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BORDERS, REFUGEES AND MIGRATION: WHAT RIGHT TO MOBILITY IN THE MEDITERRANEAN?¹

Catherine Wihtol de Wenden, Elena Ambrosetti

1. Introduction: the European Migration Crisis

Since at least twenty five years, the European Union faces the challenge of migration. During this period the profile of those who leave their country has changed: the migrants in search of a job have been replaced by family and children arrived for family reunification, asylum seekers and students. The European Union is the first destination in the world in terms of migration flows, ahead of the US, the Gulf countries and, fourth, Russia. The EU is surrounded by countries in war or in the throes of internal conflicts that produced refugees' flows at large (more often asylum seekers than refugees, but all forced migrants) of an exceptional breadth: the total number of asylum applications in the EU countries in 2014 was 562,680 and 1,255,600 in 2015 (Eurostat), compared with an average of about 200,000 people every twelve months in the previous years.

Those figures of the year 2015 are the consequence of the so called European migration crisis: a massive humanitarian crisis and as well as a political impasse for European Union and European governments. For this year UNHCR counted 1,015,078, irregular arrivals in the Northern shore of the Mediterranean, including migrants journeying by both land and sea to Greece, Bulgaria, Spain, Italy, Malta and Cyprus. There is a huge difference compared with 216,054 arrivals by land and sea for the whole 2014 and with 59,421 arrivals in 2013. In 2016, 250,154 refugees and migrants have arrived in Europe by sea and land², including 156,670 to Greece and 88,009 to Italy (UNHCR 2016). The top three nationalities of the over one million Mediterranean Sea arrivals between January 2015 and July 2016 were Syrian (45.5%), Afghan (20.4%) and Iraqi (9.2%). Following the implementation of the Turkey-EU statement of March 2016, a strong decrease of arrivals in Greece occurred starting from April 2016. Among the refugees and migrants arrived in

¹ Invited paper to the 53rd SIDES Scientific Meeting – Rome 2016.

Sections 1 may be attributed to Elena Ambrosetti, section 2 to Catherine Wihtol de Wenden, and sections 3 and 4 to both authors.

² Figures updated till the 24th of July 2016

Europe by sea in 2015, 58% were men, 17% women and 25% children, in 2016 49% were men, 19% women and 32% children (UNHCR 2015 & 2016). Lastly we have to remember that most Syrians fled from Syria is located in the neighboring countries: about 4,819,494 Syrians are located in Turkey (2,7 million), Lebanon (over 1 million), Jordan (657 thousand), Egypt (117 thousand), Iraq (249 thousand) (UNHCR 2016).

What was the reaction of EU to the European Migration Crisis? What are the main consequences of the crisis on the future of migration flows in Europe and in the Mediterranean region? In this paper we aim to answer these research questions. The paper is structured as follow: section two deals with the EU migration policies before the crisis, section three is dedicated to the EU policy reaction to the crisis, the fourth and last section discusses the main implication of the crisis from the point of view of the political perspectives and of the migration movements in the EU-Mediterranean region.

2. The Securitization of EU migration policies

A century ago there were 5% international migrants on the planet compared with 3.2% today: most came from Europe which, at the time, was very populated compared to the other continents. Then migrants came to Europe in a time when in many European countries there was a need of labor force: in a period of full growth they contributed to develop the mining economy, the industrial and agricultural sectors. In the aftermath of the two world wars, the reconstruction required above all workers. All EU member countries are signatories of the 1951 Geneva Convention on asylum and share the fundamental values of human rights that are part of the European political project. All, however, at different degrees, nowadays recorded a boost of the far right parties, which, as is known, have placed immigration as a priority of their political agenda. Since the Nineties, the Union has never stopped to multiply initiatives to discourage new arrivals: the transfer of migration and asylum issues from the third to the first pillar of the Community (the Treaty of Amsterdam have transferred immigration issues in the field of Justice and Home Affairs under the first pillar of European expertise) is what makes the immigration an issue related to security; the responsibility of carriers and the privatization of some border controls through the task to private security companies and transport companies to block the passage of migrants; the implementation of the Integrated External Surveillance System (SIVE) along the Mediterranean coasts; the restriction of the right of asylum (the asylum applications of those coming from "safe" countries are considered as unfounded); a first attempt at Europeanization of asylum (Dublin I, 1990); the principle of "one

stop, one shop" (Dublin II, 2003), according to which an asylum seeker must apply for asylum in the European country where he arrives first - a mechanism partially amended later (Dublin III, 2014); the computerization of fingerprints (Eurodac, 2000) in order to identify fraudulent asylum seekers in different EU countries; the militarization of the external borders and the sharing of the police to protect them (Frontex, 2004). An "arsenal" of bilateral and multilateral agreements (about 300) between European and non-European countries located on the other side of the external borders of Europe completes the picture. The management of the external borders of Europe, in the past a secondary theme compared to the internal freedom of movement established by the Schengen agreements in 1985, has become imperative today. Thirty years ago, at the time of the adoption of these agreements, it was thought that the era of mass migration was over, that non-European would return to their countries of origin thanks to the aid granted and that the European internal mobility was going to increase, that local residents would take the place of the Northern European immigrants in the labor market and that the development policies implemented in countries of origin will stop migrations. Now, most of these scenarios proved to be wrong: very few Europeans left their country to go to work in another country of the Union, at least until 2004, when the Union has widened up to include ten new Member States; there has been no change in the labor market, taking into account its high segmentation; the returns, few in number, have been a failure. Development policies have failed to stem migrations. Initiatives aimed towards the southern Mediterranean (Agreements of Barcelona, from 1995 to 2005, Union pour la Méditerranée in 2007), have never been able to offer a counterpart to the opening to the Eastern Europe. Finally, crises like the one of Great Lakes in Africa, the conflict of the former Yugoslavia or the "dirty war" in Algeria have put in very distant journey asylum seekers from the figures that had predicted the Geneva Convention: persecuted for social, ethnic or religious they were victims of civil society and not of the States from where they came. Hence it was really complicated to consider their applications.

Under the effect of these changes, and the growth of xenophobia in Europe, policies towards immigration and asylum have become more restrictive and are oriented on the security front. In parallel, in different countries it has been a tendency to fall back on the national management of migrants, because of attachment of the European countries to their sovereignty in this matter. Many voices were raised to ask the closure of national borders (e.g. at the border between France and Italy, in Ventimiglia in 2011 and 2015, then at the border between Bulgaria and Greece in 2015, as well as, again in 2015, at the border between Germany and the Austria), while a number of new members in central and Eastern Europe expressed their hostility to the "sharing of the burden" suggested by Brussels. Europe is facing increasingly difficulties to consider immigration as an

integral part of its identity under construction. Yet it is precisely on accommodating asylum seekers that the values on which Europe is founded are at stakes.

The war and the political violence represent the leading cause of departures in the case of Eritrea, Somalia, Syria, Iraq, Afghanistan and Libya. Most of the newcomers is represented by families of asylum seekers, although not all fall within the individual persecution category established by the Geneva Convention of 1951 on asylum. Many of them fail to get the refugee status: in France only 35% of the people applying get the refugee status; in Germany 45%. There is another factor that plays a significant role: information. Many migrants - often well-educated, with urban backgrounds, graduates and not resigned like their predecessors - use new technologies (internet, smartphones); in addition there is television which also helps to define the imaginary of immigration. And the transfers of funds (\$ 400 billion sent in 2013 to the countries of origin, i.e. more than 3 times the annual public investment for development) feed the ghost of a western paradise and make the countries of origin increasingly dependent on migrant remittances. In a world where the right to travel is one of the most unequal (in fact dependent on nationality, which gives the opportunity to travel with or without a visa) who decides to take this route it is the result of a rigorous selection among the youngest. You have to be healthy, determined, able to overcome the many obstacles that are encountered during the trip; you must have been able to put together a sum of up to 30,000 euro and have planned to stay abroad for a time long enough to be able to get a regular status. We are far from the manpower arrived in Europe in the Sixties at the request of some of the Union member states, regularized and smoothly animated by the prospect of returning to their country. Today, some worked in the territories that have passed through, such as sub-Saharan in Libya, and have lost their jobs because of the chaos that reigned there; others were victims of the war that raged in their home (Syria, Libya); others, finally, found themselves jobless after the war (Afghanistan) in countries where the youth unemployment rate has now risen to 40%. But everyone sees Europe as a land of peace, security, respect for rights, where there is a future for themselves and for their children.

3. The EU reaction to the crisis

The actual crisis is not a new phenomenon for Europe: it should be remembered that in the early Nineties, after the fall of the Iron Curtain, Europe has faced the arrival of half a million asylum seekers originating from Eastern Europe (former Yugoslavia included), in addition 2 million Aussiedler (ethnic Germans) moved to

Germany and acquired German nationality. Today, these flows come mainly from Syria (almost 6 million have migrated abroad and 6,6 million are displaced within the country, Syrian refugees 2016), Afghanistan, Iraq, Libya (the old filter of the sub-Saharan migration to the EU, thanks to bilateral agreements in particular with Italy) and the Horn of Africa (Somalia and Eritrea). Closing a period of hesitation and delay, both the Angela Merkel's speech of 7 September 2015, in which the Chancellor declared that Germany was ready to welcome 800,000 asylum seekers by 2015, and the stance of Jean-Claude Juncker of sharing 120,000 among the European countries, laid the foundation for a new wave of immigration. The values underpinning the Union - solidarity between member states, respect for human rights and asylum rights are being challenged by the reality. The photo spread throughout the world of the body of the three years Syrian child, stranded on the Turkish beach in Bodrum after the sinking of the ship that led his family from Syria to Greece, contributed to question the security approach that dominated until then the immigration and asylum policies in Europe. Between 2000 and 2015 were recorded 30,000 deaths on Europe's doorstep, and only in the Mediterranean, fourteen deaths per day in the first seven months of this year.

Given the arrivals of immigrants in recent years, the European Union has responded by strengthening border controls, focusing on combating illegal immigration and attempting an harmonization "from below" of the right of asylum (especially through the notion of "safe" country). This policy has increased the influence of the smugglers and traffickers, turning the Mediterranean into a large cemetery. If the European countries have not been able to formulate a united response it is first of all because they have not been able to cope with the phenomenon. Germany is by far the first destination of immigration between European countries, with 7 million foreigners, and it is also the country that has absorbed three quarters of the asylum application in EU since 25 years. Germany, France, UK and Sweden formed the leading group in terms of the reception of asylum seekers. As to the number of foreigners, France, which until the twenty-first century was the second country of immigration (3.7 million), now occupies the fifth place, surpassed by Spain (5.5 million), Italy and the United Kingdom (4.5 million each). It is true that it is difficult to conceive of a harmonization of the legal status of refugees in the absence of a common foreign policy. Each state has its own diplomacy, its own history, its neighbors, its commercial agreements and their own interpretation of the conflict. The same asylum seeker will receive different answers depending on the country to which they will apply, with the fear of each country that any favorable decision could set a precedent. It should also be considered geographical location: Italy, particularly in Lampedusa, welcomed the largest contingent of North African and sub-Saharan immigrants; other islands, such as Malta and Cyprus, have had to deal with at the same time the reception of

tourists and asylum seekers in confined spaces; Greece has witnessed arrivals mainly of Syrians, Afghans and Iraqis. By land, through the greek-Turkish border, through the Evros River in Thrace, migration proves to be less dangerous than by sea, while causing an overcrowding that has brought to the closing of borders between Hungary and Serbia, Bulgaria and Turkey. During this crisis of migrants, the lack of solidarity has been clear: the operation Mare Nostrum, which followed the death of 366 people off the coast of Lampedusa, was launched by Italy in November of 2013 in reaction to the indifference of the countries of the North and East. Similarly, in May 2015, when the European Commission proposed to share 40,000 asylum seekers between EU countries in terms of their population and wealth, the response of states has been a strong denial: countries have rejected the imposition of quotas in the name of national sovereignty. The trend was reversed in September 7, 2015 with Angela Merkel's speech. But a new East-West rift between supporters and opponents of reception has occurred when Jean-Claude Juncker has called on European countries to share, compulsorily and permanently, 120,000 asylum seekers from Syria. The permanent nature of this sharing was discarded the 15th September by the most recalcitrant (UK, Ireland, Denmark, Hungary, Slovakia, but also Czech Republic, Poland and Romania). It is worthwhile to mention the position in the EU Council of the "Visegrad Group" composed by Hungary, Poland, Slovakia and the Czech Republic (V4): they are in favor of restrictive immigration policy, strict defense of the EU's external borders, and they emphasize the need to assist sending countries, instead of putting efforts on the EU's relocation scheme. On the other side France has made a 180 degree turn with respect to its previous positions, and it agreed to welcome 24,000. Germany has closed its borders with Austria following the announcement of Angela Merkel, to highlight the need for solidarity among all European countries. Yet the legal bases for a common policies exist. The Lisbon Treaty has created a Europe-wide asylum policy and a Support Office for Asylum was opened in Malta. But the implementation of certain policies was left in the hands of individual Member States, who carry the reception according to the subsidiarity rule: a rule that each position should be treated at the most appropriate level - European, national or local - according to its competence.

As we already stressed in the previous section, the EU and its member states during the last twenty years have signed bilateral and multilateral agreements with third countries, with the aim to externalize migration control (Tryandaffilidou 2013). Within this process there is also a policy of border externalization, such policy transfers some migration control responsibilities to migrants' sending and transiting countries (Sterkx, 2008). In this wake the EU Turkey Statement has been signed on 18 March 2016 with the aim to fight irregular migration. According to the Statement all new irregular migrants and asylum seekers arriving to Greece

from Turkey and whose applications for asylum have been declared inadmissible should be returned to Turkey. In addition, the EU will resettle a Syrian from Turkey to an EU member state for every Syrian returned to Turkey from Greek islands. The Statement implies also an huge economic effort of EU: €6bn should be given to Turkey in order to help about 2,7 million Syrians asylum seekers staying in its soil and €14 million EU funding has been allocated to Frontex activities to help the Turkish Coast Guard. The EU-Turkey Statement, presented as “the solution” to the 2015 crisis, while followed by a substantial decrease in the numbers leaving Turkey for Greece, it has also left unresolved a number of legal and procedural problems. The choice of Turkey by the European Union can be explained by the desire of Twenty-Eight to lighten the weight of arrivals in Greece that is suffering of a severe economic crisis. Most of the arrivals have been transferred on Turkish hospitality, but without the right to asylum under the Geneva Convention. Secondly, this agreement is motivated by the desire of Europeans to end trafficking of smugglers on the Aegean sea. In doing so, they acknowledge the failure of the war declared to smugglers (and, in turn, migrants).

The third reason behind this agreement is in the interest of the Turkish government to straighten its image in Europe. Turkey's claims in exchange for hosting Syrians are threefold: the resumption of negotiations on its entry bid in the European Union, the abolition of visas for Turks to Europe - Turkey presents today negative migration balance (there are fewer Turks going to Europe than European Turks returning to Turkey) - and the payment of €6bn over two years to accommodate Syrians.

Once again, this outsourcing agreement for asylum in a country outside the European Union, in violation of the principle of non-refoulement under the Geneva Convention, is straining the values of solidarity between European countries and the human rights on which the Union is built.

4. Discussion and conclusion: a look to the future of migration in the Mediterranean

The solutions to the issue of migration are anything but obvious. A European Directive adopted in 2001 to come to help Kosovo, providing a temporary protection mechanism could have been activated, but it seems to have been forgotten by the recent debate. A diversified borders' opening to various groups of migrants could be implemented in order to prevent all them to overcrowd the group of asylum seekers, for instance through a wider opening of the labor market to third country citizens. If economic migrants would increase in the near future, such "mixed" flows would choose to migrate using this option, rather than the asylum

application. It was the case, for example, of the Portuguese, who preferred to enter illegally and to be regularized by their employers rather than seek for asylum. This opening would have the merit of giving newcomers the hope of a better life and make it possible to respond to the needs of qualified and not qualified immigration in a context of population aging in Europe. Finally, the aid and trade with the countries of the South could be affected by the failure to respect human rights and inequality, arising from the political and economic migration.

We should mention once again that the Mediterranean migration area is the largest in the world together with the border between the US and Mexico. Migration is a phenomenon historically embedded within the Mediterranean area. Considering only a relatively short period of time we can argue that migration in this area has witnessed many changes between 1950 and 2014: often these changes were directly connected to crises of different nature (politics, economics, human rights...). These changes allow identifying four periods in the evolution of migration movements in this region (De Haas, 2011) : 1948-1963; 1963-1973; 1973-1995 and 1996-2010. However, a new period started in 2011. The new wave of refugees and asylum seekers show different characteristics, compared to the past. Refugees today are no longer European, but Asians and Africans. Migration flows come from distant countries and they are mixed in nature: individuals escaping by war and persecution, but also from poverty and economic instability (economic migrants).

The conflicts that are causing these population movements are not going to end in a day. In the face of enduring crisis, fighting migrants and refugees will come to a dead end. More than ever, it is worth considering the right to migrate as a universal principle and the ability to close the borders as the exception - a maneuver that States must use with care, depending on the circumstances. We should be aware that there is a continuity (of migration flows) notwithstanding with the crises of different nature: the Mediterranean area can be defined by a migratory régime (Ambrosetti, Strangio 2016): a system of principles and rules of admission for aliens that is resilient to changes in economic conditions and other exogenous shocks.

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SUMMARY

Borders, refugees and migration: what right to mobility in the Mediterranean?

The year 2015 has been characterized by the so called European migration crisis: a massive humanitarian crisis and as well as a political impasse for European Union and European governments. In this paper we try to answer the following research questions: What was the reaction of EU to the European Migration Crisis? What are the main consequences of the crisis on the future of migration flows in Europe and in the Mediterranean region?

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THE METROPOLITAN QUESTION IN ITALY¹

Antonio Calafati

1. Introduction

After more than 20 years of failed attempts, with the approval of law no. 56/2014 the institutionalisation of Italian metropolitan areas finally began. The construction of the corresponding political-administrative organisations is currently in progress and in due time they may be expected 'to start to govern'. Yet much uncertainty remains about the substantive effects of the metropolitanisation model that Italy has chosen. Key organisational questions – the new actors' policy fields or the appropriateness of the boundaries, among others – remain unsettled, and there are doubts concerning whether the emerging governance systems are appropriate to address the pressing territorial challenges that the Italian metropolitan areas are going to face as a consequence of the European integration and globalisation (European Commission-DG Regional Policy, 2011).

The paper highlights some conceptual inaccuracies and explanatory failures that have marked the policy and scientific discourse that has consolidated in Italy around the 'metropolitan question' since the late 1980s. The shortcomings of this discourse have contributed greatly to delaying the metropolitanisation process – the critical importance of which is largely acknowledged in Europe (Eurocities, 2011; 2013). They also explain the inadequacy of the normative framework recently introduced – i.e. law no. 56/2014 –, which continues to underestimate the institutional and political obstacles to a substantive metropolitanisation.

Four main sections make up the paper. Section 2 briefly summarises some elementary questions that have characterized the discourse on metropolitanisation that started with law no. 142/1990, and led to law no. 56/2014. Section 3 addresses the critical issue of the nature and position in the Italian urban system of the 15 cities that, according to the legislator, are 'metropolitan cities'. Section 4 outlines three methodological missteps that, according to the interpretation put forward in the paper, have led the Italian policy and scientific discourse on metropolitan areas astray. Section 5 points to the political obstacles to the institutionalisation of

¹ Invited paper to the 53rd SIDES Scientific Meeting – Rome 2016.

territorial interdependences and to the inadequate consideration that they have attracted. The concluding remarks stress the importance of ‘learning by monitoring’ (Sabel, 1994), and of being open at national and local level to revising the institutional framework.

2. Law no. 56/2014 and the institutionalisation of Italian metropolitan areas

2.1 A long overdue institutional change

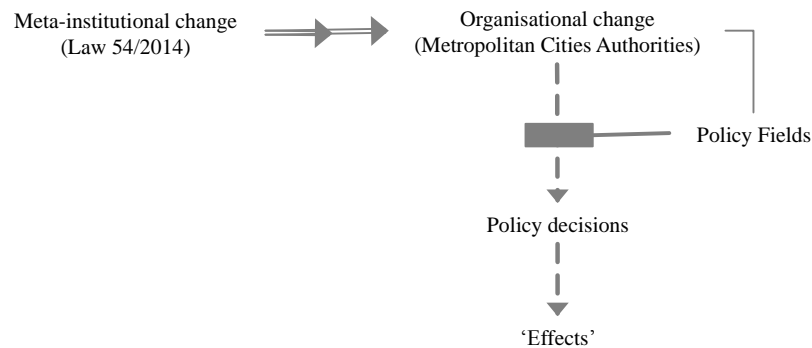
The institutionalisation of Italian *metropolitan areas* began only very recently with approval of law no. 56/2014. Yet this topic has occupied a prominent position on the Italian public agenda since 1990, when an extensive meta-institutional change (law no. 142/1990) opened the way to a profound bottom-up reform of local government. And The Italian scientific community started to address what appeared to be a critical policy issue (Bartaletti, 1991; Camagni & Lombardo, 1999; Costa & Toniolo, 1993; Martinotti, 1999a). Yet, differently from what was to be expected, this change in the national normative framework did not produce any effects on the ‘local’ institutional framework for a long time – notwithstanding the fact that it was repeatedly amended in the subsequent years. Still in 2013 one could only contemplate a complete failure: not a single case of institutionalisation of metropolitan areas had occurred or was in progress.

This situation changed in 2014. The national normative framework for the metropolitanisation process was again reformed with law no. 56/2014 (‘Disposizioni sulle città metropolitane, sulle Province, sulle unioni e fusioni di comuni’). From the perspective of the institutionalisation process, this law was a breakthrough: because it set the boundaries of metropolitan areas, and because it established a rigid timeline for adopting the statutes and appointing the political organs, the institutionalisation process started very rapidly.

The fact that the institutionalisation process of metropolitan areas started promptly does not mean that (a) metropolitan institutions are operational and (b) the societal effects of the institutionalisation are already manifest or will be manifest in the near future. There is a tendency to conceive normative or meta-institutional change – like the introduction of a law – as being rapidly followed by social change. Yet, this is an unwarranted assumption. In this specific case, as Figure 1 shows, there is a long way to go before the meta-institutional change introduced to set in motion in Italy a metropolitanisation process produces visible societal effects: political bodies need to be elected, bureaucracies need to be set up, and policies need to be designed and implemented.

Furthermore, one has to take into account the issue of the long-term nature of policies pertaining to the policy field of metropolitan authorities. In formal terms, the emerging metropolitan political-administrative organisations will be entitled to take three types of policy decision: a) changes in the formal norms constraining local actors' behaviour; b) allocation of resources (budgeting), in terms of either redistribution or direct use; c) acts of 'moral suasion' through negotiation and persuasion. These are by nature structural policies, whose effects may require many years to unfold to their fullest extent.

Figure 1 – The Institutionalisation of Italian metropolitan cities



At the time of writing, for most metropolitan cities the statute has been approved. Yet in no case have all the political bodies envisaged by the law been appointed or elected. Moreover, the corresponding bureaucracies are not yet operating. As a result, metropolitan cities authorities are very far from being in a condition to design or implement relevant policy actions.²

2.2 The risk of being an irrelevant reform

Even though law no. 56/2014 represents a breakthrough from the perspective of the institutionalisation process, there is a risk that it may not prove a relevant 'tool' to promote effective metropolitan governance. Four main issues should be considered to assess the risk that this law may in the end lead only to a nominal institutional change.

² Metropolitan governance takes different forms in different countries (Ahrend & Schumann, 2014).

First to be considered is the significance of the *list of cities* for which the question of institutionalising the corresponding metropolitan areas is being raised (see Table 1). Law no. 56/2014 confirms the list of cities already identified by law no. 142/1990 and expanded by subsequent national and regional laws. These cities are: Roma, Milano, Napoli, Torino, Palermo, Genova, Bologna, Firenze, Bari, Catania, Venezia, Messina, Trieste, Reggio Calabria, Cagliari.³ As discussed in greater detail in Section 3, this list is rather incongruous if judged from the perspective of the ‘metropolitan paradigm’.

A second issue concerns the boundaries of the metropolitan areas. Law no. 142/1990 did not predefine the *boundaries*, giving local governments the authority to draw the boundaries of metropolitan areas through a negotiated decision. By doing so, it acknowledged the importance of a *bottom-up* decision process and the importance of introducing place-specific institutions grounded in ‘local knowledge’. Differently, in the case of the recent law no. 56/2014 the decision was taken by the State, which established that the boundaries of the extant Provinces would be the boundaries of the metropolitan cities. But in most cases, provincial territories are very far from being ‘functional urban areas’ – as the ‘metropolitan paradigm’ would require (Bartaletti, 2009; Martinotti, 1999b).

A third issue is the extension of the policy fields of metropolitan city authorities (Ahrend, Gamper, & Schumann, 2014; Boudreau, 2010; Dente, 1993). How large and relevant will be their policy fields? The statutes approved to date have not settled this critical question. There is a potential political conflict with the regional government and with the municipalities belonging to the metropolitan areas that has not been addressed so far. It may happen that the emerging metropolitan authorities will be actors just as ‘weak’ as the former provincial authorities were in the policy fields that, according to the metropolitan paradigm, are the key ones. The regulation of spatial and economic development in particular may remain outside the policy fields of metropolitan authorities in Italy.

The fourth issue is the relationship of the metropolitanisation model being implemented with the challenges that metropolitan areas will have to face in the next decade and beyond. The implications for Italy of the failed implementation of the 1990s reform of local government were of utmost importance. The ‘territorial revolution’ – brought about by the rapid industrialisation and tertiarisation of the Italian economy since the 1950s – required a change in the spatiality of the policy-making process. Italy has paid a price for having continued to be governed locally by inadequate institutional settings for such a long time (Calafati, 2009a). Yet during the past two decades the challenges for the European cities have radically

³ Five of them (Catania, Messina, Palermo, Cagliari and Trieste) are to be instituted within the normative framework of the Regions (with ‘special status’) to which they belong.

changed (European Commission, 1997; 1998; European Commission-DG Regional Policy, 2011). The question can be raised as to whether the metropolitan model envisaged in law no. 56/2014 is backward rather forward oriented: is it adequate to deal with the specific types of disequilibria that European metropolitan areas are going to face?

3. The metropolitan areas in the Italian urban system

3.1 The identification of Italian metropolitan areas

In Italy the metropolitan question entered the public agenda with a focus on 15 cities. As already pointed out, this list is highly problematic from at least two points of view. First, as discussed in the next sub-section (3.1), these cities are so profoundly different in their size and territorial organisation and the size and territorial organisation of their contiguous territories as to raise doubts about the logic of having selected them against the background of (a) the ‘metropolitan paradigm’ and (b) the features of the Italian urban system. Second, many Italian cities, which have experienced territorial development trajectories and intermunicipal integration processes that require metropolitan governance, are not in the list of cities that, in accordance with law no. 56/2014, are being turned into metropolitan cities. Indeed, there are many cities in the Italian urban system that would require metropolitan governance more urgently than some cities for which the metropolitanisation process was set in motion by law no. 56/2014.

A metropolitan area emerges as a ‘territorial fact’ when the degree of *territorial interdependence* between a city and its hinterland increases beyond a certain threshold. The entire area – the city and its hinterland – qualifies as a ‘functional urban area’. Within the boundaries of the functional urban area one observes ‘high’ densities of flows of information and commodities and a high ‘mobility’ between the ‘dwellings’ and the focal points of social and economic life (Bartaletti, 1991; 2009; Martinotti, 1999a; 2001).

Which algorithm to use to identify the boundaries of a ‘functional (intermunicipal) urban area’ is a vexed question. One has to accept to perform this operation following different procedures, which lead to (relatively) different results (Bertuglia & Occelli, 1993; Karlsson & Olsson, 2006). Since law no. 142/1990 was passed, a number of exercises have been conducted with the aim of identifying Italian functional urban areas, and also those functional urban areas that may qualify as ‘metropolitan areas’ (Boatti, 2008; Bundesinstitut für Bau- Stadt- und Raumforschung BBSR, 2011; OECD, 2012; Veneri, 2009).

Law no. 56/2014 takes the boundaries of the former Provinces as the boundaries of the metropolitan cities. But in most cases, the provincial territories of the 15 cities under consideration are not functional urban areas (Bartaletti, 2015; Calafati, 2014). This contradicts the principle that metropolitan areas must be designed on the basis of functional urban areas.

Since provincial territories are not functional urban areas, one cannot rely on them to explore the interdependences between Italian major cities and their contiguous territories. In this paper, being a preliminary exploration, the choice is made to use ‘local labour systems’ as identified by Istat as unit for analysis to explore territorial interdependences at the metropolitan scale.

Local labour systems constitute the territorial units gained through the most notable exercise of identification of functional urban areas conducted in Italy in recent decades (ISTAT, 1997; 2005; 2015; Istat-Irpet, 1987). They are functional urban areas smaller in land and population than the functional urban areas generated by other procedures. Yet the category of local labour system is a useful proxy of the category of metropolitan area in Italy. It is an appropriate starting point to discuss some critical questions in regard to the metropolitanisation process. From now on, in this section, which addresses empirical issues, ‘metropolitan areas’ are identified taking that specific type of functional urban area that Istat has named ‘local labour system’.

3.2 Differences in size and territorial organisation of metropolitan cities

Italian metropolitan areas – the 15 metropolitan areas indicated in law no. 56/2014 – exhibit striking differences both at the metropolitan scale and at the scale of the pivot city in terms of population, land and density.

Besides, the high diversity of Italian metropolitan areas emerges on considering their hinterlands. This diversity is very evident when looking at hinterlands in static terms. In Figure 2 the local labour systems of the 15 cities under consideration are clustered with respect to two basic features of their hinterlands – namely, population density and the share of the hinterland’s population in the total population of the local system. In the first quadrant (upper right) one finds metropolitan areas (Milano and Napoli) with highly densely populated and ‘weighty’ hinterlands. In the third quadrant (lower left) one finds metropolitan areas characterized by scarcely populated and low densities hinterlands. In the second quadrant (bottom right) one finds metropolitan areas whose low densities hinterlands make up a high share of the corresponding metropolitan areas’ total population.

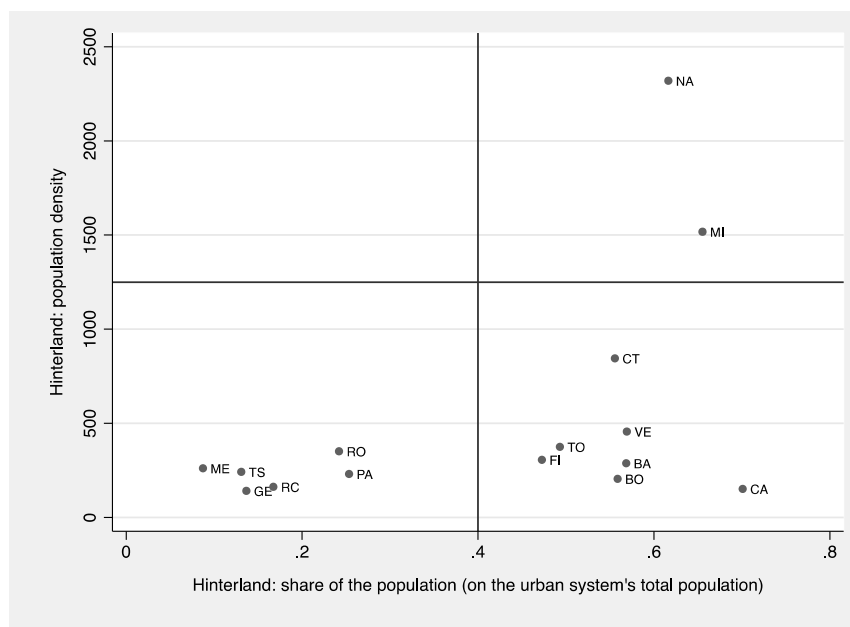
Table 1 – Metropolitan areas, pivot cities, hinterlands and Metropolitan cities: basic data

		T	N	Metropolitan areas (LLS)			Pivot cities			Hinterland			Metropolitan Cities (ex-Provinces)				
				Population	Land	Density	Population	Land	Density	Population	Land	Density	N	Population	Land	Density	
1	Roma	RO	2	89	3777308	3886	972	2863322	1285	2228	913986	2601	351	121	4321244	5352	807
2	Milano	MI	2	174	3839811	1840	2087	1324169	182	7273	2515642	1658	1517	134	3176180	1579	2012
3	Napoli	NA	2	58	2577709	802	3213	989111	117	8434	1588598	685	2319	92	3127390	1171	2670
4	Torino	TO	2	112	1779532	2467	721	902137	130	6930	877395	2337	375	315	2297917	6830	336
5	Palermo	PA	1	18	908752	1156	786	678492	159	4270	230260	997	231	82	1275598	4992	256
6	Genova	GE	2	31	691442	911	759	596958	244	2451	94484	668	141	67	868046	1838	472
7	Bologna	BO	2	40	870441	2509	347	384202	141	2730	486239	2368	205	60	1001170	3703	270
8	Firenze	FI	2	18	715196	1206	593	377207	102	3683	337989	1103	306	44	1007252	3514	287
9	Bari	BA	2	20	747832	1592	470	322751	116	2778	425081	1476	288	41	1261964	3825	330
10	Catania	CT	1	22	710085	648	1096	315576	181	1745	394509	467	845	58	1115704	3552	314
11	Venezia	VE	2	19	613953	1178	521	264534	413	641	349419	765	457	44	857841	2462	349
12	Messina	ME	1	6	265133	300	884	241997	211	1146	23136	89	261	108	648371	3247	200
13	Trieste	TS	1	6	235700	212	1113	204849	84	2425	30851	127	242	6	235700	212	1113
14	Reggio C.	RC	1	12	222090	464	478	184937	236	784	37153	228	163	97	559759	3183	176
15	Cagliari	CA	1	42	514871	2460	209	154019	86	1800	360852	2375	152	71	560827	4570	123

Source: our calculations on ISTAT data

T = Type of metropolitan area (1=regional; 2=national)

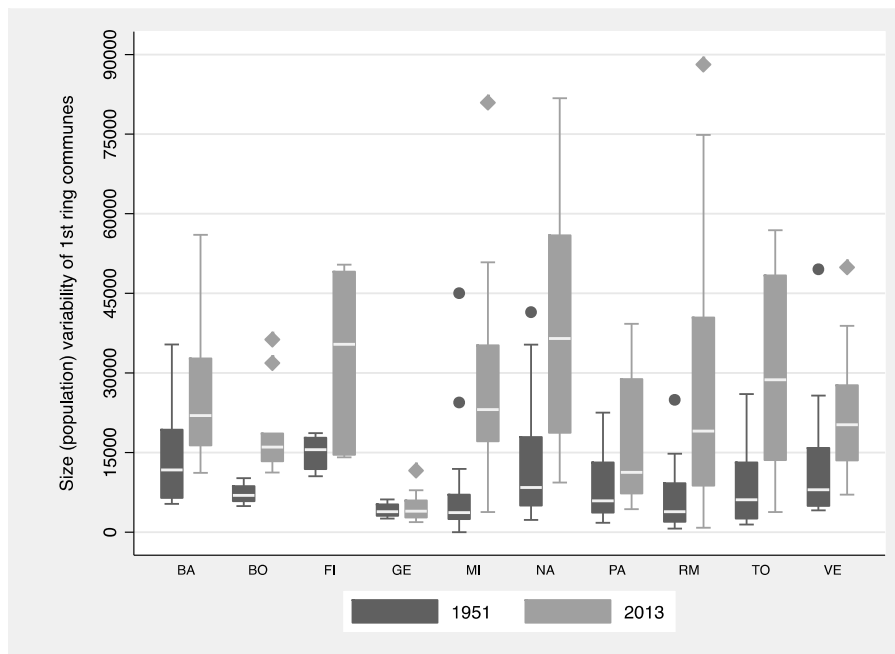
N = Number of municipalities in the metropolitan areas (LLS)

Figure 2 – Metropolitan areas' hinterlands: density and size.

As Figure 2 shows, the metropolitan areas of Reggio Calabria, Messina and Trieste have very limited territories and populations (see Table 1), as well as very small hinterlands (compared to the pivot cities) characterised by very low densities (they all belong to the third quadrant in Figure 2). Furthermore, there are a number of metropolitan areas (Bari, Bologna, Cagliari, Catania, Firenze, Torino) with relatively large hinterlands, although characterised by very low densities. In contrast, the metropolitan areas of Milano and Napoli exhibit markedly different territorial organisations. Their corresponding pivot cities are very large and have remarkably large hinterlands with very high densities (incomparably higher than those of the other metropolitan areas considered).

The high diversity of Italian metropolitan areas emerges not only by looking at hinterlands in static terms. It is also apparent when one considers hinterlands from a dynamic perspective, i.e. by looking at the evolution of hinterlands over time. Figure 3 shows the populations of the first-ring municipalities in 1951 and 2013. One observes strikingly different trends consistent with the patterns of Figure 2. In the cases of Firenze, Milano, Napoli, Roma and Torino, processes of hinterland urbanisation have clearly taken place. In the cases of Bologna, Bari, Palermo and Venezia these processes have been much less strong. In the case of Genova, in fact, hinterland urbanisation has not taken place (in accordance with the city's long-term economic and demographic stagnation).

Figure 2 – Population dynamics in the first-ring municipalities

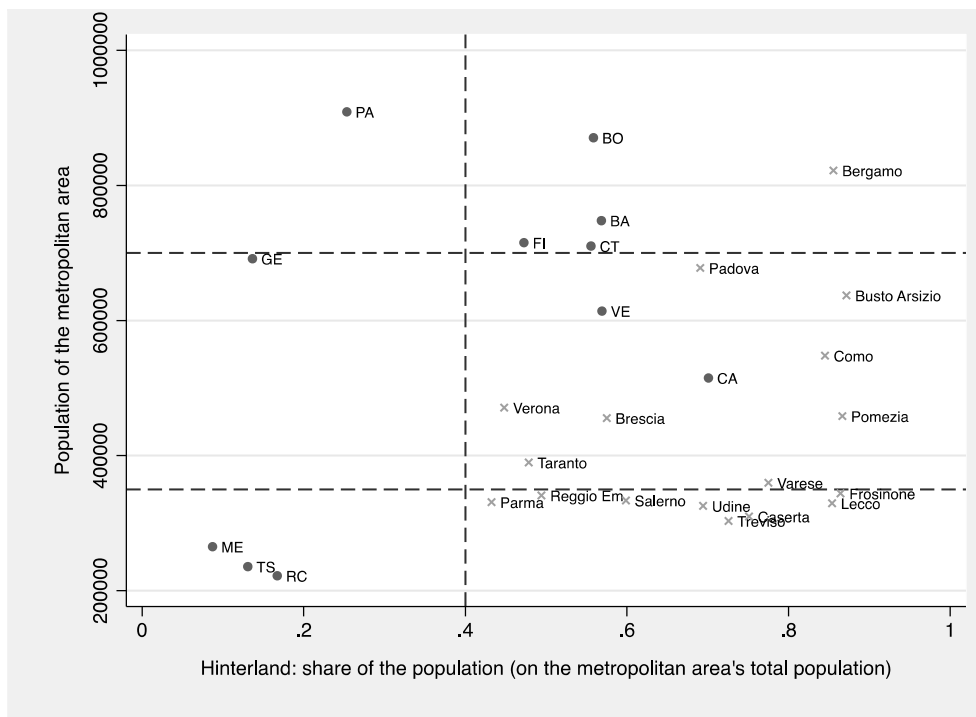


The way in which the category ‘metropolitan area’ has been used in the policy discourse in Italy has generated much uncertainty as to its substantial meaning. To use this category indiscriminately leads to underestimate the profound diversity in terms of size and territorial organisation of the territory to which the Italian policy discourse on metropolitanisation refers. Ultimately, it has given rise to a meta-institutional change that does not address the relevant spatial, political and social disequilibria.

3.3 Inconsistencies in the list of metropolitan areas

There is a further key problem in regard to the list of cities considered: it is inconsistent. First, a number of cities of most importance in terms of metropolitan areas’ total population – and with relatively large hinterland populations – are not in the list.

Figure 3 – *The metropolitan areas in the Italian urban system (*) (*) Only metropolitan areas (LLSs) with less than 1,000,000 inhabitants*



A striking example is Bergamo, with a hinterland population of about 700,000 units and a land area of 881 km² governed by 122 municipalities. The metropolitan area of Bergamo is larger in terms of population than those of Bari, Firenze, Catania and Genova – cities that have been included by the law in the list of metropolitan areas. Moreover, it displays greater political-administrative fragmentation. This suggests that there would be much to gain from its institutional integration (according to the standard way of conceptualising intermunicipal integration).

A second notable case is that of the metropolitan area of Padova, whose population is similar to those of Genova, Firenze, Catania and Bari. The case of Padova is also significant because it is contiguous to – and closely integrated with – the metropolitan area of Venezia, forming what is often referred to as the ‘Venezia-Padova metropolitan region’ (Corò & Torre, 2015; OECD, 2010; 2015). Also notable are the cases of Como – with a hinterland population of about 460,000 units and a land area of 581 km² governed by 99 municipalities – and that of Busto Arsizio – with a hinterland population of about 550,000 units and a land area of 519 km² governed by 52 municipalities.

As Figure 4 shows, from the ‘metropolitan paradigm’ perspective, in terms of key territorial parameters there are at least 17 Italian cities for which the forms of metropolitan governance would be much more significant. It also highlights that cities of minor importance in terms of metropolitan area’s total population – and with relatively small hinterland populations – are included in the list of territories to be turned into ‘metropolitan cities’. Striking examples are the cities of Messina, Trieste and Reggio Calabria.

4. The Italian debate on metropolitan areas

4.1 Three methodological missteps

The ambiguity surrounding the notion of metropolitan area in the policy discourse is partly linked to the inability of the scientific community to converge on a shared conceptualisation of the Italian territory. Since the late 1980s, different scientific disciplines – including urban planning, economic geography, regional economics and urban sociology – have been involved in the discussion on Italy’s changing territorial organisation (Calafati, 2009b). The emergence of a shared conceptualisation would thus have required an interdisciplinary dialogue, which has not taken place. Instead, constrained by academic boundaries, the scientific community has produced a conflicting discourse on metropolitan areas, marked by three main methodological missteps.

Firstly, it has not been acknowledged that the institutionalisation of metropolitan areas could be effectively addressed only by framing it within the larger question of the institutionalisation of intermunicipal systems at all territorial scales – large, medium and even small⁴. Secondly, it has not been acknowledged that the institutionalisation of metropolitan areas was a process to be distinguished from the institutionalisation of the *city de facto* – this latter being a process much more important in terms of effects on the spatial allocation of resources and on the governance of spatial development. Thirdly, it has not been recognised that metropolitan areas do not necessarily constitute ‘territorial facts’, for they may also be ‘territorial projects’.

4.2 *The territorial integration of intermunicipal systems at all scales*

In the late 1980s the existence of the metropolitan areas of the major Italian cities, such as Milano, Torino and Napoli, was unquestionable. The sheer population increase in the municipalities located in the first and second ring of the major Italian cities was a sign of the ongoing metropolitanisation process. Other large intermunicipal territorial systems – Firenze’s and Venezia-Padova’s metropolitan areas, for example – had consolidated. But what was equally important – and very relevant from a policy perspective – was that, overall, the process of intermunicipal territorial integration was a widespread phenomenon also manifest at lower territorial scales. A large number of small- and medium-sized intermunicipal systems had emerged (Calafati & Mazzoni, 2008; Martellato & Sforzi, 1990).

Law no. 142/1990 did not address *only* the metropolitan areas question – that is, the institutionalisation of territorial integration regarding the largest Italian cities. In fact, it addressed the institutionalisation of *all* forms of territorial integration manifest at various territorial scales. Consequently, law no. 142/1990 contemplates norms intended to enable merger – as well as cooperation – among contiguous municipalities *of every size and at any scale*.

This broader perspective on territorial integration – beyond the focus on metropolitan areas – has been directly stimulated by the ‘industrial district research programme’. The spatiality of industrial districts – as defined in the neo-Marshallian paradigm – comprises various municipalities. (Becattini, 1987; 1994; Sforzi, 1987). When law no. 142/1990 was passed, the first map of the Italian territory in terms of intermunicipal systems – ‘local (labour) systems’ – had already been drawn by Istat and Irpet jointly (Istat-Irpet, 1987).⁵ It was widely

⁴ In fact, as law no. 142/1990 envisaged.

⁵ Long before, Irpet had conceptualised the territory of the Toscana Region in terms of intermunicipal systems (IRPET, 1978).

agreed that the unit of analysis to be used to describe and explain territorial performances was the intermunicipal system (Crouch, P Le Galès, Trigilia, & Voelzkow, 2001; Martellato & Sforzi, 1990; Signorini, 2001).

The implications of this methodological perspective for the institutionalisation of the metropolitan areas, however, were not properly drawn. In particular, it was not understood that the focus on ‘local (labour) systems’ suggested that the metropolitan question should be approached from a different perspective (Calafati, 2002; 2009b). From the perspective of Istat’s map, the best way to conceptualise the territorial organisation of the largest Italian metropolitan areas might be to look at them, firstly, as clusters of local systems. From this it follows that, whatever the boundaries of a given metropolitan area, before its institutionalisation it would have been necessary to institutionalise smaller clusters of contiguous municipalities, and then move on to an encompassing governance framework for the entire metropolitan area.⁶ This stepwise institutional change would greatly facilitate the emergence of effective forms of metropolitan governance in a country like Italy with very high political-administrative fragmentation.⁷

4.3 *The institutionalisation of cities de facto*

The metropolitanisation process can be divided into two processes. On the one hand, there is the phenomenon of *territorial coalescence* between a large city and its contiguous municipalities. Territorial coalescence, often involving the formation of conurbation, generates the so called ‘cities *de facto*’. On the other hand, there is *territorial integration* between a large city and the municipalities of its hinterland generated by the intensity of home-to-work and home-to-leisure flows. This type of territorial integration generates the metropolitan area.

The distinction between territorial coalescence and territorial integration may be difficult to detect in some cases; but in many others it is self-evident and cannot be mistaken. And indeed, the second misstep taken in the scientific debate has been to confuse territorial coalescence with territorial integration. This led the discussion far away from what was – and still remains – a crucial question in Italy: *redrawing the boundaries of major cities* on the basis of the territorial coalescence of the city with its contiguous municipalities (Calafati, 2009a; Calafati & Veneri, 2013; Sforzi

⁶ I have recently adopted this methodological perspective in a study on the metropolitan areas of Napoli (Calafati & Mazzoni, 2017) and Venezia-Padova (in a study I conducted on behalf of OECD (2015)).

⁷ Political-administrative fragmentation is very marked in Northern Italy in particular. The metropolitan area (LLS) of Milano counts 174 municipalities, while that of Torino counts 112 municipalities.

& Martellato, 1990). The question is one altogether different from that of the identification and institutionalisation of metropolitan areas.

The expansion of the boundaries of a city as a consequence of territorial coalescence between a large city and its contiguous municipalities has been a very common occurrence in European urban history. It is possible to argue that *since* the Industrial Revolution – and the ensuing rapid urbanisation – the history of European cities has been marked by the tension between the city *de jure* and the city *de facto*. In Italy, one can find very many examples of city *de facto* emerging as a consequence of a specific pattern ('territorial coalescence') of spatial and relational development. Very many municipalities in the first ring of the largest Italian cities have turned into 'neighbourhoods' of the corresponding cities *de facto*.

Redrawing the administrative boundaries of major cities has not been an issue in the Italian policy agenda in the past decades. However, instances of territorial coalescence of the major cities with their contiguous municipalities have very frequently and extensively occurred. In the case of Napoli and Milano, the corresponding cities *de facto*, both with about 3,000,000 inhabitants, are among the largest metropolises in Europe (OECD, 2012; 2013).

4.4 Cities and metropolitan areas as 'territorial projects'

The third methodological misstep of the scientific discussion on metropolitan areas has been the inability to integrate the 'objective and the 'normative' perspectives on metropolitan areas. In fact, within the scientific debate on metropolitan areas, the concern for the boundaries has assumed two opposite and conflicting forms.

On the one hand, some scholars – geographers and regional scientists in particular – have focused on *objective* boundaries. This perspective has given rise to a strong research interest in the 'best' algorithms to use in identifying the objective boundaries of inter-municipal systems. On the other hand, other scholars – urban planners, in particular – have focused on *normative* boundaries to be defined considering political and strategic concerns emerging from political negotiations among the local authorities of contiguous municipalities. This perspective has given rise to a focus on 'territorial projects' that generate the 'best' boundaries for inter-municipal systems still to emerge in their specific form. Both perspectives are incomplete and lead to biased conceptualisations of the territory. In contrast, an integration of both perspectives would produce a conceptualisation of the territory grounded on the actual features of the territory and also dynamic – that is, incorporating the political and planning dimensions.

An exclusive focus on objective boundaries is unwarranted. The territory is a continuously evolving social construct, strongly influenced by political choices. In this regard, the way in which Istat has promoted its map of the Italian territory in terms of ‘intermunicipal (functional) systems’ (local labour systems) has contributed greatly to the methodological rigidity of the ‘objective boundaries approach’. The refusal by Istat to address the normative dimension of intermunicipal clusters has reinforced the positivist attitude, widespread among regional scientists, according to which the problem is to find the ‘right’ algorithm to identify the ‘true’ boundaries – which indeed do not seem to exist as such. In Italy in particular, as a consequence of the *disordered* and *dispersed* spatial development manifest since the 1950s, a strictly inductive approach to the boundaries issue may lead to puzzling results.

Yet the normative approach fostered by urban planners has never been able to offer an alternative. At the time when economic geographers and regional scientists were producing conceptualisations of the Italian territory in terms of intermunicipal systems generated by algorithms, urban planners were very much engaged in promoting the ‘larger urban zone paradigm’ (‘paradigma dell’area vasta’) as a tool for the regulation of spatial development at intermunicipal territorial scale and also to assess the social impact of projects of territorial transformation (Fregolent, 2006). The emphasis on planning at intermunicipal level was the consequence of the emergence of the ‘dispersed city’ (or ‘city-territory’) (Indovina, 1990; Lanzani, 2011; Lanzani & Pasqui, 2011; Munarin & Tosi, 2002; Secchi, 2005). Yet planners underestimated the usefulness of boundaries as devices to set up an effective regulation system: boundaries are social constructs necessary for an effective policy making process. The voluntarily and piecemeal cooperation envisaged by the ‘larger urban zone paradigm’ did not produce any significant policy results. In fact, intermunicipal spatial planning did not take place.⁸

5. Political obstacles to the institutionalisation of intermunicipal systems

In Italy the failure to institutionalise territorial integration has been the outcome of political factors as well – and not only of a disordered and disciplinary-marked scientific debate on the Italian territorial organisation. The inertia of local actors – regional governments and pivot municipalities, in particular – largely explains the delay in the institutionalisation process of metropolitan areas. By giving local actors the authority to define the boundaries of metropolitan areas and start the

⁸ Indeed, this paradigm relies on a model of the public agent that is empirically wrong, particularly in regard to the *reasons* for intermunicipal cooperation in spatial and economic planning.

metropolitanisation process, law no. 142/1990 made a bottom-up reform of local government feasible. Yet, local actors did not seize this opportunity: they did not set in motion the expected institutional change.

Regional governments in particular bear precise responsibility for the delay in the institutionalisation process of Italian metropolitan areas. They did not take the necessary step of drawing the boundaries of the metropolitan areas (law no. 142/1990, art. 17, comma 2). And consequently they never empowered the municipalities that had to start the negotiations with the other concerned actors that would lead to institutional integration. Yet major cities, too, have their fair share of responsibility because they did not use their political influence to raise the question of the stalemate in the institutionalisation of their metropolitan areas.

At first sight, the inertia of local actors in regard to the institutionalisation of metropolitan areas in the 1990s and 2000s is a major political paradox. According to the rationale of law no. 142/1990, local actors would have benefited greatly from an institutionalisation of metropolitan areas. Yet they never showed interest in it. The entire story may appear paradoxical if one considers that in the late 1990s and 2000s a marked shift to 'regionalisation' and 'municipalisation' characterised the Italian political system. This paradox may be yet explained by considering the consequence that the institutionalisation of metropolitan authorities would have had on the existing balance of local power between regional and municipal powers.

On the one hand, the institutionalisation of metropolitan authorities would have challenged the power of regional governments. In Regions such as Piemonte, Lombardia, Veneto, Toscana, Campania and Lazio, metropolitan areas would have been large enough in terms of population and total employment to become unquestionably the most important political players, greatly reducing the power of the corresponding regional governments. This conflict is still unresolved after law no. 54/2014, and it will emerge again as soon as the metropolitan authorities start to operate and the issue of allocation of policy fields between regional governments and metropolitan cities has to be addressed.

On the other hand, the institutionalisation of metropolitan authorities would have challenged the power of the municipalities, too. It is useful to recall that municipalities in Italy – even very small ones – have the authority to allocate and manage property rights on real estate and infrastructure building. And also to be stressed that in Italy allocation of land use rights has been the main source of political legitimization and consensus building at municipal scale since the 1950s. Municipal governments have maintained (and progressively increased) control over allocation of land use rights – and, paradoxically as it may appear, also planning the location of industrial sites has not systemically emerged as an

intermunicipal policy field.⁹ With the substantive institutionalisation of metropolitan areas envisaged by law no. 142/1990, hundreds of municipalities would lose the power to manage land use rights.¹⁰

A great limitation of law no. 56/2014 – but the same can be said in regard to law no. 152/1990 – is that it entirely neglects the question of incentives – cost-benefit configuration for a *substantive* institutionalisation of metropolitan areas. Apparently, law no. 56/2014 is equipped to go beyond this limitation since it literally imposes the establishment of metropolitan authorities. However, a close reading of the law reveals that local authorities may easily circumvent the imposition by law of constructing a shared governance and, hence, maintain much of their autonomy in crucial policy fields such as land use. Law no. 56/2014 does not force city authorities to engage in effective policy coordination, even in the most relevant fields of spatial and economic development. It gives the municipal authorities of the metropolitan area the freedom to decide the policy fields subject to concerted government, and the policy fields subject to municipal authority.

This opens up the scenario of an institutionalisation of metropolitan governance in Italy that is only nominal: all the relevant policy fields will remain under the control of the municipalities and of the regional governments. Notwithstanding law no. 54/2014 – and also because of its inadequacy – Italy is still very far from achieving effective metropolitan governance.

6. Conclusions

Given the features of the Italian territory – and the forms that territorial integration has taken in the hinterlands of Italian major cities – the institutionalisation of metropolitan areas is to be considered a crucial step towards increasing Italy's development potential. Yet, scant scientific attention has been paid to the reasons why there are no operating metropolitan areas after so many years since the importance of institutionalising metropolitan areas was given formal acknowledgment (law no. 142/1990). Also underrepresented in the scientific debate is the prospect that the metropolitan cities under construction on the basis of law no. 54/2014 may emerge as very weak political actors, and the

⁹ This is an issue of utmost importance for a country like Italy characterised by (very) small firms in all sectors and very small municipalities in terms of land and population. The consequence has been an unparalleled spatial dispersion of industrial sites.

¹⁰ Given this, municipalities contiguous to the major cities have profited greatly from non-institutionalised territorial integration. They have experienced an extraordinary expansion in terms of population and employment as a consequence of territorial integration with the pivot cities. On the other hand, pivot cities have been able to increase the value of real estate, boosting the tertiary sector within their boundaries.

normative innovation may turn out to be an irrelevant change in the regulation mechanisms of the largest Italian metropolitan areas.

Not acknowledged in the current institutionalisation of metropolitan areas also is the fact that institutional change is a process that can be – indeed, ought to be – amended, adapted, adjusted while in progress. Against the background of the complexity of Italy's territorial organisation, the appropriateness of the legal framework introduced to address the metropolitanisation issue (law no. 54/2014) should be assessed on an ongoing basis. Becoming aware of the shortcomings of the metropolitanisation process currently in progress and unravelling the reasons of these shortcomings are steps necessary to make an effective institutional framework emerge. Progressive adaptations only may lead to a governance arrangement appropriate to Italy's largest metropolitan areas.

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SUMMARY

The metropolitan question in Italy

The paper highlights some conceptual inaccuracies and explanatory failures that have marked the policy and scientific discourse that has consolidated in Italy around the 'metropolitan question' since the late 1980s. The shortcomings of this discourse have contributed greatly to delaying the metropolitanisation process – the critical importance of which is largely acknowledged in Europe (Eurocities, 2011; 2013). They also explain the inadequacy of the normative framework recently introduced – i.e. law no. 56/2014 –, which continues to underestimate the institutional and political obstacles to a substantive metropolitanisation.

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THE NEW METROPOLITAN CITIES AND THE ROLE OF STATISTICS IN TERRITORY KNOWLEDGE AND GOVERNMENT¹

Teresa Ammendola

1. Introduction

In compliance with the provisions of law 56/2014 - the so-called “Delrio Law” - on Metropolitan Cities, Provinces and the union and merger of Municipalities, a new Wide-Area second tier Local Authority, the Metropolitan City, has been operative in Italy since January 1, 2015. The new provisions thus implement what was provided for with the reform of Title V of the Constitution (constitutional law 3/2001), that is, the addition of Metropolitan Cities to those bodies like Regions, Provinces and Municipalities making up the Italian Republic.

Ten cities are included in the Delrio Law as Metropolitan Cities: Turin, Genoa, Milan, Venice, Bologna, Florence, Rome, Naples, Bari and Reggio Calabria². They replace former Provinces with regard to their territorial jurisdiction and the execution of certain functions, and absorb their assets and human resources.

Without analyzing the legal implications deriving from the establishment of this new subject in charge of the government and the local administration and acting in the political and administrative scene, throughout this article we will try to highlight the “status de facto” in which the Metropolitan is actually. In addition, we will describe how statistics, especially those processed within the Metropolitan Cities, can contribute to the success of this new institution. Finally, we will focus on those normative mechanisms on which the statistics could usefully work in order to produce good governance actions, such as transparency and citizen participation in local government.

¹ Invited paper to the 53rd SIDES Scientific Meeting – Rome 2016.

² To date, the Metropolitan City of Reggio Calabria has not yet elected the new metropolitan government bodies because it is waiting for the termination of office of the democratically elected provincial bodies. Moreover, it should be noted that Sicily and Sardinia, because of the powers provided for by the special autonomy, may identify other Metropolitan Cities to set alongside the cities above mentioned.

2. Urbanization, a key feature of our age

According to a study published by the United Nations, in 2015, 53.4% of the world population lives in an urban area. In 1970, this percentage was 37.3% and in 2000, 47%³. At a European level the same estimate provides a value of 60%⁴. Cities are increasingly becoming the main place for economic development and social networks. In fact, if the city was traditionally the place where production and therefore residential activities were carried out, today cities also constitute places of recreation and socially interactive activities. Concurrently, city dimensions grow wider and wider, and we can no longer talk about “the city”, but rather about an urban system made up of multiple related cities in an interdependent relationship.

The European government is also convinced of the central role that cities have in determining the well-being of a country, to the extent that the EU government has based their development policy on this issue for the period 2014-2020. The policies based on the city and regarding the city take on a leading role to foster territorial cohesion, precisely because of what the city means both within the community and on a supraregional and international level⁵.

A series of studies conducted by the EU on metropolitan areas to measure the urban dimension of the continent, clearly expressed the European interest on this topic. The European Spatial Planning Observation Network identified 76 metropolitan areas, sorted into five types (Global Nodes, European Engines, Strong, Potential, Weak). Seven of the ten Metropolitan Cities included in the law fall into this classification. On a higher level, considering all the cities in the world and referring to the Global Report, which publishes annually a global ranking of cities, we see that Rome and Milan hold, respectively, the thirty-second and the forty-fourth place in the eighty-four position list.

The difficulty of unequivocally classifying urbanization clearly shows the complexity of this phenomenon, that is hard to describe if we only use a "quantitative" criterion linked to anthropogenic concentration in the territories. In fact, the latest evolution of urban forms also includes important qualitative changes that involve the relationships between the different components of the city. First and foremost is the relationship between “the center” and “the periphery”, the latter increasingly expanding to the point of incorporating the “small cities” that make up

³ Cf. UN Habitat (2006; 2009).

⁴ Project Espon, various years.

⁵ From an analytical point of view, we have at least five different levels of scale that provide insight and allow us to build our understanding of the city: 1) the intra-urban level: for example, the subdivision into districts; 2) the city as a whole in relation to other cities; 3) the city in its own regional context; 4) the city in its national context; 5) the city in a global context (worldwide and/or European) (Wilson, 2010).

the wider “Metropolitan City”. We can observe that, on the one hand, in this large territory, production as well as leisure-related activities are following a centripetal movement from the outskirts to the center; on the other hand, the whole city is undergoing fragmentation, exclusion and conflict situations. As Martinotti already stressed in 2001, the metropolitan area is a territory linked to one or more cities with their own center by means of a functional and interdependent relationship. Such a connection can be measured either directly or through the identification of areas characterized by homogeneity and proximity. An urbanized area is defined by a central unit and a surrounding territory with pre-existing settlements or settlements arising following the expansion of the original nucleus. The new form of the city also requires a new institutional configuration, that goes beyond the physical and administrative boundaries of the previous municipal. This is the fundamental step for drawing up policies and subsequent administrative actions that are able to lead to an equitable and sustainable development, which can progressively expand to the upper regional and national levels from a local level. The smart, inclusive and sustainable growth advocated by the “Europe 2020 Strategy” begins with the development of cities considered in their broadest sense as Metropolitan Cities.

3. The system of Metropolitan Cities in Italy

The Metropolitan City is the Italian legal system’s answer to the institutional need to organize this new urban space, by promoting the possibilities of development and recognizing the leading role that the new “large cities” have, not only on a local and regional level, but also on a national and European one. The Metropolitan City is obviously a partial response and many changes may be done to improve this first result, partly because it is objectively difficult to describe the Metropolitan City in a satisfactory and definitive way. Metropolitan Cities are actually an adaptive solution adopted by the different players operating in an area, so the cities are bound to change over time and space or according to new requirements of territorial organization and social fabric⁶.

⁶ The gradual transformation of urban cities into Metropolitan Cities was a phenomenon well known to demographers. In recent decades, interchanges between the big cities and their hinterland, especially the nearest one, have taken place above all with a large number of people relocating their residence from the capital to neighbouring towns. As a consequence, in a short space of time some small Municipalities have turned into medium-sized cities and urban peripheries with a poor urban quality have started growing. One of the main motivations that contributes to the building of the new settlement models is the price of housing.

The ten Metropolitan Cities identified by the Delrio Law represent an important part of the national system, as we are going to show later on, but probably their choice has also been determined by the influence they have, both within their own regional context and on a national level⁷.

The Metropolitan Cities occupy a total area of 302,073 square kilometers or 11% of the total Italian territory. They are inhabited by more than 18 million residents, who represent 30% of residents in Italy, and include 1,016 Municipalities, amounting to 13% of all Municipalities in Italy. The centrality of these areas can easily be figured out by analyzing some "economic" indicators related to the production structure and value added: 34% of employees and 32% of enterprises and local units are concentrated in the ten cities under examination.

Table 1 - *The system of Italian Metropolitan Cities. Comparison between the last two censuses (2001-2011)*

Metropolitan Cities	Residents	Municipalities	Population increase (%) in Municipalities with more than 10,00 residents between the last two censuses	Population increase (%) in the county town between last two censuses	Population increase (%) between the last two censuses
Turin	2,247,780	315	4.7	0.8	3.8
Genoa	855,834	68	-1.2	-4.0	-2.5
Milan	3,038,420	134	4.2	-1.1	3.3
Venice	846,962	44	7.9	-3.6	4.6
Bologna	976,243	60	10.1	0.03	6.7
Florence	973,145	44	5.9	0.6	4.2
Rome	3,997,465	121	20.7	2.8	8.0
Naples	3,065,956	92	1.5	-4.2	-0.1
Bari	1,247,303	41	3.4	-0.2	2.4
Reggio Calabria	550,967	97	-1.2	0.2	-2.3
Total Metropolitan Cities	17,800,075				
Total Italy	59,433,744				

The Metropolitan Cities produce 36% of the value added and house 32% of total workers. At the same time, however, we also register 39% of voluntary homicides and 32% of robberies, two basic indicators showing the social tensions

⁷ It is still quite heated the debate on the choice of the ten Metropolitan Cities and the exclusion of some urban areas showing characteristics suitable for obtaining a local government in a metropolitan form. The choice has also probably been made taking into account a sort of "representativeness" of the region in which they are situated.

that can arise within a context where relationships weaken and become more complex.

Figure 1 - The weight of the Metropolitan Cities on some major territorial and socio-economic variables (% of the national total).

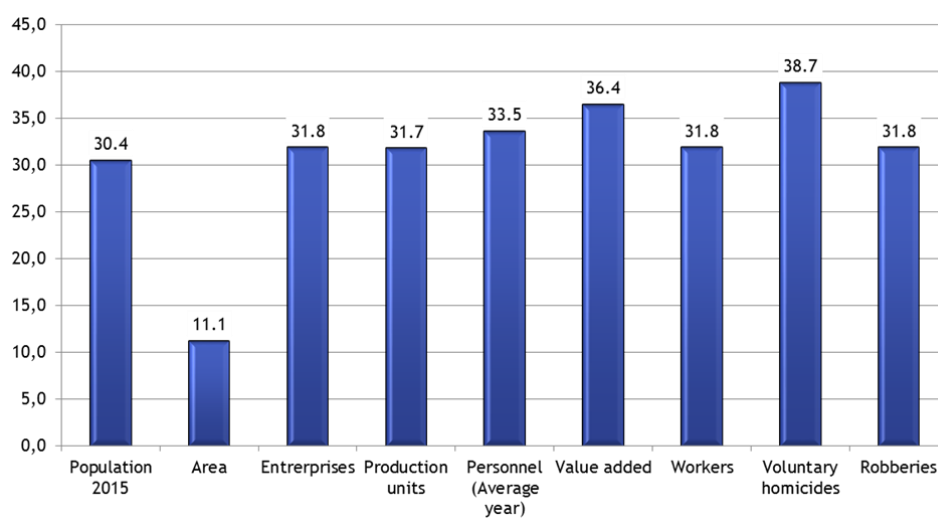
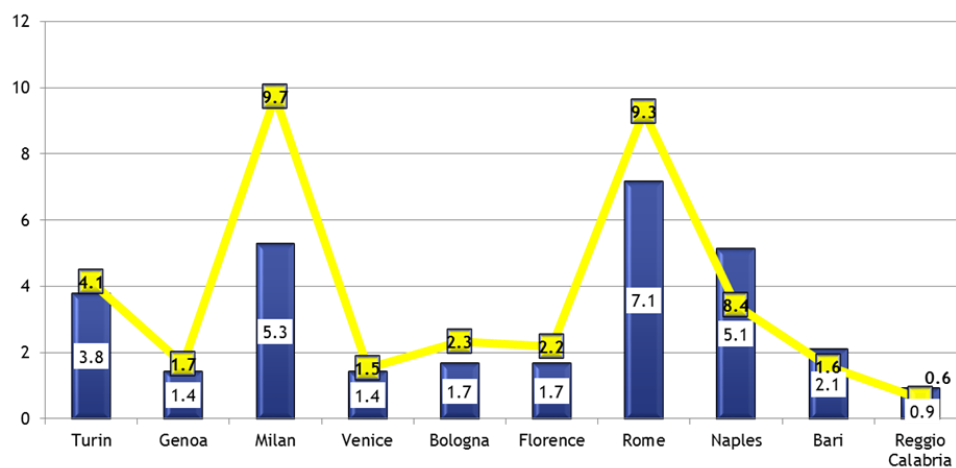


Figure 2 - Comparison between the weight of the population and the weight of the value added for each of the ten Metropolitan Cities (% of the national total).



In order to evaluate the leading role played by the ten cities on a national level, we compared the percentage of the value added produced to the percentage of the residents. As it was already expounded in other international researches, Milan and Rome actually play a leadership role. On the other hand, other cities, in particular Naples, Bari and Reggio Calabria, the three Metropolitan Cities of the South, show a percentage of value added lower than the percentage of the resident population. However, they have a major importance at a regional level and in the South of Italy, which is suffering endemic delays in the level of development.

In any case, as the demographic data shows, in recent decades the relationship between the county town and the surrounding municipalities in large urban areas has increased, thus encouraging the growth of medium- and large-sized towns around the main city. It should be highlighted that this new balancing among settlements has not always been followed by a parallel repositioning or a new planning of services on a metropolitan scale, nor have we seen a parallel repositioning of functions or an improvement in road conditions or public transport. The new metropolitan-level government should correct the negative consequences of spontaneous changes, avoiding an extreme peripheralization and fostering instead metropolization processes, that is, the creation of a territorial system where the positive aspects of both the metropolis and the small city can merge⁸.

4. The functions of Metropolitan Cities and the role of statistics

According to the regulations that introduced the institution of the Metropolitan City in the national law, these large areas are intended to be the development engine of the country, since they are well supplied with services, infrastructures and strategic functions. From the recognition of this role comes the realization that the fragmentation of administrative boundaries within these areas creates inefficiencies and prevents a full use of the resources that these important portions of territory are endowed with.

In this paper, we will not analyze in detail all the functions assigned to the Metropolitan Cities in compliance with the law; we are going to discuss only the aspects with major implications on the statistical function.

The Metropolitan City holds all the basic functions that belonged to the Provinces. One of these functions is the data collection and processing and the

⁸ Cf. Province of Rome, Capitale metropolitana. Periferie Comuni. Rapporto di Studio sulla condizione sociale, Economica e Territoriale, October 2010.

technical assistance to Municipalities. The Metropolitan City is also assigned the task of adopting and annually updating a three-year strategic plan of the metropolitan territory, that constitutes a guiding act for the entity and for the activities to be carried out by the Municipalities and the unions of Municipalities of the territory.

In practice, the definition of a strategic plan for a Metropolitan City must be a collaborative process, whose organization is entrusted to the Metropolitan City. A strategic planning is a process in which a territory builds a shared vision of the future and defines the strategies to implement it. The word “strategic” means that such a planning must include few policies, projects and actions, but all of them with significant impact on economic and social levels.

Given the central role played by the Metropolitan City in the territorial planning, it is necessary for the entities to have efficient and operating Statistical Offices. Since they are network nodes of the wider National Statistical System⁹, the Statistical Offices of the Metropolitan Cities can provide objective and reliable knowledge of the area’s characteristics as well as highlight its limits, risks, potentialities and strengths. The policymaker is obviously in charge of decisions, but the tool to guide the decisions must be of an objective type, because it has to be evaluated by the public. Planning should also be continuously monitored, so as to make it possible to correct policy implementation, both in terms of results and impact on populations and areas.

Therefore, promoting and strengthening the Statistical Offices of Metropolitan Cities becomes strategic for the Authorities, also because of the guarantees the offices ensure regarding the way statistical data are analyzed. Without describing every single action that offices put forward, we can however explain certain lines of action necessary to best support the strategic planning process.

The first one to be mentioned is the systematizing of all the statistical information regarding the metropolitan territory. Statistical Offices have specific knowledge of the sources from which they can obtain information, primarily the sources of official statistics, but also the works of other authoritative Organizations of administration and research. It is important to organize this information and make it clear at a regional level (at least local) in order to also attempt homogeneous territorial aggregations for policy management. In addition,

⁹ The L.D. 322/89 establishes the National Statistical System. Moreover, according to the Decree, every public administration has to equip itself with its own Statistics Office, as a unit of Official Statistics. From 2010, for the production of quality statistics, the National Statistical System has adopted the Italian Code of Statistics (Directive Comstat, no. 10/2010), that receives the conditions of the European Statistics Code of Practice. The code is based on the observance of 15 principles, among which objectivity, methodological soundness, accuracy and promptness of data (Italian Code of Statistics www.sistan.it).

Statistical Offices must play an active role in the emergence and enhancement of data assets belonging to the Authorities. The “statistical” use of this data becomes necessary to identify and calculate the result and impact indicators. Finally, the Statistical Offices dealing with data from administrative sources can make a real contribution to the publication of data in open format, thus taking part in the activities for a greater administrative transparency and showing in practice the meaning of statistical data as a public good (Tabarro, 2012).

5. The statistics in the programming cycle

Before the Delrio Law, public bodies had been engaged in another important reform action. With the L.D. June 23, 2011 n. 118¹⁰, the so-called “harmonization of the financial statements of public administration” came into force. The objective of this reform was to make the budgets of public administration homogeneous, comparable and suitable to be aggregated in order to control national finance (protection of national public finance), to ensure that public finance complied with article 104 of the Treaty established by the European Union and, finally, to encourage the implementation of fiscal federalism.

Among the activities set out by the new harmonized accounting, programming has received renewed attention. The activity of programming, that consists of defining the search and appropriate allocation of resources, becomes the pivot around which the administrative and budget actions turn. The accounting reform, therefore, aims at programming by no longer using purely self-referential accounting criteria, but instead methods which take into account the substance of the administrative reality, that is the people and the territory of reference.

As stated by the documents produced by the Ministry of Economy and Finance (MEF)¹¹, programming is a process of analysis and evaluation that allows us to organize activities and resources for social purposes and to promote economic and civil development of the community. Good programming should, therefore, be able to include a socio-economic description of the area as well as the demand for local public services. At the same time, it also takes the appropriate tools to evaluate the effectiveness and efficiency of the administrative action and local government.

In other words, the programming process should be done by taking into account results and effects, rather than by working from a merely administrative point of view, where the emphasis is placed on the roles and tasks in the organizational structure and on the allocation of expenses on the balance sheet. To Program the

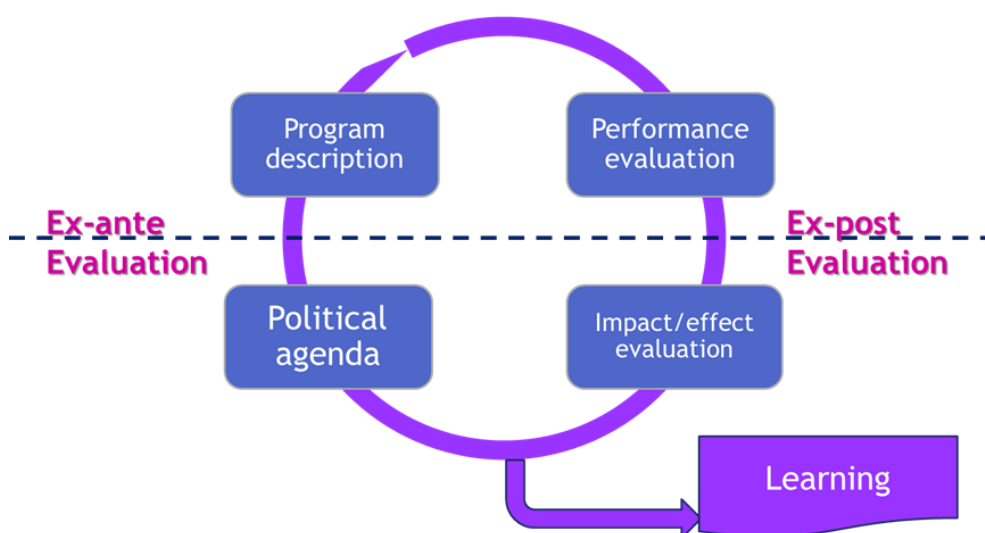
¹⁰ Then modified by L.D. 126, August 10, 2014.

¹¹ Cf. <http://www.rgs.mef.gov.it/VERSIONE-I/e-GOVERNME1/ARCONET/>

Authorities' activities means to understand and evaluate the purpose of every single action, the recipients and the changes you want to produce with it.

The new harmonized accounting involves the production of a Single Programming Document (SPD). This document consists of two main parts: 1) a strategic section; 2) an operational section. The first one sets out the general objectives defined by the administration for the reference period, the second one specifies the operational phases to reach those objectives through projects and interventions. One of the key chapters of the strategic section is the description of the context and its needs. It is relatively obvious that the Entity must establish the contents of the strategic section on a strong foundation made up of analysis and statistical descriptions of the reference area.

Scheme 1 - The role of statistics in the programming cycle



Another important change included in the new harmonized accounting is the classification of balance items in “missions” and “programs”. The “missions” are the main functions and the strategic objectives. The “programs” are homogeneous groups of activities aimed at reaching the objectives of the missions. The “missions” and the “programs” described in the new harmonized accounting include all the activities carried out by the Authorities and relating to different functions, both fundamental and not, established in the national and regional systems. This type of setting creates some definite advantages for the calculation of indicators to assess and measure the activities of institutions. The possibility to

create a unique connection between the activities carried out and accounting elements allows us to quantify the “costs” of public policies and evaluate their sustainability over time. The classification of expenditure for missions and programs provides an informative basis of integrated public accounting. Finally, the importance given to the understandability of financial statements facilitates the understanding of the connection between the resource allocation choices and the objectives pursued, also in terms of comparison between different Entities, with clear consequences on the planning of indicators useful for programming and social reporting. The Statistical Offices of the Metropolitan Cities can implement, in the best possible way, all the potential of the classification system established with the new harmonized accounting in order to obtain proper programming and reporting.

Conclusions

The new functions that the Metropolitan City as a wide area has to carry out require a detailed knowledge of the territory and an interpretation of the local situation that takes into account the relationships between human, economic and environmental components of that territory. In order to develop a strategic plan, the Metropolitan City must have timely, objective and valid statistical data at their disposition, together with data interpretation ability useful for both the policymakers to make decisions and for the citizens to evaluate administrative and political actions.

This type of support can only be provided by the Statistical Offices, that are preparing everything in order to provide their contribution to deal with these challenges. We will conclude these pages illustrating some lines of action followed by the Statistical Offices of some Italian Metropolitan Cities in order to systematically work in coordination with each other within the National Statistical System. The lines of action currently in place and consistent with the above can be summarized as follows¹²¹¹:

¹² In order to have a complete and detailed overview of all the initiatives that the Statistics Offices of wide-area entities (Provinces and Metropolitan Cities) are carrying out, you can visit the website www.upinet.it/cuspi, in particular the section dedicated to projects. Among all the initiatives, we focus on the project Administrative Archives Census and the project Bes of Provinces (www.besdelleprovince.it). Moreover, since April 2016 a memorandum of understanding between ANCI, UPI and ISTAT has been active. It is about the development of the statistical function in the Municipalities, Provinces and Metropolitan Cities and takes into account the most recent laws

1. creating and updating the local statistical information systems, or at least collecting and systematically processing the statistical data at a municipal level. The purposes of this activity are: to return systematized data to the territories, and, above all, to provide analysis in support of those Municipalities still lacking full autonomy in statistical function;

2. support to the programming documents, first of all with the context assessment analysis according to the Single Programming Document;

3. development of indicators to monitor the administrative action, also in terms of impact and outcome evaluation. This activity must be preceded by the acknowledgement and the treatment for statistical purposes of the informative deposits within the Entities;

4. optimization, at a metropolitan level, of professional resources and statistical skills in order to establish Statistical Offices on a metropolitan scale.

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SUMMARY

The new metropolitan cities and the role of statistics in territory knowledge and government.

Among the main changes that have affected the landscape of institutional reforms in recent years, surely that of the full implementation of the metropolitan cities is one of the most interesting. Placed nominally in the Italian Constitution since 2001, they had never been realized. The Law 56/2014 establishes that starting from January 1st 2015 they finally come into operation. The new wide-area functions that the metropolitan cities have to play, require a detailed knowledge of the territory and a reading capacity of it. Among the new features, in fact, there is the task of drawing up a strategic plan from which to extract guidelines for the governance of the territory.

The article will attempt to show that this reform process requires, for its full implementation, timely, objective and good statistical data, in order to give to policy makers a sort of compass to support their decisions and to give to the citizens elements to evaluate the administrative and political action. The system of statistical offices of the Italian wide area authorities tries to play its role through a series of practices and quickly illustrated projects.

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**THE STATISTICS TO KNOW THE TERRITORY.
A CRITICAL EVALUATION OF THE COLLABORATION
BETWEEN THE PROVINCE OF ROME AND THE DEPARTMENT
OF STATISTICAL SCIENCES OF LA SAPIENZA¹**

Enzo D’Arcangelo

1. Introduction

In 2003 the Province of Rome announced a call for bids addressed to Universities in Lazio for the design of a statistical survey on the Quality of Life in the Municipalities of the Province of Rome. The Department of Statistics, Probability and Applied Statistics (DSPSA, now DSS, Department of Statistical Sciences) of the University of Rome “La Sapienza” (Sapienza), participated in and won the tender with a project managed by Enzo D’Arcangelo, at that time Director of the DSPSA. A long-lasting collaboration between the two institutions thus began: thanks both to the outcome of the commissioned surveys and to the way in which the resources had been exploited (we will return to the topic in the following), the Province directly entrusted the DSPSA with other research projects which ended in 2013.

For each commissioned survey, the DSPSA assembled a Research Group coordinated by Enzo D’Arcangelo and formed of young graduate and undergraduate students in Statistical Sciences.

In this work, after a brief description of the surveys and their outcomes, we will try to draw up a critical evaluation of this collaboration, as well as put forward some thoughts on the role of Metropolitan Cities. Finally, some methodological considerations on the relationship between the research objectives, the nature of data used and the techniques we employed for their statistical analysis will be drawn.

2. Surveys

In what follows we outline the essential aspects of different surveys with respect to their timeline:

¹ Invited paper to the 53rd SIDES Scientific Meeting – Rome 2016.

a) *“A multidimensional survey on the quality of life in the Municipalities of the Province of Rome: the creation of a Permanent Observatory”.*

This is the first commissioned survey included in the 2003 call for bids, and based on the creation of a database with quantitative information regarding different subject areas at the municipal level.

The database contains 2,342 variables, divided into 12 groups further separable into sub-groups according to the reference field and to the source of the data. The thematic main areas and sub-areas have been chosen according to the objectives of the provincial statistical plan: Territory, Population, Economy (divided into five sub-areas: Income and Consumption, Production structures, Enterprises, Labour market, Social safety nets), Housing, Education and Training, Services (Health services and Personal care services), Environment (Air quality, Urban waste, Repeaters and Environmental crimes, Sismic risk, ISO enterprises, Unauthorized activities, Protected areas, Seismic and hydrogeological damages, Plants at risk of accidents), Mobility and Transport (Transport and Road accidents), Tourism, Networks, Crime and Security (Crimes and medium-sized penalties, Fines, Offences and Police units for defence), Culture and Recreation. The variables and indicators included in the database are available to the Municipalities of the Province and some of them are organized in a historical data series, in order to make it possible to analyse not only the present situation, but also the time evolution of the main demographic, economic and social phenomena occurred during the last twenty years.

The complete database of a simple but effective research program was published online by the statistical office of the Province of Rome in December 2005.

The DSPSA also presented to the Province the research report “The socio-economic structure of the Municipalities of the Province of Rome: multivariate analysis and creation of a typology” in which the Municipalities in the Metropolitan Area of Roma Capitale are classified into 5 groups according to their demographic, economic and social characteristics, on the basis of 95 relevant indicators (DSPSA, 2005).

The database has shown to be a valuable tool for the knowledge of territory and a precious support to territory related policies, due to both the amount of information and simplicity of access.

Then the Province and the DSPSA decided to perform an update in 2010. A second update has been on line since 2016.

b) *“The satisfaction of Social and Health Services in the Province of Rome”.*

In 2005, the Department of Consumer Protection and Fight Against Usury of the Province of Rome and the DSPSA signed a Memorandum of Understanding for

the creation of an “Observatory on the quality of activities and services in the social and health sector in the Province of Rome and on the degree of user satisfaction”. The aim was to realize surveys on citizen satisfaction regarding social services provided by the Province of Rome.

A “**Customer Satisfaction**” survey is not easy to realize both due to the nature of the statistical units (patients in public hospitals) and the methods (questionnaire on the quality of services perceived during hospitalization). Thanks to the cooperation of the hospitals selected, from the Medical Directors to the doctors and paramedics, but above all to the patients, the survey was successfully performed: 12 hospitals were sampled and 1,127 patients filled in the questionnaires correctly and completely.

Moreover, others 520 more citizens waiting for a doctor visit during a day hospital were interviewed, reaching a total of 1,647 respondents.

The survey outcome is reported in the research report “The satisfaction of Social and Health Services in the Province of Rome: a field survey” DSPSA, 2006).

c) *“Monitoring of social discomfort and usury risk in the Province of Rome territory”.*

In 2005 the DSPSA was also assigned directly by the Department of Consumer Protection and Fight Against Usury of the Province of Rome to develop a study on a worrying phenomenon in the Roman Metropolitan Area. A growing number of people in financial distress is now victim of usury. In this case, it was difficult to organize the research according to the classical methods. It was not possible to draw a random sample, nor it was possible to administer a questionnaire that would have implied serious legal consequences as well as personal risks. We then chose to extract information from multiple sources, completely different in their nature:

- the toll-free number of the Province of Rome, established with the goal of providing legal, institutional and economic support to victims of usury;
- data provided by various voluntary associations (those recognized by the Ministry of Interior and/or the Prefect), that for years have engaged in the difficult task of fighting usury and supporting the victims;
- official data (ISTAT - Italian National Institute of Statistics, Chamber of Commerce, etc.) on crime in general and on usury related crimes in particular.

The results have been described in the research report “Monitoring of social discomfort and usury risk in the Province of Rome territory” DSPSA, 2006).

d) *“Customer Satisfaction Survey on the quality of rail public transport in the Province of Rome”.*

In 2006, the Province of Rome (General Management - Office of Studies) directly commissioned the DSPSA with a new sample survey on citizen satisfaction regarding the quality of rail public transport. It is once again a “**Customer Satisfaction**” survey on a topic that is relevant to the commuters using Regional Railways FM3, and to the media especially due to the continuous difficulties of the service (delays, cancelled trains, breakdowns) resulting in numerous incidents and protest actions (petitions, train blocks, occupation of the stations, etc.).

The Research Group organized a real “task force” to ensure the success of the survey: in addition to the DSPSA and the Province, Trenitalia (at its central and peripheral levels), trade unions, associations of consumer protection and other bodies were involved. According to the data collection plan, the interviews were carried out on weekdays (Monday to Friday) at the three peak hours: from 5.45 to 8.00, from 13.00 to 15.00 and from 17.00 to 19.00. A totem was installed in all the stations in order to explain the objectives of the survey and to invite citizens to participate. Announcements were made in the train departing areas.

Yet again, citizen reactions went beyond expectations: commuters considered the survey a unique opportunity to democratically express their ideas, not only to denounce the failures of the service, but also to express their positive judgements on some interventions (e.g. almost all of the passengers knew that the Province had financed the increase of the number of trains on some lines) as well as proposals and suggestions - often extremely reasonable - on other issues (especially cleanliness and the absence of train managers). However, more than anything, all of interviewed commuters agreed to take the survey. Many of them were willing to skip their stop and get off at the next station in order to finish the interview, others made the effort to fill out the questionnaire on their own and then leave it in the special “pigeon box” left for this purpose in the main stations of the different lines. Eventually 3,513 interviews were completed, more than three times the 1000 planned.

The survey had a remarkable participation success. The results are in the research report “Customer satisfaction survey on mobility in the Province of Rome” (DSPSA, 2007).

e) “Monitoring of social discomfort and usury risk in the Province of Rome”.

In 2007, in order to give continuity to the previous work, the Department of Consumer Protection and Fight Against Usury of the Province of Rome commissioned to the DSPSA the update of the survey on usury, by adopting the methodological approach that was successful in the previous analysis.

The results appears in the research report “Monitoring of social discomfort and usury risk in the Province of Rome” (DSPSA, 2008).

f) *“Eating habits, consumption and lifestyles of young people relating to obesity in the Province of Rome”*.

In 2008, the Department of Consumer Protection and Fight Against Usury of the Province of Rome directly commissioned to the DSPSA a study on obesity, a phenomenon that is showing increasingly worrying dimensions in the Roman Metropolitan Area and that has to be placed in the wider framework of young people lifestyles, ranging from food consumption to sports, cultural interests, alcohol and smoking abuses. The project presented by the DSPSA entailed the sample survey through the direct interview method with a questionnaire on the middle- and high-school students of the Province of Rome. The DSPSA, with the collaboration of ISTAT, in order to compare the results with those of the Multipurpose Survey group of ISTAT, drew up a very extensive questionnaire, covering several thematic areas (from eating habits, to cultural interests and lifestyles). Schools were contacted and a letter where objectives and the methods of the survey were explained was delivered to the School Managers.

In this case, once again the participation of both the schools through their designated teachers and, above all, of the students, was extremely significant, as shown by the very low number of questionnaires that were partially or unreliably filled (less than 2%).

The survey was conducted on a sample of 15 schools (of which 9 high schools divided into different types and areas, and 6 middle schools) and by interviewing all the students of a class of each year of study, making a total of 3,717 students surveyed (almost twice the number that had been planned). The interviews were carried out by the staff of the DSPSA in the classroom. A teacher was present at all time.

The results are reported in the research report “Eating habits, consumption and lifestyles of young people relating to obesity in the Province of Rome” (DSPSA, 2009).

g) *“Survey on museums and archaeological sites in the hinterland of the Province of Rome”*.

In 2010, the Province of Rome (the Cabinet of the President, Statistics Service - Office of Studies) directly assigned to the DSPSA a statistical survey on the 99 museums of the Province of Rome, namely those in the Municipalities of the Metropolitan Area with the exclusion of Rome. They are often very interesting institutions, but the number of visitors and media coverage are overshadowed by the role played in the tourist circuits by the museums and the archaeological sites of the Capital. In collaboration with the people in charge of the Statistics Service

and the Office of Studies of the Province and together with other experts, a very analytical questionnaire was prepared. It consisted of 68 mostly multiple-choice questions concerning 12 thematic areas. Each of the Directors of the 99 sampled institutions directly received the questionnaire to fill in.

The results are available in the research report “Survey on museums and archaeological sites in the hinterland of the Province of Rome” (DSPSA, 2012).

h) “Observatory on sports practice in the Province of Rome in view of Rome as candidate for the 2020 Olympics”.

The city of Rome had already proposed in 1997 (with Mayor Rutelli) its candidacy for the 2004 Olympic Game (then assigned to Athens); the new Council of Mayor Alemanno resumed the idea and proposed Rome as a candidate for the 2020 Games. As known, the Monti government that in 2013, after a long period of uncertainty, negatively expressed its opinion on this proposal, thus disappointing both Roma Capitale and CONI (Italian National Olympic Committee). The Province of Rome also supported the candidature of the city. In fact in 2011 the Cabinet of the President directly assigned to the DSPSA a survey on an “Observatory on sports practice in the Province of Rome in view of Rome as candidate for the 2020 Olympics”. The aim of this project was two-fold: on one hand, to give a contribution to the assessment of the spread of sports practice among young people; on the other hand, to present the wealth of sporting facilities in the Metropolitan Area, so as to favour the Olympic event planning.

The Research Group of the DSPSA therefore decided to update the 2009 survey on schools (see point f), giving more importance to the topic of sports practice among young people. In addition, another survey on sports facilities owned by the Province of Rome was carried out, on high school gyms, which are in fact under provincial administration.

The updating of the sample survey on schools followed the same methods previously adopted and, once again, it was a great success, also driven by the interest in the candidature for the Olympics. As many as 20 schools were involved (15 high schools and 5 middle schools), to a total of **3,429** students surveyed.

Once completed the survey, the DSPSA delivered a research report to the Province on the “Observatory on sports practice in view of Rome as candidate for the 2020 Olympics” (DSPSA, 2012).

In addition, thanks to the collaboration of the Department 13 Service 1, “Sport, free time - Office of School Sports Facilities” of the Province of Rome, the structural data related to the high school gyms were collected. This data specifically concerned the size of the gym (length, width, height), the type of high school, the gym classification established for the assignment to sport clubs (A, B, C) and the location in the territory (the Municipality and the Boroughs of Rome).

In addition to the statistical analysis of this data, the size of the gyms was then compared to that established by the Italian Volleyball Federation (FIPAV) in order to participate in the various Federal Championships (Provincial, Regional, National), whose clubs are those which mostly use the structures in non school hours. The results have been described in a second report "The school-gym assets of the Province of Rome" (DSPSA, 2012).

i) *"The labour market in the Province of Rome; a space and a time analysis of the Roman labour system in recent years with special reference to short term jobs and young people"*.

In 2011, the Province of Rome (the Cabinet of the President) directly commissioned the DSPSA with a survey on the labour market in the Metropolitan Area of Rome. The aim of the work was to analyse the labour market characteristics in recent years, paying special attention to the issues relating to short-terms jobs and young people.

The data, extracted from the Continuous Labour Force Survey (Rilevazione continua sulle forze di lavoro -ISTAT) refers to the Province of Rome, from the first quarter of 2008 to the fourth quarter of 2011.

After a general analysis of the labour market, two specific branches of research were identified:

i) the first is related to the territory, as it aims to analyse the movements of the respondents on the territory in their search for a stable and qualified work. In particular, through multivariate logit-linear models, we studied whether the probability of working in a Functional Subsystem different from that of residence, depends on gender, age group, macro-areas (Rome and hinterland), employment (employed or not), contract duration (temporary or permanent), working hours (full-time or part-time), work experience (first experience or not). We then analysed the flows between the Local Functional Subsystems of work in the Province of Rome;

ii) the second one is longitudinal in nature; in this case, by using the survey characteristics² a survival analysis was conducted. In order to analyse the respondents change of status with respect to employment, and the time of its occurrence - that is the time between the first survey when the respondent resulted employed and that when he proved to be unemployed -, namely the period in which the respondent experienced the exit from the labour market was analysed (the maximum observation period was 18 months).

² According to the sample design over time, every family selected had to follow a rotation scheme of the 2-2-2 type, i.e. it was included in the survey sample for two consecutive quarters and then, after a break of two quarters during which it was not surveyed, it was then re-included in the sample in order to be surveyed for another two quarters.

Through a multivariate Cox Proportional Hazards model, the effect of several covariates on the probability of “exiting the labour market” was analysed. The covariates considered were those already included in the logit models as well as the educational qualification in three classes (low, medium, high), the macro sector Ateco 2007 (primary, secondary, tertiary) and the professional qualification (apprentice, worker, employee, supervisor/manager).

The results are in the research report “The labour market in the Province of Rome: a territorial and longitudinal analysis of the Roman labour system in recent years with special reference to precarious work and young people” (DSPSA, 2013).

3. A critical thought on the effectiveness of this experience

After an experience developed over 10 years³, it is now necessary to express some general considerations on the effectiveness and on the limits of what we have accomplished. We focus briefly on what, in our opinion, “has worked” and what “has not worked”.

What has worked:

i) **The formula** (the Province plus La Sapienza) has been successful especially regarding the relations with people: this is, in our opinion, the most interesting aspect of this cooperation, because even in the most difficult situations (as in the survey on usury, hospitals or FM3 railway lines) we received the respect, the agreement and the participation of Institutions and Associations, and above all of citizens, whether they were people in distress, patients, commuters or students. This should make us ponder about our own position: the high esteem with which University in general and La Sapienza in particular is regarded by citizens of all levels, is certainly far greater than what is imagined by professors of La Sapienza themselves and this must be taken into account in the future.

ii) **The economic investment and resource use:** the resources available to DSPSA from 2003 to 2013 can be considered moderate if related to a single survey (from 25,000 to 50,000 euros), but they are certainly important if taken as a whole (more than 400,000 euros), especially when compared with the very low public contributions not only to research but also to the functioning of the department. The allocation of these resources is well known: 10% to the University, 3.75% to the Department and the remaining is usually for management expenses, reimbursements and contributions to the professors and the research Coordinator.

³ From 2003 to 2013, but relationships between the DSS and the Statistics Office of Roma Capitale Metropolitan City are still ongoing, as demonstrated by both the study day organized at the DSS in 2015 and the SIEDS - Italian Society of Economics Demography and Statistics -conference held in 2016, to which this paper refers.

In this case no contributes to the professors were allocated on budget and this resulted in additional resources for the department.

iii) **Grants to new graduates:** Most of the resources were allocated for “grants” (in different types as allowed by law) to new graduates, so that over ten years, from 2003 to 2013, more than 30 grants were funded. Their number could have been even higher if the taxation on these contributions had been lower.

iv) **Inclusion of final-year students:** in addition to grants for new graduates, a great number of final-year undergraduate students (more than 50) have also been included in the different research groups either with respect to their final dissertation (more than half of the students) and the others as interviewers and/or collaborators in various stages of the surveys.

v) **The involvement of Institutions, Associations, Schools:** as already mentioned, almost all the surveys has required the involvement of numerous Institutions as well as Associations and Schools. Apart from some exceptions (after a first positive feedback Trenitalia did not advertise the survey as was planned, some School Managers refused to allow the survey in their schools, some Museum Directors and Archaeological sites who showed resistance to returning the completed questionnaire) the participation has been very high and beyond all our expectations, and their collaboration has often been essential to achieve the objectives of the research.

vi) **Citizen involvement:** we have already mentioned this in point i) and now we confirm that when real problems of great importance for large portions of the population have to be surveyed, it is crucial in our opinion not only to operate with transparency and with respect of the respondents, but also to ask their cooperation and participation. The large number of people involved and interviewed (far wider than what planned for a single research), and the small number of failed answers, show that this goal has been achieved. Such participation has also positively affected the quality of the collected data and, consequently, their statistical analysis.

What has not worked:

i) **The “detached” attitude of the academy:** despite the importance at an institutional level of the Protocol signed between the Province and DSPSA and the undeniable high level of financial resources available to La Sapienza in a period when resources are really poor, we have to point out that the governance of the University (the Board of Governors, the Academic Senate, and also the Faculty of Statistical Sciences) had an attitude that can be defined as “detached”. They did not intervene in any way to improve the type of agreement or to correct it, or to generalize it. At an organizational and logistic level too, the DSPSA was left alone to manage even the administrative tasks, and not without difficulty. However, with a different attitude of the governance we could have been supported in the

treatment of both procedures and obligations which were a very demanding task for us to deal with, especially with regards to administrative duties related to grants and salaries to collaborators.

ii) **The “detached” attitude of top institutions of the Province:** the top institutions of the Province, with the exception of few people, paid very little attention to the contents of the surveys and to the produced reports. However, when they did, we found immediate and positive feedbacks both in terms of management and communication. This must also be an issue to take into account in the future: a protocol of research has to deal not only with contents, financial commitments and deadlines, but also with the management of results, their publication and their communication both inside and outside the institutions involved.

iii) **Politicians only “occasionally interested”:** we should dedicate a separate comment to politicians, whose changes in attitudes towards our research have been even greater. The attitude ranges from people enthusiastically supporting the protocol and therefore personally engaging in the organization of the official presentation of the results, the media coverage and the communication, to people who, probably appointed as Council members when the research was underway, did not even bother to read the report drafts before their presentation and publication.

iv) **“Partial” usage of the survey results and material produced:** while the DSPSA and the Office of Statistics of the Province of Rome have enhanced and strengthened their relationships to the point of presenting themselves as partners in the Memorandum of Understanding, the mentioned heterogeneity of interaction with the institutions has surely prevented a full use of the survey outcome as well as the material produced. Although a synthesis of the outcome – the summary of the various reports - have been included in the statistical year book produced by the Statistics Office of the Province, many other actions could have been done and this is a critical aspect that can be passed on to those who will have to continue with this type of experience.

v) **”Distance” of the Lazio Region:** one last mention of the Institution that, both for role and resources, should be the natural referent for the Provinces and new Metropolitan Cities, namely the Region. The Region is in charge of establishing the Regional Statistical System, that, in turn, is also committed to “promoting knowledge tools, coordinating and harmonizing the statistical work of the Region, in order to provide quality information and appropriate detail, able to meet the information needs of public administrators, economic and social operators and individual citizens” (source: SISTRAR Lazio). Provinces and Municipalities are obviously included in the SISTRAR, but the coordination and harmonization of statistical activities in the territory are far from being achieved, at least in our

experience (for example, it was easier to contact Municipalities rather than the Region for collecting data for the database).

4. The framework of the Quality of Life and the observatory.

As we said, this long-lasting experience started with a public call for bids of the Province of Rome for a research project on the Quality of Life in the Municipalities of the Province of Rome. Since that moment and for over 10 years the agreements between the Province of Rome and the DSPSA of La Sapienza have walked along two parallel paths:

i) **The Quality of life** in the territory, considered in its broadest sense, starting from those which are the oldest political aggregations but also the nearest to the basic needs of citizens, i.e. the Municipalities.

ii) **The Statistical Observatory**, considered as a set of variables and indicators able to monitor over space and time the demographic, economic, social, cultural, environmental and structural characteristics, i.e. the quantitative basis necessary to achieve the various measures of what is commonly known as “Quality of life”.

Looking back at this experience, we can say that on one hand, the topic of “Quality of life” in the Municipalities of the Province of Rome has proved to be a valuable conceptual framework to realize different types of research; on the other hand, the project to build a “Permanent observatory” has been the methodological thread between the different surveys in their different aspect: from the definition of the objectives to the data collection plan and the selection of models for their analysis.

Figure 1 shows the 11 surveys conducted by DSPSA: the two databases (2005-2010) are an attempt to build a permanent observatory to which Local Institutions, researchers and operators can refer, with numerous variables and indicators at a municipal level. The two surveys on usury (2006-2008), by means of data and information from different sources, helped to provide a quantitative knowledge of a problem significantly affecting society, together with its impact on citizens’ lives.

The two surveys addressed the problem of usury, trying to describe through quantitative measures (using a large number of sources, very different from each other) a phenomenon with a significant impact on society, because of its serious repercussions on the quality of life of an increasing number of citizens.

The Labour Market (2013) only used the data provided by the Continuous Labour Force Survey (RCFL) by ISTAT, relating to the years from 2008 to 2011, with the aim of surveying over space and time job insecurity, particularly among young people, in the Province of Rome.

The assets of the high schools gyms of the Province of Rome (2012) have been described critically, by analysing the data relative to 306 gyms (provided by the

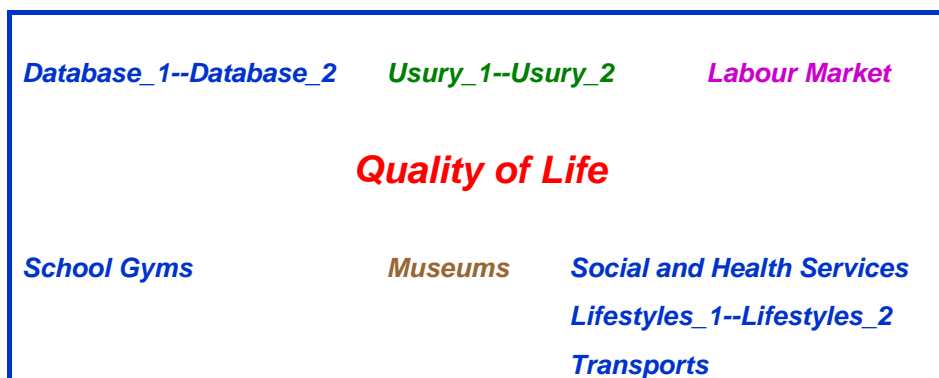
offices of the same Province) concerning their sizes and structural characteristics as the type of schools and the reference area (Municipalities and Boroughs of Rome).

Museums (2012): in this case, once again, all the museums and archaeological sites in the hinterland of the Province of Rome have been taken into account (99 structures, not including those in Rome). Data have been collected through a very extensive questionnaire, administered to the Directors of these structures.

Finally, the sample surveys conducted with a questionnaire, two of which follow the **customer satisfaction** type: the former studied people satisfaction with respect to social and health services in the Province of Rome (Hospitals and Clinics, 2006); the latter regarded regional railway lines FM3 (2007). The other two surveys were about the lifestyles of middle- and high-school students: one aimed at surveying food consumption and youth obesity (2009) and the other one sport and sedentary lifestyle (2012).

All the surveys have been conducted with a very large sample of adult citizens and students.

Figure 1 – *Quality of life framework*



5. Metropolitan Cities: a useless or a strategic institution?

As already mentioned, the two guidelines followed during this long research journey, i.e. Quality of life and Observatory, were strongly linked to the territory from a theoretical point of view and to the Province of Rome from a practical point of view. After the recent reform (Law n. 56 of April 7, 2014, Provisions on Metropolitan Cities, Provinces, the merging of Municipalities), the Province of Rome took the name of Roma Capitale Metropolitan City (CMRC). We focus on underlining some clear contradictions in the long process that led to the 2014 reform.

The number of provinces in Italy increased from 59 in 1861 to 76 in 1924 (+17 in 63 years) and then to 93 in 1927, a number that remained more or less unchanged until 1974, when the provinces were 95 (+2 in 47 years). For the first time in that period their abolition was proposed. However, in 1992 eight new provinces were established, another four were set up in 2001 (in Sardinia, where the total number of provinces thus increased from 4 to 8), and finally another three in 2004, thus making a total of 110 provinces (+15 in 30 years from 1974 to 2004). No criteria except that of the local electoral interests can be recognized in these decisions. In some cases there was not even an agreement on the name of the province (Olbia-Tempio, Verbano-Cusio-Ossola, Barletta-Andria-Trani, etc.).

Therefore an overall reform of Local Institutions was well expected, but it was influenced by the political and electoral choices of that moment, without any reference to the structure and real needs of the territory. In this context, the most typical example is probably the CMRC.

Table 1 shows the data relating to the population resident in the city, the CMRC and the Lazio Region at 31/12/2014. The data should be well known to those who are in charge of the difficult task of making important decisions for the "common good."

Table 1 – Resident Population at 31/12/2014 in Rome, CMRC and Lazio Region

<i>INSTITUTIONS</i>	<i>RESIDENT POP.</i>	<i>NOTES</i>
LAZIO REGION	5,892,425	
CMRC	4,324,046	73.4% of the whole Region
MUNICIPALITY OF ROME	2,872,021	66.4% of CMRC and 48.7% of the Region

The demographic weight of the Municipality of Rome, therefore, is equal to 2/3 of that of the CMRC and almost half of that of the Region, while that of the CMRC is 3/4 of that of the Region; in short three Institutions which in reality are strongly dependent on the Capital of Italy. The situation is even more striking when the Municipalities within the CMRC are considered, as is clearly shown in Table 2:

Table 2 - Distribution of the Municipalities of CMRC according to their Resident Pop.

<i>Resident pop.</i>	<i>N° of mun.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Cum freq.</i>
<=500 Inhabitants	14	11.6	
500<Inhab.<=1,000	12	9.9	26(21.5)
1,000<Inhab.<=5,000	33	27.3	
5,000<Inhab.<=10,000	18	14.9	51(42.2)
10,000<Inhab.<=30,000	27	22.3	
Inhab.>30,000	17	14.0	44 (36.3)
<i>TOTAL</i>	<i>121</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>121 (100.0)</i>

Therefore, more than 20% of the Municipalities of the CMRC have less than 1,000 inhabitants, which are equivalent to 5-6 apartment blocks of a popular district in a big city (some particularly crowded apartment blocks such as the famous “snake” of Corviale in Rome host about 3,000 inhabitants). Of these Municipalities, more than half have even less than 500 people, i.e. less than 200 families, but nevertheless they have administrative autonomy (in addition to the political one, so that in some cases they can submit 4-5 electoral lists). When in addition to the population we consider other more efficient indicators, such as production units, employees, services, etc., imbalances and contradictions become clearer and any legislative and regulatory intervention in the territory must take that into account. The law of 2014 never mentions Municipalities this small municipalities.

Within this framework, actions aimed at unifying small cities and downsizing the weight of Rome could be foreseen. Conversely, Municipalities (even the very small ones) were not touched, and in March 2013, three months before the end of his mandate, Mayor Alemanno and his Council decided to reform the administrative structure of Rome by reducing the number of Boroughs from 19 to 15 (the twentieth, Fiumicino, had already become an autonomous Municipality following the referendum in 1992), with the objective of limiting the power of the left parties at a local level. In fact, the process of the decentralization of the Capital had already started in 1966, with the establishment of 12 jurisdictions, then turned into 20 Boroughs in February 1972 (reduced to 19 in 1992, as mentioned above). Borough population ranges from 132,000 inhabitants of Borough XI to 204,000 of Borough IV (Montesacro), to 230,000 of Borough XIII (Ostia) and to 256,000 of Borough VIII (Tor Bella Monaca). Steps have therefore been taken to turn Boroughs into Municipalities in every sense of the word (such as Fiumicino that has over 78,000 inhabitants), for example the Boroughs with over 200,000 residents, or to increase the number of Boroughs, completing the process started in 1972, by creating smaller Institutions in order to be closer to citizen needs. Policymakers took the opposite way and merged, for instance, Boroughs VI to VII (now Borough V with 246,000 inhabitants) and Borough X to XI (now Borough VII with more than 307,000 inhabitants). It is even peculiar the fact that this decision, so important for the future structure of the Capital, was actually approved without opposition (32 members present, 28 absent, 24 in favour, 4 against and 4 not participated to the vote).

To make it clear what a Borough with a population of 308,207 inhabitants means within the context of Italian Regions and Local Institutions, we recall that Valle d’Aosta, a special statute region, has 128,298 people (the Municipality of

Aosta 34,777) and the Molise Region 313,348; while there are still only ten Municipalities (out of 8,881) with more than 300,000 inhabitants, including Bari (327,361) and Catania (315,601) ninth and tenth respectively.

In other words, a “monster” of more than 300,000 inhabitants and another of 246,000 have been created, in addition to the other three Boroughs with more than 200,000 residents (the sixth of this ranking is Borough XIV, the former XIX Montemario, with 190,000 inhabitants), but with no administrative autonomy whatsoever (even though there are regular direct elections to vote for the leader – the so-called “minisindaco” - and the Borough Council). It was clear that the Boroughs should have been equipped with a greater political and administrative autonomy, starting from the most basic services for citizens, firmly detained instead in the hands of the central government, with results we all know too well.

The law has then created big municipalities without proper legislative tools for their administration.

6. Conclusions

From the above, we understand the relevance of statistics to improve knowledge of territory and how this knowledge is essential to the legislative process. We are encouraged by the fact that many steps have been taken in this direction, thanks both to ISTAT that produces statistical data increasingly suitable for this purpose, and also to many Local Institutions that have developed research, surveys and observatories on many aspects of social life. We will leave to others the task of addressing these issues in a comprehensive way, while we address some methodological reflections:

i) **Knowing the territory through the statistics** should be an institutional duty on behalf of all Local Institutions, especially the Regions, because, as we have seen above, they are committed to periodically drawing up a regional statistical plan.

ii) **The Permanent observatory** - defined in its broadest sense, according to our definition - should be an instrument of permanent knowledge to be used at a regional level, from the smallest aggregations such as the districts of big cities or small Municipalities, to Metropolitan Cities, in order to support programming actions and policy decisions, in particular long-term and/or strategic ones.

iii) **The need for coordination**: the complexity of situations and problems to deal with obviously implies a plurality of actors (Italian Regions and Local Institutions, ISTAT, Universities, other Institutions, Associations, Citizens), so as to make it difficult to find out or set up a “**central committee**” able to manage the entire process of knowledge. Nevertheless it is not an impossible step, as our

experience by the agreement signed between the DSPSA of La Sapienza and the Province of Rome has demonstrated.

iv) **The development of industrial societies** in recent years has been definitely characterized also by the development of information technology, by the strong increase of databases in all aspects of social life and, finally, by a major number of multivariate methods and statistical models that are now implementable and usable, thanks to the development of the software. This evolution should create, almost as a natural consequence, on one hand an increasing importance of quantitative information, on the other a parallel growth in the use of statistical methods and models appropriate to the nature of the data and the research objectives.

v) Scheme 1 shows, in a schematic way, the method used for each survey: in addition to the descriptive-exploratory analysis (distribution analysis, statistical indices, contingency tables, analysis of correlations, comparisons between averages, graphical analysis, etc.), the most frequently used multivariate methods have been the Linear Model (Regression, ANOVA and ANCOVA), the Principal Component Analysis (PCA), the Multiple Correspondence Analysis (MCA), the Cluster Analysis (CA), the log-linear and logit linear models (GLM) and the Analysis of Survival Data (ASD). In any case, rather than on single techniques, emphasis has been placed on what we have called “**analysis strategy**”, i.e. the relationship between the nature of the data, the objectives and the statistical models.

vi) **Statistical Information:** With reference to the increase of amount of data currently available in all areas of social life we can roughly divide the nature of the statistical information into two branches:

a) **Information already collected:** thanks to the development of information technology and the increasing number of Institutions that produce data, it is becoming easier to handle big data (for both the variables measured and the statistical units on which the variables have been measured). Depending on the case, data can be classified as “**Databases**” or “**Archives**”. However, irrespective of their nature and/or definition, we can say that today real “**Information fields**” are available to researchers and new skills both in computer science and methodological areas are necessary in order to get the best results;

b) **Information to be collected:** on the other hand, the large amount of data now available does not mean we can just simply ignore or forget all the traditional tools - such as the “**Choice of design**”, the “**Dataplanning**” and the “**Statistical sampling**”, together with all the other connected tools, i.e. the statistical methodology used throughout the whole of the last century and in the first few years of the 2000s.

vii) **Data and statistical models.** We would like to conclude these notes with a further consideration on the nature of “data”. We have just mentioned the

“Information field” and the large amount of quantitative information currently available, so large that in recent years we have almost exclusively referred to it as “**Big Data**”, to highlight the nature of a huge mass of information, both quantitative and qualitative, easily accessible. The first and preferred source of Big Data is obviously the Internet, e.g. short messages on social networks (Twitter, Facebook, Instagram, MySpace, etc.).

It is undoubtedly clear that one of the tasks of statistical research is to address the methodological challenges that arise with new types of data available (did not the same happen with the multivariate analysis that has become routine today?). However, it is not for this reason that the inferential analysis on small experimental samples or on a limited number of observed variables are useless and outdated.

Just like in recent years we have repeatedly faced the failure of electoral surveys, exit polls and vote forecasts (with all the differences between candidates so highly unreliable that it would have been better to resort directly to the candidates’ horoscopes), without any sign of rebellion from the academy or at least from statisticians, at the same time we would not want to face a new failure. Namely, that everything collected as “**Data**” (even more Big Data) is automatically considered as “**Statistical Data**”, since the latter has a different nature, thanks to its properties which the scientific community of statisticians has defined and formalized throughout the years.

Scheme 1 – Surveys, data and statistical methods

SURVEYS	DATA	STATISTICAL METHODS
Database-1	Institutional	Descriptive Analysis.
Database-2	Quantitative variables-Indicators	Analysis of Relationships; PCA; CA.
School Gyms	Institutional	<i>the same as above</i>
Usury-1; Usury-2	Institutional + Non institutional data (toll-free number, etc.)	Comparison between Metropolitan Areas; Type of Municipalities at risk of usury;
Museums	Survey with questionnaire	Descriptive Analysis; CT; MCA; CA.
Labour Market	Institutional Matching of unities	Descriptive Analysis; Territorial Analysis; Logit-Linear Models; Survival Analysis
Social and Health Services Regional Transports Lifestyle – Obesity Lifestyle – Sports	Sample surveys with questionnaire	Descriptive Analysis; CT; Linear Models; GLM; MCA; CA.

CT=Contingency Tables; PCA=Principal Component Analysis;
Linear Models=Regression, Anova, Ancova; MCA=Multiple Correspondence Analysis;
GLM=Generalized Linear Models; CA= Cluster Analysis.

In short, we advocate that the keywords, which accompany Statistics from almost a century and can be summarized in Quantitative Survey, Statistical Data, Analysis Goals, Hypothesis, Statistical Methods, i.e. the need for a methodology do not pass into oblivion.

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SUMMARY

The statistics to know the territory. A critical evaluation of the collaboration between the province of Rome and the Department of statistical sciences of La Sapienza

In this work we describe a ten year experience of collaboration between the Department of Statistics, Probability and Applied Statistics (DSPSA, now DSS, Department of Statistical Sciences) of the University of Rome “La Sapienza” (Sapienza) and the Province of Rome.

In the common framework of an Observatory on the Quality of Life we describe eleven surveys which differ for both the nature of the data and the methodology of the statistical analysis. Light and shadows of this collaboration underline some aspects that should be taken into account in order to exploit the potential of statistics and statistical methods in the knowledge and government of territory.

I SISTEMI INFORMATIVI TEMATICI PER COMUNICARE LA STATISTICA AI CITTADINI: #GIOVANI¹

Ilaria Arigoni, Cristina Freguja, Simona Pace

1. Introduzione

Con la crescente penetrazione delle nuove tecnologie l'accesso alle informazioni disponibili in rete diventa sempre più esteso. Trovare risposta alle proprie esigenze conoscitive orientandosi nel diluvio di dati richiede, però, che la catena di produzione dell'informazione non si interrompa al momento della sua diffusione, ma si curi di come questa viene portata all'utente finale in modo da soddisfare i bisogni del maggior numero possibile di individui, e non solo dei *policy maker* o di qualche altra *élite* di cittadini.

Il sistema informativo #giovani - recentemente pubblicato dall'Istituto Nazionale di Statistica - è uno degli strumenti che hanno proprio l'obiettivo di favorire la comunicazione di informazioni statistico-quantitative in un adeguato *framework* concettuale, contribuendo a ridurre "il grado di incertezza" di quanti si trovino a operare delle scelte in una società complessa come quella odierna.

Dedicato ai giovani dai 15 ai 34 anni, il sistema fornisce una lettura integrata delle informazioni disponibili su questo importante segmento di popolazione attraverso pagine di approfondimento tematico dalle quali è possibile accedere a dati, indicatori, grafici interattivi, pubblicazioni e altri link di interesse.

Nel quadro della più generale strategia di diffusione dell'Istituto, un simile prodotto di comunicazione assegna un ruolo centrale agli utenti e alla loro domanda di informazione, puntando all'integrazione di una pluralità di fonti e assicurando al contempo il rispetto dei principi di qualità della statistica pubblica.

Tale approccio è coerente con gli elementi fondamentali del contesto in cui si sta muovendo la statistica ufficiale (primo paragrafo) e con i nuovi scenari per la diffusione dell'informazione statistica (secondo paragrafo). In questo ambito, i sistemi informativi statistici rappresentano strumenti di comunicazione preziosi per la lettura integrata (terzo paragrafo) delle informazioni disponibili su particolari fenomeni o su specifici segmenti di popolazione, come nel caso del sistema

¹ I paragrafi 1 e 6 devono attribuirsi a C. Freguja, i paragrafi 2 e 3 a S. Pace, i paragrafi 4 e 5 a I. Arigoni.

#giovani (quarto paragrafo). La risposta della statistica ufficiale alla nuova domanda di informazione statistica passa, dunque, anche per le possibilità offerte dall'innovazione tecnologica, richiedendo una costante tensione verso ulteriori sviluppi futuri (conclusioni).

2. Il contesto

La statistica ufficiale deve sviluppare conoscenza e supportare i processi decisionali e di valutazione da parte dei diversi attori sociali attraverso il miglioramento e l'ampliamento della produzione di statistiche. Tutto ciò deve avvenire nel pieno rispetto dei principi di qualità dell'informazione statistica: tempestività, coerenza, accuratezza, attendibilità e comparabilità nel tempo e nello spazio². In più, deve riuscire a misurare in modo adeguato i fenomeni di rilievo per la vita del Paese, rispondendo così anche al principio della pertinenza dell'informazione statistica.

La statistica ufficiale deve, in altre parole, essere in grado di cogliere i cambiamenti in atto nella società e di offrire strumenti e chiavi di lettura per poterli analizzare, sviluppando la capacità di intercettare temi e soggetti emergenti rispetto ai quali la società necessita di quadri di riferimento solidi in termini di definizioni e misurazione. Ciò richiede un costante impegno scientifico e organizzativo, che investe l'intero processo di produzione dell'informazione a partire dai concetti e dalle definizioni, passando per i metodi e le tecniche di raccolta dei dati fino alla loro diffusione.

In tal senso, i regolamenti europei sulla statistica costituiscono un punto di riferimento obbligato e imprescindibile nella definizione della domanda di informazione statistica, cui si affianca la ricognizione dei bisogni informativi espressi dalla società e dagli utenti, che diventano così soggetti centrali nel processo di produzione statistica, grazie al contributo di esperti nazionali e internazionali, di Eurostat e di altri organismi sovranazionali.

Accanto a questo, la nuova Legge statistica europea del 2015³, oltre a rafforzare il ruolo di coordinamento dei sistemi statistici nazionali, sottolinea la necessità di

² Il quadro di riferimento per il miglioramento della qualità delle statistiche europee è rappresentato dal Codice delle statistiche europee (*European Statistics Code of Practice*, 2005). Il Codice definisce lo standard per lo sviluppo, la produzione e la diffusione delle statistiche europee. Esso si basa su una definizione comune di qualità e si pone l'obiettivo di accrescere la fiducia nella statistica ufficiale, indicando dei requisiti minimi di qualità dei meccanismi di controllo dei processi statistici. I principi del Codice europeo sono ripresi dal Codice italiano delle statistiche ufficiali, adottato nel 2010, rivolto al Sistema statistico nazionale.

³ Regolamento UE 2015/759 del Parlamento europeo e del Consiglio, che modifica il regolamento Ce 2009/223.

intraprendere un percorso di modernizzazione nella produzione delle statistiche da realizzare mediante un ampliamento del ricorso all'utilizzo dei dati amministrativi a fini statistici e all'integrazione dei dati⁴.

L'innovazione costituisce l'asse portante del Programma pluriennale Stat2015 che - disegnato dall'Istat in linea con le raccomandazioni europee e con il memorandum di Wiesbaden⁵ sul nuovo disegno delle statistiche sociali - mira ad aumentare l'efficienza del sistema statistico e la sua capacità di dare risposta alle esigenze degli utenti, contenendo, al contempo, l'onere sui rispondenti. Si tratta di un ambizioso programma di rinnovamento che prevede la reingegnerizzazione, la standardizzazione e l'industrializzazione dei processi, come pure l'integrazione delle diverse fonti di dati (indagini campionarie e fonti amministrative) in un'ottica di sistema e l'innovazione dei prodotti.

Se da una parte i vincoli imposti dalla finanza pubblica spingono a cercare soluzioni che assicurino alti livelli di qualità delle statistiche prodotte ma a costi inferiori rispetto al passato, dall'altra diventa cruciale offrire un'informazione statistica più ampia sia in termini tematici, sia rispetto al dettaglio territoriale fornito, sia infine rispetto alle modalità in cui l'informazione viene proposta.

Nell'assolvere questo delicato compito la statistica è oggi di sicuro molto agevolata dalla diffusione e dallo sviluppo di nuove tecnologie digitali che facilitano la produzione e la diffusione dei dati. Ciò rappresenta un'opportunità in più non solo per l'Istat e gli altri enti del Sistan ma anche per tutti i soggetti, sia pubblici che privati, che sono in grado di raccogliere, elaborare e comunicare dati, in alcuni casi anche in modo più tempestivo ma sicuramente con vincoli di qualità meno stringenti.

3. Nuovi scenari per la diffusione

La crescente attenzione verso l'utenza da parte della statistica ufficiale è un elemento centrale per l'individuazione delle strategie di diffusione e comunicazione. Tale attenzione è testimoniata, tra l'altro, dall'istituzione nel 2011 della Commissione degli utenti dell'informazione statistica (Cuis)⁶, luogo di

⁴ Nell'ambito del Sistema statistico europeo è stato avviato un Programma di modernizzazione denominato *Vision 2020* che individua la strategia da perseguire da parte della statistica ufficiale. Adottato nel maggio 2014, identifica una serie di azioni comuni che puntano alla valorizzazione di dati e risultati prodotti, così da poter far fronte alla crescente domanda di informazioni, e all'ottimizzazione delle risorse per il funzionamento delle istituzioni statistiche, contenendo i costi di produzione.

⁵ http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/portal/page/portal/pgp_ess/0_DOCS/de/DGINS2011_memorandum.pdf

⁶ La Commissione degli utenti dell'informazione statistica (Cuis) è l'organo consultivo istituito nel 2011 dall'Istat per contribuire al costante miglioramento della produzione statistica ufficiale. La

dibattito fra fruitori e produttori, in cui gli uni esprimono i propri fabbisogni di informazione statistica con l'obiettivo di orientare la costruzione del programma statistico nazionale da parte degli altri. L'utente è, dunque, chiamato a collaborare alla produzione di informazione statistica di qualità con un ruolo sempre più attivo e l'informazione resa disponibile deve saper soddisfare in modo adeguato le diverse esigenze conoscitive. Alla diffusione secondo le tradizionali linee di produzione, in cui si privilegia un approccio per indagine, si affianca quindi la diffusione secondo la domanda proveniente dagli utilizzatori, intesi come una platea sempre più ampia, non più e non solo, dunque, i cosiddetti utenti privilegiati. Gli utenti chiedono oggi un'informazione molto differenziata: microdati ma anche dati e indicatori di sintesi; visualizzazioni grafiche insieme ad approfondimenti di carattere tematico; sintesi nazionali unitamente ad analisi territoriali dettagliate; tavole multidimensionali accanto a grafici interattivi.

La matrice comune a tutte le richieste è un'informazione facilmente "accessibile", disponibile in tutte le sue diverse declinazioni, in grado di rappresentare il fenomeno oggetto di interesse in un unico contesto semantico in tutte le sue sfaccettature. Per fare ciò l'orientamento è quello di ricorrere all'utilizzo di prodotti innovativi in termini tecnologici e di rappresentazione dei dati e, al contempo, di sfruttare la maggiore capacità informativa di dati provenienti da diverse fonti.

Il sistema informativo #giovani costituisce un valido esempio di risposta alla nuova domanda di informazione statistica. Si tratta di un'esperienza non isolata, ma che si affianca ad altre iniziative intraprese dalla statistica ufficiale sia in campo sociale, sia in campo economico, che, tra l'altro, incentivano ulteriormente l'adozione di standard per la produzione e la diffusione dell'informazione, l'interrogazione di basi di dati, l'organizzazione e la condivisione delle informazioni, evitando di aggiungere ai sistemi già esistenti nuovi processi di costruzione, rilascio e manutenzione dell'informazione stessa.

4. I sistemi informativi tematici

Un sistema informativo (SI) è "l'insieme di strumenti automatici di memorizzazione, scambio, acquisizione, elaborazione, interrogazione e diffusione di informazioni raccolte dall'azienda per soddisfare i propri scopi di esercizio,

Commissione, costituita da 52 componenti che rappresentano gli utenti, valuta la rispondenza dei dati ufficiali alle esigenze degli utilizzatori; segnala eventuali lacune informative, proponendo soluzioni per colmarle; valorizza l'uso di fonti amministrative e di nuove fonti di dati; promuove analisi dei dati a carattere integrato e trasversale; propone azioni volte a ridurre l'onere statistico sui rispondenti.

controllo e pianificazione, basato su una architettura informatica di tipo database” (Patrino, Venturi, 2004): in altre parole, è la risposta all’esigenza di uno scambio veloce ed efficiente delle informazioni fra i soggetti coinvolti in un processo produttivo, che tuttavia limiti al massimo le ambiguità e le incoerenze.

Quando è progettato, sviluppato e gestito a fini statistici, il sistema informativo pone l’accento su un particolare tipo di informazioni, quelle statistiche per l’appunto, utili per migliorare la qualità di decisioni e azioni prese o intraprese in ambiti organizzativi complessi: in tal caso, si parla più specificamente di sistema informativo statistico (SIS), distinguibile dal SI per la sola finalità.

L’idea del sistema informativo statistico vede la luce, e non a caso, nel settore pubblico: l’ambito dei *policy maker* è infatti caratterizzato da situazioni estremamente complesse, in grado di influenzare direttamente i processi decisionali e rispetto alle quali l’informazione statistica riveste un ruolo chiave. Di qui, l’esigenza di organizzarla in un sistema separato.

In tal senso, il SIS è stato definito in letteratura come “un sistema informativo (*tout court*) per il quale l’utilizzo dell’informazione è principalmente quantitativo e cognitivo” (Bellini et al., 1994). In questa *vision*, ciò che si privilegia è soprattutto il fine⁷, ovvero l’utilizzo delle informazioni, mentre restano in secondo piano gli strumenti (*hardware* e *software*) e l’oggetto (e cioè le informazioni stesse, i dati statistici).

Il SIS è abitualmente definito come un’ampia base informativa, il più delle volte costituita da più fonti, quest’ultime strutturate e rese disponibili in funzione del loro utilizzo nell’investigazione di particolari fenomeni. È, in altre parole, uno strumento selettivo, capace cioè di fornire le informazioni utili e necessarie alla sua specifica utenza. Informazioni che non si presentano solo sotto forma di dati aggregati, bensì anche di microdati, e che sono sempre corredate da metainformazioni, cui il citato fine cognitivo del sistema impone di riservare una particolare attenzione.

Grazie alla tecnologia dei database, su cui si fonda, il SIS è poi in grado di rappresentare in modo omogeneo dati multifonte, garantendo altresì all’utente informazioni ”a portata di *click*”, di rapido accesso, anche grazie all’utilizzo di strumenti avanzati per la visualizzazione e la rappresentazione delle informazioni. Rientra dunque a pieno titolo nel novero degli strumenti *user friendly*.

Il progresso tecnologico recente ha senza dubbio favorito lo sviluppo e la diffusione dei SIS, sostenuti peraltro dalla rapida crescita, nelle ultime decadi, della domanda di informazione statistica, nella misura in cui ha reso possibile la gestione

⁷ Per le Nazioni Unite, invece, i sistemi informativi statistici sono dei particolari sistemi informativi “orientati alla raccolta, immagazzinamento, elaborazione e distribuzione di informazione statistica”, con il fine di “diminuire il grado di incertezza” dei decisori a livello di macro-organizzazioni: definizione, questa, che pone maggiormente l’attenzione sull’oggetto dei SIS.

low cost di enormi moli di dati e, al contempo, ha permesso di amministrarle agevolmente in modo integrato attraverso lo strumento del database relazionale. Non ultimo, grazie ai moderni *software*, la progettazione dei SIS si caratterizza oggi per la sua estrema flessibilità, consentendo modifiche *in itinere* che tuttavia non ne compromettono l'architettura complessiva (come, ad esempio, l'integrazione di sottosistemi): in sintesi, si tratta di un contenitore dinamico, in grado di assecondare mutamenti nelle esigenze informative e nella disponibilità di fonti.

Il sistema informativo statistico rappresenta una soluzione efficiente quando si ha l'obiettivo di organizzare in unico *framework* concettuale, dotato di coerenza, le informazioni, anche di diversa natura (dati, metadati, analisi), provenienti da più fonti. Il fine ultimo resta quello di "migliorare la fruibilità e la comprensione delle informazioni diffuse e favorire il rafforzamento di approfondimenti analitici" segnando "il passaggio dal mero diffondere dati al racconto dei fenomeni" (Istat, 2016a). Direzione, quest'ultima, nella quale si muove anche la nuova legge statistica europea, che non solo auspica la costruzione di sistemi informativi il più possibile integrati, ma sottolinea pure il ruolo chiave delle sinergie fra tutti i soggetti pubblici e privati coinvolti nella raccolta, nel trattamento e nella diffusione di dati.

In ambito demografico e sociale, l'interesse diffuso nei confronti dei sistemi informativi statistici ha trovato terreno fertile nella lettura integrata delle informazioni disponibili su particolari segmenti di popolazione; è il caso, ad esempio, del collettivo dei giovani, che con la sua crescente presenza nel dibattito pubblico ha reso indispensabili canali informativi adeguati ad approfondirne la conoscenza e a consentire la lettura dei fattori che possono impedirne il pieno sviluppo potenziale.

Basti pensare al sistema messo a punto dalle Nazioni Unite, #YouthStats⁸, con l'intento di offrire una panoramica sulla situazione dei giovani nel mondo e alimentare un confronto informato⁹ su questo tema. O il portale YouthStats¹⁰, nato grazie allo sforzo congiunto dell'ILO e del programma di ricerca e cooperazione "Comprendere il lavoro minorile (UCW)", voluto dallo stesso ILO insieme a UNICEF e alla Banca Mondiale con l'obiettivo di individuare soluzioni efficaci e

⁸ <http://www.un.org/youthenvoy/youth-statistics/>

⁹ Gli approfondimenti proposti riguardano istruzione, giustizia, salute, conflitti armati, fame e povertà, lavoro, ambiente e cambiamento climatico, AIDS, imprenditoria e inclusione finanziaria, tempo libero, relazioni intergenerazionali, partecipazione pubblica e civica, globalizzazione e migrazioni, tecnologia dell'informazione e della comunicazione, abuso di sostanze, ragazze e giovani donne.

¹⁰ <http://www.youthstatistics.org/>

di lungo periodo alla problematica del lavoro minorile¹¹. Anche Eurostat ha implementato il portale europeo Youth¹², contenente statistiche, anche illustrate, sulla situazione dei giovani in Europa non solo in termini demografici ma anche di istruzione, lavoro e inclusione sociale.

5. Il sistema informativo sui giovani

#giovani (<http://www.istat.it/it/giovani>) è uno degli ultimi sistemi informativi tematici realizzati dall'Istat: un "minisito" integrato con quello istituzionale (www.istat.it), di cui riprende in parte il *layout*, dedicato ai giovani tra i 15 e i 34 anni. Raccoglie una selezione significativa di dati e indicatori prodotti e diffusi dall'Istat stesso, provenienti sia da indagini campionarie sia da fonti di natura amministrativa, ed è destinato a tutti i soggetti che, per ruolo o per esigenze personali, potrebbero averne bisogno: ricercatori, giornalisti, *policy maker*, cittadini e agli stessi giovani.

Perché un sistema tematico dedicato ai giovani?

I giovani residenti nel nostro Paese mostrano dinamiche specifiche, diverse da quelle degli altri sottogruppi di popolazione. Dal punto di vista demografico, le generazioni nate tra la fine degli anni settanta e gli anni 2000 sono numericamente inferiori a quelle che le hanno precedute, e in più contraddistinte da una bassissima fecondità. Al 1° gennaio 2015, i 15-34enni rappresentano il 21,1% del totale della popolazione italiana iscritta in anagrafe; una quota che si è dimezzata dal 1926 ad oggi e che, a fronte dei decrescenti tassi di fecondità, è destinata a ridursi ulteriormente entro il 2050.

Queste generazioni si caratterizzano per una lunga transizione istruzione-lavoro che si accompagna a bassi tassi di occupazione e a lavori insicuri, con un significativo rischio di intrappolamento nella precarietà. L'innalzamento del livello di istruzione non rappresenta più, come in passato, un fattore di spinta e di miglioramento sociale, né la laurea mette al riparo i giovani dalla disoccupazione o dalla sottoccupazione. La difficile inclusione nel mercato del lavoro contribuisce inoltre alla posticipazione anche degli altri eventi associati alla transizione allo stato adulto: l'uscita dalla famiglia di origine, la formazione di un'unione, la nascita dei figli. Queste peculiarità, ulteriormente amplificate dagli effetti della crisi economica degli ultimi anni, hanno reso particolarmente evidente la necessità di disporre di un quadro informativo sui giovani multidimensionale e di facile accesso.

¹¹ Si tratta di un database di indicatori sul tema del lavoro minorile calcolati a partire dai dati raccolti attraverso indagini sulle famiglie in oltre 70 Paesi in via di sviluppo.

¹² <http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/web/youth>

L'attività legata alla predisposizione e prima implementazione del sistema informativo tematico #giovani è stata articolata in tre *work packages*:

- i. progettazione del *web design* e del *layout* del sistema;
- ii. realizzazione del database tematico *Giovani.Stat*¹³ (<http://dati-giovani.istat.it/>) a partire dal *data warehouse* dell'Istat *I.Stat* (<http://dati.istat.it/>);
- iii. individuazione dei contenuti del sistema.

L'*homepage* del sistema è riportata nella Figura 1.

Figura 1 – #giovani, l'*homepage* del sistema informativo dell'Istat dedicato ai giovani dai 15 ai 34 anni.

Dalla *homepage* si accede a nove pagine di approfondimento dedicate a: popolazione e famiglie; istruzione e formazione; lavoro; stili di vita e salute; cultura, tempo libero e uso dei media; condizioni socio-economiche; partecipazione sociale e reti relazionali; benessere soggettivo, sicurezza e giustizia; protezione

¹³ In *Giovani.Stat* le informazioni sono organizzate in modo coerente e omogeneo, sono aggiornate periodicamente e consentono diversi tipi di analisi, incluse quelle territoriali (fino al livello regionale, laddove possibile). Salvo eccezioni opportunamente segnalate, la popolazione considerata è quella dei giovani dai 15 ai 34 anni.

sociale. Ciascuna di esse è arricchita da un quadro di sintesi e dai principali "numeri chiave"; in ogni area è inoltre possibile scaricare tavole di dati (veicolate in *Giovani.Stat* da *I.Stat* tramite *web service*, ed esportabili nei formati xls, csv e sdmx), visualizzare e personalizzare grafici dinamici, accedere a prodotti editoriali diffusi sul tema e a una selezione di *link* a pubblicazioni, documenti, siti nazionali o internazionali di interesse.

Un sistema concepito dunque per fornire un'informazione statistica sui giovani il più possibile completa, integrata e fruibile, e che si propone come base solida sia per analisi tematiche integrate di stampo più classico sia per la realizzazione di infografiche per lo *storytelling*, queste ultime particolarmente gradite nell'era dei *social media* per la loro caratteristica di presentare dati e numeri in modo da rendere l'esperienza fruitiva dell'utente facile e piacevole. Le tavole di dati e i grafici dinamici presenti, per ciascun tema, nel sistema informativo sui giovani possono dunque divenire, se collocati all'interno di un'infografica, elementi centrali di una narrazione per immagini della condizione giovanile che passi, ad esempio, attraverso la demografia, lo studio e il lavoro, gli stili di vita, i consumi culturali e le nuove tecnologie.

6. Conclusioni

L'innovazione è un fenomeno complesso che si lega alla capacità di un sistema di sfruttare le nuove tecnologie e di adattarsi a un ambiente in rapida trasformazione con nuovi prodotti, processi produttivi e forme di organizzazione.

Nell'ambito della statistica ufficiale, uno dei più importanti motori dell'innovazione è rappresentato dal crescente bisogno di informazione da parte dei cittadini e dei decisori politici, e dunque dalla necessità di migliorare la capacità di reazione e adattamento del sistema statistico per soddisfare le nuove richieste in modo flessibile e armonizzato, mantenendo elevati standard di qualità. A definire ulteriormente il quadro in cui si muove oggi la statistica ufficiale contribuiscono, da un lato, il potente sviluppo della tecnologia e, dall'altro, i vincoli di spesa sempre più stringenti.

In questo contesto, il sistema #giovani si colloca a pieno titolo tra i nuovi prodotti in grado di guidare gli utenti nella ricerca e nella lettura dei dati, qualificandosi come un contenitore dinamico che recepisce la disponibilità di nuove fonti informative e sfrutta le possibilità offerte dal progresso tecnologico. Nel suo sviluppo questo progetto si è affiancato a sistemi analoghi¹⁴ e si può

¹⁴ Alcuni esempi di sistemi informativi tematici implementati dall'Istat: #anziani (<http://www.istat.it/it/anziani>); Immigrati&nuovi cittadini (<http://www.istat.it/it/immigrati/tutti-i-dati>); Sistema informativo sulle professioni (<http://professioni.istat.it/sistemainformativoprofessionioni/cp2011/>).

immaginare che altri gruppi di popolazione o soggetti possano reclamare uno spazio loro dedicato, richiedendo in prospettiva un ulteriore sforzo di coordinamento dell'architettura informatica-informativa dei relativi *data warehouse*.

Allo stato attuale, dal punto di vista tecnico, per il sistema informativo #giovani sono in cantiere l'implementazione di modalità parzialmente automatiche di aggiornamento e lo sviluppo della sezione dedicata al *data sharing*; è allo studio la diffusione di indicatori con un maggior dettaglio territoriale, in risposta a esigenze informative già espresse dall'utenza; si intende infine valutare la possibilità di mettere a punto applicazioni idonee per *tablet* e cellulari.

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SUMMARY

Thematic statistical information systems to communicate statistics to citizens: #giovani

Official statistics should be able to grasp changes taking place into society and provide users with the tools and the interpretations for understanding them.

To improve usability and understanding of disseminated information and to foster the development of analytical insights, in recent years a strong impetus has been given to the integrated communication and dissemination of data from different sources.

#giovani is a thematic statistical information system that provides an integrated reading of data on young people aged 15-34 years, by collecting and organizing in a single semantic context data from different sources; moreover, it ensures their usability also by non-specialized users. The system offers a wide and integrated framework, taking advantage of the greater informative capacity of data from different sources, thanks to the use of innovative products in terms of technology and data representation (interactive charts, infographics). In summary, #giovani marks the transition from the mere dissemination of data on young people to the narration of the young people phenomenon.

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MIGRATION FLOWS AND LABOUR MARKET IN THE ITALIAN SYSTEM: COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS BETWEEN THE NORTH AND SOUTH ITALY¹

Vincenzo Marinello, Deborah Gervasi

1. Introduction

Migration flows experienced a steadily increasing trend mainly due to the increase of landings of immigrants who seek shelter in European "lands of opportunities". The huge size of phenomenon has profoundly changed the composition of host society modifying social, demographic and economic balances.

Therefore, socio-economic integration of foreign population is the main issue, to harness full integration into the host environment. Economic assimilation of foreigners comes from the absorption of labor market, which is the royal road to social emancipation and integration of immigrants.

For these reasons the present study aims to analyze the composition of Italian labor market, which is unique in the European scenario because of the presence of a foreign employment rate higher than the native population one.

In order to understand nature and changes of phenomenon, first paragraph makes a brief analysis of contributions in literature in order to understand how the dynamics of immigrants' economic integration has evolved in labor market.

To defining the phenomenon in Italian context, the second paragraph sets out the composition of foreign population in our country, placing particular emphasis on the differences between northern and southern areas of the country.

Finally, third section investigates certain variables that could affect heterogeneous foreign unemployment composition between North and South Italy, highlighting the possible relations existing between selected variables and composition of Italian labor market.

¹ Vincenzo Marinello wrote the Introduction, the Paragraph 3 and the Conclusions; Deborah Gervasi wrote the Paragraph 1 and the Paragraph 2. In any case, this essay is the result of a common commitment by the two Authors.

2. Immigrants economic integration in labor market: literature review

Migration has profoundly changed society, host countries have become more diversified and presenting strong differences from ethnic point of view.

As stated by Castles and Miller (2012), migration's era has so affected the composition of populations that countries *"now have to compete with a new form of pluralism that, even if migration were to stop suddenly, will affect society for generations"*.

The main consequence, immediately related to the presence of migratory phenomenon, is the formation of a cultural and social opposition between natives and immigrants: the first associated by collective imagination with prosperous, rich and innovative society, the second, in contrast, describes as the excluded, those living on margins of society (Castles and Miller, 2012).

This stereotype comes from actual condition of immigrants in host society, who often find themselves victims of unemployment and marginalization because of the absence of an adequate process of migrant labor absorption in native labor market.

There are several contributions in literature about economic assimilation of immigrants. Often scholars have focused their analysis on wage differentials between foreign and local workers; among these studies it is possible count the analysis carried out by Chiswick (1978) in United States which shows that the gap between immigrants and natives wages known a downward trend as foreign population beginning to closely integrated inside the host country.

Results achieved by researcher have been contradicted by other studies such as those conducted by Borjas and Friedberg (2006) which show how the times of foreign population integration are complex and depend on a variety of factors such as the economic situation crossed from country of destination at the time of settlement.

Pay gap phenomenon is also present in Italy where it has appreciable fluctuations that depends on examined geographical area. According to data compiled by Fondazione Leone Moressa (2011) the average wage of a worker in Calabria amounts at about € 700 monthly against € 1.150 earned in Friuli Venezia Giulia; not only rate of pay is on average lower, but also gap is more marked in southern regions, considering that the average wage gap in Calabria is 40.8%.

Some scholars focused on quality of foreigner's work. In particular, it is possible to find as immigrants usually play roles for which are required lower skills than those possessed fomenting, in this way, the phenomenon of so-called "waste skill". Such conclusions can be drawn, for example, from reading studies of Chiswick and Miller (2009) according to which the improvement of professionalism of foreign worker is accompanied by an increase of probability that he covers low skilled roles.

Analysis of CNEL data (2012) show that “waste skill” phenomenon is particularly widespread even in Italian territory; according to the study conducted by Fondazione Leone Moressa (2011), correlation between educational qualification and salary level is not clear, especially considering the fact that average salary of a qualified foreign worker, which amounts at about 980 euro monthly, is quite different from wage of a worker with primary school of about 963 euro per month.

These figures are confirmed by analyzes conducted by Fullin (2011) showing that, for equal qualifications, foreign workers resident in Italy are generally intended to cover manual jobs; moreover, from a survey conducted by INPS (2011) emerges as just a quarter of foreign workers interviewed believe that they do a job relevant to their studies.

The Italian case, as mentioned, is particularly complex, analysis conducted by Pastore et al. (2013) highlights the anomaly of our country compared to European reality; Italy is one of the few countries where increase in migration flows has been accompanied by a stagnant economy. According to authors explanation of this phenomenon is to be found in sparsely costly migration pattern used by our country.

The strong presence of waste skill phenomenon, witnessed by cited studies, has contributed to the development of immigrant entrepreneurship that often becomes a refuge activity for foreign worker, who can improve, in this way, their economic and social condition. In fact, thanks to self-employment immigrant can get out of stereotypical type of employment which generally can aspire (Ambrosini 2011); the analysis conducted by Solano (2015), shows how the immigrant contractor perceives a marked improvement of their social prestige, and this contributes to a positive change in the quality of relations with native population.

Another important aspect that is usually analyzed by literature is related to the role that immigrants have in labor market, particularly the investigations are trying to figure out if there is a crowding out effect, due to the presence of immigrant workers, or we can more appropriately speak of complementarity.

Empirical research conducted testify the presence of highly divergent results that depend on the characteristics of the territories object of analysis; from this point of view it would seem that there is a greater crowding out effect within the European market and a prevalence of complementarity in US market (Venturini 2001).

However, other studies have found how difficult it can be to talk about crowding out, generally foreign workers appear to be complementary to the native ones; these conclusions can be found in contributions of Staffolani and Valentini (2010), Villosio and Venturini (2006) and Romiti (2011).

Most accomplished works in this direction have analyzed the phenomenon by making a labor market breakdown in appropriate subgroups.

Within this type of work, it is possible to cite the analysis of Ottaviano and Peri (2007); authors identified some labor market segments on the basis of required education levels and showed a complementary effect in subgroups that require higher qualifications and a crowding-out effect where are requested less educated workers.

A segmented approach to the analysis of immigration effect on labor market is also used by Saraceno and Brandolini (2007) according to which in countries of recent immigration, such as Italy, foreigners have not had any particular insertion problems because they have fulfilled an existing job request not filled by local labor.

According to authors, in South immigrants' unemployment rate is lower than natives' one because foreigners have a higher geographical mobility and this allowed them to move more easily in place where they can find work more easily. Therefore, it is possible conclude that immigrants are well integrated in richest regions where there is still a labor request not filled as a result of natives professional aspirations.

3. Brief analysis of foreign population living in Italy

“Forced migration have a great influence on our times. They touch lives of millions of human beings like us” these are the words with which Antonio Guterres, the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, has expressed in 2015. Indeed, within European framework, analysis of data on foreign population assumed a major role due to steady increase in size of migratory stream (Fondazione Leone Moressa, 2016).

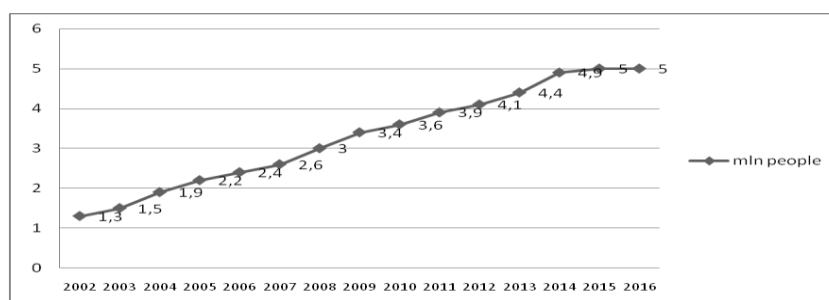
In January 2014, foreigners in Italy accounted for about 8.1% of population putting our country in tenth place in European Union, preceded by Germany (8.7%) and followed by United Kingdom (7.8%) and France (6.3%).

The presence of foreigners in Italian territory has experienced a steadily increasing trend; this trend was also confirmed by data relating to 2015 when the number of foreign nationals residing in Italy rose to 5 million with an increase of 1.9% over the previous year and representing 8.2% of population (Noi Italia2016).

The phenomenon is fueled by the presence of non-EU foreigners whose number has increased by more than 55 thousand units compared to 2014; notwithstanding such absolute terms, it should be remembered that the non-EU migration into our country is experiencing a certain decline with a decrease of about 3% of the inputs compared to 2014.

It should be specified that the presence of foreigners on Italian territory is increased by irregular migration which, according to Frontex data, in 2015 in Europe have attested to 1.8 million, five times higher than 2014 (Fondazione Leone Moressa 2016).

Figure 1 – Trend of foreign residents in Italy 2002-2016 – Data expressed in millions



Source: Istat

From the point of view of territorial distribution, regions most affected by migration remain those of center-north with Lombardy, Lazio and Emilia-Romagna to first three places for number of foreign residents. However, in recent years there has been a turnaround: if Northeast regions recorded a decrease of 13.5% in migration flow, in the South there was an increase of 15.9% mainly due to arrivals by sea of people seeking international protection.

As regards the level of foreigners education it is possible to see that it does not particularly differ than native population; approximately 10.1% of foreigners possess a degree compared to 15.5% of Italians. However, there are strong differences related to gender and geographical distribution; foreign population with the lowest education level is concentrated in South Italy.

The most important aspect for the conducted analysis is related with labour market. In European Union it is possible to record an increase in foreign employment rate greater than native population one, on the other hand the percentage of foreign workers is lesser than natives; this means that Italian case continues to be a unique example in European scenario.

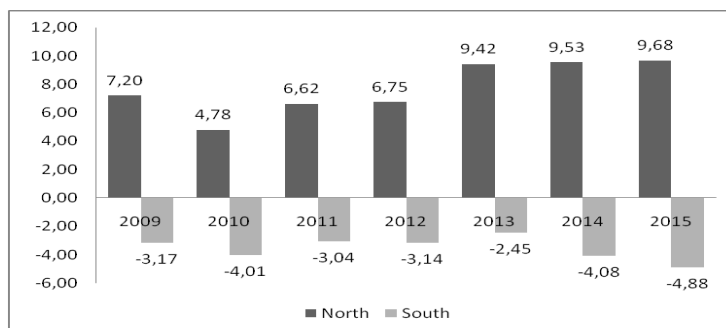
Istat data show that, although the gap in employment rates between Italians and foreigners tend to fade, even in 2014 foreign occupation exceeded the native one by 2.5 percentage points (Noi Italia 2016).

The employment increase recorded in 2014 is almost attributable to foreign occupation that in recent years, characterized by economic crisis, offsets the employment decrease of Italians.

If in other European countries, such as Germany and UK, there is a symmetrical trend between native and foreign employment rates, in Italian case, it can be observed an asymmetrical trend where there has been an increase of foreign occupation in the face of drastic reduction of Italian workers.

However, from closer analysis it is possible to see that gap in employment rates is not uniform across the country: employment rate of foreign population is growing especially in the South, on the contrary in central and northern regions employment rate of natives is higher.

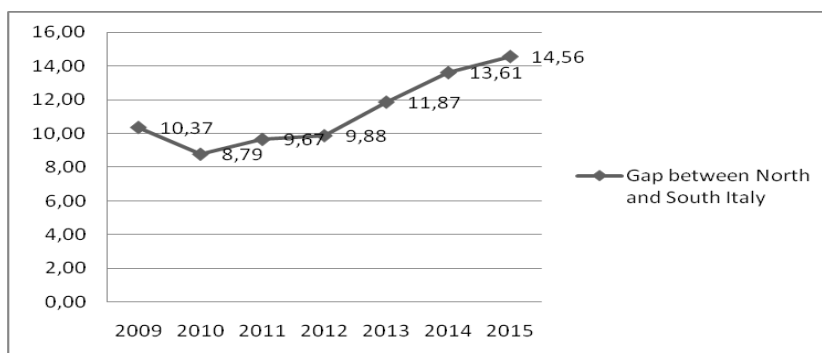
Figure 2 – Foreign and Italian unemployment rate gap



Source: elaboration on Istat data

How it is possible to see from Fig. 2, in 2015 the difference between unemployment rate of foreigners and Italians is positive for northern regions (9.68 %) and negative for southern Italy regions (-4.88%); furthermore gap appears to be growing for almost all the time horizon considered (Fig. 3).

Fig. 3 – Trend of unemployment rate gap between North and South Italy



Source: elaboration on Istat data

4. The composition of Italian labor market: analysis of some significant variables

Present work is aimed at understanding reasons behind the divergence seen in employment rates between foreigners and natives that it is possible to see in different areas of our country. To achieve this object, it proceeded through the analysis of relationship between gap in unemployment rates and presence of certain context factors of examined areas.

In particular, the examined variables are: incidence of agricultural sector in local economy, foreign agricultural employment, employment irregularities rate, crime perception, family annual net income, cost of living, education level. The choice of listed variables derived from those that are the research assumptions used in the present work.

With regard to the first two items, incidence of agricultural and foreign occupation percentage in the same sector, it wanted to understand how the local structure of economy will affect on increasing foreign occupation.

Data on immigrant labor clearly show a strong presence of foreign workers in manufacturing sector, especially in northern regions where this sector is particularly flourishing; but the presence of a negative spread between foreign and Italian unemployment rate in southern regions, where agricultural sector play a role of primary importance, would seem to suggest a link between foreign occupation and primary sector.

Table 1 – *Incidence of agriculture and foreign occupation*

	Agriculture Incidence (%)	Foreign Occupation in Agriculture (%)
North	1,73	35,51
Centre	0,93	36,61
South	5,58	27,43

Source: elaboration on Istat and Inea data

How it is possible to see from table 1, in South the burden assumed primary sector in economy appears to be considerably higher than that of the areas of central and northern Italy, this would seem to suggest how the incisive presence of agriculture can be an important variable in determining a higher foreigners employment rate, which are widely used in low-skilled roles.

However, that statement was partially contradicted by comparison of people employed percentage in the sector between identified areas; although South uses a high percentage of foreign workers (27.43%) it recorded the lowest performance compared with North and Center. It is worth mentioning that in southern regions is particularly incisive the presence of irregular employment in agricultural sector.

Table 2 shows data on Italians and foreigners unemployment rate by geographical area, highlighting the gap, and data on variables introduced in the present study.

Table 2 – Unemployment rates and analyzed variables

<i>Variable</i>	<i>Geographic Area</i>	<i>Years</i>						
		<i>2009</i>	<i>2010</i>	<i>2011</i>	<i>2012</i>	<i>2013</i>	<i>2014</i>	<i>2015</i>
<i>Italian unemployment rate</i>	North	4,6	5,0	4,8	6,4	7,0	7,4	6,8
	Centre	6,7	7,2	7,0	8,9	9,8	10,5	9,7
	South	12,6	13,5	13,7	17,3	19,8	20,9	19,7
<i>Foreign unemployment rate</i>	North	11,3	12,7	12,6	14,5	17,6	16,9	16,4
	Centre	11,8	9,8	11,4	13,1	16,5	16,9	16,5
	South	9,4	9,5	10,6	14,1	17,4	16,8	14,8
<i>Δ Italian and Foreign Unemployed</i>	North	-6,8	-7,7	-7,8	-8,1	-10,5	-9,5	-9,6
	Centre	-5,1	-2,6	-4,4	-4,2	-6,7	-6,5	-6,8
	South	3,2	4,0	3,0	3,1	2,4	4,1	4,9
<i>Crime Perception</i>	North	29,4	26,8	26,5	26,2	31,4	32,1	-
	Centre	31,2	28,9	26,7	28,7	34,3	31,3	-
	South	29,2	26,5	26,7	25,0	28,2	25,9	-
<i>Work Irregularities</i>	North	8,9	8,7	8,8	8,5	-	-	-
	Centre	10,5	10,4	10,1	9,9	-	-	-
	South	19,8	20,0	19,5	20,5	-	-	-
<i>Household Income</i>	North	33071,0	33470,0	33218,5	31240,0	30931,5	-	-
	Centre	32543,0	31950,0	31910,0	30818,0	30750,0	-	-
	South	25154,5	23908,0	24309,0	23713,0	23762,5	-	-
<i>Education degree</i>	North	10,8	10,6	10,0	10,5	10,2	10,6	-
	Centre	10,3	10,7	9,7	10,7	10,3	10,9	-
	South	7,1	6,1	6,4	6,2	6,5	6,6	-
<i>Cost of living</i>	North	-	-	102,9	105,9	108,6	108,5	109,6
	Centre	-	-	102,4	104,8	107,4	107,3	108,7
	South	-	-	101,9	104,2	106,3	106,8	107,7

Source: elaboration on Istat data

A first fact of primary importance is represented by work irregularity; this variable was calculated as ratio of irregular work units to total units of labor. How it is possible to see from the table, Southern regions have higher work rate irregularities, the same that recorded a lower level of foreign unemployment; this observation suggests the existence of a link between the presence of undeclared work and lower unemployment rate. It is possible encounter the existence of a contrarity outcome between North and South Italy: if in the first case there is a strong inverse relation, in the latter case, the two variables influence positively.

This analysis seems to show that the irregularities represent a safety valve for southern labor market, a "lubricant" that allowing unemployment reduction of

foreign population often more willing to accept an irregular work than native population.

Second variable is related to perception of crime; the figure comes from a survey conducted by Istat with the Italian families. Looking at the data it is possible to see that crime perception is higher in Northern Italy, where there is more foreign unemployment; also in this case it has the presence of a strong positive relation in northern area and a negligible inverse relation in southern regions. These results suggest that the increase of foreign unemployment forces people to pour into the world of lawlessness; however, in the South this relation does not seem to be evident even to already mentioned presence of a large area of undeclared work.

Another variable analyzed to understand the different articulation of Italian labor market is the affluence level; this variable has been translated with the measurement of average annual household income. In this case it shows the presence of an inverse relation in both areas since it is self-evident the fact that increase in unemployment is reduced to earnings level and vice versa. However, achieved results are divided between North and South Italy: in fact, in the South this relation is more moderate, and this seems to suggest that the income level reduction is not strongly linked with an increase in foreign unemployment rate, this explains why foreign unemployment rate is lower than that of Northern Italy, despite South income level is lower.

Another considered statistic is related to cost of living; values included in this analysis take as reference the trend in food prices. Analysis shows a strong positive relationship between the two examined variables; this means that the increase of foreign unemployment rate during the years in question was accompanied by an increase in cost of living, which explains why foreign population has a lower unemployment rate in southern regions where there is a lower cost of living.

One last examined variable pertains to education grade of immigrant population measured by possession of a university degree. Data show that there is a wide gap between examined geographic areas: if in the North about 10% of foreign population has a university degree, this percentage is reduced to about 6% in the South. By calculating the correlation coefficient between percentage of foreigners in possession of a university degree and unemployment rate, it is possible to find an inverse relationship to both North and South Italy, this means that the increase in education level is accompanied by a reduction in unemployment rate. This relation is almost negligible in southern regions, this shows how the presence of foreigners with a higher education degree does not negatively affect unemployment rate in South because, in these regions, the majority of foreigners are employed in low-skilled roles often neglected by local population. Therefore, this conclusion stigmatizes the presence of a strong waste skill phenomenon in South.

From presented analysis it is possible to understand as these variables have an effect on Italian labor market composition and how it is important to consider the particular nature of each region of our country.

The understanding of dynamics below foreign unemployment rates divergence is the first step towards the exploitation of decision-making levers that can lead to a faster and more effective economic absorption of foreigners who land in Italy.

5. Conclusions

The importance of immigrant population economic integration makes dutiful analysis of reasons below labor market's capacity to absorb foreign labor. The Italian case is a special opportunity for study due to the presence of foreign unemployment rate lower than Italian's one; however, this phenomenon is driven by the composition of southern Italy labor market. Based on the lack of homogeneity of Italian territory, present study investigates variables that can influence this phenomenon.

Results show the presence of a certain relation between the homogeneity lack and identified variables such as rate of labor irregularities, incidence of agricultural sector, crime perception, family annual net income, cost of living and education level.

To analyze the variables that influence the degree of foreign labor job market absorption is really important so that these variables can be manipulated in order to increase stranger employment rate and, consequently, whole nation income level.

Future analyzes will be carried out taking into account a greater number of variables and their mutual interaction; they will also be conducted in-depth investigations that take into account a longer period of time.

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SUMMARY

Migration flows and labour market in the italian system: comparative analysis between the north and south Italy

Migration flows have a significant impact on today's economic scenario; the analysis of immigrants' assimilation into labor market rises to a role of primary importance for understanding economic implications of phenomenon.

This paper analyzes foreigners' integration in Italian labor market, focusing the observation of a feature that makes Italian system a unique example in European scenario: the presence of a foreign employment rate higher than the native labor one.

Statistical data show that the presence of this phenomenon should be attribute mainly to composition of South regions labor market, where there is a higher foreign employment rate. Based on this observation, the present study seeks to understand what may be the reasons behind this phenomenon.

After a brief examination of main contributions in literature and following the presentation of economics and statistics Italian scenery, article presents the analysis of the relation between presence of a higher foreign employment rate in southern regions and some variables that could affect the composition of labor market.

Research hypothesis assumes existence of a link between selected variables and the presence of territorial inequalities between North and South Italy; collected evidence appears to support the initial conjectures, in fact it is adjustable a relation between the different examined elements that could represent some reasons behind the composition of Italian labor market.

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NUOVI CITTADINI, NUOVI LINGUAGGI, NUOVE ECONOMIE. UN CASO DI TRASFORMAZIONE URBANA: IL QUARTIERE STAZIONE DI PISA¹

Silvia Venturi, Sonia Paone, Elena Carpi

Introduzione

Il posizionamento strategico rispetto agli assi di mobilità e del trasporto, l'enorme flusso di soggetti che vi transitano e le attraversano, insieme alla possibilità di usufruire di servizi a bassa soglia, fanno sì che le aree limitrofe alle stazioni ferroviarie si caratterizzino per una rilevante presenza e/o visibilità di immigrati che ne connotano in particolare gli spazi pubblici.

Nello stesso tempo sono luoghi in cui si manifestano fenomeni di conflittualità legati all'uso dello spazio e dovuti alla compresenza di gruppi sociali diversi e con esigenze che spesso sono contrapposte e tutto ciò contribuisce ad una rappresentazione mediatica nella quale si enfatizzano il degrado e l'insicurezza (Mantovan, Ostanel, 2015).

La zona attorno alla stazione ferroviaria di Pisa, in linea con le considerazioni fatte finora, ha visto negli ultimi decenni un aumento significativo della presenza immigrata per ciò che concerne la residenza, la gestione di attività commerciali e l'utilizzo degli spazi pubblici da parte di una frazione particolarmente visibile. Ciò ha determinato innanzitutto una forte sovraesposizione mediatica della zona rispetto ai temi del degrado e della sicurezza, che ha portato alla emanazione di una serie di ordinanze attraverso le quali si è tentato di regolamentare l'uso degli spazi. Inoltre l'area vede l'emergere di fenomeni di conflittualità fra vecchi abitanti e nuove presenze, e a testimonianza di ciò periodicamente si registrano forme di mobilitazione attraverso la nascita di comitati di quartiere e la sottoscrizione di petizioni, con le quali si richiede un maggiore intervento di controllo e sorveglianza. Il contributo che qui si presenta ha l'obiettivo di restituire la complessità delle dinamiche presenti nel quartiere stazione di Pisa attraverso un

¹ In questa sede si riportano le prime considerazioni derivanti da uno studio interdisciplinare che le autrici stanno conducendo sulle trasformazioni demografiche, urbane e linguistiche del quartiere Stazione di Pisa, fortemente caratterizzato dalla presenza di stranieri. Pur essendo l'articolo frutto dello studio congiunto tra le autrici, il paragrafo 2 è da attribuirsi a Sonia Paone, il paragrafo 3 a Silvia Venturi e il paragrafo 4 a Elena Carpi; i paragrafi 1 e 5 sono da attribuire in comune alle autrici.

approccio multidisciplinare, che coniuga l'analisi socio-demografica con quella delle trasformazioni spaziali e dei paesaggi linguistici.

Il quartiere Stazione fra conflitto e mutamento

Dal punto di vista urbanistico il quartiere all'interno del quale è inserita la stazione ferroviaria ha subito negli ultimi anni delle importanti trasformazioni grazie all'avvio di grandi progetti di riqualificazione, primo fra tutti il Progetto Sesta Porta presentato nel 2008 con il preciso obiettivo di rilanciare la zona degradata della stazione. Il progetto ha previsto la creazione di un centro intermodale che ha riunito in un unico contesto uffici, servizi pubblici e logistici essenziali per la città, ma anche parcheggi, il terminal bus e attività commerciali private.

Ma più che i recenti interventi di riqualificazione è probabilmente l'*imprinting* urbanistico originario della zona Stazione a favorire una serie di dinamiche che qui si intrecciano.

Alla costruzione del nuovo scalo ferroviario, avvenuta a seguito del processo di unificazione dell'Italia, si è accompagnato il progetto di urbanizzazione della zona attraverso un disegno originario che prevedeva l'abbattimento della Porta San Gilio e la distruzione di una parte delle vecchie mura. Al loro posto è stata costruita una grande piazza realizzata in forma ellittica con al centro un monumento a Vittorio Emanuele II oltre che la struttura della Barriera Daziaria (Tolaini, 2007). Quindi alla storica barriera costituita dalle mura storiche si è sostituita in un certo senso un'altra barriera quella che oggi è Piazza Vittoria Emanuele II. La piazza in origine era la porta della città, da cui entravano i "viaggiatori" provenienti dalla stazione ferroviaria, che pagavano un dazio per entrare, di notte i cancelli si chiudevano e delimitavano strutturalmente e chiaramente chi era dentro e chi fuori. E oggi il disegno iniziale in qualche maniera continua a produrre significato, infatti da un lato la piazza è un confine nella misura in cui traccia l'esistenza di due mondi con forti specificità: a nord di Piazza Vittorio Emanuele, l'area commerciale e borghese della città, e a sud la zona marginale del *degrado e del pericolo*, spesso descritta dalla stampa locale come il Bronx della città (Marzioni, 2008). Ma questo confine diventa frontiera nella misura in cui attiva processi di scambio, interazione e pratiche che sono alla base di dinamiche trasformative. La zona attorno al quartiere Stazione di Pisa quindi può essere letta sotto questo doppio registro, che ne evidenzia le contraddizioni ma anche le potenzialità a partire proprio dalla presenza immigrata. Infatti, come già ricordato, la visibilità degli immigrati ha contribuito ad una rappresentazione dell'area come zona insicura e degradata e alla materializzazione di un confine attraverso la politica delle ordinanze e

dell'aumento della sorveglianza, con l'installazione di telecamere, e il rafforzamento del presidio da parte delle forze di polizia e più di recente dei militari. Tra le ordinanze ricordiamo un primo intervento nel 2006 relativo alla regolamentazione delle insegne scritte in cinese, nel 2008 l'ordinanza che imponeva la chiusura anticipata del minimarket La Luna, gestito da un cittadino straniero e considerato fonte di degrado per il quartiere perché luogo di ritrovo e bivacco di sbandati ed extracomunitari e più di recente nel 2014 l'ordinanza anti-bivacco. Questo provvedimento, per questioni legate sempre al decoro e alla sicurezza, vieta di consumare bevande alcoliche fuori dai locali, di deporre e abbandonare al suolo bottiglie, contenitori per bevande e qualsiasi altro genere di rifiuti; di sedersi o sdraiarsi per terra e davanti ai negozi e intralciare i passanti. Ai titolari degli esercizi di vicinato che vendono bevande alcoliche vieta di mettere a disposizione degli acquirenti apribottiglie, cavatappi e simili.

Nello stesso tempo il concetto di frontiera ci restituisce elementi di dinamicità e trasformazione presenti nell'area della stazione. Uno di questi aspetti è ad esempio molto evidente rispetto all'utilizzo della strada, che i migranti a differenza di altri abitanti o *city users* continuano ad impiegare nella sua dimensione primaria di vicinato e come risorsa. La presenza migrante ha inoltre ri-significato alcuni spazi sia attraverso processi di sostituzione (ad esempio nelle attività commerciali) sia attraverso l'uso più intensivo degli spazi pubblici utilizzati come luoghi di incontro e scambio di informazioni.

In questo senso la zona Stazione vede la formazione di quelli che Arjun Appadurai definisce *etnorami* (Appadurai, 2001), ovvero i panorami di identità e diversità che si producono quotidianamente a partire dai flussi di immigrati e persone in movimento, creando effetti di spiazzamento nelle culture locali.

3. I cittadini stranieri

3.1. Il quadro generale

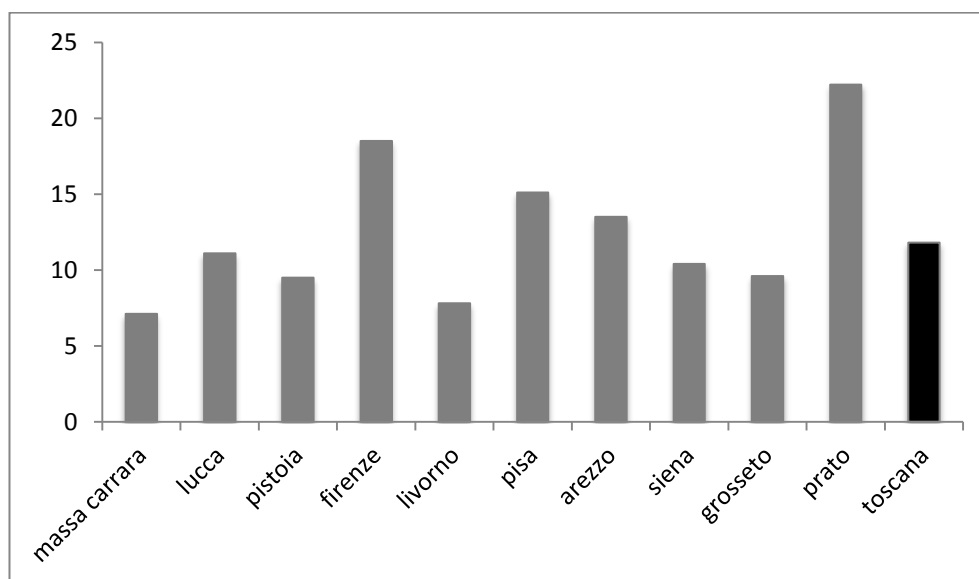
Anche a Pisa, seconda provincia della Toscana per numero di residenti –agli inizi del 2016 raccoglieva l'11,2% della popolazione regionale (Istat, 2016a)-, si è ormai consolidata la presenza dei cittadini stranieri, anche se relativamente meno presenti che altrove nella regione. Infatti, i 40.562 residenti non italiani registrati all'inizio del 2016, se pure costituiscono il 10,2% degli stranieri residenti in regione, sono “appena” il 9,6% sul totale dei residenti provinciali, essendo il rapporto più fortemente sbilanciato, oltre che a Firenze come usualmente nelle aree del capoluogo regionale (12,7%), anche e soprattutto a Prato, dove risiede una ormai storica e consistente comunità cinese, in larga misura responsabile

dell'innalzamento dell'incidenza complessiva di stranieri in questa provincia al 16% (Istat, 2016b)².

Il quadro, però, appare diverso quando si sposta l'attenzione sulla dimensione comunale. Infatti sotto questo profilo Pisa, con ben 15,1 stranieri ogni 100 residenti, si pone al terzo posto rimanendo il primato oltre che a Firenze (18,5), in particolare a Prato dove più di un residente su 5 è straniero (Fig. 1).

Anche sotto il profilo dei principali paesi di provenienza il comune di Pisa appare singolare sia nel panorama regionale che in quello nazionale. Infatti, i 12.036 stranieri con cittadinanza accertata residenti nel comune nei primi mesi del 2016³, pur declinandosi in oltre 100 nazionalità, sono costituiti in larga misura (37,1%) da Albanesi, Filippini e Rumeni, quota che supera il 44% se consideriamo anche i bengalesi. Diversamente, le prime tre posizioni in "graduatoria" a livello regionale vedono i Rumeni, gli Albanesi e i Cinesi e, a livello nazionale ancora i Rumeni e gli Albanesi seguiti, questa volta, dai Marocchini.

Figura 1 – *Stranieri x 100 Italiani residenti nei capoluoghi toscani al 1° gennaio 2016.*



Nostra elaborazione dati Istat

² Da notare, comunque che in Toscana il rapporto stranieri/residenti è superiore alla media nazionale; rispettivamente: 10,6% e 8,3%.

³ Tutte le informazioni riguardanti gli stranieri residenti nel comune di Pisa nei primi mesi del 2016 sono state ricavate dal database fornito dall'Ufficio Anagrafe del Comune di Pisa.

3.2. Il quartiere Stazione

In questo panorama comunale, brevemente accennato, assume una sua precisa identità il quartiere Stazione, oggetto specifico dell'indagine. Questo, infatti, è fortemente caratterizzato dalla presenza di residenti stranieri fenomeno che sta contribuendo a cambiare il Paesaggio Urbano –quindi tipologia delle attività commerciali o insegne, per esempio, come meglio descritto in seguito- e ad alimentare un forte malcontento nel sempre minor numero di residenti autoctoni, come già evidenziato in altro studio (Bellinvia, 2012⁴).

Si tratta di un'area centrale della città -l'ubicazione della stazione ferroviaria è a poca distanza dal centro storico- per la quale abbiamo considerato le 16 strade che si diramano in un raggio di poche centinaia di metri dal piazzale antistante l'ingresso fino al "confine" con Piazza Vittorio Emanuele II, come visto già linea di confine in quanto vecchia Barriera Daziaria. In questa cornice, sulla scorta del database fornito dall'Ufficio Anagrafe del Comune all'inizio del 2016 e della Camera di Commercio alla fine del 2015, abbiamo impostato una breve analisi dei primi dati demografici e di quelli riguardanti le attività svolte dagli stranieri che insistono ufficialmente nell'area.

Sotto il profilo della residenza, allora, il primo elemento sicuramente da sottolineare è la conferma della forte presenza di popolazione con nazionalità non italiana. Infatti, nel quartiere risiedono 507 stranieri che se sono solo l'1,5% degli residenti nel comune, sono ben il 4,2% di tutti gli stranieri che, ricordiamo, ammontano a 12.036 unità. L'incidenza degli italiani nel quartiere, di contro, sul corrispettivo totale comunale è di appena l'11,1% (893 su 78694) il che si traduce nell'avere quasi 56 stranieri ogni 100 italiani residenti o, in altri termini, più di un residente su tre nel quartiere è straniero.

Il quartiere Stazione, però, non si caratterizza solamente per la numerosità della componente straniera residente, ma anche per il fatto che vi si concentrano alcune specifiche comunità etniche e soprattutto di extracomunitari che qui rappresentano la quasi totalità dei non italiani (92,1%). In particolare troviamo una significativa presenza di Cinesi, Bengalesi, Filippini e Nepalesi che, da soli, raccolgono oltre il 78% degli extracomunitari residenti nell'area (Tab. 1).

Questa sorta di "specializzazione" territoriale, poi, diventa ancora più marcata se si considera la distribuzione delle prime quattro comunità precedentemente evidenziate relativamente alle strade in cui si articola l'area. Possiamo infatti vedere come vi sia una forte tendenza alla concentrazione soprattutto dei Bengalesi che risultano residenti in sole 4 strade su 16, come anche dei Filippini e in misura

⁴ Interessante, in proposito, è la considerazione che l'Autore fa, citando l'espressione di Coleman "ipersensibilità urbana" nei confronti degli aspetti connessi alla legalità (Bellinvia, 2012; pag. 188).

leggermente minore dei Cinesi, se pure la massima concentrazione si registra per i Nepalesi, presenti ufficialmente in due sole strade, anche se il loro scarso ammontare (20 unità, come visto) rende il fenomeno sicuramente meno significativo (Fig. 2).

Tabella 1 – Residenti nel quartiere Stazione per nazionalità. Valore assoluto e incidenza sul relativo totale comunale, sugli stranieri residenti nel quartiere e sul totale residenti nel quartiere. Situazione al marzo 2016

Nazionalità	Valore assoluto	% su relativo totale comunale	% su stranieri stazione	% su totale residenti stazione
Cinese	155	38,2	38,1	11,1
Bengalese	109	13,0	21,5	7,8
Filippina	75	4,9	14,8	5,4
Nepalese	20	13,4	3,9	1,4
Centro/Sudamericana*	25	5,3	4,9	1,8
Area Russia**	19	3,3	3,7	1,4
Albanese e Macedone	11	0,5	2,2	0,8
Nordafricana***	10	1,7	2,0	0,7
Subsahariana	10	1,5	2,0	0,7
Altra****	73	6,0	14,4	5,2
Totale	507	4,2	--	36,2

Fonte: nostra elaborazione dati Ufficio Anagrafe.

* Brasiliani, Cubani, Equadoregni, Messicani e Venezuelani

** Bielorussi, Georgiani, Moldavi e Russi

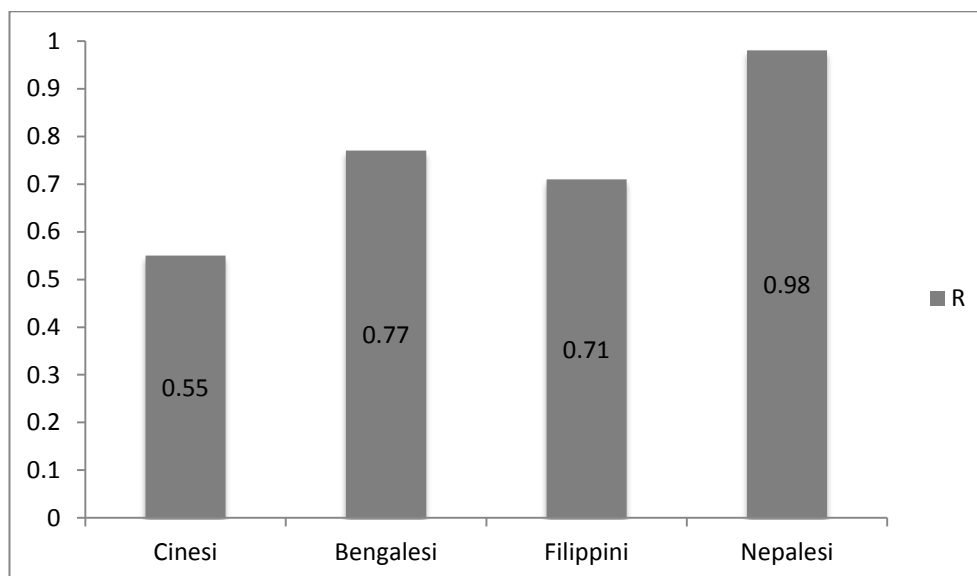
***Egiziani, Marocchini, Tunisini

****Tutti gli extracomunitari restanti e i cittadini UE

Se, però, passiamo dal versante della residenza a quello dell'attività economica, sotto il profilo dell'impatto con il Paesaggio Urbano, certamente non sono da considerarsi i Filippini in quanto prevalentemente occupati nel settore del lavoro domestico (l'82% di chi ha dichiarato di lavorare attivamente è costituito da badanti, collaboratori familiari o domestici) e quindi "invisibili". Non solo, ma essendo una presenza ormai radicata e costante in molte famiglie autoctone, probabilmente sono, o comunque sono percepiti come, meno estranei e meno problematici sotto il profilo della convivenza e non è certamente nei loro confronti che, come visto in precedenza, si sono presentate petizioni e costituiti comitati di quartiere. Questo non è accaduto neanche nei confronti dei Cinesi o dei Bengalesi per rimanere alle prime comunità extracomunitarie residenti in ordine di importanza numerica nel quartiere, ma la loro presenza è molto più visibile date le attività svolte, per lo più di natura commerciale.

Dal database della Camera di Commercio, infatti, emerge che i Cinesi che hanno dichiarato un'attività⁵ nell'area di interesse commerciano per lo più in abbigliamento e per oltre la metà gestiscono o lavorano in negozi siti in una sola delle 16 strade considerate. I Bengalesi, invece, sono prevalentemente attivi nei minimarket, in larga misura per prodotti alimentari, e nel commercio di articoli di bigiotteria. Per quanto riguarda la loro dislocazione sul territorio, appare interessante notare che, se pure sono più o meno presenti in tutte le strade, in una sola di esse –il viale che dalla Stazione porta direttamente al cuore della città- tutti gli esercizi commerciali riconducibili a stranieri sono Bengalesi. Il che contribuisce a confermare la marcata connotazione etnica del quartiere.

Figura 2 – Distribuzione territoriale delle prime 4 comunità residenti nel quartiere Stazione misurata con il Rapporto di concentrazione di Gini (R)⁶.



Fonte: nostra elaborazione dati Ufficio Anagrafe.

⁵ La registrazione alla Camera di Commercio avviene esclusivamente su quanto dichiarato da chi si iscrive al registro delle imprese.

⁶ Come è noto, $R = \frac{\sum_{i=1}^{n-1} (F_i - Q_i)}{\sum F_i}$, ove il numeratore rappresenta la somma delle differenze tra le percentuali cumulate dei soggetti (nel nostro caso le strade) e le corrispondenti percentuali cumulate del carattere (nel nostro caso i residenti) e il denominatore la somma delle percentuali cumulate dei soggetti che costituisce il massimo valore raggiungibile dal Rapporto. Il Rapporto, quindi, varia da 0, nel caso di perfetta equidistribuzione (gli stranieri sono perfettamente distribuiti tra le 16 strade), a 1, nel caso di massima concentrazione (gli stranieri risiedono in una sola delle 16 strade).

4. Il Paesaggio Linguistico

Le trasformazioni che stanno interessando il quartiere Stazione di Pisa dovute alla presenza di immigrati possono essere lette anche attraverso l'analisi del cosiddetto Paesaggio Linguistico, a partire dalla classica definizione di Landry e Bourhis (1997; pag. 25): "The language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings combines to form the linguistic landscape of a given territory, region, or urban agglomeration". In relazione con tale concetto vengono analizzate alcune foto⁷ scattate nel quartiere dall'ottobre 2015 al dicembre 2015 -in via Filippo Corridoni e via Amerigo Vespucci, appunto due delle 16 strade di cui in precedenza- che riproducono scritte e insegne rappresentative di una delle tipologie più diffuse nelle strade in questione, quella che vede unite più lingue nello stesso annuncio⁸. Le insegne e gli avvisi possiedono una funzione informativa e simbolica che informa "in-group and out-group members of the linguistic characteristics, territorial limits, and language boundaries of the region they have entered" (Landry-Bourhis, 1997; pag. 25). Il rapporto e la presenza di lingue diverse in queste insegne e avvisi è spiegato sulla base dell'intenzione comunicativa dell'autore in rapporto con il lettore. Nelle due strade considerate gli esercizi commerciali sono gestiti da cittadini cinesi o bengalesi; i clienti potenziali -destinatari dei messaggi contenuti nelle scritte- sono cittadini senegalesi, venditori ambulanti che non vivono nel quartiere, ma lo frequentano assiduamente poiché qui comprano le loro merci, e gli italiani residenti. Si tratta di strade in cui a poco a poco i negozi gestiti da italiani sono scomparsi⁹, per essere rimpiazzati da esercizi commerciali gestiti da extracomunitari che vendono vestiti, borse e bigiotteria, sostanzialmente omogenei tra di loro. Per questo motivo, molti residenti considerano il loro un "quartiere degradato"¹⁰, dove sono frequenti anche *bed & breakfast* frequentati da cittadini stranieri, in maggioranza tedeschi, polacchi o rumeni. La contrapposizione tra residenti-legali/stranieri-illegali si percepisce anche nella presenza di segni semanticamente in contrasto: l'adesivo con la scritta tedesca *Kein mensch ist illegal*¹¹ (foto1), logo dell'associazione omonima nata in Germania nel 1997¹² e posizionato dal novembre 2015 sul tubo di scarico di una

⁷ Reperibili all'indirizzo http://for.unipi.it/elena_carpi

⁸ Vengono registrati anche i cambiamenti rilevati al momento della scrittura di questa parte dell'articolo (giugno 2016).

⁹ Fioraio, parrucchiere per signora, tabaccheria, tappezzeria.

¹⁰ Così riferiscono alcuni abitanti del quartiere che si erano fermati a commentare mentre venivano scattate le foto.

¹¹ In italiano *nessun uomo è illegale*.

¹² <http://www.kein-mensch-ist-illegal.org/>. Nel quartiere vivono e lavorano persone non sempre in regola con il permesso di soggiorno, e comunque percepite dalla comunità dei residenti italiani come

grondaia di Via Vespucci, si trova a poche strade di distanza dagli avvisi della polizia municipale redatti in italiano, inglese, arabo e romeno (foto 2), che proibiscono di “recare intralcio ai passanti”.

L’insegna che compare nella foto nr. 3 -*Abbigliamento uomo donna* seguita da ideogrammi cinesi con lo stesso significato- è prototipica rispetto a molte altre che si possono vedere nelle due strade analizzate, in cui appaiono scritte in italiano e cinese di uguale grandezza. La foto nr. 4 presenta due frasi, in italiano e in inglese: “Vendita Accessori-Far East-Trade Development Center”. *Far East*, in italiano *Estremo Oriente*, intende probabilmente richiamare uno stereotipo geografico riconoscibile dagli abitanti del quartiere, benché l’estremo oriente identifichi anche realtà geografiche diverse dalla Cina. *Trade Development Center* sembra significare uno sviluppo commerciale basato su un’ampia attività imprenditoriale.

La foto nr. 5 mostra una vetrina in cui è presente una scritta in inglese e italiano: “Very Import – Borse”. L’unità fraseologica in inglese, benché priva di significato per un anglofono, può essere comunque comprensibile per un italofono, che la può interpretare per assonanza come *veramente importante*, *veramente di importazione*, o addirittura come l’abbreviazione di *very important person*, in ogni caso come una valutazione positiva della merce venduta nel negozio, gestito da cittadini bengalesi. Da aprile 2016 la scritta è però cambiata: *borse* è stato cancellato, e sono rimaste solo le parole in inglese, benché la tipologia di prodotti venduti sia rimasta la stessa.

La foto numero 6 riproduce la vetrina di un piccolo emporio gestito da cittadini bengalesi che vende articoli di vario genere ed esercita l’attività di *money transfer*, cui si riferisce un annuncio in wolof, una delle lingue parlate in Senegal, e la sua traduzione in un francese marcato da una forte oralità: “Y^ ONE KHALIS AK WARI MO GENE YOMBOU THI SENEGAL GENE GAWÉ THI AÍY MINUTI YOU NDAW GATHIOTE THI”; “ANVIOYE L’ARGENT PAR WARI ET MOYENS CHAIR RETIRE’ DANS’ UN MINUTE”. I cartelli - posizionati accanto alla scritta luminosa in italiano *Aperto-* promuovono una piattaforma *on line* per inviare denaro molto sviluppata in Senegal¹³, e sono rivolti a venditori ambulanti senegalesi: come riferisce il gestore, sono stati scritti da uno di loro.

Le scritte delle foto nr. 3 e 4 esprimono la funzione di informare sulla tipologia di merce venduta - benché *vendita accessori* nella vetrina della foto 4 sia molto

intrusi. Dal punto di vista della comunicazione con il territorio si tratta di un atto poco performativo, essendo il tedesco una lingua scarsamente conosciuta dagli italiani del quartiere e in generale anche dai cittadini extracomunitari che vi gravitano, che in maggioranza come seconda lingua hanno il francese o l’inglese.

¹³ <http://www.wari.com>. Dopo la strage di Dhaka, nella stessa vetrina è apparso un volantino con le foto delle nove vittime italiane e la scritta “condoglianze alle famiglie della strage di Dhaka”, un atto linguistico la cui performatività sociale va ben oltre il suo significato letterale.

generico- e di stabilire l'identità e il prestigio (foto 4) del venditore all'interno dell'area. Le scritte nella vetrina riprodotta nella foto nr. 5 in origine avevano la funzione di informare riguardo i prodotti venduti; il cambiamento intervenuto fa sì che questa funzione venga a mancare, che per sapere cosa venda il negozio sia necessario entrare e che il *Very important* rimasto possa essere decodificato come nome del negozio. Nei cartelli riprodotti nella foto nr. 6 predomina la funzione informativa ed è del tutto assente quella simbolica; gli autori sono due, il padrone del negozio e il traduttore africano, che comunicano attraverso una lingua franca, l'italiano. In generale, il concreto rapporto tra autore e destinatari del messaggio resta opaco, in quanto i cittadini africani di solito non leggono l'italiano e non conoscono il cinese o l'inglese.

5. Conclusioni

Già da questa primo tentativo di analisi interdisciplinare emerge chiaramente come il quartiere Stazione di Pisa si configuri, se non proprio ancora multietnico, almeno come "laboratorio" di multietnicità. I pochi dati fin qui analizzati confermano già sul piano ufficiale, ma sappiamo quanto pesi la dimensione sommersa quando si parli di stranieri, una presenza tutt'altro che trascurabile di cittadini di altra nazionalità; presenza che tende ad una sorta di specializzazione territoriale non solo per la forte connotazione che dà al quartiere, ma anche per come le varie componenti etniche si distribuiscono –o si concentrano- nel quartiere. Certamente questo fenomeno non è ancora così importante da far parlare di *chinatown* o *banglatown*, solo per riferirsi alle più importanti comunità sia di residenti che di attivi economicamente nell'area, ma comunque tale da avere grande visibilità sia per il tipo di attività economica come per le insegne o la cartellonistica stesse che connotano il Paesaggio Linguistico, come abbiamo visto. Quindi, la "sostituzione" da parte dei nuovi cittadini si è accompagnata anche ad una sostituzione delle attività cui ha fatto seguito, o forse è stata favorita, dalla scomparsa dei piccoli tradizionali negozi di prossimità. Questo ha sicuramente generato uno spiazzamento negli autoctoni che, non infrequentemente, si è tradotto in un aumento di insicurezza concretizzatosi con la nascita di comitati di quartiere per aumentare la pressione sulle autorità locali perché provvedano in merito (da cui il susseguirsi di ordinanze). Certo è che il processo di ibridazione tra le varie culture delle nostre città, conseguente ad una sempre maggior strutturazione della componente immigrata, appare evidente anche nel quartiere Stazione di Pisa che vede così trasformare la sua natura storica di "barriera" in una frontiera di scambi culturali.

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SUMMARY**New Citizens, New Languages, New Economies. A Case of Urban Transformation: the Railway District of Pisa**

Migrants change urban landscape and the traditional social balance and way of use of the territory. In the last years, in the Railway District of Pisa there was a kind of substitution by new residents, specially Chinese and Bangladeshis people, and new activity as clothes and leather shops or minimarkets. These phenomena generate insecurity and unease among local people but probably it is a new trial course will lead toward the future, inevitable hybridization as now we can glimpse through the already many signs in the ethnic shops of the District.

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IMMIGRANTS' HOME-OWNERSHIP DECISION IN MIGRATION PROJECTS. SUBJECTIVE DETERMINANTS AND EXTERNAL CONSTRAINTS

Elisa Barbiano di Belgiojoso, Stefania Maria Lorenza Rimoldi

1. Introduction

Homeownership is usually considered an indicator of economic success as well as a status marker of well-being (Constant et al., 2009; Gobillon and Solignac, 2015; Davidov and Weick, 2011). For immigrants, indeed, it is also commonly considered an important step in the migration process toward settlement, since buying a home represents a decision to invest in the host country, reflecting the will and the commitment to stay (Davidov and Weick, 2011; Constant et al., 2009).

Assuming this perspective, the homeownership rate (hereafter HOR) among migrants should increase along the time spent in the host country. Scholars univocally agree in recognizing that years since migration positively affects the HOR (Davidov and Weick, 2011; Constant et al., 2009; Borjas, 2002; Gobillon and Solignac, 2015; Sinnig, 2006). In fact, over the course of time immigrants acquire knowledge of the new society by increasing their language skills, and mature commitment towards the host country by reinforcing their social networks and by gaining a deeper knowledge of the housing market. Hence, in those countries where migration is a well-established phenomenon, accompanied by family reunification and long-term migrants, the HOR is expected to increase along the settlement process of the migrant population.

However, the time spent in the host country is just one of many factors impacting on homeownership (Constant et al., 2009; Davidov and Weick, 2011; Sinnig, 2010). Actually, a range of factors that can be grouped in 5 dimensions, is usually considered crucial: first, socioeconomic characteristics such as family status and composition, employment status, income, education (see e.g.: Sinnig, 2010; Davidov and Weick, 2011); second, demographic characteristics such as age and country of origin (e.g. Borjas, 2002; Constant et al., 2009; Davidov and Weick, 2011); third, institutional characteristics such as housing market conditions and knowledge of the country's credit and financial systems (e.g. Constant et al., 2009; Amuendo-Dorantes and Mundra, 2012); fourth, differences in the HOR could result from cultural differences and attitudes towards homeownership (e.g. Constant et al, 2009; Sinnig, 2010; Owuso, 1998); and finally, these differences

can reflect difficulties in financing, segregation and discrimination practices in the housing market (Costant et al., 2009; Gobillon and Solignac, 2015).

In short, the evolution over time of the HOR among migrants can be ascribed to the following two elements. First of all, to the economic context, because the decision to buy a home can be delayed in case of unfavourable housing market conditions (Constant et al., 2009): this results in a stabilization of the HOR. Secondly, to the change in the composition of the group of stayers, due to the arrival of new migrants with different characteristics as regards gender, age, marital and family status, origin, migrant status and years since migration, all being, as stated above, determinant factors in the decision to buy a home in the host country (e.g. Gobillon and Solignac, 2015). In such a situation, the variation of the HOR can be ascribed to both the changed propensity to be a homeowner and the altered composition of the staying migrants' population (cohort effect) (Firebaugh, 1997; Kitagawa, 1955). Thus, the increase of rate can be explained due to the increase in homeownership propensity, but also to the increase in the relative importance of the segment of population typically characterized by a higher HOR. For example, in populations where migration is a well-established phenomenon, the proportion of migrants with higher length of stay usually increases in time. Therefore, the increase of the HOR can be ascribed either to a cohort effect or to the increase of the rate despite the cohort composition.

This study has two aims: firstly, to examine the main factors affecting the attitude towards homeownership, in order to identify the elements responsible for the variations detected along the period observed; secondly, to decompose the variation over time into two components: the structural variation (cohort replacement) and the 'pure' propensity to homeownership (intra-cohort variation).

2. Data

Our analyses are based on 2001-2015 annual surveys carried out by ORIM (Regional Observatory on Immigration). Data were collected by the Foundation for Initiatives and Studies on Multi-Ethnicity (ISMU) in order to monitor and study the foreign population living in the Lombardy Region. The surveys were conducted every year on nearly 8,000 immigrants aged 15 and over, living in Italy at the time of the interview and born in high emigration countries (Blangiardo, 2016). Interviewees were randomly selected on the basis of the Centre Sampling Method (Baio et al., 2011), a method specifically designed to collect information on a representative sample of immigrants (both legally and illegally present). This survey method is based on the hypothesis that in everyday life immigrants attend a range of "aggregation centres" (such as specific immigrant services, phone centres,

churches, markets, worship places, ethnic shops, etc.), and that information on the numbers attending these centres can be used to correct the sample by giving to each interviewee a different weight, according to how likely it was for the person to be found by interviewers. The method is based on a two-stage design. The questionnaires are allocated across municipalities (first level units) selected according to their share of immigrants, their socio-economic situation and their demographic representativeness at regional level. Immigrants (second level units) are randomly selected among those who attend one or more of a set of aggregation centres previously identified in each of the first level units. Interviews are performed face-to-face by interviewers with a foreign background, most of whom cultural-linguistic mediators who underwent specific training.

For the analysis, a pooled dataset was used with all the surveys available from 2001 to 2015, and 7 periods were considered each consisting of a 2-year period except for the last one (period 1=2001-2002; period 2=2003-2004... up to period 7=2013-2015). Before proceeding, it is noteworthy to highlight both the advantages and disadvantages of the data set. On the negative side, these data are cross-sectional, thus preventing from studying the change in homeownership due to changes in individual conditions; secondly, they concern only the Lombardy Region. Nevertheless, Lombardy Region is usually considered as a representative case study in the Italian context, as 22% of families live in this Region (Istat Census data-warehouse). On the positive side, these data constitute a broad and representative sample since they cover 15 years of migration in Lombardy Region and include approximately 110,000 individuals.

3. Methods

In order to pursue the first objective - that is to identify the factors responsible for the variations in the HOR detected along the interval observed - logistic regression models were adopted, one for each of the seven periods. Being the dependent variable 'Live in homeownership' (0 = 'No' - reference; 1='Yes'), the following covariates were tested: age (quadratic), citizenship, education and marital status as demographic characters, length of stay in Italy, kind of permit, occupational status, cohabitation and where children live as socioeconomic variables. The categorical variables are coded as follows. Citizenship: 1 = 'Other Africa' (reference category); 2 = 'North Africa'; 3 = 'East Europe'; 4 = 'Asia'; 5 = 'Latin America'. Education: 1 = 'Primary education at most' (reference); 2 = 'Secondary or tertiary education'. Marital status: 1= 'Never married' (reference); 2 = 'Married'; 3 = 'Other'. Kind of permit: 1= 'Irregular' (reference); 2= 'Work permit'; 3 = 'Family permit'; 4 = 'Other'; 5 = 'Long term regular'. Occupational

status: 1 = 'Unemployed' (reference); 2 = 'Regularly employed'; 3 = 'Irregularly employed'; 4 = 'Self-employed' 5 = 'Non-professional status'; 6 = 'Other'. Cohabitation: 1 = 'Alone' (reference); 2 = 'With partner, no children'; 3 = 'Neither partner, nor children'; 4 = 'No partner, with children'; 5 = 'With partner and children'. Where children live: 1 = 'No children' (reference); 2 = 'All children in Italy'; 3 = 'All children abroad'; 4 = 'Other'.

For the second part of the analysis, a decomposition method was adopted. Since the aim was to decompose the difference in rate at two points in time ($t=1$ and $t=2$) into cohort replacement and within-in cohort change, Firebaugh's (1997) and Kitagawa's (1955) studies were followed. Hence, the two-component equation (1) was employed to decompose the difference in the homeownership rate between time 2 and 1 $\Delta\mu = \mu_2 - \mu_1$ being μ_t the percentage of homeowner at time t with respect to different characteristics of the population (e.g. years since migration, origin, family status etc.) whose modalities represent the cohorts:

$$\Delta\mu = \sum_j \left(\frac{p_{j1} + p_{j2}}{2} \right) \cdot \Delta\mu_j + \sum_j \left(\frac{\mu_{j1} + \mu_{j2}}{2} \right) \cdot \Delta p_j \quad (1)$$

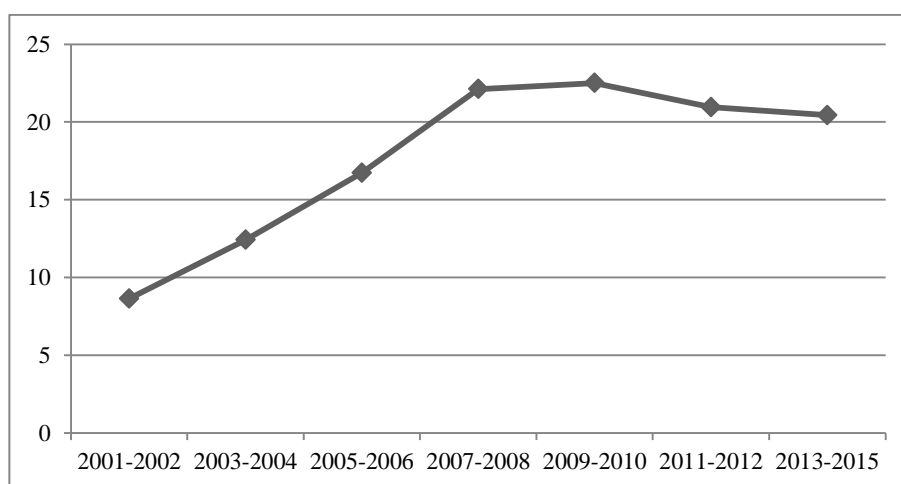
where μ_{jt} is the percentage of homeowner for the j^{th} cohort at time t , and p_{jt} is j 's population share at time t^1 and thus $\Delta\mu_j = \mu_{j2} - \mu_{j1}$ is the difference between the two points on the homeownership rate for the j^{th} cohort, while $\Delta p_j = p_{j2} - p_{j1}$ is the difference between the two points on the population shares for cohort j . The first term is the within-cohort change (the within-cohort change for the j^{th} cohort weighted by the cohort's average population share) which shows that part of the difference between the HORs is due to the difference in the specific homeownership rates at the two time points. While the second term is the contribution of the cohort effect and shows that part of the difference between the HORs is due to the difference in the composition of the population at the two time points (change in the population share for the j^{th} cohort weighted by the cohort's average homeowner percentage).

¹ The p_j sum to 1.

4. Homeownership among migrants in Lombardy Region

As shown in Figure 1, we identified three phases concerning homeownership strongly connected to Lombardy's migration history. The first phase (2001-2006) is characterized by a high immigration rate from various origins, especially from East European countries (Blangiardo, 2014), and by a progressive settlement of the communities with longer durations of stay, for which the settlement process was well underway (for example Moroccans) with a rapid increase in the percentage of homeowners up to 22%. The second period (2007-2010) is characterized by a slowdown in immigration to Lombardy, with new family permits increasing faster than work permits (Blangiardo, 2014) which combined with the economic recession generated a stabilization of the relative frequency of homeowners. Finally, the last phase (2011-2015) is connoted by the persisting economic crisis and the increase in remigration intentions (both onward and return migration) on the one hand, and the increase in the acquisition of citizenship on the other hand (Blangiardo, 2016). This resulted in a slow decrease of the percentage of homeowners.

Figure 1 – Percentage of homeowner migrants. Lombardy Region. Years: 2001-2015.



Source: elaboration on ORIM data.

If the stagnant percentage of homeowners over the 3-year period 2007-2010 can be certainly ascribed to the economic crisis that strongly affected the housing market stopping home purchase, the trend of the last 5 years does not have a unique possible explanation. Reasons are multiple and overlapping, such as: first, some may have sold their house to face the crisis but, being homeownership usually

considered as a guarantee in time of crisis, home selling seems an extreme measure; second, stayers are negatively selected according to homeownership, this seems not to be very reasonable (e.g. the median length of stay has increased and it is usually positively associated with homeownership); and finally, preferences for homeownership among migrants have changed over time due to a different migration project that also considers a possible remigration plan. In the next section, a feasible explanation to the homeownership rate trend is suggested, although only the second and the third reasons can be afforded through the data available.

Before proceeding with the decomposition, the statistical contribution of each of the factors identified was tested as impacting on homeownership in Lombardy. Results of logistics models are reported in Table 1.

The results of the models highlight that homeownership is positively associated to higher education levels, in all the periods observed, confirming previous results (Davidov and Weick, 2011). The effect of age is in general not significant, while citizenship shows positive impacts with regard to immigrants from Asia and Latin America and negative impacts pertaining to those from North Africa and East Europe, compared to Other Africans. On the contrary, the marital status does not seem to influence significantly the homeownership attitude. Actually, it is not the status but the living condition to be determinant; in other words, it is the 'family' *in loco* (that is, people who live with the immigrants) the conditional structure for the decision to buy a home, as stated by Constant et al. (2009). In particular, the main effect is ruled by the presence of a partner, especially in absence of children: we may suppose that the decision to buy a home pertains to young couples with migratory projects addressed to settle in Italy permanently. This hypothesis is confirmed by the variable 'where children live': both situations, with children in Italy or all children abroad, show a substantial negative impact on homeownership, compared to having no children, although for different reasons. We suggest that as regards immigrants with all children in Italy, this has to do with economic constraints when inside a settlement project in Italy, while for immigrants with all children abroad reasons may be ascribed to short-term migratory projects.

Other evidence for the link between 'family' and homeownership comes from the variable 'kind of permit': compared to being irregularly present in Italy, family permit has a considerable and statistically significant effect on homeownership. Work permit has a positive effect as well, although a valuable reduction in the coefficient can be noticed in 2009-2010. Long-term regular migrants' propensity to buy a home is obviously high.

Table 1 – Logistic regression analyses by period (response variable: Homeownership; reference category: 'No')

	Coefficients						
	2001-02	2003-04	2005-06	2007-08	2009-10	2011-12	2013-15
Demographic variables							
<i>Age quadratic</i>	0.000	-0.000	-0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
<i>Citizenship</i>							
Other Africa (ref.)							
North Africa	-0.347***	-0.117	-0.252***	-0.165**	-0.427***	-0.343***	-0.276**
East Europe	-0.089	-0.248**	-0.223**	-0.087	-0.230**	-0.068	0.216**
Asia	0.170	0.292***	0.139	0.213**	0.324***	0.186*	0.327***
Latin America	0.877***	0.505***	0.341***	0.391***	0.370***	0.525***	0.384***
<i>Education</i>							
Primary ed. at most (ref.)							
Secondary or tertiary	0.278***	0.326***	0.421***	0.387***	0.332***	0.298***	0.476***
<i>Marital status</i>							
Never married (ref.)							
Married	-0.411**	0.284	0.157	-0.011	-0.004	0.159	-0.092
Other	-0.109	0.230	0.300	-0.059	-0.252*	-0.161	-0.026
Socio-economic variables							
<i>Length of stay in Italy</i>	0.102***	0.097***	0.091***	0.073***	0.079***	0.086***	0.080***
<i>Kind of permit</i>							
Irregularly in Italy (ref.)							
Work	-0.63	0.407*	0.640***	0.461***	0.351***	0.672***	0.498**
Family permit	0.539**	0.813***	1.070***	0.794***	0.726***	0.937***	0.924***
Other	0.322	0.152	0.119	0.113	-0.129	0.514	-0.472
Long term regular	0.981***	1.345***	1.624***	1.344***	1.272***	1.561***	1.254***
<i>Occupational status</i>							
Unemployed (ref.)							
Regularly employed	0.066	0.293*	0.588***	0.360***	0.074	0.063	0.276**
Irregularly employed	-0.697***	-0.032	0.111	-0.124	-0.128	0.062	0.036
Self-employed	0.657***	0.821***	1.282***	0.918***	-0.436***	0.473***	0.330**
Non professional status	0.480***	0.627***	0.962***	0.493***	0.202*	0.430***	0.492***
Other	-	0.347	0.960**	0.776**	0.067	0.380	0.394
<i>Cohabitation</i>							
Alone (ref.)							
With partner, no children	1.749***	1.063***	1.233***	1.244***	1.015***	1.569***	1.488***
Neither partner, nor children	0.356	-0.342	-0.425***	0.097	0.115	0.269	0.078
No partner, with children	0.297	0.342	0.204	0.540**	0.324***	0.751***	0.646**
With partner and children	1.206***	0.825***	1.000***	1.521***	0.370***	1.456***	1.294***
<i>Where children live</i>							
No children (ref.)							
All children in Italy	-1.126***	-0.661***	-0.454**	-0.261	-0.534***	-0.377*	-0.588***
All children abroad	-0.371**	-0.246*	-0.327***	-0.223**	-0.207*	-0.168	-0.444***
Other	-	-1.224	-0.909***	0.298	-0.022	-0.724	-

*: $p < 0.1$; **: $p < 0.05$; ***: $p < 0.01$

Source: elaboration on ORIM data.

The effect of the occupational status is more interesting as regards the research questions advanced beforehand. Along the whole interval under observation, immigrants regularly employed and self-employed had more chances to be homeowners compared to the unemployed. However, during the recession phase (2009-10), the coefficient becomes not significant for the former (lasting to the last period) and negative for the latter (starting from 2011-12 the coefficient is positive but considerably lower than before).

Finally, confirming previous results (Gobillon and Sovignac, 2015; Constant et al., 2009), the length of stay in Italy is always positively associated to homeownership, although during the recession phase its impact is definitely lower.

5. Decomposition

In order to decompose the HOR variation, two periods were distinguished: 2001-2007 and 2008-2015. Moreover, the variation was decomposed with respect to some of the main factors affecting homeownership, based on the results of the logistic regression. According to Table 2, the intra-cohort effect definitely prevails against the cohort replacement effect, regardless of the period and the considered dimension (variable), except for the years since migration and irregularity in the second period. Hence, the difference in the HOR is ascribable mainly to the difference in the specific homeownership rate at the two time points. Although the migrant population living in Lombardy has deeply modified over the analysed period, the difference in the composition of the population has had a negligible effect on the HOR.

For the first period, the signs of the two components are the same (both positive) indicating that replacement cohort effect and intra-cohort variation act in the same direction affecting the HOR positively. The sole exceptions are the origin and the educational variables: although the cohort effect is negligible, it is negative. On the contrary, for the second period the two components are generally discordant with the exception of origin: the intra-cohort effect is higher and negative, while the cohort replacement effect is positive and very small. The process of the population's settlement (family reunification, increase in the inactive population due to the presence of children and reunited wives), only slightly contrasts the changes in the homeownership preference.

Unsurprisingly, the decomposition according to the variable years since migration and irregularity indicates for the second period two important issues: first, the cohort effect is not negligible, thus the difference between the two components is smaller; and second, the two components are discordant. In the

second period, the median length of stay increased considerably due to the settlement of those communities with longer durations of stay and the slowdown in immigration toward Italy. According to literature, this cohort replacement should have generated a high increase in the HOR because of the strong and positive relationship between homeownership and the duration of stay. However, this did not occur due to the stronger and negative effect of the intra-cohort component: something has changed in the homeownership preference. The HOR considerably decreased between 2007-2008 and 2013-2015, despite the new arrivals and especially for those cohorts with the highest HOR, as shown in Figure 2. Similarly, the process of naturalization and acquisition of a regular status should have generated a higher increase in the homeownership rate, but this effect was mitigated by the intra-cohort component (higher and negative).

Table 2 – Algebraic decomposition of homeownership rate 2001-2015 by different cohorts. Lombardy Region.

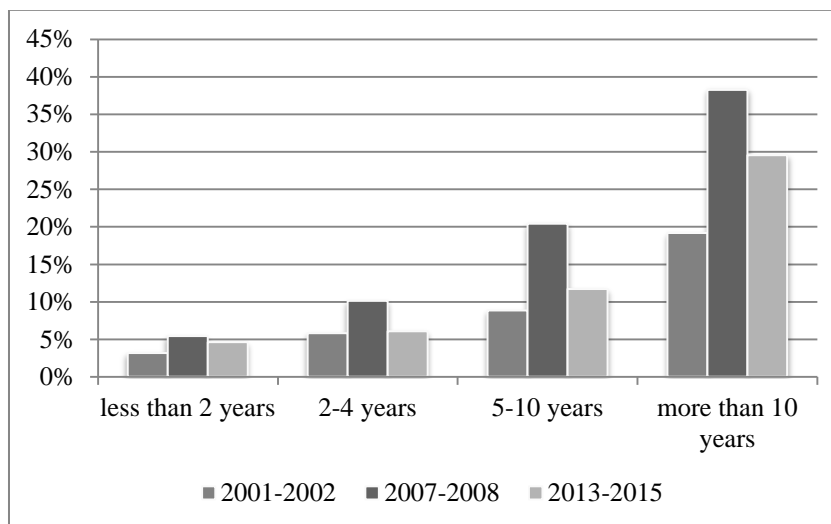
cohort	Period 2001-2002 compared to 2007-2008			Period 2007-2008 compared to 2012-2015		
	Intra-cohort effect	Cohort effect	HOR change	Intra-cohort effect	Cohort effect	HOR change
Year since migration	0.1020	0.0299		-0.0749	0.0547	
Origin	0.1396	-0.0049		-0.0131	-0.0038	
Family ²	0.1103	0.0244	0.1348	-0.0228	0.0061	-0.0168
Occupational status	0.1240	0.0123		-0.0214	0.0048	
Irregularity	0.1257	0.0119		-0.0277	0.0108	
Education	0.1328	0.0022		-0.0143	-0.0017	

Source: elaboration on ORIM data.

Finally, the occupational status describes the same mechanism: between the first and second periods, the HOR decreased considerably especially among migrants characterized by higher stability (migrants regularly employed with an open-ended contract or self-employed or housewives and students). The economic crisis that affected the labour market with an increase in unemployment and a reduction in the open-ended contracts did not reduce the HOR. Indeed, the cohort replacement effect is positive (although small). The overall difference is rather to be ascribed to differences in the specific HOR between 2007-2008 and 2013-2015.

² For the family variable, the following categories were considered: all family members in emigration, transnational family, other (not married, migrants without partner and children in Italy; this category includes also migrants living in Italy with relatives, sometimes parents).

Figure 2 – *Percentage of homeowner migrants by years since migration and period. Lombardy Region. Years: 2001-2015.*



Source: elaboration on ORIM data.

6. Conclusion

The study identifies the main factors impacting on homeownership during the period 2001-2015 with the aim to decompose the variation of the HOR over time into two components: the structural variation (cohort replacement) and the ‘pure’ propensity to homeownership (intra-cohort variation).

Comparing results for the two periods (2001-2007 and 2008-2015) - chosen so that the influence of the economic crisis could emerge - the intra-cohort effect definitely prevails against the cohort replacement effect, regardless of the period and the decomposition variable considered, except for the years since migration and legal status during 2008-2015. Hence, differences in the HOR are mainly due to differences in the homeownership propensity, while variations in population composition have a negligible effect. In particular, during the first interval, both components affect the HOR positively, and this seems to match the literature on this subject; in the second period the cohort replacement effect (positive and very small) only slightly mitigates the intra-cohort effect (higher and negative). These results show that something has changed in the immigrant propensity to homeownership after 2007. Moreover, this change has particularly affected the most stable immigrants (regularly employed with an open-ended contract or self-employed or housewives and students).

In conclusion, results indicate an important change in the homeownership propensity, possibly linked to a more important change in migration projects, the latter caused by the economic recession occurred starting from the end of 2007.

This evidence deserves to be fully investigated by further analyses taking into consideration the relationship between homeownership and migratory intention.

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SUMMARY

Immigrants' home-ownership decision in migration projects. Subjective determinants and external constraints

According to the data of the 2001-2015 ISMU-ORIM Surveys, the propensity towards homeownership among immigrants in Lombardy increased until 2007. Since 2009 this propensity has decreased, and it continues to decrease, although at a slower pace. This work examined the main determinants of the attitude towards homeownership, in order to identify the factors responsible for the variations detected during the period observed. Therefore, the homeownership rate (HOR) variation was decomposed into two components: the structural variation that affects yearly population (cohort replacement) and the residual 'pure' propensity to homeownership. The results highlighted that differences in the HOR are mainly due to differences in the homeownership propensity, while variations in population composition have a negligible effect except for variables associated with family settlement for the second period. This could be considered as a sign that something has changed in migration projects.

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THE PERCEPTION OF FOREIGNERS IN NORTHEAST ITALY

Nidia Batic

1. Introduction

Friuli Venezia Giulia is an Italian border region (Austria and Slovenia), and is also a highly attractive immigration territory: on 31 December 2015, 8.6% of the regional population was foreign, compared to 8.3% on the national level (www.tuttitalia.it). But the area also has a tourist vocation: in 2015 there were 1,104,118 arrivals of foreigners, accounting for 50.6% of total arrivals, with an increase of 5.2% over the previous year (Bolzonello, 2016). The presence of foreigners in numerous research facilities and in educational institutions, representing important poles of attraction on an international level, is also significant¹.

This context has given rise to the need to understand the perception that people have of who is considered "foreign."

2. Objectives, instrument and method

The goal of this research was to build an outline of the foreigner, as it appears in the perceptions and experiences of the people of Friuli Venezia Giulia, a land in which we are accustomed to meeting foreigners, sharing with them work or study experiences².

For this purpose a questionnaire with 12 items was designed, divided into four sections: 1) identification of the foreigner; 2) personal data; 3) a semantic

¹For example: the ICTP (The Abdus Salam International Centre for Theoretical Physics), the Institute of Crystallography of the CNR, the ISM (Institute of Structure of Matter CNR), the Consortium for the AREA of scientific and technological research Trieste, the Elettra Synchrotron Trieste-SCpA, ICGEB - International Centre for Genetic Engineering and Biotechnology, the INAF-Osservatorio Astronomico di Trieste, SISSA - International School for Advanced Studies. Just to name a few. The list is completed by the Base aerea NATO present in the town of Aviano (PN) and the CARA (reception center for asylum seekers) of Gradisca (GO).

² In 2014 the pupils and foreign students enrolled in schools in the region were 11.7% (Medeossi, 2014).

differential on 22 bipolar scales; 4) a battery of 19 statements about foreigners, where people expressed their level of agreement.

The working hypothesis guiding the structure of the questionnaire was to verify whether there are generational and gender differences, in the way the "foreigner" is perceived, with particular reference to the definition of "foreigner", including provenance, distinctive features and emotional reactions to them.

The questionnaire was administered³ to a sample of people, contacted⁴ in public places and with a rational criterion for stratification by gender and age group, with the following constraints: 1) persons of at least 19 years in age in 2015; 2) 15 males and 15 females per interviewer; 3) five subjects per ten-year age group, from 19-28 years, the eldest group being from 69 years up.

The validated questionnaires total 1,854.

Despite the known limitations of a non probabilistic survey, it is believed that the results obtained provide interesting insights into the phenomenon studied.

3. Data analysis and hypothesis testing

The sample was 49.9% male and 50.1% female, with an average age of 48.6 at the end of 2015. The geographic distribution of the sample essentially reflects that of the resident population in the region on 31 December 2015.

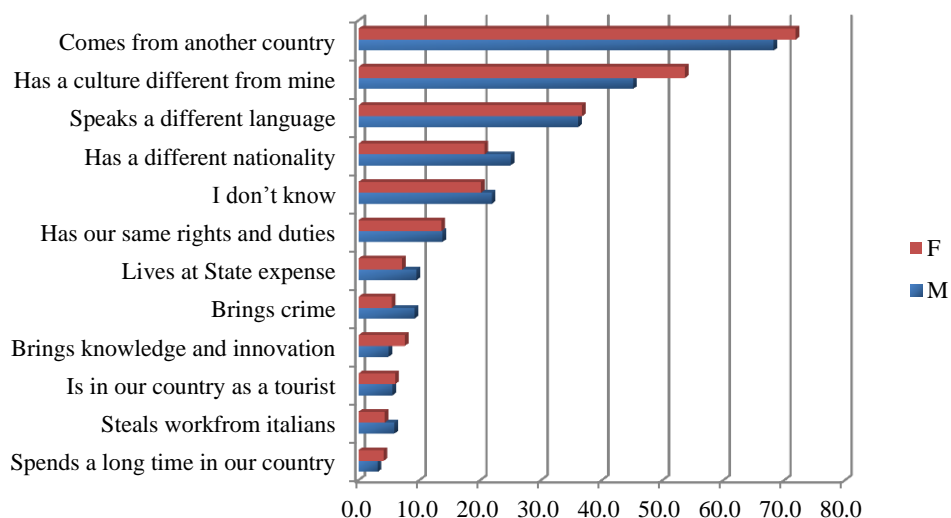
3.1. Definition of "foreigner"

From an initial analysis (Fig. 1) (up to three responses were possible) the results showed that a foreigner is one who "comes from another country" (70.1%) and "has a culture different from mine" (49, 5%). Linguistic diversity counts for 36.5%. Interestingly, the 21.0% defines as "foreign" all people who respondents do not know; this means that for one-fifth of the respondents "the other" is a foreigner simply because they do not know him, regardless of other elements of a personal or cultural nature. Less than 10% believe that a foreigner is a person who lives at the expense of the state (8.4%), is involved in criminal behavior (7.3%) or brings knowledge and innovation (6.3%). A few people, when asked to define a "foreigner", think of him or her as a tourist (5.8%), or as one who steals Italians jobs (5.1%).

Figure 1 - *Definition of foreigner by gender*

³The questionnaire was completed in the presence of the interviewer, who read the questions out loud.

⁴The interviews were carried out by students of the School of Primary Education, University of Udine during the month of December 2015.



An analysis of the responses by gender reveals a substantial convergence of views between males and females, with two exceptions: more females than males believe that a distinctive feature of the foreigner is represented by the diversity of culture ($\chi^2 = 13.31$) while more males than females associate the spread of crime with the presence of foreigners ($\chi^2 = 9.41$)⁵.

How else can a foreigner be described? There are many other, equally interesting descriptions. A foreigner is one who: is stateless; is enriched by his or her diversity; does not fit and does not respect the host country; must accept the laws and customs of the host country. Additionally, the description of the foreigner depends on the place of origin and it depends on the situation, whether bringing crime and / or knowledge. It is a person who comes from outside of the western world, someone fleeing war, or bringing experiences and culture. But above all a foreigner "is a normal person".

When considering respondent age, the connotations used to describe foreign people are consistent across groups. The only statistically significant differences relate to two opinions of people aged 69 years or more. Fewer of them respond that a foreigner "comes from another country" (62.9% against an average of

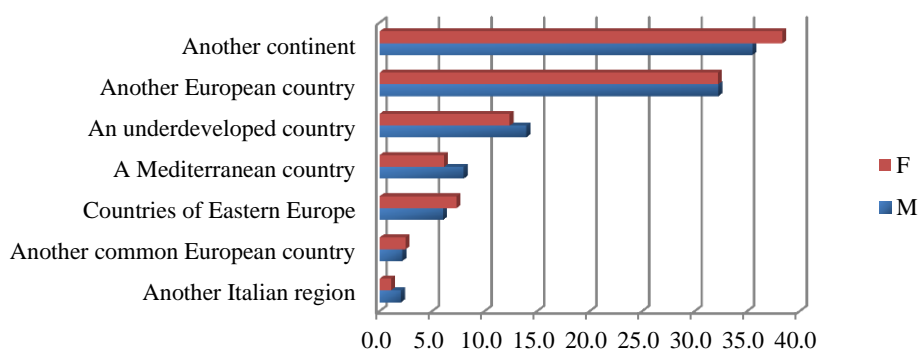
⁵To test the gender and age differences in response to the various items, the chi-squared test was applied, using a significance level for all of 0.05. Unless otherwise indicated, for each item of the multiple choice questions a 2x2 matrix was built with the answers "yes" and "no" for the gender (critical value of χ^2 with df = 1 is equal to 3.84) and one for the 6 age groups (critical value of χ^2 with df = 5 is equal to 11.07). In the text the values of the calculated test are written in the brackets.

70.1%) ($\chi^2 = 18,03$), while most of the others are convinced that foreigners live on the back of the host country (14.3% on an average of 8.4%) ($\chi^2 = 20.24$).

3.2. Origin of the "foreigner"

The hypothesis that the distance of the source country is a key element in the definition of foreigner status is confirmed, but, as can be seen (Fig. 2), this perception can be represented by a kind of cumulative scale of distances, where higher levels are also inclusive of the lower levels overall, 69.1% believe that foreigners are those who were born in a European country or beyond. But there is also a minority (3.9%) that considers as "foreigner" anyone who comes from another municipality or Italian region.

Figure 2 – Distance of the source country



A gender analysis does not show a statistically significant⁶ difference of opinions, but it is noted that the same views are not shared among the different generations responding⁷. In particular, young people aged 19 to 38 indicate, with a higher percentage than the other age groups, that foreigners come from another European country (36.0%), while only 27.3% of 69 year olds (and older) provide such information. By contrast, 11.2% of people between 19 and 38 indicate that a foreigner comes from underdeveloped countries, while the percentage rises to 23.1% among those 69 years and over.

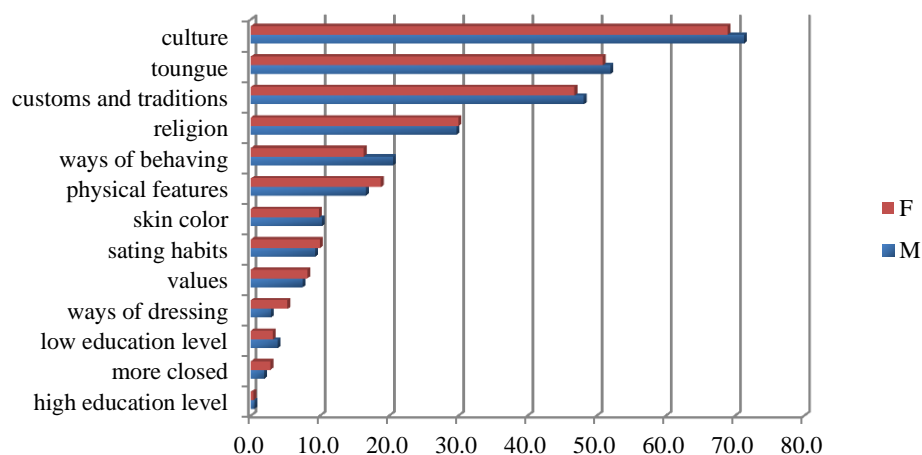
⁶Chi-square test, with d.f. = 6, $\alpha = 0.05$, critical value = 12.59, calculated value = 8.31.

⁷Chi-square test, with d.f. = 30, $\alpha = 0.05$, critical value = 43.77, calculated value = 67.66.

3.3. Differences compared to a foreigner

65.5% of respondents agree that a foreigner is "different", with no gender differences in the distribution of responses ($\chi^2 = 0.51$). There are also no differences of opinion across the different age groups ($\chi^2 = 10.75$), with the clearly emerging opinion that more than anything else it is cultural factors that define these differences (70.1%). Figure 3 shows how language (51.5%) and customs and traditions (47.4%) characterize the peculiarities of a foreigner, while little importance is given to the educational level (high or low). Less than a third (29.8%) associate with the idea of a foreigner a person of a different religion. Men and women feel the same way, with the only exception for women, who look at the style of dress in a more significant way (5.3%) than men (2.9%). However, in absolute terms, these cases are few (18 males and 32 females). Considering the age distribution, there are significant differences. As age decreases, so does the idea that culture represents an element of diversity of the foreigners (78.2% of the youngest versus 55.8% of 69+) ($\chi^2 = 42,77$) as well as the belief that customs and traditions are elements of diversity (50.8% of the youngest versus 38.5% of 69+) ($\chi^2 = 11.82$).

Figure 3 – Elements of foreigner diversity



In other cases, with increasing age there is an increase in the perception of diversity in foreigners with reference to skin color ($\chi^2 = 22.34$), modes of dress ($\chi^2 = 15,89$), eating habits ($\chi^2 = 12,66$) and low education ($\chi^2 = 12.07$).

3.4. Emotional relationship with the "foreigner"

Before exploring the emotional dimension evoked by the concept of "foreigner", it is important to point out that 59.1% have at least one foreign friend (with an average of 4 per capita), while people who, for work or study, know at least one foreigner are 73.4% (an average of 9 each).

The use of semantic differential technique (Osgood et al, 1957) made it possible to bring out the emotional dimension of the relationship of the inhabitants of Friuli Venezia Giulia toward "foreigners", through 22 bipolar adjectival scales at seven positions. A first analysis of the average profiles show that responses are contained within a narrow average range (from 3.2 to 4.6), but with different variabilities. The average higher variability describes them as men rather than women and, at the other extreme, "little", useful, warm, and dark (Tab. 1).

Table 1 – Average profiles of bipolar scales on the concept of foreigner"

Bipolar scales	mean	Bipolar scales	mean	Bipolar scales	mean
woman - man	4,6	weak - strong	4,0	educated - rude	3,8
white - black	4,5	cultured- ignorant	3,9	dirty - clean	3,7
trust - distrust	4,5	open - close	3,9	too many - little	3,7
security - insecurity	4,4	resident - tourist	3,9	host - rejection	3,6
tranquility - fear	4,3	activ - lazy	3,8	useful - useless	3,5
unsympathetic-sympathetic	4,1	good - bad	3,8	hot - cold	3,5
beautiful - ugly	4,1	honest-dishonest	3,8	dark - light	3,2
integrated- marginalized	4,0				

The scales were subjected to factor analysis. After eliminating those with double saturation, it was re-applied to the 18 remaining scales and a total of three factors were extracted, explaining 48.4% of the observed variability⁸ (Tab. 2). The first factor suggests a representation of foreigners absolutely positive and reassuring, identified with the first adjectives, *honesty and goodness*. The foreigner is honest, good, educated, inspires trust and security, is to be welcomed and integrated. He or she is cultured, beautiful and useful and, contrary to what emerges from the analysis of the declared opinions, the foreigner is not lazy. The second factor is represented by a few adjectives that describe the *personality* of the foreigner: light, white, woman, and cold. The third factor is correlated with the *presence* of too many foreigners who are residents, not tourists. By the application of factor analysis by gender there is no difference between male and female

⁸The analysis of main components was applied and the factor matrix was rotated with the Varimax method in order to make the axis perpendicular to the factors. The factors with eigenvalue greater than or equal to 1 were extracted.

responses (with an almost perfect overlap of the factorial profiles). On the other side, the factor analysis applied to the different age groups shows, first, the presence of four factors. For all classes of age the first factor contains all the scales present in the global factorial analysis, but at each age group the first adjectives change order, so we have, in order of age, the distribution presented in table 3.

Table 2 - Factor analysis of the perception of "foreigner"

	Fattori		
	Honesty and goodness	personality	presence
honest-dishonest	,759	,012	,057
good - bad	,746	-,014	,028
educated - rude	,742	,034	,013
trust - distrust	,735	,143	-,021
host - rejection	,719	,079	-,018
security - insecurity	,702	,124	-,062
tranquility - fear	,700	,187	-,042
activ - lazy	,657	,070	,044
cultured - ignorant	,655	,139	,180
useful - useless	,651	-,020	-,013
beautiful - ugly	,597	,151	,066
integrated - marginalized	,440	,147	,258
dark - light	-,135	-,766	-,039
white - black	,347	,681	,059
woman - man	,275	,477	-,159
hot - cold	,299	-,464	,076
too many - little	-,098	,087	,850
resident - tourist	,131	-,255	,487

Table 3 – Factors for age groups

Age group	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4
19 – 28	goodness/honesty	personality	presence	residence
29 – 38	confidence	personality	heat	presence
39 – 48	honesty	personality	residence	presence
49 – 58	education	personality	presence	residence
59 – 68	hospitality	personality	presence	residence
69 and up	safety	personality	integration	presence

As shown above, the second factor for all groups identifies with the *personality*, and for all the binomial light and white is present. As per *presence* there is a widespread perception that foreigners are too numerous, with only one turnaround for people between 59 and 68 years, for whom foreigners are few. In the factor

residence as well as in the overall analysis, the scale resident / tourist is always present and the foreigner is considered a resident, not a tourist.

3.5. Opinions and attitudes towards foreigners

There were 19 statements proposed about foreigners and their relationship with the society that welcomes them. On a scale of 6 positions respondents indicated the degree of agreement or disagreement with the item. For the purposes of data analysis the dichotomy of answers was used, by combining the steps of agreement and those of disagreement. Opinions are basically grouped into five thematic areas: behaviors, culture, integration, rights, and work. The percentages indicate responses to the statements, unless otherwise indicated.

Behaviors. From a behavioral perspective the problem most heard (just under two thirds of respondents) is that foreigners are often intrusive (64.6%) and aggravate the problems of public policy (62.5%). The sample is divided almost in half on the opinion that foreigners introduce into our country dangerous ideologies (56.2% agreement), and also on the opinion that foreigners bring and spread disease (43.5% agreement). 59.8% think that foreigners do not introduce new fashions.

Culture. It is believed that foreigners bond with their traditions too strongly (76.9%), and that this could put the Italian cultural identity at risk (56.5%). At the same time, they should be free to maintain their cultural characteristics (61.5%), considering the fact that their full integration would bring cultural richness to our society (72.0%) as well as new stimuli⁹.

Integration. There is a very clear position for the statement that "immigrants should live in separate quarters", where there is a clear disagreement (85.0%), showing the propensity for integration of foreigners, starting with the opportunity to not live in separate residential areas. Less marked is the difference between how many agree (45.5%) and disagree (54.5%) with the need to close the borders to prevent the immigration of other foreigners.

Rights. There is an overwhelming majority of respondents (albeit with varying degrees of agreement) who consider it necessary to check on foreigners, both in regard to their respect for the laws governing the social life of Italians (worthy of expulsion, 87.6%) and in regard to the economic activities that take place in our country (81.7%). There is also agreement with the need to afford foreign immigrants the same rights to Italian jobs (73.9%), yet in general, to afford foreigners the same rights only if they fit our way of life (59.6% agreement).

⁹The two very similar statements ("They bring new cultural stimuli" and "The full integration of foreign immigrants bring cultural enrichment to society") were positioned at distant points of the questionnaire for a feedback control. In fact the percentages of agreement are very similar.

Work. The stereotype of a foreigner who takes away the job of an Italian is not confirmed, as 45.8% think in such way, while 54.2% reject this idea (keeping in mind that the different degrees of agreement and disagreement were grouped together in just two response types). The same goes for the idea that foreigners have little desire to work (44.1% agree and 55.9% do not). Instead, the contribution they can make to the economic development of our country is recognized (55.4%).

From the point of view of gender, among all the areas considered, the differences of opinions between males and females who are within 3 points of difference between the mean values emerge. More differentiated opinions are age-related: in general, there are variations with a stable trend as you move from group to group. The more adult / elderly people demonstrate a higher degree of agreement than younger participants that: foreigners often display behavior that is too attached to their traditions and could jeopardize the cultural integrity of the country; steal work from Italians; introduce dangerous ideologies into our country; aggravate problems of public order; spread diseases; have little desire to work; should be subjected to greater controls on their economic activity in Italy; should be afforded the same rights as Italian citizens only if they fit with our way of life; should live in separate neighborhoods; should be expelled if they do not respect our laws; and that the borders should be closed to prevent the immigration of other foreigners. On the other hand, more older people than younger ones disagree that foreigners bring new cultural stimuli, contribute to the economic development of our country, introduce new fashions, and have the right to maintain their own cultural characteristics .

4. Conclusions

The opinions of respondents are undoubtedly affected by their individual experiences, but it is reasonable to think that, beyond those, there are feelings and attitudes that are common ways to relate to foreigners by the regional population.

Interestingly, the perceived distance, of where to place the foreigner, does not correspond to a correct geographical distance. In fact, few report Eastern European countries (6.7%) or those in the Mediterranean (7.1%) as “no longer foreigners”, while Europeans are reported as “no longer foreigners” (32.2%). It may highlight that the younger generations seem more oriented towards recognizing as a “foreigner” anyone from another European country, with increasing ages, a lower proportion of people provide such a response. We do not have elements to explain these percentages (it was not among the aims of the research) but they definitely stimulate interesting considerations about the sense of belonging to the European

Community of the respondents, and the relationships that might connect the natives of the different Community countries.

A third of respondents say that there are no particular aspects that make a foreigner "different", neither language nor religion, nor facial features or culture, showing an attitude of openness towards all people, regardless of their origins and habits - a welcoming attitude criss-crossing gender and generations.

Less than a third (29.8%) associated the foreigner to a different religion and this element is in accordance with the hypothesis that the foreigner is different from us, especially in language, culture and religion.

The attitude towards foreigners often appears contradictory. The respondents do not want to isolate them but, at the same time, they partially agree on a choice of closing the borders to curb immigration. There are fears of cultural influences, yet at the same time it is hoped that foreigners do not lose their cultural identity. It is feared as too strong a link with the traditions of the country of origin, but at the same time it is recognized that their integration would bring cultural enrichment to our society (in line with the investigation of the 2006 about immigrants, Brandi). In fact an explanation in strictly personal factors might be found. Older adults and / the elderly reflect the stereotypes of those who view a certain mistrust and closure towards foreigners, while in the younger generation, although such views are also present, they are less definite, and more - in favor of greater openness (Bonifazi, Cerbara, 1999). What has been found here also confirms the fact that the public perception of foreigners is influenced by the presence of prejudice: where present the foreigner is seen as a threat, if absent the foreigner is seen as the bearer of social change (Liguori, Cattani 2007).

The "explicit" statements do not seem to be reconciled with those latent dimensions explored by the factor analysis, which bring out very positive profiles, the best qualities of "foreigners." For all groups, regardless of gender or generation, they are correlated firstly with the factors of honesty, kindness, trust, acceptance and security (for example) and "personality" factor identify all foreigners with "light" and "white". Yet for all categories there are "too many" foreigners present (in accordance with the opinion of 64.2% of respondents in a survey about immigrants, Brandi, 2006), but when they think of a foreigner they do not think of a tourist, but of a person who resides in their country. These results confirm what has already appeared in a study in the municipality of Prata di Pordenone, in which foreigners were described through education factors, friendliness, diligence, openness (Batic, 2011).

Finally, we might conclude that those interviewed represent a population raised and educated with values such as respect for others, whoever they are and whatever diversity they bring. A foreigner may be the neighbor unknown to us, or whoever comes from another continent. Each must be given space, rights and protections. A

foreigner can bring wealth to the country, but also crime. He or she should not be ghettoized, but must respect the host country, or be expelled and returned to the native country.

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SUMMARY

The perception of foreigner in northeast Italy

The Friuli Venezia Giulia region is highly attractive for immigration, but the region is also a tourist destination: in 2015 there were 1,104,118 foreign arrivals (+ 5.2% over the previous year) and in the region they are present in research facilities and internationally renowned training institutions.

The goal of this research was to explore the perception that people have of "foreigners", which traits characterize them, what feelings they evoke. To this end, a brief questionnaire was administered to a purposive sample and the valid questionnaires total are 1.854. Despite the known limitations of a non probabilistic survey, it is believed that the results obtained can provide interesting insights into the phenomenon studied.

The foreigner is mostly one who "comes from another continent" but many persons, especially young people, indicate as "foreigners" the natives of other European countries, and this stimulates interesting considerations about the sense of belonging to the European Community of the respondents and the relationship that should tie the natives of the different Community countries.

A third of respondents believe that there are no elements that make a foreigner "different", while for the others the differences are mainly due to the culture, language, customs, and religion.

The "declared" attitude reveals a generational difference (but not gender) against those who are foreigners: adults and elderly are more related to the stereotypes that guide the views to a certain mistrust and closure to foreigners. The new generations, however, also hold some of those views, but they seem to be in favor of greater openness. Across the latent attitudes which emerge from the factor analysis, very positive profiles: the best qualities of "foreigner" are brought out. For all, regardless of gender or age, the first factor of honesty, kindness, trust, acceptance and security (to name a few) and the "personality traits" "clear" and "white" are all correlated to the idea of the "foreigner". Foreigners are considered to be "too present", and are less thought of as tourists than as people who reside in the country.

CHANGES ON FIRST UNION DYNAMICS: HIGHLIGHTS OF A COMPARATIVE STUDY BETWEEN ITALY AND SPAIN.

Thaís García-Pereiro, Roberta Pace

1. Introduction

During the second half of the 20th century, the social institution of family underwent fundamental changes in most Western Societies. Family related behaviors and norms were transformed pretty quickly and, as a consequence, the typical sequence of family transitions (getting marriage and having children) was also transformed, losing its unique character. As expected, first union formation patterns have also changed: significant delays on events such as leaving the parental home and entering the labor market have undoubtedly generated a sort of adaptation, stimulating the emergence of new family forms and the postponement of the entry into the first union.

It is nowadays the norm for young adults living in Italy and Spain to delay union formation, postpone having children, have high rates of divorce and have an increasing percentage of children born outside marriage (Baizán et al, 2003; Billari, 2004). The lowest-low fertility patterns, one of the most often cited demographic features of Southern European countries, is a result of the postponement of first union formation and childbearing (Kohler et al., 2002). The changing patterns of union formation, characterized by a high number of divorces and separations, the emergence of non-marital cohabitation and the late union formation, especially of marriage, suggest the existence of a South European model of demographic behaviors regarding family and couple issues. Italy and Spain have undergone all the above-mentioned trends, however, it would be interesting to go deeper on the subject to corroborate (or not) if such similarities are also observed in more specific socio-demographic behaviors such as the first entry into different types of co-residential partnerships (cohabitation and marriage).

Despite recent changes that have taken place recently, Southern Europe remains portrayed as “traditional” in family and union formation patterns (Reher, 1998). Thus, it is imperative to test empirically the extent of such changes examining the evolution of those behaviors related to family and union formation. The central purpose of this paper is to examine the incidence and timing of first union formation in Spain and Italy using a biographical comparative approach. This paper

replicates some empirical analyses of first cohabitations in Hungary (Spèder, 2005) and Germany and France (Köeppen, 2011) to contrast the observed patterns within a wider European context.

In order to compare union formation dynamics in Spain and Italy, this paper is divided in five sections. The second section identifies the order of first union formation within the sequences' framework of certain life course events (such as leaving the parental home, having the first job, among others), determining also the transformation on the timing of such events among cohorts of women born between 1947 and 1976. The third section demonstrates marriage delay in both countries through cohorts' comparisons of the cumulative percentages of ever married women. On the fourth section is developed a descriptive Event History Analysis using the Kaplan and Meier survival curves to study first union transitions in Italy and Spain, again disaggregating the analysis by birth cohorts. Once examined the most characteristic features of first union formation, the sections five and six are dedicated to the measurement of the incidence and outcomes of first union's that have been started as non-marital cohabitations.

In the case of Spain, data are drawn from the last Family and Fertility Survey conducted in 2006 by the Spanish Sociological Center for Research (CIS). For Italy, data come from the Indagine Multiscopo sulle Famiglie e Soggetti Sociali carried out in 2003. Both surveys ask similar questions about union histories and socio-demographic variables of interest so it was possible to follow the same definitions on the analyses. For comparative reasons, female population aged 15 and over of both surveys was selected.

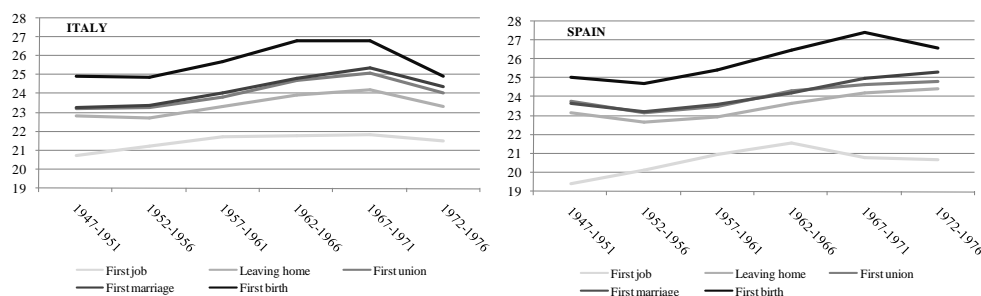
2. The sequence of first union related life-course events

Recently, the youngest cohorts have undergone crucial transformations concerning the transition to adulthood, more specifically regarding the timing and sequencing of several transitions. Young adults have extended the time spend in education and have delayed the emancipation process, first union entry and new paternities or maternities (Elzinga and Liefbroer, 2007; Liefbroer and De Jong Gierveld, 1995). Despite the different explanations given by the literature, there is no doubt about the increasing diversity and complexity of life-course events in younger generations.

Figure 1 shows the mean ages at certain first-life events of women in Italy and Spain for the generations born between 1947 and 1976. The Figure evidences a clear sequence of events during the life course: having the first job, followed by leaving the parental home, the first union (or marriage) and the first birth. However, it is observed also an obvious postponement of such events illustrated by

an increasing trend¹ on their mean age among cohorts, delays that characterize Southern European societies (Billari, 2004; Baizán et al., 2003).

Figure 1 –Italy and Spain. Mean age at certain life course events.



Source: Own elaboration EFFV2006 and Multiscopo 2003.

As in France and Germany (Köeppen, 2011) also in Italy and Spain the first event experienced by women is entering the labor market, which is lived around the age of 20 years-old. Nonetheless, the increase of the mean age until the fourth cohort under study is sharper in Spain than in Italy. The decrease of the mean age at first job observed for women born after 1966 could be an indicator of the difficulties that face younger generations since the nineties when trying to access the labor market.

Leaving the parental home always succeeds first employment. The mean age at leaving home has been increasing over generations in both countries: from 23.2 for the cohort 1947-1951 to 24.4 for those born between 1972-1976 in Spain; and from 22.8 (1947-1951) to 24.2 for the cohort 1967-1971 in Italy.

Regarding first marriage, the tendency is similar between both countries. The mean age has been rising in successive cohorts –from around 23 to 25 years old. While ages at first marriage and at first union have been the same for women born before 1962 in Spain and Italy, women who were born afterwards are to some extent older at their first marriage than at the beginning of their first union. This difference highlights a change on first union patterns in which starting a co-residential couple does not necessarily means direct marriage, but a period of un-marital cohabitation that precedes marriage (Köeppen, 2011).

Starting with the 1952-1956 generation, a significant grow in the age at first birth is observed: in both countries the age at having the first child has increased

¹ The slight decrease on mean ages observed for the last cohort in both countries (but especially in Italy) is due to the level of risk-exposure of the youngest generation. These women had 30-34 years at the time of the interview in Spain, and 27-31 years in Italy, so a part of them are still at risk of experience for the first time such events.

from less than 25 to 27 years for women born at the end of the 1960's. From the analysis is also observed that in both Italy and Spain, the traditional pattern of being married before having a child still preserves, even if the growing gap between mean ages at first union and birth shows that women in Spain remain longer childless within the union.

Changes in mean ages show that there is a later start at important events of the life course of Spanish and Italian women and given such changes, union and family formation dynamics have also been postponed.

3. Entering first marriage

The empirical evidence of the last decades uses two main indicators to illustrate the typical changes occurred in contemporary union formation patterns. On the one hand, the decline in marriage rates and, on the other, the postponement of first marriages. Nowadays, increasingly fewer people get marry and do so at later ages.

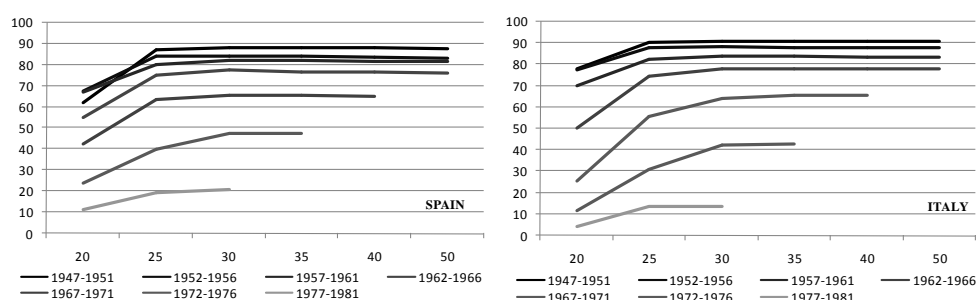
The delay in the marriage timing began in Europe shortly after the time when marriage rates began to decline. Thanks to this combination of delay and decrease, the proportion of married persons has dropped rapidly. This decrease is even more visible in women and men under 30 years old (Sobotka and Toulemon, 2008).

In Southern European countries, the increase on the age of residential emancipation has influenced the rapid growth of the mean age at first marriage, especially in these countries where the delay of first union entries is closely linked to the postponement of the emancipation process (Billari, 2004).

The cumulative percentages of ever married women at certain ages by selected birth cohorts show in Figure 2 were calculated following the methodology applied by Köeppen (2011). While 87.1% of all Spanish women born between 1947 and 1951 were married at the age of 25, women born between 1967 and 1971 married only to 42.5% at the same age. The percentage of ever married females is higher in Italy but has also experienced a considerable decrease: from 90.5% to 55.7%, respectively.

Moreover, those born in the late 60's not only get married at older ages but also stay unmarried more than older cohorts: at age 40, the percentage of ever married for the first cohort was 88,1% in Spain and 90,9% in Italy; while the values for the generation 1967-1971 were around 65% for both countries. In line with the trend observed in other European countries, this does not mean that in Spain and Italy younger women remain single in a greater extend, but certainly these women marry less and at older ages (Spèder, 2005; Koeppen, 2011).

Figure 2 – Spain and Italy. Cumulative percentages of ever married women (first union) by birth cohort.



Source: Own elaboration EFFV2006 and Multiscopo 2003.

4. First union transition

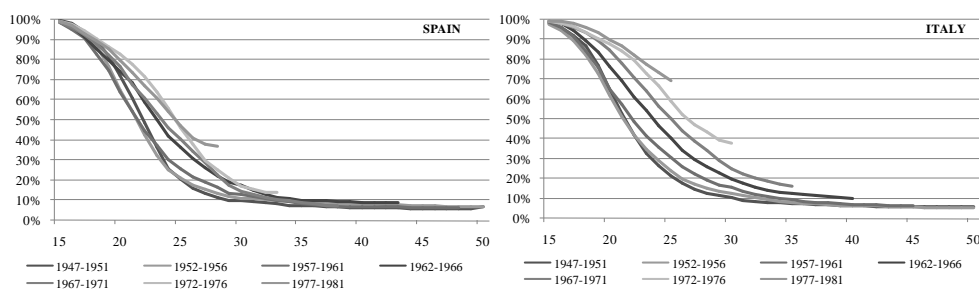
A descriptive analysis of the transition to first unions (both cohabitation and marriage) gives some clues about the timing of first union dynamics. Following the analysis used by Spèder (2005), the purpose of this subsection is to answer: how first union formation has changed among generations of women in Spain and Italy? The process time for the transition to first union is defined as the duration between the 15th birthday of the respondent until first union entry, counted in years. Cases are censored at the year of the interview (2006 for Spain and 2003 for Italy).

Figure 3 displays the Kaplan-Meier survival curves regarding first union entries by birth cohorts in Spain and Italy. Two main developments are observed: first, and related to the findings of the above section, women do not stay single more often. In fact, only 6% (cohort 1947-1951) to 7% (1957-1961) both in Spain and Italy, respectively, had not entered yet to their first union at age 40. Secondly, women continue to postpone union formation. At 25 years old, 79% of women born between 1947 and 1951 in Spain and 78% in Italy were already in union, while the percentage for women born in the late 60's was nearly 60% in Spain and 50% in Italy. However, the postponement is more evident in Italy where by the same age (25), only 41% of the generation 1972-1976 had entered the first union, while the value for Spain is approximately 53%.

The decrease in the proportion of women who have entered first union at a certain age is observed for the first time in the cohort 1962-1966 and this proportion declines in all subsequent cohorts analyzed in both countries. According to Spèder (2005), in Hungary the decline is observed in the cohorts of women born

in the late sixties and early seventies, a successive cohort if compared to Spain and Italy.

Figure 3 – Spain and Italy. Kaplan-Meier survival curves for the transition to first union by birth cohorts.



Source: Own elaboration EFFV2006 and Multiscopo 2003.

5. Unions started as non-marital cohabitation

The hegemony of the marital institution is decreasing, and diverse forms of living arrangements have spread rapidly. Marriage is not the only, but one of the options within a wider range of possibilities. Among these, cohabitation has gained importance among young generations.

In general, cohabitations have experienced a significant increase during the last decades in most Western countries. Such unions have progressively become an alternative to marriage. The explanations given by the literature have been diverse. Although the greatest support has been given to the post-modern values theories (Rindfuss and Vandenhuevel, 1990). There have been identified several types of cohabitation: as a definitive alternative to marriage, as a step in a consolidation process in which the ultimate goal is marriage and, finally, as an alternative of being single (Rindfuss and Vandenhuevel, 1990; Manning and Smock, 1995; Toulemon, 1997; Duvander, 1999; Nazio and Blossfeld, 2003).

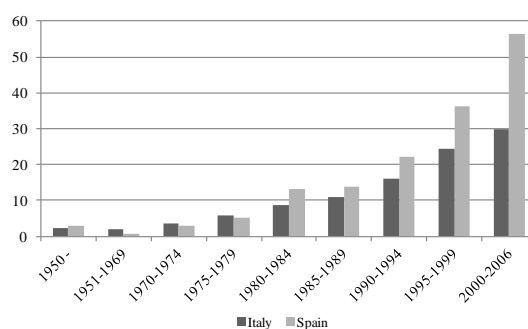
By exploring the proportion of first cohabitations (vs. first marriages) by calendar year of union formation (Figure 4) it is possible to study not only the evolution of such unions in both countries but also which part of these changes is due to unions that have been started as cohabitations instead of direct marriages (Spèder, 2005; Koeppen, 2011).

As observed in Figure 4, the proportion of first union's that began as non-marital cohabitation has increased over time even if it was not until the second half

of the 80's that was over 10% in both countries. Ten years after, the values had grown to 26% in Italy and 36% in Spain.

Until the end of 1980 the proportions show not significant differences between these countries, but since 1990 the gap between them has augmented considerably illustrating a more consolidated spread of first non-marital cohabitation in Spain. First unions started as cohabitation are much more frequent in Spain than in Italy: the preference for cohabitation in the first has experienced greater transformations after the 90's than in the second: while direct marriages represented 78% in the initial five years of the 1990 decade, at the beginning of the first millennium marriages lost its primacy. For the first time in Spain, most part of first unions formed in 2000-2006 (56.6%) were initiated as cohabitations and not as marriages. Although, it is necessary to emphasize that first cohabitations figures in Spain present a delay of at least twenty years behind other European countries. K eppen (2011) estimated that already in the first half of the eighties (1980-1984) the proportion of first cohabitations in West Germany exceeded 50%, while in France it was around 63%.

Figure 4 – *Italy and Spain. Proportion of cohabitations as first unions by cohort of the union (year of union formation).*



Source: Own elaboration EFFV2006 and Multiscopo 2003.

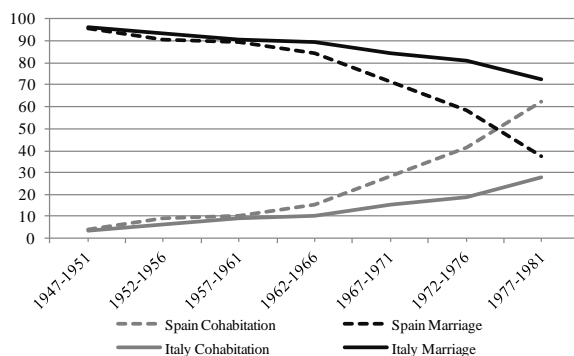
In Italy, the percentage of first cohabitations thus far is not higher than the one reached by first direct marriages. The last period under study (2000-2003) shows a 73% rate for direct marriage, but should also be considered that it is a shorter period of observation with respect to the previous ones. We could expect that more recent data will show a trend much more similar to the one observed for Spain, in which cohabitations gain importance towards marriage.

Previous research conducted for the Spanish case has confirmed the growing importance of first cohabitation in women's life courses (García Pereiro et al., 2014; 2015). Also studies on the Italian case have demonstrated that the process of

diffusion of cohabitation is underway; a slight but constant dissemination of informal unions is taking place (Rosina & Fraboni, 2004; Schröder, 2005). The confirmation is given by the increase in the proportion of women with at least one experience of cohabitation and the rapidly rise of the number of marriages preceded by cohabitation in recent years (Castiglioni & Dalla Zuanna, 2009). The 2003 FSS data indicate strong increases in cohabitation among the younger generations –the same trend reported for Spain: one out of four women born between 1970 and 1974 living in northern or central Italy started their first union with cohabitation. Though rates are rising in the South as well, but reach lower levels (Gruppo di Coordinamento per la Demografia, 2007).

As shown in Figure 5, the increase of women who start their first partnership in a consensual union both in Italy and Spain grows with every successive generation. In Italy the proportion of women who got married directly has decreased of almost 9 percentage points between the last cohorts under examination, but the increase of women who started their first unions via cohabitation is still moderate. Contrarily, in Spain the proportion of cohabitants among those born in the last cohort of study (1977-1981) reaches 62.6%, this value has tripled in three generations. For the first time, the percentage of women who decided to cohabit is higher than those who got married. This transformation illustrates an innovative and mainstream behavior in Spain, so far dominated by the central role of marriage.

Figure 5 – *Italy and Spain. Percentage distribution of women by first union type and birth cohort (only women that have entered their first union).*



Source: Own elaboration EFFV2006 and Multiscopo 2003.

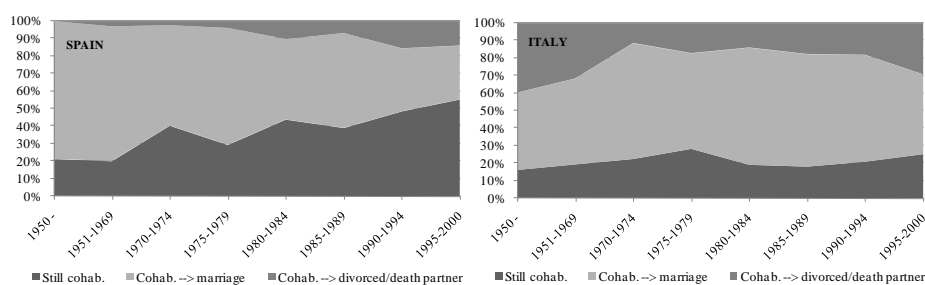
6. About first cohabitation outcomes

When considering the life course of women in Spain and Italy, transition to first partnerships has been immersed in a process of significant transformations. These changes include not solely the plain postponement of union formation (among other important life events), but also the rising and constant spread of first cohabitations in both countries. As demonstrated, the diffusion process seems to be more advanced in Spain, while in Italy is still moderate. Indeed, after 2000, the majority women in Spain initiate their first unions not as marriages but as cohabitations. In Italy, consensual unions have also augmented considerably since the nineties, but have not converged into the levels already gained in Spain.

But which are the short-term outcomes of first unions started as cohabitations? The general path in both countries regards the transformation of the union rather than its permanence over time. After five years of cohabitation, most part of consensual unions in Italy are converted into marriage (51.6%), while in Spain 38.3% end in separation. But it must also be highlighted that the percentage of couples that stay cohabiting is almost seven points higher in Spain than in Italy.

Once that cohabitation is established, the mainstream gives to these unions only a temporal significance. In Italy, first cohabitations fit into the category of pre-marital unions, also known as trial marriages (Heuveline and Timberlake, 2005; Rindfuss and VandenHeuvel, 1990). At such stage of diffusion, cohabitation within the Italian context tends to be "formalized" through marriage. Also in Spain most part of cohabitations are temporary (García Pereiro et al., 2015), given that after five years 67% have been dissolved or converted into marriage.

Figure 6 – *Spain and Italy. Outcomes of first cohabitations after five years by calendar year of union formation.*



Source: Own elaboration EFFV2006 and Multiscopo 2003.

Figure 6 shows the disaggregated analysis by calendar year of union formation in order to identify changes in the stability of such unions (Spèder, 2005). The common pattern observed in cohabitations formed before the nineties is marital

transformation. After this decade first cohabitations have shown, in Italy, an increasing instability, as reported by the rise in the percentage of cohabitations that have been dissolved; while in Spain contemporary cohabitations have gained in stability, maintaining the same form at least after the first five years.

7. Concluding remarks

Literature has found very similar developments in Italy and Spain when analyzing some demographic features. In both countries transition to adulthood has been delayed due to the postponement in other transitions: leaving school, having the first job, first union formation and first birth. Also, marriage rates have decreased and non-marital births have growth over time (Baizán et al, 2003; Billari, 2004).

Both Mediterranean countries share also a family context in which strong ties influence young adults' transition to adulthood and union formation choices; and a welfare state that provides very limited support to youth and new families. But despite these similarities, women in Spain differ from women in Italy in their union formation behavior in several ways. In this sense, both countries seem to be on different stages of cohabitation (Kiernan, 2002).

There is a clear postponement of first life-course events in both Italy and Spain among birth cohorts. Even if the sequence of such events has not changed, younger women experience every first transition later in life. Younger females get married on a lesser extend and at older ages. One of the most important findings regards the separation between first union and first marriage curves for women born at late 60's. This gap stands for the emergence of a new behavior: the decision to enter the first union not by getting married but by cohabitating.

The empirical evidence indicates as well a more consolidated spread of first cohabitations in Spain (García Pereiro et al., 2014; 2015). The main differences detected between both countries are: the higher share of first union's started as cohabitations after the nineties, the superior cohabitation incidence observed during women's life courses and, finally, the pronounced crossover among young cohorts characterized by an almost negligible difference for women who entered marriage or cohabitation in Spain. In Italy, conversely, marriage remains a still popular choice even for the younger generations.

Then, the growing popularity of first non-marital cohabitation is mostly due to the new behavior adopted by women born after the seventies. Once cohabitations are formed, its short outcomes confirm their transitory character. In Italy most part of them are transformed into marriages within the first five years, representing some kind of trial period. While in Spain the outcomes confirm a more advance

stage of diffusion in which first unions started as cohabitations are either dissolved or continue under such figure in the short term (Rindfuss and VandenHeuvel, 1990; Heuveline and Timberlake, 2005).

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SUMMARY

Changes on first union dynamics in Southern Europe. Highlights of a comparative study between Italy and Spain.

This paper analyzes and compares first union formation dynamics in Spain and Italy within a socio-demographic context of major changes characterized by delays and the emergence of new behaviors on individuals' life courses. The research identifies the role played by first union formation on women's biographies, determining also the transformations occurred among different birth cohorts. Another important aim is to demonstrate marriage delay in both countries, proving that younger females get married on a lesser extent and at older ages. Once examined the most salient features of first union transitions, the paper focuses on the measurement of the incidence and outcomes of first union's that have been started as non-marital cohabitations.

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RETURN MIGRATION IN ALBANIA: THE PROFILES OF RETURNEES.

Thaís García-Pereiro, Antonella Biscione

1. Introduction

Return migration depends on the changes of different aspects: i) the motivations for migrating (push factors); ii) the individual migrant (i.e. the individual has worked and saved while living abroad and is now thinking about setting up a business in the country of origin); iii) the family context (i.e. family reunification is impossible and the individual migrant decides to return in the country of origin). These factors are often considered to influence voluntary return (Danaj, 2006). But return experiences can also be caused by negative migratory outcomes: the impossibility to obtain regular status in destination countries, forced return, or deportation due to readmission agreements or return practices in the country of origin (IOM, 2006).

In the literature there is wide consensus about the importance of facilitating re-integration experiences. King (2000) argues that reintegration experiences concerns both objective and subjective factors. Objective factors can be identified through different indicators, such as: the amount of returnees who find a job after returning in the country of origin, returnees who access vocational training opportunities, those who start their own business. The subjective factors include: returnees perceptions of return, their adjustment experiences in the country of origin, and their outlook on temporary or permanent stay in Albania.

Since the fall of communism in the early 1990s, Albania has been a mass emigration country. According to INSTAT, 864.485 Albanians left the country between 1989 and 2005, which represents almost 28% of the total population. Recently, return migration has emerged as a central issue in Albania, especially after the Greek economic crisis (one of the most important destination countries of Albanian emigrants) and the improvement of the socio-economic and political situation of the country. In fact, INSTAT data demonstrate that returns have been on the rise every year since 2001, and in particular after 2008. This paper constitutes one of our first attempts to get a deeper understanding about returnees' profiles distinguishing the main reasons that motivated their return to inform migration policies in Albania. In this sense, the exploitation of the 2013 Survey on

Return Migration and Reintegration is a unique opportunity to rely on large-scale quantitative data on the subject.

2. Background: migration in Albania

Since the fall of the communist regime, Albania has experienced massive emigration flows. According to INSTAT estimations, more than half of the labour force of the country population lives abroad. Although Albanians decided to migrate to several countries around the world such as USA, Canada, Australia and other European countries, Greece and Italy are considered to be the biggest two recipients of Albanian migration (Piracha & Vadean, 2010).

Piperno (2002) identifies three migration flows, each of them characterised by different features and motivational aspects. Before the fall of the Hoxha regime, emigration was forbidden and Albanian emigration virtually did not exist. During the spring of 1991, after the collapse of the totalitarian regime, the first migration flow started, mainly caused by political and economic instability. In that period, migration reached the peak and it was estimated that about 300.000 of Albanians reached Italy and Greece.

In 1997, after the collapse of the pyramid scheme, the second migratory wave took place. The scheme was born as an alternative to the banking sector which was underdeveloped and many Albanians decided to invest all their savings. The fall of this scheme affected about one third of Albanian population. This migration flow had a feature of “constraint” and it can be defined as “forced migration”. After the severe socio-economic crisis and the civil unrest of 1997, Fato Nano’s government decided to put in place an important program of stabilisation and a reform in order to restart the economy. Despite this reforming program, emigration continued at the average of around 5.000 departures per month.

The third migratory wave has been called the “invisible flow” (IOM, 2008) and was a result of the economic instability and the lack of security of the Albanian context, especially during the Kosovo’s crisis. The beginning of the new millennium brought a new pattern of emigration since Albanians changed their image of Europe. In fact, destination countries of migrants switched from neighbouring countries to United Kingdom, USA and Canada, countries characterized by stronger economies and better possibilities for legal migration and/or regularization.

3. Theoretical framework

Undoubtedly, there is a vast body of international migration theories that has approached the subject from different disciplines¹. Here we explain only some of them, focusing our attention on how such theoretical frameworks have treated and interpreted return migration. Even if return migration is just one stage of a more complex migration story, it is not always seen as the absolute final step of the process. Some of these theories have read migrant's return to their country of origin as a positive, successful event, while others have considered it negative, as a clear sign of failure. But we state that interpreting return migration in such absolute terms, failure or success, denies the extremely complex and heterogeneous nature of both the event (return) and its protagonists (returnees).

The Neoclassical Theory holds a negative view of return migration, which is directly linked to the failure of the migration experience. This means that migrants who return to their country of origin do so because they were not able to reach an optimal financial situation during their stay abroad. There are two key concepts behind this particularly pessimistic interpretation (Sjaastad, 1962; Todaro, 1969; Constant & Massey, 2002). The first regards the only reason conceived for leaving the country: to obtain higher earnings maximising the benefits of migration. The second, instead, is a mixture of the length and the goal of the experience, namely, migration is a permanent move, a definitive settlement, in which return is only an option when objectives have not been achieved.

The New Economics of Labour Migration contrasts, almost completely, the statements of neoclassicals. For this theory, the return of a migrant is the positive outcome of his experience abroad (Stark & Bloom, 1985; Taylor, 1999; Constant & Massey, 2002). Migrants go back home because they succeed in the host country and fulfilled their expectations. Therefore, migration is just a temporal move that ends when migrants achieved their goals: increasing and diversifying household resources.

These views imply different understandings of migrants' sense of belonging to their country of origin. The second approach gives some space to the attachment to the home country in return decisions; while the first does not consider it, migrants are only interested in maximising their earnings, independently of their sense of belonging. But there is something that both approaches have in common: return migration is the last step, that is, the outcome that marks the end of a migrant experience.

According to Transnationalism, people that move abroad and, at some point, return home are part of a well-fed system of transnational identities, activities and

¹ For a more detailed explanation of return migration theories please refer to Cassarino (2004).

linkages that start to be built even before leaving the country of origin and are maintained and sustained both during the migration experience and after return (Portes et al. 1999). This is why, unlike the first two approaches, for transnationalists “once a migrant, always a migrant”. Within this framework, migrants start preparing their return once they have drawn together sufficient resources and think that they will find the expected conditions at home.

Cassarino (2004), in his conceptual approach to return migrants, argues that the success of returnees in their origin countries depends on their levels of return preparation. Such levels are the results of their capacity to mobilise tangible and intangible resources acquired during their experience abroad, and their readiness and willingness to return. Author’s statements add another important dimension to the heterogeneous profile of returnees: they not only differ according to their human, social and financial capital, according to their motivations and experiences before, during and after migrating, they also differ by their levels of readiness and willingness to return, and their capacity to mobilise resources.

4. Data and methods

The empirical analyses are based on the 2013 Survey on Return Migration and Reintegration in Albania conducted by the Albanian National Institute of Statistics (INSTAT) and the International Organization for Migration (IOM), with a nationally representative sample size of 2,000 returnees. The national-level survey was designed to achieve a deeper understanding about return migration after the economic crisis of 2009, considering that return migration in Albania has grown significantly after this year.

The survey’s sampling frame was based on the 2011 Housing and Population Census, to gather a representative sample for the whole country of returnee population in Albania for the 2009-2013 period. Respondents were drawn from the 2009-2013 return migrant population aged 18 years and over across the 12 prefectures in Albania. The Survey on Return Migration and Reintegration defines an immigrant as an individual who returned (permanently or temporarily) to Albania, after living in another country for at least one year. The dataset includes information about three migratory stages: the situation of before leaving Albania, the experience abroad and post-return conditions. According to INSTAT and IOM (2014), 133,544 individuals above 18 years old have returned to Albania between 2009 and 2013: 98,414 males and 35,130 females.

The focus of the analyses was on the main three return reasons declared by respondents: lost the job in the host country, family problems and feeling nostalgia. The most frequent answer was the loss of employment in the country of

emigration, followed by emotional non-economic reasons (nostalgia) and family problems. We obtained a sample size of 894 return migrants: 593 lose their jobs, 194 felt nostalgia for Albania, and 107 had to solve family issues. This confirms that problematic reasons for returning prevailed among opportunity reasons.

We use multinomial logistic regressions to predict one's type of returnee. We report the relative risk ratios representing the odds of having return to Albania for: (1) family problems versus employment loss, and (2) feeling nostalgia versus employment loss. We examine the effects of several background variables in the analyses that are expected to be associated with the reasons for return migration (Table 1). The first set of predictors captures prior migration experiences: whether respondents before leaving the country (1) declared to have had a bad financial situation (0=no and 1=yes), (2) were already married (0=no and 1=yes), and (3) had children (0=no and 1=yes).

Table 1 – Descriptive measures of the variables used in the analyses of the main reason for returning to Albania (n=894).

Independent Variables	Lost job in the host country	Family problems	Nostalgia
<i>Prior migration experiences</i>			
Bad financial situation	60.1	52.9	28.5
Married	46.9	55.1	56.3
Had children	29.1	33.2	51.3
<i>Transnational ties and relations</i>			
Sent goods (frequently)	15.3	20.0	13.5
Maintained contacts (frequently)	79.7	88.1	75.0
Visited Albania (frequently)	35.3	49.0	46.8
<i>Post-return experiences</i>			
Change in marital status	10.6	9.7	6.1
Economic investment	5.1	1.3	6.6
Intention to stay	36.4	30.2	46.2
Return to place of birth or residence	86.2	93.9	90.9
<i>Other</i>			
Female	18.4	38.4	43.3
Age at return (mean)	34.1	35.8	44.6
Greece (last destination country)	82.2	60.3	44.1
Length of stay (mean)	6.0	5.0	5.0

Source: own elaboration, Survey on Return Migration and Reintegration in Albania 2013.

The second set of predictors pertains to transnational ties and relations. For economic ties with Albania, we included the variable (1) sent goods to the country of origin during the last twelve months in destination country (1=frequently, 2=sporadically, or 3=never). The last two variables of this set regard social ties,

respectively: (1) frequency of contacts, and (2) frequency of visits, again distinguishing among three categories (1=frequently, 2=sporadically, or 3=never).

The final set of explanatory variables refers to post-return experiences. Four dummy variables (0 = no, 1 = yes) indicate (1) a change in their marital status, (2) an economic investment, (3) their intention to stay permanently in Albania, and (4) if migrants return to their place of birth or residence. We also control for the effect of age at return, gender, last country of emigration, and length of stay. Table 1 provides an overview of selected descriptive measures for 2009-2013 returnees by the three main reasons for returning.

5. Some characteristics of recent return migration in Albania

According to INSTAT's indirect estimations, between 2001 and 2011, about 481.000 Albanians left the country and 243.000 of them were males. On the return side, 2011 Census data revealed that 139.827 Albanians returned to the country in this period and, as expected, most of them were males. Those who decide to return home were relatively young and part of the working age population (INSTAT & IOM, 2014).

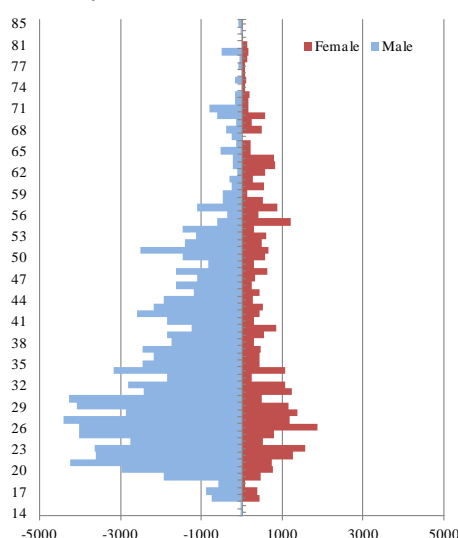
From our own elaborations on data drawn from the Survey on Return Migration and Reintegration in Albania of 2013, we found that more than half of individuals returned to Albania between 2012 and 2013. Most part of returnees, independently of the year of return, came from Greece. The share of returnees from Italy increased since 2011 and represented more than 30% of returnees' last country of destination in 2013.

As shown in Figure 1, most part of returnees came back to Albania at early stages of their lifecycles, when they are relatively young. In fact, the most common age group of return is 25-29 years old, and there is a low percentage of returnees of retirement age despite the common assumption that migrants work abroad until this age and then decide to spend the rest of their lives in Albania. According to gender, men are overrepresented compared to women (73.7% vs. 26.3%), and they are more likely to move for employment reasons while women are more likely to move for family reasons. Some of them returned to Albania in a permanent way, but for many it was just temporary (Maroukis & Gemi, 2013). In other words, return migration can be considered as a kind of circular migration and the lack of reintegration opportunities in Albania may act as a push factor for the re-emigration of returnees (INSTAT & IOM, 2014).

We also found a particular territorial redistribution of returnees in Albania. Figure 2 displays the percentage distribution of returnees' prefecture of return during the period 2009-2013 together with the ratio of returnees living in the

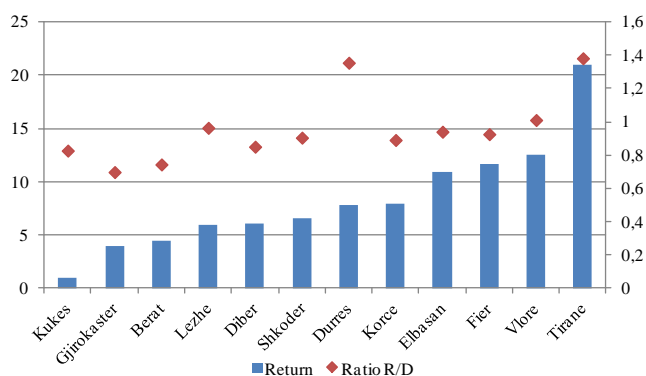
prefecture after their return to Albania to returnees leaving the prefecture where they lived prior departure. Despite the majority of returnees have settled in their place of birth or their place of usual residence, there are significant differences between prefectures because not all of them are equally affected by return migration. In fact, Tirana, Durres and Vlore are the only prefectures that experienced an increase in terms of the proportion of migrants settled there after their return.

Figure 1 – Age and sex structure of returnees.



Source: own elaboration, Survey on Return Migration and Reintegration in Albania 2013.

Figure 2 – Percentage distribution of returnees’ prefecture of return and return-departure ratios.



Source: own elaboration, Survey on Return Migration and Reintegration in Albania 2013.

6. Profiling returnees by reasons for returning

Table 2 shows the relative risk ratios from the multinomial logistic regression model and their statistical significance. This model calculates the relative risk that a migrant will return to Albania due to economic problems (loss job) versus emotional or non economic problems (nostalgia or family issues), after controlling by the influence of explanatory variables. The baseline category of the dependent variable contains those who declared that the main reason for returning was having lost their job in the last destination country.

Based on these results, we can observe a clear gender effect. The odds ratio of returning for family reasons relative to have lost the job in the host country is 3.15 times higher for females if compared to males, and it is even higher (3.72) when comparing those who felt nostalgia with those who lost their job. This finding might be related to the gendered nature of Albanian migration, in which women tend to play the role of the trailing wife within family migration decisions (Cooke, 2008 & 2013). In fact, the Albania Extended Migration profile 2012-2014 (Minister of Internal Affairs, 2015) identified family members of economic emigrants as the second most numerous group of the Albanian Diaspora.

Prior migration experiences diversely influence returning reasons. Compared to returnees who were already married before migrating, those who were not married are two times as likely (2.08) to return for feeling nostalgia (relative to returning for losing their job); and had a relative risk 12% lower to return for family problems. The odds ratio of returning for nostalgia relative to have lost the job is 23% lower for those who do not had children before migrating compared to those who had them, and 46% higher if their main reason for returning was related to family problems.

In line with the transnational theory (Portes et al. 1999) and Cassarino's approach (2004), one of the main conclusions we can draw from this model is that transnational ties and relations are among the most important determinants of return decisions in Albania. As shown in Table 2, the odds ratio for those who sent goods frequently to Albania during the last year of stay in the last destination country vs. those who did not is 2.3 times higher for returning for family problems relative to returning for having lost the job, and almost 2 times higher for the nostalgic group. Moreover, relative risks of returning for nostalgia or family problems relative to have lost the job is almost 2.5 higher and 1.5 higher (respectively) for those who maintained frequent contacts with the country of origin compared to those who did not. Finally, the relative chances of returning for nostalgia or family problems relative to have lost the job is around 20% higher for those who frequently visited Albania compared to those who did not, and 48% lower for those who visited the country sporadically.

These results confirm Transnationalism hypothesis of migrants' maintenance of links with their networks in origin countries. But, due to data limitations, we were not able to test if the strength of such relationships is due to a conscious plan of returnees to prepare their process of reintegration at home.

Return motivations are also shaped by post-return conditions. Returnees who do not plan to stay in Albania have higher odds (1.5) of returning for family reasons relative to those who, instead, are planning to settle permanently in the country. While the relative risks of returning for nostalgia are around 10% lower for the leavers. The odds ratio of returning for "nostalgia" relative to have lost the job is around 40% lower for those who did not invest in Albania compared to those who did it, and 3.8 times higher for those who return for family problems.

Compared to returnees who settled in a different place, those who chose to return to the place of birth or residence where they lived before leaving Albania are almost three times as likely (2.95) to return for family problems.

Table 2 – Multinomial logistic regression for the main reasons for returning to Albania between 2009 and 2013 (ref=lost job), relative risk ratios

Independent variables	Family problems vs. employment loss	Feeling nostalgia vs. employment loss
<i>Prior migration experiences</i>		
Bad financial situation	1.01	2.69
Not married	0.88**	2.08***
Do not had children	1.46***	0.77***
<i>Transnational ties and relations</i>		
Sent goods (frequently)	2.33***	1.92***
Sent goods (sporadically)	0.91**	1.24***
Sent goods (never) –reference-		
Maintained contacts (frequently)	2.46***	1.44***
Maintained contacts (sporadically)	1.02***	2.20***
Maintained contacts (never) –reference-		
Visited Albania (frequently)	1.24***	1.20***
Visited Albania (sporadically)	0.52***	0.52***
Visited Albania (never) –reference-		
<i>Post-return experiences</i>		
Change in marital status	1.21***	0.93
Economic investment (no)	3.77***	0.59***
Intention to stay (no)	1.53***	0.90***
Return to place of birth or residence	2.95***	1.19***
<i>Other</i>		
Female	3.15***	3.72**
Age at return (mean)	1.03***	1.07

Source: own elaboration, Survey on Return Migration and Reintegration in Albania 2013.

Statistic significance = *: $p < 0.10$; **: $p < 0.05$; ***: $p < 0.01$.

7. Concluding remarks

This paper examines the extent to which the situation lived by returnees before leaving Albania, their migration experiences lived in the last country of immigration, and the conditions lived after their return influence return migration decisions, and addresses the question regarding differences in the reasons for returning. The results clearly suggest that being female, not having children before departure, send goods, maintaining contacts and visit Albania frequently, do not investing after returning, having intentions to leave the country again, and returning to place of birth or residence are positively associated with returning for family problems instead of returning for having lost the job in the country of destination; while it is negatively related to not being married as a pre-migration condition.

Individuals appertaining to the nostalgic group are more likely to being female, not being married and having children before leaving the country, sent goods, maintain contacts and visit Albania frequently, returning to the place of birth or residence, and declaring their intentions to stay and not leaving the country again.

The findings presented in this study reveal that transnational activities, measured by the regular and sustained “traffic” of goods and social contacts between the host and the origin country (Cassarino, 2008; Portes et al., 1999), are among the most important determinants to explain how influential such links can be on shaping return decisions of Albanian migrants. To further analyse the extent to which initial conditions in the country of origin, migration strategies in destination countries, and the intentions to stay or leave the country again influence the reasons for returning, remains an important challenge for future research.

The plurality of returnees experiences observed in their motivation-for-return profiles is a primary element that needs to be taken into account in the management of international migration. Recently, several progresses have been made in order to develop migration policies in Albania. Even if the National Strategy on Migration and its associated Action Plan foresee to provide financial and social support for voluntary returnees, the absence of measures for forced returnees indicates that this group is not yet a government priority.

It is certainly extremely difficult to obtain a 360° vision of return migration. We have tried to contribute to the knowledge of this process analysing returnees’ profiles distinguished by the main reasons that motivated their return. This brings us to a fundamental critique to return migration theories: return seems to be a matter of failure or success. But how we can measure the positive or negative gradient of return, do people who feel nostalgia failed in their migration experiences? We find that return migration is not only about an economic failure in destination countries, such as losing the job, or solving family issues in the country

of origin; it is also about feeling nostalgia for what have been left behind. Thus, an important slide of Albanian migrants remain attached to their country and decide to end their experience abroad basically to go back home.

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SUMMARY

Return migration in Albania: the profiles of returnees.

For many decades, since the fall of communism in the early 1990s, Albania has been a mass emigration country. According to INSTAT, 864.485 Albanians left the country between 1989 and 2005, which represents almost 28% of the total population. Recently, return migration has emerged as a central issue in Albania, especially after the Greek economic crisis (one of the most important destination countries of Albanian emigrants) and the improvement of the socio-economic and political situation of the country. In fact, INSTAT data demonstrate that returns have been on the rise every year since 2001, and in particular after 2008.

This paper provides an overview of return migration in Albania by profiling returnees. Data will be drawn from a national survey undertaken by the Albanian Institute of Statistics (INSTAT) and the International Organization for Migration (IOM) in 2013. This survey represents the first effort to quantify and characterise return migration to Albania over the last years, asking about respondents' situation before and during migration and after their return. The paper shed light on the heterogeneity of returnees' socio-economic and demographic characteristics, and their main return decisions.

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ALBANIA OVER THE PAST TWENTY-FIVE YEARS: DEMOGRAPHIC SURVEY AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN BARI AND TIRANA¹

Giovanna Da Molin, Arjeta Veshi

1. Introduction

Albania has a long history of migration, although this phenomenon reached its highest degree as a result of the political instability of 1990s, which caused a huge migratory flow together with a domestic redistribution, characterized by a concentration in Albania's major cities. Following the migrant waves of 1990-91s, 1996-97s and 1999s, the international migratory flows, while still significant, decreased and stabilized, as a consequence of both provisions which Albania and the destination countries put in place to regulate the fluxes and of the economic upturn which limited mass migration (CeSPI, 2010).

Since 1990 up to the present about one fifth of the adult Albanian population has changed its residence within Albania and in more than one third of households at least one family member has migrated abroad (INSTAT, 2014). Among destination countries, Italy has a significant role, as shown in this paper: the strengthened presence of Albanian citizens in the country has represented a pivotal moment in the evolution of the integration process *lato sensu* (Ciuffoletti T., 2007). In particular, the necessity to redefine and recalibrate public policies has arisen, in order to implement the most appropriate programs to fit the new needs of the Albanians, both in the first and the second generation, which seek a social ransom and see in the entrepreneurial initiative, to cite an example, a possibility for success and not a subordinate integration (Valtolina G. - Marazzi A., 2006).

Nonetheless, the researches on the Albanian population in Italy show how the strongly negative image of the Albanian migrant in the past is still influential. It seems that Albanians have reacted to this image by aiming for an integration which focuses on the invisibility of their identity, by avoiding a visible socialization, by creating few associations, by preferring, instead, more familiar organizations and within their community (King R. - Mai N., 2009). Consequently, it is possible to

¹ This paper is the result of the collaboration between the two Authors, in particular, the paragraph 1 is attributable to G. Da Molin; paragraphs 2, 3, 4 and 5 are attributable to A. Veshi; the paragraph 6 to both Authors.

state that today the above attitude of the Albanian migrant has generated a positive metamorphosis of their perception in the Italian society, thanks to numerous factors, such as the Albanian capacity to fight for feeling “accepted” (Romania V., 2004). An example of positive integration is represented by entrepreneurial activities started by Albanian citizens (Centro Studi e Ricerche Idos, 2014).

Starting from these considerations, this paper aims, on the one hand, to analysing the presence and the characteristics of Albanian entrepreneurs in the land of Bari, the potential protagonists of integration, and, on the other hand, to detecting the interrelations with the country of origin on the other shore of the Adriatic Sea, by focusing on the role played by the Institutions in promoting, or not, the start, growing and development of foreign entrepreneurial activities.

Undoubtedly, the choice to stay or to return to their homeland is determined by the interconnections with their co-nationals and by the real life conditions in the host country; furthermore, the geographical proximity to both Greece and Italy facilitated circular migrations (Massey D. et al., 1993).

On this question, the most recent literature points out that returning to their homeland, under different conditions, is no more only the consequence of the end of the migratory event or its failure, but it is more often the result of new phenomena arising, i.e. the younger age of the migrants who return, the existence of projects and definite objectives for their future, or also the tendency to contribute to the growth of their country of origin through the realization of investments, the starting of entrepreneurial activities, of initiatives for cooperation and development (Caruso I. - Venditto B., 2008).

Therefore, through the analysis of circular migrations the strong connections between the home and host countries may be detected, along with the double identity of migrants and the positive impacts of these flows on Albania in terms of economic, social, and cultural growth which mitigate the negative effects within the population structure.

2. Destination countries: Italy and the case of Apulia Region

According to the data available on the United Nations Population Division website, Albanians have spread worldwide in 59 countries in all continents, with a higher concentration in European countries. The initial number of legal immigrants was 123,506 in 1990, and surpassed 1 million in the last years.

The analysis of Albanian presence in each continent shows that Europe has the highest percentage of Albanians (89.37% in 1990 and 91.44% in 2013), followed by North America (5.58% in 1990 and 7.78% in 2013), while the other continents register a lower presence (UN, 2015).

With respect to destination countries, Italy's record of presence in 1990 was reset by Greece in 2000, when the Albanian population significantly increased and in 2013 it was estimated to exceed the presence in Italy by more than 125 thousand people. In spite of this drop, the Albanian presence is still substantial: ISTAT's data show that the number of residency permits Albanians applied for has risen throughout the years, from 24,886 permits on 1st January 1992 to 498,419 on 1st January 2015, while the Albanian resident population amounts to 490,483 people (ISTAT, various years).

Hence, a regular increase has been recorded both as an absolute value and for the gender and when the number of men shrank (in 1995, 2006 and 2012), this was compensated by women. What is more, throughout the years, on the one hand, the number of residency permits has risen, on the other hand, the gender gap has decreased: by way of illustration, on 1st January 1992, men were given 85.9% of residency permits; on 1st January 2015 the percentage dropped to 51.9%, mostly due to family reunification.

Originally stigmatised and victims of prejudices and mistrust by the Italian population, Albanians in Italy represent an exemplary case of a community which was able to blend and break the wall of fear around them (Caritas di Roma, 2003).

Among all successful experiences in different parts of Italy, this paper focuses on the case of Apulia Region: not only Apulia represents a destination land for many foreign citizens and particularly for Albanians, but also Albania has stronger relationships with the Adriatic regions of the country, in particular with Apulia (CNEL, 2013).

Having said that, economic integration is not the only significant factor: the geographical proximity, the fact that it has been the destination of the first arrivals, has made Apulia Region a land of experimentation where the changing attitude of local population has been mostly perceived, from hostility to welcome.

According to the estimates on 1st January 2015, 117,732 foreign people resided in Apulia, and 23,324 were Albanian citizens followed by Romanian citizens, which represent 4.8% of Albanian population residing in Italy. Considering the distribution on the regional territory, data show that half of Albanians live in the Province of Bari (52.6%), the second half is almost equally distributed in the provinces of Lecce (11.6%), Foggia (11.0%) and Brindisi (10.2%), with only a small percentage in the provinces of Taranto (8.3%) and Barletta-Andria-Trani (6.4%). In other words, the province of Bari has the highest presence of Albanians, which have the first place among the other nationalities.

3. Methodology and data

In order to understand the process of integration of Albanians in Italy, the socio-economic status and cultural, legal or political factors may be taken into consideration, supposing that the bigger was the change in status, from a low to a higher status, the more their integration path was successful (Golini A., 2006).

This research work focuses on the Albanian community residing in the Province of Bari, and, particularly, on the entrepreneurs, and also considers the area of the Province of Barletta-Andria-Trani by following the system of data filing of the Chamber of Commerce of Bari. Thanks to the data supplied by this institution an on-site survey has been carried out *ad hoc*.

The research was conducted through questionnaires for 450 Albanian entrepreneurs, which represent the total amount of the active entrepreneurial activities, according to the most updated data of the first half of March 2015. Data have been skimmed, thus deleting data duplication (as the Chamber of Commerce registers both the main location and the local branches), Italian persons born in Albania, the inactive businesses or in the process of closure. The survey has been conducted mainly *face to face* through questionnaire at the business headquarters, in the most frequented meeting places and, thanks to networks of friendships and acquaintances, by creating the opportunity for group meetings.

The survey consists of five sections related to their relevant sector. Firstly, the socio-demographic characteristics were observed: sex, age, marital status, town of residence and religion. Secondly, the family condition was analysed: the composition of the housing unit, any children, the partner's nationality, the characteristics of dwellings. At the same time, the interviewees were asked about their education and their life in order to investigate the reasons that drove them to leave Albania, the length of their stay in Italy, the typology of their residency permit, the main difficulties they had to undergo when they arrived in the country, the fundamental values inciting them to live here, the network of friendships and the most frequented meeting places in their spare time. Furthermore, the respondents were asked to give a general assessment of their life experience in Italy, to talk about the frequency and features of the link with their country of origin, to give an opinion of their co-nationals in Italy. The last two sections focus, on the one hand, on the previous work situation in order to identify any prior experience in the same field, on the other hand, on the characteristics of their business and the relations with the institutions. In particular, the labour sectors were analysed and the typology of the business they have started from a quality perspective, the motivation, the relations with their suppliers and their clients, the difficulties and, on the other hand, the initiatives where they have been given support in starting and running their business. Finally, the interviewees were asked

to mention those services that, in their opinion, should be improved to better support businesses.

When the questionnaires were completed, data were imported and processed through the software S.P.S.S. version 22, the simple frequencies and eventual associations among variables were analysed. At the end, to test the statistical significance of the relations in the double entrance charts, the test of χ^2 was used fixing p-value less than 0.05.

4. Characteristics of the interviewed entrepreneurs

In the population of reference, men represent 77.8% and women 22.2%. The age distribution shows a higher concentration in the age of work productivity, 35.1% between 35 and 39 years old, 34.9% between 40 and 49 years old, whereas the over 50 (19,3%) and under 30 age groups represent about 1/10 of the total². As far as the town of residence is concerned, the Albanian population is concentrated in major cities like Bari, which sets the record with 18,9% Albanian residents, or in the hinterland. What is more, in the towns of Altamura, Trani and Santeramo in Colle there is a massive presence of Albanian citizens due to the presence of several stone works and craftsmanship enterprises. As regards the housing of the interviewees, it is interesting to observe that a few of them, for necessity or for tradition, share their relatives' house (3.8%). Most of them (53,8%) own their house, a sign of positive integration and settling in the territory, of social ransom and financial means.

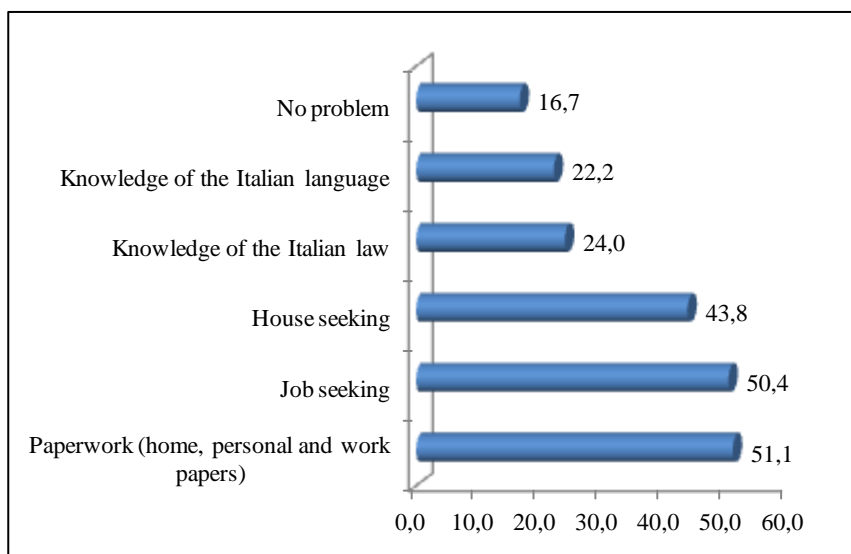
Several more integration signs may be mentioned: most of them are married and cohabitant and have children; they have a good educational level; their family network is founded on the equal role of men and women; their friendship network is stable with both their co-nationals and Italians; some of them have Italian citizenship (37.3%), which denotes a high level of integration.

On their arrival in Italy, they had to face several difficulties, especially if they were unable to trust a family or friendship network (Caritas di Roma, 2003).The

² The limited number of migrants of an older age group is due to this activity having been significantly spread only recently, following the slow legislative journey which allowed migrants to access to self-employed work. In Italy, known for its heritage of migrant entrepreneurship, a series of international agreements used to grant only citizens in destination countries for Italian migrants to start a business in their own country. The "reciprocity" prerequisite was waived only in 1990 by "Act Martelli" (Act 39/90), which allowed legal migrants to work as self-employed. Nevertheless, this provision was not abolished on a general basis and for all foreign legal residents in Italy up to the "Act Turco-Napolitano" in 1998, which enabled all migrants to start a career in industry, craftsmanship and commerce, to do a profession, to start corporations or partnerships, to access to company positions (Micheli S. - Nencioni C. - Benini R., 2006; CNA, 2011 and 2013).

interviewees underlined that the hardest obstacle was paperwork (home, personal and work papers) and job seeking because of the initial hostility (Graph 1).

Graph 1 – What are the main problems you faced just arrived in Italy?(%)



Source: our processing on survey's data

By analysing their previous jobs, half of the interviewees were employed before becoming entrepreneurs; men (63.4%) show a lower degree of unemployment (6.6% men, 9.0% women) and few of them have attended a course before starting their own business (15.4% men, compared to 30.0% women); on the other hand, it seems that women have been more educated and audacious, as from students they have become entrepreneurs, or from housewives (9.0%) they have become self-employed, by necessity or for the will to take a challenge. Of 325 interviewees who were employed before starting a business, almost a half focus only on two fields: 26.5% were employed in agriculture and 23.1% in personal services.

With respect to labour agreements, widespread job insecurity and illegality is still confirmed: only less than an half of respondents (47.4%) had a subordinate contract; 15.7% had to open a VAT number to start their job and 36.9% had no legal contract.

In spite of this evident job insecurity, most of Albania's wealth is the result of migrant remittance which strongly contribute to their family and relatives' wellbeing in their home country, despite a substantial decrease caused by the recent years' recession. The interviewees stated that they transfer money to Albania

through relatives or friends (51.3%). The majority, 83.1%, transfer to their parents, 11.3% to their brothers and sisters and the remaining 5.6% to other relatives. Even so, these data must not be misleading as the frequency of relationships with their country of origin, due to the geographical proximity, represents for the Albanian entrepreneurs the possibility to bring what is needed to sustain their family. Effectively, only 1/5 of the interviewees return to Albania only on special occasions (for work or family anniversaries), while most of them declare they return at least once a year or several times in a year. These data confirm the previous hypothesis, i.e. there is a tight link between the Albanian entrepreneurs of the Province of Bari and the country of Eagles, constant relationships which allow to interweave and maintain reciprocal exchanges, both on the economic and socio-cultural point of view (Centro Studi e Ricerche Idos, 2008).

5. Difficulties and outlook of Albanian businesses

Besides the difficulties aforesaid, the interviewees have encountered more difficulties related to the start of the entrepreneurial activity. In addition to the limited financial availability to invest (40,4%) and, more specifically, the possibility to get bank loans (23,7%), the main difficulties in the initial phase of their business were, and in some cases still are, the excessive bureaucracy for more than a half of respondents, the company management and some difficulties with their clients and suppliers.

The analysis of the business sectors has highlighted a diverse situation, although, in general, there is a concentration of businesses in the fields of construction and craftsmanship (39.8%), where 46.9% are men entrepreneurs, while women represent only 15.0%. Conversely, the sector where women have a prominent role is commerce (25.0% are retailers, 7.0% are wholesalers and 5.0% are pedlars). Women entrepreneurs in this sector are 37.0% out of 20.0% of men. In addition, a high presence of women is also registered in personal service (18.0% out of 6.3% of men in the same sector), while their presence decreases in catering and tourist hospitality (11.0%), which has a high presence of men (8.0%) like in wholesale field.

Equally distributed in the sector of company services, Albanian entrepreneurs seem not very interested in the industrial sector, apart from manufacturing, where they have implemented their *know how* acquired in their country of origin or as subordinate workers in Italy. Probably, the easiest explanation seems linked to the fact that, generally, migrants who start an economic activity have limited financial resources. Consequently, they are rarely able to reach highly technological sectors,

but they focus on hard manual labour jobs where they could, however, start an unfair competition for Italian local SMEs.

As far as business typologies are concerned, a gender difference has not been recorded, while the small dimension of activity may be significant: 75.1% of the Albanian entrepreneurs interviewed have started an individual company, together with family-run businesses, managed by a husband and a wife, who both own a VAT number. A fragmentation can be noticed and shows a difficulty to unite and constitute more stable and organized businesses, as shown by the numbers of those who have started partnerships (8.0%) or corporations (14.0%) or cooperatives (1.8%) and associations (0,2%), where they have faced a higher risk of failure and worsening of their condition following the economic downturn for lack of team play (ISTAT, 2015). Furthermore, these are businesses where mostly all partners are Albanians (more than 60.0%), but there are also mixed businesses with both Albanian and Italian partners. Considering the number of employees, the small dimension of enterprises is confirmed by the following numbers: 46.7% of interviewees have no employee, 37.6% have 1-2 employees, while 14.2% merely have between 3 and 15 employees, finally 1.6% have more than 15 employees.

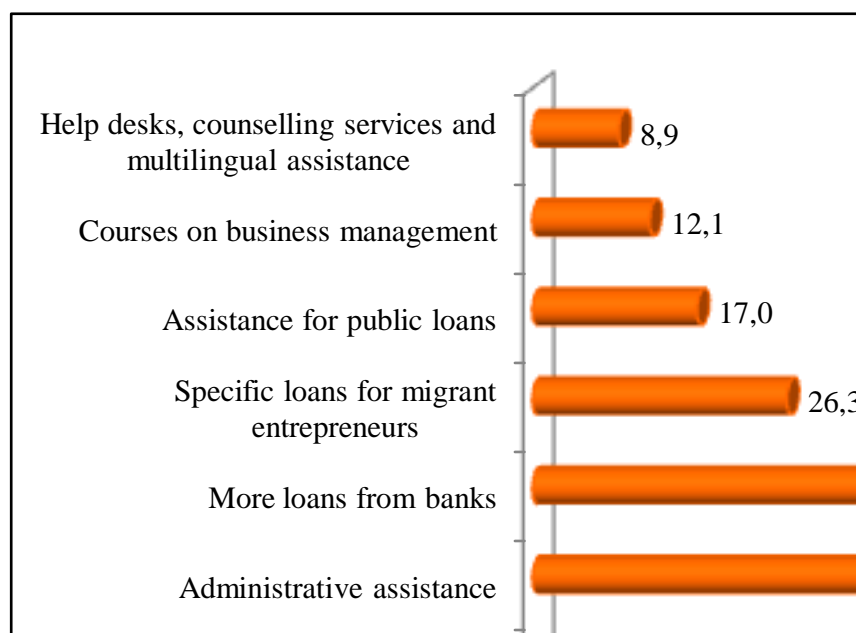
A further feature related to the business dimension and stability, to the number of partners and employees, is the data on the years of activity and the sales volume. These enterprises are relatively young, are on average 5.92 years old, were able to resist the negative situation despite some difficulties, as the numbers of sales volume demonstrate: 40.2% of the entrepreneurs interviewed have a sales volume between 10,000 and 20,000 euros (women are 48.0% and men 38.0%); then 28.2% have a higher sales volume but by 50,000 euros, with no gender differences; a higher percentage of interviewees admit they have a low sales volume, by 10,000 euros, with a men–women gap of 6.6 points; finally, only 7.8% have a sales volume of over 50,000 euros and fewer over 100,000 euros.

The initial investment to start their business has been relatively small and data show that for 81.6% of respondents the start-up capital was under 10,000 euros, while it was higher for a few women entrepreneurs. The data highlight that these are not highly technological businesses, mainly due to the difficulty in finding loans and public incentives, and to the inability to start stable businesses which could enjoy *ad hoc* measures both on a regional and on a national basis, like the support policies by SMEs, the enterprise micro credit, the incentives for cooperatives and several guarantee funds.

The pivotal protagonists who allowed the start of their business were the Albanians themselves; followed by accountants, trade associations and legal counsel, and for some the banks which trusted their projects. The help desk for productive activities of the Chamber of Commerce, the centre for financial assistance, charitable institutions and public bodies have helped them more with

bureaucratic paperwork than with the support of their activity; to conclude, a few cite trade unions, but a high percentage affirm they have received no support. Among the services which should be improved to better support Albanian enterprises, the interviewees underlined the necessity to have a better financial and administrative support, as the bureaucracy and ever changing regulations represent a heavy obstacle; in addition, they stress the importance to have bank financial support to get subsidized interest rate loans; more specifically, 26.3% of the interviewees said that they would find non repayable loans for foreigners useful for their enterprise and 17.0% would like to receive better assistance on the procedure and prerequisite to access to public loans (Graph 2).

Graph 2 – Which services could be improved to better support your enterprise?(%)



Source: our processing on survey's data.

To cite the strengths of Albanian businesses, on the one hand, some enterprises aim for competition with low prices of their produce and services, on the other hand, some combine other qualities such as the exclusivity and/or typicalness of produce or services offered; a significant percentage aim for the excellent relationship import-export with Albania and on innovation of produce more than process, i.e. it is not a technological innovation of machines but mainly creativity in craftsmanship.

6. Conclusions

For the Italian society, eliminating the still present obstacles and opening spaces for foreign entrepreneurship might contribute to the growth of the entrepreneurial offer and increase competition, with possible income for the market's dynamism.

From the interviewed entrepreneurs' point of view this represents a great opportunity for social promotion and ransom from a destiny of subordination. However, if there is no other support than the spontaneous protagonists, only the strongest ones with resource availability and being in relationships' networks able to give multi typology of support might catch this opportunity. Vocational training and counselling are necessary prerogatives in order to avoid an improvised business start and to help the entrepreneurs-to-be to extricate themselves in the obscurity of current regulations and necessary procedures. Furthermore, a change in the access to loans is needed, since foreigners are still penalised for being unable to provide traditional guarantees.

In fact, if, on the one hand, foreign entrepreneurs, in this case Albanians, are on their own potential couriers for the internationalization of the country, on the other hand, those that are going to start a business encounter more difficulties than Italian entrepreneurs when accessing loans, obtaining the relevant information, understanding the language, dealing with the complex bureaucracy.

Communication and information spreading of all opportunities offered by public institutions should be better enhanced, in order to meet the needs of those who work all day and have a little time to acquire notions and keep updated on regulations of opportunities of personal and economic growth. By way of illustration, short period evening courses could be planned at the Chamber of Commerce or the Town Hall after 7 or 8 pm, when entrepreneurs are more available, but also plan information campaigns where the interviewees work, thanks to the cooperation of representatives of the Albanian local community.

Therefore, this survey shows that, entrepreneurialism represents an extremely interesting dimension of migratory phenomenon, because it allows to identify the changes of new dimensions of migratory projects and different forms of the presence of migrants, allowing to go beyond excessively stereotyped and schematic interpretations.

Italy, that on its own has the merit of having exported the culture of work in Albania, is now in the position to adapt in a more and more competitive market, and must see Albania as a land of strategic importance for the stability of the entire area of Balkans. Only through an intensive and mutual economic, political, social and cultural exchange both countries and their populations will better benefit in a perspective of co-development.

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SUMMARY

Albania over the past twenty-five years: demographic survey and socio-economic relationships between Bari and Tirana

Many researches on the Albanian population in Italy show the weight of the negative image that characterized the Albanian migrant, especially during the early years of immigration. Nowadays, however, a metamorphosis into a positive perception of the Albanian citizens by the Italian society can be seen.

An example of a successful process of integration could be represented by the presence of entrepreneurial activities put in place by the Albanian citizens. The results of a survey conducted in the Province of Bari will be reported, in order to outline the potential of the entrepreneurs to become protagonists of integration and co-development between Italy and Albania through circular migration. The data provided by the Chamber of Commerce of Bari have been used, in order to achieve an *ad hoc* field survey, interviewing 450 Albanian entrepreneurs who represent the whole universe of the active Albanian companies in the land of Bari. The findings of this analysis highlight, for instance, the difficulties and, at the same time, the initiatives for these entrepreneurs in order to support them in establishing and managing an enterprise, in the access to the funding resources, in obtaining appropriate information, in understanding and dealing with the paperwork. The results may be useful to give some suggestions about the services that could be improved to support more entrepreneurial activities, within a perspective of mutual benefit for the two countries.

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FOREIGNERS' WEIGHT ON ELECTION OUTCOMES (IN SPITE OF NO VOTING RIGHT)

Gian Carlo Blangiardo, Simona Maria Mirabelli, Stefania Maria Lorenza Rimoldi

1. Introduction

Among the rights and the duties recognized to the Italian citizens, the article 48 of the Constitution states that vote is *personal and equal, secret and free*. It follows that it has the same value and weight regardless of the social and economic conditions characterizing the citizens called to vote, and independently from the different territorial contexts in which the right is exercised. However, referring to this latter element, the electoral laws grant the equal political representation to the citizens only through the criterion of residence, without taking into account the number, at times very substantial, of the 18 years old or more foreign citizens that legally live in our country and do not vote. Whatever is the opinion on this topic, which has been already discussed during the last decade's administrative consultation, it is still of major interest for the consequences on the political representation system that can arise from the electoral vote (De Santis, 2007; Silvestrini e Valentini, 2010; Blangiardo 2014a). The topic is included in the field of studies regarding the electoral systems, more specifically the rules that govern them, that at times result in distorting effects of the politic representation of a Country (like clauses of obstruction, majority prizes, activities of *gerrymandering* and operations of *malapportionment*¹).

In light of these and other considerations, like the recognition to all foreigners of the right to vote regardless of their citizenship (European or Non-European)², the goal of this work is to analyze and see how the Italian political scenario could change, in terms of active and passive constituency, if the rules that govern it

¹ The *gerrymandering activity* consists in artificially trimming the electoral districts in order to favor (or un-favor) a particular party for (or against) another; the *malapportionment* is a procedure with which a disproportion is determined, within the relation of the number of polling stations given to the congressional district and the number of voters. A broad literature on the argument can be found in: Banzhaf, 1965; Briffault 1993; Fishkin, 2011, 2012; Haiden, 2003; Kasuya, 2013; Monroe, 1994; Samuels e Snyder, 2001.

²See "Ciancio, 2002" for the issue of the Non-EU foreigners, in the Italian law dealing with the rights of participation of the political life of the hosting country.

would consider the sole demographic constituent to which the right to vote is recognized. In particular, we want to evaluate the impact of the Non-EU population, which is not entitled of the right to vote by the Italian law, on the system of political delegation at a local level. The occasion to examine the situation in depth derives from the forthcoming electoral appointment, where the population resident is invited to participate in more than 1.300 Italian municipalities; it deals with about 16 million of citizens that makes more than a quarter of the total amount of the population.

The following work consists in three sections. In the first section, we describe the framework surrounding the topic of interest:

1. The continuous growth of the foreign population living in Italy, resulting in a process of stabilization and settlement on the national territory;
2. The main rules that regulate the electoral consultations and specifically the ones regarding the administrative elections.
3. The classification of the Italian municipalities by population size class, that defines the rules dealing with the constituency (active and passive) for the citizens living there.

In the second section, we show the results obtained by distinguishing the population surveyed by the last census by citizenship (Italian, EU foreigner, Non-EU foreigner) and by analyzing, for each subset, the way it contributes to define the population size class of the municipality for electoral purposes.

In the ending section, we suggest a brief evaluation of the results and we highlight the main impacts on the political delegation system at a local level.

2. The framework of reference

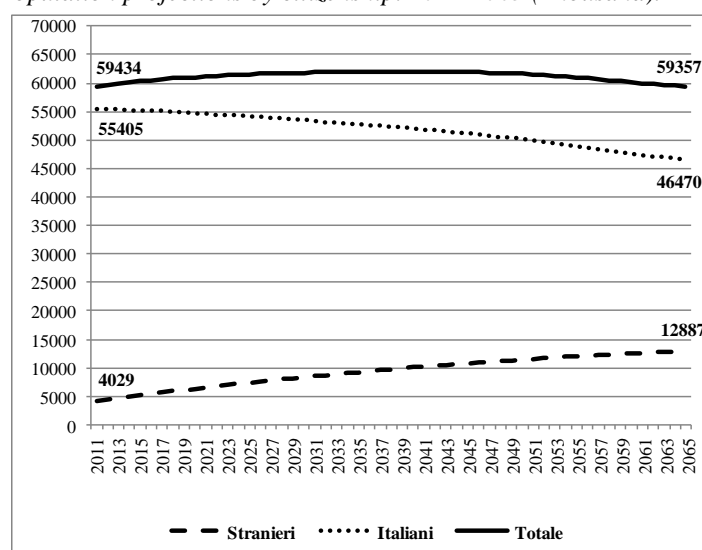
2.1 *Foreigners living in Italy: a significantly increasing population*

During the last 25 years, Italy has experienced a sharp increase of legal foreign population. The amount of foreigners registered among the records of the 8 thousand Italian municipalities has risen from 356 thousand in 1991 (less than 1 percent of total population) to one million 335 thousand in 2001 (2.3%). They result to have triplicated by the Census of 2011 (4.28 million, i.e. 6.8% of the population's total amount), up to 5 million at the beginning of 2015 (8.2%) (Table 1). In addition, the projections for the following fifty years confirm a *trend* of constant growth of foreign citizens (+152% between 2015 and 2065) together with a decrease of the native population (-16%) (Figure 1).

Table 1 – Population living in Italy by citizenship. Census 1981-2011 and January 1st 2015 (Thousand).

Citizenship	1981	1991	2001	2011	1/1/2015
Italian	56,346	56,422	55,661	55,405	55,781
Foreigner	211	356	1,335	4,029	5,014
<i>Total</i>	56,557	56,778	56,996	59,434	60,795

Source: Blangiardo, 2014b (p. 32)

Figure 1 – Population projections by citizenship. 2011-2065 (Thousand).

Source: Elaboration on Istat data

In light of this data, it is easy to understand the importance and the meaning of the foreign presence in Italy, not only with reference to the economic, social and cultural implications over the entire Country system, but also with regard to the consequences expected on the electoral system. In fact, the recurrent use of the ‘demographic parameter’ to define the right of active and passive participation of citizens to the political choices pervades the rules that regulate our electoral system at all levels of government. The *legal population* (of a municipality, province or of a region) which the electoral regulation explicitly refers to, is based on the last population Census, according to which the population resident is counted without distinction of citizenship (Italians, EU and Non-EU citizens) (Law 7 April 2014, n. 56; Law 25 March 1993, n. 81, Legislative Decree 18 August 2000, n. 267). The

population registered as 'legal population' is called to play a fundamental role in implementing the electoral consultations rules (Blangiardo, 2014a).

2.2 *Population census and municipal electoral rules*

By reducing the analysis to the administrative elections (notably, the municipality elections), the Italian law provides detailed rules both for the *legal population*, verified every ten years, and for the election procedures of the elective offices of the local government (the major, the council members, the city councilmen). For what concerns the constituency, although the foreign *legal population* contributes, as already mentioned, in defining the overall population resident, only a part of it, the one from the EU Countries, has the active and passive right to vote. The Non-EU citizens are totally precluded to vote: they cannot vote, even if they are resident in our Country³. The Italian law gives this right only to the European Union citizens legally living in Italy and making a *formal request*. They can contribute to the election of the major, to the city councilmen and can be also voted as city councilmen, once they have subscribed to the *electoral roll* of their city of residence.

Considering the rules that regulate the election of the major, the procedures required by the law vary depending on the amount of residents in the municipality. The majority system with a *unique run* is applied in municipalities where the legal population does not exceed 15 thousand inhabitants; the *double run* is applied in all of the other cases (Legislative decree 18 August 2000, n. 267 "Testo unico delle leggi sull'ordinamento degli enti locali"). It has to be considered that the actual electoral law states that in municipalities with no more than 15 thousand inhabitants, in case of parity, a second ballot will be held on the second following Sunday, between the two most voted candidates. In this run, the most voted candidate would be elected. In municipalities with more than 15,000 residents, the candidate that gains at least 50% of votes plus one would be elected as major in the *first run*⁴.

³ It has to be considered that in thirteen member states of the European Union (Belgium, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Letvie, Luxembourg, The Netherlands, Slovakia, Slovenia and Sweden) the administrative right to vote is given also to the foreign citizens living there, that have a permanent permit or that have a certain amount of years of residence in that Country. (Giovannetti and Perin, 2012).

⁴ Whether none of the candidates reaches that threshold, the law requires to vote again the second following Sunday, for one of the two most voted candidates in the first run. In case of equal number of votes in the first run, the candidate of the most voted list (major electoral number) will be admitted at the second ballot and, in case of further equality, the elder of age will be admitted (the same rules will be applied in case of equality in the second ballot). In the second run, the candidate most voted will be elected.

For what concerns the rules that regulate how long the mayor will remain in office, and the possibility for him to be re-elected for a third mandate, the law in force allows its re-election only in municipalities where the inhabitants do not exceed 3 thousand units (Law 7 April 2014, n. 56 “Disposizioni sulle città metropolitane, sulle province, sulle unioni e fusioni di comuni”). It follows that the elective procedures are tightly linked to the amount of population, although a part of it (expected to increase in the following years) does not participate to the choices that spring from them.

2.3 Characteristics of the Italian municipalities for electoral purposes

The last Census counted about 8 thousand municipalities, more than half of them included in the first of the nine population size classes provided by the electoral law. The 9th of October 2011, 4,553 municipalities had a population size up to 3 thousand inhabitants, 44% of them located in the north-western regions.

Table 2 – Italian municipalities by geographical area and population size class^(a), Census 2011.

Population size class	North-West	North-East	Centre	South	Islands	N. Municipalities	% Municipalities
Up to 3000	2,022	679	471	988	393	4,553	56.3%
3001-5000	399	244	151	232	123	1,149	14.2%
5001-10000	364	296	160	255	111	1,186	14.7%
10001-30000	217	212	146	222	100	897	11.1%
30001-100000	57	29	59	83	33	261	3.2%
100001-250000	4	13	6	7	4	34	0.4%
250001-500000	0	3	1	1	1	6	0.1%
500001-1000000	2	0	0	1	1	4	0.0%
More than 1000000	1	0	1	0	0	2	0.0%
<i>Total</i>	3,066	1,476	995	1,789	766	8,092	100.0%

^(a) Municipalities are classified in compliance to the parameters dictated by the Law of the 7 April 2014, n. 56 “Disposizioni sulle città metropolitane, sulle province, sulle unioni e fusioni di comuni”.

Source: Elaboration on Istat data

On the contrary, the geographical distribution of the municipalities included in the class of 10001-30000 inhabitants highlights a substantial homogeneity (Table 2). The survey of the January 1st, 2015 points out for the overall Italian municipalities (decreased to 8,003 due to some integration between municipalities

of smaller dimensions⁵) further elements of electoral and demographic interest (Table 3).

Table 3 – *Characteristics of the municipalities interested by the 2016 administrative elections in the Italian regions, January, 1st 2015.*

Region	Resident Population	N. municipalities ^(a)	Population living in the municipalities voting the 2016 Administratives	N. municipalities voting the 2016 Administratives ^(b)	Municipalities voting the 2016 Administratives in % of the total Italian municipalities
Abruzzo	1,331,574	305	296,170	72	23.6
Basilicata	576,619	131	128,831	27	20.6
Calabria	1,976,631	409	409,264	80	19.6
Campania	5,861,529	550	2,289,706	144	26.2
Emilia Romagna	4,450,508	334	1,057,416	48	14.4
Friuli V.G.	1,227,122	216	422,029	40	18.5
Lazio	5,892,425	378	3,739,293	108	28.6
Liguria	1,583,263	235	150,886	47	20.0
Lombardy	10,002,615	1,528	2,819,447	238	15.6
Marche	1,550,796	236	186,854	29	12.3
Molise	313,348	136	63,990	33	24.3
Piedmont	4,424,467	1,202	1,486,287	150	12.5
Puglia	4,090,105	258	695,701	56	21.7
Sardinia	1,663,286	377	520,374	101	26.8
Sicily	5,092,080	390	399,337	33	8.5
Tuscany	3,752,654	279	362,218	26	9.3
Trentino A.A.	1,055,934	294	153,923	20	6.8
Umbria	894,762	92	103,895	9	9.8
Valle d'Aosta	128,298	74	1,417	1	1.4
Veneto	4,927,596	579	643,108	79	13.6
ITALY	60,795,612	8,003	15,930,146	1,341	100.0

^(a) <http://www.comuniverto.it> (29 February 2016: last recent data). ^(b) The number of the Italian municipalities at January, 1st 2015 is decreasing compared to the 9th October 2011 when 8,092 were counted. Such a decrease is due to aggregations between some smaller municipalities, allowed upon voluntary choice by the recent 2014 law.

Source: Elaboration based on Ancitel and Istat data

In the forthcoming administrative elections 1,341 municipalities⁶ will be called to choose the members of their government (major, deputy-major and councilmen). They account for the 16.7% of the total amount of the Italian municipalities, with higher shares up to 25% in four regions: Lazio (28.6%), Sardinia (26.8%), Campania (26.2%) and Molise (24.3%).

Concerning the population, nearly 16 million of inhabitants are counted among the municipalities involved, i.e. more than 26% of the total amount of residents in

⁵ Law 7 April 2014.

⁶ <http://www.comuniverto.it> (29 February 2016: latest data update).

Italy. The main represented regions are five (based on the population called to vote on a regional total): Lazio (63.5%), Campania (39.1%), Friuli V.G. (34.4%), Piedmont (33.6%), and Sardinia (31.3%).

3. Results

Hereafter, we analyze the results obtained through the elaboration on Istat data, with reference to the normative picture illustrated in section 2.

For what concerns the rules on the major's election, and notably the voting procedures (*unique run* or *double run*), the municipalities included in the population size class 10-30 thousand inhabitants are 897 (11% of the total), 64% of which is located in North-Center regions (Table 2).

Because of the effect of the Non-EU foreign population, 43 municipalities (8 of them are involved in the forthcoming 2016 administrative elections) exceed the '15,000 residents' threshold; therefore they leave the *unique run* rule for the *double run* rule (Table 4).

Table 4 – Italian municipalities with more than 15 thousand inhabitants due to Non-EU citizens, Census 2011.

Geographical Area	Municipalities with more than 15 thousand Inh.	Average number of inhabitants	Italians	EU citizens-27	Non-EU citizens	Municipalities involved in the Administratives of 2016 ^(a)
North-West	12	15592	13971	281	1341	2
North-East	15	15503	13940	404	1158	3
Centre	11	15635	13968	431	1237	2
South	4	15245	14131	347	767	1
Islands	1	15122	14337	224	561	
<i>Total</i>	<i>43</i>	<i>15529</i>	<i>13983</i>	<i>367</i>	<i>1179</i>	<i>8</i>

^(a) Caravaggio (BG), Covolone (VR), Finale Emilia (Mo), Altopascio (Lu), Sansepolcro (Ar), San Vito al Tagliamento (Pd), Codogno (Lo), Cirò Marina (Kr).

Source: Elaboration on Ancitel and Istat data.

The average amount of inhabitants is 13,983, when the foreign population is excluded, and it is 15,529 when the foreign population is included. The number of foreigners is 1,341 in the North Western municipalities and more than half this figure in the Southern regions.

Additional considerations emerge from the results presented in Table 5, where the Non-EU foreign population contribution to overcome the demographic threshold of interest (15 thousand inhabitants) is shown. Considering all the 43

municipalities, only 93.2% of the gap requested for the *double run* election of the major is due to the native population, while 2.4% is due to the EU citizens, and 4.3% pertains to the Non-EU citizens.

Table 5 – *Municipalities with a double run due to Non-EU citizens. Contribution of the various components in reaching the threshold of 15,001 inhabitants, Census 2011.*

Geographical Area	Contribution of Italian residents (%)	Contribution of EU-citizens 27 (%)	Contribution of Non-EU citizens (%)
Nord-West	93.1	1.9	5.0
North-East	92.9	2.7	4.4
Centre	93.1	2.9	4.0
South	94.2	2.3	3.5
Islands	95.6	1.5	2.9
<i>Total</i>	<i>93.2</i>	<i>2.4</i>	<i>4.3</i>

Source: Elaboration on Istat data.

Concerning the major's duration in office, in compliance with the law his re-eligibility for the third consecutive mandate is allowed only to the municipalities with no more than 3 thousand inhabitants. Due to the presence of the Non-EU citizens, 104 municipalities lose the possibility to have a major running for the third mandate (Table 6). This contingency happens in 76 municipalities of the Northern regions, in 13 of the Central ones, in 15 of the Southern ones. The average population is 3,116 inhabitants, 6.8% of them is Non-EU citizen. Among these 104 municipalities, 20 are involved in the forthcoming administrative elections of 2016. With reference to the Non-EU citizens, their contribution to overcome the '3 thousand' threshold amounts to 3.2%, up to 4% in Northern regions (Table 7).

Table 6 – *Italian municipalities with more than 3 thousand inhabitants due to Non-EU citizens, Census 2011.*

Geographical Area	Municipalities with more than 3 thousand inh.	Average number of residents	Italians	EU-Citizens-27	Non-EU Citizens	Municipalities involved in 2016 Administratives ^(a)
North-West	47	3133	2819	68	246	7
North-East	29	3138	2815	72	251	8
Centre	13	3096	2841	104	151	1
South	10	3042	2905	60	77	3
Islands	5	3021	2926	36	59	1
<i>Total</i>	<i>104</i>	<i>3116</i>	<i>2834</i>	<i>71</i>	<i>210</i>	<i>20</i>

^(a) Caramagna Piemonte, Cugliate Fabiasco, Daverio, Porto Ceresio, Saltrio, Filago, Sesto ed Uniti, Belfiore, San Pietro di Morubio, Gambellara, Nanto, Orgiano, Palazzolo dello Stella, Acquasanta Terme, Tornimparte, Amendolara, Francavilla Marittima, Montevago, Pravidomini, Pennabilli.

Source: Elaboration on Ancitel and Istat data.

If we consider all the Italian municipalities, we notice that the Non-EU citizens determine for 285 of them the passage to an upper population size class: this implies an increase of the number of city councilmen (Tables 8-9).

In fact, their number depends on the *legal population* of reference: from ten members plus the mayor in municipalities with a population up to 3 thousand inhabitants, to a maximum of 48 councilmen in municipalities with one million residents. The ‘demographic parameter’ determines, for a total amount of 254 municipalities located in ordinary-statute regions, an increase of 598 councilmen.

Table 7 – *Municipalities with more than 3 thousand inhabitants due to Non-EU Citizens. Contribution of the various components in overcoming the threshold, Census 2011.*

Geographical Area	Contribution of the Italian residents (%)	Contribution of the EU-Citizens-27 (%)	Contribution of the Non-EU Citizens (%)
North-West	93.9	2.3	3.8
North-East	93.8	2.4	3.8
Centre	94.7	3.5	1.9
South	96.8	2.0	1.2
Islands	97.5	1.2	1.3
<i>Total</i>	<i>94.4</i>	<i>2.4</i>	<i>3.2</i>

Source: Elaboration on Istat data.

Table 8 – *Italian municipalities that pass to an upper population size class due to Non-EU Citizens, Census 2011.*

Geographical Area	Population size class							
	3001-5000	5001-10000	10001-30000	30001-100000	100001-250000	250001-500000	500001-1000000	More than a 1000000
North-West	47	38	28	6	1	0	0	0
North-East	29	29	24	4	3	2	0	0
Centre	13	6	10	2	1	0	0	0
South	10	10	11	3	1	0	0	0
Islands	5	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Total</i>	<i>104</i>	<i>85</i>	<i>73</i>	<i>15</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>0</i>

^(a) The five regions with a Special Statute, Sicily, Sardinia, Valle d'Aosta, Friuli-Venezia Giulia and Trentino-Alto Adige (this latter one constituted from the autonomous provinces Trento and Bolzano) have a greater legislative autonomy compared to the one given to the ordinary regions, hence they can operate differently dealing with electoral matters.

Source: Elaboration on Istat data.

Table 9 – Italian municipalities that pass to an upper population size class due to Non-EU Citizens by size class, Census 2011.

Population size class (threshold n.inhabitants)	N. councilmen provided by the law	Municipalities that pass to a higher class	Municipalities of ordinary statute regions that pass to an upper class ^(a)	N. added councilmen
Up to 3thousand inhabitants	10			
with pop. > 3thousand	12	104	89	178
with pop. > 5thousand	12	85	75	0
with pop. >10thousand	16	73	73	292
with pop. >30thousand	24	15	15	120
with pop. >100thousand	32	6	0	0
with pop. > 250thousand	36	2	2	8
with pop. > 500thousand	40	0	0	0
with pop. > 1million	48	0	0	0
<i>Total</i>		285	254	598

^(a) State capitals are excluded because the number of councilmen is established in advance.

Source: Elaboration based on Istat data.

4. Conclusions

Will the Non-European foreigners influence the 2016 administrative elections even if they do not actively participate to the political choices?

In light of what emerged from the results, the answer can only be affirmative. Our elaborations clearly show how Non-EU citizens resident in Italy play a significant role in determining the election outcomes for more than 1,300 municipalities directly involved in the forthcoming elections.

At this level of government, the electoral competition is strictly ruled by the demographic criterion, i.e. the population resident in the territory of reference. Its amount is certified by the Census, and it takes into account all the population living there, without considering that a more or less considerable part of it do not have the right to vote.

If this case has always been considered as ‘normal’ as regards the minors⁷, it seems always less acceptable for the Non-EU foreigners that are 18 years old or more. Foreign citizens play an active role in determining the procedures (as well as the outcomes) of the electoral consultations. Their uneven geographical distribution at a local level, due to reasons mostly linked to the specificity of the

⁷ Notice some challenging proposals to give the parents an added number of votes in relation to their minor children (Campiglio, 2005).

host territories, can introduce some distorting effects on the political system of representation, especially at a local level, where the presence of Non-EU citizens can be sensibly higher, compared to the national average.

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SUMMARY

Foreigners' weight on election outcomes (in spite of no voting rights)

The aim of this paper is to analyse how the Italian political representation could change if just the population with the right to vote would be considered by the election rules. More specifically, we evaluate the impact of non-European foreigners, without the right to vote, on the political representation at the local level. The results show that non-EU citizens play a significant role in defining the elective procedures for more than 1,300 municipalities directly involved in the forthcoming elections.

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THE ROLE OF EMIGRATION AGENCIES AND SHIPPING COMPANIES IN OUTBOUND FLOWS OF ITALIAN MIGRANTS UNTIL WORLD WAR I

Antonio Cortese, Maria Carmela Miccoli

1. Foreword

Between 1876¹ and 1915, 14,027,660 people emigrated from our country; 62.5 percent of departures was concentrated in the years from the beginning of the twentieth century to World War I. During this period, known as the "great migration", there was a prevalence of transoceanic destinations. In 1913, when emigration reached its peak (873,000 units), the flow towards the United States amounted to 43.2 percent of the total. This transoceanic current was fed in particular by the southern regions.

“The industrial boom in Giolitti’s era, not sufficiently widespread throughout the country, proved unable to absorb the large labour surplus, both of demographic and economic origin (coming from the agricultural sector and rural areas), in the Italian labour market which had to find abroad the chance of survival and work” (Golini e Amato, 2001, p. 51).

It is with reference to these years of real mass exodus, and not only, that we propose to carry out some considerations on the role played by “*emigration agencies*” and “*shipping companies*”.

2. The legislative framework

It would be appropriate to begin with a brief reference to the regulatory framework, the "rules", that have characterized our migration policy.

Starting from far away, it is worth pointing out that the *laissez-faire* attitude towards emigration of the Piedmont leaders, who over the years had become familiar with the benefits of the phenomenon of migration, had dominated the

¹ 1876 is the year in which starts, at the request of the Board of Statistics, the survey of expatriates

Italian political life for many years after the accomplishment of the Unity of Italy (Vitiello, 2013).

After 1861 *circulars* were issued by the Ministry of Interior. Particularly important were the "Circular Menabrea" of 28 January 1868 and the "Circular Lanza" of 18 January 1873 feebly attempting to halt emigration (through the latter, in particular, prefects were urged to "give precise and strict instructions to prevent and denounce to the competent authority dishonest speculation by agencies, and illegal migration, and to curb it if lawful" (Ciuffoletti e Degl'Innocenti, 1978, p.32); the result was a growth of illegal emigration departing from foreign ports (Annino, 1974).

"The theses of Cavour, inspired by the classic orthodoxy of free trade were denied, with apparent contradiction, in the Seventies, by the very liberal sectors of the Right and Left Wings, which brought together the interests of agrarians, traders and bankers, all dominating the Chambers of the period. Landowners in particular carried forward a fierce attack against emigration which, because of its high rural component, seemed to threaten the productive structure in the countryside. A sudden rise in labour demand was basically feared, whose social repercussions would undermine the advantageous position to which, especially the South landowners, were tenaciously attached" (Annino, 1974, p. 1233).

The subsequent "Circular Nicotera" of 28 January 1876 showed a higher degree of openness towards expatriation. Yet, it would not, however, answer with sufficient coherence the agonizing dilemma: is migration to be condemned due to the loss of manpower, or is it to be encouraged as a means of greater wealth? However, in 1888 the first emigration law was enacted (n. 5866 of 30 December) stating at art. 1 that "emigration is free". Main result of the law was to regulate the activity of mediation agencies - which will be discussed further below - and establish other forms of protection of migrants. "The law did not shed light on the set of principles from which organizational rules were to be gathered for the grading and the development of a phenomenon becoming progressively more impressive; instead it was to be regarded as a set of repressive standards to hit cheating brokers and unscrupulous agents" (Darbesio, 1953, p. 248).

This brings us to 1901, along with the surge of outbound flows, and the enactment of the first organic law on migration (n. 23 of 30 January) which provided for the creation of the General Commission of Emigration, a special office for the emigration protection intended to bring together and manage all the related skills hitherto assigned to various offices and ministries.

3. Emigration agencies

Illiteracy rates, underpinned by the censuses of 1881 and 1901, show that in the southern and island regions, whose population between 1901 and 1915 had fed more than 70 percent of the transoceanic current, exceeded abundantly the threshold of 50 percent among males and 70 percent among females².

Table 1 – Rates of illiteracy by sex in censuses of 1881 and 1901 in southern and island regions *

Regions	Census 1881		Census 1901	
	M	F	M	F
Abruzzo e Molise	70,4	90,0	58,5	79,8
Campania	67,4	83,2	56,9	72,6
Puglia	73,6	86,4	63,7	75,3
Basilicata	77,2	92,6	66,5	83,1
Calabria	76,3	93,1	69,2	87,0
Sicilia	74,6	87,8	65,2	76,6
Sardinia	73,0	87,3	61,0	76,1

Illiterate people aged 6 years and more over 100 inhabitants of the same age
Source: Noble, 1965.

It can therefore be claimed that the brokerage activities carried out by emigration agencies responded to specific needs and requests of poor farmers, mostly illiterate, who wanted to seek abroad better living conditions and needed help for processing the necessary paperwork, needed advice on the most convenient choice of vector and help for reading letters sometimes received from relatives and acquaintances. As noted by Bodio, the law of 1888 “was almost entirely based on the criteria of a police service, rather than providing for the establishment of information offices in the hometowns of the main migratory movements, or promoting the establishment of institutes of patronage and placement for migrants abroad” (Bodio, 1902, p.11).

Emigration agencies were not only staffed by central recruitment managers but also by local sub-agents along with an army of middlemen and contractors, that not always proved to be professional “trouble-makers” and “swindlers” (Franzina, 1976), as be often called by the newspapers against emigration. Expatriation candidates often showed in fact, a natural distrust toward these operators. The best way to dissipate their justified doubts was to be reassured by people playing a

² See Noble, 1965. Also according to American data source, at the beginning of the twentieth century the highest percentage of illiterates for every 100 migrants landed in the United States was recorded among Italians coming from central and southern provinces (46,6%). See Corinaldi 1902

social role of unquestionable reliability like the priest, the police sergeant, the teacher, the municipal official, etc. (Martellini, 1998).

The news about the Americas, issued by shipping companies and foreign consulates of the hosting countries, were filtered by the emigration agents and then repeated in countless discussions among friends and acquaintances (Brunello, 1982).

The "marketing releases" of the mediating structures contained exaggerations, claiming, for instance, that farmers become unfit for work in the hosting country could count on a generous pension and the certainly, very often repeated, of easy access to land property. There were also frauds of intermediaries who pocketed advance payments and then disappeared. Anyway, the controversy over "misdeeds" of agencies reflects the long-lasting political conflicts between emigration advocates and those who denounced emigration dangers.

The already mentioned "circular Lanza" of 1873 stated: "For a long time the State has been witnessing the reprehensible speculation to promote, with the intention to obtain increased profits, the emigration of citizens, especially to South America; for this purpose several agents travelled through the provinces where farmers are more ignorant and poor, to encourage them to abandon their native places, with the lure of easy fortunes in the New World.

Many families of peasants, deceived by misleading promises, sell their household goods and even some of their clothing to pay the price of the trip to speculators, who then embark them crudely as if they were cattle and, when they do not forsake them in some intermediate port, land them in America, where, for meagre advances, these unfortunate fall at the mercy of other speculators who also take advantage of them, by depriving them from their liberty and to then leave them in poverty.

This is, in general, the hard condition of the majority of our emigrants; and as long as a series of mournful news come from abroad and the accidents narrated by survivors will not have taken away from the minds of the peasants the illusion that crafty emissaries were able to insinuate, many will still be the victims of this dishonest traffic" (Ciuffoletti e Degl'Innocenti, 1978, pp.31-32).

The previously mentioned "Crispi law" of 1888 tried to make things clear through police measures. Article 2 stated that "No one can enlist migrants, sell or distribute tickets to emigrate, act as mediator for profit between those who want to emigrate and whoever procures or promotes boarding, unless they have an Agent license from the Home Office". Subsequent articles of the law established procedures for obtaining, granting and withdrawing mentioned license; these articles were addressed to ship owners, agents, sub-agents, so that they operated only in the area authorized, explicitly warning them to refrain from travelling

throughout the country to encourage migration. Articles 13-16 established the relationship between agents and emigrants, the procedure for filing complaints to the Consulates and finally penalties for unauthorized agents and transgressors (Darbesio, 1953).

It is worth noting that, while before it was necessary to convince workers to look for better living conditions elsewhere, praising the virtue of places closer to fantasy than reality, going to squares and markets to advertise their products, as the period of the "great migration" got closer (e.g. from the very beginning of the XX century) demand began to be so urgent that migrants themselves went to mediators' house or representatives' office (often located in the same place) to ask for boarding tickets (Martellini, 1998).

Conditions for the launch of the first organic law on immigration were progressively maturing - law that, as we have seen, was passed in 1901. After long negotiations between Parliament and Government, a special parliamentary commission agreed on a single text on the basis of which it was drawn up a unique report.

"While in parliamentary proposals the legal existence of agencies and sub-agents kept on being recognized, though looking for guarantees and with more stringent measures to limit their abuses; in government proposals agencies were not allowed to deal with migrants or sell travel tickets; only shipping companies and their representatives were allowed to do so. In parliamentary proposals it was demonstrated the convenience of permitting the work of agents, because of the competition that they could have promoted and maintained among the shipping companies, making difficult for the latter to join in trusts and thus raise freight and ticket costs for journeys between Italian ports and transatlantic countries. In government proposals, instead, it was reminded how much damage agents had caused, especially to the most ignorant and poorest workers; it was also remarked that the representatives that companies had the power to appoint could fully replace the work of the agents" (Manzotti, 1969, p. 106).

The disagreement reflected a substantial conflict of interests. Agents claimed that they were not trying to attract immigrants with flattery and deceit and that they did not want to impose certain carriers, without considering factors like comfort, hygiene and speed. On the contrary, they boasted to have often broken agreements with Italian or foreign companies, which rose prices at the expense of emigrants, without improving travel conditions. Companies accused agents to divert emigrants with "morbid industriousness" towards ships -even of foreign companies-offering them a higher commission. The so much condemned trusts, they added, were nothing more than a legitimate agreement to counteract the claims and the of agents, as well as a legitimate precaution against the ticket reductions threatening to discontinue the services offered at a fair price (Manzotti, 1969).

The winning formula which inspired the law n. 23 of 1901, was based on the principle that there would be no emigration agents and sub-agents and that agreements and arrangements among shipping companies to the detriment of migrants would not be tolerated. As a matter of fact, under the new rules agents and sub-agents were being replaced by company representatives and, at the same time, the new Emigration Commissariat would be charged with the supervision of freight prices and conditions of transport.

Shipping companies were offered the opportunity to contact the local authorities of countries or districts attracting substantial migratory flows in order to signal potential individuals of absolute reliability and demonstrated capacity to become their representative (usually the appointed persons came from a small circle of social personalities close to the same authorities). Former agents were often confirmed in the role and could thus regularize the position, as imposed by mentioned law, and got trained on skills required for their new professional obligations; the new procedure resulted in the appointment of people of consolidated experience, acquainted with the territory and its inhabitants, equipped with a portfolio of well-established trade network (Martellini, 1998).

4. Shipping companies

Shipping companies obviously played a key role in the journey of Italian emigrants towards transoceanic destinations or to countries along Mediterranean shores. Between 1876 and 1915, over half of the approximately 14 million of our national fellow expatriates reached the United States, Argentina or Brazil.

Genoa was the main departing port of Italian emigration until the outburst of the phenomenon in the southern regions occurred at the beginning of the twentieth century. It is estimated that, in the period between 1830 and the beginning of the twentieth century, over four million migrants embarked in Genoa (Capocaccia, 2009).

Large numbers of people left from foreign ports, illegal migration played in fact an important role. This phenomenon was not just limited to the secret expatriation of people who had to respond to the law of some sort of crime (in particular the quinquennial military service obligation did not meet with approval: if the military draft recorded 4.800 draft dodgers in 1840, in 1901 there were 31.906 denunciations for failing to report for military service), but also extended to expatriation through unauthorized carriers operating in national territory - ships offering cheaper fares and fewer controls on landing, without granting to migrants, though, the protection guaranteed by Italian government. The number of migration

agents operating without the licence released by Home Office requested by the law of 1888 was also substantial. Usually these illegal recruiters depended on agencies with offices registered in Switzerland or France. Embarkation usually took place in Marseilles or Le Havre, seldom in Hamburg or Trieste (Martellini, 1998).

Italian emigrants working abroad would also depart from foreign ports. Sori sheds light on this migrating nomadism stating that "it groups wandering workers in search of work reach the ports of Marseille, Le Havre, Bordeaux, Bremen and Hamburg, where they embark for the Americas" (Sori, 1979, p. 323). He mentions the case of 200 Italians who arrived to New Zealand via Hamburg in 1876; they were bricklayers and labourers become unemployed in Germany after the stop of construction and railway works caused by the economic crisis of the second half of the Seventies. It should also be recalled, in this regard, the story of 355 Italian emigrants (mainly from Piedmont and Lombardy) who arrived to Australia in 1891 on board of the British ship *Jumna* to replace sugar cane plantation workers recruited in the Pacific Islands and Italian groups in Tunisia that travelled to Marseille, where they embarked for the United States.

No surprise, therefore, to note, as reported by one of our emigration inspectors on the basis of data from American sources, that the percentage of Italians arrived to the United States from non-Italian ports increased from 1,2 percent in 1902 to 5,1 percent in 1908 (di Palma di Castiglione, 1913). Similar remarks can be made for Argentina: our diplomatic representative in Buenos Aires in 1902 estimated that out of the 53,295 Italians landed in the country in 1899 and of the 52,143 landed in 1900, 6,694 and 4,568 -respectively - came from foreign ports (Malaspina di Carbonara, 1902). Embarking from foreign ports was also due to the difficulties encountered at a first stage by the Italian emigrants coming by railway from the northern regions to the port of Genoa (Molinari, 2001).

It should be noted that not all our emigrants leaving from Italian ports have travelled on Italian-flagged ships. During the years of the "great migration" about a third of our countrymen in fact crossed the Atlantic by ships of foreign companies (i.e. Norddeutscher Lloyd, Hamburg-Amerika Linie, Transatlántica de Barcelona, Compagnie général transatlantique, Dominion Line Transports Maritimes, Luis Huguet y Ferriol, etc.). *La Veloce*, founded in 1897, became in 1989 property of three German banks. "Since the Eighties onward the steam industry was funded by a diversified capital originating from industry and finance, which also replaced the old merchant capital in the transatlantic branch. This new type of capital was encouraged by government navigation grant awards that, for their selective nature, increased the tendency to monopoly, as was the case of *Navigazione Generale Italiana*, established in 1881 resulting from the merge of Rubattino and Florio companies" (Annino, 1974, p. 1257).

From 1876 to 1901 about 60 percent of Italian transoceanic emigration embarked in the port of Genoa. There is not, however, as seen above, a direct and immediate relationship between the increase in traffic and the development of the Genoese fleet. "There is, in fact, a diminishing participation of national shipping companies in the port traffic of Genoa. The matter was connected to the delay of the Genoese shipping companies to adapt to the profound changes taking place in the fleets of the rest of the world; in other words, it was related to their inability to promptly implement technological progress by shifting from sail to steam" (Doria, 2008, pp.276-7).

To use the words of another scholar, "the inclusion of the ship-owner classes and Italian maritime economy in the context of migratory traffic are characterized, from the beginning, by a clear strategy: the conciliation of maximum profits with minimal investment. It is certainly no coincidence that the development of the Genoese companies, the first to practice the transoceanic transport of emigrants, took place in a time of free emigration policies promoted and subsidized for a good part of the nineteenth century by the countries of South America" (Molinari, 2001, p.241). The migratory traffic over the years of the final part of century became a "driving force" of the national economy, meeting the interests of shipbuilding and steel industries, the largest industrial and financial monopolies of the time. The favorable conditions for Italian ship-owners, imposing no legal constraints for the management of the transport of emigrants and "protected" state subsidies, encouraged the entrepreneurial strategies above mentioned. The replacement of the "ships of shame" from the transoceanic routes, occurred in the early years of the twentieth century only as a result of control measures on the "quality" of migration put into practice in the United States (Molinari, 2001).

During the same period the prevalence of flows originating from the South and the migratory movements towards the United States would result in the supremacy of the port of Naples in the emigration traffic. Already in 1901 the Neapolitan port embarked a share of emigrants twice that of Genoa. From 1905 the migratory traffic became important in the port of Palermo and at a lower extent in the port of Messina (Molinari, 2001).

5. The last traces of the agency network

The widespread network of territorial agencies and representatives of shipping companies, indispensable for the high degree of illiteracy of migrants, was probably one of the supporting mechanisms of the migratory chains that at the

beginning of the last century have strongly characterized Italy and its "Mezzogiorno".

Such network also seemed to have rooted in the territory. The proof is the fact that in the early Seventies - after two world wars and an autarchic regime orienting outbound migratory flows towards the "Empire colonies" - it was still possible to find the signs of an "Emigration Representative" collaborating with shipping companies and (a sign of acquired modernity) airlines responsible for transoceanic routes along the main street of a mountain village in Calabria.

Photo 1 – *Commercial sign of the local «Emigration Representative» along the main street of Serra San Bruno, 1973*



Source: *familiae photo-archive Ancona-Miccoli*

At the end of World War II, in fact, the "old" emigration organizational scheme had taken new force for the weaknesses of the South. Even though destination countries had largely changed (clearly European countries prevailed to which relatively new destinations such as Australia and Canada were added) the old tried and tested machine could work again at full speed³.

³ The town is Serra San Bruno (over 800 mts above sea level, 6850 inhabitants in 2011); now in the province of Vibo Valentia, Serra San Bruno belonged to the province of Catanzaro.

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SUMMARY

The role of emigration agencies and shipping companies in outbound flows of italian migrants until World War I

The paper deals with the role of migration agencies and shipping companies in outflows originated in Italy until the World War I.

While migration agencies – often criticized for giving misleading promises – provided the necessary support to people seeking better conditions abroad, shipping companies carried a multitude of emigrants to the other shores of Atlantic. The economic segment dealing with the improvement of the national ship-owning industry drew benefit from this activity, as ships were, albeit belatedly, refurbished. Shipping companies also received criticism for their tendency to join in trusts to raise freight and fare costs.

The situation was remedied by the first organic law on emigration enacted in 1901, which replaced migration agencies with carrier representatives and entrusted the Commissariat of Emigration the supervision of freights.

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