationalities. Different methods for calculating naturalisation rates (a) (per 1,000 residence permits)

Citizenship	Total 2011	% of applications per year						Naturalisation rates (x 1,000)		
		2009	2008	2007	2006	2005	Before 2005	Raw b)	Corr. 1 (c)	Corr. 2 (d)
Morocco	3.840	7,5	43,9	31,9	10,5	4,4	1,9	7,7	14,1	13,5
Albania	3.424	13,5	48,9	26,0	9,0	1,1	1,5	7,1	11,3	10,8
Tunisia	624	7,9	36,5	34,3	15,1	4,3	1,9	5,3	9,3	9,2
Peru	601	11,3	49,3	28,3	9,3	1,2	0,7	5,9	10,6	10,0
Serbia/ Kosovo/ Montenegro	449	14,0	51,0	22,5	9,4	2,2	0,9	4,5	7,5	7,2
Egypt	446	5,4	24,0	33,2	30,0	5,4	2,0	4,0	8,8	8,7
Macedonia, Republic of	444	19,8	54,7	18,9	4,7	1,6	0,2	5,7	9,3	8,7
India	439	5,7	33,9	29,6	23,9	6,2	0,7	3,1	7,4	7,2
Bangladesh	362	6,4	40,9	31,5	17,7	3,6	0,0	3,5	8,1	7,7
Bosnia and Herzegovina	296	10,1	54,1	25,7	6,4	3,0	0,7	10,0	14,3	13,0

Notes: (a) From 2005 to 2009 the calculations only considered permit holders, excluding other persons listed on the permit; (b) calculated for the permits in early 2011; (c) correction 1: sum of the rates obtained by comparing the applications in each year to the number of residence permits at the beginning of the corresponding year; (d) correction 2: oath takings related to a weighted average of valid residence permits in previous years with weights given by the share of applications for each year.
Source: Istat processing of Ministry of the Interior data.

In the case of Italy, therefore, it seems worthwhile to develop adequate strategies to permit the use of administrative records for calculating the "longitudinal" indicator. It is not currently possible to have information on the date of the first entry in the register. This variable could be retrieved from the Ministry archives for those who acquire citizenship through residence[6], since the information is required, but not processed at the time of extraction of the data for statistical purposes. Census data could also provide an important basis, to be updated annually through the use of municipal registry lists. Another important new element could be the establishment of the National Resident Population Register (ANPR - *Anagrafe Nazionale della Popolazione Residente*), as envisaged by the Italian Digital Agenda (Decree-Law No. 179 of 18 October 2012).

A topic linked to the acquisition of citizenship is that of naturalised persons, who have lost their status as foreigners but remain immigrants, or, in the case of those born in Italy, people of foreign and immigrant origin. In this respect, it should be noted that an innovative question regarding acquisition of Italian citizenship was included in the 2001 census survey form. For the first time respondents were asked to specify if they were *Italian citizens by birth or by acquisition*; in the second case, they were asked to indicate their country of previous citizenship. 285,782 Italian citizens by acquisition were accounted for on the basis of this question; almost 68% of these were women, and slightly fewer than 66% had formerly held citizenship in another European country. The most represented countries were France, Germany, Argentina, Switzerland and Brazil (Paluzzi and Gallo, 2005).

6. Registrations from abroad in a given year should be used as the denominator of the ratio, assuming that these do not change over time.

In short, data from the new census will allow the number of "new citizens" resident in October 2011 to be accounted for. The information gathered will also allow those who have acquired Italian citizenship by marriage to be distinguished from those who have become "new citizens" for other reasons. Almost 400,000 people acquired Italian citizenship from the 2001 census to the end of 2011, and over 100,000 in the last two years of this period alone. In the absence of mortalities and migrations, there should be just under 700,000 naturalised citizens living in Italy.

On the basis of information acquired through an ad hoc additional form used in the Labour Force survey in the second quarter of 2008, Istat (2009) tried to examine aspects related to the living conditions of this particular target population, shedding light on many particular aspects arising from its significant female predominance. The possibility of monitoring and gaining information about this specific target group is of great importance, especially in the case of second generations. Thanks to financing provided by the Ministry of the Interior from European Integration funds, the Multiscopo sample survey on the condition and social integration of foreign nationals by Istat has directly centred its attention on a sample of nearly 700 citizens by acquisition, which will be the focus of specific studies. In general, however, it is currently difficult to distinguish "new citizens" within the administrative archives, with consequent repercussions also in regard to the samples extracted for surveys.

Traditional registry surveys accounted for the number of citizenship acquisitions occurring in a given year, but not for the numbers and characteristics of the naturalised stock. The availability of micro-data from municipal registry lists (LACs) has also opened up new possibilities for analysis of the main characteristics of the population of foreign origin. In the future, especially in view of the creation of the national registry, strategic work will be needed to preserve information on citizenship in the archive (not only current status but also former citizenship or that of birth). It would also be necessary, in the case of acquisitions, to have information on the former citizenship and the manner of acquisition. Over time, it will prove increasingly useful for policy planning purposes not only to be able to analyse the structure, but also to trace the demographic and social dynamics of this specific target population, through the creation of appropriate samples.

7.4 Other indicators of active citizenship: situation and prospects in the case of Italy

Social inclusion and active citizenship are two fundamental aspects of the integration of migrants, and represent priority objectives for Community policies. The civic, cultural and political participation of non-EC nationals reinforces their sense of belonging to the host country. Consequently, monitoring their degree of involvement in all aspects of the democratic process is an important element in assessing the results of the policies put in place to promote the fair treatment of citizens and identify the steps needed to remove barriers to integration.

The Zaragoza indicators that the Member States have agreed on for measuring *active citizenship,* in addition to the two discussed in the previous section, also include the *"share of immigrants among elected representatives"*, for which no precise information is available, however, due to the lack of surveys through which it could be collected. The data currently available at the European level (e.g. from the *"European Social Survey"* and the *"European Election Study"*) does not permit assessment of the proportion of immigrants among elected representatives, often due to samples that are not representative of the foreign population. In general, the political participation of immigrants, through the right to vote in local elections or forms of political representation at the institutional level, appears to be a useful tool for promoting a harmonious encounter between groups of different cultures, with a view towards greater integration in the host society (Crisci, 2006). Since the 1990s, some Italian municipalities have introduced new forms of representation for foreigners of an advisory nature, and it is interesting that an analysis carried out on

the election of additional foreign councillors to the Rome City Council in 2004 revealed that the most valid requirement as a basis for the assessment of political participation seems to be inclusion in the electoral registry rather than the exercise of voting rights (Crisci, 2006).

The area of active citizenship is certainly that in which the discussion regarding the indicators to be used remains most open. Other indicators have also been proposed, in addition to the three from the Zaragoza Declaration, including: confidence in public institutions, election turnout among the population with the right to vote and the sense of belonging[7]. In general, however, despite the efforts of some EU States to include indicators of political and social participation in their monitoring of national integration (e.g. rates of involvement and voluntary work) the situation is seen to be problematic, due to differing views on the subject among the EU countries and the difficulty of finding sources of solid data with which to measure and compare active citizenship at a national and European level. This situation can be clearly seen from an assessment made by certain EU countries, which shows the lack of information on many of the aspects considered.

With regard to the specific situation in Italy, official statistics provide data on the active participation of resident citizens in political, social and cultural life through two Istat surveys: *"Aspects of daily life"* covering all resident citizens and *"Social condition and integration of foreigners"* only covering foreign residents. The first survey, unfortunately, does not provide separate data for citizenship due to poor coverage of the foreign population in the sample, resulting in an insufficient representation of the non-Italian sector of the community, with the total exclusion, moreover, of the foreign population not recorded in the registry. Questions regarding membership of and participation in associations do not allow distinctions to be made between the membership of native association networks and those for foreigners; such a distinction could prove useful, however, because civic culture is enhanced not only by participation as such, but also by the type of associations in which one participates. Some authors (Putnam, 2000, Lin, 2001) have argued that ties of a *bonding* nature, i.e. those established among people similar to each other, can play a negative influence on the sense of social cohesion, in contrast to *bridging* ties, i.e. those among different social groups. In this case, the second type of relationship could encourage the integration of foreigners.

The information that can be derived from the *"Social condition and integration of foreigners"* survey, conducted only in regard to the foreign community, provides knowledge of habits and an understanding of how they live, and allows the problems faced on a daily basis by this section of the population to be identified. The various thematic areas are examined from a perspective in which the objectivity of the behaviour and the subjectivity of expectations, motivations and judgements help to define the social information. Information on the sense of belonging, another central topic in integration studies, was also collected.

The set of questions on the subject under discussion specifically helps to reveal:
–   whether, to what extent and in what way citizens are interested in politics in general and in Italian politics in particular (*"Do you follow Italian politics?"*);
–   whether they belong to and how often they participate in political parties, trade unions, voluntary associations and groups, cultural/recreational/religious/sports associations, professional/trade associations, international development aid organisations or other groups (*"Are you a member of or have you participated in the activities of a group or organisation in Italy in the last 12 months?"*);
–   whether they have participated in rallies, parades or political debates, whether they have given contributions to any parties or associations, and whether they have worked for free with voluntary or other types of associations, political parties or trade unions (*"Have you participated in a rally in Italy over the past 12 months?"*, *"Have you listened to a political debate*

---

7. See Migration Policy Group, *Discussion Paper: Social Inclusion & Active Citizenship indicators for migrant integration, 2012.*

in Italy?", "Have you done any voluntary work for a trade union in Italy?", "Have you given money to a political party in Italy?");

– their level of satisfaction regarding life in Italy, their satisfaction from and interest in acquiring Italian citizenship (*"How do you find life in Italy?", "To what extent do you feel accepted in the city where you live?", "Is it is important for you to have Italian citizenship? Why?"*).
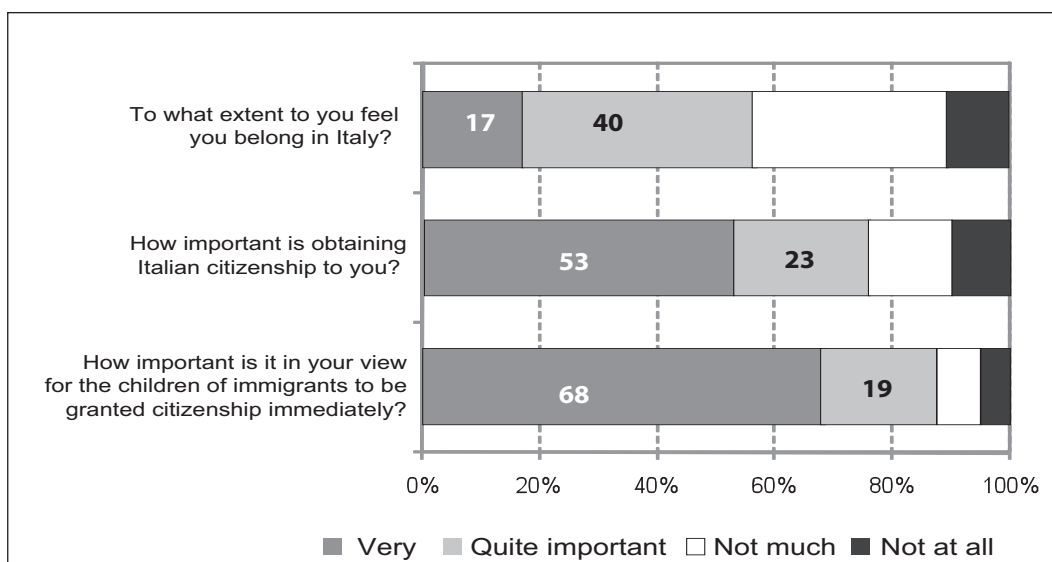
The questions on participation could be combined with indicators on the number of associations to which each individual belongs, as a measure of density of relationships (Sgritta, 2013), together with information on the time spent by people on recreational, social or cultural activities, which may currently be derived from the *"Use of time"* survey. This latter survey could also be structured so as to provide a larger quantity of information representative of the immigrant population, thus adding another element to the process of adapting national statistical information to the growing need of monitoring the living conditions of this sector of the community. In any event, once data and results of the survey on the living conditions of foreign citizens are fully available, they will provide a useful set of information for knowledge regarding several aspects of the situation, as well as for making a solid empirical assessment of the usefulness of the various indicators for measuring the processes associated with active citizenship.

At present, however, the results of the research coordinated by Ismu in 2008, which measured the level and various forms of integration, can be consulted in regard to these aspects. The survey, based on a representative sample of 12,000 foreigners, gathered information on both residents and non-residents, also including illegal immigrants. There were also specific questions focused on issues related more or less directly to active citizenship and an examination of these can therefore provide an overall picture of the situation, and highlight further possible areas of research that this type of data can provide.

In relation to ties with Italy, for example, most respondents stated that they felt belonging to Italy very much (17%) or quite a bit (40%), figures that are decidedly lower than for those regarding whether obtaining citizenship in Italy was "very "or "quite "important for themselves or for the children of immigrants. In the first case, the responses for the two categories were 53% and 23%, while in the second they were 68% and 19%. It appears evident that a large portion of the immigrant population has developed a substantially instrumental idea of citizenship, which, in all probability, is seen in this perspective not so much as the final stage of a process of integration into Italian society, but rather as a useful tool to improve their own living conditions.

These results are certainly interesting and merit further study, also because such complex issues need to be examined using a variety of tools to understand their different aspects. Here, however, our interest is directed more towards questions of method rather than the interpretation of results. An important first step, therefore, is to distinguish the various characteristic positions found within the immigrant population, which, in terms of the monitoring of integration processes, need to be carefully and specifically evaluated to facilitate proper identification of the most appropriate intervention tools. To illustrate the importance of these differences, however, it was deemed preferable to consider a more objective question than those concerning belonging or citizenship, which are influenced by cultural and personal factors as well as by objective assessments. It was therefore decided to examine participation in the activities of associations (Fig. 4), which, in addition to be an important indication of the level of integration, with information also available regarding the type of association, is certainly less influenced than the previous variables by other factors that make interpretation of it more difficult.

Figure 3 – Opinions on belonging to Italy and the importance of citizenship (percentages)
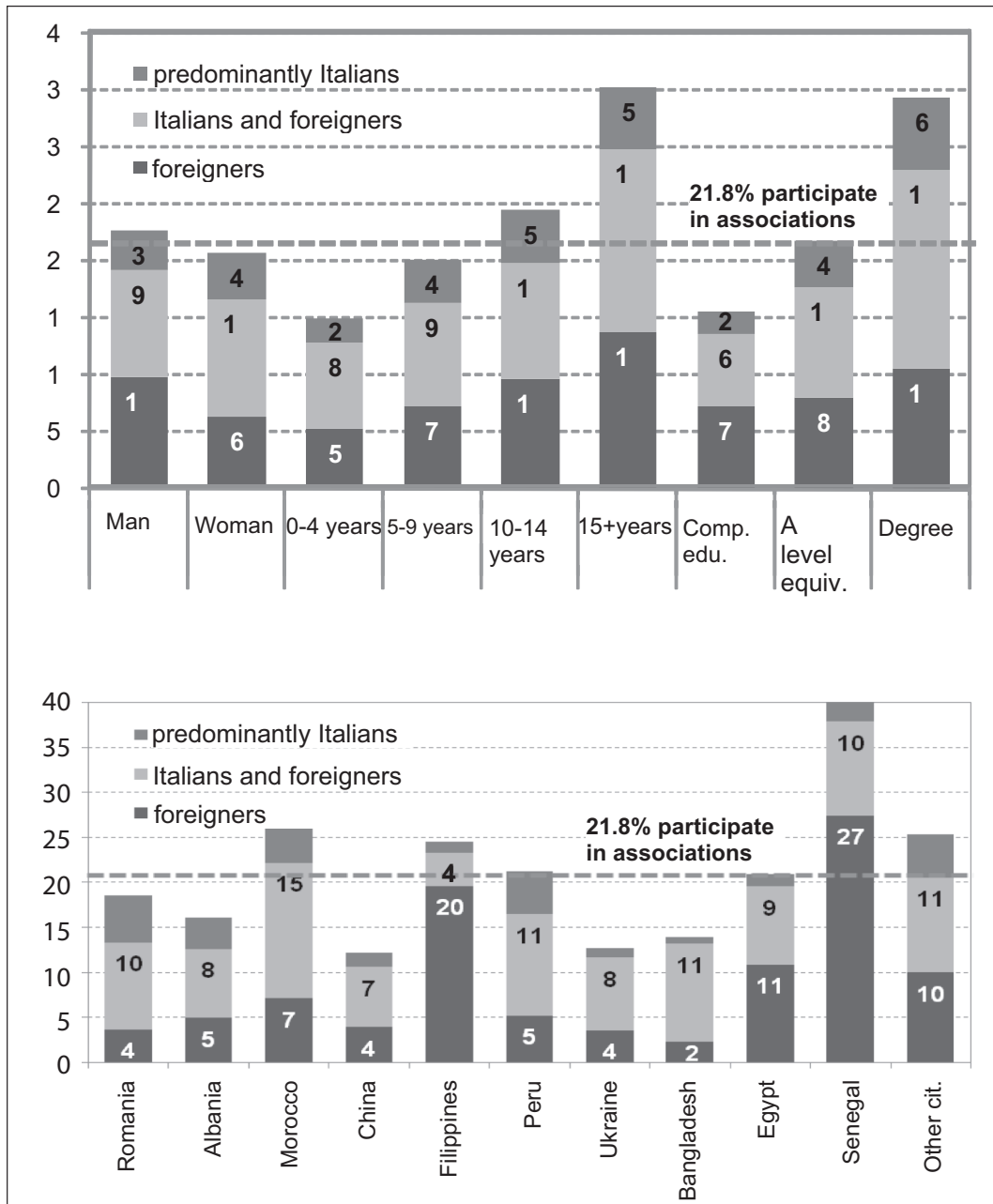

Source: processing of Ismu data.

The results show that a total of 21.8% of the respondents participate in the activities of some association. This figure is composed of 8.2% of people who contribute to associations with exclusively foreign membership, of 9.8% of individuals who participate in mixed groups, and a remaining 3.8% that are involved in organisations predominantly composed of Italians. The aggregate data, however, is structured differently in the various structural variables that can be considered. Behavioural differences in terms of gender, for example, are limited, while those related to the length of stay, level of education and nationality are much broader[8]. In the first case, it ranges from 15%, for those in Italy for less than five years, to 35.3%, for those living here for more than 15 years; in the second case, the variation range is almost of the same magnitude, from 15.6%, for immigrants with education levels at or below the compulsory schooling limit, to 34.4%, for university graduates. The variability based on nationality is broader still, with values that range from 12.1% for Chinese to 40.4% for Senegalese. Length of stay and level of education proved, even from our partial vantage point, to be two key variables in the integration process, with the importance of the country of origin in determining behaviour and directions taken within the host society also confirmed. At this point it seems appropriate to ask which of these variables has greater influence on levels of participation in associations and what kind of relationships exist once the effect of structural factors is kept in check. For indicative purposes, we have applied a binary logistic regression to these results to provide an answer to the questions (Table 4).

---

8. For reasons of space, only certain variables exemplifying the two opposing tendencies have been considered in the figure. Limited differences and irregular trends are also seen in terms of age (values between 19.2 and 25.6%), distribution of presence (from 20.9 to 23.6%) and type of municipality of residence (20 to 25.4%); on the contrary, a wide range of variation was noted considering the legal status of the respondents, with a minimum participation of 11% among illegal immigrants and a maximum of 24.1% among residents.

Figure 4 – Active participation in some associations in Italy by type of association (percentages)

Source: processing of Ismu data.

Table 4 – Results of the binary logistic regression on active participation in associations in Italy

Step	Explanatory variables	Coeff.	S.E.	Odds-ratio	Sign
1	Length of stay	0,063	0,004	1,065	***
2	Level of education (ref. cat. = up to junior high school)				
	- Equivalent to A levels	0,442	0,057	1,556	***
	- Degree	1,079	0,066	2,941	***
3	Country of citizenship (ref. cat. = other nat.)				
	- Romania	-0,104	0,079	0,901	
	- Albania	-0,676	0,089	0,509	***
	- Morocco	0,156	0,084	1,169	
	- China	-0,895	0,125	0,409	***
	- Philippines	-0,320	0,120	0,726	**
	- Peru	-0,127	0,123	0,881	
	- Ukraina	-0,791	0,151	0,454	***
	- Egypto	-0,851	0,156	0,427	***
	- Bangladesh	-0,221	0,141	0,802	
	- Senegal	0,998	0,119	2,714	***
4	Legal status (ref. cat. = resident)				
	- Legal non-residents	-0,359	0,096	0,699	***
	- Illegal immigrants	-0,699	0,100	0,497	***
5	Family and emigration (ref. cat. = no social development nucleus)				
	- entire family emigrated	-0,387	0,060	0,679	***
	- split family	-0,405	0,065	0,667	***
6	Types of municipality of residence (ref. cat. = other municipalities)				
	- Large regional capitals	-0,116	0,059	0,890	*
	- Other capitals	0,176	0,062	1,192	**

Source: processing of Ismu data.

The results of this exercise show that length of stay and level of education are the main explanatory variables, entering the pattern in the first two steps of the procedure and making a decisive contribution to higher levels of participation[9]. The role of citizenship, however, is not always significant, whereas the other variables substantially confirm their role. Beyond specific re-

---

9. Length of stay is considered as a continuous variable, whereby each additional year of presence in Italy would result in a 6.5% increase in participation in associations.

sults, however, it seems important to emphasise the usefulness of a multivariate interpretation of integration processes, as it is also shown in many of the study papers examining the phenomenon (Jacobs 2010). Moreover, integration is by definition a complex phenomenon and requires detailed interpretation. These considerations assume even more importance when comparing the situation of immigrants to that of the native population. In this case, it becomes essential to keep the effect of structural variables under control, thus making the use of multivariate statistical methods indispensable.

7.5 Conclusions

Addressing the issue of citizenship in purely formal terms, without also taking substantial citizenship into account through solid indicators, makes any form of analysis partial and incomplete. As a consequence, policies based solely on indicators of formal citizenship cannot be fully effective and efficient. The analysis conducted confirmed the importance of the area of "active citizenship" in the measurement of the integration process, as well as the difficulty of measuring this component of the phenomenon.

Significant general developments and improvements in "citizenship" indicators have also been made in recent years, both in regard to continuous surveys, as well as to sample-type surveys. Concerning the former, it is essential to continue on the path taken, by increasing the amount of information collected to enable increasingly precise measurements of the phenomena. In particular, the information on the acquisition of citizenship collected by the Ministry of the Interior and communicated to Istat needs to be increased. The information on the structure of the resident foreign immigrant population available in population registers should also be improved and increased, in particular through the inclusion of information regarding the year of initial registration (or of arrival in Italy) in the administrative database, in order to calculate accurate and detailed naturalisation rates. At this point, it is also important, in the case of naturalised residents, to preserve information on any previous citizenships in the administrative registers and to provide for the inclusion of information on those of the parents, as well as on the possession of other citizenships besides that of Italy. This information could allow accurate identification of population cross sections, such as naturalised residents or groups of foreign and immigrant origin, which will play an increasingly central role in the life of our country.

In regard to sample surveys, however, the questions envisaged in the Zaragoza Document need to be included in the Istat survey questionnaires, together with other questions that would allow a broader examination of the phenomenon. In this sense, it is important that Istat's other social surveys are now organised so as to collect statistically significant data on the foreign population. This is also because it is timely and appropriate for the national statistical system to offer the broadest information possible: not only to comply with the requests of the European Union, but also to provide scientific research with the fullest possible interpretation of complex processes, the medium- and long-term effects of which are difficult to predict. This situation would also benefit from the development of monitoring and survey systems at a regional or sub-regional level, at least in areas where the presence of immigrants is most relevant and has the highest levels of impact. In the present situation of Italy, the question of the validity of traditional social participation indicators should also be raised. The decline in voter turnout and new forms of social participation lead to considerations which must also necessarily affect foreigners and "new citizens". The study by Istat and the CNEL on well-being indicators (CNEL-ISTAT, 2013), with particular reference to the extent of political and social participation, may provide an interesting starting point for the development of future considerations specifically concerning the foreign population.

Bibliography

Bisogno E., Gallo G. (2000), "*L'acquisizione della cittadinanza, strumento o risultato di un processo di integrazione: un confronto tra alcuni paesi europei nei primi anni Novanta*", Studi Emigrazione, n. 137: 145-175.

Bisogno E., Gallo G., Strozza S. (2000), "*L'acquisto di cittadinanza in alcuni Paesi europei: gli aspetti normativi, la comparabilità dei dati e i livelli di naturalizzazione*", in Di Comite L., Paterno A. (a cura di), Popolazione, sviluppo e ambiente, Quaderni n. 20, Università degli studi di Bari, Dipartimento per lo studio delle società mediterranee, Cacucci Editore, Bari: 9-46.

Blangiardo G.C., Molina S. (2006), "Immigrazione e presenza straniera", in Fondazione Giovanni Agnelli e Gruppo di Coordinamento per la Demografia della SIS (a cura di), *Generazioni, famiglie, migrazioni. Pensando all'Italia di domani*, Edizioni Fondazione Giovanni Agnelli, Torino.

Bonifazi C., Gallo G., Strozza S., Zincato D. (2008), "Popolazioni straniere e immigrate: definizioni, categorie e caratteristiche ", Studi Emigrazione, n. 171: 519-548.

CNEL-Istat (2013), BES - Benessere Equo e sostenibile in Italia, http://www.istat.it/it/files/2013/03/bes_2013.pdf.

Crisci M. (2006) *La partecipazione politica degli immigrati in ambito locale: il caso del comune di Roma,* in Sonnino E. (a cura di), *Roma e gli immigrati: la formazione di una popolazione multi-etnica*, Franco Angeli, Roma.

Gallo G. e Paluzzi E. (2005), "*I cittadini italiani naturalizzati: l'analisi dei dati censuari del 2001, con un confronto tra immigrati di prima e seconda generazione*", Istat, *Contributi*.

Gallo G., Tintori G. (2006), "Come si diventa cittadini italiani. Un approfondimento statistico", in G. Zincone (a cura di), *Familismo legale. Come (non) diventare italiani*, Laterza, Roma-Bari.

Howard M. M. (2005), "*Variation in dual citizenship policies in the countries of the EU*", International Migration Review, 39, 3.

ISMU (2012), Vecchio continente... nuovi cittadini, Normative, dati e analisi in tema di cittadinanza, http://www.libertaciviliimmigrazione.interno.it/dipim/export/sites/default/it/assets/pubblicazioni/analisi_comp._cittadinanza_rapporto_itaslia.pdf.

Istat (2009) "*L'integrazione nel lavoro degli stranieri e dei naturalizzati italiani*", *Approfondimenti*, 2009.

Jacobs D. (2010), "*Monitoring migrant inclusion in the European Union. Towards the longitudinal study of migrants'trajectories*", European Migration Network 2010 Conference on "Long-term follow-up of immigrants'trajectories ", Brussels.

Lin, N. (2001), "*Social capital: A theory of social structure and action*", Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Migration Policy Group (2012) "*Social Inclusion & Active Citizenship indicators for migrant integration*", Discussion Paper, Seminar on Social Inclusion and Active Citizenship Indicators, 29-30/11/2012 Lisbon, Portugal

Perrin Nicolas (2006), "*A Cohort Approach to Acquisition of Citizenship Statistics*", in: Poulain. Michel, Perrin Nicolas und Singleton, Ann (Hg.), THESIM. Putnam 2000.

Putnam, R. D. (2000), "*Bowling alone. The collapse and revival of American community*", Simon & Schuster, New York.

Reichel D. (2011) "*Do legal regulations hinder naturalisation? Citizenship policies and naturalisation rates in Europe*", EUI Working Paper RSCAS 2011/51.

Turcio S. (2012), "*Immigrazione e cittadinanza: il caso italiano in prospettiva europea*", in Ponzini G. (a cura di), *Welfare e politiche per l'immigrazione. Il decennio della svolta*, Rapporto IRPPS CNR sullo stato sociale in Italia, Liguori editore, Napoli: 69-102.

8 - Integration and territorial Dimension[1]

8.1 Introduction

The process of integration of immigrants takes place at a local level, in the contexts in which people live, work, cultivate or establish social relations with institutions, family members and friends and spend their free time. It is thus undoubtedly at a local level that a large part of the integration game is played, also because the planning and implementation of measures in specific areas of intervention are among the tasks of local authorities and institutions. For example, health and education are two areas falling within the specific jurisdiction of local authorities. It is thus necessary for the latter to be in possession of data and indicators that are useful for getting a precise picture of the situation and enable them to plan interventions which are as targeted as possible and subsequently assess the impact of the initiatives adopted.

Therefore, on a national scale it is interesting to assess differences among regions, provinces and large metropolitan cities, with the implicit idea that divergences in the integration process can depend on variable opportunities, determined both by different socioeconomic conditions of the various contexts (this applies for the whole North-South dichotomy) and integration policies implemented by individual authorities, as well as the propensities of the native and immigrant populations to establish positive relationships and virtuous processes of inclusion. On a regional and local level it thus becomes of considerable importance to be able to verify the degree of integration in specific realms, focusing attention on specific categories of the immigrant population and taking a look in particular at the ways the local territory adapts and is transformed.

Naturally, the type of information is progressively modified as one passes from global national data to regional and then provincial, municipal and sub-municipal data (districts, neighbourhoods, etc.). Even the issues themselves, the aspects to be addressed, change in part, seeing that, for example, at least in the case of large municipalities, it seems interesting to examine the territorial distribution of immigrant communities so as to bring to light any situations of spatial concentration or segregation. In this regard, the questions can start off from the simplest and become progressively more complex. How are different national groups distributed and why? How much do the policies on housing and services influence settlement models? Does any segregation in housing also determine scholastic segregation of the second generations? Another important topic is the actual possibility of immigrants gaining access to social and health services. Local authorities could be interested in assessing the obstacles and difficulties immigrants encounter as a result, for example, of forms of "administrative" discrimination. These assessments naturally entail collecting, processing and analysing information of an administrative character on the contact between immigrants and public administration, of which a trace should remain or it could be decided that a trace should remain in the procedures of public bodies. Information that might also not be of interest at a more aggregated territorial level but which at the local level could also be gathered through ad hoc sample surveys conducted on immigrants/foreigners.

The type of information potentially available changes at different territorial levels not only because the topics of interest could differ, but also because the whole series of sample surveys

1. Main chapter contributors: Gian Carlo Blangiardo, Corrado Bonifazi, Raffaele Bracalenti, Cinzia Conti, Luca Di Sciullo and Salvatore Strozza

constituting the framework of the national statistical system are calibrated to provide reliable estimates that often do not arrive at a regional level and almost never go down to a provincial level. And if this applies in general for the entire population, the situation is even further accentuated for the subset of foreigners/immigrants, who, albeit numerous, always represent less than ten percent of the demographic aggregate of the country. The most significant example regards a topic of particular relevance, namely, inclusion in the job market. The indicators enabling the various aspects of this highly important dimension to be measured are consolidated: they range from activity rates to unemployment rates, from the proportion of self-employed workers to entrepreneurship, from the structure by sector of employment to the percentage of overeducated workers and so on. The source par excellence is the Labour force survey, harmonized at a European level since 1992; this is one of the three main measures based on which the indicators of immigrant integration were recently proposed in the *Zaragoza* declaration. Despite some limitations, all in all this source makes it possible to construct internationally comparable indicators on the foreign and foreign-born population with some further breakdowns (e.g. by gender). In Italy, these data are deemed reliable only for the foreign population residing here since 2005 and it is in any case rare for them to arrive at a regional level of detail. Therefore, in order to analyse foreigner integration by region, province or town, it is necessary to rely on alternative sources of information, such as, for example INPS (National Social Security Institute) data on non-EU workers, mostly employees, with at least one week of social security contributions in the year and INAIL (*National* Institute for *Insurance* against *Occupational* Accidents) data on claims brought by the insured (hiring and termination of employment by companies). It appears evident that when one is operating on a regional and sub-regional level, the level of information changes significantly, recourse to administrative sources often becomes necessary and the pertinence, reliability and completeness of the available statistical data is reduced.

Besides the official statistics, there are by now experiences in the study of integration at a local level which have involved comparing different territories. In this case as well, different approaches have been used: a "macro" approach, mainly based on the use of administrative data in aggregate form; and a "micro" one, which instead focuses attention on individuals through specific surveys. The two most relevant experiences tied respectively to the former and latter approach are those of the Cnel (National Council for Economics and Labour) and ISMU (Foundation for *Initiatives* and *Studies* on *Multi-Ethnicity*), which will be discussed in the paragraphs below.

Specific attention will also be dedicated to the experience of the *Consigli territoriali per l'immigrazione* (local councils for immigration) which are fundamental points of coordination between public and private entities operating in the realm of integration and have important governance functions. They are also responsible for monitoring the needs of local areas and providing and promoting a connection between centre and periphery. In order to carry out these functions, they collect statistical information on migration phenomena and the characteristics of the foreigners present.

8.2 Local integration of immigrants in Italy from a "macro" perspective: the decade-long research experience of the Cnel

Since the beginning of the 2000s, through the national body responsible for coordinating foreigner integration policies, the Cnel has been commissioning the Idos study and research centre to prepare a yearly report on the integration of immigrants in Italy; it is structured in local indicators and indices.

In the awareness that integration is a multidimensional phenomenon influenced both by "objective" factors (the actual conditions in terms of the access and enjoyment immigrants have in

fundamental realms of life such as work, home, school, health, etc.) and "subjective" factors (the psychological and cultural impact with the context they are received into, the quality of social relations, the degree of willingness and openness shown by immigrants and natives, etc.), the Cnel reports examine some of the dimensions which, at each local level considered (in addition to the national level, all the large areas, regions and provinces in Italy), structurally contribute to determining this complex phenomenon, though they do not claim to cover the latter exhaustively.

These are precisely some fundamental aspects of the social and occupational integration of immigrants which, in each local territory, can be measured through aggregate statistical data drawn from official administrative sources , and which thus correspond to a series of important "objective" factors of integration.

Taken as a whole, these factors are assumed to be capable of structurally conditioning local integration processes, thus representing a meaningful set of local conditions: to the greater extent they are monitored at appropriate levels within a local context, the more it will be reasonable to assume that the processes of integration between immigrants and natives can take place more easily and be completed with success, as opposed to where they are lacking or problematic.

It is for this reason that what these factors measure, when jointly analysed and duly correlated, is not (nor can be) the level of integration actually reached in a certain local area, but rather the integration potential of that area. A potential which - as it is measured through a scale of converted values valid for all indicators and indices which, for each territorial entity, contribute to determining it - enables the situation of different areas to be compared through specific rankings.

Traditionally, the analysis of the Cnel reports is organised into three thematic areas which are correlated, according to a specific pertinence, with the integration potential of each territorial entity (large areas, regions and provinces). These thematic areas correspond to an equal number of indices:

1) Index of *polarization* that measures the capacity of each area to attract and maintain within its territory the foreign population;

2) Index of *social stability* that measures the level and the quality of the migrants' settlement in the local social context;

3) Index of *employment insertion* that measures the level and quality of foreign participation to the local labour market.

However, according to an approach upheld by the international literature, which considers the social and occupational realms to be the dimensions more structurally connected to the integration of immigrants (and hence for the purposes of the study in question, more capable of defining the integration potential of the various territorial units), the final summary index - intended to measure, precisely, that potential - is based only on the social stability and employment insertion indices.

The polarization index, despite not being included in the determination of the final index, nonetheless remains an important context indicator enabling us to appreciate which areas appeal most to immigrants and have a greater ability to retain them on a permanent basis. It thus provides preliminary indications, though more "indirect" ones, as to the potentialities that each territory offers to favour the settlement of immigrants within it.

In relation to each of the three partial indices and the respective cognitive objectives, a series of statistical indicators was selected based on criteria of pertinence, reliability, completeness (above all in the territorial disaggregation) and comparability. In the most recent editions of the Cnel report, the adopted set of indicators includes 5 per thematic index, for a total of 15.

It should also be borne in mind that the final index and all the indicators and indices participating in its construction (excluding, therefore, the *territorial attractiveness* index and associated indicators) are ultimately determined using a dual method of computation: a so-called *absolute* one, based - for each realm examined - on data relating *solely* to the immigrant population within the various local territories, and a so-called *differential* (or *comparative*) one, which

is based in contrast on the *variance*, within each territory, between the data of immigrants and those of Italians (or, alternatively, the overall population data, including Italians and foreigners).

As a result, for all of the territorial divisions involved, each of the indicators and indices on which the final index is based gives a *dual ranking* (absolute and comparative, precisely), in both cases drawn up by ordering the territorial entities (areas, regions and provinces separately) and putting the one with the highest value at the top and the one with the lowest value at the bottom (or vice versa, in the event of indicators assumed to be negatively correlated with integration).

The dual ranking was not possible only in cases where the indicators did not lend themselves to differential treatment, either because they are based on data for which there is no corresponding data for the Italian population, or because the absolute indicator is already structurally conceived as a ratio between the data of immigrants and those of the overall population, or, finally, because the data available at the source preclude applying the comparative method on some indicators.

For each *absolute* indicator, the original value of every local context was converted into a standardized value on a scale of 1 to 100, so that 1 corresponded to the lowest starting value among the ones found for the class of territorial units considered on each occasion and 100 to the highest one, with all intermediate values made to fall within this interval proportionally to the original distances.

The respective summary indices were computed based on the average of the converted values each territorial unit obtained in the pertinent indicators and the area with the highest average value (equal to or closest to 100) was ranked at the top and the one with the lowest average value (equal to or closest to 1) at the bottom.

Then the converted values of the indicators and indices were broken down into 5 brackets: *minimal* (from 1 to 20), *low* (from 21 to 40), *medium* (from 41 to 60), *high* (from 61 to 80) and *maximal* (from 81 to 100). On the basis of these brackets, colour gradient maps were constructed, so that it would be possible to visually appreciate the territorial variations in the intensity of the phenomena measured each time.

Below we illustrate in detail the grid of indicators used in the last Cnel report published, the 8th; they are broken down by the three reference thematic indices:

Polarization
–   Proportional indicator: % of foreign residents relative to the overall resident population
–   Density indicator: average number of foreign residents per km^2
–   Migrant reception indicator: average number of foreigners registered in the year as residents, coming from Italian towns outside the territorial unit considered, for every 100 deregistered due to registration in Italian towns outside the territorial unit considered.
–   Stability indicator: % of minors among the foreign resident population
–   Family membership indicator: % of families with at least one foreign member relative to the total resident families

Social stability
–   Indicator of accessibility to the real estate market: % of average annual costs of renting a 50 m^2 dwelling in a suburban area relative to the estimated average annual per capita earnings of a non-EU-15 worker.
–   Indicator of secondary school education: % of foreign pupils enrolled in a *liceo* relative to the total number of foreign pupils enrolled in secondary schools (net of the number enrolled in vocational schools)

– Indicator of permanency of residency: % of residence permits issued for work and family reasons and valid at the end of the previous year which were still valid at the end of the year considered (net of the ones that expired and were not renewed)

– Naturalization indicator: average number of naturalized foreigners (acquisition of citizenship and continuous legal residency for at least 10 years) out of every 1,000 foreign residents

– Family initiative indicator: % of families in which the head of the family is a foreigner relative to the total number of families with at least one foreign member

Employment insertion

– Immigrant worker employment indicator: % of foreign-born workers among the workers who were employed during the year

– Indicator of the labour market absorption capacity: average number of foreign-born workers hired in the year for every 100 whose employment terminated (because they were dismissed, resigned or their contract expired and was not renewed) during the same year

– Income indicator: amount, in Euros, of the estimated average annual per capita income of the population of foreigners from outside EU-15

– Female occupational status indicator: % of foreign-born female workers who were employed during the year and whose employment relationship was not terminated during the same year (number of employed net of those who employment terminated)

– Self-employment indicator: % of foreign business owners relative to the total number of business owners.

Naturally, this grid, like other analogous ones, does not have (and cannot have) a definitive character, nor does it correspond to an optimal model: a number of indicators that were no doubt theoretically pertinent - and which would thus deserve to be included in the set of those adopted - were in fact unavailable or incomplete; or else, when concretely assessed through appropriate simulations, they proved to be of little significance and were thus discarded.

In the future, it will again be a patient examination of sources which will enable the set of indicators to be further improved by refining the most consolidated ones or replacing others with more suitable ones, thereby enhancing the ability to measure the integration potential of the various territorial entities, also with the introduction of new indices.

The *comparative* method is a very useful complement to the *absolute* one because it helps us to understand, in each realm measured by the indicators, to what extent the situation of the foreign population differs - positively or negatively - from the "physiological" one of the place considered, as reflected in the average living conditions of the native (or total) population.

Therefore, the combined application of the two methods enables us to appreciate, for each aspect investigated, not only which areas of the country offer immigrants the most satisfactory conditions in terms of social and occupational integration, but also which ones offer them levels of integration that are less penalizing in relation to the Italian population living in the same area.

In this regard, it is worth noting that the comparative rankings have often given an "upside-down geography" of Italian regions and provinces with respect to the absolute rankings, indicating that the areas which offer better social and occupational integration to immigrants *in absolute terms* (especially areas in central and northern Italy) sometimes offer them less *in relative terms* than what natives receive (and thus compared to what they would *potentially* be able to offer), which points to the need to make up ground when it comes to equal opportunity and a *real* recognition of equality.

Conversely, the "little" that other areas (above all in the south) are capable of offering immigrants *in absolute terms* can be "a lot" relative to their structural possibilities (reflected in the

living standards of the native population), given that in these areas the average levels of social and occupational integration of immigrants are closer to those of the natives.

The theoretical assumption underlying the *differential* method is that the *minimum* necessary requirement that must be met - though *not sufficient* - in order that integration into the local population *can* actually take place, is for immigrants to enjoy, in every location, conditions of social and occupational inclusion which are as close as possible to those of the natives, as measured in each of the realms explored by the indicators.

But the average living standards of the native population are not always able to represent, as such, a benchmark for social and occupational inclusion meeting "reasonable" integration needs, since in areas with serious structural problems, in which a large part of the native population itself lives in difficult conditions (lack of basic services, poor quality of life, inadequate or inaccessible housing, lack of work, insufficiency of support structures, etc.), it is very difficult to raise these average levels to an optimal degree of inclusion for integration purposes.

That is why the two methods used, far from leading to contradictory results when they show an "upside-down geography", instead need to be adopted together in a joint analysis, in which one ranking balances the other.

This serves not only to avoid unilaterally absolutizing the results, which being produced by only one of the two methods have a partial significance, but also enables a more comprehensive understanding of a phenomenon that, given the strategic importance it holds in present-day societies, deserves to be analyzed as extensively as possible and viewed in all its complexity.

8.3   Local aspects of integration: account of a "micro" experience

Through an approach of a type which in another part of the same report was labelled as "micro" or "from below", the ISMU foundation recently coordinated a broad study aimed at measuring and comparing, from a local perspective, the level of integration of the foreign population present in Italy.
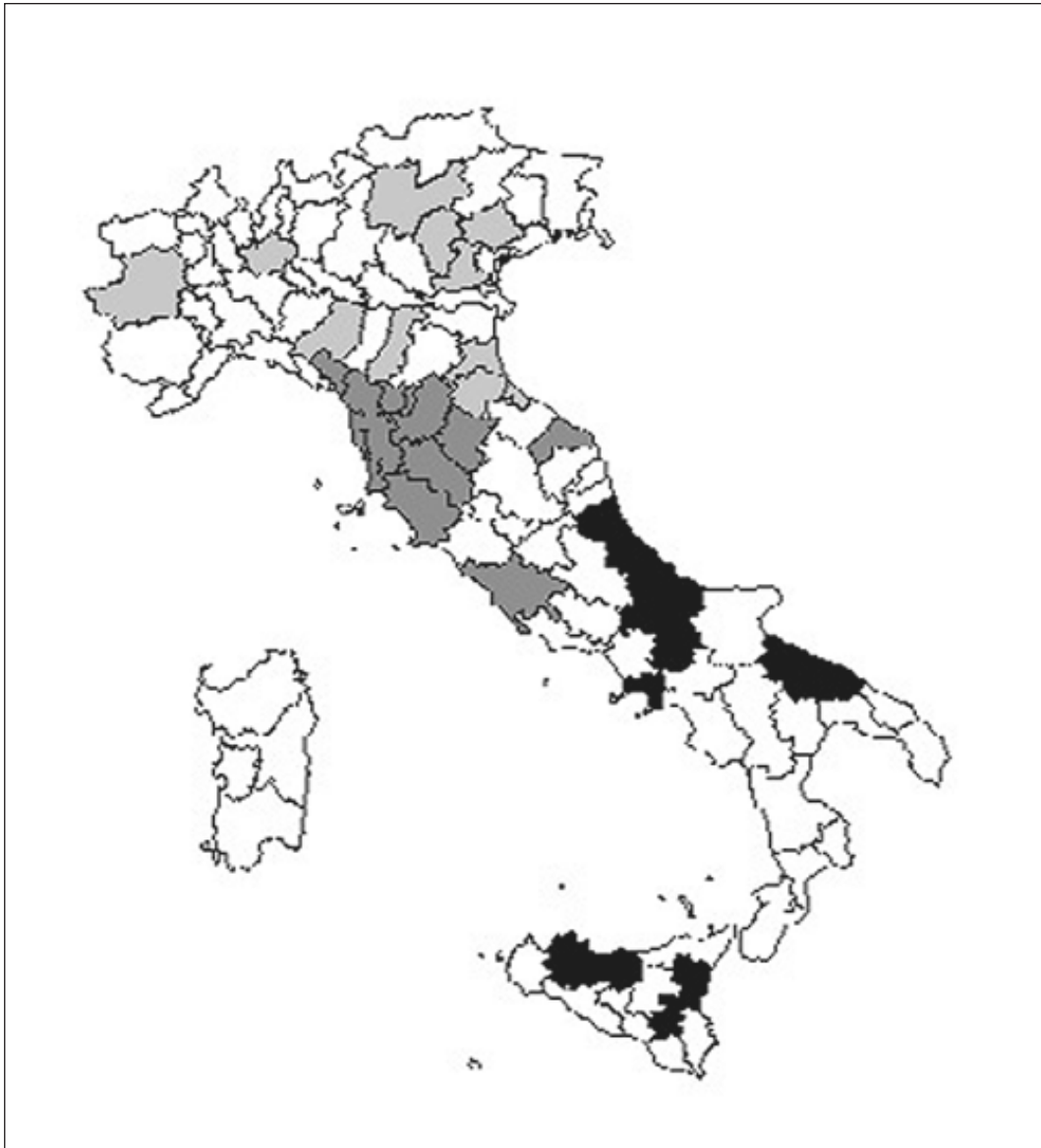
Below we present some results which, based on the definition and methods adopted in the study, made it possible to draw up a map of integration in Italy; for a further examination of the most significant aspects acting as a factor capable of increasing its intensity, reference may be made to the specific documentation (Cesareo and Blangiardo, 2009).

For the purposes of the survey in question, the concept of integration adopted was that of a "*multidimensional process aimed at peaceful coexistence, within a given historical-social reality, among individuals and groups that are culturally and/or ethnically different, founded upon a mutual respect for ethnic and cultural diversities, provided that they do not breach fundamental human rights and do not place democratic institutions at risk. Integration always consists in a process that takes time; it is a goal that is not achieved once and for all, but is rather constantly pursued on an economic, cultural, social and political level. It should also be taken into account that integration is two-directional, since it regards not only immigrants but also the citizens of the receiving country*".

The statistical data used for the analysis were drawn from a set of about 12 thousand individual interviews acquired directly by means of a structured questionnaire given to foreign citizens who were present in Italian territory between the end of 2008 and early months of 2009 and originated from the so-called "countries with a strong migratory pressure".

The survey was carried out by 20 local research units, mostly operating in an academic setting, and covered 32 different provincial or municipal realities (Figure 1). The choice of the latter, though largely determined by the location of the centres which were willing to take part in the study, was made taking into account the need both to ensure broad coverage of the national

Figure 1 – National survey on the integration of immigrants in Italy, 2009. Provinces involved in the sample survey

territory and to include, in the first layer of sampling (on a territorial basis), units with a high immigration frequency and strongly diversified socioeconomic conditions.
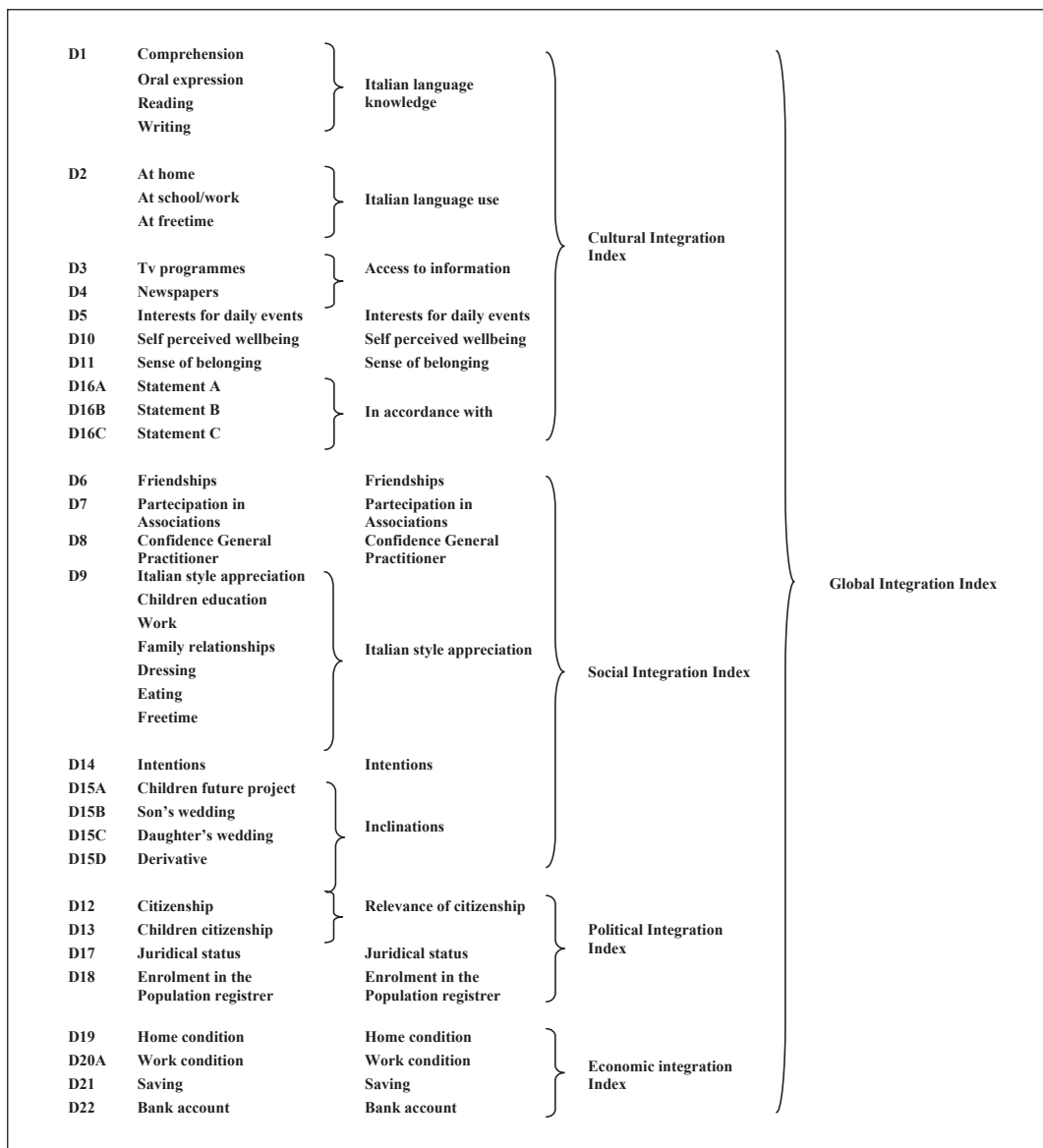
The workgroup, which was formed by bringing together the local researchers of each centre and the group responsible for coordination at the ISMU foundation, prepared the questionnaire used in the survey; it was drawn up in Italian and then translated into another five languages (Albanese, Arabic, Chinese, French and Romanian).

Each research unit selected and trained qualified interviewers of different nationalities to administer the questionnaires to foreign citizens present in the local territory; it also identified the survey sites, that is, the places frequented by the foreign population in the municipalities indicated by the sampling plan and whose identification is a preliminary condition for a correct application of the "centre" sampling method adopted also on this occasion (Baio et al., 2011). The

125

field survey involved over 200 surveyors overall; about a third of the interviews took place in northern Italy, while the largest part regarded central Italian regions, as a result in particular of the broad coverage of Tuscany, where, since the regional government stepped in to support the initiative, no fewer than 4,060 questionnaires were administered (about one third of the total).

In order to assess the main socio-demographic characteristics of foreign citizens present in Italy, use was made of a questionnaire based on closed-ended questions, following the traditional model adopted in ORIM (*Regional Observatory* for Integration and Multi-ethnicity) sample surveys (Blangiardo 2012), whereas to address the topics that were the focus of the research project, a set of *ad hoc* questions regarding integration was devised, broken down into the four categories: cultural, social, economic and political (Figure 2).

Figure 2 – Scheme of construction of integration indices

The report on the activities carried out to measure the level of integration of the immigrants present in the different local realities considered indicates significant elements of differentiation and confirms many of the hypotheses concerning both the multidimensionality of the integration process and its dependence on structural and environmental factors.

Overall, the average value of the global integration index - measured according to a parameter increasing (in this case) over an interval of $[0-1]$[1]- is equal to 0.50. The immigrant universe thus seems on average to lie halfway between the ideal model of those who reach the maximum level in all tests - as defined by the set of questions of the questionnaire adopted (a virtuous circle reported by a narrow "elite" of only solo 4 interviewees[2]) - and those who, in contrast, show the worst score in all items[3]. Signs of widespread variability are not lacking, however, both as regards the structural characteristics of the immigrants and the context elements manifesting themselves on a territorial level.

With respect to this latter aspect, it should be noted that the 32 local units where the survey was conducted show average values of the global index that range from a minimum of 0.40 to a maximum of 0.57, and that a large number of them (14) are concentrated in the interval between 0.2 units less and 0.2 units more than the general average.

Table 1 – Distribution of the average value of the global integration index in the territorial units included in the survey

Score (per 100)	Number of cases	Score (per 100)	Number of cases
from 0.40 to <0.44	2	from 0.52 to <0.56	9
from 0.44 to <0.48	6	from 0.56 to <0.60	1
from 0.48 to <0.52	14	Total	32

As far as the ranking of individual territorial units is concerned, the leading position in the global index is held by the province of Trento, followed in order by Massa-Cararra, Chieti, Modena and Ravenna. The provinces of Pescara, Pisa, Napoli, Pistoia and Catania rank at the bottom. However, if we go to examine the various specific indices in detail, the province of Chieti takes over the top ranking from Trento in terms of cultural integration and shares it with the latter in the social realm. The leading position for political integration goes to the province of Massa-Carrara, while the pair formed by the provinces of Ravenna and Padua is at the top of the economic integration ranking.

In reality, given that the breakdown by nationality is by no means identical in the different territorial units undergoing comparison and taking into account that this could also significantly influence the average values of the indicators (partial indices)[4], it was thought better to recalculate the latter with a standardization procedure capable of eliminating the distorting effect due

1. It should be noted that, in the experience concerned, the scores to be assigned were identified using criteria which differed from those introduced in chapter 2 of the same report, though still based on the advisability of favouring "virtuous" situations all the more the less they were shared in the target population.
2. Three women, respectively of Moroccan, Indian and Czech nationality, plus a man who was likewise a Czech citizen.
3. At the lower limit there is in fact the case of a male Eritrean citizen who showed a value of zero in the economic and political integration indexes and 0.05 and 0.12, respectively in the social and cultural indexes.
4. The empirical findings served to verify the existence of a strong connection between the country of origin of those interviewed and their average integration score, both global and in the different realms considered (partial indexes).

to the variations in the structural factors related to nationality in each local area[5]. The data thus re-computed - though strongly correlated with the original data (indeed, the coefficient of correlation between the two series of values is +0.89[6]) - can express the differential aspects on a territorial level, irrespective of the breakdown by nationality of the population present.

Table 2a – Five territorial units ranking first in the integration index in the different realms considered

Cultural		Social		Political		Economic	
Trento	00.61	Trento	00.57	Ravenna	00.58	Ravenna	00.59
Modena	00.56	Chieti	00.54	Massa Carrara	00.57	Trento	00.58
Chieti	00.55	Vicenza	00.54	Teramo	00.56	Padova	00.58
Palermo	00.54	Campobasso Is	00.53	Forlì-Cesena	00.56	Milan	00.57
Turin	00.54	Turin	00.52	Trento	00.56	Rimini	00.56

Table 2b – Five territorial units ranking last in the integration index in the different realms considered

Cultural		Social		Political		Economic	
Grosseto	00.47	Pistoia	00.45	Pisa	00.44	Pisa	00.49
Padova	00.46	Pisa	00.45	Rome	00.44	Rome	00.48
Bari	00.46	Padova	00.45	Bari	00.43	Catania	00.44
Pescara	00.43	Bari	00.43	Catania	00.42	Naples	00.43
Pisa	00.42	Pescara	00.42	Pescara	00.37	Pescara	00.40

The corresponding distribution of standardized global integration indices closely matches that of the original values, but with a moderate accentuation of the concentration around the average value (which obviously remains equal to 0.50). In this case as well, the province of Trento ranks first in the global index, while the provinces of Ravenna, Modena, Campobasso/Isernia and Torino have moved up in the ranking - compared to the non-standardized values - and Massa-Carrara and Chieti have moved down. At the bottom of the ranking, the provinces of Bari and Catania have dropped further while the positions of Naples and Pistoia have improved. In the individual areas, the standardized values see the province of Trento prevailing in terms of cultural and social integration, whereas Ravenna ranks first in the political and economic realms. The province of Pescara ranks last in three of the four realms considered - social, political and economic - with only the province of Pisa performing worse in terms cultural integration.

5. Standardization was achieved using the so-called "standard population method", i.e.: by determining the standardized indicator for a given area as the weighted arithmetic mean of the indicators for each individual nationality relative to the area itself, while adopting as standard weights (equal everywhere) the corresponding population by nationality - taken as "standard population"- relative to the set of all the areas considered.
6. It is noted that the linear coefficient of correlation between two series of data varies between a minimum of -1 (perfect inverse proportionality) and a maximum of +1 (perfect direct proportionality), and is 0 in the case of an absolute absence of a linear correlation.

Overall, based on the average value for the different areas considered, we can see - on a local level - a strong positive correlation between cultural and social integration (the correlation coefficient is equal to +0.77) and between political and economic integration (+0.71). Not so strong, though persistent, is the correlation between political and cultural integration (+0.55) or social integration (+0.52). There is an even lower correlation between economic and cultural integration (+0.42) or social integration (+0.33).

On the local level, analysing whether there is a relationship between the average integration score and density of the foreign presence is also of a certain interest. In this regard, the data show a high negative correlation between the two variables: the corresponding coefficient is -0.44 for global integration and remains negative - attesting to the fact that the level of integration generally decreases with increasing densities - in the breakdown by individual realms: cultural (-0.34), social (-0.30), political (-0.35) and economic (-0.37).

Evidence of the existence of similar integration profiles in the different local contexts is provided, finally, by the classification of the 32 territorial units in areas that are homogeneous in terms of the average values which characterize the four realms considered. An appropriate hierarchical cluster analysis[7] led to the identification of 8 groups of territorial units, five of which with at least two elements and three represented by individual cases.

More precisely, the largest group, which includes 13 territorial units, is characterized by a global level of integration that substantially hovers around the "average" with modest variability among the different indices, despite a moderate predominance of economic integration. The province of Milan and a large part of the provinces of Tuscany belong to this group of "units within the normal range".

The second group, numerically more substantial, is an aggregate of 9 territorial units - from Turin to Vicenza and southward to Campobasso/Isernia - which stand on above-average levels of integration in each of the four realms considered, so that they can be labelled as "units with generally more advanced integration".

Lower values, even if higher overall than the average (except in the political realm), were found for the group made up of the 3 territorial units in the provinces of Palermo, Roma and Chieti, whereas the two groups identified, respectively, by the provinces of Napoli and Catania and Pisa and Bari are characterized by generally low levels in all realms: only in terms of economic integration does the latter pair deviate less from the overall average value.

To complete the picture, we should consider the three anomalous groups formed by a single province; these are units that the classification procedure was not able to assign (according to the affinity/distance rules adopted) to any grouping. These realities, despite sharing a position of isolation, are clearly distinguishable from one another. On the one hand there is the province of Trento, which outranks all of the other groups in every realm and is thus the "virtuous" model of reference par excellence, on the other hand Pescara, which has a diametrically opposed characterization and positioning. Finally, there is the province of Padova, where the global integration index is in line with the general average, but thanks only to the positive effect of the economic integration index.

7. That is, such as to provide all the possible partionings of the elements to be classified with the respective distances at which the subsequent aggregations take place. Only later is it decided, given a distance between well-structured groups that is considered the maximum acceptable, how many groups should be considered in the optimal partitioning .

Table 3 – Classification of territorial units based on homogeneous values of the integration indices

Territorial units in the group	Cases	Average value of integration indices:				
		Total	Cult.	Soc.	Polit.	Econ.
TN	1	0.58	0.61	0.57	0.56	0.58
CB/IS, TO, MO, VI, FO, MS, TE, AN, RA	9	0.53	0.52	0.51	0.55	0.55
PA, CH, RM	3	0.51	0.54	0.52	0.47	0.51
PD	1	0.50	0.46	0.45	0.51	0.58
LU, TV, MI, RN, GR, BN, PO, FI, PR, AR, SI, PT, LI	13	0.49	0.49	0.48	0.49	0.52
NA, CT	2	0.46	0.50	0.49	0.44	0.43
PI, BA	2	0.45	0.44	0.44	0.44	0.51
PE	1	0.40	0.43	0.42	0.37	0.40

8.4 The contribution of local councils on immigration for the purposes of assessing levels of integration

The history and role of the *Consigli territoriali per l'immigrazione* (CTI - local councils for immigration) began with art. 3 paragraph 6 of Legislative Decree 286/98, which established them within Prefectures as bodies designed to coordinate and monitor migration policies and integration processes at a local level. Chaired by prefects and coordinated by a prefecture official who organizes and promotes the activities, the councils include delegates from the competent local government divisions of the State and Region, local authorities, organizations and associations locally active in providing relief and aid to immigrants and workers' and employers' organizations and have the task of analyzing needs and promoting initiatives to be implemented at a local level. Based on the issues addressed, this network of players provided for by law can be expanded to include other local stakeholders for specific information-gathering purposes.

Its broad composition thus makes the councils not only a natural observatory for collecting information that is useful for gaining insight into the local dynamics of the migration phenomenon, but also a specific antenna for assessing the the interaction between foreign citizens and native citizens, or between foreign citizens and services.

Over time, the network of the *Consigli Territoriali* has been used to monitor integration in local contexts and consequently to obtain specific information. In data gathering, preference has been given to an approach based on data of an administrative nature. For this purpose a rather complex form was devised to collect information covering most of the areas of relevance for assessing the trend in integration processes: from quantification of the presence of immigrants to a breakdown by age and citizenship (personal data and residency permits); from work to deviance.

In order to complete the survey form thus prepared, under the coordination of the Department for Civil Liberties, the councils were called on to gather information from a variety of local players: municipal, provincial and regional authorities, INPS, INAIL, revenue agencies, police headquarters, one-stop shops, etc. .

The survey proved to be very challenging, precisely because of the variety of players, and as a consequence of this complex architecture an inhomogeneous response was received from the local areas: despite a broad capacity of council members to stimulate the many institutional entities to

provide the data asked for, different degrees of sensitivity were observed in the various contexts. In some, the communication between local players and councils was efficient, and thus all the useful information for completing the form was collected. In others, communication appeared to be difficult and deficient.

The collected data were disseminated by means of a report, which disclosed both the results of the surveys conducted and the activities carried out by the councils (http://www.interno.gov.it/mininterno/export/sites/default/it/temi/immigrazione/sottotema004.html).

Given the difficulties encountered and the lack of homogeneity in the responses, a long process of reflection was inaugurated with the aim of evaluating the possibility of optimizing the information gathering procedure. In particular, as a large part of the data collected by the councils is actually available on a centralised level, it was decided to lighten the task of the councils by avoiding a duplication of the process of collecting already existing information and establishing a direct relationship with the central agencies that process and validate the data related to the different dimensions of interest (ISTAT, INPS, INAIL, etc.).

The Ministry of Interior, for example, is setting up a partnership with ISTAT which should enable the data produced by the institute on the presence of foreigners and migration to be shared also with prefectures and the councils.

A series of dimensions of interest has been identified for which it appears advisable instead for the councils to collect and provide "original" information: housing, conflicts at work, reliance on certain social and health services (family counsellors, mental health centres, etc.), juvenile justice (for example minors in the care of social services). In this manner it is hoped to enhance the information resources at a disaggregated local level, where they are not yet structured in a centralized manner. This may be considered to be the first step toward greater harmonization in information gathering in the various local contexts.

Streamlining the data collection process may enable the councils, along with the other stakeholders, to give an additional contribution in terms of identifying vulnerability in integration processes (poverty, working conditions, etc.); categories at risk; and the presence of situations of social suffering.

It is believed that in this way the council network's role as a privileged observer of local dynamics can be enhanced and that, given the coordination and monitoring function the councils themselves perform in local communities, this network can offer a valid contribution for: a) furthering the collection of administrative data which are difficult to acquire centrally; b) retrieving data related to access to local social and health services; c) providing an assessment as to the perception of the difficulties encountered locally in satisfying the needs expressed by foreign citizens and the most critical areas present within the local community.

8.5 Conclusions

Gaining insight into integration on a disaggregated local level is of fundamental importance for the governance of the migration phenomena. In an era in which global and local are combined into a neologism like *glocal* (Bauman, 2005), it is evident that managing migration at both a national and international level requires knowing about local realities as well. This is especially true in a country like Italy, where the local contexts appear to be highly differentiated. It must also be taken into account that beyond the territorial boundaries and administrative classifications, it is also interesting to consider the functional classifications (for example, the local occupational systems), which enable the presence of foreigners to be analyzed in the different contexts. A territory is not in fact an empty space, a "non-place"; foreigners come into contact with structured realities and often become a litmus test revealing the lights and shadows of the underlying socioeconomic fabric. It has been ascertained that the integration of foreigners in the south is

different from what is experienced in the north, that in metropolitan areas integration follows a different course than in small or very small towns, and that there are functional areas (some local systems or districts) which, thanks to some economic-occupational "niches", attract particular forms of immigration, and it is thus evident that we need to go further and gather information that can enable a monitoring of needs and adequate planning of interventions.

If our legislation envisages an entity like the local councils on immigration, established on a prefectural level, there is clearly an interest in developing actions that see the periphery not only as tightly connected to the centre, but also as an essential link for planning and implementing suitable integration policies.

Over time, numerous projects have been developed, both on the part of official statistics bodies and research institutes and other organizations, for the study of integration on a local level with different approaches. The time seems ripe to try and systematize the most relevant experiences and avoid redundancies in data gathering and dissemination. In order to move toward an improvement in the quantity and quality of the statistical information made available, it seems advisable to reinforce the processes presently underway, first of all by exploiting administrative records, which represent a fundamental source of information on a disaggregated local level. The exploitation of administrative data and conversion thereof into statistical data has made many strides forward in recent years but can be further enhanced both by including records that are not yet systematically exploited and ensuring an integrated use (preferably using record linkage techniques) of the validated records already available and by improving the quality of the data collected. All these actions require a joint effort of civil servants, policy makers and statistics experts, who must engage in continuous and systematic collaboration in order to exploit a wealth of information that is of very great importance, as experiences in other countries demonstrate.

The efficiency of this network among different stakeholders and the integration of information are prerequisites not only for improving the statistics on the foreigners present and migrations which are drawn from administrative sources but also for reducing the burden on citizens and intermediate agencies and bodies that could benefit from an integrated system that does not duplicate the request for information.

There are however aspects of integration which, as has emerged in other parts of this report, cannot be easily addressed using administrative data - subjective aspects and ones tied to perception, but not only - and they need to be investigated through sample surveys. It is evident that the surveys conducted by ISTAT cannot cover all local territories on a disaggregated level, but some experiences demonstrate that it is possible to plan *ad hoc* focused studies to improve our knowledge about some contexts. One experience of this type is the survey on the "condition and social integration of foreign citizens" conducted by ISTAT; thanks to the contribution of the Ministry of Interior through EU funding (EIF), the survey was developed further, with a broadening of the sample, in three large cities: Milan, Rome and Naples. As a tool, though they certainly entail a financial effort, surveys have the advantage of being able to be used in a flexible manner, also for the purpose of assessing the effects of practices and strategies implemented by local government.

Exploiting the surveys conducted by research institutes on a local level can be an additional way to enhance information resources. Greater communication among those involved in the different experiences is to be hoped for and their integration could be promoted by the central government.

In addition to focusing attention on different territorial entities as "objects" of analysis, it is of equal importance to promote dialogue with the latter as "subjects" who have specific cognitive interests and are capable of orienting the surveys and, consequently, the policies on emerging issues, which are easier to monitor through local antennas. In this context, local territories must not be considered only as a reading grid, but also as bearers of specific demands and important sensors for identifying the phenomenon and specific answers to integration needs.

Bibliography

Baio G., Blangiardo G.C. and Blangiardo M. (2011), "Centre sampling technique in foreign migration surveys: a methodological note", in *Journal of Official Statistics*, vol. 27, 3, pp. 1-16

Bauman Z., *Globalizzazione e glocalizzazione*, Armando editore 2005,

Blangiardo G.C. (edited by) (2012), l'immigrazione straniera in Lombardia. La dodicesima indagine, Fondazione Ismu, Milano.

Cesareo, V., Blangiardo, G.C., (edited by) (2009), *Indici di integrazione. Un'indagine empirica sulla realtà migratoria italiana*, Franco Angeli, Milano.

9 - European Experiences of Impact Evaluation of Immigrant Integration Policies[1]

9.1   Studies on migration processes: a classification

Studies on immigrants and their relations with the host countries may be roughly divided into three main types.

The first consists of mono-disciplinary or multi-disciplinary analyses, carried out through both quantitative and qualitative methods by anthropologists, demographers, political scientists, social psychologists and sociologists. These researches usually refer to the living conditions of immigrants, their cultural and behavioural patterns,, the differences (or similarities) between those conditions and patterns and the corresponding features of the native populations, and the attitudes and behaviours of the latter towards the immigrants. Often, such studies also consider the possible effects of the above characteristics on the levels of integration of immigrants in the receiving societies and on the degree of social cohesion of these latter (see, for example, Barbagli 1998; Castels and Davidson 2000; Sniderman et al. 2000; Sciortino and Colombo 2003; Kivisto 2005; Heath and Cheung 2007; Lewitt and Jaworsky 2007; Colombo and Sciortino 2010; ISMU 2012; Fleischmann and Phalet, 2012; Saggar et al. 2012)[2]..

A second type of studies looks at how migration processes may affect the economies of the host countries, particularly the working of the labour market and the welfare expenditures(among others, Borjas 1995; Borjas and Hilton 1996; Drinkwater *et al.* 2003; Sommerville and Sumption 2009).

Of course, the researches of both first and second type may contain substantial references to the migration policies implemented (or not implemented) by one or more receiving countries. However, these researches do not bear specific analyses of such policies. The reference to them is used as a basis to explain the higher or lower degree of integration of immigrants in the receiving societies and possible variations of their economies and labour markets (see, for example, Bauer, Lofstrom and Zimmermann 2000, as well as Barbagli, Colombo and Sciortino 2004).

Instead, the public policies applied by the various countries with respect to immigrants are the central object of the studies belonging to the third type of researches on migration issues. These studies may, in turn, be classified according to a four-fold typology based on the combination of two dichotomous variables. The first variable is of substantial nature and separtes the studies on the policies aimed at regulating selection and settlements of immigrants in the receiving countries from the analyses of the measures aimed at favouring their integration in the host societies. The second variable is of methodological nature and juxtaposes the analyses aimed at illustrating (in a narrative way) the configuration of such policies or at monitoring (through multivariate statistical models) their general effects on immigrants and natives (as well as the administrative and financial aspects of their implementation), to the proper impact evaluation studies, carried out on a counterfactual basis.

---

1   Main chapter contributors: Gian Carlo Blangiardo, Corrado Bonifazi, Raffaele Bracalenti, Cinzia Conti, Luca Di Sciullo and Salvatore Strozza
2.   Clearly, the "effects" on the levels of integration described in the studies reviewed so far have frequently hypothetical nature insofar as they are seldom based on analytical methods capable of showing robust causal connections.

Clearly, the four types making up the above typology are as follows:: i) descriptive analyses and monitoring of policies concerning selection and settlement of immigrants; ii) counterfactual impact evaluation of maigrants' selection and settlement policies; iii) descriptive analyses and monitoring of immigrant integration policies; and iv) counterfactual impact evaluations of immigrant integration policies[3]..

We should dwell a moment on the distinction between descriptive analyses and monitoring of migration policies, on the one hand, and counterfactual impact evaluations on the other hand, as sometimes they are mixed up. It happens that works presented as impact evaluations of migration policies do not measure the causal effect of the Public Administration (PA), or even of private bodies, interventions[4]. Rather, they examine the overall degree of integration of immigrants in the (national and local) host communities, and from this they try to infer general judgments regarding sets (not always well-defined) of public (national or local) policies addressed to immigrants. On the contrary impact evaluations aim at: i) verifying whether a specific public policy, aimed at introducing changes in the living conditions or the behaviours of immigrants, actually brings about the expected changes; and ii) proving the existence of a causal link between the implementation of a measure and the variations in the specific behaviours and living conditions of the immigrants treated by the relevant policy. To achieve this result, impact evaluations of public policies compare a sample of beneficiaries of the relevant policy - the treated group - to another sample of non-beneficiaries - the control group - who are perfectly comparable to the former. Obviously, the control group is intended to reproduce the counterfactual situation in which the beneficiaries would have been, had they not been treated by the policy.

Just because their validity strictly depends on the identification of appropriate control groups, counterfactual impact evaluations adopt particular statistical procedures. Such procedures are suitably described in a number of works (Morgan and Winship 2008; Martini and Trivellato 2011; Rinne 2012) and here they shall be assumed as known. We wish just to mention that in the next pages we will bring examples of impact evaluations of migration policies based i) on proper social experiments (SE), i.e. by randomly drawing, from the population (potentially) subject to the measure, both the treated and the control group; or ii) on natural experiments, by exploiting various types of discontinuity (in time, geography, administration, etc.) existing between the treated and the control group. In this latter case, impact evaluations can be based on: a) *regression discontinuity design* (RDD); b) *difference in differences* (DIDs); and c) instrumental variables (IV)[5]. All these statistical techniques can be empowered by means of the propensity scores matching (PSM).

9.2 General features of the impact evaluations of immigrant integration measures

Resuming the main strand of our argument, we should further clarify that in this note, as indeed its title and the considerations developed at the end of the former section indicate,

---

3. The relevant bibliographical references regarding analyses that belong to this category are given in the following sections.

4. Obvioulsy, we are referring, to charities and, more generally, NGOs, whether religious or secular. Further on in the text we will only focus, however, on the measures implemented by the PA, due to their more general and mandatory nature.

5. It goes without saying that the various methods that can be used in counterfactual impact evaluations may be adopted jointly in certain cases. It should also be stressed that even the proper social experiments may use them to reinforce the identification of the parameters expressing the effects of the relevant policy.

the attention will only be focused on the impact evaluations of public policies aimed at promoting the active integrationof immigrants in their host countries.

The studies in question represent a very small set of the analyses carried out on immigration processes. In Italy, this set even seems to be empty (and it is so for all other political measures concerning immigrants as well). It is nonetheless true that counterfactual impact evaluations are the most rigorous and reliable tools, among those currently available, to verify whether the the measures designed by the PAare actually effective, as well to estimates their economic efficiency. Of course, we do not mean that counterfactual impact evaluations are the only tools capable of providing information on the situation of immigrants and their relations with the host communities. Nor these assessments can solve all cognitive or practical problems concerning migration processes. We wish to emphasise, however, that they are the only approach able of verifying whether individual measures adopted to favour immigrant integration processes (or for other purposes, such as to regulate entries) actually achieve the expected results, or such results would have been achieved even without the analysed measures or, even worse, the results where contrary to expectations. Therefore, impact evaluations are useful procedures to allow decision-makers to establish, in a fully aware manner, whether the action should be carried on, amended more or less extensively, or discontinued.

Turning to the central subject of the chapter - the review of the experiences of impact evaluations of some of the immigrant integration policies issued in the European countries - it should be stressed that this review follows, at least in part, the classification scheme recently proposed by Rinne (2012). In partuclar, the next sections will deal, respectively, with: i) policies for initial familiarisation with the host country (essentially consisting of basic language training courses and of information on institutional, political, economic and cultural features of the receiving national and local communities; ii) language learning policies; iii) active labour policies; and iv) anti-discriminatory policies.

9.3 Impact evaluations of policies for initial familiarisation with the host country

The experiences of impact assessments of programmes aimed at favouring the initial inclusion of immigrants in their host country seem to be quite uncommon. The most serious contribution on this subject is a study by Andersson, Joona and Nekby (2012), based on a proper experiment with random assignment of the immigrants to two different programmes for introduction to the Swedish language and labour market. The study showed that the programme with flexible language learning schemes and intensive and personalised forms of familiarisation with the local labour markets made it easier to find a regular occupation, compared to the programme in which language learning followed school-shaped models and the contacts with the employment world occurred over longer periods[6].

6. Clearly, other countries (Germany, Holland, Italy) implement similar actions for initial familiarisation of immigrants with the host society. These, however, do not seem to have been subjected to proper impact evaluations or even to simpler descriptive analyses. An exception is given by a study on programmes of familiarisation with the local economic-social realities implemented in Norway. These programmes comprised language learning, contacts with the world of businesses and supports by operators of the (public) local offices for immigration. Svantesson and Aranki (2006) have examined, through logistic regression and comparison of marginal effects, the influence that each of these activities has on the probability to find a job over a short time. They have highlighted that contacts with the employment world make it easier to find a post, whereas language teaching and the operators'support have negative effects. It should be noted, however, that such analysis is not based an a a counterfactual approach as no control group was present.

9.4   Impact evaluations of language learning policies

The only real impact assessment on the effects of language learning programmes for immigrants was carried out by Hayfron (2001) in Norway. He adopted an instrumental variable approach to control for the selective effects of immigrants' decisions to take part in the courses. The courses had extensive nature and were addressed to immigrants from Chile, Morocco and Pakistan. The analysis made it clear that the participation in the courses has a positive impact on language skills, but not on earnings. The fact that language skills acquired do not impact on immigrants' salary level is explained on the basis of the consideration that languages are a crucial instrument to find a job and increase the more general opportunities of inclusion at school and in the society, but give no assurance with regard to the kind of jobs arrived at and the related earnings[7].

9.5   Impact evaluations of active labour policies

As it is well known, a wide variety of active labour policies exists. Very schematically, one can distinguish i) activation policies, based on personalised support to job search; ii) activation policies consisting of training courses for the acquisition of specific skills that may be used in the labour market; iii) measures consisting of creation, supported by PA funds, of new jobs for immigrants, iiia) placed at local firms or iiib) represented by various forms of so-called self-entrepreneurship of immigrants. Of course, individual active labour policy programmes may be based on variable combinations of the different measures listed above.

Because of their diffusion, active labour policies are, among immigrant integration measures, those that have been most frequently subjected to impact evaluations. In turn, such evaluations have made use of the whole range of assessment procedures: SE, RDD, DIDs, PSM, IV.

In the next lines a few examples of impact evaluations of active labour policies will be reported, differentiating between measures reserved for immigrants and measures addressed both to immigrant and to natives, or rather, measures of general nature, in which immigrants may decide to take part.

Starting from those specifically designed for immigrants, it is worth mentioning a Finnish study (Sarvimäki and Hämäläinen 2010) regarding the effects of the participation in personalised programmes consisting of a combination of vocational training courses and creation of subsidised posts in local companies. Taking advantage from of a time discontinuity generated by a rule establishing that from May 1, 1999, all immigrants arrived into Finland after May 1, 1997 had to participate in the above programmes, the study by Sarvimäki and Hämäläinen compared the occupational outcomes of the migrants who arrived into the country immediately after May 1, 1997 with those of migrants who arrived immediately before that date[8]. The study showed that

7.   As regards language learning, it is worth mentioning the comparative contribution by Christensen and Stanat (2007) even though it is not based on a proper impact evaluation. It is a research carried out on 14 OECD countries (Australia, Austria, francophone Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, Germany, Luxembourg, Holland, Norway, United Kingdom, Spain, Sweden and Switzerland) and based on data coming from the 2005 wave of the PISA survey. The research shows that the programmes intended to support the learning of the language of the destination country by immigrant schoolchildren and students strongly reduces their disadvantages in the achievement of mathematics competences, in comparison to their native counterparties. Christensen and Stanat's contribution concludes with the recommendation of adopting thorough impact evaluations in order to identify the most effective methods to teach the language of the host country to migrants.

8.   Technically, this analysis strategy is known as *before-after comparison*. Under certain conditions (to be specified), it can be said to be equivalent to a SE, that is to a random sampling from the target population of both

the participation in the active policy programme increased the occupational chances and the level of earnings of the immigrants. At the same time the measure reduced their dependence on public subsidies (unemployment benefits and transfers against poverty).

Another example of impact evaluation of an active policy labour programme addressed to immigrants can be found in a paper by Aslund and Johansson (2011) regarding a Swedish experience. The measure in question consisted of intensive vocational guidance, forms of personalised assistance to job search and visits to possible workplaces. The programme was implemented on a municipal basis, but participation was optional for each municipality. In order to assess the effectiveness of the measure, the authors drew two random samples of immigrants from, respectively, the municipalities that implemented the measure and those that did not, and analysed, through a DIDs procedure, the variations of the immigrants positions in the labour market. The result proved that the programme made it easier for immigrants to pass from unemployment to employment.

The effects of six different programmes of active labour policy not specifically designed for migrants recently arrived to Denmark have been examined by Clausen and collaborators (2009). By means of of PSM and duration models, they have shown that participation in all programmes taken into consideration generates significant lock-in effects (i.e., holding the participants out of the labour market) except for posts subsidised by the PA in companies of the private sector. Moreover, only this latter action produced statistically significant increases in the rate of transition to regular employment.

The impact evaluation strategy described above was also used by Heinesen, Husted & Rosholm (2011) to assess the effect of various Danish programmes of active labour policy on the duration of the transition to a regular job of immigrants from non-western countries that received some form of welfare assistance (essentially, pay integrations as an anti-poverty measure). The authors noted positive effects - i.e. reductions in the time required to find a regular job and consequent shorter duration of dependence from welfare assistance schemes - of all such actions. This was true both at the end of the treatment and during it. The most significant positive effects were observed with respect to the measures of integration by the PA of the labour costs incurred by private companies (subsidised jobs).

The impact on the position taken in the labour market by Germans and immigrants to Germany who take part in short-term actions for the unemployed has been studied by Aldashev, Thomsen & Walter (2010). The actions in question consisted of aptitude tests, forms of job search training, qualification courses and variable combinations of these three different measures. Relying on PSM, the authors showed that aptitude tests and qualification courses exerted more pronounced positive effects among immigrants. Job-search training activities had no positive impact on the participants, regardless of their nationality, and even have negative effects for immigrant women. Mixed programmes hadno positive effects for any participant.

The role of a German self-entrepreneurship policy, i.e., measures of support to the start-up of self-employment in favour of the unemployed was examined by Caliendo and Kunn (2011). They assessed the long-term effect of two start-up programmes and proved it was largely positive for all beneficiaries, although slightly less for immigrants.

9.6   Impact evaluations of anti-discriminatory policies

There are quite few examples of impact assessment of policies against negative discrimination of immigrants in the host countries. The reason may be that these policies are not particu-

the treatment group (in this case: immigrants to Finland immediately after May 1, 1997) and the control group (in this case: immigrants to Finland immediately before May 1, 1997).

larly widespread. Moreover, as impact evaluations are mainly carried out by economists, anti-discriminatory policy assessments also regard the labour market.

We will mention only one here: the assessment conducted by Aslund and Nordström Skans (2011) on the chances of immigrants to be hired by the offices of the Gothenburg Municipality (Sweden). Their experiment consisted in anonymising the curricula sent to certain branches of that local administration, while those sent to others were left nominative. Through the DIDs procedure, they showed that, anonymous curricula raised the chances of immigrants (and women) to pass the first steps of the selection process and arrive to the personal interview with the selection committee.

9.7   The different efficacy of measures aimed at favouring the integration of immigrants, in the European experience

As should have been made clear in the preceding pages, there are not many impact assessments on the policies aimed at favouring the integration of immigrants in the host societies in Europe. It is therefore difficult to draw general conclusions from them. It seems possible to confirm, however, that such evaluations help to separate effective programmes which actually promote the integration of migrants from those which do not seem to really favour it. Furthermore, impact evaluations of policies aiming at the promotion of mmigrants integration seem to generate a sort of scale of their level of effectiveness. In this scale active labour policies rank first, followed by language training policies and, further on, policies against discrimination and for initial familiarisation with the host countries. It should be noted, however, that active labour policies based on the attendance of training courses produce significant *lock-in* effects liable to extend the duration of the integration processes. Of course, this is not the case of active labour policies aimed at supporting the creation of workplaces reserved for immigrants. It should be taken into account, lastly, that while actions aimed at teaching the language of the host country do not significantly affect the economic prospects of immigrants, they are, nonetheless, important tools to enter the labour market and, most of all, necessary prerequisites to ensure equal educational opportunities and school performances among second-generation immigrants, and immigrants who arrive to the host countries at school age.

Bibliography

Aldashev, A., Thomsen, S. L., & Walter, T., 2010, *Short-Term Training Programs for Immigrants: Do Effects Differ from Natives and Why?*, Mannheim, Centre for European Economic Research, ZEW Discussion Paper 10-021.

Andersson Joona, P. & Nekby, L., 2012,, *Intensive Coaching of New Immigrants: An Evaluation Based on Random Program Assignment,* in "Scandinavian Journal of Economics", 114, 2: 575-600.

Aslund, O. & Johansson, P., 2011, *Virtues of SIN: Can Increased Public Efforts Help Disadvantaged Immigrants?*, in "Evaluation Review", 35, 4: 399-427.

Aslund, O., & Nordström Skans, O., 2012, *Do Anonymous Job Application Procedures Level the Playing Field?*, in "Industrial and Labor Relations Review", 65, 1: 82-107.

Barbagli, M., 1998, *Immigrazione e reati in Italia*, Bologna, Il Mulino.

Barbagli, M., Colombo, A. & Sciortino, G, 2004, *I sommersi e i sanati. Le regolarizzazioni degli immigrati in Italia*, Bologna, Il Mulino.

Bauer, T.K., Lofstrom, M. & Zimmermann, K.F., 2000, *Immigration Policy, Assimilation of Immigrants and Native Sentiments towards Immigrants: Evidence from 12 OECD-Countries*, IZA DP 187

Borjas, G., 1995, *The economic benefits from immigration*, in "Journal of Economic Perspectives", 9, 2: 3-22.

Borjas, G. & Hilton, L., 1996, *Immigration and the welfare state: Immigrant participation in means tested entitlement programmes*, in "Quarterly Journal of Economics", 111: 575-604.

Caliendo, M., & Künn, S., 2011, *Start-Up Subsidies for the Unemployed: Long-Term Evidence and Effect Heterogeneity,* in "Journal of Public Economics" 95, 3-4: 311-331.

Castles, S. & Davidson, A., 2000, *Citizenship and Migration: Globalisation and the Politics of Belonging*, London, McMillan.

Christensen, G. & Stanat, P., 2007, *Language policies and practices for helping immigrants and second-generation students succeed*, Migration Policy Institute and Bertelsmann Stiftung, The Transatlantic Task Force on Immigration and Integration.

Clausen, J., Heinesen, E., Hummelgaard, H., Husted, L., & Rosholm, M., 2009, *The Effect of Integration Policies on the Time Until Regular Employment of Newly Arrived Immigrants: Evidence from Denmark, in* "Labour Economics", 16, 4: 409-417.

Colombo, A. & Sciortino, G., 2010, *Gli immigrati in Italia*, Bologna, Il Mulino.

Drinkwater, S., Levin, P., Lotti, E. & Pearlman, J., 2003, *The economic impact of migration: A survey*, Flowenla discussion paper 8, Hamburg Institute of International Economics.

Fleischmann, F.& Phalet, K., 2012, *Integration and religiosity among the Turkish second generation in Europe: a comparative analysis across four capital cities*, in "Ethnic and Racial Studies", 35, 2: 320341.

Hayfron, J.E., 2001, *Language training, language proficiency and earnings of immigrants in Norway*, in "Applied Economics", 33, 15: 1971-1979.

Heath A. and Cheung, S., 2007, *Unequal Chances: Ethnic Minorities in Western Labour Markets*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Heinesen, E., Husted, L., & Rosholm, M., 2011, *The Effects of Active Labour Market Policies for Immigrants Receiving Social Assistance in Denmark*, Bonn, IZA, IZA Discussion Paper 5632.

ISMU, 2012, *Diciottesimo rapporto sulle migrazioni 2012*, Milano, Franco Angeli.

Kivisto, P., 2005, *Incorporating Diversity: Rethinking Assimilation in a Multicultural Age,* Boulder, (CO), Paradigm.

Lewitt, P. & Jaworsky, B. N., 2007, *Transnational Migration Studies: Past Developments and Future Trends*, in "Annual Review of Sociology", 33: 129-156.

Martini, A. & Trivellato, U., 2011, *Sono soldi ben spesi? Perché e come valutare l'efficacia delle politiche pubbliche*, Padova, Marsilio.

Morgan, S.L. & Winship, C., 2008, *Counterfactuals and Causal Inference. Methods and Principles for Social Research*, New York (NY), Cambridge University Press

Rinne, U., 2012, *The Evaluation of Immigrant Policies*, IZA Discussion Paper n. 6369

Saggar, S., Somerville, W., Ford, R. & Sobolewska, M., 2012, *The impacts of migration on social cohesion and integration*, London, Migration Advisory Committee.

Sarvimäki, M. & Hämäläinen, K., 2010, *Assimilating Immigrants: The Impact of an Integration Program*, CReAM Discussion Paper Series 19/10, London.

Sciortino G., & Colombo, A., 2003, (a cura di), *Un'immigrazione normale. Stranieri in Italia*, Bologna, Il Mulino.

Sniderman, P.M., Peri, P., De Figueiredo, R.J.P. jr & Piazza, T., 2000, *The Outsider. Prejudice and Politcs in Italy*, Princeton (NJ), Princeton University Press.

Sommerville, W., & Sumption, M., 2009, *Immigration and the labour market. Theory, evidence and policy*, London, Migration Policy Institute.

Svantesson, E., & Aranki, T., 2006; *Do Introduction Programs Affect the Probability of Immigrants getting Work?*, Örebro, Örebro University, ESI working papers series, 3.

10 - Conclusion

The joint initiative of the Ministry of Interior and Istat to set up a technical committee of experts, in the period January-June 2013, to address the possibility of introducing an effective monitoring of integration policies, grew out of the awareness that the overall situation in terms of available informative sources on the immigration phenomenon in Italy has profoundly changed. Compared to the situation of 10-15 years ago, in fact, the available sources are much more numerous and of better quality, there is a wide information potential and many aspects of the migration process are taken into consideration.

It is however true that, like in many other realms of knowledge, the "overabundance" of information can also generate background noise and disorientation if not organised in an organic framework, that serves to clarify the meaning of all the information contributed within an overall strategic vision of the considered phenomenon. To this we may add that, over the years, awareness of the complexity inherent in the concept of integration has grown and in parallel the information necessary to grasp this complexity has also grown, both in terms purely of knowledge and with respect to the delicate link which exists between knowledge and political decision-making.

Therefore, this "overabundance" demands a new approach, with a view to the possibility of constructing a real interconnected information system which, precisely by exploiting the possible integrations among sources, enables us to look at the complex concept of "integration" from a migration mainstreaming standpoint, with the aim of overcoming a logic of simply events recording towards a complete picture of the phenomenon.

From this point of view, the work carried out in recent years by Istat and the Ministry of Interior (also in cooperation with the Ministry of Health, Ministry of Labour, Ministry of Education and Department for Equal Opportunities) - in accordance with European recommendations - has contributed significantly to the progressive enrichment of information bases useful for analysing the integration phenomenon. In particular, as regards production and analysis based on data from administrative sources, the Ministry of Interior and Istat have processed and analysed data on residence permits and information about acquisitions of citizenship. As far as administrative data are concerned, the cooperation has extended to a survey conducted specifically on a sample population of 12 thousand families with at least one foreign member "Condizione e integrazione sociale dei cittadini stranieri" (2011-2012).

All this should be considered together with the ever growing potential information coming from the numerous surveys carried out by Istat and the administrative records of institutional entities responsible for managing the various aspects of phenomena tied to the immigration of foreigners in Italian territory, as well as other important surveys or initiatives, such as those carried out by the Ismu Foundation, Bank of Italy and the Cnel.

However, as already mentioned, the abundance and quality of the sources are not sufficient to be able to talk about a true immigrant integration monitoring system, much less a system for assessing integration policies and interventions.

The debate that has arisen in Europe in the past few years highlights the need to develop a clear framework of reference which unequivocally and effectively defines objectives, indicators and assessment tools which can favour the integration process by orienting choices with respect to future initiatives and actions in order to improve those already underway.

It is thus evident that the efforts of the technical committee were focused on examining the available information resources (in terms of analysing definitions, information flows and quality of information) on the one hand and identifying informational deficiencies on the other. An information framework was outlined on the basis of this work, with the aim of satisfying the information requirements that emerged. With reference to this point, policy objectives to be pursued in the various thematic areas analysed in the report were proposed.

Work and economic conditions of immigrant citizens

While recognising the extreme usefulness of existing sources, we shall highlight the need for further development of sample surveys (for example, we need to have more subjective indicators concerning job satisfaction and self-assessment of socioeconomic well-being), as well as the great information potential of administrative records (first and foremost from the Ministry of Labour, INPS and INAIL) for a detailed reconstruction of the job situation of immigrants (also in a longitudinal sense). Last but not least, some information related to processes of inclusion and integration into the job market could be produced and exploited by drawing on the records that are managed by the Local Immigration Councils.

Second generations

Given the evident and progressive growth of phenomena tied to the evolution of migration processes over time, this dimension represents one of the areas of greatest interest for our country. The existing sources do not yet enable us to satisfy our knowledge requirements. The numerous knowledge gathering experiences at a local and regional level, despite reflecting an effort to apply an integrated approach, are still insufficient to provide a comprehensive view of the phenomenon on a national level. It is important to arrive at broader, more analytic definitions of the concept "children of immigrants", not only when it comes to sample surveys (not an easy undertaking, although doable), but also, and above all where administrative records at a central and regional level are concerned. There is still a need to have detailed indicators on the structure and process of educational integration, and on scholastic performance; in other words, it is necessary to design new variables within the framework of INVALSI (*National Institute for the Evaluation of the Education System)* and MIUR (Ministry of Education, University and Research) records. Last, but certainly not least in terms of level of complexity, the subject of second generations, given its specificity, calls for a longitudinal approach, or at least the design of tools for retrospective analysis so that we can observe the evolution of educational paths and processes of transition in the labour market.

Health

The information and statistical systems of the health care sector offer important inputs for understanding how the *health* dimension plays a role in the integration process, even though they relate to a pre-selected target of immigrants who benefit from the public service. Only sample surveys can thus perform the important function of bringing to light behaviours, conditions and expectations and the difficulties experienced by immigrants in respect of health conditions and recourse to health services, despite the well-known limits of such surveys (cost, frequency and territorial representativeness). The technical committee also highlighted that the experiences of analyses conducted in the field of health care can be very useful for the purpose of plan-

ning assessments of interventions, with reference in particular to familiarization with services, linguistic and cultural mediation, transcultural personalisation of the offerings in active and low-threshold interventions, especially in prevention, and the introduction of anti-discrimination measures to ensure access to services.

Linguistic integration

Systematic observation of the *linguistic behaviours* of foreigners has been recognized in all its importance within the realm of integration processes. The need to have detailed information on processes of linguistic integration through sample surveys has been stressed a number of times, as has the need to design and manage analyses, at a local level, aimed at evaluating the implications produced by the measures adopted to favour the learning of the Italian language. The availability of detailed information both on the levels of knowledge and use of the Italian language, and on the public and private relational contexts in which the processes of "linguistic mobility" from the language of origin to that of the receiving country take place has been repeatedly highlighted as an essential requirement for analysing integration processes. Official statistics and the available administrative sources will necessarily have to provide a thorough response to this challenge.

Relational sphere

Information regarding the *relational dimension* and *social networks* of immigrants is extremely useful for gaining insight into the real processes of integration, also above and beyond the "structural" dimensions of employment, economic conditions and educational integration. The organisation of social networks (and the whole relational dimension, which goes from the nuclear family to the network of friends and acquaintances) is in fact a pivotal element of the migration phenomenon; they are an asset of fundamental importance for an immigrant, as they determine, to a considerable degree, the length and quality of his or her integration process. Administrative and sample-based sources that can offer information on this dimension of the integration process (surveys, population censuses, data about marriages, separations and divorces) are thus important elements of the knowledge framework we wish to construct, and particular attention should be focused on improving them.

Citizenship

Naturalisation is a positive sign of present and future integration, given that being a citizen of a country is tied to the acquisition of precisely defined rights and duties, but not necessarily a transformation of an individual's cultural identity. Acknowledging the importance of being able to have detailed, useful information about the acquisition of citizenship, the technical committee highlighted some problem areas that still remain in this respect. There emerged a need to extend the analysis of the information collected by the Ministry of Interior and improve the quality of the information contained in municipal registry office records, focusing greater attention on managing updates (with reference to the problem of deregistrations, the need for more tools for monitoring length of stay, as well as the advisability of retaining administrative records containing information about the first year of registration, citizenships possessed prior to the present one or also any citizenships simultaneously possessed). It is likewise necessary for due importance to be given to the phenomenon in sample surveys, following the example of the Ministry of Interior by supporting the introduction of a specific form to gain in-depth information about

a sample of naturalised citizens as part of the survey on the "Condition and social integration of foreign citizens" and including additional questions for gathering the information provided for in the Zaragoza policy document. Finally, it appears necessary, in current surveys, to ask about citizenship at birth, and not only that possessed at the time the data was gathered, so as to have information about the subset of the Italian population consisting of naturalised citizens.

All the main indications emerging in relation to the topics addressed will obviously have to be interpreted taking into account the local, provincial, regional and national realities concerned.

The objective of the technical committee is moreover reflected in its effort to systematically define the overall situation in terms of information on integration processes, in order to put together the numerous important pieces of the jigsaw emerging during the proceedings. In proceeding toward a general architecture capable of transcending the sectoral view offered by the different sources analysed, a new interdisciplinary approach to the complex concept of integration is certainly the one that can best respond to the new knowledge requirements. This approach must be adopted in particular for the design of production processes and structuring of sources.

If, therefore, the fundamental element of the new perspective is systematizing the sources and production processes, Istat first and foremost must reflect on the mass production of information on immigrant citizens which has been made available in recent years, with the objective of harmonizing the tools used in production and analysis.

Undoubtedly, from this point of view the survey on the "Condition and social integration of foreign citizens", which represents the first attempt in Italy to measure all the components of the integration process with a sample survey aimed at foreigners, is one of the main tools we need to reflect on for the future of the system. The survey entailed a major organisational and productive effort and it will thus be necessary to assess whether it is advisable to repeat a survey with the same format at regular intervals or, alternatively, to provide for specific investigations into particular topics depending on the information needs of users. Analogously, the possibility of creating ad hoc thematic forms in other thematic surveys or in the yearly survey on "Aspects of daily life" represents another approach that might be followed to produce information which - as was highlighted a number of times during the proceedings - can be gathered only through sample surveys. The very possibility of verifying the stability of estimates in the yearly survey (in the upcoming short-term period, it will be possible for the first time to compare the estimates of several surveys simultaneously: Yearly Multi-purpose, Health and Condition of foreigners) opens new methodological prospects for the intensive use of the indicators produced annually since 1993 on all aspects of everyday life. Lastly, again in respect of sample surveys, the recent experimental experience (still ongoing) with the City of Naples on the educational integration of foreign students serves as a basis for assessing the feasibility of replicating the experience on a national level. And the necessity/advisability of starting to work on longitudinal and retrospective analyses remains in the background as far as all possible future developments in sample surveys are concerned.

After years of collaboration with the Ministry of Interior in order to develop a concerted strategy for the production and analysis of data related to residence permits, the experiences that are building up around the idea of integrating a number of records from different sources (other records of the Ministry of Interior, mandatory communications of the Ministry of Labour, data from INPS and INAIL records, scholastic records of the MIUR, etc.) prefigure a scenario of great interest in getting an integrated information system up and running. A prospect that can take on even greater relevance if we not only integrate it with - and fully exploit - the data of the last population census, but also take advantage of the enormous information potential that may emerge from the production line being planned for the "permanent" population census, which Istat is expected to launch, after a trial period, in the year 2016. This prospect opens the way for analytical approaches of a multidimensional and longitudinal type, as indicated by the technical

committee, also based on experiences taking place in other countries and recognised as fruitful for the study of integration.

Having gathered the indications provided by the technical committee, Istat has multiple challenges ahead. The main result of this experience of comparison, analysis and planning lies not only in the great interest of these information challenges, but also and above all in the strengthening of the idea that the planning of the National Institute of Statistics needs to be shared with the institutional entities having jurisdiction in matters related to immigration and integration policies.

Moreover, the Ministry of Interior, which is in possession of information that is fundamental for the aspects considered, can increase the level of the information exchange among different Departments and Directorates. Analogously, this can apply for the Ministries of Education, Labour and Health and the Departments for Integration and Equal Opportunities which, in different ways, manage information flows of great importance for completing the framework of reference for monitoring integration processes and the policies aimed at them.

All participants in the technical committee are aware of the many difficulties encountered in dealing with data of an administrative nature (and that they are different from the problems tied to sample surveys). The linkage among different databases and harmonization of the definitions and classifications, as well as the introduction of a single additional variable in a set of records (even more difficult if not linked to the specific purposes of records themselves) can be problems that are apparently insurmountable or take a long time to solve. But these institutional links must absolutely be dealt with and solutions found if we wish to see the country progress toward a qualitative and quantitative level in its monitoring tools which is commensurate with the complexity of the challenge that the integration of foreign-born citizens poses on a daily basis.

On a level that comes even closer to the level of intervention promotion and assessment, the development of administrative records is also tied to the information potential offered by the various records lying at the basis of intervention management at a local level. The intrinsic fragmentation of these information sources obviously represents yet another challenge for the construction of an integrated monitoring system, but at the same time it is an aspect that absolutely cannot be neglected if we wish both to enrich the information system as a whole further and exploit the concrete experiences of initiatives aimed at immigrant integration, also using the latter to conduct counterfactual impact evaluations to assess the suitability of the policies implemented.

Lastly, irrespective of the nature of the sources, the technical committee also spotlighted some more ambitious knowledge gathering objectives and pointed out the necessity/advisability of constructing new indicators that go "beyond Zaragoza", i.e. are aimed at gaining insight into dimensions of integration processes that are still little studied, such as family background, the levels of objective and subjective well-being of immigrants and the subjective perceptions as to their condition, all elements addressable in the sample surveys but difficult to imagine in administrative records. Certainly, completing the integrated data system with these further elements to be associated with the information assets discussed up to now is an operation that moves in the direction of focusing increasing attention on the complexity of the concept of integration, which is less and less relegated to solely the basic dimensions of everyday existence and viewed to an increasing degree in its entirety as a process leading to a "peaceful and useful coexistence" among people who live in the same society, as was remarked by professor Golini during the International Conference held in Rome on 17-18 June 2013.

Both the work carried out by the technical committee and the analyses proposed and prospects outlined for the development of an information system take on relevance if duly placed into a new spatial and temporal perspective. The planning of interventions will take place not on a yearly, but rather on a multi-year basis and will extend over the medium term; this temporal perspective is closely tied with the spatial one related to the harmonization and sharing of ap-

proaches to the topic of integration that develop on a European level. The need for common definitions, methodologies and analyses on a European level is an element inherent to the concept of integration itself, and all the work that follows this experience of the technical committee must be viewed from this perspective and with this European and transnational horizon.

In parallel, the effort to harmonize the fundamental indicators on a European level can proceed hand in hand with the further refinement of analytical tools, with the aim of understanding national specificities that will not necessarily have to be compared to the experiences of other countries too closely linked to precise characteristics of the national context. It is indeed easy to imagine that the further we move away from the core indicators, from the basic dimensions of the integration process toward aspects more greatly tied to cultural identity, individual background histories, subjective aspects and the forms of relational networks, the more difficult it will be to harmonize the indicators on an international level; however, as we said, this difficulty must not prevent the conceptualization, production and use of "national" indicators which are in any case useful for gaining insight into even the most complex facets of integration processes, and remain in line with the theoretical orientations defined at the European level.

Now that the proceedings of the technical committee (and of the Conference of 17-18 June, which also saw the presence of important representatives of other countries) are over, numerous challenging stimuli lie before us. On a theoretical level, therefore, the conditions and incentives to continue the work begun are certainly not lacking. The real challenge will thus be not only to translate the theoretical impetus into the planning and development of new tools for monitoring and evaluating integration processes, but above all to speed up the production and exchange of information useful for this purpose at the institutional level. That is, Ministries, Departments and Istat itself will have to streamline the flows in the interchange of information and interact so as to exploit the enormous information potential already at their disposal, which is only waiting to be interconnected; they will have to produce new information, even if not directly tied to the administrative areas they are responsible for.

From this viewpoint, the work of the technical committee and the international conference of June 17 and 18 undoubtedly represent the first stage of a long process which must see the involvement of the main institutional players that can contribute to the system's development. For monitoring processes and policy implementation and assessment, ex-ante, interim and ex-post data are required; the scenario outlined thus presents itself as the reference context in which future initiatives will be developed, from the standpoint of both the planning and construction of information, and its use to assess integration policies.