Integration strategies and policies in Italy: 
the case of intellectual migrant women

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Introduction
Migration is not a typically contemporary phenomenon, and it existed from prehistoric times. It is often thought that mostly men migrate and so the number and the role of migrant women has been invisible for a long time because they were not considered as independents but linked to the family reunification processes. International Labour Organisation estimates that in the last forty years of the Twentieth century the number of females who migrated were approximately the same as the number of men who migrated. From the last forty years of the Twentieth century women who migrated were forty-seven per cent of migrants and in the end of the Twentieth century they reached forty-nine per cent.

In the last fifty years although the number of migrant women has not changed very much, some studies use the terms of “feminisation” of migration referring mostly to the increase of women who migrated in certain parts of world and particularly it underlines the transformation of the purposes and reasons of female migration. More and more women decide to leave independently their countries of origin in search of professional development opportunities, as breadwinners and not only following their husbands as family members. Many women are skilled


and migrate to improve their career possibilities and some countries have developed policies to attract skilled migrants.

In order to understand what the research intends when the term skilled or intellectual migrant women is used, it is important to try to define the term. One of the most important elements is the degree of education and of professional occupation. The term refers to women who have completed three year university degree or more. The degree of education is easily available in statistics and the most studied element of the migration of skilled migrants in general and skilled or intellectual migrant women in particular. Classical destination countries like The United States of America, Canada, Australia and to a certain extent the United Kingdom have developed specific programmes in order to attract skilled migrants introducing the points systems. The member states of the European Union aim to develop not only a common immigration policy for all national states but they also want to go beyond it, by adopting a European Union Directive on the policies of entrance and settlement of skilled male and female migrants who come from third countries. The proposal of this European Union directive defines common policies and conditions for the entry of skilled migrants and the issue of European

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Blue Card. This directive is still not adopted although other steps have been made on common asylum policies and long term residents who under specific conditions have the right to work within the Schengen area.

Although at a slower step, Italy has followed the trend concerning the international migration flows and the progressive feminisation of migrations. In particular, at the beginning of the 1990s, migrant women in Italy represented only around 40 per cent of all migrants while the average at the international level was around 49 per cent. Nevertheless, during the last fifteen years Italy has exceeded the international average reaching 50.4 per cent of migrant women on the total stock of migrants who live there. Nevertheless, for a long time Italy was reluctant in accepting the new situation which has made of the Bel Paese not any more an emigration but an immigration country. It is comprehensible that the emigration of 24 million people on a period of a century and an half left a heavy heritage which could not be easily changed into a hosting society approach.

If immigration has passed almost unnoticed during the beginning of the 1970s, the first policies have been adopted in the 1980s and starting from the end of the Twentieth century, immigration issues have been pushed into the political arena developing a debate on how immigration could have benefited to the Italian economy and on the possibility/impossibility of migrants’ integration within the Italian society.

The focus on immigration from a merely juridical or economic perspective has influenced greatly several researches which have privileged disadvantaged migrants as object of analysis in a sheer perspective of human rights defence. This approach is highly necessary and useful, although it does not cover all aspects of

7 See Chapter II of this dissertation.
8 See Annexe I, table 18.
9 See Annexe I, table 1.
migrants’ integration. In particular, it does not take into consideration a great number of skilled immigrants who live in the *Peninsula*.

This research aims to fill a gap in the research landscape by tackling the immigrants’ integration from a peculiar point of view and through a particular perspective that of the intellectual or highly skilled migrant women.

The feminisation of immigration is accompanied by a progressive emancipation of women as it is shown in the data concerning the purpose according to which they have been delivered a permit of stay. In particular, during the last fifteen years the number of permits of stay delivered under family reunification purposes has decreased of around 5 per cent while those delivered for working purposes and those for education purpose have increased respectively of 8 per cent and 12 per cent\(^{10}\).Nevertheless, this relative emancipation in relation to male migrants does not mean a global trend of emancipation of migrant women, especially concerning employment policies which have been introduced in the last years, such as those concerning the “house caring workers”\(^{11}\).

During the last fifteen years, immigration flows reaching Italy have changed not only in terms of gender composition but also in terms of country of origin. At the beginning of the 1990s, the countries which provided the highest number of immigrants in absolute terms were two Northern African countries, Morocco and Tunisia. Immigrants from these countries were essentially men\(^{12}\), while immigrants coming from other countries such as the United States of

\(^{10}\) See Annexe I, tables 20.1 and 20.2.

\(^{11}\) The number of permits of stay delivered to women for dependent work has increased of around 8 per cent, while the number of those for autonomous work has decreased of almost 3 per cent. See Annexe I, table 21.

\(^{12}\) Women represented less than 10 per cent of the migrants stock from Morocco and Tunisia. See Annexe I, table 22.1.
America, the Philippines, Germany, France, Switzerland, Poland, Brazil and Argentina were women in more than five cases on ten\textsuperscript{13}.

In the mid-Nineties, the situation started to change. The first country which provided immigrants was still Morocco, but the percentage of female migrants from that country has increased up to 20 per cent\textsuperscript{14}. Albania has jumped from the seventh position to the second with an increase of almost two thirds on the whole. China as well as the Philippines, Sri Lanka, India and Poland have almost doubled the number of their immigrants in Italy\textsuperscript{15}.

In the mid-Nineties immigrants from Romania begin to reach Italy and in less than five years become the most numerous group of immigrants shifting from around 26 thousand in 1997 to over 267 thousand in 2007\textsuperscript{16}. Immigrants from Romania and Albania are the two most copious communities in Italy, occupying respectively the second and the first position in the list of the first twenty countries of origin\textsuperscript{17}. Immigrants coming from other two countries have increased considerably their presence, namely from China and Ukraine.

It is interesting to observe that in 2008 the area providing the highest number of immigrants is Europe, particularly the new member states of the European Union. The ten new countries which joined the European Union in 2004 provide around 776 thousand immigrants to Italy, which correspond to almost the total amount of immigrants coming from all Africa\textsuperscript{18}. It is interesting to note that

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{13} \textit{Ibidem}, table 22.1.
  \item \textsuperscript{14} \textit{Ibidem}, table 22.2.
  \item \textsuperscript{15} \textit{Ibidem}.
  \item \textsuperscript{16} \textit{Ibidem}, tables 22.3 and 22.4.
  \item \textsuperscript{17} \textit{Ibidem}, table 22.4.
  \item \textsuperscript{18} \textit{Ibidem}, table 26.
\end{itemize}
the majority of migrant women resident in Italy come from European countries. Taking into consideration the macro areas of origin of immigrants who live in Italy, migrant women represent around 62 per cent of all migrants coming from the Americas, around 60 per cent of all migrants from Oceania, around 55 per cent of all migrants from European countries, around 45 per cent of all migrants from Asia and only 39 per cent of all migrants from Africa\textsuperscript{19}.

The hypothesis of this research is that intellectual or skilled migrant women do not follow “traditional” strategies to integrate into the Italian society, but they go beyond the learning of the hosting country’s language and the learning of cultural habits through achievements of deep cultural, civic and political awareness which allows them to overcome the daily problems and participate in the cultural and social activities at a high level. “Traditional” strategies of integration of migrant women concern women’s access to the labour market in the domestic related services, caring for the elderly and the ill or as housewives who have followed their husbands in Italy through family reunifications. These “traditional” strategies are on one hand an outcome of the image of migrant women widespread in the mass media and public opinion and on the other the result of restrictive immigration policies. The image of migrant women is the one which associates them to the fact of being vulnerable, victims of sexual exploitation, unqualified and submissive. Consequently, the immigration policies reflect this image and strengthen the points of protection to the women who have been victims of smuggling and sexual exploitation which are very important and also aim at the regularization of the domestic workers but lack in provisions of promoting qualified women’s integration.

This research expects to see that there are immigrant women who do not correspond to the stereotype and who develop their own strategies of integration.

\textsuperscript{19} Ibidem. Migrant women represent around 50 per cent of the immigrants in Italy.
The strategies of integration are expected to be active involvement in the social life through participation in cultural, literary business and scientific life as well as in the civil society.

This dissertation will be divided into three main parts concerning gender migration in an international context, immigration policies, gender strategies of integration in Italy and the involvement of skilled migrant women in the cultural, literary business and scientific life in the Italian society.

The first chapter aims at the analysis of the main aspects concerning international migrations in general and gender migrations in particular. This chapter is divided into four main sections. The first two sections focus on migration as a global phenomenon and theories regarding this issue. The third and the fourth sections highlight the different policies adopted internationally in order to control and face the different immigration flows in time. This process is not a contemporary one; it has always existed, although in different forms, as populations’ mobility is a substantial characteristic of human beings. History demonstrates that migration is not the condition of the Contemporary Man but it is a characteristic of the whole humanity since the beginning of its expansion. In order to have a general view of migration as a global phenomenon, male and female international migrations and their impact on the hosting societies are analysed through the historical context. Then, the theories on the migration causes and different types of migration’s status will be evaluated. The third section discusses the international legislation concerning migrants in order to highlight the complexity of the different types of migration and the defence of the rights of the weakest. The fourth section will compare examples of existing immigration policies in different countries, stressing on the classical immigration countries like the United States of America, Canada and on some new immigration countries in Europe.

The aim of the second chapter is to analyse the main aspects concerning immigration and in particular gender immigration policies in Italy. The migration
flows influence a lot the States decisions regarding their immigration policies. These policies are often followed by debates and conflicts not only in the parliament but also by the public opinion. This chapter is divided into three main sections. The first section focuses on migrations to Italy as an historical phenomenon, taking into consideration both aspects of emigration and immigration from the unification of Italy until nowadays. The second section highlights the different policies adopted by Italian governments in order to control and face immigration flows from the nineteenth century onwards with a particular attention to the policies which are gender related. The third section argues the different strategies of integration, the “traditional” strategies, adopted by migrant women who reached Italy in order to highlight the complexity of the different levels of integration and settlement.

The third chapter focuses on the integration strategies developed by skilled migrant women who live in Italy. The first section describes and explains the different integration models from the exclusionary one, where there is a will to refuse migrants and above all not to consider them as future citizens of the nation or as full members and participants of the society. Migrant women become easy victims in these contexts, because although they pay taxes, consume, get married, and bear children they work in the domestic sphere which does not allow them but to fully participate in the social, cultural and political life of the society they live in. The second integration model is the so-called assimilationist method which concentrates on inclusion policies in which the immigrants become indistinguishable from the society they live in. Through a good study of the language of the majority and attendance of normal schools for migrants the state helps the creation of good conditions for these policies. The third model studied is the multicultural one which tends to highlight and consider the differences as being a treasure and leads to the migrant’s full participation in the state and nation.

Multicultural citizenship seems to be a good approach to the problem of defining membership in a state\textsuperscript{21}. Since Italy, unlike other Western European countries, has become a destination country for many migrants in the last thirty years is still in search of a model of possible integration for migrants\textsuperscript{22}.

The second section of the third chapter analyses the involvement level of the migrant women in the Italian society through the data from secondary sources such as women’s participation and leadership in the politics, in the Trade-Unions, in the intercultural mediation. A specific importance is given to female migrant writers who have emerged in the Italian literature in the last fifteen years and how and why they have had less visibility from the male migrant writers. The literary and artistic works of migrant writers and women migrant writers in particular become an important mean of coming out from the darkness and trying to make heard their experiences. In a way it becomes an integration strategy. Since migrants do not have the right to vote, their voice can not be heard and their will can not be counted so they have used the literary and the artistic tools to dialogue with the hosting society.

The third section of the chapter is dedicated to the presentation of the results of a survey carried out during the months of November 2007 until January 2008. The aim of this survey was the collection of first hand data about the strategies developed by intellectual migrant women to integrate into the Italian society. So as to accomplish this survey, the hypothesis was that if the same questions were asked to skilled migrant women who reside in Italy the survey would enable the detection of their integration strategies. A questionnaire has been developed and it contains open questions. The questionnaire has been


proposed to thirty skilled migrant women who were identified through the help of the Caritas/Migrantes Editorial Office which edits every year every year since 2001 the main Italian reference publication on statistics and policies concerning immigration.

As far as the sample is concerned, Caritas/Migrantes Editorial Office was asked to suggest thirty women independently of their city of residence. The choice of migrant women to get involved in the survey was left to Caritas/Migrantes Editorial Office which had to select women coming from non-European Union countries covering the whole spectrum of possibilities, women engaged in civil society such as in Trade Unions and in civil rights’ associations, or engaged in cultural activities such as intercultural mediation and publishing and writing about their experience on migration, as well as women engaged in entrepreneurship. Civil status, family situation, origin and age of the migrant women were not critical for the selection of the sample and some of them these aspects emerged during the interviews.

As for the hypothesis, the research expects to see that there are immigrant women who do not correspond to the image of migrant women as an unskilled worker, who develop their own strategies of integration in the Italian society. The strategies of integration are expected to be active involvement in the social life through participation in cultural, literary business and scientific life as well as in the civil society.

23 “Caritas and Migrantes are church organisms concerned with immigration that has its own personal and multiple service structures since the 1970s when the phenomenon became visible” (Source: Caritas).

24 This is done because European Union citizens have the same rights of the national citizens. See Chapter I for more details on European Union directive.
In the conclusion the research will highlight policies and best practices which have been developed and been effective in the integration of the intellectual migrant women which can be an initial point of a debate on immigration and gender related aspects, such as the inclusion of the intellectual migrant women.
Chapter I
Migrant women on the move: 
International migrations and gender
1.1.1. Migrations as a global phenomenon in time and space

International migration is a global action as it does not concern only one individual who decides to move in search of better life conditions. Migration is a long process which affects social changes in both sending and receiving societies in the long run. This process is not a contemporary one, it has always existed, although in different forms, as populations’ mobility is a substantial characteristic of human beings. History demonstrates that migration is not the condition of the Contemporary Man but it is a characteristic of the whole humanity since the beginning of its expansion.

The aim of this chapter is to analyse the main aspects concerning international migrations in general and gender migrations in particular. This chapter is divided into four main sections.

The first two sections focus on migration as a global phenomenon and theories regarding this issue. The third and the fourth sections highlight the
different policies adopted internationally in order to control and face the different immigration flows in time.

In order to have a general view of migration as a global phenomenon, male and female international migrations and their impact on the hosting societies are analysed through the historical context. Then, the theories on the migration causes and different types of migration’s status will be evaluated.

The third section discusses the international legislation concerning migrants in order to highlight the complexity of the different types of migration and the defence of the rights of the weakest. The fourth section will compare examples of existing immigration policies in different countries, stressing on the classical immigration countries like the United States of America and Canada and on some new immigration countries in Europe.
1.2.1. Invasions vs Völkerwanderungen

Since the origin of the first *Homo sapiens*, the history of the human kind has been that of a progressive settlement in different areas of the world stemming from the African continent. Archaeologists and linguists used to talk about the period from the Neolithic era until the end of the Antiquity as a clash of populations on which the foundation of the contemporary world based its civilisations. Contemporary historiography gives a more subtle vision, insisting more on the progressive character of these movements linked to an economic system than on the hypothetic warlike nature of certain populations which for a long time were considered as invaders.\(^{25}\)

Therefore, migrations which affected the territories of the Roman Empire and of its successor states, in Europe and in Northern Africa, between the Antiquity and the Middle Age have been called by the classic historiography

Barbaric invasions. This definition leads to a misinterpretation of the term barbaric which literally means someone who is “not Greek”. Germanic historians prefer the usage of the term *Völkerwanderung* which means “populations’ migration”, whereas mostly French historians refer to *Great Invasions* \(^{26}\). *Völkerwanderung* between the Antiquity and the Middle Age is a segment of a great migration movement oriented mostly from the East to the West and from the north to the South which affected Europe from the second century b.C. to the thirteenth century a.C. These migrations which concerned not only Germanic populations but also Celts, Berbers, Iranians, Turks (Huns and Bulgarians) are of relevant importance because this period has seen the ruin of the Roman Empire and the creation of a series of new states, many of which are the ancestors of the modern and contemporary European countries\(^{27}\).

The history of “populations’ migration” between the Antiquity and the Middle Age is difficult to be written as available sources are scarce and almost always unilateral, coming mostly from the Roman side. Except Ostrogoths and Anglo-Saxons, the other migrant populations have written nothing. Nevertheless, we dispose of documentary sources (public documents and private writings) which enable us to study the migration flows in detail only starting from the eleventh century\(^{28}\).


1.2.2. Modern and contemporary migrations

From the end of the Middle Age, the development of the European states and the beginning of the colonisations gave a new impulse to international migrations. The discovery of the new World gave rise to various types of migrations. In the beginning there was the movement of people from Europe to the Americas and then to Africa and Asia. Europeans migrated as sailors, farmers, soldiers, priests, etc. These migrations brought major modifications in the economic and social structures of the colonised territories as well as of the European countries. Although slavery had existed in pre-capitalist societies, it took a new face with the system of colonialism which created a global dimension of labour migrations. Around 15 million slaves were brought to Northern America before the end of the nineteenth century. Slavery was progressively substituted by another form of forced migration, called “indentured work” which consisted in the enrolment usually against their will of great groups of workers who were sent to another place to work. This system was also known as “coolie system” and was

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widely used by the British and Dutch authorities, involving from 13 to 37 million workers between 1830s and 1940s\textsuperscript{31}.

The industrial revolution coincided with the migration of lots of Europeans to the United States of America, South America and Australia. More than forty million people from Europe have moved in Northern and Southern America and Australia from the beginning of the nineteenth century to the beginning of the twentieth century\textsuperscript{32}. For many migrants who came from South Eastern Europe, America represented a possibility of becoming farmers or traders. This possibility was often a dream which didn’t come true as many migrants did unskilled jobs and poorly paid ones, like building roads and railways.

Since the discovery of the new World and the exploration of the other continents, migrations took place from Europe to the new conquered territories. From 1800 to 1935, almost 50 million Europeans moved overseas\textsuperscript{33}. Before the First World War, in 1913 other 2 million Europeans emigrated from the Old Continent. Between the two World Wars, migratory movement has slowed down for several reasons. Birth rates decreased in Europe, persons in their twenties to thirties diminished because they were summoned to arms. Host countries introduced entry restrictions and the U.S.S.R. forbid emigration. After the 1930s crises unemployment increased reducing the need of migrant workers coming from Europe\textsuperscript{34}.


\textsuperscript{32} DECLOÎTRES, R. (1967) \textit{The foreign worker} Paris: OECD, p. 2.


After the World War II, an unforeseen change happened. The active population increased more than the rest of the population in the industrialised countries, in Europe as well as in Northern America. Between 1950s and 1960s, population increased of 16% in Italy, 13% in the Netherlands, 14% in Switzerland, 24% in West Germany\textsuperscript{35}. This population managed to integrate into a growing economy and the unemployment shrank creating a lack of \textit{main-d'œuvre} between 1954 and 1955. Northern and Western industrialised Europe did not suffer any more from a surplus, but from a lack of \textit{main-d'œuvre}. That’s why European countries appealed to foreign workers.

Emigrants from the less developed Southern European countries went to the North of the Continent, first Italians and Spanish and then Portuguese, Greeks and people from former Yugoslavia\textsuperscript{36}. During this period the gravity point of the demographic pressure is displaced. A real explosion happened in the less developed countries due to an important drop in the mortality rate and to the growth of the population. Independence from the colonial power did not mean the end of the historical links of the colonised countries with their colonisers because their populations continued to migrate there in search of a job. That’s why, Jamaicans as well as Indians or Pakistanis reached the United Kingdom, people from Maghreb as well as from Sub-Saharan Africa went to France, etc.


1.2.3. International gender migrations

Statistical data concerning women’s migrations are only available starting from 1960s when international migrants are estimated up to 75 millions and migrant women represent almost 46 per cent\textsuperscript{37}. During the following forty-five years, international migrants have more than doubled, attaining the number of one hundred and ninety millions in 2005. What is of particular interest is that the percentage of female migrants over male migrants has changed in half a century, passing from 47.2 per cent in 1985 to 49.0 per cent in 1990 with an increase of 1.8 per cent in only five years. This change has been followed by a stabilisation which has seen an increase of only 0.6 per cent in the following fifteen years\textsuperscript{38}. These data indicate a deep change in international migration process which once was dominated by male mobility; while at present migrant women play a role more and more important as independent migrants and main breadwinners\textsuperscript{39}.


\textsuperscript{38} See Annexe 1, table 1.

Nevertheless this observation might be nuanced by the different distribution of women migrating to developed or less developed countries\textsuperscript{40}. In 1960, 32 millions migrants were estimated in developed countries with 48.9 per cent of women, while in less developed countries they were 43 millions with 45.3 per cent of women. Over 45 years the situation has changed deeply\textsuperscript{41}, in developed countries the number of migrants has increased five times, reaching one hundred and fifteen millions of migrants while in less developed countries the number has not doubled attaining seventy-five millions. Of remarkable interest is the fact that the percentage of migrant women has slightly changed in less developed countries with an increase of only 0.2 per cent, while in developed countries it has passed from 48.9 per cent up to 52.2 per cent, with an increase of 3.3 per cent.

\textsuperscript{40} The definition of “developed countries” and “less developed countries” is proposed by the Department of Economic and Social Affairs of the United Nations Secretariat and does not represent any socio-anthropological judgment on these countries. “Developed countries” include all regions of Europe plus Northern America, Australia/New Zealand and Japan. The totals for Europe do not include the successor States of the former USSR for the periods before 1990, because it was not possible to derive estimates for these States before their independence. Instead, the former U.S.S.R., as a single unit, is included in the more developed countries between 1960 and 1985. “Less developed regions” comprise all regions of Africa, Asia (excluding Japan), Latin America and the Caribbean plus Melanesia, Micronesia and Polynesia. The totals for Asia do not include the successor States of the former US.S.R. before 1990, because it was not possible to derive estimates for these States before their independence (United Nations (2006) \textit{Trends in Total Migrant Stock: The 2005 Revision}, New York: United Nations).

\textsuperscript{41} See Annexe 1, table 1 and 2.
If we take into consideration statistics concerning women’s presence in percentage in the six main geographical areas identified by the United Nations\(^{42}\) we can observe that the only area where the percentage of female migrants is almost the same in 1960 as in 2005 is in Northern America\(^{43}\) although a peak of 52.6 per cent of migrant women can be seen in 1980\(^{44}\). In Latin America and the Caribbean\(^{45}\) in 2005 migrant women represented 50.3 per cent of the total migrants, undergoing a constant increase from 1960s when women were less than 45 per cent of male migrants. Similarly to the Southern Americas, from 1960s to 2005 the percentage of migrant women has increased of almost 5 per cent in Europe\(^{46}\). Europe is the macro area where women’s presence is a significant one making up 53.4 per cent of the total immigrants in 2005 while the area where they are the less represented among migrants is Asia\(^{47}\). The two macro areas of Asia and Africa have undergone a decrease of migrant women from 1960s to 2005, respectively of –1.7 per cent and –5.1 per cent\(^{48}\).


\(^{44}\) See Annexe 1, table 8.

\(^{45}\) See Annexe 1, table 7. 50.2 per cent of migrant women in 2005.

\(^{46}\) See Annexe 1, table 6.

\(^{47}\) See Annexe 1, table 5.

\(^{48}\) See Annexe 1, tables 4 and 5.
1.2.4. A classical immigration country: the case of the United States of America

From the end of the nineteenth century until the twenties of the twentieth century thirty million immigrants entered United States\(^{49}\), many of which were young boys, who went there with the hope of saving some money and to be afterwards able to return to their countries and why not be able to start a family. There were single women too, who migrated in search of a better life as well as young couples and families. Until the end of the nineteenth century, entry to the United States of America was not controlled. Whoever had the money to pay the passage could enter in America. There were campaigns, however trying to exclude Asians and Chinese in particular from entering the United States. For migrants coming from Europe the entry remained possible and free until the beginning of the twentieth century, until 1920\(^{50}\).


There was a big immigration force which moved from Europe to the United States. The biggest groups were Irish, Italians and many Jews coming from Eastern Europe as well as from every other part of Europe. They were concentrated where the country provided work possibilities, in transport, factories etc.

Due to the strict legislation of 1920s there was not a big flow of migrants to the United States of America. In order to take away the origins quota entry system in 1965 there were done some changes to the Immigration and Nationality Act\textsuperscript{51}. One of the important criteria in order to enter in the United States of America was the family reunion system to an American citizen or to a long-time resident in the United States. The result of these changes in the law, led to the entry of many people coming from Latin America, especially from Mexico and from Asia\textsuperscript{52}. There has been a change in ethnic groups in the United States from the second half of the twentieth century until the end of it. In the fifties immigrants coming from Europe composed 53 per cent of new migrants, whereas in the end of the twentieth century made up only 15 per cent and 46 per cent of migrants were composed from people coming from Latin America and especially from Mexico. Migrants coming from Asia especially people coming from China, India, the Philippines increased rapidly too\textsuperscript{53}.


In 1960 the estimated number of migrants on the American territory was of almost ten million, 51.1 per cent of which were women\(^{54}\). In the following twenty years, migrants have become fourteen million, while women have reached 53.2 per cent of all migrants. In 2005, migrants in the United States of America have almost quadrupled, although the number of women has moved to 50.2 per cent\(^{55}\).


\(^{55}\) See Annexe 1, table 10.
1.2.5. Migration flows to Northern America: the case of Canada

Many African-Americans crossed the border and went to Canada in order to escape slavery from the United States in the end of the nineteenth century as well as many people from Northern Europe. Canada’s population increased from the end of the nineteenth century to the beginning of the twentieth century. Many people from China, India began to come to Canada in the end of the nineteenth century\textsuperscript{56}. Many policies were adopted in order to stop the Asian flow of migrants to Canada, whose migration was prohibited from 1923 to 1947\textsuperscript{57}. From 1896 to 1914 Canada received many migrants from Europe and especially from Eastern and Southern Europe.

After the World War II, Canada admitted only Europeans, mostly coming from United Kingdom, Holland, Germany and Italy. This immigration policy


which operated a discriminatory selection on the basis of the country of origin was called “White Policy”\textsuperscript{58}.

After the 1966 many people from other parts of the world entered in Canada because there was introduced the system of points in order to avoid discrimination. There were many family reunions and the migrants were considered as people who wanted to settle down in Canada and one day become citizens.

Female immigration was characterised by a continuous increase moving from 48.1 per cent in 1960 to 52.0 per cent in 2005 for a total of 3.1 million women out of 6.1 million immigrants in total\textsuperscript{59}.

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{59} See Annexe 1, table 11.
\end{flushright}
1.2.6. Male and female migration patterns in comparison: the case of Australia

As for the development of the United States of America, immigration is an important factor to the creation and the enrichment of Australia. The British Empire sent convicts in order to provide workers, creating in this way a form of forced labour. Many of the convicts were male, so there was a need of female workers. Several programmes were put in action in order to send women as wives or domestic workers\textsuperscript{60}. In order to attract migrants some liberalization of family reunions and the entry of non-Europeans were possible. The White Policy was strong in Australia soon after the Second World War and migrants coming from United Kingdom were preferred\textsuperscript{61}.

However a big group of migrants from Greece, Italy and Malta entered Australia as the industry depended on immigrants. Female immigration was characterised by a continuous increase moving from 44.3 per cent in 1960 to 51.6 per cent in 2005 for a total of 2.1 million women out of 4 million immigrants in


total\textsuperscript{62}. Before 1975, women had entered in Australia as part of family reunions, or as single women coming from United Kingdom. From 1975 onwards women could enter the country as heads of their families. Single women were encouraged to migrate in Australia because there was a big number of men and not of women.

\textsuperscript{62} See Annexe 1, table 12.
1.3.1. Causes and strategies of migration

Migration is not only an individual decision when a person decides to move in order to find better chances of living. Often migrating influences and depends on several factors causing changes in the society the migrant comes from and in the “new society”. The initial factors which push migrants to move can change during the migration process and from temporary can be transformed into permanent.

Female migrants are an important part of international migration and although very little studies exist on this matter, they play a part in all types of migration.
1.3.2. Women and the economic reasons for migrating

The neo-classical economic theory of migration focuses on the decision to live one’s country of origin in search of better living conditions for them and for their family members. It is based on the balance of both costs and benefits of remaining in their home country or leaving from it, often moving from poor wages countries to higher wages ones, to countries where it is thought there are more jobs, better paid ones\textsuperscript{63}.

These elements are often not very reliable but are important to influence the migrant’s decisions. They will migrate if they expect to earn more in both personal and economical sphere. It is like a kind of investment for one’s future\textsuperscript{64}.

This type of migration is also called a push and pull factors, where pulling factors are the destination countries with all their attractions of employment opportunities, higher incomes, better life conditions, whereas pushing factors may


often mean lack of political freedom in the country of origin, low living conditions, poor wages and so on.

"In the immigration market the various pieces of information are exchanged and the various options are compared. In a sense, competing host countries make ‘migration offers’ from which individuals compare and choose. The information gathered in this marketplace leads many individuals to conclude that it is ‘profitable’ to remain in their birthplace…Other individuals conclude that they are better off in some other country”\textsuperscript{65}.

Migrants themselves develop strategies of overcoming their difficulties by the creation of networks helping in organizing migration in their home countries and the creation of community formation in the destination countries.

Very little is studied on the differences between male dominated migration and the female one. However some elements are to be taken into consideration. Different levels of education can have different impacts on the decision to migrate made by men or by women. Job opportunities in both the country of origin and in the receiving country might be different for skilled female or male migrants. Often the lack of job opportunities in the country of origin and strong unemployment rates might influence men’s decision to migrate in order to do unskilled jobs abroad, often in agriculture or construction and might have no effect on women’s decision to leave\textsuperscript{66}.

Similarly, some countries need more working force in services like nurses, nannies, domestic workers so more women tend to move into these destination


countries like many women from the Philippines in Europe and in some big Asian cities too\textsuperscript{67}.

The different immigration policies adopted by classical immigration countries affect the entry of male and female immigrants in different ways. Some countries favour the entry of high-skilled labours for certain sectors, some others low-skilled workers who are difficult to be found at home and some others favour family reunions or favour the entry of refugees or asylum seekers. These different types of laws and immigration policies influence the entry of men and female in different ways. States and the laws control the movements and influence men’s and women’s choices to migrate.

The cost and benefit theory has been considered to have its shortcomings as being simplistic and often not able to understand the migration flows, because it sees individuals as “market players”\textsuperscript{68} who are able to make decisions by themselves and as if they have all the necessary data to make a rational choice.


1.3.3. Inequalities in economic and political power

The differences in the distribution of richness, in the economic and political power determine the migration flows. Immigration is thought to be a way of moving and getting not expensive labour force which helps the construction of a solid economy of the developed countries and uses the resources of the developing countries\textsuperscript{69}.

This aspect of international migration is also known as a historical-structural approach and studies the mass migration flows for big projects like the workers needed for the factories in Germany or the agricultural workers in the United States and so on.

In this type of migration the voluntary aspect of free choice of males and females is missing, unlike in the “costs and benefits” migration model. This type of migration is thought to be a forced one which of course determined the movement of male and female migrants. This type of approach has its limits because it does not explain how the destination countries could not control the shift from labour migration to permanent stay of the migrants.

1.3.4. The revenue approach

The potential income and employment possibility in the hosting country are important factors of international migration. The social connections between migrants are valuable pieces of information where a lot is said about the wages in the receiving countries. The entry and permanence policies and laws influence the choice of choosing a country instead of another. In many countries, a fixed number of entries per year is decided by the States\textsuperscript{70} and they can favour certain professions to others. This can be gender determining. Some countries give the possibility of entry visas for domestic workers or service linked works, such as nurses, nannies, etc. This policy increases the entry of women workers as these professions are often done by females.

This migration system based on the earning in the receiving country as compared to the sending countries has its shortcomings because it is very difficult

\textsuperscript{70} Like in Italy. See Chapter II.
to study the wage and the income of women in their areas of origin, as many of them did not work before or worked in family-run activities where they were very little or not paid at all\textsuperscript{71}.

1.3.5. The migration system theory

As seen until now a single trend in international migration does not cover all aspects, so a model called the “migration system theory” tries to explain and describe certain aspects of migration system\textsuperscript{72}.

This model of migration highlights the connections between the immigration and emigration countries. This can describe the fact that North Africans from the Maghreb region tend to migrate in France rather than in other countries of the Western Europe, Mexicans tend to migrate more to the United States of America than to Europe for example\textsuperscript{73}. The migration systems theory includes different levels of aspects.

Firstly, a peculiar relation between the immigration and emigration countries determines the movement of the migrants, above all in a historical perspective which has been characterised by colonialist episodes and their contemporary follow-ups.


Secondly, the link with other migrants from the country of origin helps others to follow the same example and the same destination. These connections and communities created abroad are known as “social capital”\textsuperscript{74}.

Thirdly, the community and the society of origin can determine one’s decision to migrate. Often, the decisions are made by families. The family might decide to ask one of its members to migrate in order to have more money and to be able to survive\textsuperscript{75}.

In particular, concerning female migrations, women are meant to obey and not show opposition to the decision usually made by a male figure. This decision is made often because the male figures might be needed to work the land or do other hard works at home. Females are considered to be more trustworthy and more faithful to the families. They are thought to be more reliable in sending money home. Often even the employers prefer to have women in certain precision assembly work in the factory, or as domestic workers, in child care, etc\textsuperscript{76}.

\textsuperscript{74} BOURDIEU, P. and WACQUANT, L. (1992) \textit{An invitation to reflexive sociology}, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, p. 119.


1.4.1. Immigration international legislative framework

Migrants’ protection at the international level is fragmentary as this issue is still perceived as an issue to be regulated at a national level although its importance is more and more recognised by regional and international actors.

The “International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of their Families” is the core United Nations’ treaty offering a series of provisions on migrant rights. This international agreement was adopted by the General Assembly with the resolution 45/158 of December 18, 1990. It enters into force only in September 2003 when the required minimum number of ratifications is reached. Nevertheless, among the states which ratified this convention there is no Western country, coming all ratifications from migrant-sending countries77. Therefore, not one developed, migrant-hosting

77 Countries which has ratified the convention by November 2008: Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Azerbaijan, Bangladesh, Belize, Benin, Bolivia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Burkina Faso, Cambodia, Cape Verde, Chile, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Gabon,
country has ratified the convention, neither important receiving countries like India, Japan, Australia, or the Gulf States. This lack of ratification from migrant hosting countries hinders an effective impact of this convention on international migrants.

The convention defines the term “migrant worker” as “a person who is to be engaged, is engaged or has been engaged in a remunerated activity in a State of which he or she is not a national”\textsuperscript{78}. The convention covers the whole migratory process from the country of origin to the hosting country, reaffirming the basic human right of non-discrimination and recognising the migrant as a person enjoying full civil, political, economic and social rights.

There are other two major international conventions concerning migrant workers. The International Labour Organisation has elaborated two Conventions on Migrant Workers. The convention “Migration for Employment” \textsuperscript{79} was

\begin{footnotesize}
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\item Ghana, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Honduras, Indonesia, Jamaica, Kyrgyzstan, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Montenegro, Morocco, Nicaragua, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Sao Tome and Principe, Senegal, Serbia, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Sri Lanka, Syrian Arab Republic, Tajikistan, Timor-Leste, Togo, Turkey, Uganda, Uruguay (source: United Nations).

\textsuperscript{78} “International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of their Families”, article 2, comma 1.

\textsuperscript{79} The International Labour Organisation convention number 97 (1949) was ratified by forty-eight states, namely by Albania, Algeria, Armenia, Bahamas, Barbados, Belgium, Belize, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Brazil, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Cuba, Cyprus, Dominica, Ecuador, France, Germany, Grenada, Guatemala, Guyana, Israel, Italy, Jamaica, Kenya, Kyrgyzstan, The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia Sabah, Mauritius, Republic of Moldova, Montenegro, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nigeria, Norway, Portugal, Saint Lucia, Serbia, Slovenia, Spain, Tajikistan, Tanzania Zanzibar, Trinidad and Tobago, United Kingdom, Uruguay, Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela, Zambia (source: International Labour Organisation).
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
approved in 1949 and the convention on “Migrant Workers Convention (Supplementary Provisions)” \(^80\) in 1975. They aspire to normalize migration policies and enhance migrants’ protection. These conventions were not expressly conceived to deal with gender issues.

Given the lack of gender-specific international provisions, an interesting international instrument which might concern migrant women’s rights is the “Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women” which defines what constitutes discrimination against women and sets up an agenda for national action to end such discrimination \(^81\). The “Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women” has been far more widely ratified than the “International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of their Families”, that’s why the former is a more solid basis for arguing for rights for migrant women than the latter.

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\(^{80}\) The International Labour Organisation convention number 143 (1975) was ratified by twenty-three states, namely by Albania, Armenia, Benin, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Cyprus, Guinea, Italy, Kenya, The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Montenegro, Norway, Philippines, Portugal, San Marino, Serbia, Slovenia, Sweden, Tajikistan, Togo, Uganda, Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela (source: International Labour Organisation).

\(^{81}\) The convention was adopted in 1979 by the United Nations General Assembly and was signed by one hundred and eight five countries.
1.4.2. International gender actions and programmes

The International Labour Organisation (I.L.O.) is the standard-setting agency of the United Nations working on migration, while United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (U.N.C.H.R.) is the standard-setting agency of the United Nations working on refugees’ rights.

The International Labour Organisation in collaboration with the “United Nations Development Fund for Women” has devoted particular attention to the rights of migrant women workers as it is demonstrated by the publication of ‘An Information Guide – Preventing Discrimination, Exploitation and Abuse of Women Migrant Workers’ and ten Reports on Women and Migration all over the world in the framework of the “Gender Promotion Programme” (GEN.PROM)\(^2\). In 2004 the International Labour Organisation has promoted the “Action Plan on Migrant Workers” which consisted in a specific coverage on women who are most likely to undergo rights violations being employed in domestic service and the informal market\(^3\).

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\(^2\) Source: www.ilo.org.

\(^3\) Ibidem.
The growing interest for international migration issues pushed the United Nations Commission on Human Rights to establish in 1999 the Special Rapporteur on the Human Rights of Migrants and the United Nations Secretary-General to establish in 2004 the “Global Commission on International Migration” with the mandate to place international migration on the global agenda. Though not specifically focusing on migrant women, the “Division for the Advancement of Women” was established in 1946 as the Section on the Status of Women, Human Rights Division, Department of Social Affairs with the aim of achieving equality between men and women - as equal actors, partners, and beneficiaries of sustainable development, human rights, peace and security.


1.4.3. Migrant women’s rights in conflict situations

The aspects to be taken into consideration in the case of refugees and asylum seekers are different from that of other types of migration. People leave their homes because of fear of persecution, war, ethnic cleansing and violence. If they manage to escape at first they go to the neighbouring countries which at times are themselves in difficult political situations. Some refugees manage to continue their migration to other countries where they hope to be accepted, and to be able to live a better life. Women and children are particularly vulnerable in this type of situations.

International policies are more structured as far as they concern human rights and conflict situations. Although the general unwillingness to ratify and implement specific policies for the protection of migrants, the fight of human trafficking and smuggling has taken a prominent position at international level as it is demonstrated by the relatively fast ratification of the “United Nations Convention against Trans-national Organised Crime”\textsuperscript{86}, which aims at fighting against the growth of trans-national organised crime and was signed by one

\textsuperscript{86} Resolution 55/25 adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on November 15, 2000. This convention is also known as the Palermo Convention.
hundred and seventeen states\(^{87}\). Even if the major concern is for national security rather than the protection of victims\(^{88}\), the supplementary “Protocol to prevent, suppress and punish trafficking in persons, especially women and children and the protocol against the smuggling of migrants by land, air and sea”\(^{89}\), which came

\(^{87}\) This convention was ratified by one hundred and seventeen states, namely by Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Armenia, Australia, Austria, Azerbaijan, Bahamas, Bahrain, Barbados, Belarus, Belgium, Belize, Benin, Bolivia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Cambodia, Cameroon, Canada, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chile, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Croatia, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Estonia, European Community, Finland, France, Gambia, Georgia, Germany, Greece, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Kazakhstan, Kenya, Kiribati, Kuwait, Kyrgyzstan, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Latvia, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Liechtenstein, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Moldova, Monaco, Mongolia, Montenegro, Mozambique, Myanmar, Namibia, Nauru, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Republic of Korea, Romania, Russian Federation, Rwanda, San Marino, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Serbia, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Slovakia, Slovenia, South Africa, Spain, Sri Lanka, St. Kitts and Nevis, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Switzerland, Syrian Arab Republic, Tajikistan, Thailand, The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Turkmenistan, Uganda, Ukraine, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Uruguay, Uzbekistan, Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela, Zambia (Source: United Nations).


\(^{89}\) Resolution 55/25 was adopted by the UN General Assembly on November 15, 2000.
into force in 2003, fills the gap through an increased attention for the prevention of trafficking of women for prostitution and sexual exploitation and abuses.

Since 1960s, women are acknowledged an increasing protection from many gender-specific forms of persecution including “honour” crimes, female genital mutilation and sexual violence, particularly in conflict situations through the guidelines on refugee status provided by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, although these measures were not implemented from a formal point of view\(^90\). In the same way, internally displaced persons are relegated into an anomic situation in spite of the guidelines elaborated by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees\(^91\).

Nevertheless, women in conflict situations can be protected once ratified by the “Resolution 1325 on women, peace and security”\(^92\), which is the first resolution that specifically addresses the impact of war on women.


\(^{91}\) United Nations Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees which entered into force in 1954 does not take into consideration specifically women (Resolution 429 (V) was adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on December 14, 1950 and has been ratified by one hundred and forty states until now).

1.4.4. Immigration policies in the European Union

Before the adaptation of the Treaty of Amsterdam, each European state regulated the immigration policy at a national level. In order to create a common immigration policy in 1999 the European Union member states signed the Treaty of Amsterdam which implemented the ideal of people’s freedom of movement within the area of the European common market and set an agenda for the homogenization of policies concerning not only immigrants but also asylum seekers\textsuperscript{93}.

In November 2004 the European Union Member States met in Tampere and adopted The Hague Programme which clarifies the objectives to be achieved for the period 2005-2010 which identifies as priority actions: the development of policies enhancing, monitoring and promoting the respect of fundamental rights; the definition of a common immigration policy covering procedures and criteria, delivering a secure legal status and a guaranteed set of rights to assist the integration of those who are admitted, and to define a return procedures for ‘illegal’ migration’; the adaptation of integration policies within each state\textsuperscript{94}.

\textsuperscript{93} Source: http://ec.europa.eu.

\textsuperscript{94} Ibidem.
Important steps forward have been done in homogenization of the visa system\textsuperscript{95} and concerning the guarantees to third-country nationals entitled to the long-term residence status\textsuperscript{96} while a proposal on the conditions of entry and residence of highly skilled workers from third countries is in progress, called “blue card”, inspired by the U.S. “Green Card” program, will allow highly-skilled workers from non-European country to enter the European Union through a simplified procedure\textsuperscript{97}.


\textsuperscript{97} Source: http://ec.europa.eu.
1.4.5. Migrant women policies in the European Union

In order to defend and promote women’s rights European Union has taken many steps since the 1970s consisting in the approval of certain directives concerning the area of labour and access to goods and services and apply to all women, including migrant women, with the exception however of undocumented migrant women in most cases\textsuperscript{98}.

The immigrants’ integration has been empowered by the European Union through the adoption of two directives in 2000 which implement the defense

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\textsuperscript{98} The main directives concerning gender discrimination are the following: Council Decision 75/117/EEC of February 10, 1975 on the approximation of the laws of the member states relating to the application of the principle of equal pay for men and women, Equal Treatment Directive (76/207/EEC) establishes prohibition against direct or indirect discrimination; Council Decision 97/80/EC of December 15, 1997 concerns the burden of proof in cases of discrimination based on sex (later amended by the Directive 2002/73/EC on sexual harassment); Council Decision 96/34/EC of June 3, 1996 on the framework agreement on parental leave stipulates that both women and men should have the right to at least three months unpaid parental leave; Council Decision 92/85/EEC of October 19, 1992 on the introduction of measures to encourage improvements in the safety and health at work of pregnant workers and workers who have recently given birth or are breastfeeding establishes the rights of the women who are pregnant or who have just given birth: the right to at least 14 weeks leave in connection with the delivery and the right to retain their wages or other forms of remuneration (source: http://eur-lex.europa.eu).
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against discrimination on race and ethnic origin grounds\textsuperscript{99} as well as on religious and sex\textsuperscript{100}. The two Directives define a series of principles that offer all persons residing in the EU a common minimum level of legal protection against discrimination.

Although recent developments show positive change towards recognition of multiple discrimination experienced by migrant women: in the Roadmap for Equality between Women and Men adopted in March 2006, the Commission makes a commitment to promote “gender equality in migration and integration policies in order to ensure women’s rights and civic participation, to fully use their employment potential and to improve their access to education and lifelong learning”\textsuperscript{101}.

In the first Report on Migration and Integration the European Commission recognised that “a systematic mainstreaming of gender considerations seems to be lacking in most Member States when dealing with immigration, both in terms of policy and data”\textsuperscript{102}. Migrant women are absent in European policy because gender and ethnic issues are tackled separately instead of being conceived as two aspects of the same issue\textsuperscript{103}.

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European Member states have for a long time conceived their immigration policies on a patriarchal basis which imposed a distorted and male-centered vision of migration flows. In this vision, migrant women are seen as dependants of their husbands who are the only family bread-winners. Women often enter the European Union thank to the family reunion process as they do not enjoy an independent status neither legally nor socially.

This situation can also hinder women who experience domestic violence from making an official complaint.

Family reunification in the European Union is regulated by the directive 2003/86/EC on the right to family reunification which determines the conditions under which family reunification is possible for third-country nationals but it does not provide an independent legal status to the spouse once he/she has arrived in the host-country.

1.5.1. Migration policies in comparison

International migration has become a very important aspect of world transformation which forms have changed a lot during the centuries. The migration flows from the end of the World War II until 1990 have been somehow different as they have added new elements and dimensions to the global aspects of migration which have been marked in a special way by the end of the Cold War, the fall of the Berlin Wall and the collapse of the former Soviet Union.

Cultural, political and social changes affect the economy and are often the cause of migration movements\textsuperscript{105}. Migration causes change in both the hosting and in sending countries and influence a lot not only ways of identifying oneself and the others but also the political institutions and government policies, including the ‘hardening’ or ‘softening’ of the borders, the regional and international cooperation and the regulation of migration.

1.5.2. Northern America’s cases

In the United States of America, the immigration policies changed during the years. In 1940 the United States introduced the “Bracero” programme which allowed the recruitment of nearly five million temporary workers from Mexico, due to the lack of main-d’oeuvre in agriculture.

In the mid fifties most of the migrants came from Europe, whereas in the end of the 1990s the majority of the migrants came from the Americas.

In these years the policies favour the entry of skilled migrants and also the family reunions as well as refugee settlement. The Green-card worldwide lottery gives the opportunity of 55 000 migrants to enter the United States. The candidates have to fill in a very simple form with their personal data and send it to the centre which chooses “the winners” randomly. People whose country is overrepresented in United States are not admitted to the lottery.

The number of people not having the legal status to reside in the United States is estimated to be around 10 million in the year 2000\(^{108}\). Many farm-workers have crossed the Mexican border and have entered the United States and often the employers were not sanctioned if found to be having an illegal worker. In the end of the 1990s the new law gave more funding to the ‘border hardening’, reinforcing of the physical borders like video cameras, more security workers and higher fences and walls. Many expulsions are taking place although at times the migrants tend to turn back but this time risking seriously their lives\(^{109}\).

Another example of immigration policies in Northern America is Canada which starts using the points system for taking migrants after the 1966 White Paper. Canada is one of the few countries in the world which still has an active migration policy which favour entry and settlement of migrants. Canadian administration had a five year program in the 1990s which favoured family reunions, the entry of highly skilled migrants and helped the asylum-seekers. Like in the United States the migrants from Europe decrease whereas migrants coming from the Middle East, Africa and Asia have increased\(^{110}\).


\(^{109}\) Ibidem.

1.5.3. Northern European cases

In the second half of the twentieth century, the United Kingdom government introduced the European Voluntary Worker program which made possible the entry of around a hundred thousand of male workers from refugee camps and from Italy. This was not a mass immigration as the program did not last for a long time as workers coming from old colonies were privileged being easier to recruit.

The recruitment of workers from the New Commonwealth grew a lot in the 1950s, particularly from Pakistan, and ex British colonies in Africa and in the Caribbean, until 1962 when restriction entry laws were introduced with the Immigrants Act.

The migrants settled with their families however and the family reunions continued until 1971 when it was restricted. Many migrants from colonies had


113 Ibidem.
the British citizenship, although they underwent lots of discriminations, being isolated in suburbs. In addition to poor housing conditions, they were disadvantaged in education and obliged to do manual jobs in services and often in the industry.

Another example of European immigration policy is the assimilation approach followed by the Netherlands. Many people from East Indies, a former Dutch colony migrated to the Netherlands. Many of these ‘migrants’ were children born of mixed couples Dutch and Indonesian. They had Dutch citizenship that they lost in the 1970s at the times of the decolonisation\textsuperscript{114}.

1.5.4. *Guestworkers* program and female workers in Germany

Temporary migrant workers were recruited in Germany in the second half of the twentieth century. The *Bundesanstalt für Arbeit*, the National Labour Ministry created offices for the entry of migrant workers mainly from Italy first, then from Greece, Turkey, Spain, Portugal, Morocco, Tunisia and ex-Yugoslavia. The employers who needed migrant workers paid a fee to the Office and had to provide accommodation to the foreign workers\(^\text{115}\). Big numbers of low-skilled migrants were needed as a consequence of industrial development. Women played a major role. They were very important in domains as textiles and clothing, in most manufacturing fields and they increased in number.

The foreign temporary workers were seen as a labour force, as “arms” and they were not seen as members of a family. Family reunions were not well seen and strongly discouraged. Their working documents were for a determined period of time and sometimes for a certain area and a specific job\(^\text{116}\). Many foreign


workers remained in Germany and formed families as often women were taken as workers called by the employers. This system stopped in 1973 and a more stable immigration was becoming a reality in Germany\textsuperscript{117}.

\textsuperscript{117} \textit{Ibidem}.
1.5.5. Male and female immigration in France

After the World War II there was a lack of labour force in France and considering the war losses and the population which was not growing, young people coming from abroad were seen as a possible solution in France. The National Immigration Office (Bureau National de l’Immigration) was created in the second half of the twentieth century in order to hire seasonal workers from Spain, Portugal, Italy, etc.\textsuperscript{118}

Many foreigners entered as visitors in France, then found a job and regularized their situation. France also had many immigrants coming from its former colonies, Mali, Senegal, Mauritania as well as over six hundred thousand from Algeria, ninety thousand from Tunisia and hundred thousand from Morocco by the end of the seventies. Many of these people although seen as “migrants” were not, as they entered France before the independence of their home countries, so they were French citizens\textsuperscript{119}.

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\end{flushright}
France recruited many people coming from its overseas departments and territories like Mayotte, Guadeloupe, Réunion etc. They were French citizens so no exact number can be given.\textsuperscript{120}

Many of the migrants entering France in the sixties and seventies were mostly made up of single men, although women started to migrate alone too as the years passed.\textsuperscript{121} Other elements appeared during these migration flows. The living conditions of the migrants in the sixties were not good and many migrants, especially migrants coming from the Maghreb region were segregated in certain suburb areas creating the shanty towns and the risky zones.\textsuperscript{122}

The maghrebi emigration in France is part of a larger context that of “International Relations” between France and the today countries of Maghreb. France made special agreements with some states in matters of immigration like with Algeria after its independence proclamation, whereas people coming from Tunisia and Morocco entered France through the National Immigration Office.\textsuperscript{123}

“The exclusion of Maghrebi [people] born in France cannot be fully explained without reference to […] the history of French colonisation and the painful scars left by the dissolution of the overseas empire.”\textsuperscript{124}


Tunisia and Morocco were French protectorates, the former from 1881 and the latter from 1912 until 1956. Algeria, on the other hand, were colonised by the French on 1830 and in order to free itself from the colonisers, fought a long and bloody war which lasted eight years (the so-called “guerre d’Algérie”, 1954-1962) which caused the death of more than a million of Algerians. This war left a wound in the collective memories both in France and in Algeria.

France has a long immigration history. In the eighteenth and nineteenth century Germans, Dutch, Italians and Spanish went in France in order to work\textsuperscript{125}. The first workers from Algeria were recruited to work in France during the World War I and II because there was a lack of working forces not only in the industries but also in the army\textsuperscript{126}.

After the World War II, France continued to favour the Algerians migrant workers, on one hand because of the need of working force for the country’s reconstruction, on the other because the migrants had fewer rights than the French ones.

In the 1940s and in the 1950s we assist the so-called “first phase” of immigration in France, characterized by the emigration of young, single adults who go alone in France with the “mission”\textsuperscript{127} to send money home, where the

\textsuperscript{125} France was an immigration country, unlike other European countries which were basically emigration countries. VIET, Vincent, \textit{Histoire des Français venus d’ailleurs de 1850 à nos jours}, Paris, Perrin, 2004.

\textsuperscript{126} Special groups made up of “natives” were created, who will also fight in the Indochina war (1946-1954). They were used to repress the battle for independence in Algeria. \textit{Harkis} is the name given to those Algerians who had chosen to join the French army.

economical difficulties are always bigger. The stay of these migrants in France becomes longer, and from seasonal work change into permanent settlement.

A change in the migration flow is seen because of the permanent stay of the migrants in France and the worsening of the conditions in their home countries. In the 1960s the family reunions start, regroupements familiaux, with which the wives and the children of the migrant workers could come in France.

The life conditions of the migrants in France are not easy: poor housing conditions (in the shanty towns called bidonville, in the cités de transit, and the suburbs where migrants lived, the banlieues) and the economical difficulties are only an aspect which is followed by an environment full of hate.

In the end of the 1970s, France like other European countries closes it borders to the migrant workers and the number of the expulsions increases rapidly and many migrants enter a hunger strike to protest against these expulsions and their illegal nature.

In 1981 the socialists win the elections guided by François Mitterand, who introduced two important changes. The first reform concerns the liberty of founding an association: the 1939 act which prohibited migrants to found an association is abolished. The second reform concerns the liberalization of radio sectors authorizing the creation of private radios. The first “migrants associations” are thus created and even the first radio channels by migrants: and the beginning of the “mouvement beur” made up of immigrant’s children.


129 Radio Beur and Radio Soleil in Paris and then Radio Gazelle in Marseille.

Born in the 1950s and in the 1960s, the immigrant’s children in the 1980s are grown up adults and they understand that their parent’s myth of going back to their home countries does not make sense any more especially for them who were born in France and who know their parent’s home country only through their parent’s memories and short summer stays. Their home country is: *j’y suis, j’y reste* which means “I am here, I stay here”\(^{131}\). Their wish to overcome the prejudices and the discriminations stems up from the knowledge of their rights, unlike their parents\(^{132}\).

The desire to appeal to the non-discrimination and dignity right comes from the legal conditions the immigrant’s children, *les enfants des immigrés*, find themselves in. From the legal point of view, the parents from Algeria reside in France as foreigners, while their children born in France from 1963 onwards are French citizens\(^{133}\). The introduction of *ius soli* in the *Code de la Nationalité* in the 1973\(^{134}\), helps the assimilation desire of some of the migrants, and reflects an international politics logic and post-colonial logic too: giving the French citizenship in an automatic way to the citizens of another State.

The French State wanted to demonstrate its sovereignty on the ex-colony although it was sent away during a painful and long war. It is not by chance that the reform of the *Code de la Nationalité* had a retroactive effect which started

\(^{131}\) “Beur” slogan of the 1980s.

\(^{132}\) Their parents are often illiterate and their knowledge of French is often very limited. Their children, attending French schools have understood which their rights are and since they speak perfectly French they have the instruments to fight for their rights.


from the first of January 1963\textsuperscript{135} when the Algerian war was not yet concluded. There is a strong legal ambiguity: born in France from foreign citizens the immigrant’s children \textit{les enfants des immigrés} have a double nationality: French (\textit{ius soli}) and Algerian citizens (\textit{ius sanguinis}), but they are discriminated in France because they are thought to be different “physically” as well as “culturally”.

1983’s summer is a hot one, \textit{été chaud}: many young maghrebins are killed. Father Christian Delorme organises a hunger strike together with other young people of the Lyon’s suburb area called “les Minguettes” in order to protest against discriminations. The pacific movement of the young “beurs” reaches its peak with its “Marche pour l’égalité et contre le racisme”\textsuperscript{136} starting from the “les Minguettes” suburb and concluding its manifestation in Paris in the Élysée where the president Mitterand meets some of the representatives of the movement\textsuperscript{137}.

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{135} \textsc{SAYAD, A.} (1999) \textit{La double absence}, Paris: Le Seuil.

\textsuperscript{136} \textsc{NOIRIEL, G.} (2001) \textit{État, nation et immigration: vers une histoire du pouvoir}, Paris: Belin.

\textsuperscript{137} The two most important organisations stemming from this movement are “Sos-Racisme” (which becomes the most important one) and “Convergence 84”. \textsc{DABOUSSI, Médjid} (ed), \textit{La beur génération}, Paris, Sans Frontière, 1985
\end{flushright}
Chapter II
Immigration policies in Italy: 

gender and labour
2.1.1. Immigration as a challenge

The migration flows influence a lot the States decisions regarding their immigration policies. These policies are often followed by debates and conflicts not only in the parliament but also by the public opinion.

How is it possible that there are so many undocumented foreigners in Italy? Why so many die in a desperate attempt to enter Italy? Yet, why is it so difficult to recruit foreign workers? What to do about the second generations who were born and live in Italy and who feel “Italians” as they go to Italian schools and speak Italian fluently but legally have no recognition? These are few of the many aspects of the migration process in Italy. What is the Italian experience in these matters? Is Italy “ready” to face this flow? What is the meaning of migration policies?

Like all other immigration countries, Italy too has to face different aspects of the migration. The first aspect to deal with is the policy it adopts regarding migrants who reside the country. Many foreigners live in Italy for many years, and some of them all their lives being born of foreign parents. In these cases, the
state has to decide on the settlement policies. The settlement policies include the integration and naturalization processes, in other words which are the rights and obligations of the foreigner in order to get a long resident status or the recognition of the citizenship.

Another important aspect of the immigration policies is the way the migrant’s entrance is dealt within the country. The State has to establish often the number of the foreigners to enter in a year, known as the quotas, the type of the foreigners the economy might need and the eligibility entrance criteria\textsuperscript{138}.

At times, the States are not able to “control” all the entrances and the settlements. Trying to reinforce one type of migration they end up reinforcing another type\textsuperscript{139}. The consequences of such policies are seen in the long run, often after many years.

The aim of this chapter is to analyse the main aspects concerning immigration in general and gender immigration in particular in Italy. This chapter is divided into three main sections.

The first section focuses on migrations to Italy as an historical phenomenon, taking into consideration both aspects of emigration and immigration from the unification of Italy until nowadays.

The second section highlights the different policies adopted by Italian governments in order to control and face immigration flows from the nineteenth century onwards with a particular attention to the policies which are gender centred.


\textsuperscript{139} For example the guestworkers program in Germany, see Chapter I, 1.5.5.
The third section argues the different strategies of integration adopted by migrant women who reached Italy in order to highlight the complexity of the different levels of integration and settlement.
2.2.1. Italy: between emigration and immigration

The unification of Italy was accomplished in the 1860s-70s through the conquest/liberation, depending on the different historical points of view, of a part of the Northern Italy and of the entire Southern Italy (the Kingdom of the two Sicilies) and of the Vatican state. In 1870, approximately 22 million inhabitants lived in Italy\textsuperscript{140}. At the time of unification, Italy was mostly a rural country with the most important illiteracy rates in all Europe\textsuperscript{141}.

The feudal land system in Southern Italy, having survived since the Middle Ages, was changed by the unification of Italy which imposed a redistribution of

\textsuperscript{140} VACCHINI, A. (1941) \textit{La popolazione italiana. Storia della popolazione e demografia italiana}, Milano: Giuffrè, p. 17.

\textsuperscript{141} Pupils attending middle school in Italy were 6 per cent in 1861, 12 per cent in 1881, 28 per cent in 1901, 10.2 per cent in 1921 and 21.5 per cent in 1941 (in \textit{L'Europeo}, n. 1, 2005, p. 202).
the land. Even after the end of feudalism, the economy did not progress much because many farmers remained without land and the few farmers who had some, it was fragmented among heirs. The substantial lack of investments and their improper use caused a continuous impoverishment of the whole population who was forced to emigrate. Between 1876 and 1915, it is estimated that 14 million Italians left Italy\textsuperscript{142}, from the Southern as well as Northern regions. Before the end of the XIX century the regions affected more massively by emigration were the Northern ones, in particular Piedmont, Venetia and Friuli\textsuperscript{143}. At the beginning of the XX century, some Southern regions also began to be affected by an extraordinary emigration, especially Sicily and Campania\textsuperscript{144}.

Almost 9 million Italians emigrated from Italy in the period between 1901 and 1915. The most concerned regions by this phenomenon were Sicily and Campania with respectively a stock of emigrants of 1.1 million and 955 thousands emigrants\textsuperscript{145}. Between 1876 and the beginning of World War I around 14 million left the Italian territory which on the whole counted only 33 million inhabitants\textsuperscript{146} in 1901.

\footnotesize

\textsuperscript{142} See Annexe 1, tables 13 and 14.
\textsuperscript{143} Piemonte, Veneto and Friuli. See Annexe 1, tables 13.
\textsuperscript{144} See Annexe 1, tables 14. Regions which were more affected by emigration in the period 1876-1976 were in Northern Italy: Veneto with 3.3 millions emigrants, Lombardia with 2.3 millions emigrants and Friuli with 2 millions emigrants and in Southern Italy: Campania with 2.7 millions emigrants, Calabria with 1.9 millions emigrants and Sicilia with 2.5 millions emigrants (in L'Europeo, n. 1, 2005, p. 51).
\textsuperscript{145} See Annexe 1, tables 14.
Despite both the harsh living conditions and the difficulties in reaching the immigration country\textsuperscript{147}, emigration from Italy slowed down partially due to the breaking of World War I and the introduction of immigration restriction policies in some countries, such as the United States of America.

Between 1916 and 1942, although the Fascist government approved a set of laws restricting the right to emigrate from Italy\textsuperscript{148}, over 4 million Italians emigrated\textsuperscript{149} for economic as well as political reasons\textsuperscript{150}.

The Italian emigration policies after World War II were characterised by a control of the flows through a series of bilateral agreements between the Italian government and some European countries in need of \textit{main-d’œuvre}\textsuperscript{151}, such as Belgium in 1946 and Germany in 1955\textsuperscript{152}. Namely, between 1946 and 1961, another 4.4 million Italians left the \textit{Bel Paese}\textsuperscript{153}.

Since the unification of Italy\textsuperscript{154} and until 1961 almost 24 million people\textsuperscript{155} emigrated towards all continents. Before World War II, the destination countries


\textsuperscript{149} See Annexe 1, table 15.

\textsuperscript{150} Namely anti-fascist dissidents.


\textsuperscript{152} See Chapter I, 1.5.5.

\textsuperscript{153} See Annexe 1, table 16.

\textsuperscript{154} The first official data concerning Italian emigration are available starting from 1876 (ROSOLI, G. (ed.) (1978) \textit{Un secolo di emigrazione italiana 1876-1976}, Roma: CSER).

\textsuperscript{155} See Annexe 1, table 17.
of the Italian emigrants were the Americas, especially the United States of America, Brazil and Argentina\textsuperscript{156}. From the second half of the XX century onwards, European countries such as France, Belgium, Switzerland and Germany became receiving countries for the Italian emigrants\textsuperscript{157}.

Although Italian emigration is still present nowadays, not enough attention is given to this issue because immigration issues have invaded the debate field. In 2008, Italians who resided abroad were 3.7 million, 56.7 per cent of which lived in Europe and 37.9 per cent in the Americas\textsuperscript{158}. Nevertheless, these figures do not take into consideration a number of Italians who do not register their change of residence, particularly inside the Schengen area.

Another aspect of the Italian emigration is that of the “oriundi”, that is people with Italian origins who have kept or have been granted the Italian citizenship although they have grown up and lived abroad. The number of the Italians who live in Italy is almost the same as the number of the Italians who live abroad. All over the world, descendents of Italians until the fourth generation are 58.2 million, namely 39.8 million in Southern America, 16 million in Northern America, 1.9 million in Europe and 500 thousand in Oceania\textsuperscript{159}.


\textsuperscript{157} See L’Europeo, n. 1, 2005, p. 51.

\textsuperscript{158} Dossier Statistico Immigrazione Caritas/Migrantes 2008. XVIII Rapporto, Roma: Idos.

\textsuperscript{159} MINISTERO DEGLI AFFARI ESTERI (1988) Comunità italiane nel mondo, 1985-1987, Roma: MAE.
2.2.2. From foreigners to migrants

Since the unification, Italian emigrants have experienced discrimination and racism in hosting countries in addition to harsh living conditions and economic difficulties. And even today, Italians who live abroad are experiencing the consequences of old prejudices which are not yet dead. In contemporary Italy, immigrants are experiencing almost the same problems as Italian emigrants did. Nevertheless, it is necessary to point out that foreigners have not always been “immigrants” in Italy.

Actually, a deep revision of the Italian history since its unification is vital in order to draw attention to the fact that Italy as a nation was an intellectual creation which aimed mainly to offer a justification to the expansionism of the House of Savoy on the Italian peninsula. The post-unitarian motto “Fatta l'Italia,

160 See note 8 in this chapter.

161 For the last thirty years the term “immigrant” has been employed in the political arena in an increasing derogatory way.

bisogna fare gli Italiani”

An ideological reading of history is misleading because not only Italy as a “unity” has never existed but also and above all because the Italian peninsula has been populated by a variety of populations since ancient times. Some of those populations were native such as the Etruscans, others came into peninsula such as the Lombards in the Middle Age or the Albanian population which started its settlement in Southern Italy during the fifteenth century. Other populations or part of other national states were conquered such as Austrians or the Slovenians in the North East Italy as the result of Italian expansionism which ended only in the middle of the XX century.

Proof of the extreme diversity of the populations residing on the contemporary Italian territory is given by the presence of numerous minority languages and several dialects which, though their deep difference from what has become the standard Italian, have not yet enjoyed the status of minority languages.

163 “Once Italy is done, let’s make the Italians”.


165 Minority languages which enjoy a juridical recognition according to law 482/1999 are French, Franco-Provençal, Albanian, Catalan, German, Greek, Slovene, Croatian, Friulian, Ladin, Occitan, Sardinian languages.

166 The controversial relation to diversity in Italy is demonstrated not only by the lack of recognition of important dialects such as that of Sicily but also by the delayed minority languages rights recognition which took place only in 1999 and by the limited funds which
The Italian reticence in recognising to a part of its citizens the status of minority demonstrates that it is not astonishing today’s reticence in recognising full rights to new immigrants.

Nevertheless, in the second half of the nineteenth century, foreigners were not seen as a danger, unlike today. Ethnic and social discrimination had not yet melted into an explosive racism as most foreigners were merchants who invested in Italy or renters who travelled across Italy. In 1861, foreigners represented only 0.40 per cent of the Italian population, mostly coming from France, the United Kingdom and German speaking countries, many of them were involved in business and controlled a consistent part of the financial capitals. World War I sees the beginning of a period of xenophobic nationalism which will lead during World War II to the extermination of all those who were considered as “different”, as Jews, Roma people, homosexuals, political dissidents. The major contradiction in the Italian political strategy during the XX century is that Italian governments have always tried to behave like colonisers on the European as well as on the African continents while they were including diversity in the national territory. For example, World War I attempted to reduce drastically foreigners are allowed to its application. This refusal in diversity recognition has a deep impact on policies concerning migrants on the whole as it will be discussed later.

167 In the Kingdom of Italy before and after its unification, a particular repression was reserved to working classes, anarchists and nomads who were thought as potentially subversive. This class discrimination has been reproduced towards immigrants today.


170 Ibidem.
influence on Italian economy as well as on those territories which were considered as Italian while Italy at the end of the war extended its sovereignty on the territories of Istria and Dalmazia which included population speaking mostly Slavic idioms\textsuperscript{171}.

Repression, abolition of democratic liberties, Italianisation policies and general autarkist attitude pushed away a great number of foreigners before the persecutions of the Fascist era. As a consequence of war and persecutions, many foreigners left Italy which in 1951 presented the lowest rate of immigrants in its history\textsuperscript{172}, that is 0.1 per cent of the population.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{171} EINAUDI, L. (2007) \textit{Le politiche dell’immigrazione in Italia dall’Unità a oggi}, Roma-Bari: Laterza.
\item \textsuperscript{172} 47.177 resident foreigners (in addition to 82.580 temporary foreigners) out of 47 million inhabitants (EINAUDI, L. (2007) \textit{Le politiche dell’immigrazione in Italia dall’Unità a oggi}, Roma-Bari: Laterza, p. 405). This figure does not include allophone speakers belonging to linguistic minorities.
\end{itemize}
2.2.3. Immigration flows from 1950

In the 1950s immigrants’ stock in Italy included a majority of German speaking people and a growing American community whose presence was determined by the military penetration of World War II. In the post war years which were preparing the economic boom, the rich American had substituted the rich British or the rich Russian of the XIX century in the collective stereotypical image of the foreigner\textsuperscript{173}.

In the 1950s and the 1960s, in addition to the Italian massive emigration which was still important and in addition to the repatriation of war prisoners and Italian political refugees, Italy experienced a new form of internal migration, the migration from Southern Italian regions to those of the North\textsuperscript{174}.

\textsuperscript{173} Around a thousand Africans and around two thousand and an half Asiatics were present on the Italian territory (EINAUDI, L. (2007) \textit{Le politiche dell’immigrazione in Italia dall’Unità a oggi}, Roma-Bari: Laterza).

\textsuperscript{174} In 1960s, around three hundred thousand people left each year the Southern regions to reach Northern Italy. This emigration decreased progressively until the 1990s, when around fifty thousand people reached each year the more industrialised North (PUGLIESE, E. (2002) \textit{L’Italia tra migrazioni internazionali e migrazione interna}, Bologna: Il Mulino, p. 39).
In this context of deep social changes, the economic boom promotes a diminishment in the internal migration from the South to the North\(^{175}\) and a progressive decrease in the Italian emigration flow towards other countries\(^{176}\). It is at the beginning of the 1970s that the first flow of contemporary immigration to Italy takes place\(^{177}\), differently from other European countries which have experienced a similar phenomenon since the Fifties\(^{178}\). From the Seventies onwards, the number of immigrants reaching Italy increased progressively passing from six hundred fifty thousand in 1992 to almost 3.5 million in 2008\(^{179}\).


\(^{177}\) Multiple and interacting causes can explain this phenomenon. Among the most relevant factors: economic boom of the 1960s, the need of un-skilled and less-paid main-d’oeuvre on the Italian market, emigration flows from decolonised countries, immigration restriction policies in other European countries in the 1970s in addition to more general causes (see Chapter I, 1.3.1 and following).

\(^{178}\) See Chapter I, in particular 1.5.1 and following.

\(^{179}\) See Annexe I, tables 18 and 26.
2.2.4. Migrant women in Italy

Although in a slower way, Italy has followed the international trend which has been characterised by a progressive feminisation of migrations. In particular, at the beginning of the 1990s, migrant women in Italy represented only around 40 per cent\textsuperscript{180} of all migrants while the average at the international level was around 49 per cent\textsuperscript{181}. Nevertheless, during the last fifteen years Italy has exceeded the international average reaching 50.4 per cent of migrant women on the total stock of migrants who live there.

The feminisation of immigration is accompanied by a progressive emancipation of women as it is shown in the data concerning the reason according to which they have been delivered a permit of stay. In particular, during the last fifteen years the number of permits of stay delivered under family reunification has decreased of around 5 per cent while those delivered for working reasons and those for study have increased respectively of 8 per cent and 12 per cent\textsuperscript{182}. Nevertheless, this relative emancipation in relation to male migrants does not

\textsuperscript{180} See Annexe I, table 18.

\textsuperscript{181} See Annexe I, table 1.

\textsuperscript{182} See Annexe I, tables 20.1 and 20.2.
mean a global trend of emancipation of migrant women, especially concerning employment policies which have been introduced in the last years, such as those concerning the “house caring workers”\textsuperscript{183}.

During the last fifteen years, immigration flows reaching Italy have changed not only in terms of gender composition but also in terms of country of origin. At the beginning of the 1990s, the countries which provided the highest number of immigrants in absolute terms were two Northern African countries, Morocco and Tunisia. Immigrants from these countries were essentially men\textsuperscript{184}, while immigrants coming from other countries such as the United States of America, the Philippines, Germany, France, Switzerland, Poland, Brazil and Argentina were women in more than five cases on ten\textsuperscript{185}.

In the mid-Nineties, the situation started to change. The first country which provided immigrants was still Morocco, but the percentage of female migrants from that country has increased up to 20 per cent\textsuperscript{186}. Albania has jumped from the seventh position to the second with an increase of almost two thirds on the whole. China as well as the Philippines, Sri Lanka, India and Poland have almost doubled the number of their immigrants in Italy\textsuperscript{187}.

In the mid-Nineties immigrants from Romania begin to reach Italy and in less than five years become the most numerous group of immigrants shifting from

\textsuperscript{183} The number of permits of stay delivered to women for dependent work has increased of around 8 per cent, while the number of those for autonomous work has decreased of almost 3 per cent. See Annexe I, table 21.

\textsuperscript{184} Women represented less than 10 per cent of the migrants stock from Morocco and Tunisia. See Annexe I, table 22.1.

\textsuperscript{185} \textit{Ibidem}, table 22.1.

\textsuperscript{186} \textit{Ibidem}, table 22.2.

\textsuperscript{187} \textit{Ibidem}.
around 26 thousand in 1997 to over 267 thousand in 2007\textsuperscript{188}. Immigrants from Romania and Albania are the two most copious communities in Italy, occupying respectively the second and the first position in the list of the first twenty countries of origin\textsuperscript{189}. Immigrants coming from other two countries have increased considerably their presence, namely from China and Ukraine.

It is interesting to observe that in 2008 the area providing the highest number of immigrants is Europe, particularly the new member states of the European Union. The ten new countries which joined the European Union in 2004 provide around 776 thousand immigrants to Italy, which correspond to almost the total amount of immigrants coming from all Africa\textsuperscript{190}. It is interesting to note that the majority of migrant women resident in Italy come from European countries. Taking into consideration the macro areas of origin of immigrants who live in Italy, migrant women represent around 62 per cent of all migrants coming from the Americas, around 60 per cent of all migrants from Oceania, around 55 per cent of all migrants from European countries, around 45 per cent of all migrants from Asia and only 39 per cent of all migrants from Africa\textsuperscript{191}.

\textsuperscript{188} Ibidem, tables 22.3 and 22.4.

\textsuperscript{189} Ibidem, table 22.4.

\textsuperscript{190} Ibidem, table 26.

\textsuperscript{191} Ibidem. Migrant women represent around 50 per cent of the immigrants in Italy.
2.3.1. Italian policies for diversity and immigration

The first policies concerning foreigners in the Kingdom of Italy before its unification were introduced during the Napoleonic period (1805-1814), particularly through the issue of the first passports. People’s movement between the states existing in the Italian peninsula before the unification was limited by restrictions such as in the Duchy of Parma where foreigners were obliged to possess a permit of stay and a guarantee from a city citizen\textsuperscript{192}.

In the unified Italy, people’s movement was regulated by the Italian Civil Code of 1865 and the law of 1869 which guaranteed to foreigners the same rights recognised to Italians, and similar forms of police control were used for foreigners especially for Roma people, homeless, workless, etc\textsuperscript{193}.


\textsuperscript{193} \textit{Ibidem}.
Until the beginning of the twentieth century no visa was needed to enter the country. The foreigners could be refused at the border if they were not in possess of valid identification documents or if they were thought not to have enough income for their stay. Foreigners who resided in Italy could be expelled in case of a prison sentence or if they were considered dangerous to the public order. These decisions were taken by the police as an administrative sanction.\textsuperscript{194}

During the World War I the majority of the European countries, start introducing some migration policies, such as the introduction of different treatments and structures reserved to foreigners. The reasons are to avoid the entrance of foreign workers and above all to be able to control the entry of enemies.\textsuperscript{195}

In 1914 the Italian Directory General of the Public Security of the Interior Ministry created a record of the foreigners who were thought to be spies, and in 1915 this record was amplified in Anagrafe centrale degli stranieri (Foreigner’s Central Register).\textsuperscript{196}

In 1926 a law on public security introduces territorial offices who are under the umbrella of a central office which supervises foreigners. In 1929 a central record of permits of stay was established and the territorial offices had to


give data on the number of foreigners present in the territory and on their movements\textsuperscript{197}.

In 1930, other policies are established regarding the border controls. The foreigners have the duty to go to the police authorities to announce their entry during the first three days of their stay and also have to announce their change of residence and they were obliged to possess a permit of stay\textsuperscript{198}. The document indicated the identity, the nationality, the place and the duration of the stay, as well as the profession and the property situation of the foreigner.

In 1931, also the visa system is introduced by law for citizens of many states\textsuperscript{199}. Slowly the administrative system regarding a limited number of foreigners is being constructed and it has not changed so much during the years. This system was conceived to control a small number of foreigners such as the political refugees, businessmen and tourists and it aimed to limit the migration for economical reasons.

These policies and this administrative structure aimed to defend the state mostly from political risks than from the entry of foreign workers\textsuperscript{200}. The migrant’s situation is often ambiguous in this system, which allows rapid change of position due to a high level of discretionary power from the public authority.


\textsuperscript{199} Regio Decreto n. 773 of 18 June 1931, Testo unico delle leggi di pubblica sicurezza, in Gazzetta Ufficiale, n. 146, 26 June 1931.

2.3.2. Racist policies against diversity

From the very beginning the fascist regime expressed hostility to the Roma people. Police control made difficult the entry of foreign Roma to Italy, even if they had passports and expelled them in case they had managed to enter\textsuperscript{201}. The motivation they gave, was “pericolosità nei riguardi della sicurezza e dell’igiene pubblica”\textsuperscript{202}. In 1938 their expulsions towards Sardinia, Calabria and Abruzzo started taking place.

The situation of foreigners and Jews became more difficult after the war of Ethiopia. In 1936 the first policies were established to prevent the possible contacts and “the mixing” of the whites and blacks in the colony\textsuperscript{203}. In 1938 the marriage was forbidden between Italian citizens of “arian race” and persons “of other races”\textsuperscript{204}. The dominant figure of the time, the Minister of Press and


\textsuperscript{202}“The danger to the security and to the public hygiene” (ibidem, p. 68).


\textsuperscript{204}Ibidem.
Propaganda, Ciano used to say “La razza italiana non deve subire ravvicinamenti di sorta con la razza negra e deve mantenere intatta la sua forte purezza”\textsuperscript{205}.

These policies were reinforced with the Racial Manifesto, \textit{Manifesto della razza}, announced on July 14\textsuperscript{th}, 1938 in which the existence of a pure “Italian race” was proclaimed. According to this Manifesto, the Jews did not belong to the Italian race “… è tempo ormai che gli italiani si proclamino francamente razzisti… è necessario fare una netta distinzione tra i mediterranei d’Europa (occidentale) da una parte e gli orientali e gli africani dall’altra… gli ebrei non appartengono alla razza italiana”\textsuperscript{206}.

On September the 5\textsuperscript{th} of the same year appears the first discriminatory and persecution decree concerning the Jews, which prohibited the exercise of many professions and which threw out Jew professors and teachers from the Universities and schools. The racial policies did not permit the so-called “mixed marriages” and sexual relations between the whites and blacks, and between Italians and Jews.

On September the 7\textsuperscript{th}, the Italian citizenship given to Jews in 1919 was revoked and they did not have the right to reside neither in Italy, nor in Italian colonies such as in Libia\textsuperscript{207}.

\textsuperscript{205} “The Italian race should not have any close contact with the Nigger race and should keep untouched its purity” (\textit{ibidem}, p. 151).

\textsuperscript{206} “… time has come for Italians to proclaim themselves openly as racists... it is necessary to make a clear distinction between the (Western) European Mediterraneans on one hand and the Orientals and the Africans on the other… the Jews do not belong to the Italian race”, from Manifesto della razza, in CAFFAZ U. (1988) \textit{Discriminazione e persecuzione degli ebrei nell’Italia fascista}, Firenze: Consiglio Regionale della Toscana.

In the end of the 1930s, Italian authorities promoted several publications aiming at the diffusion of the new policies and doctrines\textsuperscript{208}, which were based on discriminatory principles.

\textsuperscript{208} For example the review \textit{La difesa della razza} and other reviews which attempted to look scientific.
2.3.3. The first immigration policies

The foundation of the Italian Republic after World War II gave life to new policies on foreigners although many remained on the paper, as the main problem at the time was the Italian emigration and not the immigration.

The Italian Constitution of 1948 included the non-discrimination principles and the third article says “tutti i cittadini hanno pari dignità sociale e sono uguali davanti alla legge, senza distinzioni di sesso, di razza, di lingua, di religione, di opinioni politiche, di condizioni personali e sociali”\(^\text{209}\). This article has not been extended to non Italian citizens, although a possible interpretation might cover foreigners living legally in Italy\(^\text{210}\).

The tenth article of the Italian Constitution indicates explicitly that the International Conventions will be respected “la condizione giuridica dello

\(^{209}\) “All citizens have equal social dignity and are equal before the law, without distinction of sex, race, language, religion, political opinion, personal and social conditions”, see CONSERVA, G. (ed.) (1985) Costituzione della Repubblica italiana, Roma: Bonacci, p. 35.

straniero è regolata dalla legge in conformità delle norme e dei trattati internazionali”211.

The Constitution returned to a similar situation of that of the Civil Code of 1865 which assured the rights to the foreigner as a human being, not from the place of birth or creed. At the moment of the ratification of the Geneva Convention on asylum seekers, Italy asks the recognition of a reserved geographical area, especially for those who fled from the Soviet Union, and it was maintained until 1990212.

Regarding foreign workers two laws establish the criteria of entry and work in Italy. The laws are of 1949 and later of 1961. It was almost impossible to hire a foreign worker from abroad as this was possible only after the certainty of the absence of Italian workers for the same job. Of course, it was almost impossible to verify this, and the Ministry of Labour was often vague on how to verify this213.

At the end of the 1960s, the entrance in Italy was relatively easy. Visas for tourism were not required. The border police controlled the identity documents and the foreigner’s necessary resources for the stay. However, except the citizens

212 “A foreigner who is denied the effective exercise of the democratic liberties guaranteed by the Italian Constitution in his or her own country has the right of asylum in the territory of the Italian Republic, in accordance with the conditions established by law. Extradition of a foreigner for political offences is not admitted”, art. 10 of the Italian Constitution.
of OSCE member states\footnote{The present members of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) are Albania, Andorra, Armenia, Austria, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Belgium, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Canada, Croatia, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Georgia, Germany, Greece, Holy See, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Latvia, Liechtenstein, Lithuania, Luxembourg, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Malta, Moldova, Monaco, Montenegro, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Russia, San Marino, Serbia, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Tajikistan, Turkey, Turkmenistan, Ukraine, United Kingdom, United States of America, Uzbekistan.}, other foreigners had difficulty obtaining working permits of stay. No real regulation existed in those years for legal working entry of foreigners. Since these policies were missing, many foreigners, like today, who entered Italy for tourism remained and became illegal\footnote{BARBAGLI, M. and COLOMBO, A. and SCIORTINO, G. (eds) (2004) \textit{I sommersi e I sanati. Le politiche di regolarizzazione degli immigrati in Italia}, Bologna: Il Mulino.}. In the mid-Sixties, a decree of the Ministry of Labour permitted the regularization of foreigners who had entered Italy before a certain date\footnote{ EINAUDI, L. (2007) \textit{Le politiche dell’immigrazione in Italia dall’Unità a oggi}, Roma-Bari: Laterza.}. 
2.3.4. International provisions and the Italian immigration law

In 1975, Italy signs the International Convention called “Migrant Workers Convention (Supplementary Provisions)” 217, a convention which fights the different forms of irregular migration and recognizes to foreign workers the same rights as to Italian citizens. This international convention was important for Italy in order to support the Italian workers abroad and it was not intended to help migrant workers in Italy because of the marginality of the phenomenon in that time. This convention needed an application law in Italy which was adopted only ten years later, in 1986 218. The delay in the approval of the Italian application law is explained mainly by two reasons: firstly by the marginality of the foreigner’s presence in Italy and secondly the bureaucratic system which was very slow 219.

This law concentrates on the same treatment of the foreign workers and introduces some norms for their access to the social services. Although the

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217 Convention number 143 (1975), International Labour Organisation. See Chapter 1.4.1.
218 Law n. 943 of 30 December 1986 (Norme in materia di collocamento e di trattamento dei lavoratori extracomunitari immigrati e contro le immigrazioni clandestine, in Gazzetta Ufficiale, 21 January 1987. This law is known as Foschi law.
entrance of foreigners in Italy was restricted, the procedures for family unifications are introduced as well as the possibility for an Italian employer to recruit directly a foreign employee.

The requests for foreigners, then like today, came from families and small medium enterprises and from service sectors. The procedures to follow from employers were often very difficult to accomplish by even big enterprises\textsuperscript{220}. Often the foreigners continued to enter Italy for tourism and then remained in an irregular situation. The law did not take into consideration the real market needs and did not give the possibility to foreigners to get a work permit of stay and to be able to keep it. The law also did not consider the possibility of an autonomous work permit and a permit for the street peddlers\textsuperscript{221}.

Even the foreigners with regular permits of stay had often the problem of short periods of validity of the permit and risked often to become undocumented\textsuperscript{222}. The government made a first amnesty which was supposed to last three months and in which almost 116,000 foreigners asked to regularize their situation\textsuperscript{223}. Instead it lasted fifteen months and many foreigners waited in the

\textsuperscript{220} \textit{Ibidem}.


police stations in order to regularize their position. The first images of long queues of foreigners gave a new visibility to the migration issues in the end of Twentieth century\textsuperscript{224}.

2.3.5. A new approach to immigration

In 1986 the first immigration law had been approved without great attention from the public opinion. The second one, known as Martelli\textsuperscript{225} law\textsuperscript{226}, only four years later attracted the public opinion, bringing several changes to the existing migration policies.

The geographical reserve for the asylum seekers is abolished permitting persecuted people from all over the world to seek asylum in Italy. The Interior Ministry will be responsible for the first assistance to those asylum seekers who had no place to stay\textsuperscript{227}.

\textsuperscript{225} Being Claudio Martelli the promoter of this law and vice-prime minister.


New types of permit of stay were introduced: a permit of stay for autonomous work, for street merchants, the tourism one as a control instrument, and that for religious reasons asked by the Holy See. The entrances had to be regulated by a common decree elaborated by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Interior and the Ministry of Labour by October 30th of the previous year. This date was never respected and no real entrance measures were adopted\textsuperscript{228}.

The government failed to take into consideration the needs of the national market, the number of other foreigners who wanted to be able to work in Italy by converting the reason of their permit of stay\textsuperscript{229} and the international obligations with other states\textsuperscript{230}.

Visas as well as the hardening of the borders were introduced for citizens of the states whose citizens tended to migrate to Italy. Two years of prison was given to people who favoured the illegal immigration.

The regularisation was the biggest ever because it was opened to workers, to unemployed people who were then registered to the placement lists, to family member’s of foreigners already in Italy and to the asylum seekers. The students could ask for a conversion of their permit of stay in order to have a working one.

The integration and stabilisation measures were lacking because of the political debates too. The Martelli law helped to improve the foreign worker’s

\textsuperscript{228} \textit{Ibidem}.

\textsuperscript{229} For example the case of many foreign students, who would like to be able to work in Italy by converting the reason of their permit of stay from “educational” (\textit{studio}), to “autonomous or dependent work” (\textit{lavoro autonomo o subordinato}).

legislative situation, especially the workers who had an autonomous activity but also helped to improve the situation of the members of the family of the migrants and the asylum seekers.

The problems of the border controls, of the poor housing conditions and the illegal work existed even before the Martelli law but became more visible due to the media’s attention. The weak policies of the expulsions created polemics and made difficult the first months of the law, creating continuous emergencies to be dealt with, the problems with the housing, with the social services, with the continuous arrivals of the immigrants and the difficult expulsions\textsuperscript{231}. The inability of the administrative and political class to handle in a reasoned way all the measures planed by the law brought its failure.

2.3.6. Italy facing European agreements and immigration issues

In the end of the 1990s, the Italian government found itself obliged to review the laws on immigration. There were many reasons for that. First of all, the Schengen agreement\(^{232}\) needed coordination of immigration control policies with those of the other member states. It was a controversial agreement, as all the “border” states of the European Union had a great responsibility for the control of their borders, which become “external” borders of the states who signed the Schengen agreement\(^{233}\).

\(^{232}\)“Ecco cosa prevede il trattato di Schengen”, in *La Repubblica*, 14 August 1997.

\(^{233}\)“During the 1980s, a debate opened up about the meaning of the concept of free movement of persons. Some Member States felt that this should apply to EU citizens only, which would involve keeping internal border checks in order to distinguish between citizens of the EU and non-EU nationals. Others argued in favour of free movement for everyone, which would mean an end to internal border checks altogether. Since the Member States found it impossible to reach an agreement, France, Germany, Belgium, Luxembourg and the Netherlands decided in 1985 to create a territory without internal borders. This became known as the “Schengen area”. The name was taken from that of the town in Luxembourg where the first agreements were signed. This intergovernmental cooperation expanded to include 13 Member States in 1997, following the signing of the Treaty of Amsterdam, which
A full membership of the Schengen agreement\textsuperscript{234} has a great symbolic importance, not only it offers the citizens a free circulation between the member states but also Italy enjoys the implicit recognition of being trustworthy in the eyes of the other member states\textsuperscript{235}.

Another important aspect that the government took into consideration was the need to reassure the public opinion on the state’s ability to intervene in a competent way on such a controversial theme as it was the case of the illegal immigration and undocumented immigrants. A third important factor was the incorporated into EU law on 1 May 1999 the decisions taken since 1985 by the Schengen group members and the associated working structures” (source: http://europa.eu).

\textsuperscript{234} “The first agreement between the five original group members was signed on 14 June 1985. A further convention was drafted and signed on 19 June 1990. When it came into effect in 1995, it abolished checks at the internal borders of the signatory States and created a single external border where immigration checks for the Schengen area are carried out in accordance with identical procedures. Common rules regarding visas, right of asylum and checks at external borders were adopted to allow the free movement of persons within the signatory States without disrupting law and order. Accordingly, in order to reconcile freedom and security, this freedom of movement was accompanied by so-called “compensatory” measures. This involved improving cooperation and coordination between the police and the judicial authorities in order to safeguard internal security and in particular to tackle organised crime effectively. With this in mind the Schengen Information System (SIS) was set up. SIS is a sophisticated database used by the authorities of the Schengen member countries to exchange data on certain categories of people and goods. The Schengen area gradually extended to include every Member State. Italy signed the agreements on 27 November 1990, Spain and Portugal joined on 25 June 1991, Greece followed on 6 November 1992, then Austria on 28 April 1995 and finally Denmark, Finland and Sweden joined on 19 December 1996” (source: http://europa.eu).

need and the urgency to intervene in two weak points of the migration policies, the absence of a real possibility of a legal entry in the country and then the adoption of stabilisation and integration policies for the migrants\textsuperscript{236}.

The immigration law of 1998; known with the name of Turco-Napolitano, represented the most ambitious attempt to structure and improve the whole system on the immigration domain\textsuperscript{237}. The law introduced reforms on the control systems, the flows regularisation, and the integration policies of the migrants who resided in the country. The law formulates the border and the expulsion control systems. The expulsion could be immediate if the migrant was caught during an illegal entry from the police authorities, or the migrant could be kept in identification and expulsion centres.

The long term migrants from third countries could ask a long resident permit of stay called \textit{carta di soggiorno} which gave more rights to migrants and above all the possibility for long term projects. The law introduced also the possibility for preferential \textit{quota} to the citizens with which Italy had special agreements like Albania, Tunisia, Libya etc\textsuperscript{238}.

However, the law adopted was repressive in some ways, as the expulsions became more frequent, there was a good collaboration between Italy and the

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countries from where the migrants came from\textsuperscript{239} and the fight against illegal immigration became the priority of the police authorities. Italy becomes a full member of the Schengen agreement in spite of some initial disagreements of some of the member states. The government does not enjoy a social consensus though. On one hand, a part of the majority in the government is against the repressive aspects of the law, as the opening of the detention centres for migrants, on the other there is a strong social alarm especially in the South of Italy where the majority of the migrants came to. The press increased the fear of the migrants and the immigration became a social problem\textsuperscript{240}. The number of illegal migrants increased, due to the partial inability of the control policies and a big demand for foreign workers, due to the ageing of the society. The repressive aspects of the law were often considered as a failure of the law itself.

The law introduced important elements in the entrance policies. For the first time the law recognised the need of new working labour and had realistic procedures in the determination of the number of annual entrances for the seasonal workers as well as for long term workers. A sponsor who would guarantee the living condition of the foreigner, be it an Italian citizen, a foreigner with a permit of stay in Italy, an association or a public institution, could ask the entry of a foreigner even though he or she did not have a working contract yet. This mechanism would help the insertion of women in the family services, or workers in a small enterprise in which the owners or the families needed to get to


know the person before hiring him or her\(^{241}\). The figure of the sponsor was successful as between the 1999 and 2001 many foreigners entered in Italy in a legal way. However, the number of the annual entrances was very inferior to the real need of the market and the figure of the sponsor was little used. The government failed to follow the innovation procedures of the law with a reform in the administration. The entry procedures were very long and slow and did not respect at all the need and the timings of the employers. It was not surprising to see that in 1998 although an amnesty took place many migrants were still undocumented\(^{242}\).

The stabilisation process was weak too. The new type of the permit of stay, the one dedicated to long term residents was initially thought to help migrants who lived for more than five years in Italy to be able to have longer permit of stay (\textit{carta di soggiorno}), so that the police authorities could concentrate more on their investigation activities than on administrative procedures concerning immigrants. The number of \textit{carta di soggiorno} delivered until June 2002 was less than twenty thousand\(^{243}\), whereas the number of long time residents in Italy was much higher\(^{244}\).

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\(^{243}\) Source: Italian Ministry of Interior.

2.3.7. From migrants to citizens

In 1992 the law on citizenship\textsuperscript{245} is reviewed and it concentrated on facilitating the process of the citizenship to the Italian descendents favoring in this way the \textit{ius sanguinis} and the law did not introduce measurements in favor of \textit{ius soli}. Foreigners who did not have “Italian” blood had to wait 10 years instead of the former five years in order to apply for the Italian citizenship. The law is retroactive, so even foreigners who had already applied for the Italian citizenship before the approval of the new law, found themselves not to have the necessary requirements anymore. The naturalization process of the foreigners is a difficult one, as the system of the application is vague and highly discretionnal. The citizens from one of the European states could ask the Italian citizenship after four years of residence in the country\textsuperscript{246}.

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The former law on citizenship, which dated 1912\textsuperscript{247} used to give the possibility of newborns to get the Italian citizenship if born in its territory. With the new law this was not possible anymore\textsuperscript{248}.

With the new law, the foreigner could apply for the Italian citizenship only if he or she had resided in Italy from birth until eighteen years of age. The other foreigners who were not born in Italy could apply for citizenship after ten years of residence. Income is an important criterion too in the naturalisation process.

The result of these measures is a very low number of naturalisation citizenships. In the 2000, in the United States of America 889.000 citizenships were given, in France 150.000 citizenships, in United Kingdom 90.000 citizenships, in Germany 187.000 whereas in Italy 14.000\textsuperscript{249}.

These restriction policies in Italy, have excluded from the full integration persons who fully belong to the Italian society, but who still do not possess the political rights and the stability which allows long term projects.

\textsuperscript{247} Law n. 555 of 13 June 1912.


2.4.1. Migrants: assimilation vs integration

What are the policies regarding the integration of migrants? Or better, do these kinds of policies exist in Italy? Are there assimilation policies regarding migrants who live and work honestly and do have permits of stay? What about the so-called second generations, that is the children of migrants who were considered to be the first generation of migrants? Often these children were born and have studied all their life in Italy, speak Italian fluently and get to learn the rights and obligations of the citizens. Is Italy ready to face these aspects? What does it mean to be a migrant? What changes in the migrant’s life by this experience?

In Italy it is difficult to talk about a specific approach to these issues. The law of 1998 introduced some integration norms, but they were not only too recent
but also controversial. In 2001, the government of that time adopted a new law\(^{250}\) which introduced new restrictive norms regarding the entrances and the border controls, but did not introduce new norms regarding the integration or “assimilation” of the migrants. The fingerprint was a new form of control introduced with the new law, the time in which the foreigners were kept for identification and expulsion in the Temporary Detention Centres was prolonged\(^{251}\) and the borders were hardened especially the maritime borders\(^{252}\). No real stabilisation norms took place, but the attention of the law was focused on how to deal with “immigration emergency”, that is with the illegal entries and the problem of the “quotas” system for the workers. The figure of the sponsor is cancelled and it became harder for employers to recruit\(^{253}\). The preferential entry quotas were strongly reduced too, increasing the illegal entries in Italy.

Often when the term “migration” is mentioned the problems of legal or illegal entry are treated. What happens with the migrants who work, study, were

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\(^{250}\) Law n. 189 of 30 July 2002, *Modifica alla normative in material di immigrazione e di asilo*, in *Gazzetta Ufficiale*, n. 199, 26 August 2002. Known as the Bossi-Fini law, this text was put into action in September of the same year.

\(^{251}\) Temporary Detention Centres were called CPT (*Centri di Permanenza Temporanea*). The identification centres were often considered by the public opinion and some politicians as prisons, where foreigners were arrested and often did not have their rights respected. These centres, not being prisons, were administered mainly from the Red Cross, Croce Rossa Italiana, Confederazione delle Misericordie d’Italia and some other volunteer organisations. From 2008, they are called C.I.E. (*Centri di Identificazione e espulsione*).


born and live in Italy? Who are the “regular” migrants? In how many migration models can they fit? What about the women’s integration? Do they fit in the same models?
2.4.2. The work and employment of migrants in Italy: the case of the migrant women

The decision to migrate is not done by a single individual but it is often discussed within families or communities from where the migrant comes. The recruitment policies in Italy are often done in a decentralised way and the public recruitment agency plays little or no role at all. This characteristic in the recruitment of the immigrants is significant in the ways and the differences of the immigrant’s entry in the labour market and their eventual participation in the social and political realms of the society.

As a result of the difficult procedures of getting a contract and consequently a working permit of stay, many migrants are often obliged to do humiliating jobs and thus creating *ethnic specialisations* in the eyes of Italians.

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254 See Chapter 1.3.1. and following.

255 For example, the Senegalese were considered to be selling books and newspapers on the streets and were known with the term *vucumprà* etc. See COLOMBO, A. and SCIORTINO, G. (2004) *Gli immigrati in Italia*, Bologna: Il Mulino.
2.4.3. Assistance to the elderly and domestic work

Migrant women often suffer precarious situations and do not have jobs regulated by contracts so they find themselves obliged to work in the assistance sector, often in the houses for the elderly the so-called *case di cura* and in the houses of the elderly people. They are often known as domestic workers, *colf*. The *badanti* are the women who assist the elderly. Lately, a migrant woman who lives in the house of an old person does both, the domestic work and the assistance.

In the Eighties many migrant women came from countries with Christian Catholic traditions such as the Philippines, Cape Verde and Brazil, Argentina etc.\(^{256}\). From the beginning of the XXI century, migrant women working in the domestic services start coming from Eastern European countries\(^ {257}\). After the amnesty of 2002 a transformation of the women working in the assistance field countries of origin, took place. More than a hundred thousand women coming


from Ukraine and Moldovia were issued a permit of stay\textsuperscript{258}. Due to the lack of cheap and public institutions which can deal with the ageing society, often families find themselves obliged to hire a domestic worker at home\textsuperscript{259}.

Migrants show a great adaptation to the demands of the labour market in Italy and are often able to supply to its needs. Many migrant women working in the assistance and domestic services are concentrated in the regions of Lazio with a peak in Rome, and in Lombardy where the majority work in Milan\textsuperscript{260}.

There are territorial changes in the domestic demands in Italy. In the regions of the North and the Center of Italy, especially in Emilia-Romagna, Tuscany, Lazio, Lombardy and Trento the majority of the Italian women do work. These families need a family collaborator, known as \textit{colf} who is usually a migrant women and who does domestic work\textsuperscript{261}. Public services and institution for elderly people are lacking and insufficient to the ageing of the population in Italy but this lack is even stronger in the South of Italy, especially in Sicily, Sardinia, Calabria and Puglia. Many Italian families hire migrant women as \textit{badandi} or minders who should assist the elderly or the disabled persons. In the Northern Italy the rate of the migrant domestic workers is increasing.

The demand of the assistance domestic workers has improved and changed from care to the little children, to assistance and cohabitation with the elderly and ill persons. Migrant women find themselves to be working often in illegal way in

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{258} CHALOFF, J. (2005) “Migrant women and the labour market: diversity and challanges”, room document n. 4, Paris: OCDE.
\item \textsuperscript{259} STRATTI, Ingrid, “Do të jetojmë deri 100 vjeç...” (“We will live until 100 years old...”), Elbasan, Gazeta Elbasani, 8 June 2007, p. 7.
\end{itemize}
these families even in the cases where they do possess a working contract they do not have contacts with the outside world apart from the elderly persons they assist. These women are often isolated and not integrated in the society they live in. A dependence relationship is thus created with their employer who often makes them work long hours and give them no spare time or vacations.

The migrant women living in these situations have to renounce their ambitions for a private and emotional life and have to abandon their families when they have one in their home countries. Their working and salary conditions are too low to allow them to create a family or to be able to keep their children near them. Many of the domestic workers do possess qualifications which are beyond this work but they are obliged to work in this sector as they have no other way.

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268 A survey talks about a thousand and six hundred children who live in orphanages or convents because their mothers work as domestic workers in Italy (Censis (2003) L’immagine degli immigrati e delle minoranze etniche nei media: rapporto finale, Roma: Censis).
2.4.4. Abortion, birth and health system

Migrant women have often more children than the Italian ones, although the trend seems to diminish with the passing of the time. Italy has a very low fertility rate, due to many factors not excluding the late entrance in the labour market\textsuperscript{269}. Migrant women, who often work as domestic workers with very low wages are in very difficult situations due to the financial problems and to the lack of time for their personal life.

This condition of personal unfulfillment and dissatisfaction of the migrant women\textsuperscript{270} produces not only solitude and isolation but also little possibilities of professional development for these women, and also creates health related problems\textsuperscript{271}.

\textsuperscript{269} The birth rate in Italy is around 1.2 children per woman which is one of the lowest in the world (source: ISTAT).


The abortion rate is much higher among migrant women who according to statistics are 28.7 per thousand than Italian ones who are 9 per thousand. Young immigrant girls who are often under eighteen undergo many abortions.

The births are also an indicator of the settlement of the migrants. The data collection is difficult, because often children of a mixed couple were born after one of the parents has received the Italian citizenship so their descendants are not calculated by the statistics. However, the births of children with at least one foreign parent have increased moving from 1 per cent of the total births in 1986 to 7 per cent in the 2000.

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273 Ibidem.
2.4.5. Women in exploitative situations

A very sad and harmful side of the illegal migration is the rise of organizations which are specialised in the trafficking of people, especially of the most vulnerable ones, like that of women and children\textsuperscript{274}. The United Nations defines human trafficking as

\begin{quote}
"The recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation"\textsuperscript{275}.
\end{quote}

The trafficking of women and children for the purpose of exploitation is unfortunately present all over the world and in Italy too. Global trafficking involves millions of women and children\textsuperscript{276}. The International Organization for

\textsuperscript{274} For an overview on the international legislative aspects see Chapter I, 1.4.3.

\textsuperscript{275} See www.unescap.org.

Migration which fights trafficking and human smuggling explains possible reasons for the increase of these phenomena after the fall of the Berlin Wall. Victims of difficult ethnic wars, prosecution, and poverty are in search of a better life. Many of the trafficking organizations pretend to offer women jobs as waitresses or at other times one of them pretends to get engaged to the woman and lies to her by enhancing her to prostitution once in Italy. Many women were trafficked from Poland, Albania, Bosnia and other Southern European countries and from Southern America in the end of the nineties.

Many governments adopted new procedures in order to fight the trafficking and human smuggling. A new category of permit of stay is adopted for women who are victims of trafficking who wanted to help the police authorities in the prosecution of the people who maltreated them in Italy. The collaboration of the victims is crucial in order to be able to punish the traffickers. Women and children who are the victims do not possess a permit of stay so they too are considered to be undocumented and therefore illegal in Italy. The lack of documentation to stay in the country fills the victims with fear and prevents them from going to the police authorities to report the traffickers.


The Italian immigration act of 1998 establishes a number of norms in order to protect children and minors from exploitation\textsuperscript{279}, to punish the traffickers\textsuperscript{280} and offer social protection to the victims\textsuperscript{281}.

The victims who report their traffickers are offered a temporary permit of stay in Italy and offered the necessary psychological care. An important aspect of this norm is the fact that the right to be issued a permit of stay is not linked to the need of the victims to be witnesses at Court. This is a very important aspect in order to push the women and minors to report on their traffickers. The shortcomings of these norms are the different interpretations of the norms in different parts of the country as its interpretation is not always clear\textsuperscript{282}. Above all, the intervention of the police authorities appears late and is not often able to offer all the necessary assurance that the victims might need in order to report and witness at Court\textsuperscript{283}.

\textsuperscript{279} Article 9, Law 269/98, known as \textit{Norme contro lo sfruttamento della prostituzione, della pornografia, del turismo sessuale in danno dei minori, quali nuove forme di riduzione in schiavitù}.

\textsuperscript{280} \textit{Ibidem}, article 12.

\textsuperscript{281} \textit{Ibidem}, article 18.


2.4.6. Women and family reunification

The main reason for which women enter Italy is family reunification and work. These two elements are correlated and both influence the migrant women’s situation. The laws and guidelines controlling family reunifications often do not make possible the entry of the spouses in Italy right away. Very often the male migrants have to wait several years for their wives to come to Italy creating in this way solitude and problems within the family\textsuperscript{284}. 

From the statistics it is seen that only around 36 percent of more than 1.4 million permits of stay for work purposes were given to migrant women in 2007\textsuperscript{285}. During the last fifteen years the number of permits of stay delivered under family reunification has decreased of around 5 per cent while those delivered for working reasons and those for study have increased respectively of 8 and 12 percent\textsuperscript{286}.

The permit of stay for family reunification purpose allows migrant women to work in different fields. Often the children could join the families, creating in


\textsuperscript{285} See Annexe I, tables 20.1 and 20.2.

\textsuperscript{286} \textit{Ibidem}.
this way the basis for a possible settlement and the possibility of integration of migrants. In the moment of the passage from the phase of entrance of a single man or woman as workers to the phase of the family reunification, the demand of adequate social services and living conditions will increase.\(^{287}\)

The presence of the families is a very positive factor in the active social integration of the migrants. Many debates and questions have been raised in Italy regarding the figure of the migrant women coming through the family reunification, especially with regard to the Muslim world. A lot it is talked about the scarf that Muslim women wear and whether this is to be allowed in schools.\(^{288}\) Similar questions are raised in other European countries, especially after the terrorist attacks in the United States in the 2001.\(^{289}\)

The wives arrive in Italy several years after their husbands and they need some time to get familiar with the norms and symbols of the Italian society. However, it is difficult to draw one trend to all the Muslim migrant women in Italy. Some of these women are very independent, well-educated and have freely chosen to come to Italy to improve their professional competences and have their own liberty. Other women are in a more dependent situation in which they do not work and stay at home to raise the children. Often the language barrier does not permit them to get integrated in the society.\(^{290}\)

\(^{287}\) In a special way the need of equal access to the social services.


2.4.7. Union as a means of integration

A so-called “mixed marriage” is considered to be the union of a migrant with a citizen of the destination country. The “mixed marriages” can be considered as an indicator of integration because they indicate on one hand the opening of the destination country towards the migrants and on the other hand migrants’ search of a new family life style in the hosting society.

Collected data concerning “mixed marriages” in Italy take into consideration only marriages in which at least one of the spouses is resident in Italy²⁹¹.

This is still a marginal phenomenon which in 2005 concerned 12.5 per cent of all weddings in Italy²⁹², although in exponential growth. In 1995, “mixed marriages” represented only 4.8 per cent of the total marriages²⁹³, while marriages

²⁹¹ See Annexe I, tables 27.1, 27.2 and 27.3
between two foreigners represent a minority still in 2005, being only 3.5 per cent of the total\textsuperscript{294}.

In 2004, 28,828 “mixed marriages” were celebrated in Italy, representing 8.8 per cent of all marriages at the national level. The frequency of the “mixed marriages” is directly proportional to the foreigners’ presence in each Italian region, being more frequent in the Northern and Central regions (around 12 mixed marriages on every hundred marriages) and especially in those regions where the settlement of foreign communities is more stable\textsuperscript{295}. In the Southern Italy and in the islands (Sicily and Sardinia), this phenomenon is even more marginal, making up 4.5 per cent of total marriages\textsuperscript{296}.

It is more frequent for the spouse to be Italian and the wife foreigner (almost 9 marriages out of 100 in the North-Central regions and 7 out of 100 as national average)\textsuperscript{297}.

Italian women who choose to marry a foreigner are less numerous, representing in 2004 1.8 per cent of all marriages\textsuperscript{298}.

Women and men show different patterns in getting married with foreigners according to their country of origin. Italian men choose in almost 50 per cent of the cases a wife coming from Central-Eastern Europe, especially women coming from Romenia, Ukraine, Poland, Russia, Moldova and Albania\textsuperscript{299}. In around 20

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{294} Ibidem.
\textsuperscript{295} See Annexe I, table 27.4.
\textsuperscript{296} Ibidem.
\textsuperscript{297} ISTAT (2007) \textit{Il matrimonio in Italia: un’istituzione in mutamento}, documento informativo, Roma: ISTAT.
\textsuperscript{298} See Annexe I, table 27.4.
\textsuperscript{299} See Annexe I, table 27.1.
\end{footnotesize}
per cent of total “mixed marriages”, Italian men marry women coming from Central-Southern America, especially women coming from Brazil, Cuba, Perù, Ecuador, etc. ³⁰⁰.

Italian women who marry a foreigner choose in around 22 per cent of the cases spouses coming from Northern African countries, such as Morocco and Tunisia, or in around 16 per cent of the cases spouses coming from Albania and Romenia ³⁰¹.

From the statistical point of view, “mixed marriages” undergo different characteristics from those concerning a couple with both spouses being Italian. For example, the difference of age between two Italians who get married is usually 3 to 4 years, in 60 per cent of the cases the spouses have the same education level and come and usually live in the same region. As far as “mixed marriages” are concerned, difference between the spouses is more frequent in age and education. In almost 50 per cent of marriages between an Italian husband and a foreign wife, the man is ten years older than the woman, and only in 15 per cent of the cases between two Italian spouses this trend is present ³⁰².

In fifteen per cent of the cases the Italian wife is ten years older than the foreign husband, almost ten times higher than the cases between two Italian spouses ³⁰³.

Forty-seven per cent of the spouses of “mixed marriages” have the same education level, and foreign women who marry an Italian men are often more

³⁰⁰ Ibidem.
³⁰¹ See Annexe I, table 27.2.
³⁰³ Ibidem.
educated than their husbands, and this is more frequent than in the cases of two Italians who get married. In eighty two per cent of the marriages, Italian women who marry a foreigner tend to choose a man having a higher degree than them\textsuperscript{304}.

“Mixed marriages” represent second unions in thirty-six per cent of the cases if the husband is Italian and the wife a foreigner, and nineteen per cent of the unions if the wife is Italian and the husband a foreigner\textsuperscript{305}.

Due to the fact that some of the “mixed marriages” are second unions they are not celebrated by religious rites. This is true in eighty-eight per cent of the marriages in which the husband is Italian and the wife a foreigner and seventy-nine per cent of the mixed unions in which the wife is Italian\textsuperscript{306}.

It is very interesting to notice how migrant women and men undergo different migration models. Migrants of different nationalities undergo different migration models too. Many women coming from the Philippines, South Europe, Latin America etc get married often to Italian men, and less men coming from these countries marry Italian women. In other cases, more immigrant men tend to marry Italian women. This is the case of men coming from the Maghreb or Senegal etc and less women from this countries marry Italian men.

There is a reason for this change. Migration is not gender balanced in many cases. Often women from Northern Africa are already married when they enter in Italy, whereas women coming from Eastern Southern Europe or Latin

\textsuperscript{304} Ibidem.

\textsuperscript{305} Ibidem.

\textsuperscript{306} Ibidem.
America often migrate alone and are not married\textsuperscript{307}. The families influence in the marriage decisions too, and this influence is different related to males than to females. In some religions such as in Islam it is more difficult from a social point of view for a Muslim girl to marry a non Muslim man than for a Muslim man to marry a non Muslim woman. This is one of the reasons that the women coming from traditionally Muslim countries need to be independent and convinced of their choice so not to feel influenced by the community of origin\textsuperscript{308}. Women who migrate alone and come often from Southern Europe or Latin America choose their own partner and are free to marry whoever they want.


Chapter III
Intellectual Migrant Women:
Italy’s Integration Challenges
3.1.1. Towards a multicultural integration model

Different types of exclusion are encountered in many destination countries but they are more visible and stronger in countries where there is a will to refuse migrants and above all not to consider them as future citizens of the nation or as members and participants of the society. Often the fear of the “other”, of the migrants is shown through various rules and regulations preventing legal entrances, secure and long permits of stay as well as hardening the policies of family reunifications. The laws on citizenship express clearly the countries’ will to integrate or not the new-comers. Often migrants are allowed to participate in certain specific job areas creating the *ethnic specialization* of the job market\textsuperscript{309} but are not allowed to have access to political participation, naturalization and citizenship as well as to public funds such as in the area of welfare and economical aids. These social exclusions are more visible in the case of migrant women who are part of the society as they work, pay taxes, consume, get married,

\textsuperscript{309} See Chapter II, 2.4.2.
and bear children but who do not participate fully in the social, cultural and political life of the society they live in. In this way disadvantaged minority groups are created. The character of these future groups will be influenced strongly by what the state does in the first phases of immigration. If the migration phenomenon is ignored and no real policies to deal with it are put into action marginalized groups and racism are seen to rise. Migrants need their own social networks, associations, language and culture in order to feel fulfilled and not to feel isolated and forgotten. Integration policies aim to prevent marginalization and the isolation of the immigrants.

In the last decades the need of the immigrant’s insertion to the Italian society has been raised by the public opinion as well as by the media. An insertion that would go beyond the mere dealing of entry, labour and the border controls mechanisms in a moment in which the settlement of the migrants in Italy is becoming stable. The integration and the insertion was initially done by the immigrants themselves with the few means that they possessed, the help of other immigrants, the social relations they could create (the neighbours, colleagues etc.). In a second phase the integration process was run by the local institutions like the Regions and was done in the schools, in the hospitals, in the working places, etc., without a central coordination.

The term “integration” itself is hard to be defined and was put into question in Italy in the end of the Nineties. The debate focused on the


differences between the different models known as the assimilationist model, the exclusionary and the multicultural models. The assimilationist method concentrates on inclusion policies in which the immigrants had to renounce of their differences in order to become indistinguishable from the society they live in. Through a good study of the language of the majority and attendance of normal schools for migrants the state helps the creation of good conditions for these policies. This method permits migrants to be fully part of the state and the society by cultural assimilation. This model like all other models cannot be a fixed one and often countries have started adopting one model in their integration policies and then have changed it during the years, like the case of Australia or United Kingdom. Nowadays, the integration policies of France tend to use this model in which migrants could become part of the political community as citizens and the fact of being French will bring cultural integration.

The exclusionary model considers migrants as temporary in its territories who are obliged to go back to their home countries after a period of work. No real settlement and integration policies are adopted in these cases and the migrants are not accepted as full members of the society. The multicultural model tends to highlight and consider the differences as richness and leads to the migrant’s full participation in the state and nation, such as in Canada. Multicultural citizenship seems to be a good approach to the problem of defining membership in a state.


314 The notion of citizenship as a political community was introduced after the French Revolution of 1789 see SCHNAPPER, D. (1994) La communauté des citoyens, Paris: Gallimard.

Since Italy, unlike other Western European countries, has become a destination country for many migrants only recently, namely in the last thirty years, it is still in search of a possible model of integration for migrants.\textsuperscript{316} Contemporary legislative provisions concerning immigration have been developed in the last twenty years in an incoherent way without taking the immigration phenomenon seriously and particularly without foreseeing its long-term effects. Italian legislative provisions oblige immigrants to follow a certain number of given strategies to live in Italy. These weak or “traditional” strategies are imposed by the law which is influenced by the labour market and the public opinion. As seen in Chapter II, weak or “traditional” strategies of integration of migrant women concern women’s access to the labour market in the domestic related services, caring for the elderly and the ill or as housewives who have followed their husbands in Italy through family reunifications. Migrant women find themselves to be working often in illegal ways, but even in the cases where they do possess a working contract they do not have contacts with the outside world apart from the elderly persons they assist. These women are often isolated and not integrated in the society they live in. A dependence relationship is thus created with their employer who often makes them work long hours and give them no spare time or vacations. The migrant women living in these situations have to renounce their ambitions for a private and emotional life and have to abandon their families when they have one in their home countries. Their working and salary conditions are too low to allow them to create a family or to be able to keep their children near them. Many of the domestic workers do possess qualifications which are beyond this work but they are obliged to work in this sector as they have no other way out.

These “traditional” or weak strategies are on one hand an outcome of the image of migrant women widespread in the mass media and public opinion and on the other the result of restrictive immigration policies. The image of migrant women is the one which associates them to the fact of being vulnerable, victims of sexual exploitation, unqualified and submissive. Consequently, immigration policies reflect this image and strengthen only the points regarding the protection of migrant women who have been victims of smuggling and sexual exploitation which are very important and also aim at the regularization of the domestic workers but lack in provisions of promoting qualified women’s integration.

The hypothesis of this research is that intellectual or skilled migrant women do not follow “traditional” strategies to integrate into the Italian society, but they go beyond the learning of the hosting country’s language and the learning of cultural habits through achievements of deep cultural, civic and political awareness which allows them to overcome the daily problems, being actively involved in the social life through participation in cultural, literary, business and scientific life as well as in the civil society.

This Chapter will highlight initially the presence of a group of migrant women who fully participate in the Italian civil society and economic activities not as mere labour force but as skilled workers and intellectuals. The main integration strategies will be drawn through secondary sources and will allow to point out some of the main integration trends enacted by this specific group. In order to verify whether the results coming from secondary sources would be supported or not by migrant women’s opinions, a survey was carried out, developing a questionnaire containing open questions which have been proposed to thirty skilled migrant women living in Italy. Finally, primary and secondary sources will be analysed in order to outline the “strong” integration strategies enacted by skilled or intellectual migrant women, in opposition to the “weak” strategies which are imposed by the law to migrant women who work as unskilled employees.
3.2.1. Migrant women and social inclusion

The theme of the political representation of the migrants is one of the most important elements of the social inclusion of migrant men and women in the public and social spheres of Italy and is considered to be the last step before the migrant and the Italian citizens could be considered equal. This is of course linked to the naturalization process which should be granted on the residence basis.\(^{317}\)

Migration flows change and transform the host societies and affects the political life. In Italy and in many destination countries, migrants in general and women in particular are seen as an economic and labour force and not as a political resource. The most important and visible significance of immigrants could be its effects on politics. Of course, all depends on whether Italy considers

migrants as settlers and then permits them to become citizens or if they are seen as temporary and so no political rights are given to them.

In terms of citizenship and the right to vote no important laws have been adopted so far. The immigration act of the end of the nineties\(^{318}\) introduced a Commission for the immigrant’s integration. The integration policies aimed to give the immigrants in Italy access to services in order to lead a respectful life. The integration policies were addressed to Italians and immigrants\(^{319}\). However some municipalities introduced the migrant’s right to vote in the local elections in order to elect a *Consulta per gli stranieri*\(^{320}\), advisory councils to give immigrants a voice in local government. The Nobel Peace Prize winner Amartya Sen during her speech in the conference on migration in Rome in the 2000 insisted on the vital importance of the migrant’s right to vote in order to fight xenophobia\(^{321}\).

During the conference organised in Vicenza in 2001 on the state of art of migration\(^{322}\) the Advisory Council concerning migrant’s problems insisted on saying that the integration, the citizenship and the political rights are vital to the


\(^{320}\) The advisory councils were possible in Torino, Modena and Palermo in the beginning and then in other cities. See EINAUDI, L. (2007) *Le politiche dell’immigrazione in Italia dall’Unità a oggi*, Roma-Bari: Laterza.


immigrants and that “the right to vote is the most important participation instrument in a modern democratic state”\textsuperscript{323}.

The political representation, including the right to vote in various electoral consultations and the creation of counselling bodies similar to those dedicated to Italian citizens, is to be considered as a very important aspect in the integration policies and process. Unfortunately, it seems as if migrants are not aware of this need because the right to work, to have access to a home and to education seem more urgent and vital\textsuperscript{324}.

The immigrant’s right to vote has been neglected by the politicians and the public opinion, although it plays a determinant role in two ways. On one hand it has a fundamental symbolic value in the inclusion process of the community’s life in which the migrants live, work, pay taxes and are excluded from every decisional positions concerning public life. In having the right to vote, the immigrants could fight their own battles and could aspire for better living conditions\textsuperscript{325}.

\textsuperscript{323} Ibidem.


\textsuperscript{325} Ibidem.
3.2.2. Integration through political participation

Western Europe countries have adopted many strategies and policies which permit the immigrant’s participation in the country’s political life. In several countries, advisory councils were created in order to give voice to the immigrants in the local level. Experiences of these councils varied from one country to another and some did not continue. They were considered as an interference of the immigrants in the destination country’s life from some, while from others they were seen as a way to co-opt immigrants\textsuperscript{326}. Sweden was one of the first countries to give the right to vote to the immigrants in the local level followed by the Netherlands. The results have not always been as expected\textsuperscript{327}.

In the 1990s citizens of the European Union residing in other member states were allowed to vote in local elections in their countries of residence. Many migrants and associations hoped that this would pave the path for immigrants’ right to vote and to be able to move freely. This proposal was not accepted and


\textsuperscript{327} For more information on immigrant’s political participation in Northern Europe see RATH, J. (1988) “La participation des immigrés aux élections locales aux Pays-Bas”, in Revue Européenne des Migrations Internationales, n. 4-3.
some studies consider it to be discriminatory for the immigrants who are residents in Europe.  

Which are the political participation possibilities that men and migrant women who are long term residents have in Italy? The integration measures provided by the immigration act of 1998 were not directly modified by the last immigration law adopted in Italy which was more concentrated with the public order related problems. At a national level existed a “National Council for the immigrants and their families’ problems” which was established at the Italian Ministry of Equal Opportunities. Trade-Union, government and local authorities’ representatives as well as activists from migrant’s associations were part of the Council. The National Council for the immigrants and their families’ problems has not been convoked since March 2002, although the law says the Council is to meet every six months. In the local level there are the “Regional Councils for

References:


329 Law n. 40 of 6 March 1998, Disciplina dell’immigrazione e norme sulla condizione dello straniero, in Gazzetta Ufficiale, 12 March 1998. For an in-depth see Chapter II, 2.3.6.


immigration”\textsuperscript{334} whose composition is similar to that of the National Council. It does not have executive powers and in most cases expresses opinions and formulates propositions. The utility of this organism is put into doubt by its scarce effectiveness. Councils of this type are present in the region of Piedmont, Veneto, Tuscany, Marche, Campania. Some of these Councils do not exist anymore, like in the case of Friuli Venezia Giulia as a consequence of the abrogation in 2008 of the regional immigration law\textsuperscript{335}.

Other organisms where the immigrants could participate are the Provincial and Municipal Councils\textsuperscript{336}. The Padua case is an example, similar to the Mantua one, where six Councils of the Foreign Communities\textsuperscript{337} are created and divided according to the geographical areas. The components of these Councils are elected from the immigrants themselves through similar modalities of those used for the administrative elections of the Italian citizens\textsuperscript{338}. The eligibility criteria are being at least eighteen years of age and resident from at least one year. The Presidents of each Council are members of the City’s Council on Immigration\textsuperscript{339} whose members are representatives from institutions, from the private sector, from employers and employees. The problem of the scarce effectiveness is present although a positive factor is the direct participation of the migrants in the election of their representatives. Some municipalities and provincial Councils have

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{334} “Consulte regionali per l’immigrazione”.
\item \textsuperscript{335} Regional law n. 5 of 4 March 2005, Norme per l’accoglienza e l’integrazione sociale delle cittadine e dei cittadini stranieri immigrati.
\item \textsuperscript{336} FRIGO, S. (2005) Noi e loro, Treviso: Canova.
\item \textsuperscript{337} Known as “Consigli delle Comunità straniere”.
\item \textsuperscript{338} Inscription to the electoral lists, presentation of candidates, etc.
\item \textsuperscript{339} Known as “Consulta Cittadina dell’Immigrazione”.
\end{itemize}
introduced the figure of immigrant Counsellors but do not have the right to vote within the Council itself. The Territorial Councils on Immigration whose chairman the Prefect is also responsible for coordinating collaborations among institutions, voluntary and immigrants associations and other organisms who work in the field of migration. Their task is the coordination of activities in order to facilitate and plan social integration policies for the migrant. The immigrant’s participation is a first step towards integration, but lots of perplexities exist regarding the way the representatives are chosen since they are not elected but nominated by the institutions.

3.2.3. Migrant’s political participation in the Trade-Unions

In the last year the number of immigrants who have joined confederation of Trade-Unions has increased passing from 606,611 to 734,591 who make up 6 per cent of the total number of members\textsuperscript{341}. Other migrant workers have joined “General Labour Union”\textsuperscript{342}. Since the 2000 the “General Labour Union” has activated a body called “Emigration and Immigration Trade-Union”\textsuperscript{343} where 79,720 immigrants participate\textsuperscript{344}. This data confirms the growing tendency of the immigrants to fully participate in the Trade-Unions. The tendency to be member of Trade-Unions is an important indicator concerning migrants’ social and territorial integration and takes place when an immigrant reaches a sufficient

\begin{flushright}

\textsuperscript{342} “Unione Generale del Lavoro”, U.G.L.

\textsuperscript{343} “Sindacato Emigrati ed Immigrati”, S.E.I.

\end{flushright}
degree of working stability. The “Italian Confederation of Trade Unions” has 293,114 immigrant members, followed by the “Italian General Confederation of Labour” which has 271,238 immigrant members and the “Italian Labour Union” which has 170,239 members. Little data is available on immigrants’ participation in the life of Trade-Unions and on the positions they have in the different Trade-Unions they work. The immigrants’ presence in the Trade-Unions influences organizational plans of the unions themselves for what concerns the composition of the representatives and the decision-makers. Some work areas are still under represented for example the work of the domestic workers who are usually immigrant women.

Another important indicator concerning migrants’ social and territorial integration is represented through associations and non-governmental organizations which deal with the problems and issues concerning migrants. Migrant women in Italy have founded many associations many of which have been working for women’s rights. Migrant women and their associations deal with

345 For more explanation on this issue see the survey on the immigrants’ participation in trade-unions conducted in Emilia Romagna, see MOTTURA, G. (2002) Non solo braccia, Modena Political Economic Department, n. 416.

346 C.I.S.L.

347 C.G.I.L., “Confederazione Generale Italiana del Lavoro”.

348 U.I.L., “Unione Italiana del Lavoro”.


350 COZZI, S. and MOTTURA, G. and RINALDINI, M. (2008) Immigrazione e sindacato: l’esperienza di quattro categorie regionali, Bologna: IRES. And in addition see the data given by CISL on immigrants’ collaborators in the territorial structures according to regions.
the problems and issues of integration to the Italian society by trying to have access to more rights and services.

A group of immigrant women, the majority of whom are graduated and work as domestic workers or minders, as assistant to the elderly or the sick have created a trade-union of their own under the umbrella of UIL in order to defend their rights\textsuperscript{351}.

The secretary of the trade-union is a woman from Ukraine called Eugenia Todorova who was graduated in Philology in her country as the majority of the women from Eastern Europe who are obliged to work as badanti, or domestic workers because their degrees are not recognized in Italy and their recognition is very slow and difficult to obtain. This category of women workers needed to have a trade-union representation in order to defend their rights and ask for assistance for the permit of stay, the hours of work and to know their rights concerning the contracts they are supposed to have in their work in the domestic services\textsuperscript{352}.

The number of migrant women who work in this field is much higher than the one considered by the Ministry of Interior. Many women work as irregulars in families and do not enjoy the right of holidays, maternity or a real contract\textsuperscript{353}. In this Trade-Union take part not only women who work in the domestic services but also migrant women who work as baby-sitters, as waitresses, and so on. The Trade-Union organizes Italian language, informatics and driving licence courses as well as cultural trips. The Trade-Union asks for integration policies and in a


\textsuperscript{353} For an in-depth explanation on this issue see ANDALL, J. (2000) \textit{Gender, Migration and Domestic Service. The Politics of Black Women in Italy}, Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing and Chapter II on domestic workers.
special way for policies which can make migrant women’s situation less vulnerable when they lose their job\textsuperscript{354}.

Liliana Ocmin is from Peru and the first immigrant woman to be elected as the leader of a national Trade-Union organism. She is the national coordinator of Women in the CISL. She is graduated in law and has been a leader in the \textit{National Association beyond Borders} \textsuperscript{355} where she has been responsible for the coordination of immigrant women and for foreign students in the ANOLF association and has collaborated with the Migration Policies Department of the CISL. She entered in Italy as an illegal and then has worked as a domestic worker. She starts her university studies and starts collaborating with various associations and was the founder of foreign students’ association which offered legal help to foreign students in Italy\textsuperscript{356}. The most urgent projects that she considers fundamental for the migrants integration are the promotion of initiatives which start to think of the immigrants in general and the women in particular as intellectual human beings and not only as a working force\textsuperscript{357}.

\textsuperscript{354} Migrants who lose their job have only six months to find another stable job, otherwise they lose their right to stay in Italy, see Law n. 189 of 30 July 2002, \textit{Modifica alla normative in material di immigrazione e di asilo}, in \textit{Gazzetta Ufficiale}, n. 199, 26 Agust 2002.

\textsuperscript{355} A.N.O.L.F., “Associazione Nazionale Oltre Le Frontiere”.


\textsuperscript{357} Ibidem.
3.2.4. Migrant women and the challenges of intercultural mediation

In a multiethnic Italy, the intercultural mediator becomes a key figure in the relationship between old and new citizens, and above all an important figure in the relationship between the new citizens and the institutions. The intercultural mediators do not enjoy a professional recognition at a national level and their formation process is still vague and not the same for all the mediators.

From a survey organised within the project Equal\textsuperscript{358} interesting aspects emerge. Seventy-four per cent of intercultural mediators is made up of women and forty-two per cent of them hold a University degree. This professional figure in eighty-nine per cent of the cases is characterized by instability because of short time contracts. From the survey two important considerations emerge, first of all the difficulties of choosing the intercultural mediation as a main professional activity due to the short time contracts and poor remuneration, and secondly the figure of the intercultural mediator enjoys of poor recognition from the Italian

\textsuperscript{358} The research was run within the framework of the project Equal “La mediazione linguistico-culturale per l’inserimento socio-lavorativo dei migranti” financed by the European Social Funds and done by University of Rome Three, Italian Ministry of Justice and other institutions like CIES, CREIFOS, Almatera, ACLI.
operators\textsuperscript{359}. Their main fields of work are education, social services and health institutions like hospitals, etc.

A law is proposed asking the government to approve a list of Intercultural mediators known as ‘’Albo dei mediatori interculturali’’ and a list of the associations whose main concern is the intercultural mediation. This would enable the approval of a unique formation course which will include institutional subjects but also the social parts of the third sector. The formation would be concentrated on communication and labour laws as a general basis for all the intercultural mediators. In a second moment the intercultural mediator will specialize in a specific field depending on their work, schools, hospitals, courts, etc.\textsuperscript{360}.

\textsuperscript{359} The qualitative survey has interviewed 56 subjects, foreign mediators, tutors, Italian mediators, social operators, institutional representatives and the responsible of the Equal project. For further information see SUSI F., FIORUCCI, M., (ed.) (2004) \textit{Mediazione e mediatori in Italia. La mediazione linguistico-culturale per l’inserimento socio-lavorativo dei migranti}, Rome: Anicia.

\textsuperscript{360} For further information see the law proposal 2138 “Delega al governo per l’istituzione dell’Albo dei mediatori interculturali.
3.2.5. Writing as an integration strategy

From the end of the Twentieth century until nowadays migrants in general but also migrant women in particular have written texts on their situation and the way they feel in Italy and have become in this way actors of change. Their works and writings demonstrate the impact that migrants have on the destination country and also the effect that the hosting country has on migrants and their culture.

Male migrant writers have had more visibility in the last years and this is shown through the books they have published. Migrant women have answered to the domestic sphere needs and have experienced migration often in isolation. Due to the complexity of these factors, migrant women’s works have appeared later than those of male writers. However, important migrant women writers like Viola Chandra, Christiana de Caldas Brito, Shirin Ramzali Fazel, etc. are well-known writers and have dealt with gender and ethnic issues.


362 For a complete bibliography of migrant women writers who write and publish in Italy see Bibliography “2. Migrant women writers’ bibliography”.
Shirin Ramzali Fazel in her book *Lontano da Mogadiscio*\(^{363}\) tells about her experience in Somalia and the way she felt when she first came in Italy. She describes her cultural background, having a Somalian mother and an Asian father and having an Italian education in Somalia. She had learnt about Italy only in the school. Christiana de Caldas Brito in *Qui e là*\(^{364}\) treats with other problems regarding migration and the differences between men’s and women’s migration. She develops the theme of women who work as family-in caretakers or minders and who are isolated in domestic spaces. They do not have contacts like men migrants do with the local society. However the employment is changing for women too so women’s experiences are described in migrant women’s books.

Nassera Chohra in her autobiography *Volevo diventare Bianca*\(^{365}\) writes about her life as a second generation girl coming from Algeria in France. She has chosen Italy as her country of residence and has chosen the Italian language to write.

As it is seen the literary and artistic works of migrant writers and women migrant writers in particular become an important mean of coming out from the darkness and trying to make heard their experiences. In a way it becomes an integration strategy. Since migrants do not have the right to vote they have used


books and films to dialogue with the hosting society. Italian novelist, writers and film-makers become authors of texts on immigrants’ lives and stories in Italy, like Maria Pace Ottieri, Franco Brusati, etc.

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367 Ibidem.
3.3.1. A view through primary sources

This section is dedicated to the presentation of the results of the survey carried out in Italy. The aim of this survey was the collection of first hand information about the strategies developed by intellectual migrant women to integrate into the Italian society.

In the first Chapter, a general framework of gender migrations has been analysed from the point of view of policies and strategies in an international perspective. The analysis of historical elements and statistics concerning international migrations and women’s migrations has allowed the introduction of a discussion of the main factors which push women to emigrate to a hosting country. Particular attention has been reserved to labour market-related issues and integration policies with particular concern to some European and Northern American examples.

The second Chapter was about migrant women’s integration in Italy. A historical framework has allowed underlining the main trends of the immigration policies in Italy, which in the last forty years had the opportunity to experience a
major change as the transformation from an emigration country to a receiving country. An insight on statistics and integration policies has been necessary to introduce the discussion of migrant women’s integration in Italy with a particular attention to a certain number of fields such as labour market, family and social life.

Most scientific works focus on gender migration in Italy from a paternalistic point of view, taking into consideration only the most disadvantaged ones, that is those carrying out menial jobs. The first part of the third Chapter has highlighted the presence of a group of migrant women who fully participate in Italian civil society and economic activities not as mere labour force but as skilled workers and intellectuals, in particular the main integration strategies enacted by this specific group. These integration strategies have been drawn through secondary sources and have allowed to point out some of the main integration trends.

In order to verify whether the results coming from secondary sources would be supported or not by migrant women’s opinions, a survey was carried out. So as to accomplish this survey, the hypothesis was that if the same questions were asked to skilled migrant women who reside in Italy the survey would enable the detection of their integration strategies. A questionnaire has been developed and it contains open questions. The questionnaire has been proposed to thirty skilled migrant women who were identified through the help of the Caritas/Migrantes Editorial Office which edits every year since 2001 the main Italian reference publication on statistics and policies concerning immigration.

As far as the sample is concerned, Caritas/Migrantes Editorial Office was asked to suggest thirty women independently of their city of residence. The choice

368 “Caritas and Migrantes are church organisms concerned with immigration that has its own personal and multiple service structures since the 1970s when the phenomenon became visible” (Source: Caritas).
of migrant women to get involved in the survey was left to Caritas/Migrantes Editorial Office which had to select women coming from non-European Union countries \(^{369}\) covering the whole spectrum of possibilities, women engaged in civil society such as in Trade Unions and in civil rights’ associations, or engaged in cultural activities such as intercultural mediation and publishing and writing about their experience on migration, as well as women engaged in entrepreneurship. Civil status, family situation, origin and age of the migrant women were not critical for the selection of the sample and some of them these aspects emerged during the interviews.

This survey has no claim of being a representative study because it has interviewed only thirty migrant women due to the impossibility of having a larger sample run by a single researcher. A study of thirty intellectual migrant women is certainly limited and the situation of other intellectual migrant women across Italy may well be different. The conclusions of this survey can not be generalised at any stage but are useful in order to understand integration strategies and raise awareness on elements of integration which are often neglected.

The interviews took place during the months of November 2007 until January 2008 in Trieste, Milan, Rome, Turin and Bologna. The interviews lasted from a minimum of thirty minutes up to a maximum of fifty and consisted of twenty-seven open questions \(^{370}\).

\(^{369}\) This is done because European Union citizens have the same rights of the national citizens. See Chapter I for more details on European Union directive.

\(^{370}\) See the complete questionnaire in Annexe II.
3.3.2. Inquiry fields

The questionnaire aimed at investigating the following issues: education and training of intellectual migrant women, professional life, personal immigration history, gender equality and migrant women, gender and integration, policies and gender\textsuperscript{371}.

The questionnaire was divided into six sections tackling six major topics which are vital for a deeper understanding of the intellectual migrant women’s career and the connections between their education, migration and integration.

The first section aimed at inquiring training and education achievements of the migrant women, with particular attention to degrees and certificates obtained and their recognition in Italy as well as the knowledge of foreign languages. As mentioned before, education achievements are an important element in immigrants’ life because on one hand they can determine their career if they are obtained in Italy or recognised by the Italian Ministry of Education and on the other hand they are essential for migrants’ personal fulfilment. The second section which dealt with the professional life and the level of satisfaction/dissatisfaction

\textsuperscript{371} For the complete questionnaire’s questions see Annexe II.
of migrant women is strongly linked to the previous one because they are mutually dependent.

The third section of the questionnaire tackled the personal immigration history of intellectual migrant women, including questions on the motivation of emigration and the influence of the migration on their career. The fourth section concerns gender equality and migrant women, with a special focus on discrimination episodes undergone on a gender or ethnic basis.

The fifth section concentrates on gender and integration issues, particularly on the elements which have characterised the integration process of the group involved in the survey such as the participation in civil society life, religious and cultural associations. The last section wanted to investigate migrant women’s assessment about the commitment of governments on a regional, national and European level government as far as equal opportunities and immigration policies are concerned.

The hypothesis was that intellectual migrant women do not follow “traditional” strategies to integrate into the Italian society, but they go beyond the learning of the hosting country’s language and the learning of cultural habits through achievements of deep cultural, civic and political awareness which allows them to overcome the daily problems and participate in the cultural and social activities at a high level. “Traditional” strategies of integration of migrant women as mentioned in the previous chapters concern women’s access to the labour market in the domestic related services, caring for the elderly and the ill or as housewives who have followed their husbands in Italy through family reunifications. These “traditional” strategies are on one hand an outcome of the image of migrant women widespread in the mass media and public opinion and on the other the result of restrictive immigration policies. The image of migrant

\[ \text{See Chapter II.} \]
women is the one which associates them to the fact of being vulnerable, victims of sexual exploitation, unqualified and submissive. Consequently, the immigration policies reflect this image and strengthen the points of protection to the women who have been victims of smuggling and sexual exploitation which are very important and also aim at the regularization of the domestic workers but lack in provisions of promoting qualified women’s integration.

This survey expects to see that there are immigrant women who do not correspond to the given image and who develop their own strategies of integration. The strategies of integration are expected to be active involvement in the social life through participation in cultural, literary, business and scientific life as well as in the civil society. As the survey is going to demonstrate the hypothesis was correct.
3.3.3. Education levels and its recognition in Italy

Migrant women who were interviewed present similarities and differences regarding education. The very first question regards the degree level achieved in their home countries. Eighteen out of thirty migrant women interviewed have achieved a university degree in their countries of origin before migrating to Italy, for example a degree in Journalism, in Social Services, Economics, Foreign Languages, etc.:

“Ho ottenuto un diploma di Master in giornalismo e comunicazione.”

“Prima di venire in Italia mi sono laureata come Assistente sociale nel mio Paese.”

“Ho conseguito una laurea in Lingue e Letterature Straniere nel mio Paese e mi ha spinto a voler conoscere paesi e lingue diverse.”

“Ho ottenuto una laurea breve in economia del turismo.”

“Ho una laurea in Medicina e Chirurgia nel mio Paese.”

Twelve migrant women have obtained the baccalaureate diploma in their countries of origin before coming to Italy.

“Diploma di “Bacalaureate” nel mio paese.”
“Ho conseguito il diploma di scuola superiore nella mia città natale.”

The recognition of the University diplomas obtained in countries out of the European Union by the Italian Ministry of Education is not automatic and often requires a long and difficult bureaucratic process and does not allow the migrant women who have obtained a University degree to exercise their profession in Italy before its recognition. The second question of the interview deals with this issue. From the eighteen out of thirty migrant women of the sample studied who had obtained a University degree in their countries of origin only four have managed to get the recognition of their degrees.

“In Italia, dopo due anni di trafite ho avuto il riconoscimento della mia laurea come infermiera e adesso faccio un tirocinio di adattamento per l’iscrizione all’albo degli infermieri.”

“Sono laureata in Medicina e Chirurgia in [...] e in Italia dopo quattro anni di attesa e dopo aver rifatto ventidue esami mi è stata riconosciuta l’equipollenza della Laurea.”

The other migrant women are still waiting in order to have their degree recognised while doing professional and training courses in Italy.

“Nel mio paese: Laurea in Psicologia Sociale con una tesi comparativa tra il mio paese e l’Italia, in attesa di equipollenza e Laurea in Matematica in attesa di equipollenza.”

The third part of the first section deals with the possibilities of professional courses in Italy. Except for few exceptions, almost all the women interviewed have attended or are attending professional or training courses, in intercultural mediation, women’s rights, etc.:

“Ho partecipato a diversi corsi di aggiornamento e conferenze di mio interesse professionale sui temi della mediazione culturale, i diritti delle donne.”
“In Italia ho frequentato numerosi corsi di formazione tra i quali dattilografia, mediazione culturale, Sicurezza sul Lavoro.”

“In Italia ho frequentato un corso di Formazione per mediatori interculturali.”

Nine out of thirty women interviewed have achieved their University degree by being enrolled in an Italian University.

“In Italia ho conseguito la Laurea in Scienze dell’Amministrazione.”

“Dopo il liceo linguistico ho frequentato la facoltà di Scienze Politiche.”

Almost all of the migrant women interviewed have a University degree; some of them have obtained it in their country of origin and few of them have had the recognition of their degree in Italy and have continued their educational formation with specialization courses or doctoral studies in Italy.

“Mi sono laureata in Lettere e Filosofia e ora sto completando un dottorato di ricerca in Letterature Comparate.”

“Ho completato i miei studi in Medicina e Chirurgia nel mio paese e dopo aver ottenuto l’equipollenza del titolo di studio in Italia, mi sono specializzata in Ginecologia ed Ostetricia in Italia.”

A good majority of the migrant women interviewed speak several languages, their mother tongue language, Italian and often two or more other languages.
3.3.4. Professional life

The second section of the questionnaire dealt with the professional life of the migrant women before and during their stay in Italy and their level of personal professional satisfaction/dissatisfaction. Most of the women interviewed carry out many activities in the same time and work as entrepreneurs:

“Ho lavorato per tre anni circa come giornalista televisiva nel mio Paese e continuo a collaborare come giornalista per dei quotidiani nazionali. Attualmente sono titolare di un’agenzia di traduzioni e lavoro come mediatore culturale presso diverse strutture.”

“Sono poeta e scrittrice, animatrice interculturale e gestisco un ristorante.”

Some migrant women have completely changed their field of work in Italy and many of them participate in activities regarding migrants and their integration and work as intercultural and linguistic mediators for migrants who have just entered Italy and do not speak the language, like students in the schools, sick people in the hospitals, asylum seekers, etc.:

“In […] lavoravo come insegnante di matematica. Attualmente sono mediatrice interculturale e coordinatrice di progetti per conto di un’associazione.”
“Lavoro per progetti di alfabetizzazione dei bambini immigrati come mediatrice linguistico culturale in varie istituzioni tra cui scuole, ospedali, ecc. Mi sono occupata anche dei problemi delle badanti.”

“Da oltre un decennio faccio la mediatrice culturale e mi occupo in particolare dei richiedenti asilo dal primo giorno del loro arrivo in Italia fino a quando si inseriscono nella società italiana.”

“Ho lavorato come docente di fisica in una scuola superiore per cinque anni. In Italia sono riuscita a entrare in contatto con le scuole tramite le associazioni di mediazione linguistica e culturale. Attualmente lavoro part-time in un centro socio-educativo presso una scuola elementare come educatrice. Alle volte, faccio delle collaborazioni come traduttrice.”

“In patria facevo la fotografa. In Italia lavoro come educatrice e come mediatrice culturale e linguistica, ma ho ancora la passione per le arti fotografiche.”

Two migrant women over thirty have expressed the desire to continue their collaboration within the Universities and be able pursue their academic careers there.

“Sono docente di lingua francese all’Università [...] Inoltre faccio la traduttrice/interprete, la scrittrice e collabo o ogni tanto con dei giornali.”

“Svolgo diverse attività lavorative come interprete, traduttrice, mediatrice culturale. Per riuscire a far fronte alle spese quotidiane accetto lavori correlati alle lingue che conosco. Nel futuro vorrei continuare a collaborare con il mondo universitario.”

Some of them are journalists, writers and teachers:

“Sono giornalista freelance e collaboro con varie testate italiane.”

“Svolgo diverse attività professionali: a tempo pieno psicologa, alle volte sociologa, autrice di racconti e saggi.”
“Occasionalmente insegno inglese nelle scuole private. Faccio anche traduzioni da casa. In passato ho lavorato per quindici anni presso una grossa azienda nel settore delle vendite all’estero.”

A few migrant women who have obtained a university degree either in their country of origin or in Italy work at unskilled jobs.

“La mia attività principale è fare la cameriera in un ristorante. Sono anche mediatrice linguistico/culturale presso varie istituzioni della città nella quale risiedo.”

“Le mie attività professionali sono la mediazione interculturale, faccio un tirocinio come psicologa per la iscrizione al albo. Per arrivare alla fine del mese faccio lavoro presso una struttura residenziale per anziani.”

“Vivo in Italia da dieci anni e sono stata assunta come collaboratrice familiare, con un contratto part time... e lavoro anche come mediatrice culturale.”

As it is seen from the above partial transcription of the interviews immigrant women who reside in Italy are mostly active in the professional language-related fields, cultural mediation, writing, entrepreneurship and journalism.
3.3.5. Professional fulfilment

Quite interesting are the answers given by the migrant women who were asked about their level of satisfaction or dissatisfaction which derives from their careers and professional activities. Most of them consider their careers to be in the very first steps and the level of satisfaction is not very high due to this fact.

“Ritengo la mia carriera realmente agli inizi ed ho tantissima strada da fare ancora. [...] trovare un lavoro soddisfacente è molto difficile. La passione per le lingue e il lavoro in ambito culturale spero mi diano sempre piu' soddisfazione.”

“Oggi sento più vicino a me il desiderio di svolgere le attività che facevo in patria, al inizio quando sono arrivata ero persa [...]quindi ho dovuto cominciare da zero per poter ciniziare la mia carriere professionale.”

“Sono all’inizio della mia carriera professionale... Come inizio direi che mi appassiona molto ma nello stesso tempo la vedo un pò dura.”

Some of the migrant women do not consider the activities they do as really satisfying because they have had to abandon the occupation they have had in their home countries and unable to continue it in Italy due to the legislative and bureaucratic difficulties they face everyday. They talk about the difficulties of getting integrated in the job market.
“Non so se la mia può essere considerata una carriera vera e propria. Ho iniziato la carriera dell’insegnante di psicologia nel mio paese che ho dovuto abbandonare quando sono venuta in Italia lasciando tutto a metà e prendere così un’altra strada, quella della traduttrice.”

“Mi sento molto soddisfatta del mio lavoro di insegnante perché insegnare la mia lingua è una maniera di conservare la mia identità [...] Ancora non ho potuto inserirmi nella mia professione di avvocato, dopo una lunga pratica l’anno scorso sono riuscita a ottenere l’equipollenza del titolo, ma non è facile inserirsi per un straniero.”

“Il lavoro in ufficio non mi è piaciuto mai troppo, l’ho sempre trovato piuttosto noioso. Se riuscirò a realizzarmi nell’ambito dell’insegnamento sarò molto soddisfatta, perché questo sarebbe proprio quello che mi piacerebbe fare nella vita.”

The problem of having to create a good equilibrium between family and career comes out from the interviews. This phenomenon that regards women’s role between family and work is due to the fact of being a woman.

“In linea di massima, sono soddisfatta di quello che ho raggiunto. Se ho rinunciato a qualcosa in ambito professionale, l’ho fatto per stare vicino ai miei figli. Penso questo sia ancora un limite per la donna: dover scegliere tra carriera e figli.”

The situation of migrant women is even more difficult to be dealt with due to the fact that immigrant women cannot count on the help of family ties, like grandparents, cousins and relatives and the social services are often inadequate.

“Ho avuto una bella carriera che ho dovuto abbandonare con l’arrivo dei figli a causa del lavoro molto impegnativo [...], la mancanza dei “nonni” dei familiari e di un marito che viaggia molto. Mi sembrava più giusto essere presente per i figli così desiderati.”
Migrant women do many activities in order to be able to face the economical expenses. These activities do not always correspond to their level of education. A very interesting point is that all the migrant women interviewed find the time to dedicate to social and cultural activities and reach in this way the personal and professional satisfaction.

“Sono molto soddisfatta della mia carriera in quanto mi gratifica, sono solo scontenta del fatto che fare tante cose implica principalmente che sono tutte mal pagate. Il mio lavoro mi permette di entrare in contatto con tante persone...”

Three out of the thirty women interviewed said that they are not satisfied with their career. To the question if they are satisfied with their career in Italy they answer:

“Non proprio. Se fossi rimasta nel mio paese avrei raggiunto gli stessi traguardi molto prima. Ho scelto di riprendere lo stesso percorso in Italia ma con tanta fatica.”

“Non proprio, vorrei fare qualcosa di più creativo.”

“No, non mi sento soddisfatta della mia carriera. Come potrei, non credo che possa dire che ho una carriera...”

Few women reported to have found an in-between way and one said:

“L’idea che avrei potuto andare avanti nella mia carriera ma anche indietro mi porta ad avere un equilibrio che mi permette di essere, nei momenti critici, ottimista.”

Some migrant women do feel satisfied with their career and feel good in order to be able to help people who need their help. The social work is also followed by work in the cultural sphere.
“Sì, mi sento soddisfata di lavorare nel sociale per aiutare chi ha bisogno come io sono stata aiutata a mio tempo.”

“Sono contenta dei mutamenti e degli spostamenti nella mia carriera professionale. Il mio lavoro ha forti momenti di assistenza e cura alla persona per poi attraversare dei piccoli e brevi spazi di educazione e cultura.”

Another one referred to the role that the studying of the Italian language has played in her career.

“Riguardo la mia carriera sono abbastanza soddisfatta anche se non è stato per niente facile raggiungere gli obiettivi, obiettivi che ciascuno di noi ha per la propria vita. La possibilità di frequentare degli corsi di formazione e di apprendimento della lingua italiana mi hanno aiutato ad affrontare al meglio la mia integrazione in Italia. Tutto ciò mi è stato di grande aiuto nelle attività che svolgo attualmente.”

“È un lavoro che chiede tropi sforzi ma la soddisfazione è enorme.”

Another migrant woman has had to put love in the first place and has chosen to give up her career for love.

“No, se restavo nel mio paese era meglio...ma ho scelto di seguire il mio cuore.”

Another one talks about her personal satisfaction as a writer although it does not provide the migrant woman with the necessary means for living.

“Mi sento molto soddisfatta anche se ci sono tante difficoltà. Economicamente come scrittrice non riuscirei a vivere e così devo fare altre attività. Ma tutto sommato ogni mia attività mi dà tanta soddisfazione personale e sono intracciate tra di loro.”

As it is seen from the partial transcription of the interviews, and as it was said in the hypothesis, the skilled migrant women are active in many fields in order to achieve personal and professional fulfilment. They often do unpaid or
very poorly paid jobs but are happy to be able to express their interests, in cultural mediation, writing, etc. Some of them are entrepreneurs, translators and active in the civil society.
3.3.6. Migration and career

As it is seen in the previous section the career of the migrant women has been influenced by their migration. The third section of the questionnaire is dedicated to the link between the decision to migrate and the careers in order to understand in which way migration has changed the women’s professional life.

Women who have a private activity of their own said that the migration process has been a positive factor in the career building. Their activities concern services to the migrants. The experience of being a migrant themselves has helped them to be more sensitive to the needs of the immigrants. When they are asked how their professional activity has been influenced from their personal migration history they reply:

“Sicuramente in positivo. Ho deciso di svolgere un’attività che aiuta gli immigrati proprio grazie all’esperienza vissuta in prima persona. In questo modo sono riuscita a capire come ci si sente quando si arriva in una terra sconosciuta...”.

“La mia esperienza di migrazione ha influito in modo positivo la mia carriera. Ora ho un’attività privata nel settore delle traduzioni e della consulenza per gli stranieri.”
The fact of coming from another country, the knowledge of languages is often a richness in the hosting country and may be an important element of professional development.

“Per le mansioni che svolgo all’interno della struttura è stato indubbiamente un vantaggio essere di madrelingua [...] e parlare molto bene la lingua italiana.

“Tutti i miei lavori sono lavori che hanno a che fare con le lingue, quindi le mie origini diverse sono un vantaggio. Conosco più realtà e lingue e ho il privilegio di poterle trasmettere agli altri. Se fossi rimasta nel mio paese non avrei avuto la possibilità di venire in contatto con realtà diverse.”

Migrating means also starting a new life leaving behind all the experiences and certainties and having to learn the cultural and linguistic habits of the hosting country.

“Posso dire che sono cresciuta nel ambito professionale e diventata più forte nel confrontarmi ogni giorno con le difficoltà e le gioie della vita...”

“Emigrare in un paese dove non conosci la lingua è come essere nata di nuovo, e questa volta essere grande. Quando sono arrivata non conoscevo l’italiano [...] Prima di riuscire ad avere una carriera professionale soddisfacente ho dovuto fare dei enormi sacrifici e attraversare momenti di frustrazione, ma fiduciosa per un domani migliore.”

For others migrating has been crucial in the professional development like that of many migrant women who have started to write about their migration experiences.

“Amo scrivere. Scrivere ti permette di capire, dialogare e raccontare. Dialogare vuol dire sentirsi meno soli.”

“Venire in Italia è stato molto importante nella mia carriera. Qui sono riuscita ad imparare e scrivere e pubblicare il mio primo libro. Io scrivo non soltanto per
fare conoscere agli italiani le mie origine ma anche e soprattutto per scoprire le mie radici attraverso la scrittura.”

Some migrant women say that the fact of having migrated has influenced in a negative way their possibilities of a professional development.


“Il fatto di essere immigrata ha colpito la mia carriera professionale. Dal non riconoscimento dei titoli a fare corsi di formazione che non aiutano ad inserirsi in un’ambito lavorativo.”

“Abbastanza male, cominciando che non è stata riconosciuta la mia laurea.”

Some women interviewed said that their personal migration course has been influenced in a negative way when they first entered in Italy but then it has been influenced in a positive way. The fact of having migrated and the difficulties they have had has helped them to discover new resources.

“Emigrare significa aver il coraggio di ricominciare più volte, soprattutto per quello che riguarda la carriera. Io svolgevo una carriera professionale di avvocato in [...]e questo è stato interrotto al momento di decidere di venire in Italia. La mia storia personale di migrazione mi ha fatto conoscere e tirare fuori doni che non sapevo di avere e mi ha dato la voglia di costruire una nuova vita.”

“In molti modi. Negativamente e positivamente. All’inizio negativamente e dopo positivamente.”

Another migrant woman says that she lives in two countries in the same time and that is her richness.

“Ho vissuto sempre “tra” e “su” due territori vicini ed enormemente diversi.”
“Sicuramente il fatto di essere immigrata ha influito molto sul mio carattere e sulle mie scelte di vita, anche professionali. Il mio percorso personale di migrazione mi ha aiutato ad essere più aperta, curiosa verso ciò che è diverso.”

From the answers during the interviews it is seen that the decision to migrate has influenced the women’s career in many ways and the migration and career are closely linked to one other. The fact of being a migrant gives to some women possibilities to use the knowledge of the languages and skills and thus create new professional figures like the intercultural mediators who work in the hospitals, schools and institutions to create bridges between the new migrants and the hosting society. Other women have started to write and use the art of writing in order to describe their countries and their experiences of migration. The use of the Italian language as it is clearly seen from the answers that the migrant women have given is a very important factor of integration.
3.3.7. Gender equality

The section on discriminative and not fair and just behaviors towards migrant women have been divided into different questions in order to see whether migrant women have been treated unfairly because of their sex and because of their origin. A migrant woman says that she has felt that she has been treated unfairly because in the past she was not given chances of professional development because she had expressed her desire to be a mother.

“Come donna non sono riuscita ad avere determinate possibilità di promozione perché ho detto al mio datore di lavoro di voler avere figli […]”

The same migrant woman says that the discriminations she has felt as a migrant have been related to the residence status and the house. However she considers Italian society opened and she has been given good professional growth opportunities thanks to a good university preparation and the good knowledge of the Italian language.

“Come immigrata i problemi che ho avuto sono legati ai documenti e alla casa. Il mio percorso universitario e la buona padronanza della lingua italiana mi hanno permesso ad avere buone opportunità che offre la società Italiana.”
Another migrant woman says that she has felt more discriminated as a woman than as a migrant in her working environment. Men were better remunerated and had more privileges as well as professional promotions.

“Nel lavoro mi sono sentita più discriminata in quanto donna. Gli uomini avevano una paga più alta e più privilegi e promozioni.”

“Ho subito discriminazione come donna.”

Some women have not faced episodes of discrimination in their place of work.

“Non ho mai subito nessuna forma di discriminazione e mi rendo conto di essere fortunata.”

“No, non mi sono mai sentita discriminata.”

Others say that the discrimination faced has not been direct but indirect that is in the difficult access to skilled and qualified jobs and to the impossibility of participation to exchange education programmes\textsuperscript{373}.

“Non ho subito episodi di discriminazione in maniera diretta, ma mi sono sentita discriminata al momento di voler inserirmi nel ambito professionale o nei posti di lavoro più qualificati. Non poter accedere ai concorsi pubblici non permette inserimento nel mondo lavorativo.”

“Io non ho avuto la possibilità in quanto cittadina non-comunitaria di partecipare a progetti di scambi universitari.”

Some migrant women have reported to have undergone some episodes of discrimination in their daily life and in their work from colleagues. These

\textsuperscript{373} Such as Erasmus program, etc.
episodes are considered to be by the migrant women as a lack of knowledge that some people have on immigration.

“Quando un giorno il datore mi ha fatto i complimenti le colleghi parlavano tra di loro di come le straniere rubano il lavoro.”

“Nel corso della mia permanenza in Italia ci sono stati piccoli episodi, accaduti nei negozi e sul lavoro. La mancanza di conoscenza verso gli immigrati produce talvolta un po’ di paura.”

From the interviews it emerges that migrant women undergo a double process of discrimination that of being a woman and a migrant. However they agree that if they possess the right competences and skills they can manage to assert themselves.
3.3.8. The challenges of skilled migrant women

In this section the results of the survey carried out in Italy during the months of November 2007 until January 2008 were presented in order to provide first-hand information about the strategies developed by intellectual migrant women to integrate into the Italian society.

The hypothesis was that intellectual migrant women do not follow “traditional” strategies to integrate into the Italian society, but they go beyond the learning of the hosting country’s language and the learning of cultural habits through achievements of deep cultural, civic and political awareness which allows them to overcome the daily problems and participate in the cultural and social activities at a high level. “Traditional” strategies of integration of migrant women as mentioned in the previous chapters concern women’s access to the labour market in the domestic related services, caring for the elderly and the ill or as housewives who have followed their husbands in Italy through family reunifications. These “traditional” strategies are on one hand an outcome of the image of migrant women widespread in the mass media and public opinion and on

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the other the result of restrictive immigration policies. The image of migrant women is the one which associates them to the fact of being vulnerable, victims of sexual exploitation, unqualified and submissive. Consequently, the immigration policies reflect this image and strengthen the points of protection to the women who have been victims of smuggling and sexual exploitation which are very important and also aim at the regularization of the domestic workers but lack in provisions of promoting qualified women’s integration.

In order to verify whether the results coming from secondary sources would be supported or not by migrant women’s opinions, a survey was carried out. The questionnaire has been proposed to thirty skilled migrant women who were identified through the help of the Caritas/Migrantes Editorial Office\footnote{“Caritas and Migrantes are church organisms concerned with immigration that has its own personal and multiple service structures since the 1970s when the phenomenon became visible” (Source: Caritas).} which edits every year since 2001 the main Italian reference publication on statistics and policies concerning immigration.

As far as the sample is concerned, Caritas/Migrantes Editorial Office was asked to suggest thirty women independently of their city of residence. The choice of migrant women to get involved in the survey was left to Caritas/Migrantes Editorial Office which had to select women coming from non-European Union countries\footnote{This is done because European Union citizens have the same rights of the national citizens. See Chapter I for more details on European Union directive.} covering the whole spectrum of possibilities, women engaged in civil society such as in Trade Unions and in civil rights’ associations, or engaged in cultural activities such as intercultural mediation and publishing and writing about their experience on migration, as well as women engaged in entrepreneurship. Civil status, family situation, origin and age of the migrant women were not
critical for the selection of the sample and some of them these aspects emerged during the interviews.

This survey expected to see that there are immigrant women who do not correspond to the given image and who develop their own strategies of integration. The strategies of integration were expected to be active involvement in the social life through participation in cultural, literary, business and scientific life as well as in the civil society. As the survey demonstrated the hypothesis was correct.

The questionnaire aimed at investigating the following issues: education and training of intellectual migrant women, professional life, personal immigration history, gender equality and migrant women, gender and integration, policies and gender.

The questionnaire tackled major topics which are vital for a deeper understanding of the intellectual migrant women’s career and the connections between their education, migration and integration.

The questionnaire aimed initially at inquiring training and education achievements of the migrant women, with particular attention to degrees and certificates obtained and their recognition in Italy as well as the knowledge of foreign languages. As mentioned before, education achievements are an important element in immigrants’ life because on one hand they can determine their career if they are obtained in Italy or recognised by the Italian Ministry of Education and on the other hand they are essential for migrants’ personal fulfilment. Migrant women who were interviewed presented similarities and differences regarding education. The majority of the migrant women interviewed have achieved a university degree in their countries of origin before migrating to Italy, the others have achieved a baccalaureate diploma in their countries of origin before coming to Italy. This fact shows that skilled migrant women who have been interviewed are “skilled migrants” because they have had their university training before migrating. Nevertheless, from the eighteen out of thirty migrant women of the sample studied who had obtained a University degree in their countries of origin
only four have managed to get the recognition of their degrees, illustrating the difficulties of exercising their profession in Italy and therefore being obliged to do other activities not relevant to their specific training background. Because of the richness of their background and their knowledge of several foreign languages, they are able to do different activities. Their linguistic and multi-cultural competences enable them to do works related to migration and languages, such as intercultural mediation, interpretation, translation, language-teaching, import-export, etc. The lack of their educational recognition is the main cause explaining the fact that skilled migrant women exercise several jobs at a time in order to face every day life expenses. Some migrant women have completely changed their field of work in Italy. In addition to intercultural mediation, interpretation and translation, many of the migrant women work as journalists, psychologist, writers, etc.

As it was seen, skilled migrant women are active in many fields in order to achieve personal and professional fulfilment, although they often do unpaid or very poorly paid jobs. This situation engenders dissatisfaction and frustration mainly due to the fact that they were obliged to abandon the occupation they had in their home country and to the fact that their professional situation is very precarious. This instability derives both from the legislative restrictions concerning foreigners and the floating labour market which is characterised by short-term contracts. A certain number of migrant women consider their career to be in the very first steps and the level of satisfaction is not very high due to this fact. Nevertheless, some migrant women are fulfilled with their career because they are happy to be able to express their interests through their activities, such as writing and publishing, active participation in the civil society.

As it is seen in the previous section the career of the migrant women has been influenced by their migration. The link between the decision to migrate and the careers allows to understand in which ways migration has changed the women’s professional life. It comes out that in some cases migration has influenced in a positive way women’s career because it has given them the
opportunity to run private activities regarding the immigrant population in Italy. For others, migration has awakened artistic and literary skills which would not have been revealed without the migration experience. In other cases, migration meant a failure because they were unable to overcome all bureaucratic and legislative obstacles and therefore they have gone backwards in their professional development or have undergone a delay in professional fulfillment.

A special focus was put on discrimination episodes undergone on a gender or ethnic basis as an element to be taken in consideration within integration strategies of skilled migrant women. It emerges that migrant women undergo a double process of discrimination that of being a woman and a migrant. This double facet of discrimination is not always easily separated because the same subject suffers from both at the same time. Nevertheless, some discriminations concern skilled migrant women as migrants such as entry and stay legislative regulations and housing, other discriminations regard them as women such as the balance between family and career, inequalities between women and men in the job market. What is peculiar to skilled migrant women is the discrimination concerning their difficult access to skilled and qualified jobs. However, certain intellectual migrant women have not undergone any discrimination. Overall, skilled migrant women agree that if they possess the right competences and skills they can manage to assert themselves.

From this research it was expected to find that there are immigrant women who do not correspond to the image of dependent women and who develop their own strategies of integration within the Italian society. In fact, “strong” integration strategies adopted by skilled or intellectual migrant women are able to overcome the weak strategies of integration which see migrant women as a mere labour force within the domestic service world. The strategies of integration were expected to be active involvement in the social life through participation in cultural, literary business and scientific life as well as in the civil society.
As far as the results of the research are concerned, the hypotheses were confirmed. According to secondary as well as primary sources, there are skilled migrant women in Italy. They are the ones who enjoy and adopt strategies in order to be integrated in the hosting society. These new integration strategies include not only the very good command of the Italian language which is one of the first steps towards a full participation in the society – but also they become a fundamental part of the cultural, social and political life of the country.

“Strong” integration strategies developed by skilled migrant women reach different fields, including entrepreneurship, Trade-Union activism, intercultural mediation, civil society participation and leadership, literary and artistic affirmation.

One of the most relevant axes concerning “strong” integration strategies of intellectual or skilled migrant women is the active involvement in the Italian economic life through an increasing number of the founding and the management of private sector enterprises which cover different market sectors, from import-export to marketing and language-related businesses. Of a particular importance is the rising role skilled migrant women play as intercultural mediators, becoming crucial facilitators between Italians and migrants, old and new citizens, and above all between migrants and institutions. Their active participation within the Italian society as intercultural mediators reflects the integration level of the skilled migrant women who use their knowledge of languages and professional competences in order to facilitate a smoother transition between different cultures.

Another important “strong” integration strategy of migrant women concerns their representation through associations and non-governmental organizations which deal with the problems and issues concerning migrants. An increasing number of skilled migrant women do not participate exclusively in “ethnic”-related or “social problems”-related organizations but also take part more and more in mixed associations and non-governmental organizations where Italian and migrants work together.
Another fundamental axe of the “strong” integration strategies is the participation in Trade-Unions. The tendency to be member of Trade-Unions is an important indicator concerning migrant women’s social and territorial integration and takes place when an immigrant reaches a sufficient degree of working and settlement stability. In the last years migrant women have reached important positions in these organizations both as national representatives and as Trade-Unions’ leaders.

One last point regarding the “strong” integration policies developed by intellectual or skilled migrant women concerns their literary and artistic involvement within the Italian cultural landscape. Their works and writings demonstrate not only the very high level of command of the Italian language which becomes a second mother tongue for them but also and above all the deep understanding of Italian cultural habits and traditions through a personal re-elaboration which has a relevant impact on the destination country. Their works deal with themes such as the difficulties of being accepted as different in the society because of the skin color or origin but they also deal with the theme of mixed marriages and prejudices which often follow the marriage of an immigrant woman to an Italian man. These contributions not only enrich Italian cultural and literary production but also promote a better understanding of immigrants’ experiences, facilitating the integration process of all the migrants who reside in Italy.
Conclusion
The goal of the research consisted in analysing the integration strategies and policies of the migrants in Italy with a special attention to the case of the intellectual or skilled migrant women in order to find out which are the immigration policies that facilitate migrant’s full integration in the Italian society and the strategies the skilled migrant women adopt to reach a high level of integration.

The hypothesis of this research was that the research would highlight “strong” and “weak” immigration policies and strategies adopted by intellectual or skilled migrant women in Italy in order to be integrated in the hosting society.

As far as weak strategies are concerned, intellectual migrant women do not follow “traditional” strategies to integrate into the Italian society, but they go beyond the learning of the hosting country’s language and the learning of cultural habits through achievements of deep cultural, civic and political awareness which allows them to overcome the daily problems and participate in the cultural and social activities at a high level.

“Weak” or “traditional” strategies of integration of migrant women concern women’s access to the labour market in the domestic related services, caring for the elderly and the ill or as housewives who have followed their husbands in Italy through family reunifications. “Weak” strategies concern migrant women’s access to the black labour market in the domestic related services, caring for the elderly and the ill or as housewives. The demand of the
assistance domestic workers has increased and changed from care to the little children, to assistance and cohabitation with the elderly and ill persons. Migrant women find themselves to be working often in illegal way in these families, but even in the cases where they do possess a working contract they do not have contacts with the outside world apart from the elderly persons they assist. These women are often isolated and not integrated in the society they live in. A dependence relationship is thus created with their employer who often makes them work long hours and give them no spare time or vacations. The migrant women living in these situations have to renounce their ambitions for a private and emotional life and have to abandon their families when they have one in their home countries. Their working and salary conditions are too low to allow them to create a family or to be able to keep their children near them. Many of the domestic workers do possess qualifications which are beyond this work but they are obliged to work in this sector as they have no other way out.

These “traditional” or “weak” strategies are on one hand an outcome of the image of migrant women widespread in the mass media and public opinion and on the other the result of restrictive immigration policies. The image of migrant women is the one which associates them to the fact of being vulnerable, victims of sexual exploitation, unqualified and submissive. Consequently, “weak” immigration policies reflect this image and strengthen only the points regarding the protection of migrant women who have been victims of smuggling and sexual exploitation which are very important and also aim at the regularization of the domestic workers but lack in provisions of promoting qualified women’s integration.

The “strong” strategies adopted by intellectual migrant women themselves, in order to overcome “weak” integration policies include not only the learning of the Italian language and cultural habits but also and above all the achievement of deep cultural, civic and political awareness which allows them to participate in the cultural and social activities at a high level in the Italian society. These “strong”
integration strategies adopted by skilled migrant women overcome the image of the women who enter in Italy as dependents of male figures or as victims.

As far as the immigration policies, they mostly reveal the image of unskilled migrant women or women who are victims of exploitation. Italian immigration policy system strengthens only the level and the access to protection of migrant women who have been victims of smuggling and sexual exploitation without proposing any “strong” integration policy regarding skilled migrant women who reside in Italy. Although the weak immigration policies are very crucial and decisive for the lives of many migrant women who find themselves in a vulnerable situation, other “weak” immigration policies in Italy reflect the need of an ageing society and the need of care-takers in the families arises. These needs facilitate policies which aim at the regularization of the migrant women who work in the domestic related fields. These “weak” immigration policies do not offer a positive response to the integration and career fulfilment needs of skilled migrant women.

This research expected to find that there are immigrant women who do not correspond to the image of dependent women and who develop their own strategies of integration within the Italian society. In fact, “strong” integration strategies adopted by skilled or intellectual migrant women are able to overcome the “weak” strategies of integration which see migrant women as a mere labour force within the domestic service world. The strategies of integration were expected to be active involvement in the social life through participation in cultural, literary business and scientific life as well as in the civil society.

As far as the results of the research are concerned, the hypotheses were confirmed. According to secondary as well as primary sources, there are skilled migrant women in Italy. They are the ones who enjoy and adopt strategies in order to be integrated in the hosting society. These new integration strategies include not only the very good command of the Italian language which is one of the first
steps towards a full participation in the society, but also they become a fundamental part of the cultural, social and political life of the country.

“Strong” integration strategies developed by skilled migrant women reach different fields, including entrepreneurship, Trade-Union activism, intercultural mediation, civil society participation and leadership, literary and artistic affirmation. One of the most relevant axes concerning “strong” integration strategies of intellectual or skilled migrant women is the active involvement in the Italian economic life through an increasing number of the founding and the management of private sector enterprises which cover different market sectors, from import-export to marketing and language-related businesses. Of a particular importance is the rising role skilled migrant women play as intercultural mediators, becoming crucial facilitators between Italians and migrants, old and new citizens, and above between migrants and institutions. Their active participation within the Italian society as intercultural mediators reflects the integration level of the skilled migrant women who use their knowledge of languages and professional competences in order to facilitate a smoother transition between different cultures. Another important “strong” integration strategy of migrant women concerns their representation through associations and non-governmental organizations which deal with the problems and issues concerning migrants. An increasing number of skilled migrant women do not participate exclusively in “ethnic”-related or “social problems”-related organizations but also take part more and more in mixed associations and non-governmental organizations where Italian and migrants work together.

Another fundamental axe of the “strong” integration strategies is the participation in Trade-Unions. The tendency to be member of Trade-Unions is an important indicator concerning migrant women’s social and territorial integration and takes place when an immigrant reaches a sufficient degree of working and settlement stability. In the last years migrant women have reached important positions in these organizations both as national representatives and as Trade-Unions’ leaders. One last point regarding the “strong” integration policies
developed by intellectual or skilled migrant women concerns their literary and artistic involvement within the Italian cultural landscape. Their works and writings demonstrate not only the very high level of command of the Italian language which becomes a second mother tongue for them but also and above all the deep understanding of Italian cultural habits and traditions through a personal re-elaboration which has a relevant impact on the destination country. Their works deal with themes such as the difficulties of being accepted as different in the society because of the skin color or origin but they also deal with the theme of mixed marriages and prejudices which often follow the marriage of an immigrant woman to an Italian man. These contributions not only enrich Italian cultural and literary production but also promote a better understanding of immigrants’ experiences, facilitating the integration process of all the migrants who reside in Italy.

These “strong” strategies do not find a suitable place within the Italian immigration policies which deal in accordance with the international agreements with helping victims of smuggling, on one hand, and regulating immigrants’ entry into the Italian territory, on the other. Immigration is seen by Italian policy makers more as an urgent problem to handle than as an issue which needs a deep reflection on human, social and economic outcomes concerning both hosting and sending countries within an internationally globalized system. “Weak” immigration policies do not include only entrance restrictions but also protection for victims of ethnic wars and persecution as well as protection for women who are victims of trafficking. These weak policies present a main “weak” point concerning the high number of undocumented migrants who reside in Italy on a regular basis. Undocumented migrants’ presence is not only exploited by some political parties but is very useful for some employers who benefit from their legal and psychological weakness.

Italian immigration policies do not present any specific provision regarding “strong” integration strategies, although on the local basis some “locally strong” policies can be detected, such as some attempts of migrants’ political
representation through advisory Councils composed of migrants in some Italian cities. These “locally strong” policies concerning “strong” integration strategies, in fact, can not be called “strong” policies although they take them into consideration because they are both locally and temporarily limited. The existence of these “locally strong” policies dealing with “strong” integration strategies reminds the capital importance played by the political representation of the migrants as a factor of social inclusion of both male and female migrants within the public and social arena. Political rights are vital to a full integration within the hosting society, as the right to vote is the most important participation instrument in a modern democratic state and the most important aspect in the immigrants’ integration process. Although the experiences carried out at a local level are useful for migrant’s participation in the political life, they present some limits. In addition to a democratic organisational weakness, the main limit of the “locally strong” policies is that political participation of both male and female migrants has a mere consultative function. Nevertheless, the major limit is that within these “locally strong” policies migrants of both sexes are considered only on the basis of their nationality and not on the basis of their real contribution to the society. The main element is, in fact, the non-possession of the Italian nationality. In 1992 the law on citizenship was reviewed in order to facilitate the citizenship acquisition mainly on the basis of the ius sanguinis. The citizenship under ius soli was made more difficult through a long and discretion process which obliges the foreign residents to reside at least ten years in Italy and to demonstrate a determined income.

If the “locally strong” policies dealing with “strong” integration strategies can be considered as examples of best or “strong” practices, they represent the other side of the coin, that is the impossibility of political representation for migrants in an elective way not only on the local but also at the national level. Therefore, the naturalisation policy can be considered as a “nationally weak” one because it hinders a number of migrants from political rights and therefore from a full integration and participation within the Italian society. Some European
Union’s provisions have facilitated the participation of European Community citizens in local elections throughout the member states, changing the relation between citizenship and the right to vote. Nevertheless, those provisions have not been applied to non-European citizens. Therefore, in order to implement migrants’ participation in the Italian social and political life it would be essential to introduce a provision for their right to vote. Besides, it would be crucial to review the eligibility criteria to access Italian citizenship for migrants as well as for migrants of second generation. On these topics, some important proposals are under discussion. In addition, at the European level the proposal of a Directive facilitating the entrance and stay of intellectual or skilled male and female migrants who come from non-European countries is being considered.

These proposals would pave the way for a greater integration and professional development opportunities both for migrants and the European and Italian citizens. They would offer a full response to the lack of “strong” integration policies if and only if they took into consideration migrant women as well as migrant men not as holders of a national citizenship but as holders of citizenship based on the place of residence. Concerning migrant women, policies should be implemented in order to promote a wider gender equality which would allow to eradicate completely the stereotype of the unskilled and submissive migrant women.
Annexe I
Table 1

International and female migrations: world

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Estimated number of international migrants all over the world</th>
<th>Estimated number of female migrants</th>
<th>Female migrants as percentage of all international migrants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>75 463 352</td>
<td>35 328 232</td>
<td>46.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>78 443 933</td>
<td>36 918 332</td>
<td>47.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>81 335 779</td>
<td>38 426 955</td>
<td>47.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>86 789 304</td>
<td>41 104 314</td>
<td>47.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>99 275 898</td>
<td>46 884 139</td>
<td>47.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>111 013 230</td>
<td>52 364 718</td>
<td>47.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>154 945 333</td>
<td>75 967 491</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>165 080 235</td>
<td>81 396 614</td>
<td>49.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>176 735 772</td>
<td>87 757 603</td>
<td>49.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>190 633 564</td>
<td>94 518 611</td>
<td>49.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Estimated number of international migrants in more developed regions</th>
<th>Estimated number of female migrants at mid-year</th>
<th>Female migrants as percentage of all international migrants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>32 314 043</td>
<td>15 787 332</td>
<td>48.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>35 430 670</td>
<td>17 306 178</td>
<td>48.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>38 360 967</td>
<td>18 750 465</td>
<td>48.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>42 458 155</td>
<td>20 911 899</td>
<td>49.3</td>
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<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>47 457 929</td>
<td>23 653 410</td>
<td>49.8</td>
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<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>53 627 534</td>
<td>26 873 973</td>
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<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>82 368 170</td>
<td>42 801 387</td>
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<td>1995</td>
<td>94 900 373</td>
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<td>2000</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>115 396 521</td>
<td>60 257 913</td>
<td>52.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3

International and female migrations: less developed regions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Estimated number of international migrants in less developed regions</th>
<th>Estimated number of female migrants at mid-year</th>
<th>Female migrants as percentage of all international migrants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>43 149 308</td>
<td>19 540 899</td>
<td>45.3</td>
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<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>43 013 264</td>
<td>19 612 154</td>
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<td>1970</td>
<td>42 974 811</td>
<td>19 676 490</td>
<td>45.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>44 331 149</td>
<td>20 192 414</td>
<td>45.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>51 817 969</td>
<td>23 230 729</td>
<td>44.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>57 385 696</td>
<td>25 490 745</td>
<td>44.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>72 577 163</td>
<td>33 166 105</td>
<td>45.7</td>
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<td>1995</td>
<td>70 179 861</td>
<td>32 172 947</td>
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<tr>
<td>2000</td>
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<td>33 032 561</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>75 237 044</td>
<td>34 260 698</td>
<td>45.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4

International and female migrations: Africa

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Estimated number of international migrants (both sexes)</th>
<th>Estimated number of female migrants</th>
<th>Female migrants as percentage of all international migrants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>9 134 224</td>
<td>3 858 755</td>
<td>42.3</td>
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<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>9 441 931</td>
<td>3 992 048</td>
<td>42.3</td>
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<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>9 944 018</td>
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<td>1975</td>
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</tr>
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<td>1980</td>
<td>14 095 839</td>
<td>6 217 423</td>
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<td>1985</td>
<td>14 434 494</td>
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</tr>
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<td>1990</td>
<td>16 351 076</td>
<td>7 505 138</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>17 943 307</td>
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<td>46.6</td>
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<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>16 496 240</td>
<td>7 784 958</td>
<td>47.2</td>
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<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>17 068 882</td>
<td>8 091 923</td>
<td>47.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5

International and female migrations: Asia

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Estimated number of international migrants (both sexes)</th>
<th>Estimated number of female migrants</th>
<th>Female migrants as percentage of all international migrants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>1970</td>
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<td>53 291 281</td>
<td>23 805 290</td>
<td>44.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6

International and female migrations: Europe

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Estimated number of international migrants (both sexes)</th>
<th>Estimated number of female migrants</th>
<th>Female migrants as percentage of all international migrants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>14 244 764</td>
<td>6 887 508</td>
<td>48.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>16 662 207</td>
<td>7 986 849</td>
<td>47.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>18 783 392</td>
<td>8 952 343</td>
<td>47.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>20 170 448</td>
<td>9 610 296</td>
<td>47.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>21 894 487</td>
<td>10 532 755</td>
<td>48.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>23 471 785</td>
<td>11 472 293</td>
<td>48.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>49 381 119</td>
<td>26 054 101</td>
<td>52.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>55 286 554</td>
<td>29 158 218</td>
<td>52.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>58 216 735</td>
<td>31 063 667</td>
<td>53.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>64 115 850</td>
<td>34 264 611</td>
<td>53.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7

International and female migrations: Latin America and the Caribbean

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Estimated number of international migrants (both sexes)</th>
<th>Estimated number of female migrants</th>
<th>Female migrants as percentage of all international migrants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>6 018 088</td>
<td>2 692 425</td>
<td>44.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>5 855 661</td>
<td>2 676 409</td>
<td>45.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>5 678 838</td>
<td>2 656 948</td>
<td>46.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>5 744 910</td>
<td>2 732 312</td>
<td>47.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>6 079 326</td>
<td>2 929 077</td>
<td>48.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>6 250 798</td>
<td>3 056 325</td>
<td>48.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>6 978 142</td>
<td>3 468 571</td>
<td>49.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>6 052 811</td>
<td>3 025 203</td>
<td>50.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>6 280 578</td>
<td>3 151 128</td>
<td>50.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>6 630 849</td>
<td>3 333 390</td>
<td>50.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 8

**International and female migrations: Northern America**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Estimated number of international migrants (both sexes)</th>
<th>Estimated number of female migrants</th>
<th>Female migrants as percentage of all international migrants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>12 512 766</td>
<td>6 314 272</td>
<td>50.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>12 711 910</td>
<td>6 477 648</td>
<td>51.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>12 985 541</td>
<td>6 682 297</td>
<td>51.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>15 290 319</td>
<td>7 961 360</td>
<td>52.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>18 086 918</td>
<td>9 516 254</td>
<td>52.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>22 142 796</td>
<td>11 490 119</td>
<td>51.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>27 596 538</td>
<td>14 082 196</td>
<td>51.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>33 553 904</td>
<td>17 028 799</td>
<td>50.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>40 387 759</td>
<td>20 371 617</td>
<td>50.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>44 492 816</td>
<td>22 439 437</td>
<td>50.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9

International and female migrations: Oceania

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Estimated number of international migrants (both sexes)</th>
<th>Estimated number of female migrants</th>
<th>Female migrants as percentage of all international migrants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>2 134 129</td>
<td>947 636</td>
<td>44.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>2 550 694</td>
<td>1 164 970</td>
<td>45.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>3 027 545</td>
<td>1 408 949</td>
<td>46.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>3 352 578</td>
<td>1 590 626</td>
<td>47.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>3 754 605</td>
<td>1 797 341</td>
<td>47.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>4 186 485</td>
<td>2 026 597</td>
<td>48.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>4 750 692</td>
<td>2 333 442</td>
<td>49.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>5 054 049</td>
<td>2 517 766</td>
<td>49.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>5 050 573</td>
<td>2 554 147</td>
<td>50.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>5 033 887</td>
<td>2 583 959</td>
<td>51.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10

International and female migrations: United States of America

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Estimated number of international migrants in more developed regions</th>
<th>Estimated number of female migrants at mid-year</th>
<th>Female migrants as percentage of all international migrants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>9 735 177</td>
<td>4 979 152</td>
<td>51.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>9 675 576</td>
<td>4 999 641</td>
<td>51.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>9 711 586</td>
<td>5 069 937</td>
<td>52.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>11 748 856</td>
<td>6 196 672</td>
<td>52.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>14 252 537</td>
<td>7 582 880</td>
<td>53.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>18 222 923</td>
<td>9 494 494</td>
<td>52.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>23 251 026</td>
<td>11 870 898</td>
<td>51.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>28 522 111</td>
<td>14 442 365</td>
<td>50.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>34 802 754</td>
<td>17 484 176</td>
<td>50.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>38 354 709</td>
<td>19 252 458</td>
<td>50.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 11

International and female migrations: Canada

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Estimated number of international migrants in more developed regions</th>
<th>Estimated number of female migrants at mid-year</th>
<th>Female migrants as percentage of all international migrants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>2 766 304</td>
<td>1 330 087</td>
<td>48.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>3 020 552</td>
<td>1 470 887</td>
<td>48.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>3 251 353</td>
<td>1 602 269</td>
<td>49.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>3 517 847</td>
<td>1 754 393</td>
<td>49.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>3 810 582</td>
<td>1 923 179</td>
<td>50.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>3 894 664</td>
<td>1 984 887</td>
<td>51.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>4 318 805</td>
<td>2 199 987</td>
<td>50.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>5 003 496</td>
<td>2 574 486</td>
<td>51.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>5 555 019</td>
<td>2 874 810</td>
<td>51.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>6 105 722</td>
<td>3 173 312</td>
<td>52.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 12

International and female migrations: Australia

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Estimated number of international migrants in more developed regions</th>
<th>Estimated number of female migrants at mid-year</th>
<th>Female migrants as percentage of all international migrants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>1 701 475</td>
<td>753 375</td>
<td>44.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>2 058 671</td>
<td>938 866</td>
<td>45.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>2 486 215</td>
<td>1 156 354</td>
<td>46.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>2 693 744</td>
<td>1 279 956</td>
<td>47.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>3 087 767</td>
<td>1 482 978</td>
<td>48.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>3 431 555</td>
<td>1 666 439</td>
<td>48.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>3 983 881</td>
<td>1 963 112</td>
<td>49.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>4 067 558</td>
<td>2 035 181</td>
<td>50.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>4 071 971</td>
<td>2 068 738</td>
<td>50.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>4 097 204</td>
<td>2 113 586</td>
<td>51.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 13

Italian emigration 1876-1900

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Number of Italian emigrants</th>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Number of Italian emigrants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Piemonte</td>
<td>709,076</td>
<td>Lazio</td>
<td>15,831</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lombardia</td>
<td>519,101</td>
<td>Abruzzo</td>
<td>109,038</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Veneto</td>
<td>940,711</td>
<td>Molise</td>
<td>136,355</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friuli (excluding Trieste)</td>
<td>847,072</td>
<td>Campania</td>
<td>520,791</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liguria</td>
<td>117,941</td>
<td>Puglia</td>
<td>50,282</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emilia Romagna</td>
<td>220,745</td>
<td>Basilicata</td>
<td>191,433</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toscana</td>
<td>290,111</td>
<td>Calabria</td>
<td>275,926</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Umbria</td>
<td>8,866</td>
<td>Sicilia</td>
<td>266,449</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marche</td>
<td>70,051</td>
<td>Sardegna</td>
<td>8,135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>5,257,830</strong></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>5,257,830</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


377 Excluding the region Trentino-Alto Adige which was not yet part of Italy.
Table 14

Italian emigration 1901-1915

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Number of Italian emigrants</th>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Number of Italian emigrants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Piemonte</td>
<td>821.888</td>
<td>Lazio</td>
<td>189.125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lombardia</td>
<td>823.659</td>
<td>Abruzzo</td>
<td>486.518</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Veneto</td>
<td>882.082</td>
<td>Molise</td>
<td>171.681</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friuli (excluding Trieste)</td>
<td>560.721</td>
<td>Campania</td>
<td>955.188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liguria</td>
<td>105.215</td>
<td>Puglia</td>
<td>332.615</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emilia Romagna</td>
<td>469.429</td>
<td>Basilicata</td>
<td>190.259</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toscana</td>
<td>473.045</td>
<td>Calabria</td>
<td>603.105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Umbria</td>
<td>155.654</td>
<td>Sicilia</td>
<td>1.126.501</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marche</td>
<td>320.107</td>
<td>Sardegna</td>
<td>89.624</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Total$^{378}$   |                             |                 | 8.768.680                   |


$^{378}$ Excluding the region Trentino-Alto Adige which was not yet part of Italy.
### Table 15

**Italian emigration 1916-1942**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Number of Italian emigrants</th>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Number of Italian emigrants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Piemonte</td>
<td>533,085</td>
<td>Lazio</td>
<td>78,556</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lombardia</td>
<td>497,579</td>
<td>Abruzzo</td>
<td>157,342</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Veneto</td>
<td>392,157</td>
<td>Molise</td>
<td>62,621</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friuli Venezia Giulia</td>
<td>378,631</td>
<td>Campania</td>
<td>319,496</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liguria</td>
<td>116,099</td>
<td>Puglia</td>
<td>155,632</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emilia Romagna</td>
<td>188,955</td>
<td>Basilicata</td>
<td>67,203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toscana</td>
<td>259,906</td>
<td>Calabria</td>
<td>281,479</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Umbria</td>
<td>43,341</td>
<td>Sicilia</td>
<td>449,093</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marche</td>
<td>144,378</td>
<td>Sardegna</td>
<td>35,666</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trentino (excluding Alto Adige)</td>
<td>119,245</td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>4,355,240</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 16

Italian emigration 1946-1961

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Number of Italian emigrants</th>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Number of Italian emigrants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Piemonte</td>
<td>86,193</td>
<td>Lazio</td>
<td>195,816</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lombardia</td>
<td>292,156</td>
<td>Abruzzo</td>
<td>308,365</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Veneto</td>
<td>611,438</td>
<td>Molise</td>
<td>151,638</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friuli Venezia Giulia</td>
<td>276,101</td>
<td>Campania</td>
<td>495,591</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liguria</td>
<td>55,647</td>
<td>Puglia</td>
<td>385,721</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emilia Romagna</td>
<td>222,099</td>
<td>Basilicata</td>
<td>110,322</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toscana</td>
<td>129,787</td>
<td>Calabria</td>
<td>420,525</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Umbria</td>
<td>41,078</td>
<td>Sicilia</td>
<td>427,251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marche</td>
<td>104,691</td>
<td>Sardegna</td>
<td>60,443</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trentino Alto Adige</td>
<td>61,554</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>4,452,200</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 17

**Italian emigration: destination countries 1876-1976**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Europe</th>
<th>Number of Italian emigrants</th>
<th>Oversea</th>
<th>Number of Italian emigrants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>France</strong></td>
<td>4,117,394</td>
<td><strong>United States of America</strong></td>
<td>5,691,404</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Switzerland</strong></td>
<td>3,989,813</td>
<td><strong>Argentina</strong></td>
<td>2,969,402</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Germany</strong></td>
<td>2,452,587</td>
<td><strong>Brazil</strong></td>
<td>1,456,914</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Belgium</strong></td>
<td>535,031</td>
<td><strong>Canada</strong></td>
<td>650,358</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>United Kingdom</strong></td>
<td>263,598</td>
<td><strong>Australia</strong></td>
<td>428,289</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Austria</strong></td>
<td>1,188,135</td>
<td><strong>Venezuela</strong></td>
<td>285,014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>12,546,558</td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>11,481,381</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 18

Migrants in Italy: number of permits of stay delivered, 1992-2007

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Both sexes</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Women in %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>648 935</td>
<td>259 050</td>
<td>39.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>589 457</td>
<td>259 488</td>
<td>44.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>649 102</td>
<td>289 784</td>
<td>44.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>677 791</td>
<td>314 967</td>
<td>46.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>729 159</td>
<td>344 539</td>
<td>47.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>986 020</td>
<td>431 702</td>
<td>43.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
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<td>683 462</td>
<td>47.1</td>
</tr>
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<td>1 503 286</td>
<td>726 210</td>
<td>48.3</td>
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<tr>
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<td>2 227 567</td>
<td>1 076 080</td>
<td>48.3</td>
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<td>1 103 817</td>
<td>49.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>2 286 024</td>
<td>1 141 140</td>
<td>49.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>2 414 972</td>
<td>1 216 520</td>
<td>50.4</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Source: data ISTAT
Table 19

Migrants and migrant women in Italy: civil status (single or married) according to the number of permits of stay delivered, 1992-2007

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Single status</th>
<th>Married status</th>
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<tr>
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<td>Women in %</td>
</tr>
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<td>1992</td>
<td>339 733</td>
<td>35.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>299 028</td>
<td>39.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>331 701</td>
<td>42.0</td>
</tr>
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<td>1996</td>
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</tr>
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<td>1997</td>
<td>495 537</td>
<td>39.0</td>
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<td>1998</td>
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<td>1999</td>
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</tr>
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<td>39.0</td>
</tr>
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<td>2001</td>
<td>647 106</td>
<td>39.0</td>
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<td>41.3</td>
</tr>
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<td>2005</td>
<td>998 259</td>
<td>41.9</td>
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<td>2006</td>
<td>980 220</td>
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</tr>
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<td>2007</td>
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Source: data ISTAT
Table 20.1

Migrants and migrant women in Italy: number of permits of stay delivered according to purpose, 1992-2007

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<th>Work</th>
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<td></td>
<td>Both sexes</td>
<td>Women in %</td>
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</tr>
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<tr>
<td>1994</td>
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<td>30.7</td>
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<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>405 475</td>
<td>32.0</td>
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<td>1996</td>
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<td>1997</td>
<td>656 585</td>
<td>31.1</td>
</tr>
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<td>1998</td>
<td>660 335</td>
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<td>2000</td>
<td>827 618</td>
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<td>2001</td>
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<td>1 412 694</td>
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<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>1 419 285</td>
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Source: data ISTAT
Table 20.2

Migrants and migrant women in Italy: number of permits of stay delivered according to purpose, 1992-2007

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Study</th>
<th>Both sexes</th>
<th>Women in %</th>
<th>Asylum seekers and humanitarian</th>
<th>Both sexes</th>
<th>Women in %</th>
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<td>6 424</td>
<td>20.7</td>
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<tr>
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<td>3 970</td>
<td>28.8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1994</td>
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<td>46.6</td>
<td>4 393</td>
<td>34.6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>37.5</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>4 551</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>4 550</td>
<td>42.2</td>
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<td>43.9</td>
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<td>7 157</td>
<td>30.5</td>
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<tr>
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<td>6 909</td>
<td>33.0</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td>6 299</td>
<td>25.0</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>27.5</td>
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<td>21.7</td>
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<td>14 119</td>
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<td>19.9</td>
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Source: data ISTAT
Table 21

Migrants and migrant women in Italy: number of permits of stay delivered according to type of work, 1992-2007

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Dependent work</th>
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<th>Autonomous work</th>
<th></th>
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<td>Women in %</td>
<td>Both sexes</td>
<td>Women in %</td>
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<tr>
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<td>35.0</td>
<td>28 762</td>
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</tr>
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<td>32.7</td>
<td>28 992</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>278 548</td>
<td>34.0</td>
<td>28 587</td>
<td>22.7</td>
</tr>
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<td>301 798</td>
<td>34.5</td>
<td>30 425</td>
<td>22.8</td>
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<td>479 391</td>
<td>33.1</td>
<td>30 563</td>
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<td>40 493</td>
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</tr>
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<td>33.4</td>
<td>50 780</td>
<td>23.0</td>
</tr>
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<td>32.2</td>
<td>83 269</td>
<td>21.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>665 334</td>
<td>31.7</td>
<td>89 653</td>
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<td>104 672</td>
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<td>125 547</td>
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</tr>
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<td>2005</td>
<td>1 223 872</td>
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<td>169 860</td>
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Source: data ISTAT
Table 22.1

Migrants and migrant women in Italy: country of origin according to the number of permits of stay delivered (first 20 countries), 1992

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Country</th>
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<th>Women in %</th>
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<td>41 547</td>
<td>9,0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>41 523</td>
<td>65,3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philippines</td>
<td>36 316</td>
<td>67,2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>26 377</td>
<td>58,2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jugoslavia</td>
<td>25 848</td>
<td>37,0</td>
</tr>
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<td>Albania</td>
<td>24 886</td>
<td>14,1</td>
</tr>
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<td>Senegal</td>
<td>24 194</td>
<td>2,9</td>
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<td>Egypt</td>
<td>18 473</td>
<td>14,2</td>
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<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>17 351</td>
<td>57,9</td>
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<td>France</td>
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<td>60,6</td>
</tr>
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<td>China</td>
<td>15 776</td>
<td>39,8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>55,7</td>
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<tr>
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<td>31,0</td>
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<td>Ghana</td>
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<td>68,6</td>
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Source: data ISTAT
Table 22.2

Migrants and migrant women in Italy: country of origin according to the number of permits of stay delivered (first 20 countries), 1997

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<th>Women in %</th>
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<td>37.5</td>
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<td>5.2</td>
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<td>58.9</td>
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<td>51.7</td>
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<td>23 547</td>
<td>17.3</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Peru</td>
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<td>69.9</td>
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<tr>
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<td>21 700</td>
<td>57.4</td>
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Source: data ISTAT
Table 22.3

Migrants and migrant women in Italy: country of origin according to the number of permits of stay delivered (first 20 countries), 2002

<table>
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<th>Country</th>
<th>Both sexes</th>
<th>Women in %</th>
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<td>Morocco</td>
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<td>51.8</td>
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<td>67 258</td>
<td>65.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>61 452</td>
<td>46.9</td>
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<td>24.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jugoslavia</td>
<td>39 278</td>
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<td>Sri Lanka</td>
<td>38 413</td>
<td>43.9</td>
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<td>Senegal</td>
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<td>Germany</td>
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Source: data ISTAT
Table 22.4

Migrants and migrant women in Italy: country of origin according to the number of permits of stay delivered (first 20 countries), 2007

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Both sexes</th>
<th>Women in %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>Albania</td>
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<td>278 582</td>
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<td>China</td>
<td>122 364</td>
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<td>118 524</td>
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</tr>
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<td>78 930</td>
<td>71,6</td>
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<tr>
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<td>76 413</td>
<td>61,8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tunisia</td>
<td>64 870</td>
<td>28,8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>57 122</td>
<td>38,2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serbia and Montenegro</td>
<td>55 701</td>
<td>42,5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>52 133</td>
<td>63,8</td>
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<td>50 274</td>
<td>63,5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senegal</td>
<td>49 805</td>
<td>13,7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>49 552</td>
<td>21,7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sri Lanka</td>
<td>44 957</td>
<td>43,0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Macedonia</td>
<td>44 153</td>
<td>39,6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bangladesh</td>
<td>41 067</td>
<td>26,3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakistan</td>
<td>36 220</td>
<td>23,0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>33 493</td>
<td>58,9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: data ISTAT
Table 23

Migrants and migrant women in Italy: according to residence on January 1, 2008

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Regions</th>
<th>Number of women</th>
<th>Both sexes</th>
<th>% of foreigners on the population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Piemonte</td>
<td>158 193</td>
<td>310 543</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valle d’Aosta</td>
<td>3 484</td>
<td>6 604</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lombardia</td>
<td>389 486</td>
<td>815 335</td>
<td>8.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trentino-A.A.</td>
<td>35 688</td>
<td>70 834</td>
<td>7.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Veneto</td>
<td>193 621</td>
<td>403 985</td>
<td>8.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friuli-V. G.</td>
<td>40 663</td>
<td>83 306</td>
<td>6.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liguria</td>
<td>48 054</td>
<td>90 881</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emilia-Romagna</td>
<td>180 678</td>
<td>365 687</td>
<td>8.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toscana</td>
<td>140 601</td>
<td>275 149</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Umbria</td>
<td>40 162</td>
<td>75 631</td>
<td>8.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marche</td>
<td>58 136</td>
<td>115 299</td>
<td>7.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lazio</td>
<td>210 423</td>
<td>390 993</td>
<td>7.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abruzzo</td>
<td>31 481</td>
<td>59 749</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Molise</td>
<td>3 574</td>
<td>6 271</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campania</td>
<td>67 021</td>
<td>114 792</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puglia</td>
<td>32 743</td>
<td>63 868</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basilicata</td>
<td>5 296</td>
<td>9 595</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calabria</td>
<td>27 994</td>
<td>50 871</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sicilia</td>
<td>50 097</td>
<td>98 152</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sardegna</td>
<td>13 439</td>
<td>25 106</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>1 730 834</strong></td>
<td><strong>3 432 651</strong></td>
<td><strong>5.8</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: data ISTAT
Table 24

Migrants and migrant women in Italy: minors according to residence on January 1, 2008

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Regions</th>
<th>Number of women</th>
<th>Both sexes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Piemonte</td>
<td>14 929</td>
<td>30 769</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valle d'Aosta</td>
<td>224</td>
<td>446</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lombardia</td>
<td>27 233</td>
<td>56 762</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trentino-A.A.</td>
<td>1 969</td>
<td>4 138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Veneto</td>
<td>10 145</td>
<td>21 013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friuli-V. G.</td>
<td>3 340</td>
<td>6 861</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liguria</td>
<td>5 505</td>
<td>11 262</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emilia-Romagna</td>
<td>14 821</td>
<td>30 841</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toscana</td>
<td>10 460</td>
<td>22 092</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marche</td>
<td>1 909</td>
<td>4 100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lazio</td>
<td>21 881</td>
<td>45 939</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abruzzo</td>
<td>830</td>
<td>1 732</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Molise</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campania</td>
<td>2 200</td>
<td>4 494</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puglia</td>
<td>1 328</td>
<td>2 749</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calabria</td>
<td>1 084</td>
<td>2 198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sicilia</td>
<td>4 533</td>
<td>9 256</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sardegna</td>
<td>752</td>
<td>1 588</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>125 831</strong></td>
<td><strong>261 824</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: data ISTAT
Table 25

Migrants and migrant women in Italy: foreigners born in Italy on January 1, 2008

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Regions</th>
<th>Number of women</th>
<th>Both sexes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Piemonte</td>
<td>8 925</td>
<td>18 389</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valle d'Aosta</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>268</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lombardia</td>
<td>18 270</td>
<td>37 897</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trentino-A.A.</td>
<td>1 185</td>
<td>2 446</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Veneto</td>
<td>6 006</td>
<td>12 593</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friuli-V. G.</td>
<td>1 890</td>
<td>3 881</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liguria</td>
<td>3 189</td>
<td>6 577</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emilia-Romagna</td>
<td>9 324</td>
<td>19 381</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toscana</td>
<td>7 168</td>
<td>14 751</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marche</td>
<td>970</td>
<td>2 165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lazio</td>
<td>16 633</td>
<td>34 475</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abruzzo</td>
<td>507</td>
<td>1 053</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Molise</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campania</td>
<td>1 738</td>
<td>3 606</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puglia</td>
<td>887</td>
<td>1 765</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calabria</td>
<td>701</td>
<td>1 422</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sicilia</td>
<td>3 070</td>
<td>6 328</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sardegna</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>1 042</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>82 599</strong></td>
<td><strong>171 253</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: data ISTAT
Table 26

Migrants and migrant women in Italy: macro areas of origin according to residence on January 1, 2008

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Macro area</th>
<th>Both sexes</th>
<th>Number of women</th>
<th>Women in %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>EUROPE</td>
<td>1 785 870</td>
<td>981 969</td>
<td>55.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UE 27</td>
<td>934 435</td>
<td>530 320</td>
<td>56.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UE 15</td>
<td>157 667</td>
<td>96 146</td>
<td>61.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AFRICA</td>
<td>797 997</td>
<td>310 969</td>
<td>39.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Africa</td>
<td>555 376</td>
<td>210 553</td>
<td>38.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Africa</td>
<td>186 348</td>
<td>70 984</td>
<td>38.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Africa</td>
<td>39 971</td>
<td>21 645</td>
<td>54.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central and Southern Africa</td>
<td>16 302</td>
<td>7 787</td>
<td>47.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASIA</td>
<td>551 985</td>
<td>251 506</td>
<td>45.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Asia</td>
<td>23 323</td>
<td>9 480</td>
<td>40.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central and Southern Asia</td>
<td>247 110</td>
<td>93 055</td>
<td>37.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Asia</td>
<td>281 552</td>
<td>148 971</td>
<td>53.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AMERICAS</td>
<td>293 550</td>
<td>184 552</td>
<td>63.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern America</td>
<td>17 449</td>
<td>9 499</td>
<td>54.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central and Southern America</td>
<td>276 101</td>
<td>175 053</td>
<td>64.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OCEANIA</td>
<td>2 527</td>
<td>1 518</td>
<td>60.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stateless</td>
<td>722</td>
<td>320</td>
<td>44.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>3 432 651</td>
<td>1 730 834</td>
<td>50.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: data ISTAT
Table 27.1  

Migrants and migrant women in Italy: marriages with at least a foreigner person (first 15 countries), 2006

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country of origin</th>
<th>Italian husband Foreign wife</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Romania</td>
<td>3 988</td>
<td>21,0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ukraine</td>
<td>1 779</td>
<td>9,3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brazil</td>
<td>1 518</td>
<td>8,0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>1 193</td>
<td>6,3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>1 020</td>
<td>5,4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moldova</td>
<td>879</td>
<td>4,6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Albania</td>
<td>716</td>
<td>3,8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cuba</td>
<td>538</td>
<td>2,8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morocco</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>2,6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perù</td>
<td>464</td>
<td>2,4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ecuador</td>
<td>446</td>
<td>2,3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nigeria</td>
<td>359</td>
<td>1,9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>354</td>
<td>1,9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dominicana,</td>
<td>274</td>
<td>1,4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colombia</td>
<td>257</td>
<td>1,4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other countries</td>
<td>4 744</td>
<td>24,9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>19 029</strong></td>
<td><strong>100,0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: data ISTAT

---

379 Marriages with at least one of the spouses is resident in Italy.
Table 27.2

Migrants and migrant women in Italy: marriages with at least a foreigner person (first 15 countries), 2006

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country of origin</th>
<th>Foreign husband Italian wife</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Morocco</td>
<td>706</td>
<td>14.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Albania</td>
<td>511</td>
<td>10.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tunisia</td>
<td>349</td>
<td>7.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romania</td>
<td>299</td>
<td>6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>259</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>223</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brazil</td>
<td>212</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States of</td>
<td>208</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senegal</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cuba</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Argentina</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serbia</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other countries</td>
<td>1 426</td>
<td>28.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>4 991</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: data ISTAT

---

Marriages with at least one of the spouses is resident in Italy.
Table 27.3

Migrants and migrant women in Italy: marriages with at least a foreigner person (first 15 countries), 2006

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country of origin</th>
<th>Husband and wife foreigners</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Romania</td>
<td>1 226</td>
<td>23.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>653</td>
<td>12.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nigeria</td>
<td>434</td>
<td>8.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ecuador</td>
<td>415</td>
<td>8.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morocco</td>
<td>296</td>
<td>5.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perù</td>
<td>271</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moldova</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Albania</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ukraine</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brazil</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serbia</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senegal</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ivory Coast</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>851</td>
<td>16.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>5 143</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: data ISTAT

---

381 In case of both spouses are foreigners, it is taken into consideration the citizenship of the woman.

382 Marriages with at least one of the spouses is resident in Italy.
Table 27.4

Migrants and migrant women in Italy: marriages with both Italian spouses and with at least one foreign spouse in percentage according to Italian macro areas, 2004

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Marriages with both Italian spouses</th>
<th>Italian husband Foreign wife</th>
<th>Foreign husband Italian wife</th>
<th>Husband and wife foreigners</th>
<th>Marriages with at least one foreign spouse</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>North-West</td>
<td>83,8</td>
<td>9,3</td>
<td>2,6</td>
<td>4,2</td>
<td>16,2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North-East</td>
<td>82,1</td>
<td>10,0</td>
<td>2,6</td>
<td>5,3</td>
<td>17,9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Centre</td>
<td>82,2</td>
<td>9,1</td>
<td>2,3</td>
<td>6,5</td>
<td>17,8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South</td>
<td>94,2</td>
<td>3,7</td>
<td>0,8</td>
<td>1,3</td>
<td>5,8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Islands</td>
<td>95,7</td>
<td>3,0</td>
<td>0,7</td>
<td>0,6</td>
<td>4,3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>87,7</td>
<td>7,0</td>
<td>1,8</td>
<td>3,5</td>
<td>12,3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: data ISTAT
Annexe II
Educazione e formazione nella migrazione

Quale titolo di studio ha conseguito nel Suo Paese?

Ne ha richiesto/ottenuto l’equipollenza in Italia?

Ha frequentato dei corsi di formazione in Italia?

Ha conseguito un titolo di studio in Italia? Se sì, quale?

Quali lingue parla?
**Vita professionale**

Descriva la Sua attività professionale prima di venire in Italia.

Descriva il Suo lavoro attuale.

Qual è il rapporto tra il Suo impiego e la Sua formazione/educazione?

Svolge altre attività professionali? Se sì, quali?

Si sente soddisfatta della Sua carriera?

**Immigrazione**

Quando è arrivata in Italia?

Quali sono le motivazioni che l’hanno spinta a venire in Italia?

Com’è stata influenzata la Sua carriera dal Suo percorso migratorio?

Quali sono le Sue aspettative riguardo al Suo futuro professionale in relazione alla Sua esperienza di migrazione?
Integrazione e genere

Quali sono gli elementi che hanno caratterizzato il Suo percorso di integrazione?

Che ruolo ha avuto l’apprendimento della lingua italiana?

Il fatto di essere donna, come ha caratterizzato la Sua integrazione?

Fa parte di qualche organizzazione religiosa?

Partecipa alle attività di qualche associazione culturale?

E’ sposata o vive in coppia con un italiano o uno straniero?

Uguaglianza di genere e donne straniere

Ha mai subito un trattamento scorretto in quanto donna? Se sì, descriva le circostanze in cui ciò è avvenuto.

Ha mai avuto a che fare con immagini stereotipate della donna?

Ha mai subito un trattamento scorretto in quanto straniera? Se sì, descriva le circostanze in cui ciò è avvenuta.
Politiche e genere

Cosa sa delle politiche nazionali in tema di immigrazione e come le giudica?

Cosa sa delle politiche europee in tema di immigrazione e come le giudica?

Cosa sa delle politiche nazionali in tema di uguaglianza tra uomini e donne straniere e come le giudica?

Quali sono le aree nelle quali il governo dovrebbe intervenire riguardo l’uguaglianza di genere e l’immigrazione?
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