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- information: by means of seminars, conventions and publications on multi-ethnicity.

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1. What Kind of Integration?

by *Vincenzo Cesareo*

The research, the results of which are reported in this book, originates from a variety of considerations.

In the first place, the theme of migrants' integration is currently much debated, going as far as questioning this term, considered in some cases unfit for fully representing and signifying the complex process of foreigners' reception. Therefore, we need to precisely define what we intend by "integration", and examine its distinctive features. As a matter of fact, over the last few years, the theme of integration, which already in the past had involved several areas of study, has gained ever-growing relevance and is increasingly focusing not only the attention of social science scholars and experts, but also the attention of mass-media, lawmakers, and policy-makers faced with the problem of interpreting an Italian society which is rapidly changing also from an ethnic and cultural point of view.

Secondly, along with this need for a conceptual clarification, a concrete problem is arising in connection with the governance of the fast migration processes which have affected Europe, and in particular our country. During 2007, the number of migrants staying in the Italian territory exceeded the "symbolic" threshold of 4 million units. To be more precise, the estimates made by Fondazione Ismu as to 1st January 2008, pointed out the overall presence in Italy, in any capacity, of 4.3 million foreigners, 615,000 of whom irregular stayers, while 244,000 regular migrants holding a residence permit were not yet registered with the Registry Office of an Italian municipality. Furthermore, according to the latest data released by Istat (the Italian Statistics Institute) (2009), in 2008 the number of foreign residents further grew by 462,000 units – though out of 51,000 acquisitions of citizenship –, which leads us to estimate an overall number of 4.8 million foreign persons living in

Italy at the beginning of 2009¹, assuming the stability in quantitative terms of the part originating from developed countries.

Italian society takes therefore increasing multi-ethnic features, along with a growing awareness of this reality both at an individual and a collective level (Cesareo, 2000), which entails the need to realistically face the problem of integration.

Limiting the scope of our research to an examination of the data concerning the most recent period of our history, the number of regular resident foreigners in Italy rose from 2.7 million units as to 1st January 2006 to 2.9 millions, 3.4 millions and 3.9 millions respectively, at the beginning of the years 2007, 2008, and 2009. From totalling, at the beginning of 2006, 73 per cent of the overall foreign population (including regular, non-resident regular and irregular migrants), the regular residents' share rose to 74 per cent, 79 per cent, and 81 per cent respectively in the subsequent three years. As well as this stabilization index, other phenomena characterize the changes and developments undergone by the migratory phenomenon in the direction of an increasing taking roots in Italy, such as a continuous increase in minors, both in absolute and relative terms, from 412,000 units at the beginning of 2004 to 767,000 at the end of 2007, up to about 850,000 estimated units one year later, with an incidence out of all foreigners registered with the Registry Office which rose in the meantime from 20.7 to 21.9 per cent; a general trend towards gender balance, with a female component totalling a 49.6 per cent share, against a 49.2 per cent incidence reported at the beginning of 2004. Furthermore, basing on the inquiry results included in this book, 45 per cent migrants are now living with their spouses and children, against a share which, according to the results of a previous similar inquiry carried out by Ismu on a national scale (Blangiardo, Farina, 2006), totalled 39 per cent in 2005.

In the third place, this ever-growing process of migrants' taking roots, stabilization and dissemination throughout Italy, drives us to study in depth and deal with the problem of their inclusion and integration in our territorial reality. In the light of these three considerations (need for a terminological clarification, the considerable growth of the migrant population, and its tendency to territorial stabilization) we deemed it useful to carry out this research, which tackles the theme of integration starting from its well-constructed definition, and in which migrants play the main role, in order to ascertain how they experience and perceive their integration in our country.

¹ Moreover, we should not neglect, in prospect, the effects of the new regularization measure provided for at the end of 2009, the effects of which, though not yet quantifiable, are undoubtedly relevant.

1.1 The Debate on Integration

1.1.1 Different Theoretical Approaches

Consistently with the purposes mentioned in the previous paragraph, it is advisable, in our opinion, to face a first difficulty concerning the definition of the concept of integration, which is undoubtedly complex and dynamic, since its meaning varies over time and space in relation to historical and political circumstances and to the characteristics of the migratory phenomenon (Conti, Strozza, 2000). Several different formulations were proposed in the last few decades, each corresponding to a different theoretical reference model. As a consequence, the construction of measurements methods and the dimensions considered significant may vary depending on the selected definition and integration model (Zincone, 2000).

That being stated, we would first refer to some theoretical issues concerning integration, by drawing mainly from sociological literature, where we can distinguish a consensual and a conflicting approach to this theme.

According to Parsons – the emblematic representative of functionalist holism – integration is one of the four functional imperatives that, by its nature, the social system requires. Basing on the interpretative pattern proposed by Parsons (the *agil*² pattern), each system, regardless of its characteristics and size, must guarantee a certain degree of internal cohesion and solidarity, thus ensuring equilibrium among the different parts composing it, to prevent it from collapsing. According to this functionalist perspective, the integration of the members of a society relates to the interpenetration area between the social system and the personality system. Parts of the cultural system and parts of the social structure are interiorized by each individual, and at the same time, parts of the cultural system are institutionalized in society. It has been only partly stressed that this structure leads to consider the human being oversocialized, since it is completely subordinate to society and to its good functioning. Basing on the assumption that individuals are predisposed by their very nature to be socialized, Parsons attributes a decisive role to socialization, which is conceived as a process primarily carried out by the family, the

² The *agil* pattern, developed by Parsons, can be applied to any social reality – from the simplest to the most complex – and refers to four functional prerequisites each society must cope with. More precisely: 1) adaptation (*a*): each social system must acquire sufficient resources from the external environment and be capable to change and distribute them within itself (economic sub-system); 2) goal attainment (*g*): each system must pursue specific goals (political sub-system); 3) integration (*i*): each system must keep and ensure a certain level of internal equilibrium; 4) latency (*l*): each system must provide its members with the motivations to act so that it may be kept (cultural sub-system) (Parsons *et al.*, 1953). See also Cesareo, 1993: 28-29.

school, and the group of peers, with a view to continuity which outlines the model of a definitely over-socialized person, without considering the typical ambivalence of each individual and of each social group (Cesareo, 1969).

In Parsons' opinion, integration can be achieved starting from common orientations, which spread in associated life through the interiorization of shared values. Individual behaviour is therefore intended as the result of the individuals' integration degree in society: the higher the individuals' integration level within a social group, the greater the control the group exerts over each individual.

The criticism addressed to the functionalist consensual approach, also specifically referred to social integration, underlines that it underestimates and neglects the antagonistic processes existing both at a collective and an individual level, thereby acknowledging strains and conflicts.

Differently from American sociological literature, which is mainly based on a functionalist approach, the interpretations of integration developed in the European tradition are often conflicting.

Quite emblematic is G. Simmels' (1968) position which recognizes, already at a single person's level, the existence of psychic conflicts and lacerations, on the one hand, and personal unity on the other, as two sides of the same coin. Dualism and stabilizing action are the two manifest functions resulting from one's belonging to social circles. The effects of conflict and personal unity hinge on one's participation in the social circles, and may vary depending on whether such circles are parallel or concentric. These circles, in fact, are distant from each other in terms of sense and with reference to the claims they lay to individuals. Whether concentric or parallel, distant or not, they produce anyway an ambivalent belonging in all members. L. Gallino (2004: 512) argues that in Simmel, social status, far from being the result of an individual's natural compliance with the system, appears as an objective form of a set of relations, a sort of empty or surrounding space the individual must fill through his action. Furthermore, in L. Gallino's (2006: 387) opinion, social and cultural integration is a

variable state of a society – or of the social system of a group or another community – characterized by the continuous tendency and inclination shown by the large majority of the individuals who form it to consistently and effectively organize their actions at different levels within the structure of that society (or another system)³.

In addition, Gallino makes a distinction between the social and the cultural dimensions of integration. The former, or social dimension, refers to a neces-

³ All the quotations are translated from Italian original version.

sary condition ensuring the long-lasting existence of any kind of society. The latter, or cultural dimension, refers to the logical-functional degree existing among the constitutive elements of a cultural system.

In an anthology in which Simmel's major contributions are collected, S. Tabboni (1990) aims at showing the complexity of the integration process by pointing out its great ambivalence, and stressing foreigners' strong propulsive value and boost towards social change. Resuming Simmel's contribution concerning the figure of the foreigner conceived as physically close but culturally distant, the author presents the integration process in the light of the ambivalence characterizing it. Whereas integration takes place, at the same time and to some extent, also a marginalization and social exclusion process takes place. Tabboni goes as far in adopting this concept as to intend the integration process as a combined integration/marginalization process.

In contemporary society, nobody is completely a foreigner, such as nobody is totally integrated. The experience of extraneousness is not only endless, but also never complete, since it always concerns only a part of the individual (Tabboni, 1990:124)

As a consequence,

the process through which social distances/closenesses are established, which originate from cultural differences and diversity, in its double aspect of an integration and marginalization process, becomes uneven, polyvalent, often contradictory in a context of cultural variety. (...) The process of integration/marginalization in a community, becomes therefore, within a culturally polycentric community, typically uneven and incomplete, while its outcome remains open and scarcely predictable (ibid.: 90).

To close this brief reference to theoretical approaches, we should however consider that they differ also in their way to intend the unavoidable connection between integration and collective identity in any historical and social setting.

1.1.2 A Variety of Definitions

Scholars and commentators provide several definitions of migrants' integration resulting from the awareness that contemporary societies, in consequence of the ongoing considerable migratory boost, are becoming more and more multicultural, and above all, multiethnic.

In the different attempts to define this concept, a first hurdle to overcome concerns the acknowledgment of cultural differences and the extent to which they manifest themselves. The question consists in finding a correct balance between the acknowledgment of the cultural differences brought by migrants

and the need to ensure the cohesion of the society in which they are going to participate. This also involves facing the dilemma between a universalistic vision – according to which the peculiarities of each culture are destined to disappear in favour of the universal values of reason and law (Wiewiorka, 2001) – and a relativistic point of view, according to which there is no single and universally effective standard through which it is possible to evaluate each single culture (Cesareo, 2000). It is also necessary to specify that if migrants bring in the host society a range of differences, these differences, in turn, are characterized by internal cultural fractures⁴.

When we talk about migrants' integration we often refer to a series of models – the French republican, or the Dutch multicultural model – though their actual application is increasingly incurring criticism. According to some experts (Bertossi, Duyvendak, 2009), all these models are undergoing a real crisis, as they are characterized by internal structural contradictions, planned out in retrospect, and prove to be scarcely stable over time (ibid.: 30).

As well as the different emphasis placed either on consensus or conflict, in interpreting the integration process focusing on migrants, we can distinguish three major analytical perspectives, which from time to time tend to favour a particular element. We resume them as follows:

- The first perspective attributes particular relevance to the orientation of majority culture, which may be distinguished into assimilationist or pluralist. It is assimilationist when the availability to receive ethnically and culturally different populations is subject to their compliance with the majority culture model, thus totally or partly renouncing theirs. It is pluralist when minority culture is accepted on condition it remains circumscribed in the sphere of private life (cultural pluralism), or it is also publicly recognized (multiculturalism) (Cesareo, 2000: 120).
- The second perspective considers migrants' orientation essential, by distinguishing it into acculturating and traditionalist orientation. Migrants may be whether inclined to completely or partly adopt the cultural models of the host country (by starting a beforehand socialization process already in their country of origin) or be oriented not only to keep their culture, but

⁴ Italy, for example, is characterized by a considerable range of non-homogeneous lifestyles, sub-cultures, dialects kinds of social life organization. In this regard, see Colombo, Sciortino (2004: 100). Within this perspective, we can place the position of G. Bolaffi, S. Gindro and T. Tentori (1998: 171), according to which integration is a process which should lead to a new social system balance, in which migrants' integration starts from their sharing some values of the society in which they live, and from their maintenance of some typical values and models of the country of origin. The activities of the Committee for migrants' integration policies have led to the definition of integration both as “integrity of the person, good life“ and as “positive interaction, peaceful coexistence” (Zincone, 2000: 30).

also to oppose the culture of the host country (communitarian closure) (ibid.).

- The third perspective puts particular emphasis on migrants' social-economic status, by pointing out the connection between social mobility and integration. The more a person belonging to a minority group can rise from a lower to an upper status, the more his/her integration process becomes successful (ibid.).

There are reasons to believe that these three perspectives, which are here analytically divided, are not alternative, but rather synergic keys of interpretation.

Some definitions are more oriented to see the macro-dimension of the migratory phenomenon, and consequently, to consider the effects of the policies, and the structural and cultural conditions in a position to facilitate or hamper integration. Other definitions tend instead to focus on its micro-dimension, and to consider the integration processes of single persons or individual groups of migrants.

The first perspective, for example, is at the base of the recent establishment – on a European scale – of the Mipex, *Migrant Integration Policy Index*. The British Council carried out, on behalf of the European Commission, a research – in which Fondazione Ismu took part – on the policies towards migrants and their integration in the host societies adopted by 28 countries (in addition to the first 25 Member States of the European Union, also Canada, Norway and Switzerland were included) (Niessen, Huddleston, Citron, 2007). In the light of this comparative inquiry, Italy holds the seventh place, in terms of integration capacity, after Belgium, Canada, Finland, Sweden, UK and Spain. In this case, integration levels were measured basing on policies and on the available information⁵ concerning regular migrants established in the different national territories. To be noted that no information concerning the outcomes of these policies in the case of irregular migrants is reported.

As far as we are concerned, we decided to focus our attention on the second perspective, which as mentioned, considers migrants' orientation.

1.1.3 Risks of Confusion in Terminology

As well as pointing out the problematical nature and the variety of aspects of the concept of integration, we should also note that this term is quite often used as a synonym for other terms (i.e. acculturation, assimilation, etc.),

⁵ These data were collected through interviews to experts and academicians from the different countries considered by this inquiry.

thereby producing certain confusion in terminology. People talk sometimes about integration, when it would be more correct talking about acculturation or vice versa. As a matter of fact, “acculturation” defines a set of phenomena which take place when two groups of persons of different cultures come directly and continuously into contact, thus changing the original cultural models of one or both groups (Redfield, Linton, Herskovits, 1936). In particular, acculturation implies transferring some cultural features from a social group to another, subject to the accomplishment of a selection process basing on which some elements are accepted – even if not always completely – while other elements are instead rejected. This may also lead also to changes in individuals’ personality (Beals, Hoijer, 1987). As Beals and Hoijer (ibid.: 640-642) point out, the acculturation process should be put in relation with a range of factors, including for example, cultural diversity, frequency and circumstances in which contacts (whether friendly or conflicting) take place, conditions of dominance/subordination (symmetrical/asymmetrical relationships), and direction of the innovations flow (one-way/bidirectional).

Furthermore, the term “acculturation” cannot be mistaken for “assimilation”, since, as mentioned, though it may be considered the final stage of the acculturation process, it refers to a process implying the disappearance of the culture of origin in one of the two involved groups, in favour of the acquisition of a “dominant” cultural model. Hence, also the difference between assimilation and integration. Assimilation differs from integration in that it consists in migrants’ abandonment of their traditional habits and customs, and in their adhesion to the values and rules of the majority. Migrants give up their language, adapt their clothing, their lifestyles and cultural attitudes, in order to become part of a new social order (Giddens, 2006: 152-153). Therefore, from this point of view, assimilation can be considered one of the different outcomes of the integration process.

1.2 The Adopted Concept of Integration

In the light of our examination of the different ways in which migrants’ integration can be intended, and basing on the results of the seminars held at Fondazione Ismu in this connection, we developed the following concept. It should be noted that in coming to this conceptual proposal, we tried to answer three separate but related, questions. The first question concerning the interpretation key of this phenomenon, can be formulated as follows: what reference frame did we assume in conceptualizing integration? The second question concerning the configuration of integration, can be summarized as fol-

lows: in what does integration consist? The third question, which involves an axiological problem, leads us to investigate what integration model is realistically desirable.

We deem it necessary to distinguish – at least in terms of conceptual elucidation – the epistemological profile from the analytical and the axiological ones, because there are reasons to believe that many misinterpretations and confusions concerning migrants' integration just depend on a combination of these three separate profiles, which may lead us not to divide all that is empirically verifiable from all that is desirable.

1.2.1 Epistemological Profile

Quite often, the studies and inquiries focusing on migrants' integration do not explicitly and exhaustively represent the theoretical frame they refer to. This omission in declaring one's theoretical options may impair the possibility to obtain rigorous and precise conceptual definitions, which in turn may produce doubts and uncertainties both from an analytical and an axiological point of view. Therefore, we consider it necessary to state that in this research we adopted an approach based on humanistic constructionism (Cesareo, Vaccarini, 2006) we wish to concisely resume. This approach keeps aloof from the opposed one-sidedness of individualistic and holistic sociological paradigms, and in particular from the causal determinism and the abstractness that in different ways characterize both options. Our humanistic constructionism is also opposed to some recent epistemological perspectives which can be labelled as minimalist, and turns sociology into mere narration of narrations.

More specifically, humanistic constructionism, *insofar as constructionism*, does not conceive social reality as a natural and non-historical datum which stands above the human subject in virtue of its objectivity, but rather as a variety of historical constructions made by the human beings throughout the unceasing dismantling-restructuring-interiorization process of the objective social reality, and the exteriorization of the subjective social reality which is accomplished through their everyday interaction. *Insofar as humanism*, humanistic constructivism considers the human being a person and not a mere individual, and characterizes a person basing on the features defined by the humanistic tradition. Considering the human being a person means interpreting him not as the singular and self-sufficient implementation of an undifferentiated and repetitious model, that is to say, the specimen of a species, but, on the contrary, as a peculiar and absolute entity, a single entity constitutively related to other equally qualified entities – that is to say, to other persons –

and extends his uniqueness to these relations. This dual uniqueness shapes the existence both of a person and of a society substantially defined as a set of relations among persons, as intrinsically historical. Furthermore, the *humanistic* characterization of a person stands out in his/her attributes of creativity, resistance against standardization, de-conditioning ability, and in an active control of the environment, which are also linked to his/her awareness of the limits inherent in the human condition.

A person is therefore a human being considered in his uniqueness (as there are not two identical persons), historicity (the human being is the only living being provided with self-consciousness and therefore able to remember the past and to pre-represent the future), concreteness which cannot abstract from one's culture (whereas the individual is abstract), relational capacity, and in his becoming (changing) over time.

However, from the moment of his birth, the human being has to live in a social and cultural environment which configures itself as a datum that cannot be changed. But this reality is nothing but the outcome of previous social constructions produced by exteriorization processes through which people project outside their subjectivity, by creating and recreating norms, values, behavioural patterns and artefacts, that is to say, culture.

Departing from a perspective based on the primacy of action (individualism) or structure (holism), humanistic constructionism adopts a circular vision of the connection social action-social structure: through their action persons create structures, which in turn retroact on persons and condition but not determine them.

In the light of this theoretical perspective, a migrant – intended as a person (with his uniqueness, concreteness, culture and relational ability) and not as an individual (abstract and fungible) – becoming part of the structures of the host society, will be conditioned (without being determined) by them, but at the same time – at least to some extent – the migrant will contribute, with his originality, to fuel those structures. He becomes indeed, like any other person, the creator of the reality which surrounds him putting into effect interiorization (from objectivity to subjectivity) and exteriorization (from subjectivity to objectivity) processes.

Through these processes, basing on the constraints and the opportunities provided by the contexts in which he lives, a migrant may become from time to time whether a person who takes the form of an agent (by adopting adap-

tive action modalities), or an actor (by adopting teleological-normative action modalities), or a subject (by adopting historical action modalities)⁶.

Basing on available empirical feedbacks, there are reasons to believe that migrants, especially in the early stage of their experience in the host country, are only able to act as agents, though there are several cases in which migrants can act as actors (for example in professional achievements) but also as subjects (for example, at the head of associations and movements).

1.2.2 Analytical Profile

We can concisely answer the question concerning the constitutive elements of migrants' integration, because in the light of our research and the inquiries carried out in the field, they can be clearly identified. From an analytical point of view, most experts agree that integration shows three specific characteristics: processuality, multi-dimensionality, and bi-directionality.

- a) Integration is a process which always and only develops over time and requires some time. The temporal dimension is intrinsically connected, (or rather, can be superimposed) to the dimension of historicity, in which the person (and not the individual) plays the primary role, within the terms previously expounded, with all the consequences resulting from our theoretical option.
- b) Integration is always a multi-dimensional process, since it concerns different aspects of a migrant person's life, that is to say, the economic, social, cultural, and political dimension. The integration process can take place in different ways and in different times in relation to each single aspect. As a consequence, integration may be quickly achieved from an economic point of view, but not in political terms. Hence, the need to analytically examine each single dimension without omitting the possibility to reach also a synthetic index simultaneously comprehensive of all dimensions.

⁶ By *historical action* we intend "an unexpected action, which always reveals outstanding characteristics, and involves that the subject who carries it out takes the risks implied in it, because of its uncertain outcome and the relevance of its predictable and unpredictable consequences". It points out the subject's centrality and is characterized in particular by the element of novelty. The person who adopts this kind of action mode, is defined *subject*. The term *teleological-normative action* defines "an action conforming to norms and oriented to the pursuit of a goal, and therefore involving a projection to the future". In this case, the person is called *actor*. Finally, *adaptive action*, adopted by a person who in this case is called *agent*, is characterized "by the fact of relating a subject to a situational reality external to him, in order to remove any imbalance in this relation" (Cesareo, 1993: 158-166). See also Cesareo, Vaccarini (2006: 32).

- c) Integration is always a bi-directional process, even when it is not immediately visible or it is rejected. Migrants must start a process of inclusion in the host society, which may be put into effect in different ways, but in any case obliges them to be confronted with the culture of the host country. The citizens of the host country, in turn, must be confronted with the newcomers and take a stance towards them (rejection, acceptance, mistrust, tolerance, openness, etc.), which may call their lifestyle into question, as well as their idea of their own integration in the society they belong to.

1.2.3 Axiological Profile

The third question concerning “good integration” is definitely much more critical, since it involves both value and prescriptive elements. However, our theoretical choice of humanistic constructivism allows us framing this issue starting from the centrality of the person, as defined in the previous paragraph. More precisely, we can establish three major standards, basing on which it is possible to focus a realistically attainable “good integration”.

- The first standard consists in the promotion of mutual respect between migrants and natives based on the mutual acknowledgment that they are both persons having their own inherent dignity and specific culture.
- The second standard can be drawn from the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (United Nations, 10 December 1948), the preamble and Art. 1 of which state that all members of the human family have equal and inalienable rights on the mere basis of their belonging to it. Despite the numerous and different critical remarks on the universality of these rights⁷, it is not only necessary to reassert and support them, but also to take them as a goal to be continuously reaffirmed and firmly supported over time (Cesareo, 2000: 161).
- The third standard consists in adhering to and sharing democratic principles which, despite the limits and deficiency they show in their actual im-

⁷ Baumann defines the human rights an “ideology”, on grounds of both historical-cultural and juridical reasons. In fact, he reminds that human rights were conceived in a western context, and cannot therefore be considered universal. Baumann argues that “all that is self-evident in a culture may seem absolutely inconceivable in another, and if the human rights ideology may be an extraordinarily beautiful ideology, it remains nonetheless an ideology”. He argues, in addition, that they are not actually rights, but rather political aims which can be enjoyed only within the borders of the national states, which moreover would be hardly able and willing to defend them (Baumann, 2003: 13). Furthermore, human rights are often taxed with Euro-centrism, and their universal effectiveness is therefore undermined (Cesareo, 2000: 160-163).

plementation, are nonetheless another essential conquest of the human kind, as they allow protecting and ensuring personal dignity.

After having expounded our theoretical approach, as well as the three analytically significant elements and the three axiological standards, we are now in a position to formulate our definition of integration.

Integration consists in *a multi-dimensional process aimed at pursuing peaceful coexistence, within a particular historical and social reality, among culturally and/or ethnically different persons and groups based on mutual respect of ethno-cultural differences, on condition it does not prejudice any fundamental right and does not damage democratic institutions. Integration is always a process that requires time; it is a goal that cannot be reached once for all, but must be continuously pursued at an economic, cultural, social, and political level. Due to its multi-dimensional nature, if limited to a single area it will necessary prove to be partial. Each single dimension generates different integration levels. Therefore, for example, a high economic integration level may be achieved along with scarce or no integration from a social or political point of view (or vice versa). These different dimensions may be diachronically positioned over time. Finally, in the third place, integration is a bi-directional process, in that it does not only concern migrants, but also and jointly the citizens of the host country.*

In developing this definition – which might be subject to criticism as well – we intended to guarantee internal consistence for the purpose of recovering the central role played by the concept of “person”, and consequently by migrants intended as persons.

This definition also allows us following an ideal *continuum*, the ends of which consist, on the one hand, in integration intended as assimilation, or in this case, newcomers’ loss of their primal values, norms, and behavioural models in favour of the adoption of the cultural models and the expectations of the host society (assimilationist paradigm); in the maintenance and creation of ethnic *enclaves*, on the other, in which their contacts with the social context in which they are included are limited to those merely functional to their survival (radical neo-communitarian paradigm).

It is extremely difficult to empirically measure this definition of integration within a society. Integration is not the exclusive result of migrants’ attitudes and choices, since it is also conditioned by external factors, such as the opportunity the host country can offer them. As mentioned, the orientation of the majority culture towards minority groups is a decisive element in establishing the rules for promoting exchanges between host society and migrants.

1.3 Measuring Integration

How can then our definition of integration (see paragraph 1.2), conceived in a multi-dimensional two way process, be applied to the Italian reality?

It is useful to remind, in this connection, that several Italian experts and research institutes have developed some measuring systems and specific aggregate integration indicators basing on actually available statistical data (Golini *et al.*, 2004; Cnel, 2004). Some of these proposals represent a precious conceptual point of reference, because they succeed in providing a set of ideal indicators considered essential for measuring the complex nature of integration considered as a whole. We cannot however neglect that the Italian information framework proves to be substantially inadequate and insufficient, both on a national and a local scale (Caria, Blangiardo, 2007).

Literature agrees upon the fact that, regardless of the different theoretical reference models, any attempt to measure integration should make use of a multi-dimensional approach, and consider all the variables concerning the political, social, economic and cultural sphere. Unfortunately, not all these dimensions can be monitored basing on the data currently surveyed and collected by official statistical or administrative sources. To the frequent lack of some significant data, we should also add the scarce reliability of other data referring both to the monitored territorial realities, and to the migrants' groups examined according to their national origin (Strozza *et al.*, 2002). In addition, in the development and implementation of integration measures, an essential element is represented by the precise definition of the population groups those data refer to. Three different interest groups at least can be identified in the migrant population, which can be related to different social participation levels and different needs, notably: naturalized migrants, legally resident foreigners and illegal residents⁸. As a matter of fact, the available data released by official sources often refer only to the foreign population legally established in the Italian territory. If the purpose consists in monitoring the life conditions and integration levels of the foreign communities actually established in our country, it clearly emerges that the statistical material in this connection is widely incomplete. It should also be added that some indicators

⁸ The Fourteenth Report on Migrations 2008 included a classification of the different forms of illegal migration in our country, focused in particular on four major cases: 1) illegal migrants who do not come to Italy only by sea, but also across our land borders; 2) foreigners who remain in Italy without being entitled (due to tourist visa expiry, non-renewal of the residence permit or non-compliance with an expulsion order for security reasons; 3) asylum seekers whose application was rejected; 4) EU member country nationals who reside in Italy for more than three months without applying for registration with the Registry Office or whose application was rejected or is still being examined (Cesareo, 2009).

are difficult to determine. Currently, most experts share the opinion that, in order to try to reduce these information gaps, it is necessary to resort to sample inquiries to be periodically repeated by adopting *ad hoc* survey methods, and capable to catch the illegal component in the overall foreigners' presence, as well as to ensure the representativeness of the sample (Golini *et al.*, 2004).

To deal with these limits, and in the light of the definition we adopted, we aim at providing through this research a methodological proposal, which will be more extensively described afterwards. This proposal should be capable both to overcome these limits, and to catch and measure the different aspects of integration. Going into details, as we think that a migrant's integration level may vary depending on the social context segment in which he is included, we judged it useful to distinguish: an economic dimension, relating to some significant elements, such as housing conditions, work conditions and income; a social dimension concerning free time and access to information; a cultural dimension, which considers several elements, among which migrants' knowledge of the Italian language; and a political dimension including also the theme of citizenship. For each single dimension, we constructed the related partial integration indexes: an economic integration (EI), a social integration (SI), a cultural integration (CI), a political integration (PI), as well as an overall integration (OI) index.

1.4 Research Hypotheses

Considering integration in its dynamic nature, as the outcome of the concurrence of a variety of factors, we formulate hereafter some research hypotheses resulting from our proposed definition and from literature.

- First hypothesis: each single considered dimension (economic, social, cultural and political) of integration is related to the others, as well as the elements which form these dimensions. Deepening this hypothesis means, for example, identifying any existing interdependence between the job a migrant carries out and his level of knowledge of the language spoken in the host society. Though some of these connections may seem foregone, it is however possible to suppose less intuitive links, which have to be confirmed and supported by data analysis.
- Second hypothesis: the “time” variable, in particular the length of a migrant's permanence in Italy, plays a primary role in determining his integration degree; this hypothesis is widely supported also by recent studies. We intend therefore to assess whether, and to what extent, does migration

seniority affect both the level of each single integration dimension in the migrant population, as well as the overall integration index.

- Third hypothesis: some social and personal characteristics, such as gender and age, may affect the development of the integration process. We intend to assess, from this point of view, whether and to what extent does the variance of these characteristics change also the surveyed scores in relation to the overall integration index and in relation to each of the four identified dimensions.
- Fourth hypothesis: different integration levels emerge in the different investigated territories (supraregional, regional, provincial and municipal areas). It is therefore necessary to assess whether and to what extent do the overall and dimensional integration scores vary in relation to the different territorial/provincial contexts.
- Fifth hypothesis: a high concentration of migrant population affects and conditions its integration level in the host society. In the stage of collected data analysis, it is therefore necessary to assess whether and to what extent a high foreigners' concentration may hamper or facilitate integration.
- Sixth hypothesis: within the concept of integration the economic dimension plays a primary role, as it is an element capable to hamper or favour integration also in the other social, cultural and political spheres. We assume therefore that integration levels become higher as affluence levels grow.
- Seventh hypothesis: integration processes can be related to one's cultural capital. We intend to ascertain whether and to what extent, as his educational qualification level is higher, the migrant's integration level grows accordingly, or, on the contrary, there is no significant relation. As in the case of the previous hypotheses, in this case, too, it would be advisable to assess whether and to what extent, does the cultural capital affect the four identified dimensions.
- Eighth hypothesis: there are reasons to believe that those who live in Italy with their family report higher integration levels. In this regard, we intend to ascertain whether and to what extent do reunited families correspond to higher integration levels.
- Ninth hypothesis: is there any connection between integration and cultural distance? By the term "cultural distance", we mean how close or distant, or how similar or different, the typical behavioural models are concerning norms, values, customs, habits, and religions characterizing the groups which come into contact. In this case, we assumed religion as an element through which cultural closeness or distance can be measured. Though one might believe that shared values, norms and behavioural models help

approaching people, some already available empirical evidences seem to prove instead the contrary. A typical case is that of the young Latin-Americans living in Italy, who in spite of their little cultural distance from the host society, are scarcely integrated due to a variety of factors which, as a matter of fact, cancel or drastically reduce their integration opportunities represented by cultural closeness (Gilardoni, 2008). We aim therefore at assessing whether and to what extent does a smaller cultural distance (macro-area of origin/religion) actually correspond to a higher integration level, and if this is the case, in relation to which dimensions:

- Tenth hypothesis: in Italy too, there are now migrants who can be defined “transnational”. They are persons characterized by a good integration level both in their country of origin and in the country in which they live. When immigration takes the features of transnationalism, we use to define it “dual integration”. Transnational migrants, by keeping relatively systematic and significant relations both with their country of origin and with the country in which they reside, propose a new integration paradigm, which might partly replace the assimilationist model, according to which keeping strong and stable ties with one’s country of origin is a hindrance to one’s actual integration in the host country context. In fact, the results of some empirical surveys clash with this thesis, since those who enhance and keep their relations with the country of origin are often actively committed also in the host country. This involves calling into question the “*aut...aut*” integration model, because the maintenance of strong ties with one’s ethnicity, intended in this case as one’s continuous relations with the country of origin, would not be necessarily a hindrance to the inclusion process in the host society. In fact, if an international migrant’s transition from one society to another is in inverse ratio to his integration in the context of origin and in that of arrival, a transnational migrant, thanks in particular to the spreading of new technologies and to easier displacement opportunities, lives simultaneously in two different societies, according to an “*et...et*” model (Ambrosini, 2008)⁹. In this direction we intend to ascertain whether and to what extent do these forms of transnationalism exist also in Italy, and consequently, whether a high integration level in Italy is compatible with the maintenance of strict ties and with one’s strong identification with the country of origin and attention to its events.

Being fully aware that our ten hypotheses cannot certainly answer all the different questions which could be made in relation to the theme of integration,

⁹ See also Fondazione Ismu (2008).

we hope that new inquiries will succeed in providing further answers in the future.

As migrants play the main role in this research and we have no reliable data referring to the Italian population, we cannot examine, for the time being, the issue of bi-directionality, which represents the third analytical element qualifying our definition. We hope we shall be able to examine and study this issue in the near future, so as to extend and deepen our analysis of migrants' integration processes in Italy, and if possible, in Europe.

2. *Methodological and Organizational Features*

by *Giorgia Papavero, Alessio Menonna, Maria Paola Caria*¹

2.1 In-the-Field Surveys

We shall analyse in this paragraph the organizational features of our research aimed at measuring migrants' integration levels in Italy. The statistical material was directly collected between the end of 2008 and the first months of 2009 through a set of personal interviews (*papi* method) and a structured questionnaire administered to more than 12,000 foreign nationals established in the Italian territory.

This inquiry, which was coordinated at a national level by Fondazione Ismu, was carried out by 20 local research units active in most cases in the academic field, and covered 32 different provincial or municipal realities (Table 1). The choice of these areas, though depending in most cases on the location of the organizations which granted their willingness to participate in the research, was made keeping into account both the need to ensure a widespread coverage of the national territory, and the inclusion within the first sampling layer (on a territorial basis) of units with a high migrants' attendance and a considerable diversification in relation to the conditions of the social and economic context.

The work team, which joined researchers from each research unit and the group responsible for coordination (established at the headquarters of Fondazione Ismu), took care of preparing the questionnaire to be used for this inquiry, which was first drafted in Italian, and then translated into five languages (Albanian, Arab, Chinese, French and Romanian). Each local research unit, contributed to develop a sampling plan according to pre-emptively agreed methodological guidelines, established the timetable of the survey –

¹ In particular, paragraph 2.1 was written by Giorgia Papavero and Alessio Menonna, and paragraph 2.2 by Maria Paola Caria.

which was carried out between October 2008 and February 2009 – and took care of coordinating the inquiry on a local scale.

The central operating group at Fondazione Ismu was charged with the general coordination of the survey and with the support to local representatives.

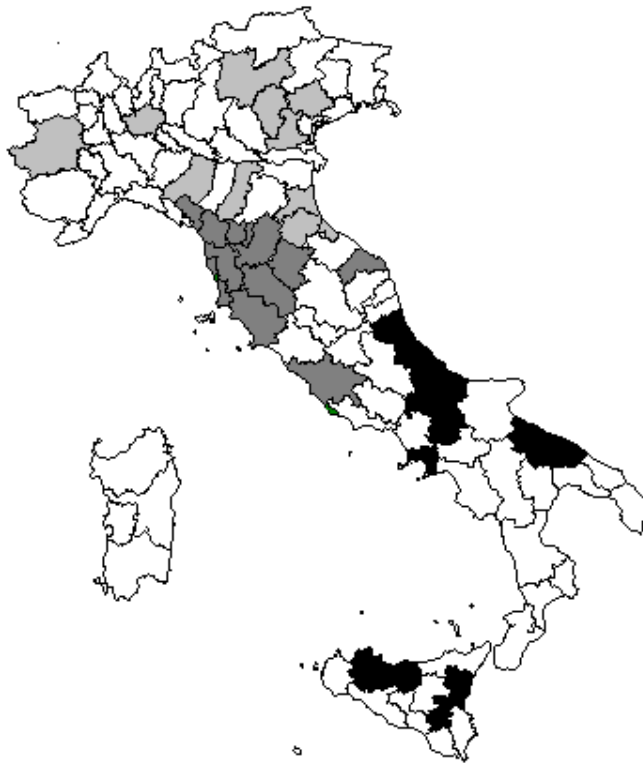
Table 1 – National inquiry on migrants’ integration in Italy, 2009. Research unit, survey territory and number of interviews

<i>Organization</i>	<i>Survey territory</i>	<i>Number of interviews</i>
Fondazione Ismu	MILAN (Municipality and hinterland)	498
Università di Torino	TURIN (Municipality and hinterland)	415
Università di Trento Dipartimento di Scienze umane e sociali	TRENT (Municipality)	499
Università di Bologna Polo Scientifico-didattico di Forlì	FORLÌ/CESENA (Province) RAVENNA (Province) RIMINI (Province)	1.350
Università di Salerno Dipartimento di Sociologia e Scienza della Politica	MODENA (Municipality)	109
Fondazione Nord Est	TREVISO (Province) VICENZA (Province) PADUA (Municipality)	400
Università di Parma	PARMA (Municipality)	500
Università di Siena & Regione Toscana	TUSCANY (Region)	4.060
Università Politecnica delle Marche	ANCONA (Province)	454
Iprs	ROME (Municipality)	500
Università di Bari & Ipres	BARI (Municipality)	410
Università di Teramo, Osservatorio provinciale sull’immigrazione & Provincia di Teramo	TERAMO (Province)	355
Chieti Pescara Università degli Studi “D’Annunzio”	CHIETI (Province) PESCARA (Province)	299
Università di Palermo & Unione degli Assessorati alle Politiche Socio-sanitarie e del Lavoro	PALERMO (Municipality)	397
Università di Catania	CATANIA (Municipality)	411
Università del Molise	MOLISE (Region)	373
Università di Salerno Dipartimento di Scienze dell’educazione	NAPLES (Province)	497
Università di Napoli “Federico II” & Cooperativa Dedalus	NAPLES (Municipality)	401
Università di Salerno Dipartimento di Sociologia e Scienza della Politica	BENEVENTO (Municipality)	121

In addition, Fondazione Ismu provided for the computer storage of all collected data² and for the processing of the different integration indexes.

Each research unit took care of selecting and training a group of qualified male and female interviewers of different nationalities assigned to the distribution of the questionnaires to foreign nationals established in the territory. It identified the places in which the survey had to be held, i.e. the places where the foreign population is used to gather in the municipalities specified by the sampling plan, the identification of which is preparatory to a correct application of the method “by centres” adopted for this purpose³.

Figure 1 – National inquiry on migrants’ integration in Italy, 2009. Provinces involved in the sample survey



² This activity was entrusted to an external Italian private company providing ITC services applied to the records and documents of large companies and public organizations. This company makes use of a certified quality system conforming to UNI EN ISO 9001:2000 standards.

³ Concerning the sampling method used for each unit to be interviewed, see: Blangiardo (1996; 2004) and Baio, Blangiardo, Blangiardo (2008).

Finally, it verified whether the questionnaires were correctly filled.

In-the-field survey activities involved more than 200 data collectors. About one third of the interviews were made in Northern Italy, while the most significant share concerned the central regions, and was determined by the extensive coverage of Tuscany, where, thanks to the support granted by the Regional Administration to this inquiry, 4,060 questionnaires could be administered (about one third of the total amount)⁴.

Table 2 – National inquiry on migrants’ integration in Italy, 2008/2009. Number of interviews made by geographical area

<i>Survey area</i>	<i>Number of interviews</i>	<i>% Values</i>
North	3,771	31.3
Centre	5,014	41.6
South & Islands	3,264	27.1
<i>Total</i>	<i>12,049</i>	<i>100.0</i>

To identify the main socio-demographic characteristics of the foreign nationals established in Italy, a closed-question structured questionnaire⁵ was used, basing on the traditional model adopted for the sample surveys carried out, since 2001, by Fondazione Ismu in the territory of Lombardy within the activities of the Regional Observatory for Integration and Multiethnicity of the Lombardy Region⁶. To deal with the themes-objectives of this research project, a set of *ad hoc* questions focused on integration was prepared, which concerned the four identified cultural, social, economic and political dimensions.

The contacts with respondents, and the distribution of the questionnaire were made through the well-known *method by aggregation centres or environments*⁷. For the application of this method – extensively adopted on a na-

⁴ It is understood that in determining the overall national framework, the relative weight of each local area was suitably related to its real relevance and not to the corresponding number of interviews made there.

⁵ See the statistical annex.

⁶ This Observatory was created by Fondazione Ismu in partnership with Regione Lombardia.

⁷ Within the selected areas jointly considered, the groups of foreigners to be involved in the inquiry were chosen by making exclusively reference to the over-18 years old population originating from countries reporting a considerable migratory pressure, and by introducing probabilistic choice options conforming to the rules of “sampling by aggregation centres or environments”. According to the rules of this method, in each territorial area involved in this inquiry, the universe of foreign nationals present as to the survey date, is set up as a list of statistical units, in which each unit unavoidably shows – to exist – a range of contacts with some aggregation centres or environments situated in the territory. By sampling these centres, and subsequently, individuals, the inclusion probabilities of a subject are in direct *ratio* with the number of centres he is used to visit/attend and in reverse ratio with their overall attendance levels. To remove any distortion produced by this procedure in the sample units, we calculated a weight in

tional and international scale⁸ because of its effectiveness in representing the real situation of immigration even in areas where a significant share of irregular migrants is reported – a qualified team of data collectors and a good knowledge of the territory play an essential role (Papavero, 2006).

This inquiry was also aimed at surveying the number of refusals to answer received by each interviewer. Through the reading of available data it was therefore possible to assess the difficulty in getting in touch with respondents in the different kinds of places in which the survey was carried out⁹.

In particular, against an overall 30 per cent share of refusals weighing on the inquiry, it was possible to ascertain lower values in institutional and more formal survey places, where contacts could be mediated by other professional roles. This happened in particular in reception/educational places – such as schools, CTPs (Permanent Territorial Centres), Italian language courses, etc. – in which refusals totalled 15 per cent, as well as in associations or in the centres for migrant users (municipal help desks, health centres, trade unions, charity centres, etc.).

Table 3 – Refusal rate by survey place

<i>Survey place</i>	<i>N° of interviews made</i>	<i>Received refusals %</i>
Centres providing services and advice	2.820	23,6
Education/training centres	515	15,2
Places of worship	236	33,3
Ethnic shops	452	36,2
Entertainment places	793	34,7
Shopping centres	243	40,6
Outdoor meeting places	2.013	38,7
Markets, in general	372	45,0
Work places and labour recruitment centres	235	21,7
Associations and cultural centres	299	28,6
Service centres	437	35,1
Private homes	546	12,5
<i>Total*</i>	<i>8.961</i>	<i>30,8</i>

*The contacts in which the number of refusals to answer was not surveyed are excluded.

reverse ratio with a migrant's inclusion probabilities, to be determined *a posteriori* in virtue of the profile of the centres he attends.

⁸ The method by aggregation centres and environments was used for the research on a national scale *Il Mezzogiorno dopo la grande regolarizzazione* (Fondazione Ismu, Ministero del Lavoro e delle politiche sociali, 2006), and applied to Milan for the Italian part of the European research Localmultimed (www.um.es/localmultidem).

⁹ The number refusals to answer may be also influenced by other variables which were not included in this inquiry, such as, for example, interviewer's nationality, respondent's gender, day and time in which the contact was made, etc.

Markets and shopping centres reported, instead, the highest percentages of refusals, respectively 45 and 41 per cent, which in most cases can be explained by the fact that contacted persons had little time to devote to the interview. It is understood that the choice of the survey places depended obviously on what each territory could offer in terms of variety and number of environments and places in which migrants use to gather.

In conclusion, though the distribution by survey place of the interviews made may have proved to be significantly variable in relation to the territory, it should however be noted that in this inquiry, as well as in similar inquiries carried out making use of this methodology, two kinds of environments in general seem to prevail, which gather more than 50 per cent total interviews, namely, the centres providing services to migrant users (a little less than 30 per cent interviews were made, in this circumstance, in those centres), and the outdoor meeting places, which represent the most informal type of place and in which contacts are not mediated (parks, stations, squares, etc.).

2.2 Construction of the Integration Indexes and Assignment of Scores

In chapter 1, we mentioned that the direct acquisition of individual data offers an opportunity to go beyond the information limits of official surveys, and allows achieving, in a detailed and flexible way, the necessary information concerning as well as the conditions of the context characterizing migrants' life (job, housing, family, etc.), also some important elements as regards their interaction with persons and "rules" of the place in which they are settled.

Going into details, being this inquiry intended for measuring all the different aspects of migrants' integration, we deemed it advisable to investigate the following elements: housing and accommodation conditions, work conditions and saving capacity as economic integration factors; friendly relations, participation in associations, Italian lifestyle acceptance and liking levels, propensities and intentions as useful elements for assessing social integration; knowledge and use of the Italian language, interest in Italian events, access to information, sense of belonging to the Italian society, migrants' self-perception of their well-being in Italy and their sharing of some integration ideals as evidence of cultural integration; legal status, registration with the Registry Office, and opinions on the importance of citizenship as elements aimed at evaluating migrants' political integration.

Furthermore, in the previous paragraph of this chapter, we could ascertain that an approach based on the collection of direct individual data, thanks to the specific sampling techniques we adopted in the case of foreigners, gives

the possibility to monitor the whole migrant population established, whether regularly or irregularly, in a territory.

At the expense of these advantages, an approach by inquiry data entails however the difficulty to attribute a quantitative integration score basing on qualitative variables.

If the features to be made operating, present, as in our case, ordered discrete states (in other words, if there is a logical order underlying these states), the resulting variables are ordinal and the attribution of values to each single mode should respect the order of such states. In these circumstances, researchers often resort to the attribution of values making use of the series of natural numbers, to which they exclusively acknowledge the ordinal characteristics of numbers but not the cardinal ones. These numbers should be interpreted basing on the sequence they express and not on the distance that divides them. Basing on previous evaluations and knowledge, in the attempt to establish different distances between modes, researchers do often attribute scores which reflect a rough and subjective estimate of the distances between the different categories. On the other hand, in a quantitative measurement based on qualitative data, it is not possible to avoid elements of choice, but only make them become less important.

In order to downsize the subjective element as much as possible, we decided to use in this inquiry the following method: the modes of the considered variables are preliminarily ordered into a logic scale of “integration effectiveness” ranging from the condition considered to be the worst to the best. In this sense, the assumption basing on which the indicators concerning migrants’ integration with the host society were set up consists in that the better and the greater legal, housing, and working conditions, saving capacity, knowledge of the Italian language and frequency of use, interest and access to information, the ties with the local population and with the other communities established in the territory, the sense of belonging and the appreciation of the Italian life-style, the greater the possibilities of a migrant’s complete integration.

For each considered variable, starting from score zero referred to the worst condition, a score is attributed to the k^{th} modality of the order, equal to the percentage of accrued valid frequency of the modality $(k-1)$. In this way, each respondent receives a score, which is higher as the share of population living in a worse condition than his/hers is greater, and is lower as the share of population living in a similar or better condition than his/hers is smaller. A “mark” for each considered variable is thus attributed to each individual.

Table A – Assigned scores basing on frequency distribution

<i>Modality</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>Accrued percentage</i>	<i>Score</i>
m_1	f_1	p_1	P_1	0
:	:	:	:	:
m_{i-1}	f_{i-1}	p_{i-1}	P_{i-1}	:
m_i	f_i	p_i	P_i	$P_{(i-1)}$
:	:	:	:	:
:	:	:	:	:
m_h	f_h	p_h	$P_h=100$	$P_{(h-1)}$
<i>Total</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>100</i>		

The peculiarity of the measurement we propose consists in the attribution of a score, because it only requires a logic order of the modes of each single variable in an “integration effectiveness” scale, which thus avoids the assignment of arbitrary scores.

For example, Table 4 reports the different scores assigned concerning the two variables: “housing condition” and “registration with the Registry Office”.

Table 4 – Assigned scores basing on frequency distributions. Variables: *Housing condition* and *Registration with the Registry Office*

<i>Housing condition</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>Accrued percentage</i>	<i>Score</i>
Housing difficulties	630	5.3	5.3	0.000
Lease shared with persons not belonging to the family group	3,155	26.5	31.8	0.053
Lease shared with family members	6,064	50.9	82.7	0.318
Homeowner	2,055	17.3	100.0	0.827
<i>Total</i>	<i>11,905</i>	<i>100.0</i>		
<i>Registration with the Registry Office</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>Accrued percentage</i>	<i>Score</i>
Non-registered	2,115	17.9	17.9	0.000
Registered	9,695	82.1	100.0	0.179
<i>Total</i>	<i>11,810</i>	<i>100.0</i>		:

The score assigned to each variable refers to the population distribution in relation to the variable itself. Those who have reached the best positions which are hardly attainable receive higher scores than other respondents who have encountered greater difficulties.

The scores in relation to variables referring to the same aspect within a given area are summarized as simple average. For example, the scores concerning individual linguistic skills (comprehension, oral expression, reading and writing ability) are summarized as simple average into a single score concerning the component of Italian language knowledge.

The scores of all the elements which refer to the same area are then summarized as simple average. For example, the scores related to Italian language

knowledge and use, access to information, interest in the Italian events, self-perception of one's well-being in Italy, sense of belonging to the Italian society, and sharing levels of some ideals, are grouped as simple average into a single score concerning cultural integration. The scores assigned to social, economic and political integration, too, are determined according to this logic.

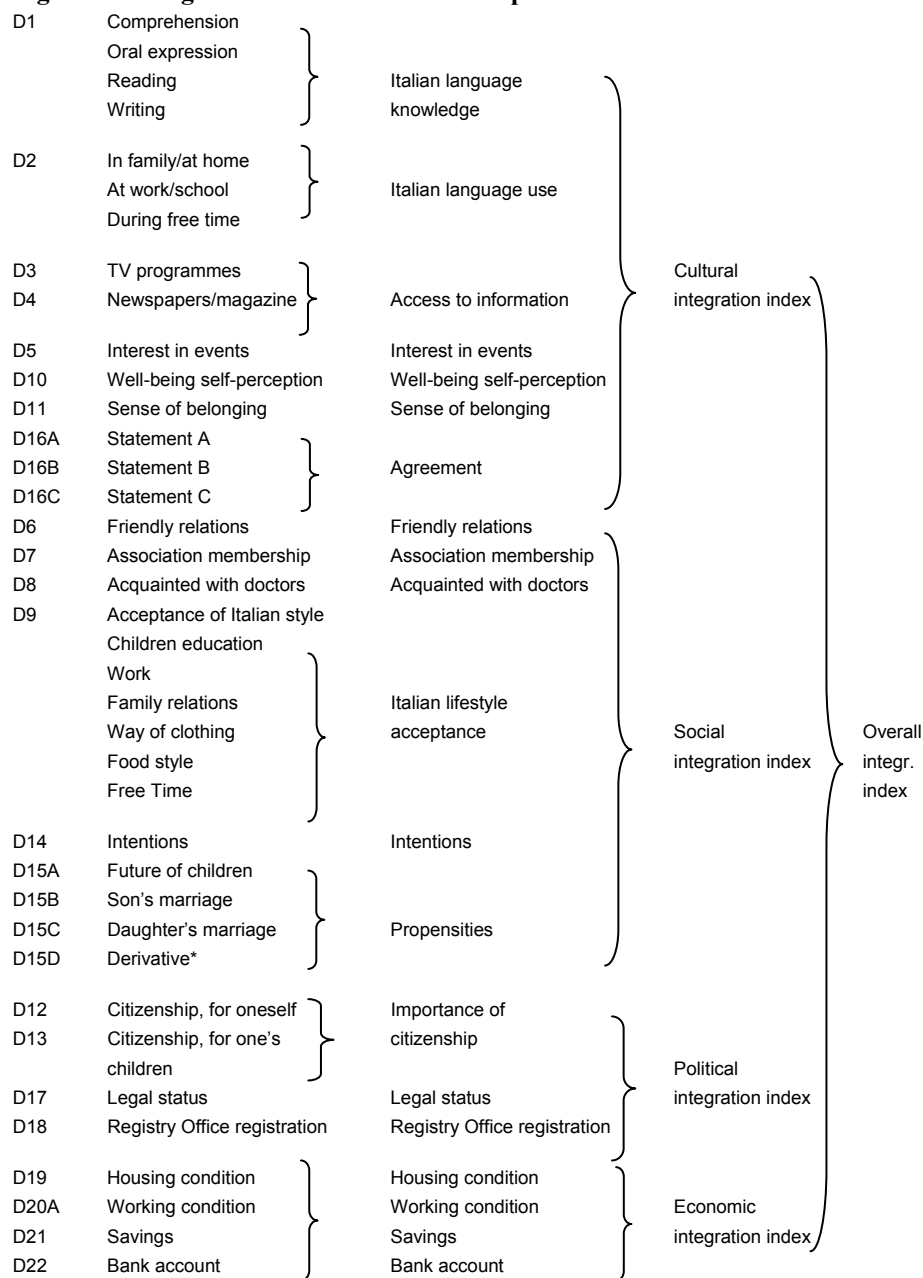
Figure 2 reports in detail the variables used to establish and set up the proposed integration indexes. Since the indicators achieved through this process show a variation range which differs from the others, the different indexes concerning cultural, social, economic and political integration were subsequently standardized in order to bring the extremes back to 0 value, in case of non-integration, and to 1 value, in case of maximum integration.

That being stated, it was possible to assign a summary score, called "overall integration index", to each respondent. This index is constructed as simple arithmetical average of the four partial standardized indexes concerning economic, social, cultural and political integration.

The index construction method involves paying particular attention to the management of missing data. In fact, as these indexes consist in the simple average of non-standardized scores, and consequently of scores with a different variation range from one another, it would not be correct to calculate the different indexes using exclusively the average of the actually included scores. If a question is not answered, it is therefore necessary to estimate the associated score basing on the other answers given by the respondent, so that the score may conform to the variation range of the variable itself¹⁰.

¹⁰ In this regard, the appraisal method based on a multiple regression model, is the following: if for the i^{th} individual the answer to an item of a multi-item variable is missing, the score is estimated through a multiple linear regression equation, in which the dependant variable is the score itself and the predictors are the remaining known items. In case the missing answer concerns a single-item variable, the other variables placed at the same grouping level, which along with the missing variable define the same index, are used as predictors in the regression model. For example, if a respondent does not answer the question concerning his acceptance/approval of the Italian way to grow children up (multi-items), the related score will be estimated basing on his acceptance/approval of Italian working style, experiencing family relation, clothing style, food style, and use of free time. If a respondent does not answer the question concerning his intentions for the future (single-item), the related score is estimated basing on the answers given to other variables which combine to define the partial social integration index: friendly relations, participation in associations, being acquainted with Italian doctors, acceptance/approval of the Italian lifestyle, and investigated propensities as a whole (see the pattern reported in Figure 2). If the value of a predictor is missing, its average value is used. If a subject does not answer any necessary variable to define an index, the respondent is removed from the data set (an event that occurred in 20 cases).

Figure 2 – Integration indexes construction pattern



* Assuming as reference that an Italian well-integrated citizen does not support differences on grounds of gender, items 15.B and 15.C were used for drawing variable 15.D, propensity to equal opportunities (answer in agreement = integrated; answer in disagreement = not integrated).

Finally, this process allows reaching an ideal condition in which no respondent lacks his own score as regards each considered variable.

The proposed index represents therefore a relative measurement, as it evaluates the integration level achieved by an interviewed migrant compared to the level achieved by the other migrants involved in the same inquiry. Ultimately, having available an individual score for each unit belonging to the respondents' sample, it is possible to estimate the variability and the relations existing in the average integration levels of subgroups defined in relation to appropriate different interest variables: gender, nationality of origin, education level, legal status, professed religion, residence seniority, territorial division, and so on. It is also possible to monitor the presence, among migrants, of niches reporting lower integration levels, or instead, to identify the characteristics of the so-called "groups of excellence".

3. Characteristics and Figures in the Migrants' Universe

by *Gian Carlo Blangiardo*

In line with a by now consolidated tradition, and thanks to its long expertise achieved through several regional inquiries carried out in Lombardy, Fondazione Ismu aims at enhancing the data collected through this sample survey not only because of the specific purposes for which it was conceived, but also in order to provide an update of the scenarios referring to foreigners' presence from both a quantitative and a structural point of view. Therefore, in this circumstance, too, as an introduction to an analysis concerning the intensity and the differential elements inherent in the integration process, we had the possibility to outline, a reference frame of the migrants' universe making use – with appropriate information integrations provided by official sources and by previous inquiry experiences – of the abundant statistical material made available by some recent surveys¹.

3.1 An Update of the Quantitative Aspects

In this inquiry, the numeric weight of the foreign population originating from the so-called heavy migration pressure countries living in Italy as to January 1st, 2009, by combining the latest data released by the Registry Office and those collected over the inquiry period, was estimated to total a little more than 4.6 million units, that is to say, 1.2 million units more in comparison with the similar estimates made for the Ismu research carried out four years ago (Blangiardo, Tanturri, 2006). On the whole, this group would include in 2009, about 3.7 million residents, a little less than 500,000 subjects holding a

¹ Sample data were referred to the corresponding universe by distinguishing through appropriate weighting methods – as those used for the Ismu inquiry carried out in 2005 taken as an element of comparison (see, in this regard: Blangiardo, Farina, 2006), both the two macro-areas Centre-North and South, and the whole national territory.

valid residence permit but not (or not yet) registered with the Registry Office, and 420,000 irregular migrants.

In comparison with the previous estimates made in 2005, we note a growing share of residents, who from representing three fourths total of the total migrants in Italy, rise to four fifths, along with a reduced relative weight of irregular migrants, who drop from 16.1 to 9.1 per cent. This decrease is substantially depending on the acquisition of a regular status by Romanian and Bulgarian migrants, who in 2005 were characterized, respectively, by 35 and 33 per cent irregularity shares, while today they are only characterized by a large number of subjects who are not yet in possession of a registered residence even if they are often bound to acquire it. No wonder that, against a share out of the total of a little less than 11 per cent migrants who find themselves in this situation, the corresponding Romanians' and Bulgarians' shares reach respectively 20.2 and 20.6 per cent, in confirmation of a growing tendency towards a semi stable status which, according to the latest data, almost all migrants originating from new EU member countries seem to have in common.

Table 1 – Estimate of the foreign population originating from heavy migration pressure countries established in Italy

	<i>As to January 1st, 2009</i>		<i>As to July 1st, 2005</i>	
	<i>Thousands</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Thousands</i>	<i>%</i>
Total reported foreigners,	4,604	100.0	3,357	100.0
of which:				
Residents	3,689	80.1	2,499	74.4
Regular non residents	495	10.8	318	9.5
Irregular migrants	418	9.1	540	16.1

In relation to the detail by nationality (Table 2), the new estimates report twelve countries totalling more than 100,000 nationals, five of which reporting at least 200,000 units. Romania is placed on the top of the list, with a 21 per cent share out of the total and an absolute datum close to one million units.

Romania is followed by Albania and Morocco, with around 10 per cent shares and absolute values totalling at least 500,000 units. Jointly considered, the 20 major countries report almost 4 million established migrants and represent 85 per cent of all the foreigners originating from heavy migration pressure countries.

Table 2 – Foreign population originating from heavy migration pressure countries established in Italy. Major nationalities. Absolute and per cent values

	Thousands	%		Thousands	%
Romania	968	21.0	Peru	103	2.2
Albania	538	11.7	Ecuador	101	2.2
Morocco	497	10.8	Egypt	99	2.2
P.R. of China	215	4.7	Senegal	92	2.0
Ukraine	200	4.3	Sri Lanka	89	1.9
Philippines	145	3.1	Serbia M.	87	1.9
Tunisia	124	2.7	Bangladesh	84	1.8
Poland	120	2.6	Pakistan	70	1.5
Moldavia	115	2.5	Nigeria	59	1.3
India	115	2.5	<i>20 major countries</i>	<i>3,928</i>	<i>85.3</i>
Macedonia	107	2.3	<i>All h.m.p. countries</i>	<i>4,604</i>	<i>100.0</i>

Among the major nationalities which today are present in Italy, the greatest increase, in comparison with the 2005 estimates, refers to Romanians and Moldavians, who have grown at a yearly average rate of 25 and 16 per cent respectively (which is equivalent to a doubling time of 3 and 4-5 years). An above average growth speed is reported also among Poles (with an 11 per cent yearly average rate and a 6-7 year doubling time) and in the case of some important Asian nationalities, such as Indians (+12 per cent; 6 years), Filipinos (+8 per cent; 9 years) and Chinese (+7 per cent; 10 years).

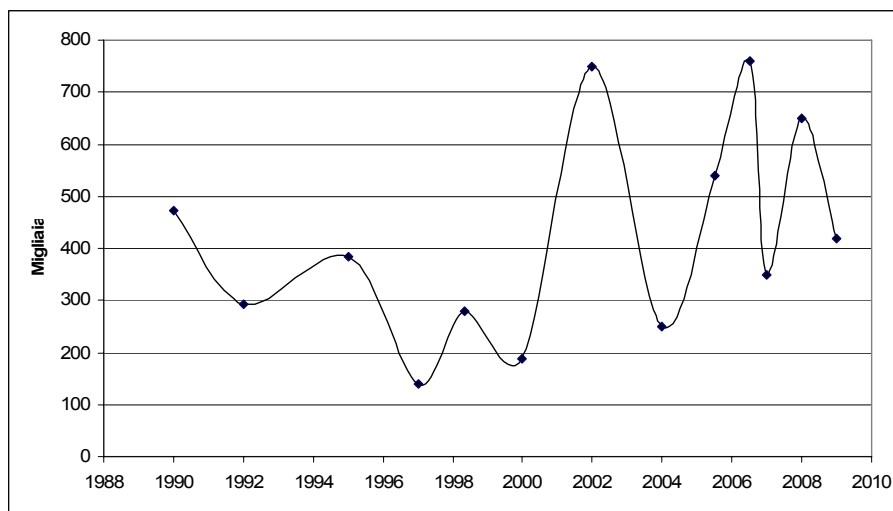
Table 3 – Foreign population originating from heavy migration pressure countries established in Italy. Comparison by major nationalities, 2005-2009

	<i>Total reported foreigners (thousands)</i>		<i>Yearly average growth rate x 100</i>
	<i>July 15th, 2005</i>	<i>January 1st, 2009</i>	
Romania	437	968	25.5
Albania	458	538	4.7
Morocco	408	497	5.8
P. R. of China	169	215	7.1
Ukraine	180	200	3.1
Philippines	110	145	8.2
Tunisia	110	124	3.5
Poland	83	120	11.1
Moldavia	68	115	16.2
India	77	115	12.1
Total 10 major countries	2,100	3,037	11.1
Other countries	1,257	1,567	6.5
<i>All h.m.p. countries</i>	<i>3,357</i>	<i>4,604</i>	<i>9.4</i>

From the point of view of irregularity, the 2009 estimates, with an average rate of about 9 irregular migrants out of 100 and an absolute datum of 418,000 cases on a national scale, seem to point out a phase of relative reduction of this phenomenon. This downturn, compared to the estimated 650,000 irregular migrants as to January 1st, 2008 (Fondazione Ismu, 2009), might be the re-

sult both of the fulfilment of the procedures provided for by the 2007 decree on migration flows for those who were already irregularly established in Italy, and of the slowing down of the so-called “call effect” (Blangiardo, Molina, 2006), depending on some signs of greater strictness in controls and in a presence of significant changes occurring in the economic situation, which involve real prospects of growing difficulties in finding an employment also in some areas which traditionally attracted irregular migrant labour.

Graph 1 – Estimated number of foreigners irregularly staying in Italy. Years 1990-2009



Concerning the areas of origin of irregular migrants, the estimates of 2009 point out the highest rates (related to 100 established migrants) among migrants originating from Sub-Saharan Africa (15.3 per cent), followed by North-Africans and Latin-Americans (both reporting a 12.4 per cent rate), Asians (11.4 per cent), and finally, East-Europeans (5.8 per cent). As a matter of fact, the average value reported by East-Europeans feels the positive effects of the presence of migrants originating from new EU-member countries. In fact, if we get out of this context, values exceed in all cases 10 per cent: irregularity levels range from a 10.1 minimum reported for Albania, to a relative minimum of 13.9 per cent for Ukraine and 14.5 per cent for Moldavia. In non-European areas, the highest rates refer to Senegal (19.8 per cent), Mauritania (15.4 per cent), Gambia and Nigeria (15.2 per cent), and Bolivia (15.1 per cent).

Table 4 – Foreign population originating from heavy migration pressure countries irregularly established in Italy. Major nationalities. Absolute and per cent values

	<i>Thousands</i>	<i>%</i>		<i>Thousands</i>	<i>%</i>
Morocco	59	14.1	Macedonia	12	2.9
Albania	54	12.9	Ecuador	12	2.9
Ukraine	28	6.7	Bangladesh	11	2.6
P.R. of China	23	5.5	Serbia M.	10	2.4
Senegal	18	4.3	Sri Lanka	10	2.4
Moldavia	17	4.1	Nigeria	9	2.2
Tunisia	16	3.8	Pakistan	9	2.2
Philippines	15	3.6	Ghana	7	1.7
India	14	3.3	Brazil	6	1.4
Egypt	14	3.3	<i>20 major countries</i>	<i>357</i>	<i>85.4</i>
Peru	13	3.1	<i>All h.m.p. countries</i>	<i>418</i>	<i>100.0</i>

In absolute values, in this case, too, the 20 major countries gather about 85 per cent of the total. The leading position is held by Morocco with 59,000 irregular migrants, immediately followed by Albania (54,000 units). Ukraine holds the third place with 28,000 irregular migrants, preceding China (23,000) and Senegal (18,000). It should be noted that, in comparison with 2005, the Moroccan component has remained practically unchanged in quantity, and has overtaken the Albanian one, which reported an 11,000 unit decrease. A similar decrease is also assumed among Ukrainian migrants (-12,000 units), while the frequency of irregular migrants has grown among Chinese (+4,000 units) and Senegalese (+3,000 units) nationals.

3.2 Foreigners' Presence in Italy: A New Snapshot of the Situation

Concerning the structural characteristics of foreign migrants in Italy, though limited to the universe of the persons who reached major age, the data collected by our inquiry allow us to point out some rather relevant elements.

For example, considering the composition by gender, we can easily understand the importance of the territorial variable and of the legal status in influencing the supremacy of the male component. Though definitely representing a minority share among the migrants regularly established in the southern regions of Italy (where it reports a 45 per cent share), the male component partly redeems itself if we move to the Centre-North (51 per cent), reporting particularly high peaks in both territorial macro-areas in the irregular migrants' universe, where the share of over-18 males reaches 61 per cent in the South and 63 per cent in the Centre-North.

Table 5 – Males’ percentage within the over-18 foreign population originating from heavy migration pressure countries. Year 2009, per cent values

<i>Foreigners established in Italy:</i>	<i>Centre-North</i>	<i>South</i>	<i>Italy</i>
In a regular migrant status	51.4	45.3	50.6
In an irregular migrant status	63.1	61.2	62.8
<i>Total</i>	<i>52.6</i>	<i>48.6</i>	<i>52.1</i>

Moving to an analysis by place of birth, we note that almost all over-18 migrants established in Italy were born abroad, though their supremacy seems destined to lessen already in the near future, considering the ever-growing presence of minors who were born in our country. However, if we consider the residence seniority of the migrant community (which having been born, in most cases, in a foreign country represents the real migrants’ universe) we are in front of an overall picture portraying a population which shows a widespread tendency to take roots in the territory. About 7 subjects out of ten have been living in Italy for 5 years at least, and one-fourth of them for at least eleven years. Mean values do not show any particular element of variability between Centre-North and South of Italy, and limit themselves to point out, in both macro-areas, a moderate gender gap (a year of residence less, as regards the female population), while they point out, on the contrary, a marked difference between the regular and the irregular component, where the average seniority of the latter (whose mean value totals 3 years in the Centre-North and 4 years in the South) is about half the seniority of the former.

Table 6 – Place of birth of the over-18 foreign population originating from heavy migration pressure countries. Year 2009, per cent values

<i>Place of birth</i>	<i>Centre-North</i>	<i>South</i>	<i>Italy</i>
Foreign country	99.3	99.3	99.3
Italy	0.7	0.7	0.7
	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>

Table 7 – Migration seniority of the foreign population originating from heavy migration pressure countries. Year 2009, per cent values*

<i>Migration seniority classes (years)</i>	<i>Centre-North</i>	<i>South</i>	<i>Italy</i>
0-1	6.4	5.6	6.3
2-4	22.5	24.5	22.8
5-10	41.2	43.9	41.5
11-14	15.9	12.4	15.5
15+	13.9	13.6	13.8
<i>Total</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>

* This datum concerns only those who were born abroad.

Table 8 – Migration seniority (mean value) of the over-18 foreign population originating from heavy migration pressure countries. Year 2009*

	<i>Centre-North</i>		<i>South</i>	
	<i>Regular m.</i>	<i>Irregular m.</i>	<i>Regular m.</i>	<i>Irregular m.</i>
Males-mean seniority (years)	8	3	8	4
Females-mean seniority (years)	7	3	7	4
Overall mean seniority (years)	8	3	8	4

*This datum concerns only those who were born abroad.

Concerning the structure by age, the concerned population is in average 30-35 years old, with values in the South exceeding by about one year those reported in the Centre-North, and lower values by 3-4 years among irregular migrants in comparison with regular ones.

In general, a little more than 10 per cent over-18 migrants are at least 50 years old, while the 23-34 years old young adults' segment corresponds to a 40-35 per cent share among regular migrants and a 55-60 per cent share among irregular migrants.

Table 9 – Indicators of the structure by age of the over-18 foreign population originating from heavy migration pressure countries. Year 2009

	<i>Centre-North</i>		<i>South</i>	
	<i>Regular m.</i>	<i>Irregular m.</i>	<i>Regular m.</i>	<i>Irregular m.</i>
Mean age (years)	35	32	37	33
First quartile (years)	29	27	29	28
Third quartile (years)	43	40	45	41
23-34 years segment %	44.8	56.4	41.4	59.1
Over-50 years segment %	11.5	11.8	11.5	11.6

A medium-high educational qualification is still a recurring characteristic of foreign migrants in Italy. Two migrants out of ten declare to hold a university degree, four hold an upper-secondary school diploma, and as many did not go beyond compulsory education, while one-sixth of them do not hold any formal educational qualification.

In general, the education level declared by foreign migrants is in average lower in the South where, compared to the Centre-North, about 10 per cent points less are reported among those who hold an upper education diploma, and in parallel, almost five points more among those who have no qualification.

Table 10 – Educational qualification of the over-18 foreign population originating from heavy migration pressure countries. Year 2009 (per cent composition)

<i>Achieved educational qualification</i>	<i>Centre-North</i>	<i>South</i>	<i>Italy</i>
No formal qualification	5.7	10.2	6.3
Compulsory education	31.0	34.5	31.5
Upper-secondary school	42.9	36.9	42.2
University diploma, degree, post-graduate qualifications	19.1	15.8	18.7
No answer	1.2	2.5	1.4
<i>Total</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>

The religious creed professed by the migrants who stay in Italy reports also in 2009, as it had already emerged in the 2005 inquiry, a clear predominance of the Muslim component. The Muslim religion is professed by about one-third respondents, but in comparison with four years ago, collected data point out a regression by almost 4 per cent points. Consequently, Roman Catholics and those who belong to other Christian religions, with a share, respectively, of 23.3 and 40.5 per cent out of the total, jointly considered, gain 4.5 per cent points in comparison with 2005, yet with an opposite dynamics: while the former undergo a decrease scarcely exceeding 4 points, the latter report instead a considerable increase (+8.8 points).

Table 11 – Religious condition of the over-18 foreign population originating from heavy migration pressure countries. Year 2009, per cent values

<i>Declared religion</i>	<i>Centre-North</i>	<i>South</i>	<i>Italy</i>
Muslim	32.9	28.8	32.4
Roman Catholic	22.9	26.1	23.3
Orthodox	26.8	26.1	26.7
Coptic	0.3	0.3	0.3
Evangelic	1.9	1.5	1.8
Other Christian religion	1.8	0.9	1.7
Buddhist	2.2	4.0	2.5
Hindu	1.4	2.3	1.5
Sikh	0.8	0.3	0.7
Other	0.7	0.6	0.7
None	6.6	4.0	6.3
No answer	1.8	4.0	2.1
<i>Total</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>

If we apply the incidence rates concerning religious belonging to the estimates on foreigners' presence, we can calculate that in Italy there are, in broad terms, 1.2 million Muslims, 860,000 Roman Catholics, and a little more than 1.1 million "other Christians" (by 87 per cent Orthodox). The other major religions (Hindu, Buddhist and Sikh) involve a minority share of about 200,000 persons each, while the presence of migrants who expressly declare not to be-

long to any religious creed does not seem insignificant, as it concerns 230,000 cases and a 6 per cent share.

As to employment conditions of the concerned population, the 2009 inquiry reveals a share of subjects in a regular employment status which, on a national scale, reaches 70 per cent out of all working persons, yet with significant territorial differences (71 per cent in the Centre-North, and 61 per cent in the South). The share of high-level positions – entrepreneurs with employees, or highly skilled subordinate workers – concerns 3-4 per cent working persons, while the subjects in a non-working position, unemployed (or irregularly or occasionally employed) and irregularly employed but with a certain job stability/continuity, total respectively 11 per cent, 16 per cent and 10 per cent of the over-18 population. The corresponding values concerning these three groups resulting from the 2005 inquiry were respectively 9 per cent, 16 per cent and 9 per cent.

At a territorial comparison level, working conditions in the South seem less favourable. Though in this area the presence of unemployed migrants is lower than in the Centre-North by less than two per cent points, the incidence of permanent irregular situations is almost double (17 per cent against 9 per cent).

Table 12 – Working conditions of the over-18 foreign population originating from heavy migration pressure countries. Year 2009, per cent values

	<i>Centre-North</i>	<i>South</i>	<i>Italy</i>
Entrepreneur with employees/subordinate highly skilled worker	2.8	3.0	2.9
Regular self-employed worker/subordinate worker with open-ended contract.	38.7	28.7	37.4
Fixed-term employee and similar contracts	20.0	20.7	20.1
Permanent irregular worker/irregular self-employed worker	9.1	16.6	10.1
Unemployed and irregular occasional workers	15.7	17.2	15.8
Non-working condition (housewife, student, etc.)	11.2	9.9	11.0
No answer	2.5	3.9	2.7
<i>total</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>

An analysis of migrants' housing situation confirms both a persisting gap between the "two Italies", and the general encouraging progresses achieved in the last four years. The incidence of homeowners rose to 16.7 per cent on a national scale, whereas in 2005 it totalled 10.9 per cent, with a persisting gap between Centre-North and South of Italy. The ratio between the respective shares of homeowners still remains 2:1, though significantly lower in comparison with the 3:1 *ratio* reported four years ago.

In general, seven foreign migrants out of ten live in an independent house/flat, while home sharing or accommodations in employers' premises concerns 26 per cent cases and a further 5 per cent live in temporary accommodations.

Table 13 – Housing conditions of the over-18 foreign population originating from heavy migration pressure countries. Year 2009, per cent values

	<i>Centre-North</i>	<i>South</i>	<i>Italy</i>
Owned house/flat	17.9	8.4	16.71
Independent rented house/flat (alone or with relatives)	50.0	54.7	50.62
Rented house/flat with other migrants/accommodation at workplace	26.0	28.5	26.33
Temporary accommodation	5.1	6.3	5.28
No answer	0.9	2.1	1.06
<i>Total</i>	<i>100.00</i>	<i>100.00</i>	<i>100.00</i>

In the migrants' universe, the family reality is first of all characterized by a widespread presence of family groups involved, also indirectly, in the migratory phenomenon. 56 per cent over-18 migrants are, in fact, married and only one third of the total are unmarried, with slightly higher peaks among those living the South.

However, if we examine migrants' family structures in the host country, only 44 per cent of the population declares to live with a spouse/partner, while about one-fourth lives alone, and one-fifth with relatives or with friends/acquaintances. Cohabitation exclusively with friends/acquaintances concerns a little less than 15 per cent over-18 foreigners.

Those who live with their spouse/partner are by three-fourths married with a person of the same country, while in 15 per cent couples there is an Italian spouse/partner.

Table 14 – Marital status of the over-18 foreign population originating from heavy migration pressure countries. Year 2009, per cent values

	<i>Centre-North</i>	<i>South</i>	<i>Italy</i>
Unmarried	33.5	39.6	34.3
Married	57.1	47.4	55.9
Widower	2.3	3.6	2.5
Divorced/separated	6.4	7.7	6.6
No answer	0.7	1.6	0.8
<i>Total</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>

Table 15 – Family status of the over-18 foreign population originating from heavy migration countries. Year 2009, per cent values

<i>Tipologia familiare</i>	<i>Centre-North</i>	<i>South</i>	<i>Italy</i>
Alone	19.3	22.2	19.7
Spouse/partner	11.2	9.4	11.0
Spouse/partner and relatives	2.4	2.4	2.4
Relatives (parents, brothers, sisters ...)	13.4	11.7	13.2
Spouse/partner and friends/acquaintances	0.8	0.5	0.8
Relatives and friends/acquaintances	4.3	6.5	4.6
Friends/acquaintances	12.2	14.3	12.4
Alone + children	3.5	3.8	3.5
Spouse/partner + children	26.2	23.6	25.9
Spouse/partner and relatives + children	3.9	2.4	3.7
Relatives + children	1.1	1.0	1.1
Spouse/partner and friends/acquaintances + children	0.6	0.6	0.6
Relatives and friends/acquaintances + children	0.3	0.5	0.3
Friends/acquaintances + children	0.1	0.4	0.2
No answer	0.5	0.7	0.6
<i>Total</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>

Table 16 – Spouse/partner's nationality among married/cohabitating persons belonging to the over-18 foreign population originating from heavy migration pressure countries. Year 2009, per cent values

<i>Spouse/partner's (if any) nationality in Italy</i>	<i>Centre-North</i>	<i>South</i>	<i>Italy</i>
Italian	14.6	15.7	14.8
Foreign (same as respondent's)	72.2	67.1	71.5
Different foreign nationality	4.2	5.7	4.3
No answer	9.1	11.5	9.4
<i>Total</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>

Children's presence in the host country is declared by one third of the population, and suggests that – excluding a minority of single-parent families (which concerns about 5 per cent cases), traditional families are very widespread.

In general, the share of over-18 women who declare to be mothers totals 64 per cent, and among the different national groups, the highest percentage is reported among Egyptian women (94.3 of over-18 women are mothers), followed by Ecuadorian (78.5 per cent), and Filipino (76.3 per cent) women. Latin-American women (Ecuadorian excluded) are instead below average, as well as many East-European (Russian, Romanian, Polish and Bulgarian) women.

Table 17 – Percentage of women with at least one child referred to some nationalities (standardized rates in relation to age distribution). Year 2009

	%	<i>Index no. Base Total=100</i>		%	<i>Index no. Base Total=100</i>
Egypt	94.3	147	Russia	61.1	95
Ecuador	78.5	123	Tunisia	60.9	95
Philippines	76.2	119	Romania	60.5	94
Sri Lanka	75.7	118	Colombia	60.4	94
P.R. of China	73.0	114	Poland	59.2	93
Bangladesh	70.1	109	Nigeria	59.2	92
Moldavia	69.8	109	India	57.4	90
Senegal	67.8	106	Morocco	56.8	89
Albania	66.0	103	Brazil	54.2	85
Ghana	65.7	103	Dominican Republic	49.5	77
Ukraine	64.3	100	Bulgaria	44.4	69
Peru	63.5	99	<i>Total</i>	<i>64.0</i>	<i>100</i>

However, the high frequency of mothers within the female migrant population should not be necessarily interpreted as a parallel presence of families formed and developed in Italy, or of completely reunited family groups. As a matter of fact, 36 per cent women with children declare that none of them lives with them, and 8 per cent declare that only a part of them live with their mother in the host country.

Consequently, the share of women who can boast a family with all their children in Italy scarcely exceeds 50 per cent. In this sense, if on the one hand, a detail by nationality points out the Albanian case as an expression of maximum family cohesion (90 per cent Albanian women with children live in Italy with all of them) and of its quite often definitive decision to take roots in Italy, on the other hand we find the situation of the other East-European women, among whom the complete absence of children prevails, thus supporting a migratory model still connected to an idea of migration as a short-term merely economic project.

This overall picture is completed by the experience of partly broken families in mother-children relationships. This is the case of Filipino, Chinese, Peruvian and Colombian women, among whom the incidence of situations in which a part of their children do not live in Italy recurs with two-digit rates and seems to suggest the persistence of migratory models still hanging in the balance between two lands.

Table 18 – Presence of children in Italy in relation to migrant women with children. Per cent values

<i>Nationality of women with children</i>	<i>Presence of children in Italy</i>			<i>Total</i>
	<i>None</i>	<i>Yes, all of them</i>	<i>Yes, a part of them</i>	
Egypt	47	46	6	100
Ecuador	37	54	8	100
Philippines	43	47	10	100
Sri Lanka	28	63	9	100
P.R. of China	15	70	15	100
Bangladesh	33	63	4	100
Moldavia	62	33	5	100
Senegal	56	38	6	100
Albania	8	90	3	100
Ghana	39	48	13	100
Ukraine	70	21	9	100
Peru	38	48	15	100
Russia	52	40	8	100
Tunisia	22	75	4	100
Romania	46	45	9	100
Colombia	34	54	13	100
Poland	45	47	8	100
Nigeria	40	51	9	100
India	34	64	2	100
Morocco	18	77	6	100
Brazil	16	81	3	100
Dominican Republic	26	68	6	100
Bulgaria	45	53	2	100
<i>Total</i>	36	56	8	100

4. A Territorial Comparison

by *Vincenzo Cesareo* and *Gian Carlo Blangiardo*

The results, jointly considered, through which we aim at “measuring” the integration levels of the foreign migrants who live in Italy points out, as mentioned, a variety of situations and confirms most of our hypotheses concerning both the multi-dimensional features of the integration process, and its dependence on structural and environmental factors.

In general, with an average integration index value equal to 0.50, we can reasonably affirm that migrants’ universe is placed halfway between the ideal model of those who reach the highest scores in all tests – resulting from the series of questions included in the adopted questionnaire (a virtuous path witnessed only by a narrow elite of 4 respondents¹) – and those who, on the contrary, achieve the lowest scores in all items². There are however some clear evidences of a widespread variability, both in relation to migrants’ structural characteristics – an issue which has been extensively dealt with in the previous pages – and in relation to the context elements emerging at a territorial level.

Concerning the second aspect, it is necessary to immediately take cognizance that the 32 local units in which the inquiry was carried out show average values of the overall index which range from a 0.40 minimum to a 0.57 maximum, and that the majority of them (14) gather in the interval between 0.48 and 0.52 (Table 1).

¹ These respondents were 3 women, respectively a Moroccan, an Indian and a Czech national; to whom we should add a male Czech national.

² At the lowest level there is the case of a male Eritrean national who reports zero values in the indexes concerning economic and political integration, 0.05 in social integration, and 0.12 in cultural integration.

Table 1 – Distribution of the average value of the overall integration index in the investigated territorial units

<i>Score (x 100)</i>	<i>No. of cases</i>	<i>Score (x 100)</i>	<i>No. of cases</i>
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	<i>Total</i>	32

As to a classification of the individual territorial units, the top position in relation to the overall index is held by the province of Trent, followed respectively by Massa-Carrara, Chieti, Modena and Ravenna. The provinces of Pescara, Pisa, Naples, Pistoia and Catania are placed, instead, at the bottom of the list.

Table 2 – Average value of the integration index in the investigated territorial units

	<i>Overall index</i>	<i>Partial index</i>			
		<i>Cultural</i>	<i>Social</i>	<i>Political</i>	<i>Economic</i>
Trent	0.57	0.60	0.56	0.56	0.57
Massa-Carrara	0.55	0.52	0.51	0.60	0.57
Chieti	0.55	0.62	0.56	0.53	0.50
Modena	0.54	0.54	0.51	0.58	0.55
Ravenna	0.54	0.54	0.45	0.58	0.59
Campobasso-Isernia	0.54	0.54	0.54	0.55	0.54
Turin	0.53	0.53	0.51	0.55	0.54
Vicenza	0.53	0.48	0.52	0.55	0.58
Ancona	0.53	0.53	0.49	0.54	0.55
Teramo	0.53	0.52	0.54	0.56	0.51
Arezzo	0.51	0.50	0.51	0.54	0.51
Treviso	0.50	0.48	0.51	0.48	0.55
Padua	0.50	0.47	0.44	0.53	0.59
Forli-Cesena	0.50	0.46	0.47	0.54	0.52
Bari	0.50	0.49	0.47	0.53	0.53
Milan	0.49	0.47	0.45	0.47	0.58
Parma	0.49	0.50	0.48	0.49	0.48
Lucca	0.49	0.48	0.49	0.46	0.52
Florence	0.49	0.48	0.46	0.49	0.53
Livorno	0.49	0.46	0.47	0.52	0.53
Rome	0.49	0.53	0.50	0.44	0.47
Siena	0.48	0.48	0.46	0.46	0.51
Benevento	0.48	0.50	0.52	0.45	0.45
Rimini	0.48	0.47	0.47	0.44	0.56
Grosseto	0.47	0.44	0.48	0.45	0.49
Palermo	0.47	0.47	0.49	0.48	0.45
Prato	0.47	0.43	0.46	0.47	0.54
Catania	0.46	0.49	0.48	0.43	0.43
Pistoia	0.45	0.46	0.44	0.45	0.47
Naples	0.45	0.46	0.44	0.45	0.44
Pisa	0.43	0.41	0.43	0.42	0.46
Pescara	0.40	0.44	0.43	0.37	0.37
<i>Total – Italy</i>	0.50	0.49	0.48	0.49	0.53

However, if we examine in detail these different partial indexes, the province of Chieti overtakes Trent supremacy in terms of cultural integration, and shares with it the supremacy as regards social integration. The leading position in terms of political integration is handed over to the province of Massa-Carrara, while the provinces of Ravenna and Padua are placed on top of economic integration values.

As a matter of fact, having ascertained that the composition by nationality is not the same in the different territorial units to be compared, and bearing in mind that this feature might significantly weigh on the average values of the partial indexes³, we considered it advisable to recalculate the partial indexes through a standardization process capable to eliminate the distortion effect depending on the variation of the structure by nationality in each local environment⁴.

These reprocessed data – though strongly correlated to the original ones (the correlation coefficient between the two sets of values being in fact +0.89⁵) – lend themselves to express the differential aspects at a territorial level, regardless of the different composition by nationality of the concerned population.

Table 3 – Distribution of the average value of the overall integration index in the investigated territorial units (standardized index in relation to the different structure by nationality)

<i>Score (x 100)</i>	<i>No. of cases</i>	<i>Score (x 100)</i>	<i>No. of cases</i>
From 0.40 to <0.44	1	From 0.52 to 0.56	10
From 0.44 to <0.48	5	From 0.56 to 0.60	1
From 0.48 to <0.52	15	<i>Totale</i>	<i>32</i>

The corresponding distribution of the standardized integration indexes closely follows the original value distribution, though moderately stressing a concentration towards the average value (which obviously remains equal to 0.50).

³ Empirical results have allowed to assess the existence of a connection between the respondents' country of origin and their average integration score levels, both in the overall and the partial indexes.

⁴ Data standardization has been made through the so-called “population-type method”, that is to say, by determining the standardized indicator for a given area as a weighted arithmetic mean of the indicators for each single nationality concerning that area, however by adopting as standards weights (equal in each area) the corresponding population by nationality – assumed as “population-type” – concerning all areas jointly considered.

⁵ The linear correlation coefficient between the two sets of data varies from a -1 minimum (perfect inverse proportionality) to a +1 maximum (perfect direct proportionality), with a 0 value in case of an absolute absence of linear correlation.

Table 4 – Average value of the integration index in the investigated territorial units (standardized index in relation to the different structure by nationality)

	<i>Overall index</i>	<i>Partial index</i>			
		<i>Cultural</i>	<i>Social</i>	<i>Political</i>	<i>Economic</i>
Trent	0.58	0.61	0.57	0.56	0.58
Ravenna	0.54	0.53	0.47	0.58	0.59
Modena	0.54	0.56	0.51	0.54	0.55
Campobasso-Isernia	0.54	0.52	0.53	0.55	0.55
Turin	0.54	0.54	0.52	0.55	0.54
Massa Carrara	0.53	0.50	0.51	0.57	0.55
Chieti	0.53	0.55	0.54	0.50	0.53
Vicenza	0.53	0.51	0.54	0.53	0.54
Ancona	0.52	0.52	0.48	0.53	0.56
Teramo	0.52	0.49	0.51	0.56	0.52
Forli-Cesena	0.52	0.50	0.49	0.56	0.54
Palermo	0.51	0.54	0.51	0.48	0.50
Lucca	0.51	0.50	0.50	0.49	0.54
Treviso	0.51	0.50	0.51	0.49	0.53
Prato	0.50	0.51	0.48	0.51	0.51
Milan	0.50	0.50	0.47	0.47	0.57
Parma	0.50	0.52	0.47	0.51	0.49
Padua	0.50	0.46	0.45	0.51	0.58
Arezzo	0.50	0.48	0.49	0.52	0.50
Florence	0.50	0.51	0.48	0.49	0.51
Rimini	0.50	0.48	0.49	0.46	0.56
Rome	0.49	0.53	0.51	0.44	0.48
Livorno	0.49	0.47	0.46	0.51	0.52
Benevento	0.49	0.47	0.51	0.47	0.50
Siena	0.48	0.48	0.47	0.48	0.51
Grosseto	0.48	0.47	0.49	0.47	0.50
Pistoia	0.47	0.48	0.45	0.47	0.49
Naples	0.47	0.50	0.49	0.46	0.43
Catania	0.46	0.49	0.48	0.42	0.44
Pisa	0.45	0.42	0.45	0.44	0.49
Bari	0.44	0.46	0.43	0.43	0.53
Pescara	0.40	0.43	0.42	0.37	0.40
<i>Total – Italy</i>	<i>0.50</i>	<i>0.49</i>	<i>0.48</i>	<i>0.49</i>	<i>0.53</i>

The overall index classification reports, in this case too, the supremacy of the province of Trent, followed – in relation to non-standardized values – by the provinces of Ravenna, Modena, Campobasso/Isernia and Turin, while the provinces of Massa-Carrara and Chieti, instead, withdraw. At the bottom of the list, we find the provinces of Bari and Catania withdraw, while Naples and Pistoia gain ground.

Concerning each investigated area, standardized values report the predominance of the province of Trent from the point of view of cultural and social integration, while Ravenna is placed on the top of the list as regards economic and political integration. The bottom place is held by the province of Pescara in three of the four concerned areas – social, political and economic – while the province of Pisa overtakes it downwards only as regards cultural integration.

Table 5 – The five major territorial units in terms of integration index value in the investigated areas

<i>Cultural</i>		<i>Social</i>		<i>Political</i>		<i>Economic</i>	
Trent	0.61	Trent	0.57	Ravenna	0.58	Ravenna	0.59
Modena	0.56	Chieti	0.54	Massa Carrara	0.57	Trent	0.58
Chieti	0.55	Vicenza	0.54	Teramo	0.56	Padua	0.58
Palermo	0.54	Campobasso	0.53	Forli	0.56	Milan	0.57
Turin	0.54	Isernia	0.52	Cesena	0.56	Rimini	0.56
		Turin	0.52	Trent	0.56		

Table 6 – The last five territorial units in terms of integration index value in the investigated areas

<i>Cultural</i>		<i>Social</i>		<i>Political</i>		<i>Economic</i>	
Grosseto	0.47	Pistoia	0.45	Pisa	0.44	Pisa	0.49
Padua	0.46	Pisa	0.45	Rome	0.44	Rome	0.48
Bari	0.46	Padova	0.45	Bari	0.43	Catania	0.44
Pescara	0.43	Bari	0.43	Catania	0.42	Naples	0.43
Pisa	0.42	Pescara	0.42	Pescara	0.37	Pescara	0.40

In general, basing on the average value referring to the considered areas, we can note, on a territorial scale, a strong positive correlation between cultural and social integration (the related coefficient being +0.77) and between political and economic integration (+0.71). Less intense, though persistent, is the correlation between political and cultural integration (+0.55) or social integration (+0.52), and even lower is the correlation between economic and cultural integration (+0.42), or social integration (+0.33).

On a territorial scale, it is interesting to study the relation between average integration score and density of the foreign population. In this connection, available data show a high negative correlation level between these two variables: the corresponding coefficient totals -0.44 concerning overall integration and remains negative – thus evidencing that in general integration levels decrease as density increases – also in correspondence of the detail concerning each investigated area: cultural (-0.34), social (-0.30), political (-0.35) and economic (-0.37).

Finally, an overall view on the existence of similar integration profiles in the different local contexts is provided by the classification of the 32 territorial units into homogeneous areas in relation to the to the average values characterizing the four investigated spheres. An appropriate hierarchical cluster analysis⁶ led to the identification of 8 groups of territorial units, five of which

⁶ This kind of analysis is aimed at providing all possible partitions of the elements to be classified with the related levels of distance in which the subsequent aggregations occur. Given a level of distance considered as the acceptable maximum within groups which are considered

with at least two elements, and three units represented by individual cases (Table 7).

Table 7 – Classification of the territorial units by integration index homogeneous values

Territorial units belonging to the group (provinces)	No. of cases	Overall index	Partial index			
			Cultural	Social	Political	Economic
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

In particular, the most numerous group, which includes 13 territorial units, is characterized by a substantially “in the average” overall integration level, and by a modest variability among the different areas, though with a moderate predominance of economic integration. The province of Milan and most provinces of Tuscany belong to this group of “standard units”.

The second numerically relevant group gathers 9 territorial units – from Turin to Vicenza and southwards up to Campobasso-Isernia – which are placed at above average integration levels in each of the four considered areas, and could be labelled as “generally advanced integration units”.

Lower, though in general above average values (except for the political area) are reported in the group formed by the three territorial areas concerning the provinces of Palermo, Rome and Chieti, while the two groups identified respectively, by the provinces of Naples and Catania and those of Pisa and Bari, are characterized by low levels in each area, and only in the economic area the second pair results less distant from the overall average value.

To complete this picture, the three abnormal groups formed by a single province have to be considered. This is the case of units the classification proceeding was not able to assign to any other grouping (according to the adopted rules of affinity/distance). These realities, though having in common an isolated position, are clearly distinguishable from each other. On the one hand, we find the province of Trent, which outclasses in any area all the other

well-structured, the number of groups to adopt in the optimal partition are determined only *a posteriori*.

groups, and therefore becomes the “virtuous” model of reference par excellence, on the other, we find the province of Pescara, which reports a diametrically opposed characterization and positioning. Finally, there is the province of Padua, where the overall integration index is in line with the average, but only in virtue of the driving effect of the economic area.

5. *Typology and Paths*

by *Vincenzo Cesareo* and *Gian Carlo Blangiardo*

The search of similar realities and discriminating elements in relation to the goal of migrants' integration, can be extended from an overview of aggregated data at a territorial level to a micro-analysis of the individual profiles of all the members who are part of the investigated universe.

In this case, the resort to statistical classification procedures (*cluster analysis*) proves to be particularly useful in identifying and characterizing – within the mass of elementary data) – the presence of groups formed by homogeneous sub-populations in relation to the different dimensions of the integration process, which, also in the light of processed micro-data, are strictly correlated to one each other, in particular the cultural and the social dimension¹.

The results of the classification of the more than 12,000 cases composing the investigated sample, suggest a typology structured into four different groups². The group which seems more ahead in the integration process – the group A, which could be labelled as the one including “those who are on the point of reaching the goal” – gathers 23 per cent cases, and in parallel a 0.71 overall average score points out values close to 0.75 as regards the cultural and economic dimensions.

The group B, which gathers 25 per cent of the investigated universe, can be considered in general the group of those who are about “halfway” in this process, and has its strong point in the area of cultural integration (with an average 0.60 score). This dimension is instead the weak point of the group C, which with a 29 per cent numerousness out of the total, reports the persistence of a large area in which “the integration process has difficulty in going on”.

¹ Correlation coefficients range from a +0.61 maximum for the cultural/social pair to a +0.32 minimum for the social/economic pair.

² After appropriate empirical checks, a non-hierarchical classification was preferred, and it was decided – in the light of a set of simulations – to consider optimal a division into four groups.

Even more difficult is the progress of integration in correspondence of the fourth group D (“those who have gone less than one third of their way”) including 23 per cent cases, in which both the overall and the partial average indicator values never exceed 0.30.

Table 1 – Respondents’ classification into four homogeneous groups in relation to integration index value

<i>Group</i>	<i>No. of cases</i>	<i>Overall index</i>	<i>Partial index</i>			
			<i>Cultural</i>	<i>Social</i>	<i>Political</i>	<i>Economic</i>
A	2,794	0.71	0.74	0.67	0.69	0.75
B	2,983	0.50	0.60	0.55	0.47	0.36
C	3,526	0.44	0.38	0.42	0.49	0.48
D	2,739	0.29	0.29	0.29	0.30	0.29
<i>Total</i>	<i>12,042</i>	<i>0.50</i>	<i>0.49</i>	<i>0.48</i>	<i>0.49</i>	<i>0.53</i>

As to the characterization of these four homogeneous groups through structural and behavioural variables, it seems interesting to point out in particular the two extreme situations, namely the group of those who are less integrated and the one of those who are most integrated.

In this regard, individual data point out that the profile of less integrated migrants is characterized by a slight predominance of males, a lower amount of persons with family ties, rather limited income levels, relatively low educational qualifications, and usually short migration seniority. But, above all, this profile often goes along with housing situations widely based on the sharing of an accommodation with other subjects (relatives and/or friends).

On the contrary, the subjects who belong to the group which reports the highest integration levels are in general women, above all married ones (especially if married with an Italian national) with children. The members of this group have in general a high educational level and a fairly high income. They have lived in Italy for a long time (most of them for more than 15 years) and live with their families in an independent house or flat. They usually have few links, in terms of relations and economic support (remittances), with their native country³.

Finally, if we closely examine the virtuous group of the best integrated subjects, and the characteristics of the narrow sub-group which represents a sort of “integration Olympus” as it gathers the minority of the migrants’ universe (totalling 0.6 per cent) which reached at least an average 0.90 value in the total score, we can find further elements in confirmation of some of the hypotheses we formulated in this research.

³ An exception, from this point of view, are those transnational migrants who, though living in Italy for many years now, keep steady emotional and economic relations with their country of origin.

Table 2 – Characteristics in conjunction with situations of greater and lower migrants' integration*

<i>Less integrated migrant</i>	%	<i>Highly integrated migrant</i>	%
Cohabitation with spouse/partner + relatives/acquaintances	163	Religion: Coptic	125
Cohabitation only with friends/acquaintances	114	Migration seniority >15 years	119
Migration seniority 0-1 year	103	Italian spouse	117
Cohabitation with friends, acquaintances and children	100	Net monthly earned income: 1.500-2.000 €	106
Migration seniority 2-4 years	87	No sense of belonging to the country of origin	100
No educational qualification	78	Scarce sense of belonging to the country of origin	85
Cohabitation with relatives + friends/acquaintances	76	Net monthly earned income exceeding 2.000 €	81
Does not live with any of his/her children in the host country	73	Net monthly earned income 1.200-1.500 €	72
Cohabitation with relatives friends/acquaintances and children	67	Migration seniority 11-15 years	55
Cohabitation with relatives and children	64	Educational qualification: university degree	49
Foreign spouse of another nationality	49	Lives alone with children	49
Net monthly earned income: less than 600 €	46	Cohabitation with spouse/partner + children	48
Lives alone	43	Scarcely interested in the events of the country of origin	44
Religion: other Christian	37	Cohabitation with spouse/partner	39
Religion: Buddhist	37	Net monthly earned income 1.000-1.200 €	37
Educational qualification: compulsory education	26	Lives with all his/her children in the host country	36
Religion: Muslim	21	No interested in the events of the country of origin	35
Origin: Sub-Saharan Africa	20	Origin: Latin America	33
Net monthly earned income 600-800 €	18	No religion	31
Origin: North Africa	18	Fair sense of belonging to the country of origin	23
Marital status: unmarried	16	Cohabitation with relatives (parents, brothers/sisters)	21
High sense of belonging to the country of origin	16	Cohabitation with spouse/partner + relatives and children	16
Man	15	Religion: Roman Catholic	14
Religion: Sikh	12	No remittances to the country of origin	14
Without children	11	Origin: Eastern Europe	13
Regular remittances to the country of origin	11	Woman	10
Net monthly earned income 800-1000 €	11	Marital status: married	9

*These values point out the percentage in which this modality recurs in each group (less integrated – most integrated) in relation to its incidence within the overall population.

New empirical evidences lead us to be increasingly persuaded of the determining role a long presence in Italy plays in promoting the goal of migrants'

integration, their possibility to live together with their whole family, their achievement of high educational qualifications, and relatively high income levels.

At the same time, with a similar relevance, the role of the Roman Catholic religion – professed by a share of the elite of the most integrated migrants which is double compared to the percentage in which is recurs among the rest of the migrant population – emerges, as well as the belonging (among women) to two important East-European nationalities. In particular, Romanian and (above all) Albanian women, within the sub-group reporting maximum integration levels, play – in spite of widespread clichés – a considerable and quite surprising role.

Table 3 – Elements which more than others characterize the sub-group reporting maximum integration levels (formed by the cases in which the overall index is >0,9)

<i>Characteristics</i>	<i>% of the characteristic within</i>	
	<i>Maximum integration sub-group*</i>	<i>Overall population</i>
Woman	69 (+44%)	48
Married	77 (+38%)	56
Diploma	44 (+5%)	42
University degree	41 (+116%)	19
Roman Catholic	52 (+100%)	26
Net monthly earned income >1500 €	19 (+280%)	5
Cohabiting only with his/her spouse and children	62 (+138%)	26
Cohabiting only with his/her spouse	17 (+55%)	11
With all his/her children	96 (+71%)	56
In Italy for more than 15 years	55 (+293%)	14
East-European	58 (+53%)	38
Latin-American	19 (+73%)	11
Albanian women	14 (+180%)	5
Romanian women	14 (+75%)	8

*The values in brackets point out the frequency in which this modality is higher in correspondence of a maximum integration condition compared to its incidence in the overall population.

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Statistical Annexe

by *Livia Ortensi*

Table 1 – How can you *understand* the Italian language*?

		<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Valid	1-Not at all	240	2.0
	2	1,202	10.0
	3	2,797	23.2
	4	3,528	29.3
	5-Very well	4,261	35.4
	No answer	4	0.0
	<i>Total</i>	<i>12,031</i>	<i>99.9</i>
Missing		11	0.1
<i>Total</i>		<i>12,042</i>	<i>100.0</i>

Table 2 – How can you *speak* the Italian language?

		<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Valid	1-Not at all	305	2.5
	2	1,602	13.3
	3	3,468	28.8
	4	3,606	29.9
	5-Very well	3,036	25.2
	No answer	4	0.0
	<i>Total</i>	<i>12,021</i>	<i>99.8</i>
Missing		20	0.2
<i>Total</i>		<i>12,042</i>	<i>100.0</i>

Table 3 – How can you *read* the Italian language?

		<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Valid	1-Not at all	1,030	8,6
	2	2,215	18,4
	3	2,874	23,9
	4	2,867	23,8
	5-Very well	3,018	25,1
	No answer	7	0,1
	<i>Total</i>	<i>12,010</i>	<i>99,7</i>
Missing		31	0,3
<i>Total</i>		<i>12,042</i>	<i>100,0</i>

Table 4 – How can you *write* the Italian language?

		<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Valid	1-Not at all	1,738	14,4
	2	3,034	25,2
	3	2,985	24,8
	4	2,325	19,3
	5-Very well	1,914	15,9
	No answer	15	0,1
	<i>Total</i>	<i>12,011</i>	<i>99,8</i>
Missing		30	0,2
<i>Total</i>		<i>12,042</i>	<i>100,0</i>

* Frequency distribution values reported in the following tables concern all collected sample data and represent the universe formed by the 32 investigated territorial units jointly considered. They may not perfectly coincide with the similar distribution data reported in chapter 3, which being referred to the whole national territory, are the result of an appropriate re-weighting process of the collected territorial data.

Table 5 – How much do you use the Italian language with your *family/at home* every day?

		<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Valid	1-Never	4,139	34,4
	2	2,199	18,3
	3	1,900	15,8
	4	1,062	8,8
	5-Very much	2,260	18,8
	Non-applicable	373	3,1
	No answer	39	0,3
	<i>Total</i>	<i>11,972</i>	<i>99,4</i>
Missing		69	0,6
	<i>Total</i>	<i>12,042</i>	<i>100,0</i>

Table 6 – How much do you use the Italian language at *work/school* every day?

		<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Valid	1- Nevr	287	2,4
	2	461	3,8
	3	955	7,9
	4	1,429	11,9
	5-Very much	7,913	65,7
	Non-applicable	900	7,5
	No answer	31	0,3
	<i>Total</i>	<i>11,975</i>	<i>99,5</i>
Missing		66	0,5
	<i>Total</i>	<i>12,042</i>	<i>100,0</i>

Table 7 – How much do you use the Italian language in your *free time* every day?

		<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Valid	1-Never	1,906	15,8
	2	2,402	19,9
	3	4,116	34,2
	4	1,703	14,1
	5-Very much	1,709	14,2
	Non-applicable	73	0,6
	No answer	47	0,4
	<i>Total</i>	<i>11,957</i>	<i>99,3</i>
Missing		85	0,7
	<i>Total</i>	<i>12,042</i>	<i>100,0</i>

Table 8 – In what language are the TV programmes you usually watch?

		<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Valid	Mainly in Italian	6,944	57,7
	Sometimes in Italian and sometimes in another language	3,534	29,3
	Mainly in another language	1,048	8,7
	I don't watch TV	457	3,8
	No answer	44	0,4
	<i>Total</i>	<i>12,027</i>	<i>99,9</i>
Missing		14	0,1
	<i>Total</i>	<i>12,042</i>	<i>100,0</i>

Table 9 – In what language are the newspapers and magazines you usually read?

		<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Valid	Mainly in Italian	6,707	55.7
	Sometimes in Italian and some- times in another language	2,092	17.4
	Mainly in another language	983	8.2
	I don't read newspapers/mag.	2,133	17.7
	No answer	107	0.9
	<i>Total</i>	<i>12,021</i>	<i>99.8</i>
Missing		20	0.2
<i>Total</i>		<i>12,042</i>	<i>100.0</i>

Table 10 – Are you interested in the Italian events?

		<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Valid	Very much	5,334	46.0
	Fairly	4,330	36.0
	Scarcely	1,690	14.0
	Not at all	389	3.2
	No answer	84	0.7
	<i>Total</i>	<i>12,028</i>	<i>99.9</i>
Missing		14	0.1
<i>Total</i>		<i>12,042</i>	<i>100.0</i>

Table 11 – The friends you use to see are...

		<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Valid	Only foreigners	2,000	16.6
	More foreigners than Italians	4,120	34.2
	Italians and foreigners in equal measure	3,913	32.5
	More Italians than foreigners	1,863	15.5
	No answer	139	1.2
	<i>Total</i>	<i>12,034</i>	<i>99.9</i>
Missing		8	0.1
<i>Total</i>		<i>12,042</i>	<i>100.0</i>

Table 12 – Do you actively take part in any association in Italy?

		<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Valid	Yes, including exclusively for- eign members	958	8.0
	Yes, including both Italian and foreign members	1,152	9.6
	Yes, including mostly Italian members	447	3.7
	No	9,135	75.9
	No answer	263	2.2
	<i>Total</i>	<i>11,955</i>	<i>99.3</i>
Missing		16	0.1
		70	0.6
	<i>Total</i>	<i>87</i>	<i>0.7</i>
<i>Total</i>		<i>12,042</i>	<i>100.0</i>

Table 13 – Do you know your general practitioner?

		<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Valid	No, I have no general practitioner	2,142	17.8
	I have a general practitioner but I don't know/use him	1,292	10.7
	Yes, I know/use him	8,390	69.7
	No answer	140	1.2
	<i>Total</i>	<i>11,964</i>	<i>99.4</i>
Missing		78	0.6
<i>Total</i>		<i>12,042</i>	<i>100.0</i>

Table 14 – Thinking of the Italian lifestyle, do you like the way in which *children are brought up*?

		<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Valid	1-Not at all	1,709	14.2
	2	2,001	16.6
	3	2,838	23.6
	4	2,107	17.5
	5-Very much	2,119	17.6
	I don't know	1,035	8.6
	No answer	193	1.6
	<i>Total</i>	<i>12,003</i>	<i>99.7</i>
Missing		39	0.3
<i>Total</i>		<i>12,042</i>	<i>100.0</i>

Table 15 – Thinking of the Italian lifestyle, do you like the way of *working*?

		<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Valid	1-Not at all	573	4.8
	2	1,163	9.7
	3	2,727	22.6
	4	3,424	28.4
	5-Very much	3,410	28.3
	I don't know	498	4.1
	No answer	168	1.4
	<i>Total</i>	<i>11,962</i>	<i>99.3</i>
Missing		80	0.7
<i>Total</i>		<i>12,042</i>	<i>100.0</i>

Table 16 – Thinking of the Italian lifestyle, do you like the way of *experiencing family relations*?

		<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Valid	1-Not at all	1,110	9.2
	2	1,689	14.0
	3	2,804	23.3
	4	2,594	21.5
	5-Very much	2,412	20.0
	I don't know	1,148	9.5
	No answer	190	1.6
	<i>Total</i>	<i>11,946</i>	<i>99.2</i>
Missing		95	0.8
<i>Total</i>		<i>12,042</i>	<i>100.0</i>

Table 17 – Thinking of the Italian lifestyle, do you like the way of *dressing*?

		<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Valid	1-Not at all	438	3.6
	2	631	5.2
	3	1893	15.7
	4	2882	23.9
	5-Very much	5614	46.6
	I don't know	160	1.3
	No answer	182	1.5
	<i>Total</i>	11799	98.0
Missing		242	2.0
<i>Total</i>		12042	100.0

Table 18 – Thinking of the Italian lifestyle, do you like the way of *eating (Italian food)*?

		<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Valid	1-Not at all	256	2.1
	2	641	5.3
	3	1556	12.9
	4	2648	22.0
	5-Very much	6569	54.5
	I don't know	174	1.4
	No answer	113	0.9
	<i>Total</i>	11956	99.3
Missing		85	0.7
<i>Total</i>		12042	100.0

Table 19 – Thinking of the Italian lifestyle, how do you like the way of *spending free time*?

		<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Valid	1-Not at all	475	3.9
	2	731	6.1
	3	2,186	18.2
	4	2,925	24.3
	5-Very much	4,450	37.0
	I don't know	986	8.2
	No answer	207	1.7
	<i>Total</i>	11,959	99.3
Missing		83	0.7
<i>Total</i>		12,042	100.0

Table 20 – In general, how do you feel in Italy?

		<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Valid	Very well	2,749	22.8
	Fairly well	5,500	45.7
	Neither well nor bad	3,023	25.1
	Rather bad	461	3.8
	Very bad	245	2.0
	No answer	56	0.5
	<i>Total</i>	12,033	99.9
Missing		9	0.1
<i>Total</i>		12,042	100.0

Table 21 – How much do you feel you belong to Italy?

		<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Valid	Very much	1,995	16.6
	Fairly much	4,649	38.6
	Not very much	3,785	31.4
	Not at all	1,290	10.7
	No answer	305	2.5
	<i>Total</i>	<i>12,024</i>	<i>99.9</i>
Missing		18	0.1
<i>Total</i>		<i>12,042</i>	<i>100.0</i>

Table 22 – How important would it be for you obtaining the Italian citizenship?

		<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Valid	Very important	6,202	51.5
	Rather important	2,713	22.5
	Scarcely important	1,687	14.0
	Not important	1,114	9.3
	No answer	262	2.2
	<i>Total</i>	<i>11,979</i>	<i>99.5</i>
Missing		63	0.5
<i>Total</i>		<i>12,042</i>	<i>100.0</i>

Table 23 – How do you consider important that migrants' children may immediately obtain the Italian citizenship?

		<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Valid	Very important	7,942	66.0
	Rather important	2,189	18.2
	Scarcely important	918	7.6
	Not important	552	4.6
	No answer	415	3.4
	<i>Total</i>	<i>12,016</i>	<i>99.8</i>
Missing		25	0.2
<i>Total</i>		<i>12,042</i>	<i>100.0</i>

Table 24 – Do you have the intention to remain in Italy?

		<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Valid	Forever	2,825	23.5
	For a long period	4,277	35.5
	For a short period	1,487	12.4
	I don't know	3,301	27.4
	No answer	145	1.2
	<i>Total</i>	<i>12,036</i>	<i>100.0</i>
Missing		6	0.0
<i>Total</i>		<i>12,042</i>	<i>100.0</i>

Table 25 – Today, thinking of your children’s future, would you prefer they studied...

		<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Valid	In Italy	6,007	49.9
	In my country of origin	2,418	20.1
	In another country	1,120	9.3
	It makes no difference	1,932	16.0
	No answer	547	4.5
	<i>Total</i>	<i>12,024</i>	<i>99.9</i>
Missing		17	0.1
	<i>Total</i>	<i>12,042</i>	<i>100.0</i>

Table 26 – If your son married an Italian woman, would you approve their marriage?

		<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Valid	Very much	4,779	39.7
	Fairly much	3,540	29.4
	Not very much	1,307	10.9
	Not at all	1,186	9.8
	No answer	1,188	9.9
	<i>Total</i>	<i>11,999</i>	<i>99.6</i>
Missing		42	0.4
	<i>Total</i>	<i>12,042</i>	<i>100.0</i>

Table 27 – If your daughter married an Italian man, would you approve their marriage?

		<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Valid	Very much	4,459	37.0
	Fairly much	3,221	26.8
	Not very much	1,361	11.3
	Not at all	1,728	14.4
	No answer	1,192	9.9
	<i>Total</i>	<i>11,961</i>	<i>99.3</i>
Missing		81	0.7
	<i>Total</i>	<i>12,042</i>	<i>100.0</i>

Table 28 – Do you agree upon the statement “Job positions being equal, women can be paid less than men”

		<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Valid	1-I don’t agree at all	9,699	80.5
	2	527	4.4
	3	493	4.1
	4	376	3.1
	5-I totally agree	635	5.3
	No answer	289	2.4
	<i>Total</i>	<i>12,020</i>	<i>99.8</i>
Missing		22	0.2
	<i>Total</i>	<i>12,042</i>	<i>100.0</i>

Table 29 – Do you agree upon the statement “Holding a good educational qualification is more important for a man than for a woman”?

		<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Valid	1-I don't agree at all	9,355	77.7
	2	648	5.4
	3	638	5.3
	4	356	3.0
	5-I totally agree	730	6.1
	No answer	290	2.4
	<i>Total</i>	<i>12,016</i>	<i>99.8</i>
Missing		26	0.2
	<i>Total</i>	<i>12,042</i>	<i>100.0</i>

Table 30 – Do you agree upon the statement “Every person has the right to profess openly and publicly his/her religious faith in any country in which he/she finds himself/herself”?

		<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Valid	1-I don't agree at all	475	3.9
	2	216	1.8
	3	651	5.4
	4	899	7.5
	5-I totally agree	9,444	78.4
	No answer	328	2.7
	<i>Total</i>	<i>12,013</i>	<i>99.8</i>
Missing		29	0.2
	<i>Total</i>	<i>12,042</i>	<i>100.0</i>

Table 31 –What kind of home do you live in?

		<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Valid	Owned house/flat	2,051	17.0
	Independent rented house/flat (alone or with relatives)	6,063	50.4
	Rented house/flat shared with other migrants/at workplace	3,155	26.2
	Temporary accommodation	630	5.2
	No answer	122	1.0
	<i>Total</i>	<i>12,020</i>	<i>99.8</i>
Missing		21	0.2
	<i>Total</i>	<i>12,042</i>	<i>100.0</i>

Table 32 – What is currently your principal employment status?

		<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Valid	Entrepreneur with highly qualified employee/s/	344	2.9
	Regular self-employed worker, subordinate worker with open-ended contract	4,541	37.7
	Subordinate worker with fixed-term or similar contract	2,406	20.0
	Long-term irregular worker/irregular self-employed worker	1,179	9.8

	Unemployed and occasional worker	1,896	15.7
Valid	Non-professional condition (housewife, student, pensioner)	1,326	11.0
	No answer	317	2.6
	<i>Total</i>	<i>12,010</i>	<i>99.7</i>
Missing		31	0.3
<i>Total</i>		<i>12,042</i>	<i>100.0</i>

Table 33 – What is currently your kind of job/work area?

		<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
	Agriculture	239	2.0
	Industry	1,732	14.4
	Trade	1,851	15.4
	Services to firms	1,084	9.0
Valid	Services to persons/families	2,694	22.4
	Other	1,513	12.6
	Non-applicable (not working)	2,476	20.6
	No answer	243	2.0
	<i>Total</i>	<i>11,834</i>	<i>98.3</i>
Missing		208	1.7
<i>Total</i>		<i>12,042</i>	<i>100.0</i>

Table 34 – From an economic point of view, how would you define the condition of your family in Italy?

		<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
	You succeed in saving some money	4,632	38.5
Valid	You spend all that you earn	3,109	25.8
	You can hardly reach the end of the month	3,572	29.7
	No answer	691	5.7
	<i>Total</i>	<i>12,004</i>	<i>99.7</i>
Missing		37	0.3
<i>Total</i>		<i>12,042</i>	<i>100.0</i>

Table 35 – Do you (or does a cohabitating family member) have a current account in Italy?

		<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
	Yes (bank, post office,...)	7,612	63.2
Valid	No	3,988	33.1
	No answer	397	3.3
	<i>Total</i>	<i>11,997</i>	<i>99.6</i>
Missing		45	0.4
<i>Total</i>		<i>12,042</i>	<i>100.0</i>

Table 36 - Gender

		<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
	Man	6,262	52.0
Valid	Woman	5,719	47.5
	<i>Total</i>	<i>11,981</i>	<i>99.5</i>
Missing		60	0.5
<i>Total</i>		<i>12,042</i>	<i>100.0</i>

Table 37 - Birthplace

		<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Valid	Foreign country	11,669	96.9
	Italy	78	0.7
	<i>Total</i>	<i>11,747</i>	<i>97.6</i>
Missing		294	2.4
<i>Total</i>		<i>12,042</i>	<i>100.0</i>

Table 38 – Marital status

		<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Valid	Unmarried	4,089	34.0
	Married	6,757	56.1
	Widower	295	2.4
	Divorced/separated	784	6.5
	No answer	89	0.7
	<i>Total</i>	<i>12,014</i>	<i>99.8</i>
Missing		28	0.2
<i>Total</i>		<i>12,042</i>	<i>100.0</i>

Table 39 – Achieved educational qualification

		<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Valid	No formal qualification	735	6.1
	Compulsory education	3,760	31.2
	Upper secondary school	5,081	42.2
	University diploma, degree, or other post-graduate qualifications	2,252	18.7
	No answer	159	1.3
	<i>Total</i>	<i>11,988</i>	<i>99.6</i>
Missing		54	0.4
<i>Total</i>		<i>12,042</i>	<i>100.0</i>

Table 40 - Religion

		<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Valid	Muslim	3,995	33.2
	Roman Catholic	3,125	26.0
	Orthodox	2,490	20.7
	Coptic	46	0.4
	Evangelic	259	2.2
	Other Christian religion	225	1.9
	Buddhist	405	3.4
	Hindu	179	1.5
	Sikh	73	0.6
	Other	106	0.9
	No religion	865	7.2
	No answer	254	2.1
	<i>Total</i>	<i>12,022</i>	<i>99.8</i>
	Missing		20
<i>Total</i>		<i>12,042</i>	<i>100.0</i>

Table 41 – With whom do you live in Italy?

		<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Valid	Alone	2,348	19.5
	Spouse/partner	1,326	11.0
	Spouse/partner and relatives	284	2.4
	Relatives (parents, brothers/sisters...)	1593	13.2
	Spouse/partner and friends/acquaintances	91	0.8
	Relatives and friends/acquaintances	544	4.5
	Friends/acquaintances	1,480	12.3
	Alone + children	422	3.5
	Spouse/partner + children	3,117	25.9
	Spouse/partner and relatives + children	455	3.8
	Relatives + children	135	1.1
	Spouse/partner and friends/acquaintances + children	76	0.6
	Relatives and friends/acquaintances + children	39	0.3
	Friends/acquaintances + children	17	0.1
	No answer	66	0.6
<i>Total</i>	<i>11,994</i>	<i>99.6</i>	
Missing	47	0.4	
<i>Total</i>	<i>12,042</i>	<i>100.0</i>	

Table 42 – What is the nationality of your spouse/partner (if any) in Italy?

		<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Valid	Italian	1,095	9.1
	Foreign (same as respondent's nationality)	5,338	44.3
	Different foreign nationality	318	2.6
	No answer	690	5.7
	<i>Total</i>	<i>7,440</i>	<i>61.8</i>
Missing	4,601	38.2	
<i>Total</i>	<i>12,042</i>	<i>100.0</i>	

Table 43 – Do you have children?

		<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Valid	No	5,202	43.2
	Yes	6,803	56.5
	<i>Total</i>	<i>12,004</i>	<i>99.7</i>
Missing	37	0.3	
<i>Total</i>	<i>12,042</i>	<i>100.0</i>	

Table 44 – Do your children live with you in Italy?

		<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Valid	No	2,427	20.2
	Yes, all of them	3,802	31.6
	Yeas, some of them	515	4.3
	<i>Total</i>	<i>6,744</i>	<i>56.0</i>
Missing		5,298	44.0
<i>Total</i>		<i>12,042</i>	<i>100.0</i>

Table 45 – Please specify whether your *first over-14 son/daughter* attends the upper secondary school in Italy

		<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Valid	Yes, he/she attends the upper secondary school	772	6.4
	No, he/she attends the secondary school	504	4.2
	No, he/she is working	496	4.1
	No, he/she stays at home	103	0.9
	No answer	45	0.4
	<i>Total</i>	<i>1,921</i>	<i>16.0</i>
Missing		10,120	84.0
<i>Total</i>		<i>12,042</i>	<i>100.0</i>

Table 46 – Please specify whether your *second over-14 son/daughter* attends the upper secondary school in Italy

		<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentagee</i>
Valid	Yes, he/she attends the upper secondary school	229	1.9
	No, he/she attends the secondary school	361	3.0
	No, he/she is working	190	1.6
	No, he/she stays at home	53	0.4
	No answer	13	0.1
	<i>Total</i>	<i>847</i>	<i>7.0</i>
Missing		11,195	93.0
<i>Total</i>		<i>12,042</i>	<i>100.0</i>

Table 47 - Please specify whether your *third over-14 son/daughter* attends the upper secondary school in Italy

		<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Valid	Yes, he/she attends the upper secondary school	26	0.2
	No, he/she attends the secondary school	54	0.4
	No, he/she is working	57	0.5
	No, he/she stays at home	30	0.3
	No answer	4	0.0
	<i>Total</i>	<i>172</i>	<i>1.4</i>
Missing		11,869	98.6
<i>Total</i>		<i>12,042</i>	<i>100.0</i>

Table 48 – Please specify which kind of school does your over-14 *first son/daughter* attend, if he/she attends the upper secondary school

		<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Valid	Liceo	259	2.2
	Istituto tecnico	221	1.8
	Istituto professionale	208	1.7
	Centro di formazione professionale	59	0.5
	Other	53	0.4
	No answer	31	0.3
	<i>Total</i>	<i>830</i>	<i>6.9</i>
Missing		11,211	93.1
<i>Total</i>		<i>12,042</i>	<i>100.0</i>

Table 49 – Please specify which kind of school does your *second over-14 son/daughter* attend, if he/she attends the upper secondary school

		<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Valid	Liceo	45	0.4
	Istituto tecnico	82	0.7
	Istituto professionale	57	0.5
	Centro di formazione professionale	2	0.0
	Other	7	0.1
	No answer	5	0.0
	<i>Total</i>	<i>198</i>	<i>1.6</i>
Missing		11,843	98.4
<i>Total</i>		<i>12,042</i>	<i>100.0</i>

Table 50 - Please specify which kind of school does your *third over-14 son/daughter* attend, if he/she attends the upper secondary school

		<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Valid	Liceo	8	0.1
	Istituto tecnico	9	0.1
	Istituto professionale	4	0.0
	Centro di formazione professionale	1	0.0
	Other	4	0.0
	No answer	3	0.0
	<i>Total</i>	<i>30</i>	<i>0.3</i>
Missing		12,011	99.7
<i>Total</i>		<i>12,042</i>	<i>100.0</i>

Table 51 – How much do you feel you belong to your country of origin?

		<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Valid	Very much	7,757	64.4
	Pretty much	3,039	25.2
	Scarcely	902	7.5
	Not at all	197	1.6
	No answer	113	0.9
	<i>Total</i>	<i>12,009</i>	<i>99.7</i>
Missing		32	0.3
<i>Total</i>		<i>12,042</i>	<i>100.0</i>

Table 52 – Are you interested in the events of your country of origin?

		<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Valid	Very much	7,776	64.6
	Pretty much	3,085	25.6
	Scarcely	856	7.1
	Not at all	244	2.0
	No answer	65	0.5
	<i>Total</i>	<i>12,026</i>	<i>99.9</i>
Missing		16	0.1
<i>Total</i>		<i>12,042</i>	<i>100.0</i>

Table 53 – Do you happen to send money to your country of origin?

		<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Valid	Yes, I regularly send money	3,020	25.1
	Yes, I send money when I can do it/in case of need	5,486	45.6
	No, never	3,084	25.6
	No answer	413	3.4
	<i>Total</i>	<i>12,003</i>	<i>99.7</i>
Missing		38	0.3
<i>Total</i>		<i>12,042</i>	<i>100.0</i>

Table 54 – What is your personal net average monthly earned income?

		<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Valid	Less than 600 €	1,085	9.0
	From 600 to 799 €	1,763	14.6
	From 800 to 999 €	1,995	16.6
	From 1,000 to 1,199 €	1,739	14.4
	From 1,200 to 1,499 €	1,070	8.9
	From 1,500 to 2,000 €	422	3.5
	More than 2,000 €	187	1.6
	No earned income	2,470	20.5
	No answer	1,228	10.2
	<i>Total</i>	<i>11,957</i>	<i>99.3</i>
Missing		84	0.7
<i>Total</i>		<i>12,042</i>	<i>100.0</i>

Table 55 – Macro-area of origin

		<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Valid	Eastern Europe	4,622	38.4
	Asia	2,705	22.5
	North Africa	1,844	15.3
	Other African countries	1,510	12.5
	Latin America	1,342	11.1
	Stateless	3	0.0
	<i>Total</i>	<i>12,026</i>	<i>99.9</i>
Missing		16	0.1
<i>Total</i>		<i>12,042</i>	<i>100.0</i>

Table 56 – Age segment

		<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
	18-19	221	1.8
	20-24	1,237	10.3
	25-29	2,045	17.0
	30-34	2,212	18.4
Valid	35-39	2,026	16.8
	40-44	1,642	13.6
	45-49	1,205	10.0
	50+	1,402	11.6
	<i>Total</i>	<i>11,990</i>	<i>99.6</i>
Missing		51	0.4
<i>Total</i>		<i>12,042</i>	<i>100.0</i>

Table 57 – Migration seniority class

	<i>Years</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
	0-1	753	6.3
	2-4	2,725	22.6
Valid	5-10	4,934	41.0
	11-15	1,850	15.4
	15+	1,677	13.9
	<i>Total</i>	<i>11,939</i>	<i>99.2</i>
Missing		102	0.8
<i>Total</i>		<i>12,042</i>	<i>100.0</i>