

Ethnicity or Migration Processes?

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1. The influence of migration itself

As a number of scholars have pointed out, the collection and classification of data on an ethnic or pan-ethnic basis can have the effect of lumping together people who have had very different experiences, thus making it difficult to distinguish important social dynamics connected with the migration process itself. Mary Waters (2014) has criticized the way British official statistics, using categories like “Asian” and “Afro-Caribbean” (but also more detailed ethnic-national categories like “Pakistani” or “Indian”), lump together people who have migrated as adults, those who came as children, those born in the U.K, and the grandchildren of migrants. Making a similar criticism of the way many American official statistics present data on the educational attainment of “Hispanics”, Joel Perlmann (2005: 61) even suggests that “a future generation may well look back on the figures that the Department of Education publishes today in the way we look back on the crude figures found in early twentieth-century government reports that described European groups primarily in terms of the race or people to which they belonged, and privileged that classification over other explanatory factors, such as generational status or class origin when explaining school attainments of that era”. In Italy there is another problem with official statistics, most of which classify people by nationality, or sometimes by birthplace. As naturalization grows, and as the number of children of immigrants born in Italy increases (already in many primary schools in Northern Italy, the vast majority of pupils whose parents are migrants were born in Italy), this obviously hides the migration history of many people, and possible effects this may have on schooling, and on many events later in life.

The importance of distinguishing migrant generations (first generation, second generation, third; but also the difference between second generation in the strict sense and “1.5 generation”, or more generally, age at migration) is widely recognized by scholars, even if the battles to include questions in censuses or surveys making it possible to identify “generations” and “descent” are not always won and sometimes raise controversy. The questions used in censuses and official surveys – and then the classifications adopted in published tables and in data files – have, of course, fundamental effects on variables available for analysis and on the results presented. However, the issues in question certainly do not only concern official statistics. Much more in general, in qualitative as in quantitative research, the classifications we use not only reflect but also shape the way we define groups, and the kinds of social mechanisms we see as being in play. In most work on migration, the social mechanisms imagined are those which depend directly on national culture or identity¹. We believe, however, that migration is not only a question of interaction of two culturally different and identifiable peoples, but also involves a series of other effects.

¹ This is not the place to demonstrate this statement, but perhaps it is worth thinking of the social mechanisms involved in the notion of assimilation. Traditionally, notions of assimilation have focussed on the way migrants “become more American” (more French, more Italian, etc. according to the country of immigration). Although work on “segmented assimilation” has complicated the picture, showing that not always does “becoming more American” necessarily correspond with social mobility or becoming part of “mainstream society”, the focus in segmented assimilation theory is still to a large extent on “how American” migrants and children of migrants become. Unlike classical assimilation theory, it is not assumed that becoming more culturally similar to natives will necessarily be advantageous; for example, if the locals with whom children of immigrants have contact with at school or in the neighbourhood are hostile

Migration systematically results in a re-organization of the social network. Labour migrations regularly change family relationships by separating members of the family and separating the nuclear family from persons who play an important part in the support network. In recent years, there has been much attention in the literature on international migration to the way women's migration has separated mothers from their children. However, this is just one of several separations and re-organizations resulting from migration. Even when the migration in question is internal rather than international, labour migrations often separates mothers and children, fathers and children, husbands and wives. In fact it is often difficult to move the whole family together even when the heavy hand of immigration law does not add to the difficulties. No less important than these separations between members of the nuclear family, geographical moves also separate family members from kin outside the household and from neighbours and others who play a fundamental role in the functioning of the family – for example in childcare. Since migration – internal as well as international - is strongly structured by age, with young adults being much more likely to migrate than the middle-aged, migration regularly separates grandparents and grandchildren. Migration often also separates families from neighbours, who may have had a role in “keeping an eye” on children. Of course, migration does not only make certain kinds of everyday contacts and exchanges more difficult, it also results in new relationships (so that certain family relationships, for example, with sisters and cousins who have migrated to the same place may become stronger). But migration in any case creates a new configuration, forcing husbands and wives, parents and children into new forms of inter-dependence. In some cases the lack of key kin may make the relationships within the household more intense, forcing a closer interdependence and more continuous contact between husband and wife, and between parents and children.

But it is, of course, not only the network of kin and those concerned in some way with childcare which changes with migration. So does the network of friendship and acquaintanceship – and with it, the flows of information regarding opportunities in the local labour market, housing, local schools and many other types of information. Migration may cut off ties with many former school friends, with friends and acquaintances of the family in the place of emigration, while it creates a set of new relationships among fellow-migrants, workmates, neighbours, members of associations, churches, mosques, customers of the same bar or football club.

The class composition of these new networks is probably crucial. As Franco Ramella (2003) illustrates in a qualitative analysis of the careers through the labour market of a number of regional migrants to Turin in the 1960s, most labour migrants tend to create new networks which are very homogeneous class-wise and made up mostly of other migrants. The Turin networks they built up on the basis of kin and friends who had also migrated to Turin, or people who they met at work or in the neighbourhoods where they lived, gave them access mainly to information about a limited segment of the labour market. The Southern migrants in these interviewees changed jobs many times, but the opportunities they heard about through fellow workers, kin or friends were of the same unskilled type. The way migration itself shaped the networks of Ramella's interviewees restricted the information available, and excluded migrants from ambiances which would have permitted more social mobility into skilled jobs or lower supervisory positions.

Migrants tended to lack the kind of cross-class relationships which members of the local working class may have through kin or former school friends or neighbours. At the same time, their new neighbours in the place of immigration may be rather homogeneous in terms of class, and many may also themselves be migrants. The housing of labour migrants – whether internal or international – is in fact quite characteristic. After an initial period in a low-cost, run-down neighbourhood, and often several moves to obtain slightly less uncomfortable accommodation,

to school, involved in an illegal economy, or heavy drinking, integrating with locals is not likely to lead to good results at school or to a good job. However, the focus of attention is still on “how American” children of immigrants become: it is just that this is not seen as necessarily a good thing. So it is suggested that migrant families and migrant communities can “protect” young people of the second generation from the dangers of poor neighbourhoods by strengthening ties with the original culture and stopping them becoming “too American”.

migrants tend to move out into rather homogeneously working-class areas. The selection criteria used by public housing agencies may favour them if their housing is overcrowded or has been condemned as unhealthy. But the move to public housing is often once again a move to an estate inhabited mainly by other migrants at the bottom of the labour market. All this seems to be different from locals, even locals of the working class, who may, for example be able to find a flat through a relative living in a less homogeneously working-class area.

We argue that the way migration shapes the networks of first generation migrants – so migrant families – also shapes the social ambience in which children of migrants grow up in. The schools these children go to, usually being local schools, will be heavily populated by other migrants and by members of the local working class. The same is likely to be true of the children and adolescents they meet outside their flats or in the local park. All this is likely to shape attitudes and shape ideas as to what one can possibly do in the future, what opportunities are realistically available, how long it is normal to stay on at school. Parents, limited by their own rather homogeneous networks, may have limited information regarding school careers.

We argue, therefore, that migration itself – independently of citizenship, nationality or even culture – has predictable effects on the social networks formed by labour migrants, and on the social lives they construct in the place of immigration. And that this has effects not only on adult migrants but also on their children: parents' knowledge of the labour market, and of schools, but also the schools children go to, the neighbourhoods they grow up in, have effects on the lives of the "second generation".

In the last part of this paper, in the limited space available, we illustrate this with a few examples taken from qualitative interviews conducted in a research project entitled *Secondgen* which compares the experience of children of children of migrants of the previous wave of regional migration with children of migrants of the more recent international migration. However, first we want to demonstrate the existence of regularities linked to migration background using a database of linked census data.

Of course, Italy is famous as being a country of deep regional divisions – the North-South split being particularly well-known – also abroad – as a prominent feature of the country. So it might be thought that the existence of long-term effects of regional migration was not a radical challenge to the conventional framework of thinking of migration in terms of the meeting of different "peoples", with different cultural backgrounds: migration from the South would just be another case of movement from a less developed area to a more developed one. As we explain, we do not believe the evidence supports this interpretation.

2. Educational disadvantage among children of migrants in linked census data

To demonstrate the relevance of migration process itself as a dimension of inequalities' reproduction pattern we use data from the Turin Longitudinal Study (*Studio longitudinale torinese*, henceforth SLT) of linked census data from the 1971, 1981, 1991 and 2001 censuses to show the existence of educational inequalities among the *children* of regional migrants to Turin. As we will show, using the rather sparse data on international migrants in the current SLT database and references to the literature, the patterns are surprisingly similar to those documented for children of international migrants. In other words, in this case, regional labour migration is associated with occupational and educational disadvantage among a "second generation", not dissimilar to that documented for many groups in the wake of international migration. We believe these results are not only of local interest, because they have implications for the way disadvantage is generated (or not generated) among children of migrants generally. This kind of situation of regional migration is in fact an interesting test case, because several important factors often associated with disadvantage in international migration are missing. Regional migrants were, of course, citizens, and did not have the

disadvantages of being undocumented which many international migrants do, at least in the first generation². In addition, we argue that "cultural differences" between migrants and locals – often evoked to explain second generation disadvantage – do not explain the gaps found in our data, so we believe other explanations are needed.

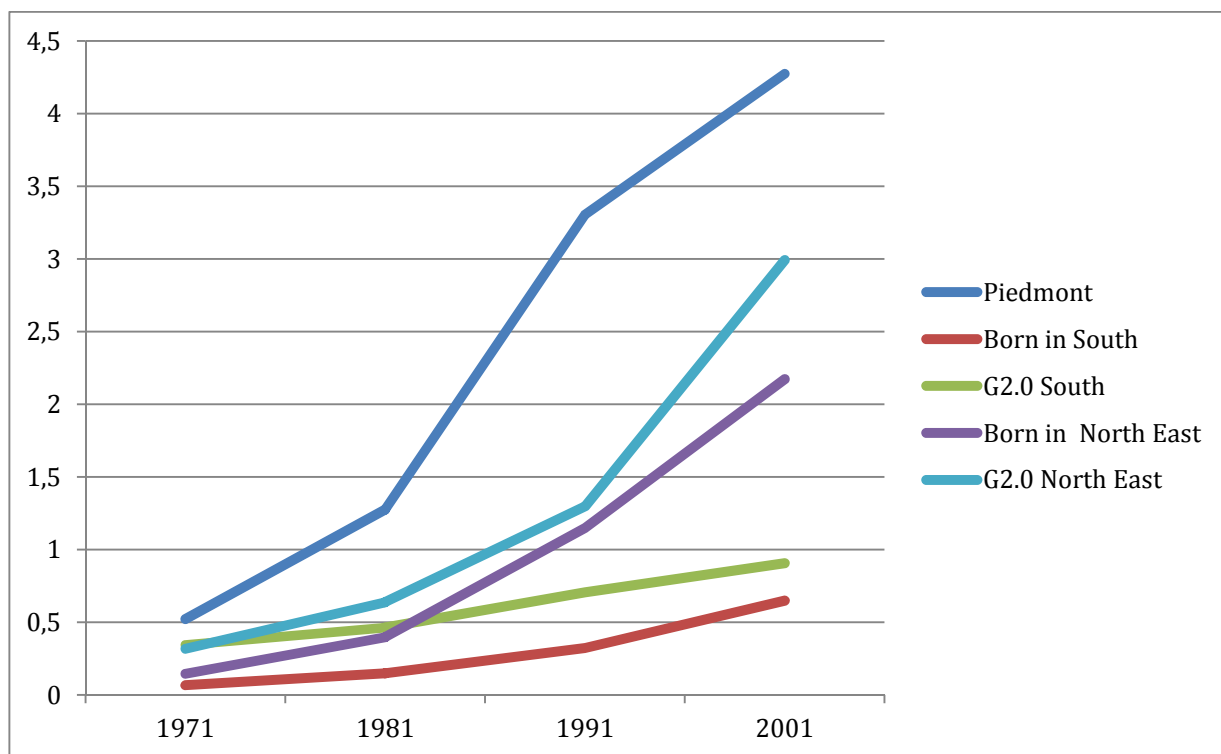
Previous research has shown that even several decades after the end of mass regional migration, the children of regional migrants are much more likely than children of locals to be in manual as against professional or managerial occupations. In Turin, at the beginning of the twenty-first century, the great majority of the Italian (i.e. non-foreign) working class was made up of the descendants of labour migrants from the South and elsewhere (Ceravolo, Eve, Meraviglia 2001). This research has identified educational attainment of children of Southern migrants – much lower than that of children of the local Piedmontese – as the crucial factor (though not the only one³) in creating occupational disadvantage (Ceravolo, Eve, Meraviglia 2001; Ceravolo 2002; Impicciatore and Dalla Zuanna 2006; Eve 2010). The current paper will confirm the existence of gaps in educational attainment net of parents' class position, mother's and father's education, and also number of siblings (this last variable is important because Southern families were much larger). It will also show how this disadvantage *changes* with time and between different groups of migrants. To analyse this specific phenomenon, we present data for the *children* of successive waves of migrants coming to Turin, comparing their educational attainment with that of the children of locals in order to show the long term effects of these regional migration waves. North Easterners are the 'oldest' wave for labour migrants to Turin in the 1950s in fact came mainly from certain provinces in North-East Italy (as well as from the Piedmont region surrounding Turin); whereas in the 1960s and '70s, the biggest flows from outside the region itself came from the South of Italy.

The gap in educational attainment of children of locals and of children of migrants from the North East and from the South is also illustrated diagrammatically in Figure 1 below which shows the odds of having a university degree or high school diploma as against lower high school or primary certificate. The upward slope of all the graphs is naturally influenced by the expansion of education, the lengthening of obligatory schooling and inflation of educational certificates, so all groups are naturally more educated in 2001 than at the earlier censuses. However it is equally clear that very substantial gaps still remained and that children of local Piedmontese were more able to take advantage of educational expansion among the thirty-year olds at various censuses considered in this paper.

² In many countries, of course, internal migrants may be undocumented – as is the case today for tens of millions of internal migrants in China today. Fascist Italy also attempted to control internal migration, with a law which was not repealed until 1961. However, since this law was virtually a dead letter after the war, it had no significant effects on post-war regional migrants.

³ Returns to education in terms of occupational status have also been lower for children of regional migrants in Turin – another feature which makes this case seem similar to that which is common among children of international migrants (cf. e.g. Heath and Cheung 2007). Using evidence from a survey carried out in Turin in 1999-2000, Eve (2010: 1240) found that "if we measure occupational position on a scale of occupational prestige (DESC, a widely-used Italian scale, with a range of scores in our case from 14.88 to 90.20), Piedmontese interviewees with a university degree score 6 points higher on average than graduate 'Southerners', while Piedmontese with a high school certificate score 7 points higher than Southern-origin interviewees with the same certificate". Reasoning in terms of classes rather than occupational prestige, the logistic regression carried out with these data (Ceravolo, Eve, Meraviglia 2001) found a small effect of migration status on class of destination but not one which reached statistical significance. However, the sample was relatively small (N = 992) and this effect of migration status independent of education might be worth investigating with larger data-sets.

Figure.1 Educational gap for individuals in each census (odds of having university degree/high school as against middle school/primary school)



As can be seen from Figure 1 above, our census data show educational disadvantage of the children of immigrants from the North-East, but less acute than that of children of migrants from the South. Differences in the educational and occupational attainment of children of immigrants from different origins are extremely frequent in data on migration. In the popular debate, these are sometimes attributed to cultural differences (e.g. a “Confucian ethic” imagined to explain the educational success of children of Asian families in the United States). However, apart from the differences in class background which may exist, there are also differences in migration trajectory. In our case, it may be relevant that the wave of migration from the North East started earlier and finished earlier than that from the South, allowing more time for "integration", acquiring ideas about what were attainable and profitable educational aspirations, what was a realistic strategy in the labour market, etc. Another factor may have been the different opportunities open to those arriving at a particular time: arriving in the 1950s as most of the parents of our "North East origin" children did, may have given them a longer period of activity in times of economic expansion, compared to the parents of our "South origin" children, who arrived somewhat later on average. The children of foreigners currently present in the SLT database (until the 2011 census results are incorporated) are very heterogeneous, for the censuses contain data on birthplace but not on citizenship. We have eliminated children of migrants born in Europe, the United States, etc. but the "second generation foreign" still include people with very different backgrounds. They include, for example, the children of parents born in Italian colonies like Ethiopia or Eritrea; but also children of Moroccan labour migrants coming to Italy in the 1980s or earlier; or very different international migrants such as children of bourgeois Iranian families who came to Italy as university students but did not return to Iran because of political unrest. Interpreting such heterogeneous data is obviously difficult and we certainly do not imagine this second generation in the SLT data as having the same backgrounds as the current second generation of foreign migrants in Italy today. We include it in some of our analyses nonetheless to stress our perspective which focuses on similarities between

some internal labour migrations and international labour migration. In fact, we believe it is interesting that there is educational disadvantage even net of the traditional background variables.

To investigate these patterns of regional and foreign migration we use ordinal multinomial logistic regressions (see table 1 in the appendix), using SLT data from the 1971-2001 censuses. To avoid overlapping, we analysed only those who, at the time of each census, were aged between 31 and 40 (so men and women who had presumably finished their education) (around 120,000 subjects in each census). Alongside the children of local Piedmontese, we have children of regional and international migration waves. These latter subjects are "second generation", either in the sense of being people born in Turin from parents born in another region or abroad or in the sense of being people who arrived in Turin with their parents before the age of twelve. As will be seen below, the regression models distinguish between these two groups – what Rumbaut would call 2.0 generation on the one hand and 1.75 and 1.5 generation on the other. In all the models, the dependent variable is educational attainment of the subject (primary/lower high school certificate/high school diploma/university degree). As independent variables we include several predictors: the sex of the respondent, the educational qualification of his/her father and mother, social class of origin (based on "highest" occupation of father or mother), number of siblings present in the family and the geographical "origins" of the subject, based on birthplace of parents. The reference category for this latter variable are the children of parents who were born locally, in Turin or the surrounding region of Piedmont; the others are children of parents taking part in one of the various migration waves to Turin. (So the variable has four categories: people born in Turin or in Piedmont from parents born in Turin or Piedmont (reference category); the children of migrants from the north-east of Italy; children of migrants from the South of Italy; the children of parents born abroad). It is important to understand, therefore, that our subjects are defined in terms of the birthplace of their parents. So a child of parents born in the South of Italy, for example, may be either second generation in the strict sense – born in Turin – or may have been born in the South and have moved as a child with their parents.

Models (see appendix) show some predictable and well-known effects, consistent with what is generally known in the literature on educational attainment. The effects of family background of course remain clearly, although they are naturally less strong than in the omitted model which does not include geographical origin. Mother's education and father's education can be seen to have separate effects, as does class. With regard to gender, as expected, the disadvantage of women decreases steadily and then turns into an advantage (by 2001 women in this age-group are more likely to have a medium-high education).

But we would like to focus on the migration dimension. In our models (see appendix) we show the effect of geographical origin, net of all the other predictors included in the model. It can be seen that the geographical origin variable (based on where parents were born) has a considerable effect on educational attainment net of the conventional family background variables. It is clear that there is disadvantage for the various "second generations" of regional and international migrations present in the data base. With regard to children of regional migrants, the effect of geographical dimension is comparable in size to that of the more conventional family background variables. It can also be seen that disadvantage changes over time, for both children of migrants from the North East of Italy and from the South.

It seems clear that in the Turin case (unlike some others documented in the literature), arriving as a child is associated with more educational disadvantage than being born in the place of immigration. Reading the parameters of the interaction between the "geographical origin" and migration generation (2.0 generation vs. 1.75/1.5 generation) in Table 1 (extracted from the complete regression models reported in the appendix) it is clear that there is a significant disadvantage for the 1.5 generation compared to those of 2.0 generation. The amount of disadvantage for the children of migrants from the North East seems to decline dramatically over time and particular from 1981 to 1991. The same tendency, starting from a higher level of

disadvantage, exists for the children of migrants from the South, but the reduction of the inequalities is more recent (after 1991).

Tab.1 Interaction parameter "Geographical origin" with generation of migration (ref: Piedmontese) β parameters and sig. level (complete table in appendix)

1.5 GEN North-East	0.05*	-0.57	-0.28*	-0.06
2.0 GEN North-East	-0.70*	-0.09	0.04	0.13
1.5 GEN South	-0.08*	-1.36**	-1.12**	-0.63**
2.0 GEN South	-1.25**	-0.38*	-0.24*	-0.16*
1.5 GEN Foreign	-0.45**	-1.21**	-1.23**	-1.13**
2.0 GEN Foreign			-1.06**	0.94*

* $p \geq 0.05$

** $p \geq 0.01$

We are not, of course, suggesting any kind of automatic effect of time, with all groups moving smoothly towards greater "integration": the thousands of pages written against this kind of simplistic, straight-line perspective (in reality, not even held without reserve by classical theorists such as Park and Thomas) have clearly established its inadequacy. We are simply stressing what remains an important point, that temporal patterns exist, and require explanation.

3. "Cultural" differences vs. networks as explanation of disadvantage

But if the Turin evidence is to be seen as a "challenge" to theories about the social integration and school success of children of migrants. and of more than local interest, we also need to say something about another possible interpretation of the disadvantage which emerges in the figures. In fact it might be imagined that in a country like Italy, well-known for its regional divisions, regional migration was not entirely different from international migration. Deep regional divisions, and especially the North-South divide, are one of the features which form part of the stock of common knowledge about Italy abroad (a salience no doubt increased by the political prominence of the Northern League and its rhetoric of secession). It might be thought, therefore, that it was not so surprising that children of southern migrants should suffer educational or occupational disadvantages, being simply children of migrants from another backward region. So one might imagine Southern migrants in the 1960s and '70s as having been profoundly different from local Piedmontese, and hence conclude that it was cultural difference which explained the lesser success of Southern children in schools, coming from "peasant" families little adapted to urban ways, little interested in education. In addition, we might imagine cultural difference as being associated with prejudices and discrimination of local Piedmontese towards Southern families, placing children of the latter in the position of a stigmatized minority, perhaps leading to lower aspirations⁴.

⁴ It has to be said that the effects of imagining that one may be a victim of discrimination in the job market seem to vary. Sue and Okazaki (1990), among others, argue that Asian parents and young people are spurred on by imagining that they may be victims of discrimination, reasoning that Asians have to "prove themselves" more than white Americans – and on the basis of this idea, study harder, try harder, etc. Other scholars, writing about groups who do poorly, argue that the young people in question tend to feel the struggle against discrimination is useless, and feeling that nothing they can do will make a difference to their future status tend to give up – so, for example, put in little effort to their school work (among the many who take this line, John Ogbu's work has been influential: Ogbu 1974, Gibson and Ogbu 1991). One suspects there may be an ad hoc element in these explanations, adjusting to the actual performance of the group in question.

Given the prominence in the debate around international migration and ethnic disadvantage of this kind of perspective which puts cultural difference, and the reactions of locals to perceived cultural difference, as the central issue in the definition of what characterizes children of immigrants sociologically (Eve 2013), it is therefore worth pointing out that the evidence for profound cultural differences as explaining the Turin stratification pattern does not seem strong. For example, it would be wrong to think of migrants from the South (the parents of the second generation we focus on) as coming from deep rural backgrounds. Olagnero (1985) gives data from the Turin population register, which gives the percentage of Piedmontese and of Southerners coming to the city from “non-urban” *comuni* (the Italian national statistical agency ISTAT defines non-urban as less than 20 000 inhabitants). Among the persons present in the city in 1979, 75.0% of the Piedmontese had moved from a "non-urban" *comune* (municipality), as against 56.5% of Southerners. These population registry figures are for people who had moved at some point in their lives (so were not born in Turin itself), but it is fairly clear that Southerners in Turin were not more likely to be rural than the Piedmontese. And Piedmontese migrating to Turin seem more likely than Southerners to have a rural background – and yet their children are not educationally disadvantaged⁵.

But nor should we imagine Piedmontese families and Southern (or North-Eastern) families as being worlds apart in terms of the schooling of parents. Overall, the level of education of Piedmontese working-class parents was not very different from that of Southern working-class parents (or working class parents of our North East origin subjects) – the vast majority in all groups had only a very low level of education (Ramella 2003). This is clear from Table 2, which shows the enormous prevalence of low education among fathers, especially at the 1971 and 1981 census. The only group which is a partial exception is the group “Turin”, i.e. fathers who were themselves born in Turin, and whose children were born in Turin. Table 2 splits the fathers by our “regional origin” category children of children. So, for example, the line “Born in South (1971 cens) means the fathers of our subjects who were born in the South and moved to Turin before the age of 12. However, the table splits the Piedmontese parents into those who were themselves born in Turin and those who were born in the surrounding region. Various analyses of SLT data we carried out (not shown) bring out no educational disadvantage of the children of Piedmontese migrants to Turin. So even though Piedmontese-origin children may have had parents with little education, in manual jobs, coming from rural towns or villages, they were not disadvantaged above and beyond what one would expect as a result of class and parental education. Whereas children of Southerners are.

Tab.2 The education of the *fathers* of our subjects-classified-by-regional-origins at the various census dates

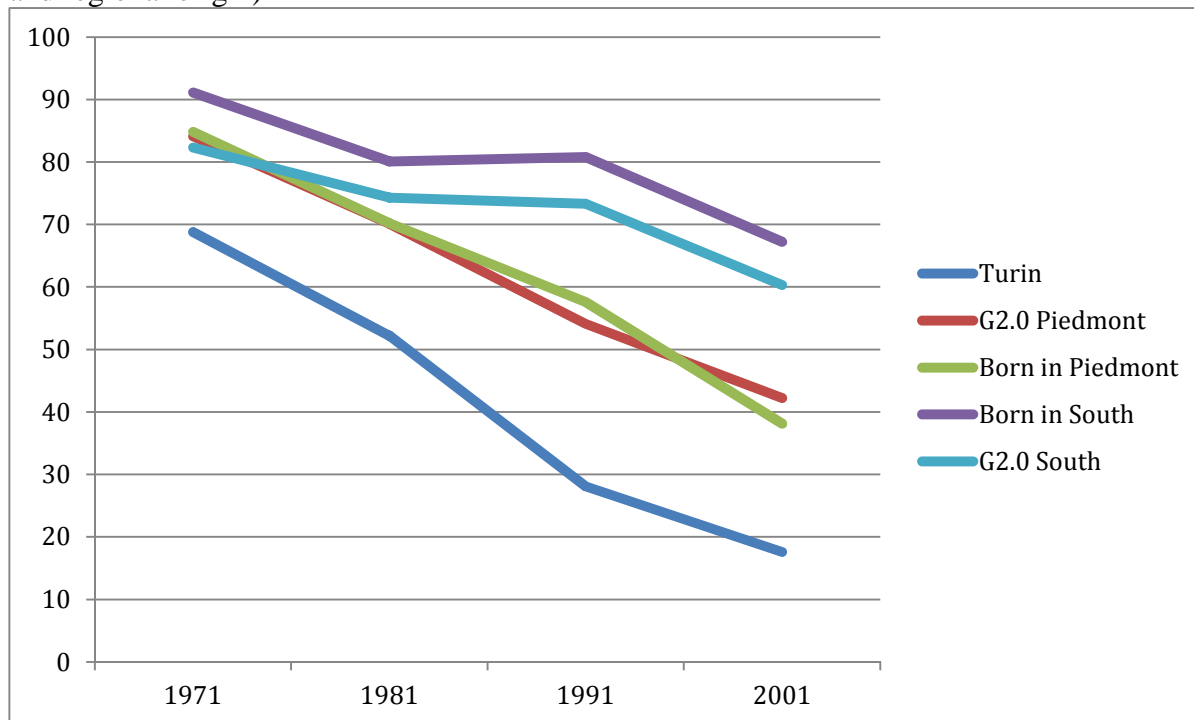
		Degree	High school	Middle school	Primary school
Fathers of:	census				
Turin	1971	6,7	9,2	15,3	68,8
Turin	1981	8,3	15,5	31,3	52,2
Turin	1991	14,2	23,8	34,1	28,1
Turin	2001	17,3	32,6	32,5	17,6
Born in Piedmont	1971	2,5	4,7	8,6	84,1
Born in Piedmont	1981	4,1	10,5	15,3	70,2

⁵ In fact logistic regressions (not shown) which separate “Piedmontese-origin” into those whose parents were born in Turin and those whose parents were born in the rest of Piedmont shows no disadvantage for the latter. The population registry data we cite record the *comune* where a person moved from. This means that some people recorded as coming from an urban area like (for instance) Naples may at an earlier point in their lives have moved from a village to Naples. However, data based on place of birth give similar results.

Born in Piedmont	1991	13,8	13,9	18,2	54,1
Born in Piedmont	2001	18,2	24,4	21,3	33,2
G2.0 Piedmont	1971	2,9	5,1	8,4	84,8
G2.0 Piedmont	1981	3,3	8,3	16,8	70,1
G2.0 Piedmont	1991	6,6	12,3	23,5	57,6
G2.0 Piedmont	2001	10,3	19,7	26,8	42,1
Born in North East	1971	3,5	5,5	11,9	79,1
Born in North East	1981	3,3	6,3	16,7	77,1
Born in North East	1991	8,9	16,1	21,1	57,1
Born in North East	2001	11,7	14,7	37,2	36,1
G2.0 North East	1971	5,5	6,4	15,8	72,3
G2.0 North East	1981	3,5	7,4	19	70,1
G2.0 North East	1991	9,5	16,4	28,8	46,1
G2.0 North East	2001	13,2	16,1	35,8	34,9
Born in South	1971	1,6	3,8	4,1	91,1
Born in South	1981	1,6	3,1	15,1	80,1
Born in South	1991	1,9	5,8	11,5	80,8
Born in South	2001	4,7	9,9	18,3	67,2
G2.0 South	1971	3,6	4,8	9,3	82,3
G2.0 South	1981	3,6	6,1	16,1	74,3
G2.0 South	1991	3,1	7,1	16,7	73,3
G2.0 South	2001	7,1	11,3	22,1	60,3

In the logistic regression discussed above we of course control for the educational certificate of the father and the mother. The reason for presenting Table 2 is therefore because it shows differences not at an individual but at a group level. As *individuals*, local migrants from the Piedmontese countryside were not dissimilar to migrants from the South or North East, but the Piedmontese taken as a whole – i.e., including the Turinese - contained a significant minority of more educated families. In the 1971 census, 14% of Piedmontese in the 26-50 age band (all classes considered together) had a high school or university certificate, as against 7% of Southerners, and in 1981 the equivalent percentages were 26% and 11%. Figure 2 below - based on the data in Table 1 – illustrates graphically the higher percentage of persons with some education among the Piedmontese considered as a category. Now we know from qualitative interviews in the *Secondgen* research that migrants moving from the Piedmontese countryside usually had relatives in Turin – and furthermore some of these relatives or acquaintances had some education or worked in non-manual jobs. In other words, local migrants coming from the region tended to move into a network which was quite heterogeneous socially. By contrast, qualitative interviews from a number of sources show that Southern migrants tended to have networks which were very homogeneous in terms of class, occupation and education (Ramella 2003; Badino 2008).

Figure 2 Fathers' education condition in each census wave (% with only primary school by census and regional origin)



A small minority of educated Southern migrants did exist, of course. But they tended to come to Turin by institutional migration channels quite separate from those of the chain migration which guided most working class migrants (we may think, for example, of those transferred to Turin as functionaries, teachers, etc.); so precisely because of their migration trajectory they may have had few contacts with working-class migrants from the South. In contrast, our qualitative interviews suggest there were more ties between Piedmontese of different social classes, because of links of kinship and locality. It seems possible that the difference in social networks of Southerners and Piedmontese, even among those of the working class, may have influenced the information families had about how worthwhile it was to continue education, what school track was advisable, their notions of what was a desirable job, and what was realistically conceivable.

Network information is notoriously difficult to obtain from sources like censuses, which are based on individuals and households. However, in combination with the indications from in-depth interviews, data on residence is useful. We know from our qualitative interviews with children of regional migrants, and from general studies of where friendships are formed at various ages, that the neighbourhood was important for many young people: courtyards, local street corners, patches of open space in front of one's block of flats, little parks (*giardini*) where football is played – all these may be significant at various ages (even more so for boys than for girls). Local bars and clubs may be important ambiances where many young people form relationships, creating together notions of what future opportunities consist of. Schools are also, of course, very important ambiances where aspirations are shaped – and, at the time when the subjects in our census data were growing up, the primary school and the junior high school attended was rather strictly linked to residence. It is for these reasons that we believe that the differences shown in section 5 concerning the areas in the city where Southerners and Piedmontese (even if manual workers) lived are significant. More in general, we believe this has implications for how migration can create disadvantage. But first we present some information from qualitative interviews – with children of foreign migrants in the *more recent* labour migration to Italy and with children of the past regional migration, to illustrate similarities in the social mechanisms in play. It is striking in fact – notwithstanding the great

differences in historical period and in legal status - how many themes are recurrent in the accounts of children of migrants.

4. Some similarities in the problems faced by migrant families in the past and today

For example, the qualitative interviews undertaken in the *Secondgen* project illustrate the importance of neighbourhoods and schools where young people grew up and, more in general, of interviewees' social ambiances, in shaping and defining the social trajectories both of children of regional migrants of the past and children of foreign migrants more recently. We believe the interviews confirm that the structural characteristics of the ambiances children grew up in and created, the "situation" families found themselves in, and the resources they had access to shaped the lives of migrants and their children more than their nation or region of origin **per se**. In the case of both regional migrant families and those of the more recent international migration, public housing – in Turin as elsewhere – has an important place. Before acceding to public housing, or finding a more satisfactory solution in the private market, however, migrants often go through a number of precarious situations – and this makes up part of the housing experience of many of their children (Daminato and Kulic 2013). In addition, the search for better accommodation often made it necessary to move several times – changing flat, neighbourhood, municipality. Even when they involve only short distances in kilometres, such moves may have significant consequences, for they may mean change of school and almost always have some effect on the social network and the organization of domestic life. Many children of foreign immigrants interviewed for the research lived – at least in the first years after their arrival in Italy – in very small flats or in very provisional arrangements obtained through the parish, acquaintances, relatives or an employer. Sometimes, as Vasile recounts, this means the members of the family were separated: *she [his mother] worked there and they gave her accommodation. She told her employers "Look, my son wants to come and continue school here, would it be possible for him to sleep here?" They said yes and so I slept with her for a while. Where did your father live? My father – by word of mouth again – had found someone who could put him up. So at the beginning you were separated? Yes, I shuttled back and forth between my mother's and my father's place....then we decided to rent a flat and we all came here. As in Safy's case, many families moved frequently. We went to live in Piazza Sabotino, in via ...; then we went to a place in Corso Einaudi, we stayed there three years and then we moved to Orbassano. In Safy's case these moves involved changes of school. I went to quite a lot of different schools. From the first to the fourth class.... Then from the fifth class of primary school up to the second class of middle school I was at La Crocetta, then from the third year of middle school at Orbassano [where he left school after failing end of year exams for the fourth time]. La Crocetta where we were... we're not rich but my father got a flat through the nuns... the building belonged to them, we had our flat in that building, so we didn't pay that much... But then we needed a slightly bigger flat because there are seven of us in our family and at that time my mother was pregnant with my brother, and so we went to live at Orbassano, where my mother gave birth to my little sister.*

The description of Safy and those of other foreign-origin interviewees are paralleled by that of Domenico, a factory worker and son of Sicilian immigrants to Turin in the 1960s. The first member of the family to leave Sicily was Domenico's father who came up to the city with one of his sons, and stayed with brothers who already lived in Turin. Domenico's mother came up when they found a flat, but after a year put Domenico, who was four or five at the time, and his sister in a boarding school in Sicily. *I was in Turin, I was very small. I was about four and here too it was very difficult for my mother to find a job. So it was easier for her to put us into a boarding school and keep the older ones, who could work.* The absence of a support network – a consequence of migration - made managing the family very difficult – especially in this case because Domenico's father in the meantime had moved to Germany, and returned only *every seven or eight months*. Domenico's

experience of migration to Turin was marked by numerous moves. *It was one move after another; I remember so many flats! At that time, my mother couldn't resign herself to any of them, perhaps because they were all small flats – just one room and a kitchen, or two rooms and kitchen, until finally we found somewhere with three rooms. Yes, there were lots of us. This residential instability had consequences on schooling. Yes, we lost school years. My older sisters lost school years too. I remember one of them was at middle school and she was failed. My youngest sister left school too because she had to give my mother at home because my mother was on her own. Everything was so precarious, such a terrible shambles. For us kids it was fun because anyway with all of us brothers and sisters we had fun amongst ourselves!*

When money was a bit less tight⁶, the moves stopped and the younger children managed to continue their schooling, unlike Domenico who failed a year and had to repeat the last year of primary school, and then left school at the end of middle school (in the same way as Safy left his secondary school, without any diploma). *Afterwards there was a bit more money at home, as my mother had a regular job; and there was this flat which gave us some security, we didn't have any more moving around.... That was a nice change. And in fact my brothers and sisters went on with their studies. My brother two years younger than me, he went on to get a diploma as a dental assistant, even though now he works as an electrician. But he managed to get his high school diploma anyway... And the younger ones almost all got through high school, after me they all got their diploma, fortunately.*

In our interviews housing careers of this kind are common and seem characteristic of both regional migrants of the past and more recent international migrants. As we have argued, they are related to social networks, work situation, position in the labour market and social ambiances formed via migration and characteristic of labour migrants. And all this has effects also on children of migration. Especially in the “directionless” educational careers which emerge from the interviews, one can see how these aspects of the migration process intertwine and affect the schools children attend, the neighbourhoods they grow up in, the social ambiances which make up their social world. It is in this sense – and not only the presence and interaction of different cultural identities or traditions – which we hypothesize a specificity of the migration situation. As we have argued elsewhere in an analysis of how foreign families make educational choices (Perino and Allasino 2013), choice of school and of school track is often conditioned by factors which are characteristic of migrant families – lack of information, “word of mouth” information from other migrants or from Italians who are not well-informed about local schools and about the educational system, misunderstanding of the content of a particular course, incomplete awareness of the long-term consequences of choosing one track rather than another, etc. As a result, families and students may end up choosing the school nearest to home, that where a brother or sister has gone choose to, or simply by chance. At the same time, schools may trim down pupils aspirations, discouraging more ambitious choices (Romito 2014). Some of our interviewees ended up in schools with problems, and in these ambiances formed attitudes in which study took second place to friendships and activities in parks and on street corners. As Alexandru describes, *I could see that no-one around me was really committed to studying. Only one or two wanted to. Then it's the majority which gets the upper hand: one person doesn't do anything, then another, and in the end you let yourself get involved. I gave in, I went a bit too far and in the end they failed me [...] In that class 70% of us failed the end of year exam, 14 out of 21.*

At the same time, the home may not provide conditions for study: *When I study I study at school, during lessons sometimes I do homework ... the most difficult thing is technical drawing, you need a table, and the table at home is often taken up by my brother or my cousin. “Move over!”, “Wait a minute”, “Go on!” “I'm just finishing” ... I don't know if there's anywhere near here where you can study ... maybe at the library, but I don't go there because I get bored, and I*

⁶ Domenico's mother managed to find a job in a typical “immigrant's job”, as an attendant to patients in hospital.

can't do drawings there, and in other places I don't go because honestly I feel ashamed: [I feel people think] Don't you have a home to go to? The words of this young Moroccan recall those of Saverio, whose family came to Turin in the mass wave of regional migration who also remembers family tensions created by overcrowded flats. *Mum was there but she was always at work, she had five or six children, the older ones looked after the younger ones, when the mother arrived in the evening it was slaps all round because in a flat of one bedroom and kitchen you were bound to have made a hell of a mess. So a twelve year-old or fifteen-year-old would decide: I'm going out, I'm going to the park.*

Again, it is striking that – notwithstanding the enormous changes which have taken place in the educational system, in policies and the place of education in the lives of young people (and in urban structure of the city) – that common features emerge in the experience of migrant families, creating difficulties and inequalities which are in many ways comparable in different migration waves.

5. Migrants and the city: where and why?

These brief glimpses of some aspects of the experience of labour migration – whether regional or international – illustrate the idea that migration has systematic structural effects on the lives of families, and so also on the second generation. Specific features in the settlement patterns characteristic of migrants also come out of the Turin Longitudinal Study. As the maps presented show (divided by census tracts), the settlement patterns of local Piedmontese and migrant Southerners were distinctive.

The geographical distribution of Southerners is fairly typical of many labour migration waves (Figure 3 and 4). A little-noted feature of migration is that it often involves several changes of address in the urban structure (changes which may have effects, e.g. on schooling. At the 1971 census we see a concentration in what at the time was a very run-down city centre, a typical first-approach area of cheap accommodation for labour migrants. Then in subsequent years, often after several moves, we see Southerners tending to live in neighbourhoods where flats were better and less overcrowded than in the run-down centre, but neighbourhoods which were heavily working-class (especially in the North of the city, but also near the Fiat factory at Mirafiori Sud). As the darker orange and red areas on the map show, it is also notable that many Southerners live in census tracts where the great majority of inhabitants are Southerners. Although Turin, like other European cities, has never had anything approaching the levels of segregation of American cities, the distribution is distinctive. In fact the distribution of the Piedmontese is more evenly spread throughout the city⁷. Since the Piedmontese include more non-manual workers and professionals, they are more often in the more expensive areas, for example to the East of the city. But even Piedmontese manual workers seem to be more smoothly spread over the city's territory than Southern manual workers.

⁷ The patterns shown in Figures 3 and 4 do not depend solely on the absolute numbers of Southern and Piedmontese workers. Maps constructed on the basis of standard deviation from the mean of the regional-origin population in a given census tract show similar patterns.

Figure 3. Distribution within Turin of workers born in Piedmont (left) and workers born in the South (right). (% of population within each census section **1971**)

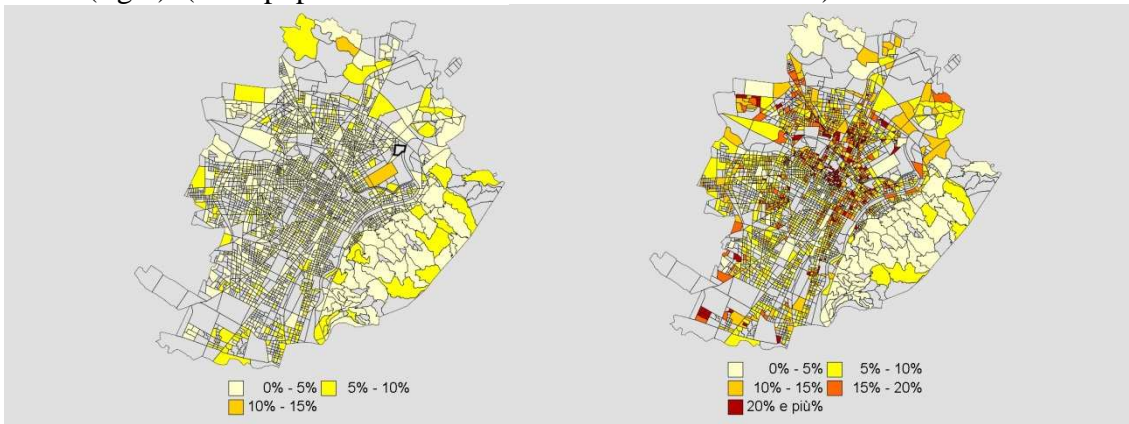
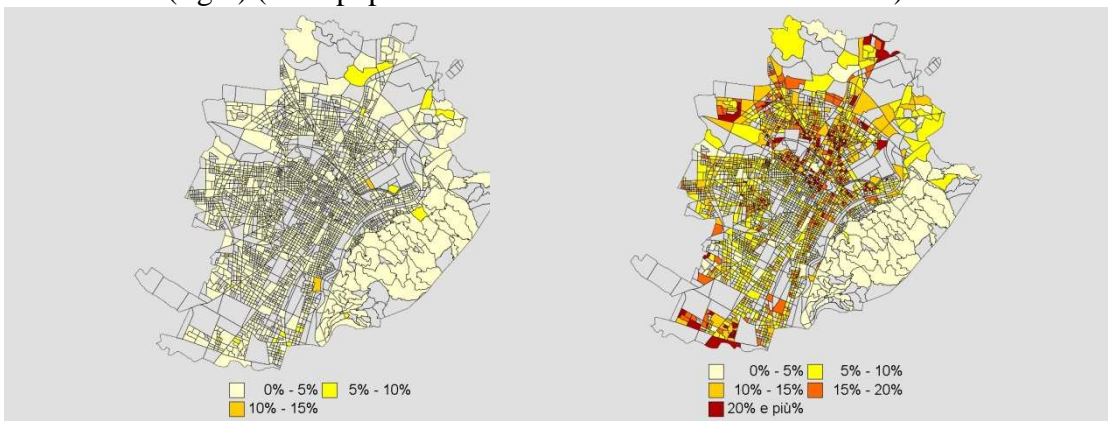


Figure 4. Distribution within the city of Turin of workers born in Piedmont (left) and workers born in the South (right) (% of population within each census section **1981**)



Data on geographical residence are certainly no substitute for data on networks⁸, which certainly were not confined to the neighbourhood, either for young people growing up or for their parents. Nonetheless, they are indicative of patterns which may have been important.

⁸ The difficulties of demonstrating neighbourhood effects are well-known. Even in cities in the United States, with their notoriously segregated residential patterns, effects of neighbourhood net of other factors have not always been easy to demonstrate. And Turin, like most European cities, has always had patterns of residence which, while containing socially distinctive areas evident to all, rarely include very rigid levels of segregation. Examination of individual questionnaires from the 1971 census shows that even streets with a reputation for being uniformly working-class in reality contained substantial numbers of middle-class families. A common pattern in the streets examined was that of social homogeneity in single condominiums (e.g. all families of non-manual workers, or all manual workers, perhaps immigrants) accompanied by considerable heterogeneity in the street (a respectable condominium being just one or two numbers away from a very run-down building). In other words, even a small unit like the census tract or the street is not small enough to capture the segregation which may exist at the level of the building or even the staircase. In addition, of course, mere physical contiguity as neighbours does not necessarily imply social contacts (qualitative interviews in fact often mention parents forbidding their children from playing with the children of local families, considered insufficiently respectable).

Another feature which distinguishes Southern and Piedmontese families is public housing. The former were much more likely to live in public housing (a result of the fact that they were more likely to meet the access criteria set by the local housing authority, such as living in overcrowded accommodation, low income, etc.). Data of the Turin public housing authority show that the overwhelming majority of families in public housing had a migrant background of some kind (regional migrants, foreign migrants, second generation)⁹.

We have expressed scepticism regarding the idea that the disadvantage of regional migrants can be explained in terms of the "cultural baggage" they brought with them, seen as characteristic of "more backward" regions. We do not know whether Southern families, for example, were less oriented to education than Piedmontese families. But if they were, we suggest that it might be better to look more closely at the situation of migrant families *in Turin* (rather than assuming that it is a product of their "origin" and of "cultural baggage" particular to the social ambience of "origin"). That is to say, we suggest more attention needs to be focused on the social ambiances in which children and young people grew up, at the kinds of networks families maintained and the kind of information this gave them access to.

No doubt Southern families were different culturally from local Piedmontese families on a series of dimensions they "brought with them" (from food preferences to models of the ideal family); the point is whether such differences are of significance for explaining specific matters of sociological significance such as school attainment or intergenerational class mobility. The literature on the integration or occupational and educational trajectories of children of migrants sometimes identifies "culture" too hastily with geographical "origin" (Eve 2013), whereas it may be more fruitful to think of the ideas, values, aspirations generated in a particular ambience in the place of immigration – i.e., the ambiances in which people actually work and live, where their children grow up. It is in this spirit that we offer information about where families lived. In the current debate, we argue, descriptions of the social situation of migrant families in the place of migration are insufficiently developed; and this leaves readers to assume that any specificity (for example, educational disadvantage) is to be attributed to being a foreigner rather than to the specific social relations associated with migration itself. Yet the housing histories, like the employment histories, of migrants are very specific (even at the same class level).

6. Conclusion

Traditionally, studies of migrants and their children have seen their specificity as that of a "people" or of an ethnic group or category, and have seen the social inequalities often associated with migration as deriving from the difficulties of mingling of different statuses. However, in this paper we have tried to show that "structural" (rather than cultural) factors linked to the migration process itself also systematically shape the ambience in which migrants' children grow up and the opportunities open to them. And if we wish to understand why ethnic boundaries sometimes are sharp, sometimes blurred, we need to understand these. To illustrate our thesis that migration processes have major effects we have used data from the Turin Longitudinal Study (SLT) and from qualitative interviews from the *Secondgen* research project. The SLT data show systematic educational disadvantage of children of migrants arriving in Turin in different migration waves, and show the way these patterns have changed over time. Some aspects seem very similar for regional migration from North-East and South Italy and for migration from abroad, which seems to support the idea of structural inequalities (independent of class) linked to migration. And we have argued that this disadvantage cannot be reduced to cultural differences (for the individual family background of Piedmontese was not very different). The parallels between the words of children of regional migrants of the past and children of international migration today illustrate some of the social mechanisms in play.

⁹ Public housing in Turin – but, we believe, also elsewhere – seems always to have been used primarily for migrants of one kind or another.

Of course, we have only had space to illustrate a few of the specificities associated with migration. For example, we have not gone into the differences in the age profiles which often exist between locals and migrants. It is a well-established regularity in research on internal and international migration that migrants are more likely to be young adults. This prevalence of young adults also means that, at a certain point in the migration cycle there tends to be a “boom” in numbers of births and numbers of children arriving by family reunion. This in turn may create differences in the age profile of locals and immigrant families. As is illustrated by our interviews, some local conflicts – for example, over the use of public space - seem to be associated with age differences, even while being conceived by actors themselves in ethnic terms. Another factor we have not had the space to go into concerns the effects of time on the development of social networks and flows of information. We believe that this aspect, too – a regular feature of migration itself – may have effects on social trajectories. But however partial our coverage has been, we hope we have said enough to illustrate our approach.

Detailed exploration of what “the migration process” consists of has been neglected in a field dominated by ethnic perspectives. However, we argue that understanding how migration intertwines with the local pattern of social stratification cannot ignore the regular effects of migration we have referred to. This means classifying people not only in terms of their geographical “origins” but also in terms of their migration trajectory. Hence collecting information – both quantitative and qualitative – necessary to explore “migration processes” of the kind mentioned.

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Tab. 1 Parameter estimates of probability of educational attainment: ordinal multinomial logistic regression models for censuses 1981-2001

Predictors		1971	1981	1991	2001
		β	B	β	β
Intercept	Degree	-1.09	-0.48	0.20	0.63
	High school	-0.19	0.44	0.98	1.46
	Middle school	0.21	0.58	0.92	1.50
Sex (ref: male)	Female	-0.76**	-0.56**	-0.19*	0.25**
Number of siblings		-0.68*	-0.60*	-0.72*	-0.63*
Education father (ref:primary school)	Degree	1.13*	1.31**	0.93*	0.94**
	High school	1.08**	1.10**	0.98*	0.88*
	Middle school	0.59**	0.89**	0.85**	0.67*
Education mother (ref:primary school)	Degree	0.90*	0.75*	0.63	0.62*
	High school	1.06*	1.05**	0.94*	1.03**
	Middle school	0.92*	0.82*	0.76*	0.55*
Class of origin (ref:lower class)	Higher classes	1.57**	1.59**	1.09*	1.05**
	Middle classes	1.03*	1.11**	1.03**	1.05**
"Geographical origin" (ref: piedmontese)	North-East	-0.05	-0.33*	-0.04	0.10
	South	-0.12	-0.62*	-0.92*	-0.59**
	Foreign			-0.91*	-0.65*
Intereaction parameter "Geographical origin" with generation of migration (ref: Piedmontese)	GEN 1.5 North-East	0.05*	-0.57	-0.28*	-0.06
	GEN 2.0 North-East	-0.70*	-0.09	0.04	0.13
	GEN 1.5 South	-0.08*	-1.36**	-1.12**	-0.63**
	GEN 2.0 South	-1.25**	-0.38*	-0.24*	-0.16*
	GEN 1.5 Foreign	-0.45**	-1.21**	-1.23**	-1.13**
	GEN 2.0 Foreign			-1.06**	0.94*

* $p \geq 0.05$

** $p \geq 0.01$

