Foreign immigration in Italy: a forty-year-old history

L'immigrazione straniera in Italia: una storia iniziata quarant'anni fa

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Abstract *Italy has long been a multi-ethnic and multicultural country, with over 5 million resident foreigners displaying a great variety in terms of origins, characteristics and behaviours. After locating our country within Europe's context of migration, this paper describes the contribution of demography to the observation of the phenomenon and to the evaluation of its demographic impact. Finally, the paper deals with some major issues related to the integration of adult migrants and their children's schooling.*

Riassunto *L'Italia è ormai da tempo un paese multietnico e multiculturale con oltre 5 milioni di stranieri residenti estremamente eterogenei per origini, caratteristiche e comportamenti. Dopo aver collocato il nostro paese all'interno del contesto migratorio europeo, questo articolo fa il punto della situazione sul contributo della demografia alla rilevazione del fenomeno e alla valutazione del suo impatto demografico. Richiama infine alcune questioni importanti per quanto concerne l'integrazione degli immigrati adulti e l'inserimento scolastico dei loro figli.*

Keywords: Foreign immigration, Estimated net migration, Sources and data collection, Demographic Impact, Integration, First and Second Generation, Italy

1 Introduction

Since the late 1970s Italy has been a country of immigration after being one of the main European countries of emigration for more than a century, with around 27 million Italian expatriates and 11-13 million repatriates in the period 1876-1988 (Birindelli, 1989; Golini, 1997; Bonifazi, 2013). The foreign population has gradually increased over time with an unexpected, extraordinary growth during the past decade, reaching over 5 million residents at the most recent data.

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In the past five years, foreign immigration has regularly made the news, mainly due to the boats overloaded with human beings that reach the southern shores and are often rescued at sea, to the wrecks and the thousands of deaths in the Mediterranean. As for the interest of demographers in immigration and the presence of foreigners in Italy, it dates back to the 1980s (Federici, 1983). A number of projects have been carried out jointly with scholars of other social disciplines, with the aim of improving the data collection system (Natale, 1983; 1986; Natale and Strozza, 1997; Bonifazi, 1998; Strozza et al., 2002) and obtaining information and knowledge about what at the time was a recent, little-known phenomenon.

This paper wishes to provide an account of the main steps forward taken in this forty-year-old history of immigration and delve into the issue of the foreign presence in Italy. Needless to say, the perspective will be demographic. In other words, the focus will be mostly on the main achievements of demographic research contributing to knowledge acquisition, with no intention to mark the boundaries between different disciplines which, in the area of migration, seem to be as blurred as ever, thus pointing to the great value of interdisciplinary research.

In the first place, an account of migration processes on the European scale will be provided in order to show the importance this component of the demographic dynamic has gained over time and to highlight the primary role played by Italy as a country of immigration (Section 2). Secondly, the paper will show how, since the beginning, demographers have been focusing their attention on the problems concerning measuring immigration and the foreign presence (Section 3). This is the aim of the analysis of the sources and methods of data collections which have led to the adjustment of current total surveys, to estimates of the phenomenon taking into account the component of unregistered subjects as well, to the carrying out of field or sample surveys making it possible to enrich the overall picture of knowledge. The focus on the measurement of immigrants' demographic behaviours and of their impact on the Italian demography will be briefly referred to at the beginning of Section 4, which includes two specific in-depth analyses of the effects of immigration on population ageing as well as of the contribution of foreigners to the slight recovery of period fertility recorded in the past decade. The following Section deals with the issue of measuring the levels of integration. More specifically, the first part presents the results of some research projects on the level of integration of adult immigrants (over the age of 18) based on data from specific sample surveys, while the second part explores the issue of immigrants' children's schooling. The brief conclusions (Section 6) refer to a few policy considerations deriving from analyses carried out in the past years.

2 International migration: European background and the Italian case

Before dealing with the case of Italy, it seems appropriate to draw a synthetic picture of migration processes in Europe with a view to showing both the major changes occurred in the past decades in the direction and magnitude of net migration, and the role played by the migratory component in the population dynamic (Section 2.1). By means of a

close examination of the last inter-census decade it will be possible to appreciate the peculiarity of immigration in Italy compared to the other EU15 countries, especially by the immigrants' macro-areas of birth (Section 2.2), to finally draw a synthetic picture of the evolution of immigration and foreign presence in Italy (Section 2.3).

2.1 Net migration in EU15 countries in the past decades

In order to present a background picture on migration in Europe in the past decades, residual net migration has been estimated using data from the Eurostat database on resident population and on the natural events recorded by European countries in the past 55 years. The estimates concerning the 2010-2014 period are not entirely comparable to those of the previous decades because the population data related to the most recent date (beginning of 2015) does not depend on an independent survey such as census. Therefore, these estimates also contain statistical adjustments and other corrections following the last census. Generally speaking, the indirect estimates of net migration provide an evaluation of international migration processes for all the countries considered, which would not be possible with direct administrative data collections. The present paper considers countries of the European Union (EU) before the 2013 enlargement (EU15). It should be stressed that the results obtained with reference to the past decades (from 1960 to 1999) are for the most part similar to those proposed before (Fassmann, Münz, 1994; Zlotnik, 1999; Bonifazi, Strozza, 2002; Bonifazi, 2008; Sobotka, 2009; Strozza, 2010).

As early as the 1960s, EU15 countries recorded a positive net migration (about 800 thousand net arrivals), which grew to 2.3 million in the 1970s and remained more or less stable in the 1980s. It is in the last 25 years, however, that this geopolitical area has become increasingly attractive: positive net migration was more than 7 million in the 1990s and almost doubled in the first decade of the 21st century (Table 1). About 14.3 million net arrivals confirm that, in the past decade, EU15 countries have become one of the world's main poles of attraction for migrants, at the same levels as North America (Sobotka, 2009; Strozza, 2010). In spite of the economic crisis, even in the last five years arrivals have outnumbered departures by about 5.5 million - a remarkable positive balance, although less intense than in the past.

While in the first thirty years only western EU15 countries recorded significant positive net migration values – the southern ones remaining massive emigration areas until the 1960s – in the last twenty years the three regions have all shown a remarkable net immigration, which has been growing in southern and northern countries over the two decades. Traditionally an emigration area, after twenty years (1970-1989) of net migration close to zero southern Europe has become an immigration area, and in the first decade of the 21st century the most attractive area in the EU (more than 8 million of net immigrants), its net migration rate (annual average of 6.8 immigrants per 1,000 inhabitants) being remarkably higher than the one recorded in the 1960s (2.8) by the 'traditional' receiving countries, that is western European countries. As a consequence of the economic crisis, in the last five

years the attractiveness of southern European countries has decreased remarkably, unlike western Europe, where it has increased.

Table 1: Net migration in the EU15 member States, divided by regions[(a)]. Periods 1960-1969, 1970-1979, 1980-1989, 1990-1999, 2000-2009 and 2010-2014[(a)]. Absolute values (thousands) and annual average rates (per 1,000 inhabitants).

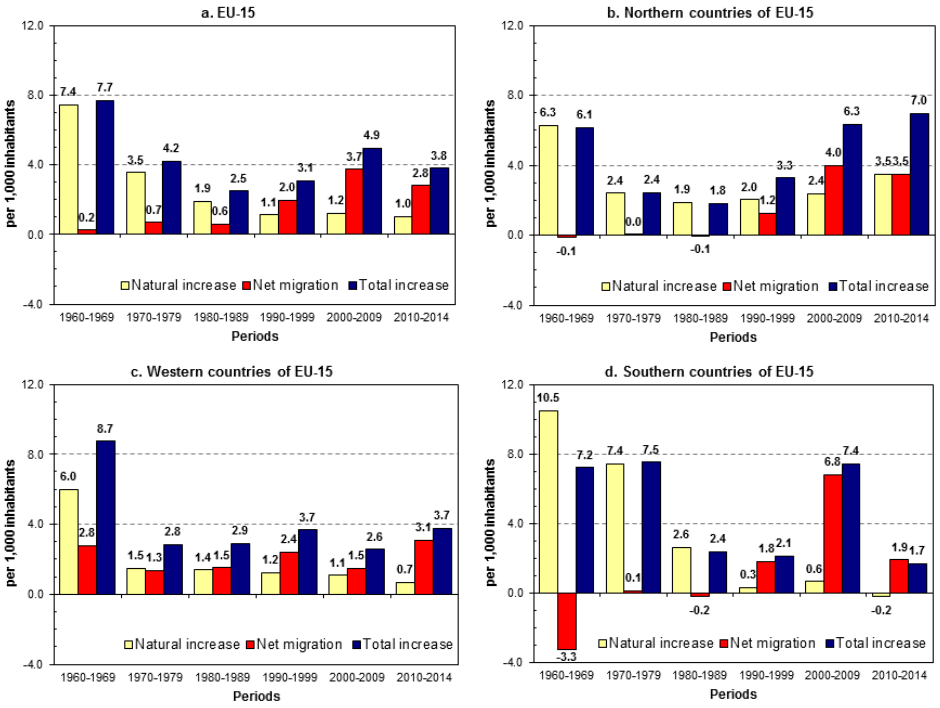
Geographical areas into EU15	*Periods*					
	1960-1969	*1970-1979*	*1980-1989*	*1990-1999*	*2000-2009*	*2010-2014[(b)]*
	Absolute values (thousand)					
North	-103	19	-39	998	3,364	1,541
West[(c)]	4,206	2,171	2,496	4,161	2,632	2,801
South[(d)]	-3,319	134	-281	2,082	8,321	1,207
Total EU15	783	2,325	2,176	7,241	14,317	5,549
	Net migration rates (annual average per 1,000 inhabitants)					
North	-0.1	0.0	-0.1	1.2	4.0	3.5
West[(b)]	2.8	1.3	1.5	2.4	1.5	3.1
South[(c)]	-3.3	0.1	-0.2	1.8	6.8	1.9
Total EU15	0.2	0.7	0.6	2.0	3.7	2.8

Notes: (a) North: Denmark, Finland, Ireland, Sweden and United Kingdom; West: Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Luxemburg and The Netherlands; South: Greece, Italy, Portugal and Spain. (b) For this period the estimates of net migration also contain statistical adjustments. (c) The resident population in Germany at the beginning of 2000 and 2010 has been revised according to the results of the 2011 census. (d) The resident population in Greece at the beginning of 1990, 2000, 2010 and 2015 has been revised according to the results of the last three censuses.
Sources: Own elaborations from data of Eurostat integrated with national statistics.

Another major aspect to point out is that in the period under study the contribution of the natural and the migratory components to the population dynamic of EU15 countries has changed dramatically (Figure 1).
In the 1960s the population growth was mainly due to the natural component: of the average annual increase of 7.7 units per 1,000 inhabitants 7.4 was due to the natural balance (births being much more numerous than deaths). In the following decades, as the demographic transition came to an end, together with lower fertility rates and population ageing, the contribution of the natural component gradually decreased (with an imperceptible recovery only in the past decade), whereas the contribution of migration has grown mainly in the past 25 years. In 2000-2009, almost four fifths of the population growth rate (4.9 more people every 1,000 inhabitants) was due to net immigration (3.7 more immigrants every 1,000 inhabitants). It is precisely because of the exceptional growth of net immigration that EU15 countries have recorded a growth in their rate of increase in the last two decades, after it had gradually decreased in the three preceding periods. Even the less remarkable annual increase recorded in the last five years (3.8 more people every 1,000 inhabitants) is still due, by three-fourths, to the migratory component (2.8 immigrants every 1,000 inhabitants).
The analysis of the three individual regions of the EU15 is particularly interesting. In the 1960s the western region recorded the highest rate of increase (8.7 per 1,000) among the three geographical areas because of the joint effect of a widely positive natural component (6.0 per 1,000) and a significant contribution of net migration

(2.8 per 1,000). In the 1970s the population growth rate went down to a third following the fall in the natural and migratory increase, the latter being affected by policies aiming at stopping workers' immigration after the 1973-74 economic crisis. The situation remained virtually unchanged in the following decade, while in the 1990s the growth rate increased as a result of an intense recovery of immigration, also due to the migration flows following the collapse of the Soviet Union and its satellite States. In the last decade the demographic dynamic was similar to that of the 1970s and 1980s, while in the period 2010-2014 the growth rate increased again because of a migratory attractiveness (3.1 per 1,000) which, should it be confirmed, was beyond the levels of the 1960s.

Figure 1: Average annual natural increase, net migration and total population increase (per 1,000 inhabitants) in the EU15 member States, divided by regions[(a)]. Periods 1960-1969, 1970-1979, 1980-1989, 1990-1999, 2000-2009 and 2010-14[(b)].



Notes: (a) (b) See notes a and b in table 1.
Sources: Own elaborations from data of Eurostat integrated with national statistics.

The evolution in southern EU15 countries has been very different. In the 1960s the growth rate (7.2 per 1,000) recorded by this geographical area was lower than in the western region because the natural component, much higher (10.5 per 1,000) than in the other two regions, was partly balanced out by the very negative migratory component (-3.3 per 1,000). In the following decades the decrease in births due to a rapidly weakening period fertility entailed a rapid decrease in the natural growth

rate, which came close to zero in the 1990s and has remained very low even in the past decade, despite a slight recovery which was partly due to the more favourable natural dynamics of immigrants, and negative in the last 5 years. The migratory component, close to zero in 1970-1989, grew in the 1990s (1.8 per 1,000) and reached exceptional levels during the past decade (6.8 per 1,000). The unexpected population growth in the first 10 years of the new Millennium is mainly due to the exceptional levels of immigration, which is even more interesting considering that until a few decades ago the population growth in the southern region was completely ascribable to the natural component. In southern Europe, the economic crisis has greatly reduced the migratory balance (which has become negative in Spain, Greece, and Portugal), which however remains the only positive component in the demographic dynamic of the area as a whole.

The path followed by the northern region is more or less midway between the other two regions in the period 1960-2009. It should be noted that in the past decade the rate of increase in this geographical area (6.3 per 1,000) was for the first time greater than in the western region, since the higher natural increase (2.4 versus 1.1 per 1,000) recorded beforehand was combined to a stronger migration increase (4.0 versus 1.5 per 1,000) which reached unprecedentedly high levels, higher than the natural component. In the past decade southern and northern Europe have become the main receiving areas in the EU15 and their population growth is largely due to immigration from abroad (Strozza, 2010). In the last 5 years, as a consequence of the economic crisis, southern Europe has lost much of its attractiveness, whereas northern Europe has maintained a positive net migration rate similar to that of the previous decade, recording the highest demographic growth, half of which was due to a still largely positive natural component.

2.2 Net migration by origin of foreign-born people in recent past

In order to look at the magnitude, demographic characteristics and origin of international migration flows in the last decade, net migration balances of the foreign-born population by gender, age and macro-region of birth have been estimated (Strozza, 2015b; Di Bartolomeo et al., 2016). The peculiarity of the proposed estimates is that they concern only the foreign-born population, and are divided by gender, age groups and even groups of countries of birth (macro-regions of birth). The foreign-born population provides an estimate of the immigrant population (Dumont, Lemaître, 2008), even if this data has to be taken with extreme caution because it also includes the born-abroad children of returned national emigrants, i.e. an important component in countries with a fairly recent, significant emigration. Since the objective is to estimate the net inter-census migration of the foreign-born population, it can be assumed that the estimates relate almost exclusively to non-nationals. Please refer to the following Section and to the extensive literature for a discussion on the target populations and the possible identification criteria (United Nations, 1998; Bonifazi and Strozza, 2006; Poulain and Herm, 2010). The period of reference is 2002-2011 corresponding to the interval between the last two census rounds.

The methodology is taken from Hill (1987) and based on the equations for general population age distributions developed by Preston and Coale (1982), and particularly on a further formulation by Coale (1985). To this aim, the following data was used regarding the 17 selected countries (EU15, Norway and Switzerland): the stock of the foreign-born population by gender, age group and macro-region of birth at the 2001 and 2011 census rounds; number of deaths of born-abroad individuals and life tables of the resident population in the selected countries. Before examining the results of the estimates, it should be noted that these assessments are obviously influenced first of all by the level of coverage of the foreign-born population in the two census rounds.

Around 2011 nearly 50 million foreign-born persons resided in the 17 selected countries. Higher numbers are registered in Germany (less than 14 million), the United Kingdom (just under 8 million), France (over 7,3 million), Spain (near 5,7 million) and Italy (4,8 million), but the biggest impact of foreign-born on the total resident population is observed, in decreasing order of importance, in Luxembourg (40%), Switzerland (almost 26%), Germany (17.4%), Ireland and Austria (both just under 16%) (Table 2). Germany is excluded from the analysis because of the lack of adequate and reliable data to 2001.

Table 2: Stock of foreign-born population around 2011 and estimated 2002-2011 net migration of foreign-born population residing in EU15 countries (excluding Germany), Norway and Switzerland. Absolute values (in thousand), percentages and annual rates (per 1,000 foreign-born population).

Country of residence	*Foreign-born population (around 2011)*		*Estimated net migration (period 2002-2011)*		
	Abs. values (thousand)	*% of total population*	*Abs. values (thousand)*	*Rates (per 1,000 foreign-born)*	*% female*
Denmark	518	9.3	181	42.2	53.2
Finland	248	4.6	117	63.9	48.3
Ireland [(a)]	726	15.8	345	64.0	52.8
Sweden	1,427	15.1	506	42.3	49.7
United Kingdom	7,993	12.7	3,602	58.2	49.7
Austria	1,316	15.7	402	35.0	53.8
Belgium	1,629	14.8	634	47.4	49.9
France	7,326	11.3	2,003	30.6	53.0
Luxemburg	206	40.2	71	41.5	48.3
The Netherlands [(a)]	1,906	11.4	390	22.2	57.7
Greece	1,286	11.9	217	18.1	60.9
Italy	4,804	8.1	2,688	82.0	56.8
Portugal	872	8.3	253	33.5	58.4
Spain	5,662	12.1	3,609	102.9	48.9
Norway	612	12.3	313	71.7	46.3
Switzerland [(a)]	2,034	25.6	307	15.9	48.8

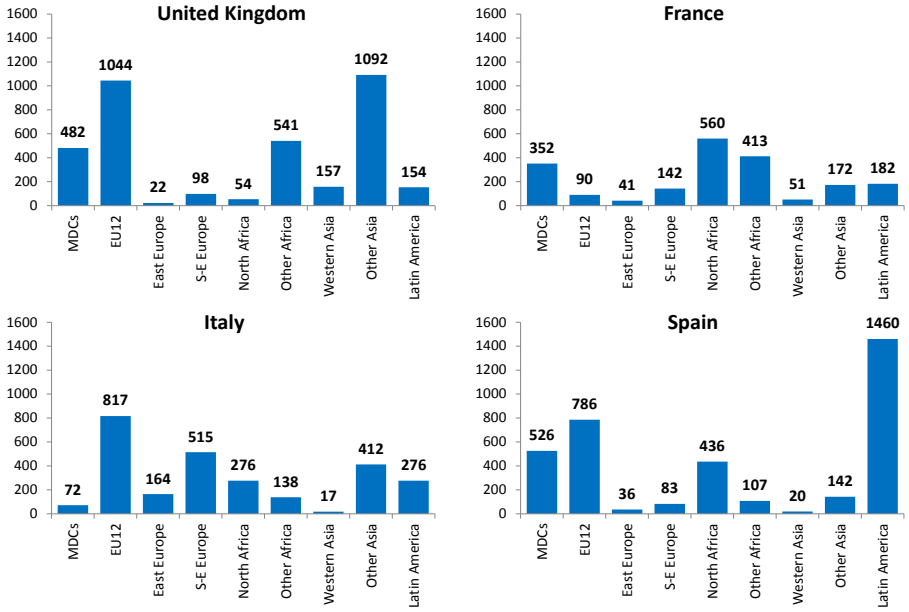
Note: (a) The figure refers to the beginning of 2012 and not the census data.
Sources: Strozza, 2015b; Di Bartolomeo et al., 2016 (elaboration from Eurostat data coming from national statistics collected in the 2001 and 2011 census rounds and in continuous recording of deaths).

Resulting estimates for the period 2002-2011 confirmed the significant absolute net immigration of born-abroad individuals to Spain, United Kingdom (both about 3.6

million), Italy (almost 2,7 million) and France (2 million). In the first five positions of net immigration are the same countries that have the highest stock of foreign-born population, though not quite in the same order. It should be noted, however, that Spain and Italy record the highest annual average migration rate equal, respectively, to almost 103 and exactly 82 immigrants every year per 1,000 born-abroad residents. Fairly high rates are also recorded by Northern European countries (in the order Norway, Ireland, Finland and the UK), while all other countries show much lower rates (Table 2).

Mainly in Norway, net migration is composed of more males than females with a significant gender difference (women are only 46.3%). A slight male prevalence is also observed in net immigration of foreign-born people in Finland, Luxembourg, Switzerland and Spain; a substantial gender balance was recorded in the UK, Sweden and Belgium. In the remaining countries women become the majority among net immigrants, especially in Greece (61%), Portugal (58.4%), the Netherlands (57.7%) and Italy (56.8%).

Figure 2: Net migration of foreign-born population by macro-region of origin. United Kingdom, France, Italy and Spain, 2002-2011 period. Values in thousand.



Sources: Strozza, 2015b (elaboration from Eurostat data coming from national statistics collected in the 2001 and 2011 census rounds and in continuous recording of deaths).

It is also interesting to see how from one country to another the main areas of origin of immigrants can change and whether any relationship between the area of origin and composition by sex exists. As a matter of fact, the 16 selected host countries have an extremely heterogeneous profile based on size, area of origin of immigrants and their demographic characteristics (Strozza, 2015b). Immigrants born in the new EU countries account for almost a quarter of all 2002-2011 net immigration estimated and their net inflow is particularly large in the United Kingdom (more than one million),

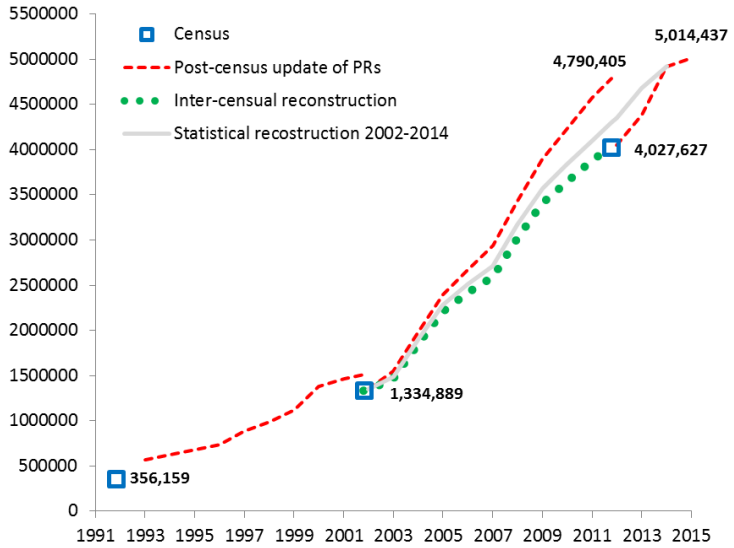
Italy and Spain (respectively more and less than 800 thousand), the most important receiving countries in the period (Figure 2). The majority of women in net immigration appears, more or less marked, among people coming from new-EU Eastern European countries, the former Soviet European republics, Latin America and Central and South Asia (essentially from South-East Asia), while the male dominated in net immigration from Northern Africa and the Middle East (Strozza, 2015b).
The peculiarity of the situation in Italy within the European context is apparent. Italy receives immigrants from all over the world. Net migration is significant not only from new EU member States, the Balkans and the former Soviet Republics, but also from North Africa and the sub-Saharan region, central and eastern Asia, as well as Latin America (Figure 2). This is undoubtedly proof of how Italy, more than other receiving countries, has been affected by the so-called globalization of migrations.

2.3 Trend of the foreign immigration and population in Italy

The original foreign immigration included mainly women from Cape Verde and the Philippines, who settled in large cities; refugees from the Horn of Africa and the Middle East, equally in urban areas; Tunisian families in Sicily; African males (especially Moroccan and Senegalese) in coastal areas as well as in rural areas in the South; and Yugoslavs living in the nearby north-eastern regions. In the 1980s arrivals increased and new areas of origin appeared across Africa, Asia and Latin America. Towards the end of the decade the regular presence grew thanks to the first major regularisation (1987-88), which was followed by the even larger one of 1990, carried out in accordance with Law no. 39/1990 (called the "Martelli" law). At the end of the decade, there were almost 500,000 foreigners with a residence permit (Natale and Strozza, 1997), and a share of irregular presences estimated in a large range accounting for around 25 to 55% of the total foreign population (Strozza, 2004). In the 1990s immigration from Morocco and the Philippines continued, arrivals from the Indian peninsula and China increased, the numbers of Albanians (and the interest of the media in these groups) became remarkable, a major immigration flow from Peru was recorded, but most importantly, a growing migration from former communist countries – namely Romania – started. The resident foreign population grew from less than 500,000 persons in the early 1990s to 1.5 million at the beginning of the new Millennium, to exceed 5 million by 2015 (Figure 3), as a consequence of subsequent regularization procedures. The figure is more than 7 million people (about 11.5% of the population) if non-resident foreigners are also included, together with those having acquired the Italian citizenship and those born in Italy from mixed couples (who are Italian from birth). In the last 15 years, especially before the economic crisis, immigration has taken on absolutely exceptional and unforeseeable dimensions. As well as an increase in the flows that were already numerically large (particularly from Romania, Albania, Morocco and China), there have been new, substantial migrations from some of the former Soviet republics (above all, Ukraine and Moldova), as well as from the Indian sub-continent and Ecuador. The eastern-European component has

become overtly prevailing as compared to the other areas of origin of foreigners residing in Italy.

Figure 3: Trends of foreign resident population according to available sources (censuses and Population Registers - PRs) and elaborations. Italy, 1991-2015 (absolute values generally at the beginning of year).



Sources: Own elaboration on Istat data (http://www.istat.it).

Generally speaking, it is a variety of nationalities with specific demographic and social features, different migratory projects, as well as different demographic and economic behaviours and settlement characteristics, showing the main concentration in the country's central and northern regions, that is to say the economically more dynamic areas in which foreigners now account for over 10% of the resident population. This work-related immigration has recently been complemented by a growing immigration of refugees and asylum seekers, who often see Italy only as a transit country, given its central position in the Mediterranean, on their way to their final destinations in western or northern Europe.

In the last five years the number of people rescued in the Mediterranean while trying to reach the Italian shores has reached unprecedented levels (63,000 in 2011 and 170,000 and 154,000 respectively in 2014 and 2015), in the aftermath of the so-called Arab Springs and, more recently, of conflicts in the Middle East (Syria, as well as Afghanistan and Pakistan), North Africa (Libya and Egypt) and in some countries of the sub-Saharan region (e.g. Eritrea, Somalia, Mali, Nigeria, etc.). The migration of refugees and asylum seekers has reached unprecedented levels in terms of numbers, even though it remains less numerous than the official registrations of foreigners who reach Italy mainly for work and family reunification reasons.

Over these decades, not only have the dimension and features of migration flows and foreign presence in Italy changed; the system of data collection has also improved, enriching the set of available and reliable information.

3 Evolution of the Italian system of data collection on immigrants

In the early 1980s the national statistics system was specially designed to measure Italian migration abroad, which explains why it was not able to provide accurate statistical information on the magnitude and characteristics of foreign immigration to Italy and on the presence of immigrants on the Italian territory (Natale, 1983). This is also because a major part (the largest part, according to some) of the presences were irregular or at least not recorded in the data sources available. The following sub-Sections provide a synthetic picture of the main advances made in the Italian system of data collection on immigration and foreign population (Section 3.1) and recall the contributions of Italian demographers to the definition of the communities of interest, to the estimate of the irregular component, as well as to the implementation of *ad hoc* sample surveys that are also representative of the unregistered component of the foreign population (Section 3.2).

3.1 Improvement of public statistics: a schematic overview

The introduction in 1980 of the question on citizenship in the data collection form on registrations in and de-registrations from the Municipal Population Registers (MPRs - *Anagrafi comunali*) due to change of residence can be considered as the first step in a long, still unaccomplished process of adjusting the national statistics system. It made it possible to obtain data on foreign immigration flows from abroad as they are recorded, however, at the time of the official registration, which sometimes occurs even a few years after entry into the country, as a prerequisite for official registration is the regular presence on the Italian territory, to be proven by the holding of a valid residence permit.
Several public and private Italian agencies (from the Ministries to the ISMU Foundation) have undoubtedly contributed to the advances of statistics on immigration. A further stimulus has come from international organisations, for instance by the passing of the Regulation of the European Parliament on Community statistics on migration and international protection (EC Regulation no. 862/2007 and following provisions). However, the improvement of the national information picture is mainly ascribable to the Istat thanks to a number of actions which are summarised below, in an attempt to follow the chronological order in which they were implemented as closely as possible: a) the introduction of the question on current citizenship in several current total surveys (since the mid-1990s, also distinguishing Italians from birth from Italians by acquisition); b) the adoption of *ad hoc* strategies

and instruments in demographic censuses to best capture the resident foreigners and those temporarily present, in the last two censuses the attention being mainly focused on the resident population to identify also people of foreign or immigrant origin by means of additional questions; c) the valorisation of administrative sources of other public agencies by revising the data provided to be used for statistical purposes (the most important instance concerns stock data and, more recently, the flow data on residence permits); d) the carrying out of annual total surveys and inter-census estimates on the demographic balance and on the structure by sex and age (alongside those by sex and country of citizenship) of the foreigners residing in Italian municipalities, in parallel with those already existing for the whole resident population; e) the carrying out of representative national sample surveys also for the foreign population (the most important instance concerns the Labour Force Survey which has been providing estimates on resident foreigners since 2005); f) the carrying out of specific sample surveys on households with at least one foreigner residing in Italy (in 2009 the first EU-SILC, European Union Statistics on Income and Living Conditions; in 2011-2012 the multi-purpose household survey on 'Condition and social integration of foreign citizens' and on foreign students in Italian schools; in 2015 the survey on 'Integration of second generations').

3.2 Contribution of demographic research to data collection

Since the very beginning, the incomplete, defective information picture on immigration and foreign presence has generated a widespread debate among scholars, mainly public statisticians and demographers, on the necessary integrations to the existing total surveys, on the strategies to adopt in data collection and on the need to carry out *ad hoc* sample surveys on the foreign population and population of foreign origin (Federici, 1983; Natale, 1983; 1986; Marozza, 1986; 1988; Natale and Strozza, 1997; Bonifazi, 1998; Istat, 1998; Strozza et al., 2002; Istat, 2008).

First of all, demographers had turned their attention to detecting the most suitable criteria to identify the target population or the events related to it within general total and sample surveys. Some significant traces of the reflections of the time are found in the no. 71 and 82-83 issues of the *Studi Emigrazione* journal (see, in particular, Natale, 1983 and Marozza, 1986). At the time, the criterion of citizenship appeared as the most suitable in a country with a centuries-long history of mass emigration and with a major flow of repatriations able to generate a significant number of foreign-born Italian residents (children of Italian emigrants who often 'repatriated' with their parents). As foreign immigration gradually became stable, the increase in citizenship acquisition and the gradual growth of the so-called second generations (children of immigrants born in the receiving country), the target population has become more and more complex, and the need has become evident to use equally complex criteria to identify the aggregates. It is a fact that, in determining the target population, foreigners and foreign-born residents (also called immigrants) are only two of the possible aggregates to refer to. It should be stressed that these aggregates are defined using different criteria (citizenship

and country of birth, respectively), are only partly made up of the same people and often are very different in numbers. Several approaches have been put forward to show the components making up the different population aggregates based on the identification criteria used. For example, the synthetic pattern devised by Poulain and Herm (2010) defines nine different population categories, crossing current citizenship – which distinguishes foreigners from nationals since birth and the naturalised ones – with the country of birth – which separates the foreign-born from those born in the country, who are in turn distinguished between those who have never migrated and those with a history of migration (the so-called repatriated, that is subjects who migrated abroad and then returned). Italian scholars have also felt the stringent need not to limit their attention to foreigners alone, but rather to extend the field of observation to include naturalised citizens and the descendants of foreign immigrants. A report for the *Commissione per la Garanzia dell'informazione Statistica* (CoGIS) emphasised the need to adopt complex criteria to identify the communities to study, crossing, for example, current citizenship with citizenship at birth and with the persons' country of birth (Strozza et al., 2002; Bonifazi e Strozza, 2005). Data from the 2001 census also showed that, in defining the aggregates of interest, it is advisable to take into account the parents' citizenship and country of birth as well, thus shifting from an individual multi-dimensional profile to a generational one when defining the criteria to identify groups (Bonifazi et al., 2008). This approach appears to be particularly meaningful in defining second generations in a wider sense, which, according to Rumbaut (1994; 1997) are to be further distinguished taking into account age on arrival to define the 1.75 (aged less than 6 on arrival), 1.50 (aged 6-12 on arrival) and 1.25 (aged 13-17 on arrival) generations.

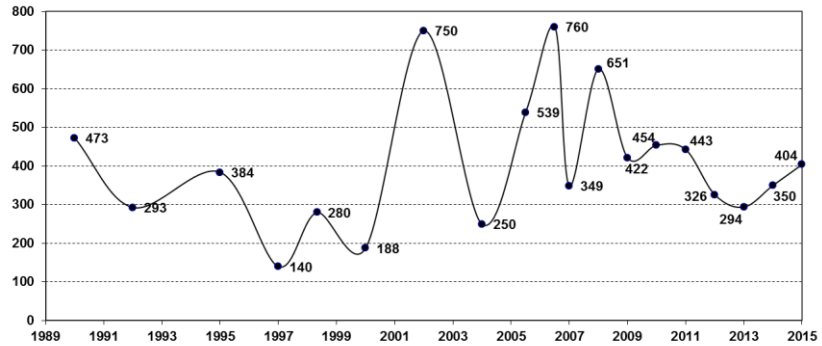
At a time when a large part of the foreign presence was irregular or however 'not recorded' by the sources available, several attempts were made to estimate the actual magnitude of the phenomenon, by means of different methods and hypotheses. In the Italian experience, five different classes of methods are identified (Strozza, 2004): a) *Juxtaposition and comparison of data* from different autonomous sources concerning both the same and different sections of the foreign population, aims at evaluating the "surveyable" number of foreigners; b) *Indirect methods* usually based on the hypothesis that the foreign population surveyed by official sources is underestimated, since the illegal share is not recorded, whereas events and actions related to illegal foreigners are well-recorded; c) Methods based on the *results of special regularization procedures* enable estimates of the number of illegal foreigners for the years preceding the amnesty, supposing the share of illegal foreigners who did not benefit from the regularization and the year of arrival in the country or of entrance into illegality; d) *Rational estimates* based on experience and on the author's knowledge of the phenomenon and its size; e) Method based on the *illegality ratio determined from sample surveys* containing specific questions regarding the status of the interviewee in relation to the current regulations on entrance and stay in the country.

At the same time, the need to carry out representative sample surveys that might also take into account the non-resident component, has led to the empirical testing of solutions that are usually adopted for elusive populations and to the identification of new strategies of data collection. The most important proposal in the Italian literature

has been the centre sampling technique (Blangiardo, 1996; 2004; Baio et al., 2011), which was first applied to some surveys carried out in Milan, then in the annual survey of the Regional Observatory for Integration and Multi-ethnicity and, finally, in some national surveys (Blangiardo, Farina, 2006; Cesareo, Blangiardo, 2009). The proposed sampling envisages the selection of the sample of immigrants/foreigners in their aggregation centres or gathering places (i.e. institutions, places of worship, entertainment, care, meeting or similar places), and the *a posteriori* setting up of a system of weights that takes into account the different probability of inclusion in the sample of the statistics-units surveyed, which varies based on the different types of centres attended and on the number of foreign presences in the various gathering places. It is a sort of adaptive sampling (Thompson, Seber, 1996), at least because some of the information collected during the survey is needed to target the survey as well as to determine the weighing system of the selected sample.

By combining the information on the share of residents and on the share of regular foreigners (meaning complying with the rules on stay) collected in the survey by the centre sample technique with the ISTAT statistics on resident foreigners and holders of residence permit, several evaluations of the dimension of the non-resident foreign population as well as of the irregular foreign population have been put forward (Blangiardo, Tanturri, 2006; Blangiardo, 2016). This has been the most widely used strategy in the past 15 years, whereby it is possible to perform separate assessments by nationality, which could, potentially, equally concern the foreign population divided by sex and large age groups. The estimates produced using this method make it possible to appreciate the evolution of illegal presences in the past 25 years (Figure 4). Regardless of the oscillations, which are mainly related to the periodical regularisation processes emptying the 'reservoir' of irregular migrants that is later filled anew by new arrivals until the following amnesty, it is possible to remark that the number of irregular migrants over time has remained between 150,000 and 800,000 presences. While in the early 1990s irregular immigrants accounted for a large share of the foreign presence, in the past few years they have accounted for less than 10% of the total. With the increase in regular presences, attention to the issue of estimating the irregular presence has gradually gone down.

Figure 4: Estimate of irregular foreigners living in Italy from 1990 to 2005. Values in thousand



Sources: Blangiardo, 2016 (ISMU estimates several years).

The growing importance of the foreign population and its remarkable internal complexity (e.g. by country of origin and by migratory generation) are among the reasons that have fostered and widened interest in the phenomenon. The questions have multiplied, and the subjects interested in obtaining information have increased remarkably. The national statistics system has been encouraged in different ways to overcome its lack of information and to fill the gap with the European countries with a longer history of immigration.
While many more sources of data and statistics are available today compared to the past, providing data in much greater detail, it should also be stressed that the problem of current counting of the presences remains, due to the fact that not all the people who leave the country are deleted from archives (e.g. holders of a permanent residence permit or foreigners recorded in the MPRs who do not declare their departure from the country), and not all of those who should register actually do so. It also seems important to verify the immediate update of information for those acquiring the Italian citizenship and to set out suitable criteria to keep track of them over time. In the present situation, however, it is possible to monitor the phenomenon and to find an answer to a number of research questions, some of which will be referred to in the following Sections.

4 Some aspects of demographic impact of foreigners

International migrations, similarly to internal ones, generate direct and indirect effects, not only on the dimension, but also on the structures by sex and age of the population of origin and of destination. The direct effects are related to the specific demographic features of migrants, who are usually young and often display a gender unbalance in favour of either men or women. The indirect effects are due primarily to the loss of births recorded in the places of origins of the migrants and to the additional births recorded in the target areas. Of course the number of births and deaths depends on the size of the immigration, its structure by sex and age, as well as its fertility and risk of death. With reference to the contexts of destination, the analyses of the differential demographic behaviours of immigrants compared to the autochthonous population and of the possible convergence of behaviours in the various population groups are particularly interesting.
In the case of Italy, the focus was immediately on the impact of foreign immigration on the structure by age of the resident population. The following question was raised: can immigration be the solution to population ageing? A strong commitment was recorded in the 1990s and in the early years of the following decade in estimating a few demographic behaviours of immigrants, namely in the estimate of fertility. More recently, there has been an attempt to evaluate the effect of immigration on the slight recovery of the period Total Fertility Rate (TFT) recorded in the past decade. These aspects will be the focus of the following two sub-Sections.

4.1 The effect on population ageing

In some cases, the analyses of the effect of migration on the age structure of a population have been developed at a theoretical level by using the stable population model, which assumes that age-specific fertility, mortality and migration rates remain constant. Besides the theoretical approaches that look at a hypothetical distant future, many works have adopted a *de-facto approach* that aims to describe the dynamic and structural effects of migration and the presence of foreign or foreign-born immigrants and their descendants on the population. This is the solution adopted here.

According to previous analyses it is possible to compare the actual population at the most recent date with the expected population at the same date computed in the absence of international migration over a given period of time. This strategy, called *retrospective 'what-if...' approach*, was adopted by Gesano and Strozza (2011) to evaluate the impact of immigration on the demographic dynamic and on the structure by age of the population present in Italy in the period 2002-2009. In this paper it is proposed again with reference to the 2002-2014 period. As in the contribution just mentioned, it starts with 57.8 million inhabitants in Italy at the beginning of 2002, separately estimated by sex, age and citizenship (Italians/foreigners) according to the evaluation of coverage in the 2001 census (Istat, 2009: 111).

Thirteen years later, the updated resident population in Italy attained 60.8 million due to the exceptional net immigration from abroad of about +3.4 million (an average of nearly +260,000 per year), compared to a negative natural balance of nearly –450,000 units (Table 3). As previously stressed by Gesano and Strozza (2011), this growth is almost exclusively due to the foreign population that in the time-period here considered (2002-2014) increased from about 1.5 to over 5 million. The growth of foreign residents in Italy was due in part to their positive natural change (almost +800,000) and mainly to net migration from abroad (more than +2.7 million). If we consider that during the past thirteen years little less than 690,000 foreign residents have become Italian citizens, it is clear that the growth of the resident population in Italy is due exclusively to the foreign component, since Italians had a near-zero net migration and a strongly negative natural balance (–1.2 million).

Without any migration the population expected at the beginning of 2015 would have been 56.8 million, over one million less than at the beginning of 2002, and precisely 4 million less than the population actually recorded by Istat at the most recent date. The indirect effect due to the contribution of immigrants to births and then to the natural change must be added to the direct effect of immigration (Gesano and Strozza, 2011). Without the migratory contribution, also the natural change would be even more negative (over one million). This is mainly due to fewer births among foreigners (550,000 less than the actual number) and among (new) Italian citizens (–80,000). The latter ones are mainly children of mixed couples.

The ratios, age by age, between the actual population and the expected one in the absence of migration enables us to have an analytical framework on the differential impact of the recent international migration on the age structure of the population living in Italy at the beginning of 2015 (Figure 5). The highest values of the ratio

between the actual and expected population (more than 115%) are recorded in the early ages of life and in the young working age (27-32 years old).

Table 3: Actual and Expected resident population and relevant demographic changes by citizenship. Italy, period 2002-2014 (values and differences in thousand)

Citizenship	*Resident population Jan. 1st 2002*[(a)]	*2002-2014 Natural Change (NC)*			*Resident population Jan. 1st 2015*	*Migratory Change*[(b)]
		Births	*Deaths*	*NC*		
			Actual population			
Italians	56,318	6,299	7,520	-1,221	55,781	+684
Foreigners	1,512	829	55	+775	5,014	+2,727
Total	57,831	7,128	7,575	-447	60,796	+3,412
			Expected population[(c)]			
Italians	56,318	6,216	7,492	-1,275	55,043	0
Foreigners	1,512	279	46	+233	1,745	0
Total	57,831	6,496	7,538	-1,042	56,788	0
			Differences between actual and expected values			
Italians	0	+82	+28	+54	+738	+684
Foreigners	0	+550	+9	+541	+3,269	+2,727
Total	0	+632	+37	+595	+4,007	+3,412

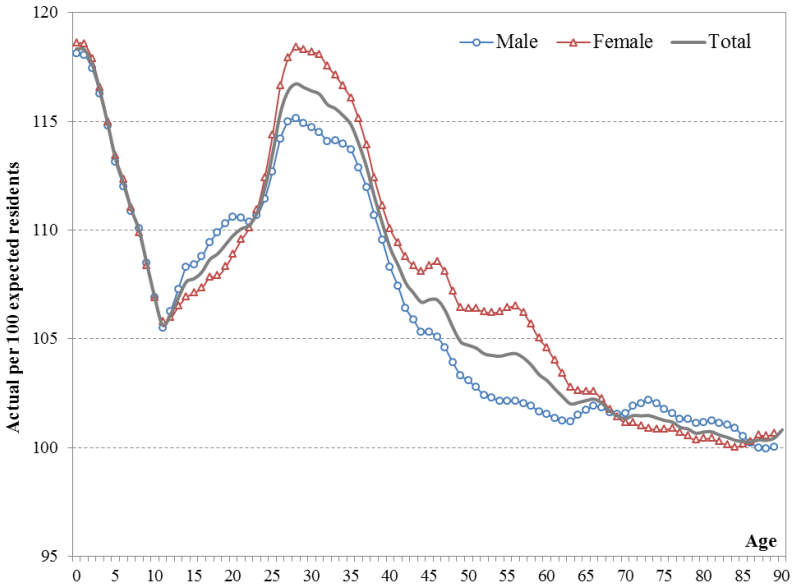
Notes: (a) The resident population by sex, age and citizenship (Italians/foreigners) at the beginning of 2002 was revised to consider the under-coverage in the 2001 census (Istat, 2009). (b) Difference between total change (final minus initial population) and natural change that gives a residual component composed of migratory change and other secondary factors (also citizenship change in the sub-populations of Italians and foreigners). (c) Without international migration in the period 2002-2009.
Source: Own update from Gesano and Strozza, 2011 (calculation from Istat data).

In the first case it is due to the sum of direct and indirect effects of migration: arrivals of young migrants in the wake of their parents or for family reunification and births in Italy by parents who immigrated in the period. In the second case the relevance of labour migration is clearly confirmed. The impact of immigration is higher among women than men from 24 up to 65 years. In the 24-35 age-span, more women than men come to Italy because they are searching for work and for family reunification. The importance of these two reasons varies among the different national groups (Gesano and Strozza, 2011): e.g., the first reason prevails among Filipino women and the second one among Moroccan women. Instead, the high number of women migrating in working age not so young (over 40 years old) is due to the middle-aged women coming from Eastern Europe (in particular from Ukraine) to be employed as housemaids or paid caregivers to elderly people or children (Gesano and Strozza, 2011).

The effects of immigration on the population structure in Italy are summarized in Table 4. At the beginning of 2002, the elderly population (people aged 65 and over) made up 18.6% of the population and would have become 23% by the beginning of 2015 in the absence of international migration. However, Istat recorded the elderly population at 21.7% at the this last date, almost 1.3 percentage point less than what was expected without migration. As it has been already observed for the period

2002-2009, also for the last thirteen years (2002-2014) immigration was not able to stop the ageing of the Italian population, but it produced a smaller growth not only of the share of the elderly, but also of the oldest component of the working-age population (0.7 percentage point less than expected). This situation was caused by the contribution of migration to the young and adult population in the 20-44 year age group. The weight of these two broad age groups is therefore higher than expected (0.6 and 1.4 percentage point, respectively).

Figure 5: Ratio between the actual and expected resident population by sex and age. Italy, beginning of 2015 (actual per 100 expected residents)



The elderly dependency ratio (65+ / 20-64 year-olds) increased by 6.5 percentage points in the last thirteen years, but 2.5 points less in comparison to what was expected without migration. The structure of the working age population has also aged, but less than expected: at the beginning of 2015 there are more than 90 people aged 45-64 for every 100 20-44 year-old people, over 20 people more aged 45-64 year-old than thirteen years earlier, but around 7 less than expected in the absence of migration.

It seems evident that the exceptional, unexpected immigration in the recent past resulted in a slowing of population ageing in Italy. Gesano and Strozza (2011) have stressed the important differences at territorial level in the impact of migration on the age structure: especially in the two divisions in northern Italy, immigration (both international and internal) curbed population ageing more than at national level, while in the South and the Islands migration has accelerated, albeit slightly, the ageing process. Here, international migration has not succeeded in completely compensating for the loss of many native young people moving toward the central and northern areas or abroad.

Table 4: Demographic structure of the actual and expected resident population. Italy, beginning of 2002 and 2015 (percentage values and indexes)

	Jan. 1st 2002	*Jan. 1st 2015*		*Differences*		
	Actual Pop. (A02)	*Expected Pop. (E15)*	*Actual Pop. (A15)*	*E15-A02*	*A15-A02*	*A15-E15*
Sex and age group structure (%)						
Female / Total	51.6	51.3	51.5	-0.3	-0.1	+0.2
0-19 years	19.4	17.9	18.5	-1.4	-0.9	+0.6
20-44 years	36.9	29.9	31.4	-7.0	-5.6	+1.4
45-64 years	25.1	29.1	28.4	+4.0	+3.3	-0.7
65+ years	18.6	23.0	21.7	+4.4	+3.2	-1.3
Structural indexes (%)						
65+ /20-64	29.9	38.9	36.4	+9.0	+6.5	-2.5
45-64 / 20-44	68.1	97.3	90.6	+29.2	+22.5	-6.7

Source: Own update from Gesano and Strozza, 2011 (calculation from Istat data).

Population ageing has been and will be an inevitable process (Coleman, 2008), mainly linked at the national level to birth control (below-replacement fertility) and to the lengthening of human life (increased longevity). On the basis of Istat's demographic forecasts and adopting the *prospective 'what if …' approach* Gesano and Strozza (2011) evaluated the effects of different combinations of fertility levels and net migration on the ageing of the population residing in Italy 20-40 years later. The results suggested that no solution seems to be feasible on its own (Avramov and Cliquet, 2005). Future foreign immigration appears favoured by the joint effect of important push and pull factors. In particular, the exceptional growth of the working age population in Asia, Latin America and Africa will force western countries to face a strong and growing migratory pressure. Present and future population policies in Italy, as well as in other countries with lowest-low fertility and fast population ageing should combine incentives to increase fertility along with in-migrations by annually fixing quotas, developing re-settlement programmes and working towards effectively integrating the migrant population. This seems the only way to reduce the pace of population ageing - not to reverse it - and to control its demographic consequences (Gesano and Strozza, 2011). This result appears to be an intermediate one, even in consideration of the publications in Genus (2011, No. 3) in the discussion on 'Is immigration the answer to the ageing problem in the lowest-low fertility countries?'. Paterno (2011) concludes by stating that immigration is only 'one', insufficient solution to demographic ageing, showing that in the past the effect produced by inflows of foreigners in curbing (or preventing) the increase in the mean age of the population in Italian provinces was rather limited and certainly smaller than the effect produced by fertility. According to the results of a set of long-term 'what if …" demo-economic projections (7 different scenarios) tailored to the case of Italy, De Santis (2011) concluded that it can do without immigrants if fertility and threshold ages to define (adult and) old persons adapt to the new circumstances.

And, conversely, if fertility and threshold ages do not adapt, immigration will not solve our ageing problem: at most, it will make it slightly more manageable. Similar conclusions are drawn by Billari and Dalla Zuanna (2011). The replacement migration, i.e. the role of migration in 'replacing' missing births (United Nations, 2001), is not resolving the issue of ageing populations as indicated by old-age dependency ratios, but it is helping to slow the pace of population ageing. Replacement migration in highly developed societies may in principle take place because there will be potentially enough young people in less developed societies to fill the gap. The population surplus in developing countries is so large that advanced societies may still be able to maintain policies that select replacement immigrants.

4.2 Foreign immigration and variation of period fertility

In the past decade Italy has also experienced a slight recovery of fertility, shifting from a Total Fertility Rate (TFR) of 1.2 in 1999 to 1.4 in 2011. In the same period the incidence of births from foreign mothers has also increased from 4% in 1999 to 20% in 2013. We know that values of period TFR recorded by foreign women were remarkably higher than those of nationals. At the same time, mean age at childbearing is significantly lower than that of native women. Although the synthetic values of period fertility for migrants must be considered with great caution (see Toulemon, 2004), they give an indication of the contribution of the foreign population to changes in fertility indicators.

Although immigrant women have higher fertility levels than native women, they represent a limited share of population, and thus the effect of higher fertility on overall TFR is minimal. The existing evidence consistently indicates that the contribution of foreign women to period TFR of European receiving countries is limited, although births from foreign parents represent a remarkable share of total number of births (Poulain and Perrin, 2002; Wanner, 2002; Heran and Pison, 2007; Roig Vila and Castro Martìn, 2007; Istat, 2014). However, the contribution of foreigners' fertility to "temporal change in period TFR and mean age at childbearing" could be more important.

The contribution of foreigners to TFR and mean age at child bearing variation in Italy over the period 2001-2011 was estimated using two different decomposition models. The absolute variation of the TFR in a given period is broken down into three effects: a) TFR variation of national women; b) TFR variation of foreign women; c) variation of foreign women's incidence in the reproductive age group. Following a classical approach, the contribution of each of the three factors was assessed as simple effects; the effects of conjoint variation of two factors are hypothesized to be equally distributed over the single factors (Strozza et al., 2007). A similar model was applied to mean age at birth in order to get an estimate of the contribution of migrants to timing of fertility in the total population. The hypothesis is that a slowing down of the increase of mean age at birth can be explained by the effect of the younger age at childbearing of foreign women. The variations in mean

age at birth, in the hypothesis of equal distribution of interactions between the single effects, has been broken down into: a) variation in mean age at childbearing of Italian women (weighted with Italians' average contribution to TFR over the period); b) variation in mean age at childbearing of foreign women (weighted with their average contribution to TFR over the period); c) variation of the contribution of foreign women to period TFR (Giannantoni and Strozza, 2015).
Over the whole 2001-2011 period we can appreciate a positive variation of TFR for the general population (almost 190‰), which is the average of very different situations at territorial level: Central and Northern divisions of Italy register a quite substantial recovery, whereas the Southern and Islands present a stable TFR or minimal increase. This result is paralleled by that of mean age at childbearing, which increases all over the country, but the magnitude of the increase is much stronger in South and Islands, where the TFR has not experienced any recovery.
The decomposition model illustrates clearly how the components that contribute more to the fertility recovery are positive changes in the TFR of Italian women together with the increase of the proportion of foreigners over the total population (Table 5). As a matter of fact, the TFR of foreign women is decreasing over the whole period and in all the geographical repartitions, thus it cannot be responsible for the fertility recovery observed.

Table 5: Decomposition of TFR change in 2001-2011 period by Italian geographic division

Geographic divisions	*Variation of TFR (per 1,000 women)*	*Effects due to variation of*			*Total foreigners' contribution (b+c)*
		TFR of Italians (a)	*TFR of foreigners (b)*	*Share of foreigners (c)*	
North-West	308	170	-17	155	138
North-East	274	144	-30	159	130
Centre	273	202	-53	123	71
South	6	-11	-8	25	17
Islands	78	58	-7	27	20
ITALY	187	113	-22	96	74

Source: Strozza and Giannantoni, 2015 (own elaboration from Istat data).

The increase of mean age at birth is due to an increase in the age at childbearing for Italian women (about 1 year) which is slowed down by the growing contribution of foreign women to fertility, a sub-population with a significantly lower mean age at childbearing (Table 6).
In the northern and central parts of Italy the recovery of fertility is connected with an increase of the fertility rate of Italians, particularly at higher ages. Increased age at childbearing is due both to the increase of Italians and foreigners, although this trend is counterbalanced by the growing weight of foreign women in determining period TFR. In the South, the TFR did not register any recovery, hence the increase of age at birth is twice as high as that in the central and northern part of Italy, especially because of the smaller contribution that foreigners give to the total population in reproductive ages. Over time the most of TFR recovery took place in the 2004-2008

interval, whereas the increase discontinued in 2008-2011, possibly because of the international economic crisis that dramatically affected Italy in that period. In that same period age at childbearing increased significantly also in the areas of central and northern Italy (Giannantoni and Strozza, 2015).

Table 6: Decomposition of mean age at childbearing change in 2001-2011 period by geographic division.

Geographic divisions	*Variation of mean age at birth*	*Effects due to variation of*			*Containment due to foreigners (%)*
		Mean age at birth of Italians	*Mean age at birth of foreigners*	*Contribution of foreigners to TFR*	
North-West	0.44	0.89	0.17	-0.62	50.2
Nord-East	0.40	0.86	0.20	-0.65	54.6
Centre	0.50	0.91	0.04	-0.45	37.9
South	1.11	1.18	0.02	-0.10	5.7
Islands	1.00	1.06	0.00	-0.06	3.8
ITALY	0.76	1.02	0.08	-0.34	23.9

Source: Strozza and Giannantoni, 2015 (own elaboration from Istat data).

The Italian literature has mainly focused on estimating the fertility of foreigners in Italy and on studying its impact on the structure and dynamics of the population, with particular attention to the TFR. So far the determinants of fertility and of family dynamics in general have been analysed on the basis of survey data focusing on specific regional or local areas (Bonomi and Terzera, 2003; Michielin 2004; Terzera, 2006; Mussino et al., 2012; 2015; Ortensi, 2015). Recent studies using Italian register data (Mussino et al., 2009, Mussino and Strozza, 2012a; 2012b) aimed to investigate fertility behaviours and to test the hypotheses present in the international literature (see Milewski, 2010). These studies, in line with the international literature (e.g Andresson 2004) show a strong interrelation between fertility and migration resulting in higher fertility just after migration. This is why a model which does not take into account age at migration could be misleading and overestimate the period fertility (Toulemon, 2004). In underlining the importance of the migratory pattern on immigrant fertility in Italy, Mussino and Strozza (2012a) supported the idea that marriage migrants and employment-related migrants may have different fertility patterns after migration. The analysis showed that women who moved for family reasons had elevated fertility levels after migrating to Italy, whereas those who moved for employment-related reasons had lower fertility levels after arrival; the pattern persisted when age at entry and duration since immigration were controlled. Studying the transition to the second child among immigrants in Italy, Mussino and Strozza (2012b) showed that immigrants from North Africa (Morocco), particularly those who were in endogamous marriages, had significantly higher fertility levels than those who came from Eastern European countries (Albania and Romania). The data from the survey on the 'Condition and social integration of foreign citizens' will make it possible to explore these issues in greater depth, looking at a wider range of foreign nationalities.

5 Measuring integration of first and second generations

In the last twenty years, the interest of demographers has also turned to the issue of measuring the levels of integration of adult immigrants (almost exclusively first-generation ones) and more recently, to the issue of their children's schooling (second generations in a wider sense). These two aspects are going to be explored in the following two sub-Sections.

5.1 Dimensions and determinants of adult immigrants' integration

The earliest contributions on the measurement of integration levels date back to the early 1990s, and towards the end of that decade a few proposals were put forward concerning the dimensions to consider and the most suitable indicators to use (Natale, Strozza, 1997; Golini et al., 2001; Golini, 2006). More recently, a methodology has been suggested to construct composite integration indexes at the individual level based on batteries of *ad hoc* questions aiming at measuring the levels of cultural, social, political and economic integration of a national sample of about 12,000 adult immigrants surveyed using the centre sampling technique (Cesareo, Blangiardo, 2009). For a review of the various experiences, including the most recent ones, see Bonifazi et al. (2012).

In this paper it is interesting to examine the four composite indexes proposed by Cesareo and Blangiardo (2009) concerning the cultural, social, political (here referred to as legal) and economic dimensions of integrations – indexes which were constructed based on the information collected in the survey. The knowledge and use of the Italian language, interest in Italian affairs, access to information, a sense of belonging to the Italian society, the self-perception of one's well-being in Italy and the degree of sharing of some ideals have been considered to be representative of the degree of cultural integration. Friendly relationships, membership in associations and clubs, the level of appreciation of the Italian lifestyle have been viewed as elements characterising social integration. The legal status, presence in the MPRs, and the opinion on the importance of acquiring the Italian citizenship define the level of political/legal integration; housing and working conditions and the ability to save are the elements making up economic integration. For more details on how the indexes have been constructed (ranging between 0 and 1, with 0 meaning lack of and 1 highest integration), see Papavero et al. 2009.

The use of multidimensional analysis can show how, with equal demographic, family and migratory characteristics, significant differences remain between the principal foreign nationalities with reference to the levels of the four composite indexes, and how the position of these nationalities often varies based on the dimension of integration considered.

The outcomes of the analyses show that some variables have a more or less equivalent role and importance for all the dimensions of integration. These are the

years since migration, the level of education, the bond with the country of origin, gender, and age. As the years since migration increase, integration grows as well, even though at a decreasing pace, whereas as the immigrant's age increases, his or her level of integration decreases. A very strong bond with the country of origin might lead to think it does not help integration. Men are at a disadvantage compared to women, and less educated subjects are disadvantaged compared to immigrants holding a secondary school diploma or university degree. The other variables being the same, Romanians and Albanians appear in at least two of the four dimensions to be in a better position than the Moroccans chosen as benchmark group (Table 7).

Table 7: Effect of citizenship[(a)] on cultural, social, political and economic integration of adult foreigners of Less Developed and East European countries. Italy, 2008 (some results of multivariate regressions)

Country of citizenship (reference = Morocco)	***Dependent variable = Index of cultural integration***	***social integration***	***legal integration***	***economic integration***
Romania	+++		+++	+++
Albania	+++		-	+++
China	---	---	---	+++
Philippines	---	---	---	--
Peru		--		+++
Ukraine		---	---	++
Egypt	---	---	---	+
Bangladesh	---	---		+++
Senegal	+		---	
Others				

Notes: +++/--- $p < 0.01$; ++/-- $p < 0.05$; +/- $p < 0.1$. (a) Controlling gender, age (also squared), type of family in migration, education, years since migration (also squared), religion, linkage with origin country, if send regularly remittances in money, geographical division and type of city of presence.
Source: own elaboration from ISMU data (see Cesareo and Blangiardo, 2009).

Conversely, Chinese, Filipino and Egyptian subjects are disadvantaged compared to Moroccans with regard to cultural, social and legal integration. This is obviously true all other conditions being equal, above all the years since migration. The mean values of the four indexes for the Filipinos are always higher than those of Moroccans, but their demographic and migratory characteristics are more favourable to integration. Special attention should be paid to the case of the Chinese, who confirm their being quite closed on the cultural and social dimensions, while their advantage on the economic level is unmistakable, probably due to their fundamental role in ethnic economy. With reference to the economic dimension of integration, all other conditions being equal, the disadvantage of Moroccans compared to almost all the nationalities considered (with the exception of Filipino and Senegalese immigrants) is quite evident. In brief, even when other characteristics are equal, significant differences remain in terms of integration between nationalities, which vary depending on the dimension considered. This is yet another proof of how complex the reality of foreign presence is in Italy.

5.2 Schooling of immigrants' immediate descendants

A growingly complex universe takes shape, also due to the increasing number of immigrants' children arriving, alternatively, together with their parents, on grounds of family reunification or born in Italy (Ambrosini and Molina, 2004). A quite heterogeneous group by origin (the variety of origins) and conditions (children of mixed couples, naturalised, foreign children born in Italy, arrived in pre-school or school age, unaccompanied minors), for the most part in school age. For this reason, several scholars have focused precisely on the schooling of young foreigners, whose total number has grown from 200,000 to over 800,000 including those in pre-school, primary, middle and secondary school.

The first issue that has been brought to light is a major drop-out problem. 2001 census data show how foreigners drop out of school before Italians do (Strozza, 2008; Dalla Zuanna et al., 2009; Conti et al., 2013). Until the age of 13 the differences are quite small, but the gap widens progressively at older ages. The foreign children who drop out of school first are those who arrived in Italy at older ages. Those with the highest risk of dropping out of school are the ones who arrived in Italy during adolescence (1.25 generation); however, dropping out of school prior to migration must not have been an infrequent occurrence in these cases. Instead, alarm bells are rung by the increasing gap – in comparison with Italian children – of the risk of dropping out of school especially by immigrant children who arrived in pre-school age (1.75 generation) or during compulsory education (G1.5 generation). As early as the age of 14 less than 90% of these children still attend school, which is approximately 6 percentage points less than Italian children. At 16, this proportion drops to less than 70%, with a gap that increases to 12 percentage points, and then reaches 20 percentage points at 18 years of age, when only a little more than one-third of the foreign children who arrived in Italy before 13 years of age are still attending school. The issue is still topical today. The schooling rates at the most recent date obtained by comparing the foreign students enrolled by age with the resident foreign population of the same age, although probably overestimated, cannot but point to lower schooling rates for foreign children and teenagers compared to their Italian counterparts, showing remarkable drop-out and deserving greater attention (Strozza, 2015c).

However, even among those who do attend school, the problems related to their integration and, above all, to academic achievement are certainly not of secondary importance. Foreign students, and in particular the foreign-born ones, display lower rates of admission to the final exams of middle and secondary school compared to their Italian schoolmates, higher rates of school failure, with wider gaps in the first year of each education cycle, and lower grades on average. The greater learning difficulties of immigrants' children compared to their Italian fellows are documented by the Invalsi tests (National Institute for the assessment of the education and training system) and by the Pisa programme (Programme for International Student Assessment). Irregular attendance and repeating some school years, but above all first admission to lower classes compared to the student's age, contribute to creating a widespread delay in schooling which grows remarkably with age: in the 2013-2014 school year a delay in the educational pathway is recorded in slightly less than one

fifth of 10-year-old foreign pupils, more than half the 14-year-olds and almost three quarters of the 18-year-olds (Strozza, 2015c). Even the dissimilarity between Italians and foreigners in the distribution by type of secondary school attended remains quite evident, especially in the case of foreign-born teenagers, who choose vocational secondary schools in a more than double share and 'licei' in a share that corresponds to about one third of the one recorded by the Italian students. This points to a clear horizontal differentiation in schooling, even though the educational path is chosen at a relatively late stage of the education cycle. Over time, the gap in the choice of education paths has shrunk slightly, and the schooling delay of foreign students has become slightly smaller – two positive facts that might be ascribed to the growing weight among foreign students of second-generation (Italy-born) ones, who are supposed to have fewer language problems compared to foreign children who arrived in school age.

The ITAGEN2 sample survey carried out in the first months of 2006 on over 20,000 middle school students, more or less divided between Italians and immigrants' children, made it possible to deal with different issues related to identity construction, gender relations, family housing and economic conditions, the dreams and expectations of Italian and foreign youngsters, as well as the new forms of inequality that inhabit the Italian school (Casacchia et al., 2008; Dalla Zuanna et al., 2009). Clear links have appeared between schooling delay, drop-out or choice of less demanding educational pathways. Also when all other conditions are considered, delayed schooling progress plays a statistically significant role in determining the perception of one's performance and the educational intentions of children. Several other factors come into play, but certainly being in a lower grade than the average age leads to the choice of dropping out of school and to opt for less demanding educational pathways (Mussino and Strozza, 2011).

The recent Istat survey on "Integration of second generations", carried out almost 10 years after the pioneer ITAGEN2 survey, will make it possible to deepen these and other issues concerning the integration of young children of immigrants, thus contributing answers to unanswered questions and verify hypotheses and assumptions.

The research works carried out in the past few years and the warnings released have spurred the Ministry of Education, University and Research to publish the new "Guidelines for the reception and integration of foreign students" in 2014. It is a working tool for schools, indeed, which also extremely useful to regional School Offices and local administrations with a view to fighting drop-out and encourage first access to schooling since pre-school, to manage enrolments in collaboration with the families, for the reception of foreign students (and, in particular, those who join classes during the school year), to cope with problems related to learning of Italian as a second language in a timely, continuous way, to enhance language diversity (multilingualism), to advise and involve students and their families on entry, during the schooling period and at the end of it, mainly with a view to helping in the choice of the type of secondary school to attend, fight schooling delay, train new and existing school staff, as well as provide education to adult foreigners.

6 Toward a multi-ethnic and multi-cultural society

In synthesis, immigration from abroad has become the main and at times only factor for population growth in EU15 countries, having recorded such high levels in the past decade as to finally transform Europe into a major pole of attraction for migrants. This was mainly due to the attractiveness of southern European countries, which were emigration areas only a few decades ago. Italy has become one of the most important European receiving countries, with a high absolute number of immigrants and a wide variety of foreign nationalities, who have become more and more rooted over time as a consequence of the major migration flows from several regions of the world recorded in the past forty years. Compared to the first twenty years of immigration (until the 1990s), the irregular component has lost in relative importance, even though in the past few years employment-related immigration and immigration for family reunification have been complemented by growing flows of refugees and asylum seekers, who require a major effort from the Italian government in terms of human and financial resources as well as organisation capacities for the management of the reception and a speedy assessment of applications, and the full collaboration of the Regions and Municipalities for their distribution across the territory.

Immigration has reduced the ageing of the Italian resident population and is expected to slow down the ageing process also in the short and medium term, even though it is not going to solve the problem. It has contributed to the slight recovery of fertility and slowed down the increase in mean age at childbearing, but these are short-term effects which are mainly due to the interrelation between migration and fertility. As time passes, also immigrants from high-fertility countries can be expected to gradually shift to the Italian reproductive models. The truth is that immigrants have become a structural component of the Italian economy and society. According to the labour force survey, there has been a steady increase in the number of foreign employees even in the years of the economic crisis: in 2014 they were 2.3 million, and over a decade they grew from 4.3 to 10.3% of total employment. They are mainly employed in the jobs at the bottom of the professional ladder, often in unstable positions, with little likelihood of improvement (Venturini and Villosio, 2008) and remarkable over-education (Dell'Aringa and Pagani, 2011; Fullin and Reyneri, 2011), meeting a demand of immigrant labour coming from both the production system and Italian households – a demand of labour that, based on the future demographic dynamic, cannot but require significant immigration also in the next decades (Livi Bacci, 2012; Allievi and Dalla Zuanna, 2016). Therefore, the integration of immigrants and their families is undoubtedly a strategic issue in the construction of a low-conflict society with a positive interaction among all of its components (Zincone, 2000). The most important challenge will certainly concern second generations. Immigrants' children, most of whom are currently in education, are going to enter the labour market in growing numbers in the next few years, and will certainly do so with greater expectations than their parents.

A multi-ethnic, multicultural Italian society is a reality already, which raises issues and questions that need coping with and managing in the best possible way (Ponzini, 2012). To guarantee equal opportunities of access to the various areas of society (employment, housing, education, public administration, other services, etc.), to ensure the creation of paths for social achievement and promotion, to enable the acquisition of the Italian citizenship in reasonable times (Strozza, 2015a) – all these are necessary pre-conditions for the full integration of immigrants and their children, but also for the creation of a harmonious, low-conflict society, as well as for the enhancement and use of the human, social and cultural resources of the people who have chosen Italy as the country where to live their lives.

Another strategic choice is not leaving immigrants' children behind and adjusting the Italian school system to the new educational needs (Dalla Zuanna et al., 2009; Conti et al., 2013), so as to ensure high educational level and provide Italy with such human capital as to be able to compete on the international scene, which is crucial in a country whose population and, more importantly, whose competences are ageing (see Fargues and McCormick, 2013).

The reception of refugees is a humanitarian issue that requires certain regulations, harmonised at the European level as well as suitable economic, structural and human resources, keeping in mind that these are people and families, quite often highly educated, who must be given the opportunity to contribute to the country's economic and social growth.

It is also desirable to overcome, once and for all, the separation between entry policies and integration policies, reinforcing the admission-integration connection (Caponio, 2013). This will be possible if a major change of approach is adopted in contrast with the attitude held in the past decades. The recurring regularizations were the main tool used to manage migration flows a posteriori (Bonifazi et al., 2009). The proposal to establish an authoritative independent Agency for immigration planning, to work on the basis of a multiannual policy document, updated on a yearly basis, that the government may refer to in order to take its decisions in an independent, though informed, manner (Livi Bacci, 2012) seems to be a reasonable solution by means of which to govern migrations ex ante, based on transparent, widely shared criteria which may foster the arrival and successful integration of the new citizens.

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