

Human Migration and Social Integration

Amelia De Lucia

In an anthropological context, the term migration defines every temporary or definitive movement of living beings from one territory to another driven by various motivations, but essentially linked to the necessities of life: alterations of the original environmental conditions which have become unfavorable due to lack of resources or of living space; the outbreak of political, religious or racial conflicts. Migrations have been of vital necessity to human populations at least since the beginning of agricultural activity and they made possible the populating of the whole planet.

The first great migratory flow, probably, occurred in Africa about one million years ago when *Homo ergaster* moved north from central-east Africa to reach eastern Asia (out of Africa 1). Later, about 150 thousand years ago, a second migratory wave occurred (out of Africa 2) when anatomically modern man moved north to reach the Mediterranean coast and, dividing into two branches one going east and the other west, colonized the Euro-Asiatic continent (Stringer C.S., Andrews P., 1993). The subsequent migratory phenomenon took place when, 10-12 thousand years ago, from Siberia *Homo sapiens* braved the rigors of the Wurmian glaciation to cross the present day Bering Straits and opened the way to America. From this point on, in the following millennia, further movements populated the whole American continent, as far as the Arctic Circle to the north and Tierra del Fuego to the south.

For millions of years migrations have been caused by the particular characteristics of the economic life of the time. As long as subsistence was based on the occasional gathering of vegetables and capturing of animals, the settlement of populations in the same place for long periods was not possible. At the end of glaciations era, also due to climatic improvement, human history changed fundamentally with the appearance of animal rearing, agriculture and ceramic art, and with the formation of the first settlements. It is this Neolithic epoch, between the 8th and the 7th millennium B.C., during which permanent settlement spread, that initiated a decisive phase in the development of humanity. Permanent settlement did not, however, end man's natural tendency to seek new spaces in which to settle.

One of the most significant examples of this in

the course of the 1st millennium was the creation of the first colonies around the Mediterranean Basin by the Greek civilization. This did not, however, involve the simple movement of individuals or single families; a complete society transferred to the newly colonized territories, with its political and religious leaders, its own religion and its own laws: it was the transfer of a "small country" to the new land.

This migratory episode is, therefore, relevant not for its numerical size, but for the cultural impact it had on the native population.

During the Roman Empire and subsequently with the beginning of the Barbarian invasions there were true mass migrations, often determined by questions of an economic nature (which have come to predominate in modern migrations).

The characteristics of classical emigrations are generally homogeneous; the movements have very often involved large masses wishing to settle new territories for various reasons: for conquest, for the infertility of their land or demographic excess in their place of origin, or simply for a spirit of adventure.

The modern age, however, has been characterized by the movement of masses to conquer the "New World", which could offer new fertile territories and unused resources. Emigration to the Americas and Australia involved a great number of Europeans, mainly men in search of wealth or escaping persecution, but unfortunately it also involved millions of Africans reduced to slavery. Despite the abolition of slavery, in the centuries following the discovery of the New World the flows across the Atlantic continued with intensity helped by steady progress in maritime transport. The history of migratory flows in the last centuries is, therefore, marked by drives linked more to the needs of survival than of expansion: famines, religious intolerance, racial discrimination and political and economic upheavals. Emigration was attracted first to the Americas and Australia and then, above all after the Second World War, to the countries of northern and central Europe.

With regard to Europe, the total estimate of immigration movement at the end of 1996 is 17 million 500 thousand units. The figures are such as to justify the effectiveness of the statement that immigrants represent the 16th nation of the European Union. Also on 31st December 1996, the numbers of

persons of non-EC origin in the different states show Germany in first place (7,314,000 immigrants), followed by France (2,836,000), the United Kingdom (1,972,000) and Italy (1,095,600).

The presence of immigrants in the European states in the last twenty years has considerably increased, with the exception of France due, probably, to the number of naturalized citizens there.

The trends in the individual states up to 1996 were essentially stable with regard to the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, Denmark, Finland, Norway; there was a sharp fall in immigration in Switzerland, France, Sweden, and Germany; there was a clear increase in Italy and the European countries of the Mediterranean Basin. This increase is evidently due to the numerous waves of immigrants coming from the Eastern countries.

There are also consolidated migrations in the different European states coming from specific areas:

- in Germany from Turkey, Russia, the former Yugoslavia and the countries of the East;
- in France from the Maghreb and Senegal;
- in the Netherlands from the former Yugoslavia;
- in Switzerland from the former Yugoslavia and the European countries of the Mediterranean Basin;
- in the United Kingdom from Pakistan, India and Bangladesh.

The Asiatic migrations towards the countries of Northern Europe, insignificant before the 1970s, considerably increased in the second half of the 1980s, especially through requests for asylum.

After the 1970s, on the other hand, there was a considerable decrease in the migrations from the European countries of the Mediterranean Basin which became, in turn, the destination for migratory flows characterised by low professional qualifications coming from the developing countries of Africa and Asia and from America. (Pittau F., 1999).

With regard to the present situation, it is interesting to note that as much as 70% of the population increase of the European Union countries (from 376.4 to 377.6 million citizens for a percentage increase of 0.3%) registered by EUROSTAT (2000) in the course of the year 2000, was due to immigration. In fact, in the previous year 816 thousand foreigners had entered Europe. This figure is significantly lower than the 1,350,000 entries of 1992, but seems higher than that recorded in 1997. It is, therefore, confirmed as a growing trend.

The destinations of about two-thirds of this migratory flow are Germany, Great Britain and Italy. In relative terms, Luxembourg records the highest

rate of migration, 11.4% with respect to total population, followed by Eire (6.6%). At the bottom of the list are Spain (1%), France (0.8%) and Finland (0.6%). Without the entry of new immigrants, Italy, Germany and Sweden would even have experienced a fall in population.

These migratory movements, which are recognized as more complex than a simple flow of emigration from one country to another, originate in the more or less prevalent influence of three types of fundamental forces of demographic, economic and political nature, classified by sociologists as follows

1. factors of expulsion (push-factors) from the countries of origin or exodus: demographic increase, deterioration or insufficiency of living conditions, political situation of dictatorship, war and discrimination.

2. factors of attraction (pull factors) of the country of destination: economic well-being, demand for labor, reuniting of the family, "freedom" and "happiness", in relation not only to word of mouth, but also to television images which reach developing countries, today also by satellite (Melotti U., 1990).

3. factors of choice (choice factors) which the potential immigrant activates in relation, for example, to the presence of more or less restrictive regulations to control immigration and the penalties and measures correlated to it. Other significant choice factors include whether or not there is an organized community of compatriots, the climate and the more favorable environment (Geraci S., 1995).

4. Further analyzing the problems linked to migratory flows from the demographic point of view, two different migratory models can be determined, each influenced by the causes of movement: the first, of an *economic nature*, caused by the search to improve the conditions of "relative life", with the consequent move to places that offer greater economic possibilities and involving the creation of a "migratory chain"; the second, of a *non-economic nature*, caused by other factors (natural calamities, revolutions, difficulties in cohabiting with groups of different ethnic origins or different religious and/or political beliefs), which may determine mass movements and also involve situations of exodus and/or diaspora.

According to Widgren J. (2001), the migratory phenomenon generally develops in four basic stages:

- the first preliminary stage, "in which the conditions are created for an effective migration"; often the choice of country of destination may depend on information from compatriots who have already emigrated, but today the choice is strongly influenced by the development

of systems of communication and the reduction of the costs of travel, conditions that have increased the possibility of direct knowledge of other countries;

- the second stage; “that of the true migration”, in which the structural quality of the emigrant comes into play, especially in view of the long and tiring journeys involved (one does not move if one is weak, too old or young, or if one believes not to have the necessary psycho-physical capacities). In general it is the head of the family who moves first, believing that he has greater possibilities of finding work;
- the third stage is “that of definitive settlement”: wife and children join the head of the family or, vice versa, there may be return flows towards the country of origin and, in this latter case, there is a significant beneficial economic effect created by the valuable foreign currency remittances that become an important contribution to national income;
- the final stage is “that of consolidation, in which a new balance is attained in the two countries”, the result of processes of economic and territorial integration and of the management of the migratory flows. Economic integration is generally fairly rapid, in that the immigrants almost always meet an unsatisfied need for labor. The territorial integration, on the other hand, is slower, because it is necessary to make available structures (homes, hospitals, schools, places of worship) for the new arrivals”.

Historically Italy represented more a source of emigration than a destination for immigration. From the end of the Second World War until the mid-1960s there was on average a net exodus of 200-250 thousand people per year (a debt balance between an emigration of about 350-400 thousand and an immigration of 150 thousand units); only in 1973, for the first time in recent history, after a continuous reduction in absolute value the balance have become active (Morrone A., 2002).

With respect to the present situation, the elaboration of ISTAT data provided by the Ministry of Interior Affairs shows that on January 1st 2000, about 1,520,000 foreigners were legally present in Italy.

In reality, the official data record only 1,340,655 foreigners with a regular residence permit (732,669 males and 607,986 females). In fact minors are recorded only if they have individual authorization and are not counted in the overall number if they are registered on the residence document of their

parents. In this regard the data confirms that there are fewer than 60 thousand minors with an individual residence permit, while according to the data on the resident population in Italy on January 1st 2000, about 230,000 foreign minors are recorded by the Register Office.

Of the 250,000 new residency permits, 63,000 were given for family reasons, while 167,000 were given for working reasons. If, however, we consider that a good part of the working permits are, in reality, regularization of permits, a tendency noted in recent years is confirmed: entries for family reasons prevail over those for work.

It is interesting to note that a large part of the foreigners have been in Italy for a certain length of time. The immigrants who have been legally present for more than 5 years are, in fact, 678,000 (of these 550,000 come from countries with a strong migratory pressure) almost all of whom have the necessary requirements for a residence permit and, on the basis of the laws of some European countries, the right to vote.

An overall of 363,000 of the new legalized immigrants come from Eastern Europe countries (133,000 are of Albanian nationality). On average, between 1992 and 1999, immigration from Eastern countries has registered an annual increase of about 20%, from 86,000 to 363,000 units. Of all the immigrants, Rumanians are those who have shown the greatest relative increase: 28.5% annually from 1992 to 1999.

The first country of origin, however, remains Morocco which counted 156,000 presences on January 1st 2000. Overall, the communities from North Africa on the same date numbered 251,000 units and represent 19% of all foreigners in Italy.

The foreign nationals from Central and Southern Asia have revealed above average rates of increase (13.8%). Overall, the immigrants from Sri Lanka, India, Bangladesh and Pakistan amount to almost 100,000 units.

The countries of Eastern Asia, represented above all by China and the Philippines, numbered 140,000 presences in Italy on January 1st 2000.

Finally, the immigrants from Central and South America (above all Peruvians and Brazilians 29,000 and 19,000 respectively) are together close to 100 thousand units (Istat, 2002).

The immigration phenomenon, in light of the latest data, is however characterized by a considerable increase in the illegal flows. In this regard, the main industrialized European countries have acted through the adoption of restrictive policies: rein-

forcing frontier controls, more severe legislation with regard to entries or the reuniting of families, and sharpening sanctions against traffickers. Undoubtedly, at least until now, Italian legislation has tended to be more open and receptive and, within certain limits, against the prevailing policy adopted by most of its European partners.

A second line of intervention aims to develop adequate international cooperation for common and uniform strategies, through legislative harmonization on the subject of asylum and citizenship. However, we feel that the most auspicious intervention concerns the perfecting of policies of integration and the fight against discrimination, in the conviction that one of the principle objectives of migratory policies is the stable and full integration of the foreigner who wishes to be integrated in the socioeconomic and cultural context of the host country (Pittau F., 1999).

In this regard the consolidation and integration of the immigrant populations can take place following different models that can be exemplified into three distinct types (Widgren J. et al., 2001).

- the American model ("melting pot") in which the different ethnic groups conserve traces of their identity, but each immigrant is considered a citizen of the host country.
- the French model (assimilation): the immigrants rapidly acquire citizenship which is subsequently granted to the children born in the host country.
- the German model ("of the guest worker"): the immigrants remain guests and their children are considered foreigners even if they are born in the host country. The return to the homeland at the end of the working period is strongly encouraged.

The fundamental condition, however, for the real integration of the foreigner is without doubt accomplished by his integration in the working world.

Some data can help us understand the growing resource of foreign labor force in Italy. In this regard, the latest Ares report (2000) draws a map of the occupations of foreign nationals in Italy, according to their origin, divided by occupational sector:

- agriculture: 39-40 thousand employees, prevalently from North Africa and Eastern Europe;
- industry and commerce: 170,000 from the secondary sector are registered to Inps (National Institute of Social Previdence) (41% of which are Africans and 38% Europeans), and are involved in commerce (28.5%), in

engineering (24%), in construction (12%) and in the chemical industry (10%);

- domestic work: more than 100,000 foreigners are insured with Inps in this sector. These are prevalently of Asiatic origin and three quarters of them are women. Domestic help represents 50% of foreign labor force. It should be noted that more than 64% of the Philippine home-helpers interviewed had a degree or a university level education;
- self-employed: according to the Ministry of Interior Affairs there are about 50,000 self-employed foreign workers, but only 4,000 are regularly insured with INPS.

The wealth annually produced by the 800 thousand non-EC nationals who work in Italy, can be estimated at around 36 billions of Euro therefore it represents 3.2% of GDP; if we consider the last 5 years, the contribution exceeds 165 billions of Euro.

The Ares Observatory, with the help of a survey on illegal work, has made particular considerations with regard to the working situation of foreign workers, estimating that there are around 350 thousand illegal workers, i.e. workers whose situation is completely submerged.

On the basis of these considerations, it has been calculated that if the "illegal" foreigners had a regular work contract, the revenue from contributions would be about 3 billions of Euro in the course of a whole year, and 13 billions of Euro in the course of the last five years. The illegal work of the immigrants essentially concerns the sectors of agriculture (38%) and services (62%). (Rapporto Ares, 2000)

Unfortunately, the integration of the immigrants in the labor market very often occurs at the lowest levels of the labor system. Even though the foreigner may possess medium to high levels of education and professional capacity, he/she is often relegated to carry out jobs and tasks of a lower order, suffering from a process of disqualification.

It therefore occurs that the gap between human capital possessed and the tasks which are given to immigrants is, on one hand, the cause of great dissatisfaction and social tension and, on the other hand, evidence of the capacity to learn quickly and adapt to any working environment which is typical of foreign labor force.

An initial intervention that has already produced interesting results is that of training. This should, however, aim not only at a greater linguistic socialization, but also at the attainment of professional specialization.

Among the factors which favour the recognition

of the immigrants' capabilities, self-employment plays a fundamental role. Especially in Italy, where the productive structure is dominated by small and medium sized enterprises, it is to be hoped that new entrepreneurial activities will be started by foreign operators.

Whatever may be the key to understanding it and the model within which it is integrated, the problem of immigration is *strongly* linked to objective difficulties of ethnic identification, of change, of "acute deculturization" that is more or less radical or even total, as in the case of forced migrations.

The impact with the new realities becomes extremely traumatic for the immigrants and in the end represents a significant possibility of psychological destabilization. This is why, if we can speak of psycho-socio-anthropological shock in any migration, this is even more so in the case of flights from situations involving danger to one's life.

The persons who suffer this misadventure experience an intense need to speak in order to keep alive the memory of their history, their identity and maintain for a long time the sensation of not being understood by others. Therefore, if the psychological wounds are not treated with adequate psychological assistance, they can generate chronic disturbances. The involuntary separation from one's birthplace is always accompanied by anxiety for the loss of something which is dear. Human behavior tends towards *homeostasis*, or rather to well-being marked by the pleasure of stability and the maintenance of both one's internal and external balance: a balance which is organized in the lifestyle, in habits, in the recognition of values shared with other individuals as a result of common language, traditions, usage, customs and interests.

"It is a fact that the new immigrant must sacrifice certain aspects of his individuality, and that sacrifice is all the greater according to how great is the difference between the country of arrival and that of origin. A process of conflictual loss is thus created, because the sacrifice of part of oneself conflicts with the effort made by all to maintain the differences that distinguish them from other people of the host nation" (Grinberg L., Grinberg R., 1990).

On the basis of this theoretical picture, in order to further examine the psychological problems and stress linked to the dynamics of the migratory flows, an analysis of the socio-anthropological stress of populations which have recently immigrated to Apulia has been proposed, through the creation of an index which quantifies this delicate and important

aspect and makes simple numerical comparisons possible.

This analysis provides new information with regard to the conditions of the migrant populations and allows us to make a first measurement of a problem which has been known for some time, but which is emerging even more clearly in the phenomenology of recent migratory flows.

The construction of the index adopted was therefore based on the thematic division of the process through which socio-anthropological stress is accumulated, emphasizing some distinctive aspects analyzed below (De Lucia A., Nuzzi D.R., 2002).

Initially a questionnaire was handed to the different immigrant groups subject to study:

- the Albanians immigrating to Apulia after 1991;
- the Chinese immigrants resident in Bari;
- the Albanian immigrating to Apulia in 1997;
- the Mauritian immigrants women resident in Bari;
- the Kosovar immigrating to Apulia in 1999 as a result of the war.

The questionnaire is anonymous and contains some key questions that reflect socio-anthropological stress. It regards structural characteristics, educational level, professed religion, composition of family nucleus in Italy and in the homeland, working conditions. Each population studied was also given a series of questions on the specific motivations for their migration.

Each of these questions was subsequently given a value relative to the weight attributed to it within the problem.

The index constructed for each single immigrant is:

$$I_j = \sum p_i w_i / \sum p_i$$

where p_i is the weight given to each reply, and w_i is a dummy or convenience variable, that assumes a value 0 if the reply is *yes*, 1 if the reply is *no*, and 0.5 if the reply is *in part*.

Finally, the concise stress index, that relating to all types of immigrants, is obtained from the average of the n indexes of the single unit forming the sample:

$$I_{DN} = \sum I_j / n$$

We have thus obtained an index that varies between 0 and 1, assuming a value of 0 in the absence of socio-anthropological stress and of 1 in the presence of maximum stress.

The index of socio-anthropological stress

calculated for each of the five immigrant groups studied is:

- 0,33 for the Albanians immigrating after 1991;
- 0,33 for the Chinese immigrants;
- 0,47 for the Albanian immigrants of 1997;
- 0,25 for the Mauritian immigrants women;
- 0,74 for the Kosovar refugees of 1999.

The index calculated for the more permanent groups (the Mauritians, the Chinese and the Albanians which arrived from 1991 onwards) assumes relatively low levels. These populations identify more and more with the social reality to which by now they belong and overcome the initial elements of stress through gradual though conscious adaptation, the result of a personal and family choice.

On the other hand, our attention is drawn to the very high index calculated for the Kosovar refugees who, with no possibility to plan, had to be uprooted from their country and abandon all they had.

This study therefore confirms that the new flows are characterized by a greater tension, the source of many questions and problems and of stress not only for those who leave but also for those who receive them.

In order to counter any attempt to locate in migratory flows a possible source of contamination at the level of hygiene and health, a study is being carried out of the reasons for hospital admissions of the non-EC immigrant population at some hospitals in the south of Italy in the period 1991-2000.

The result of an initial investigation concerning immigrant minors, shows the significant absence of differences between the immigrants and the native population with regard to transmittable pathologies, and confirms, if it were necessary to do so, that the immigrants do not in any way represent an emergency or even a cause for alarm of a medical nature; the causes of admission to hospital of immigrant minors are, in fact, linked to physiological events, such as birth, or to common non-transmittable pathologies (De Lucia A. et al, 2002).

The objective of this study was to contribute to the understanding of problems of a medical nature that may represent one of the components of hardship and of the real condition of social handicap in which non-EC immigrant minors find themselves following their families to Italy.

We are convinced that it is only by protecting the right to health and to study (not so much through initiatives of private charity as through specific choices of social policy), that the basic conditions can be created in which these children, who are

clearly disadvantaged today, can become tomorrow fully fledged citizens of a multiethnic Italy, not only in fact, but also by choice.

Until recently it was always said that the level of civilization of a people can be measured by the attention it is able to give to its non productive element (children, old people, the disabled), today we feel that this statement should be applied not only to the native population, but also to that of immigrants.

The phenomenon of immigration could offer us a great opportunity for social and cultural growth through the management of a complex and not easy integration of diversity in equality.

KEYWORDS Social Policy. Emigration

ABSTRACT The new migratory flows no longer respond to the need for labour but are, in general, determined by abnormal political, economic and social conditions in the country of origin. Consequently, the impact on immigrants of the new reality becomes extremely traumatic and is very likely to be psychological destabilization. The mass flights we witness must be viewed in this context, above all in Italy. All the studies of stress linked to migration should be approached with this mind. To this end a new index has been proposed for the evaluation of socio-anthropological stress (A. De Lucia et al., 1999). Also in order to contrast any attempt to find in migratory flows a possible source of contamination at the level of hygiene and health, an exhaustive study is being carried out on the causes of hospital admission to some hospitals in the south of Italy in the period 1991-2000. As it emerges from an initial investigation there are almost no differences with regard to infectious diseases, between the immigrant and indigenous populations, we believe we can propose further scientific research in order to evaluate the degree of integration of those populations. Until now it has always been said that the level of civilization of a population is to be measured by the attention it offers to its non-productive element (children, old people and the handicapped), we feel this affirmation should be applied not only to the indigenous population, but also to that of immigrants.

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Author's Address: **Amelia De Lucia**, Dipartimento di Scienze Statistiche Università degli Studi di Bari (Italia)
Via Camillo Rosalba, 53 – 70100, Bari, ITALY
E-mail: amelia.delucia@libero.it