

POLICIES AND MEASURES OF INTEGRATION IN ITALY: THE CASES OF MOROCCANS AND UKRAINIANS¹

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1. Introduction

Since the 1990s, scholars and policymakers have pointed out the necessity of studying migrants' integration within the different contexts of the Italian society. In recent years, such interest has grown in parallel with the gradual stabilization of the foreign presence in the country. The Turco-Napolitano Law (n. 40/1998) and the following Consolidated Law (Decreto legislativo n. 286 of 1998) established, for the first time in Italy, the Commission for Integration Policies of Immigrants. The Commission wished to move towards a "*reasonable integration*" model (Zincone, 2000). At that time, it was already clear that the process of integration - dynamic and multi-dimensional - necessarily involves a number of fields, namely social and cultural relations, the labor market, housing and living conditions, education and training, political rights and active citizenship.

The term integration therefore expresses a complex concept, whose meaning can vary in time and space (Golini, 2006). The same applies to the population of interest (Bonifazi, Strozza, 2003): in old destination countries, the challenge has long been to provide children and grandchildren of immigrants (second and third generations) with the same opportunities of autochthonous peers, by supporting their social mobility through education and adequate employment; in Italy, together with other European countries that have become new destination areas during last 20-30 years, scholars have long paid attention to first generation migrants (Cesareo, Blangiardo, 2009), while considering the school insertion of second generation migrants only during last decade (Dalla Zuanna et al., 2009).

This paper is part of a larger research project coordinated by the European University Institute - Migration Policy Centre and co-funded by the European Union (EU). The project analyses the integration of immigrants coming from Third Countries and residing in the EU27 by looking at integration as a process which

¹ This work is the result of a close collaboration between the authors. As for this version, paragraph 1 has been written by the three authors; paragraph 5 by A. Di Bartolomeo; paragraphs 3 and 4 by G. Gabrielli; paragraph 2 by S. Strozza.

involves three main actors: the immigrant, the origin country and the destination country.

This contribute focuses on two national groups of immigrants, which are quantitatively important in the Italian case and are very different for demographic characteristics, migration patterns and insertion modalities: Moroccans and Ukrainians.

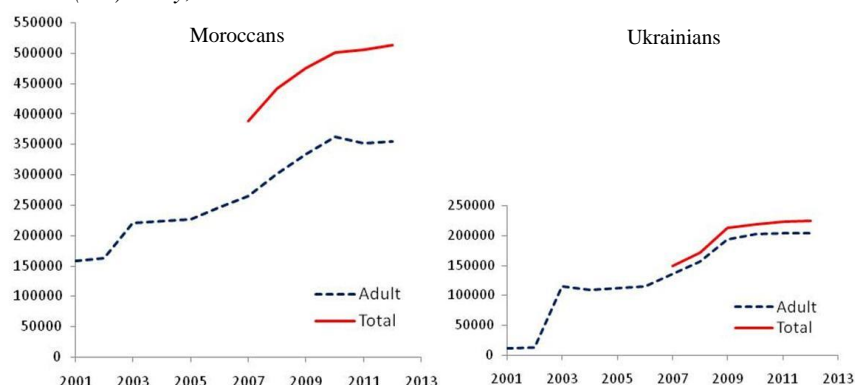
After a synthetic overview of the migratory evolution and the main demographic characteristics of the two observed groups (par. 2), we describe used data and methods (par. 3) and conduct a quantitative analysis to evaluate the integration level of Moroccans and Ukrainians in the different contexts of the Italian society and its main determinants (par. 4). The final section presents some reflections on potential links between integration policies and outcomes (par. 5).

2. Trends and characteristics of Moroccans and Ukrainians in Italy

Both the observed immigrant communities have significantly increased during the last 12 years (Figure 1). Moroccans, who already in the 1990s were found in large numbers, are around 510 thousand in 2013. They more than double Ukrainians (225 thousand), who mostly arrived in the last decade and increased after the regularizations.

Minors - arrived through family reunification channels or born in Italy - represent an important quota among Moroccans, while their numbers are negligible among Ukrainians, that migrate in Italy before 2010 mainly for labor reasons.

Figure 1 – Trends of adult and total Moroccans and Ukrainians holding a residence permit (RP). Italy, 31st December 2001-2012. Absolute values



Source: data of the Ministry of Interior revised and provided by ISTAT.

In the last 2 years, the increase of regular Moroccans was due both to minors who arrived in Italy for family reunification (more than 19 thousand in the period 2010-12) and, above all, to children born in Italy by Moroccan parents (more than 12.4 thousand in 2011 and almost 11.9 thousand in 2012). Recently, also Ukrainians slightly increased because of minors who, however, are still an extremely small proportion of the entire population (Moroccan and Ukrainian minors are respectively 30% and 9% of their reference population).

The two groups present a contrasting picture according to sex: women represent 44% of Moroccans and almost 80% of Ukrainians (Table 1), with differences that are amplified at specific adult age groups. The prevalence of men among Moroccans is larger in the 35-59 age group, as well as the predominance of women among Ukrainians is accentuated at older ages. The mean age of Moroccans is lower than 30 years, with no significant difference by sex (the mean age of men and women is respectively lower than 31 and higher than 28 years). The Ukrainian mean age is higher than 42 years and largely differs by sex (31.5 for men and 45.2 for women). Such difference is due to the low presence of Ukrainian women aged less than 18 (6% of them in respect to 24% of the male counterpart).

Table 1 – *Demographic characteristics of Moroccans, Ukrainians and other Third Countries' nationals who hold a residence permit (RP) or are registered with the parental one . Italy, 31th December 2012. Percentages and mean values.*

Demographic characteristics	Moroccans	Ukrainians	Other Third Countries
% women	43.9	79.8	48.0
<i>% by age groups</i>			
- under 18	30.8	9.2	24.1
- 18-34	28.2	19.9	32.4
- 35-54	33.0	47.4	35.6
- 55 and over	8.0	23.5	7.8
Mean age of women	28.5	45.2	32.0
Mean age of men	30.7	31.5	31.0
Dependency ratio	44.9	11.2	30.4
Child-woman ratio	45.0	5.6	23.6
<i>% by geographic division</i>			
- North-West	41.7	27.7	36.7
- North-East	31.3	25.2	27.9
- Centre	14.1	20.8	24.8
- South	9.3	24.6	7.4
- Islands	3.5	1.7	3.1
% in metropolitan provinces ^(a)	23.6	37.4	38.1

Note: (a) The twelve metropolitan provinces are: those related to the nine areas defined by Law 142 (i.e. the provinces of Turin, Genoa, Milan, Venice, Bologna, Florence, Rome, Naples and Bari) and three adding provinces in the islands (Palermo, Catania and Cagliari).

Source: our calculations based on data from the Ministry of Interior revised and provided by ISTAT.

The peculiarities by marital status well represent the age structure and the different cultural and migratory models which characterize the two groups. The majority of Moroccan men are single (53%) and the largest part of Moroccan women are married (47%). Also Ukrainian men are predominantly single (53%), while more than 7 out of 10 Ukrainian women are married or separated, divorced and widows (Table 2).

Table 2 – Percentages by marital status of Moroccan and Ukrainian usual resident population divided by gender. Italy, 8th October 2011.

Marital Status	Moroccans		Ukrainians	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Single	53.2	45.7	52.9	26.8
Married	43.9	46.6	41.5	36.7
Separated/divorced	2.2	4.2	4.6	23.1
Widow	0.7	3.5	1.0	13.4

Source: our calculations based on 2011 Population Census.

The territorial distribution of the two groups largely differs among Italian regions: Moroccans live mostly in Northern Italian regions (more than 70%), while a significant proportion of Ukrainians lives in Central and Southern regions (more than 45%) and in metropolitan provinces (Table 1).

In addition to demographic and migratory characteristics, Ukrainians and Moroccans present very dissimilar behaviors in terms of employment, union and family formation and migration plans. As follows, it will be interesting to assess whether these differences play a significant role on the level of integration achieved.

3. Data and methods

Official statistics refer to the resident or regular population and do not provide enough information about life conditions and integration levels of immigrants. To overcome these limitations, we use the survey data carried out by the ISMU Foundation between the end of 2008 and the beginning of 2009 (Cesareo, Blangiardo, 2009). It includes 12 thousand adult immigrants living in 32 geographical units of the Italian territory (resident and non-resident, regular and irregular) and representative of the five different Italian geographical divisions. According to the un-weighted cases, interviewed Moroccans are almost 1,400 and Ukrainians almost 800. Collected information allow to conduct a detailed and multidimensional study of integration level of immigrants, overcoming the existing limits of available official data.

We consider 40 variables to define four composite indicators linked to four dimensions of integration: a cultural dimension, related to the language knowledge/use, the access to Italian news, the interest in the Italian events and the

sense of belonging to the Italian society; a social dimension, related to friendship relations, participation to group-associations, level of appreciation of the Italian lifestyle; a legal dimension, related to the legal status and the opinion about the importance to acquire Italian citizenship for themselves and their children; an economic dimension, related to the occupation, housing condition, saving capacities.

The modalities of each variable have been ordered according to an increasing level of integration. For each variable, we assign to each individual the higher score the larger is the quota of people who live in a worst condition of integration or, rather, the lower score the more numerous are those in a equal or better condition of integration. All variables' scores have been summarized by an arithmetic mean within each of the four observed dimensions, in order to estimate the relative indexes of integration, namely cultural integration, social integration, legal integration, economic integration. The values of indexes have been normalized between 0 and 1, that correspond to absence and maximum level of integration, respectively (for a more detailed description of the method see Cesareo, Blangiardo, 2009). The estimated indexes assume relative values that are comparable among sub-samples of interviewees according to their characteristics (e.g. citizenship, place of residence, education, occupation, etc.). Nevertheless, some data limitations persist: there is no way to consider autochthonous people and to conduct a longitudinal analysis.

4. The integration of Moroccans and Ukrainians: a comparative analysis

In table 3 we show the ranks of Moroccans and Ukrainians according to the mean scores obtained for the four dimensions of integration by the 17 most numerous national groups in Italy (Table 3). Generally speaking, Moroccans and Ukrainians rank very differently according to dimensions.

The Moroccan community is located in an intermediate position on the list. The worst performance is observed in the economic integration (15th rank). Similarly, the mean cultural score (0.461) is lower than the average of immigrants (0.490).

Ukrainians lay close to the bottom of the rankings of all four dimensions of integration. The best performance is achieved in the cultural dimension although the score is only slightly higher than the national average (0.493). Living and working conditions are generally poor for such collective (economic integration), there isn't a significant participation in the social life of the country (social integration) and a significant interest to acquire Italian citizenship (legal integration). Adding elements come from multivariate analysis synthetically described below. Linear regression models consider adding predictors of the four indicators of integration separately for Moroccans and Ukrainians (see Table 4).

Table 3 – Scores and ranks of Moroccans and Ukrainians in the four dimensions of integration. Italy, 2008-2009.

	Integration dimensions			
	Cultural	Social	Legal	Economic
Scores of Moroccans	0.461	0.480	0.509	0.480
Scores of Ukrainians	0.493	0.437	0.406	0.503
Ranks of Moroccans among 17 groups ^(a)	12	5	4	15
Ranks of Ukrainians among 17 groups ^(a)	9	16	17	13
Minimum range scores	0.285	0.396	0.406	0.449
Maximum range scores	0.561	0.519	0.515	0.666
Mean observed scores	0.490	0.478	0.489	0.526

Note: ^(a) The seventeen immigrant groups come from: Albania, Bangladesh, China, Ecuador, Egypt, India, Macedonia, Moldova, Morocco, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Senegal, Sri-Lanka, Tunisia, Ukraine.
Source: our calculations based on ISMU data.

Table 4 – Sign and level of significance of determinants of cultural, social, legal and economic integration of Moroccans and Ukrainians, according to linear regression analysis.

Variables	Cultural integration		Social integration		Legal integration		Economic integration	
	Morocco	Ukraine	Morocco	Ukraine	Morocco	Ukraine	Morocco	Ukraine
Age	---	-	---	---	---	---	---	---
Length of stay	+++	+++	+++	+++	+++	+++	+++	+++
Length of stay (squared)	---		---		---		---	
Gender (ref = Men)								
- Women	+++	+++	+++	+	+++	+++		
Division of residence (ref = North)								
- Centre		++	+++					
- South		+++	++	+++		++	---	---
Municipalities (ref = Large)								
- Middle			+	+++	+++	+	+++	
- Small	--	---	-		+++		+	
Education (ref = Low)								
- Middle	+++		+++		+++		+++	++
- High	+++	+++	+++		++	-	+++	+++
Type of family (ref = Complete)								
- Single		-		---	---	---	---	---
- Divided	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Remittances (ref = Regularly)								
- Occasionally	+					++	+++	+++
- Never	+				+++		+++	
Sence of belonging to the OC (ref = Much)								
- Somewhat	++	+	++	++				++
- Few	+++	++	+++	+++	+++			
- Nothing	++							
Interested in the OC (ref = Much)								
- Somewhat			++	+++	++	++		++
- Few		+++	++	++				+++
- Nothing	++	+++	+++	++				
R squared	0.295	0.199	0.191	0.263	0.362	0.251	0.233	0.183

Length of stay and age at migration are entered as continuous variables measured in years. We observe the persisting, positive and significant coefficients of the length of stay in all performed regressions. Conversely, the age of respondents assumes significant and slight negative coefficients in the four aspects of integration with few exceptions (it does not affect social and legal integration of Moroccans). According to such results, the integration of immigrants at very young ages is indispensable to reach the best performances. While women are favored in the first three dimensions of integration, there is no significant difference between sexes in economic integration. Living in the Southern regions is negatively associated with economic integration while, interestingly, has a positive effect in all other dimensions for both nationalities. In addition, integration is better in the urban centers of medium size. Living in small towns - probably characterized by higher "social control" - negatively affects the cultural integration of immigrants. Only for Ukrainians, education does not seem to play such a prominent role in integration processes, while the higher the level of education the lower the legal integration.

5. Concluding remarks on the link between integration outcomes and policies

Our findings show that the place of residence plays a fundamental role in determining integration outcomes regardless of integration dimension. Consequently, the role assumed (*de facto* and *de jure*) by local authorities in planning and implementing integration policies seems coherent and fully justified.

Looking specifically at Ukrainians and Moroccans' outcomes, our findings reveal as integration policies should first target their disadvantaged economic conditions. In the case of Ukrainians, there is a huge need of supporting women labour market trajectories, especially in Southern regions and large metropolitan areas. So far, integration policies towards women migrants conducted at a state level have, instead, mostly been directed towards improving linguistic and cultural integration with a specific focus on those women arrived for family reunification. On the contrary, it should be noted as Ukrainian women migrants' economic integration has been constantly supported through a variety of tools and initiatives designed at a local level. As with Moroccans, their difficult integration in the labour market deserves attention.

Morocco is, indeed, one of the few countries having signed a bilateral agreement on labour migration with the Italian government (year 2005). Among other objectives², such agreement provided migrants with specific tools (see e.g. pre-departure work and linguistic trainings) which – implicitly – would have supported their economic integration. Today, after 9 years, we may conclude that such instruments need, undoubtedly, to be revised and strengthened from an integration perspective. Cultural integration is another obstacle to Moroccan integration. However, while Italian policies

² For instance, the agreement aims at supporting seasonal labour migration and controlling irregular migration.

explicitly target the linguistic and cultural integration of reunified women – status which applies to the majority of Moroccan women –, our findings show that much more efforts should be instead put on supporting cultural insertion trajectories of the Moroccan male population. Ukrainians are found to be in a difficult position with respect to social and legal integration, too. The former can be partially attributed to the work conditions of a part of them (caregivers who cohabit with their employers and are often deprived of their autonomy and independence), while the latter is likely to be attributable to the fact that massive migration from Ukraine is a quite recent phenomenon. As a matter of fact, their relative position compared to other migrant (oldest) communities tends being weaker. It is worth noting, however, as both dimensions are almost absent from the integration political agenda at a state level.

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SUMMARY

The present contribute aims to investigate the integration of Moroccans and Ukrainians in Italy according to a multidimensional approach. After briefly describing the trends and the demographic characteristics of the two communities, we use a multivariate approach to analyze the determinants of four dimensions of integration (cultural, social, legal and economic), in order to draw interesting conclusions in terms of policy recommendations.

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