XXVI IUSSP INTERNATIONAL POPULATION CONFERENCE Marrakech, 27 September - 2 October 2009

Two years later: integration process of second generation migrants in Italy Giuseppe Gabrielli ^(*) - Anna Paterno ^(*) - Benedetta Castiglioni ^(**) - Gianpiero Dalla Zuanna ^(**)

1. Theoretical focus

As well known, since the end of the 1970's Italy has progressively changed its role from traditional emigration country to one of receiving immigrants. The last 15 years have shown major changes in migration flows. Migratory movements, registered and unregistered alike, have grown substantially compared to the past [Okòlski, 1998]. Italy, together with the other new immigration countries of Southern Europe, has become one of the most important destination areas. The region of origin of the migration flows expanded because of new emigration countries (especially those of Central and East Europe) adding up to the existing ones [Cangiano, Strozza, 2007].

As a result, the overall range of immigrant populations in South-European regions is wider and more heterogeneous than in Central and Northern European destination areas. The foreign population assumed characteristics that differed – at least partly – from those recorded in the previous years. This was a consequence of the relevance of new ethnic communities and nationalities and of the stabilization of long stay foreign immigrants.

The co-existence of first time immigration processes and stabilization processes [Gabrielli, Paterno, Strozza, 2007a] due to the "stratification" of different immigration fluxes produced a growing presence of native youth or children migrated at very young ages. The amount of young foreign immigrants aged less than 15 years has increased from almost 5,000 in 1992 to more than 30,000 in 2006; the number of births from at least one foreign parent has enlarged from 5,000 to 60,000 in the same period. For this reason, the sum of immigrants aged 18 or less is grown from 59,000 in 1991 (census data) to around 588,000 in 2006 (population register data); thus from 0.6% to 5.9% of total population at the same age (see Fig.1).

Fig. 1 - Resident immigrants in Italy aged less than 18 years, 2001-06. Abs. val. and % of tot. pop. at the same age.

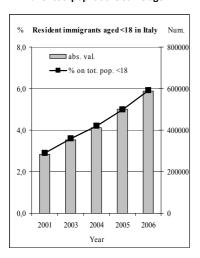


Fig. 2 - Foreign students by region, 2005/06.

Percentage of total student population
in the same region.

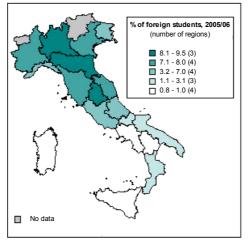
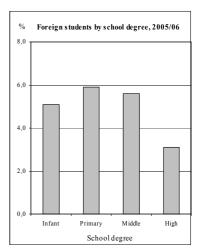


Fig. 3 - Foreign students by school degree, 2005/06. % of total student population in the same school degree.



Source: for Fig.1 see www.demo.istat.it; for Fig. 2 and 3 see Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, 2006.

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This rapid growth produced an increasing "pressure" on the school system, and particularly on the first and secondary schools, where the quota of foreign students (less than 1% in the scholastic year 1995-96) reached almost 6% in the year 2005-06 (see Fig.3).

The percentage of foreign students in the Italian school system is unbalanced toward the Northern and Central regions: in particular, one student above 8 is foreigner in 6 North-Central regions (Piemonte, Lombardia, Veneto, Emilia Romagna, Umbria, Marche), while this quota is 1 above 100 in all Southern and Insular regions [Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, 2006]. This is also due to the different occupational opportunities that adults get in these areas (see Fig. 2).

2. Research topics and data

The rapid growth of the international migrations has enlarged the attention of scholars and policy makers from immigrants to their families, and in particular to the formation processes and the characteristics of the "second generations" – native youth or adolescents migrated at very young ages. The integration of immigrants is often an advisable goal of social policy and a stimulating research issue. If scholars find it hard to agree on a precise definition of "integration", there is no doubt that it is a complex, long and dynamic phenomenon. The insertion and stabilization path of immigrants in settlement areas should be considered as a multidimensional and interactive process with different phases along the life history of each immigrant [Bonifazi et al., 2003; Gabrielli, Paterno, Strozza, 2007b; Zincone, 2001].

Based on these considerations, the preliminary issue of this research shortly describes the evolution of the young component of the foreign presence in Italy, according the official sources (Italian Institute of Statistic, Ministry of Education). After that, the main aim of our research is to analyze the different "faces" of integration process in a sample of youths having at least one foreign parent and enrolled in Italian Secondary Schools. After describing the main characteristics of the interviewers, we use two waves of a panel survey to consider two different times in the integration process. We estimate a crude index (see next session) to quantify, compare and evaluate the integration level reached by each student in each wave. Thus we can analyze the "directions" (decreasing, stable, increasing) of integration process during the considered period. The further multivariate analyses consider the main determinants of the these "directions".

We use data coming from the Survey on Second Generations in Italy (ITAGEN2). This survey is the first representative research on young foreign people realized in Italy. It comes from the collaboration of different Italian research groups coordinated by G. Dalla Zuanna of the University of Padua.

The first phase has been conducted during the academic year 2005-06 in Junior High Schools (age 10-14) using a self-filled questionnaire and comparing Italians and foreigners. The large sample size involves more than 200 schools and is statistically representative of 10 regions (in all 20) for schools with more than 10% of foreign pupils in the Center-North of Italy and more than 3% in the South. Data consider 10,554 students with at least one foreign parent and 10,150 Italian ones. Generally speaking, previous analyses have shown that the data quality is good [Casacchia, Natale, Paterno, Terzera, 2008].

Moreover, data collect names and phone numbers of around 2,500 interviewers in five regions (Veneto, Marche, Puglia, Calabria and Sicily). During the academic year 2007-08, a second wave has been conducted using a CATI questionnaire and a panel structure. It considers 699 students with at least one foreign parent and 1,188 Italian adolescents. Data permit to evaluate different characteristics of student behaviour (the sense of belonging to Italy, language, opinions, scholastic attendance and performance) and their change between the two waves. In adding, the relations with the "place of life" are considered too. For the first time it is possible to use this data and compare the results to the ones of the first wave.

3. Research methods and expected findings

The sample considers only 699 students with at least one foreign parent and interviewed in both waves. It is balanced by gender. 39.1% of students live in Veneto, 22.6% in Marche and 38.3% in the three Southern regions (Puglia, Calabria e Sicilia). As all of interviewers were enrolled in Junior High School during first wave, 31.2% of them attends the same school, 63.3% High Schools and 5.5% are not in school in the second wave. We distinguish four different student groups according to their birth place, their parents' country of birth and the length of their presence in Italy (considering mainly the education place). Thus we have: the foreign students partially educated in the origin country (27.2%), the pupils totally educated in Italy but born elsewhere (31.2%), the "second generations" (adolescents born in Italy from foreigners parents – 17.2%) and the students born from mixed couples (just one foreign parent – 24.4%). Considering the birth country, the largest number of cases (39.4%) come from Eastern Europe; 34.5% were born in Italy or in other Developed Countries and 26.1% in Asia, Africa or South America.

The variables we used to define the reached level of integration, include the main aspects considered by many scholars [Ambrosini, Molina, 2004; Casacchia, Natale, Paterno, Terzera, 2008; Crul, Vermeulen, 2003; Glick, White, 2004; Portes, 1996; Rumbaut, 1994]: the language attitudes, the school performances, the parity relationships, the sense of belonging to Italy. We assign a score for each variable according to the answers and, as done elsewhere [Barsotti et al., 2006], we estimate a crude integration index that we synthesized in three modalities (low, middle, high). The index has been calculated twice using both waves of panel survey. Comparing the two results for each individual, we classify the students who, during the observed period (two years length), improved their insertion process (increased), those who remained stable and those who decreased. First results (Fig. 4) seem interesting and worthy of a close analyses. In the first wave, the crude integration index shows a large proportion of pupils with a high score (40.2%), even though the highest percentage is reached by the students with a middle score (45.4%). The quota of interviewers that assume a low level of integration is important even limited as well (14.4%).

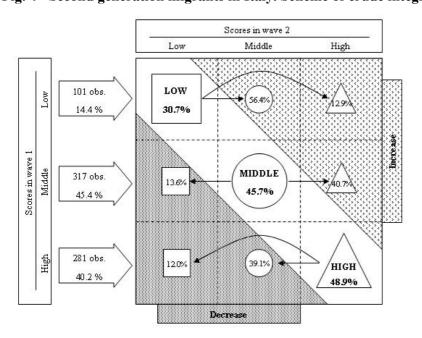


Fig. 4 - Second generation migrants in Italy. Scheme of crude integration index's changing scores.

Source: our elaborations on ITAGEN2 data.

Comparing the first and second wave results, the 56.4% of the interviewers in low level of integration (in wave 1) improve to middle scores (in wave 2) and, at the same time, the 40.7% passed from middle to high level. On the other side, 39.1% of the high level students decreases in

the second wave to a middle level of integration. We consider sporadic cases with a "double jump" of decrease (the 12.0% passing from high to low level) or increase (12.9% passing from low to high level) in their insertion process.

A synthetic analysis of these results shows a virtuous and consecutive process of integration for most of the sample. It seems an interesting target in a relative short period (two years) and considering the adolescence period that is characterized by important psycho-attitudinal changes along the transition to adulthood. It will be interesting to show the main determinants of this result using multivariate analyses (thus multinomial models) and estimate the significance and the impact of some interviewers' characteristics such as: the gender, the birth country, the resident Italian region, the socio-economic conditions of the origin family, the setting around them.

Moreover, preliminary descriptive analyses on the relation with the "place of life" implemented through the second wave data show some aspects of the complexity of the integration process. On the one side, the way immigrant children give judgments to the place in which they live now does not seem correlated to the crude integration index. On the other side, a strong correlation between these judgments and the length of their presence in Italy arises. Other analysis are useful to understand the role of the relation with the place of life in the integration process (Castiglioni, De Nardi, Rossetto, 2008).

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