

Social Relations of Foreign Immigrants in Rome

Le Relazioni Sociali degli Immigrati Stranieri a Roma

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Riassunto: Dall'analisi condotta sui dati raccolti attraverso un'indagine campionaria svolta a Roma nel 2001 emerge l'importanza della "cittadinanza" come variabile in grado di discriminare tra i diversi modelli di comportamento relazionale degli immigrati stranieri; la comunità alla quale si appartiene sembra contare più delle caratteristiche individuali. Si mette, inoltre, in luce che ad una molteplicità di modelli migratori corrisponde una molteplicità di modelli relazionali. Si ribadisce ancora una volta, quindi, che non è possibile parlare di "immigrazione" come di una realtà monolitica, ma è necessario considerare con attenzione le peculiarità che caratterizzano le diverse collettività e che danno vita a bisogni e richieste assai diversificate.

Keywords: Immigration, Social relations

1. Introduction

Special surveys are an essential instrument for analysing in depth the integration processes of immigrants in the host society. In this paper are commented the information collected through a research conducted in Rome. The survey - on the integration of Filipinos, Moroccans, Peruvians and Romanians immigrants - was carried out in autumn 2001. About 300 foreigners for each nationality were interviewed. The structured questionnaire enabled us to collect data referred to many different aspects of everyday life of immigrants in Rome.

The analysis focuses on the social relations of the interviewed immigrants. The paper explores the possibility of the existence of different relations patterns corresponding to the several nationalities interviewed [Conti, forthcoming].

2. "Citizenship" and relations: the logistic model

Many studies carried out about the insertion of immigrants in the labour market have emphasized the existence of typical migratory models for the different ethnic communities. The migratory model is the outcome of the migratory project (expectations, programs, purposes of the immigrants) and of the impact with the real social and economic situation in the host country (considering the implemented migratory policies) [Pugliese, 1996, p. 957].

To different migratory models correspond specific patterns of insertion in the labour market. The hypothesis explored in this paper is that to the peculiar migratory models correspond also specific relations patterns. The application of a logistic model to the data collected through the survey realized in Rome seems to confirm the hypothesis that the community of belonging play a basic role in shaping the relation life of the

immigrants [Hosmer & Lemeshow, 1989]. The aim of the analysis is to isolate the links between some characteristics of the migrants (and of the migration) and the relation behaviours.

The logistic model proposed in the paper considers as dependent variable the response (I do/I do not) to the question: “outside work do you spend time with Italians?” (Tab.1). The characteristics considered as predictor variables are: gender, age, duration of stay, typology of migratory project, legal status, work condition, type of housing and familiar situation. In addition it has been considered the variable “citizenship” as proxy of the whole migratory model¹. Among the selected predictor variables gender, age and duration of stay have not been included in the model as not significant. The Wald test shows that the citizenship could be considered a basic characteristic in order to understand and to classify the foreign immigrants behaviours regarding the relations with the Italians.

Table 1: Results of the logistic regression applied to the dichotomised response variable (I do/I do not) to the question: “Outside work do you spend time with Italians?”

Predictors	Reference modalities	B	Wald	Sig.	Exp(B)
Country of citizenship	<i>Romania</i>		45,534	0,000	
Philippines		-1,352	32,745	0,000	0,259
Morocco		0,092	0,192	0,662	1,096
Peru		-0,551	7,426	0,006	0,576
Work condition	<i>Not employed</i>		18,536	0,002	
Construction		-0,118	0,186	0,666	0,889
Commerce		0,349	1,916	0,166	1,418
Services to families		-0,342	2,291	0,130	0,711
Other services		0,446	3,808	0,051	1,562
Other		-0,095	0,110	0,740	0,909
Legal status	<i>Legal and resident</i>		17,112	0,000	
Legal but not resident		-0,410	2,411	0,120	0,663
Illegal		-0,676	16,886	0,000	0,509
Type of housing	<i>House as owner or renter</i>		12,310	0,002	
At workplace		-0,316	2,321	0,128	0,729
Provisional accommodations		-0,664	10,640	0,001	0,515
Type of migratory project	<i>Definitive immigration in Italy</i>		11,081	0,004	
Temporary migratory project		-0,372	3,709	0,054	0,689
Not decided		-0,531	11,068	0,001	0,588
Family situation	<i>Spouse in Italy</i>		9,531	0,009	
Spouse abroad		-0,636	6,744	0,009	0,529
Unmarried		0,033	0,041	0,839	1,033
Constant		0,626	4,685	0,030	1,869

If we observe the B value and the EXp(B) it seems that respect to the other communities the Filipinos, *ceteris paribus*, have a lower probability to have relations with the Italians. Considering the other predictors it seems that the uncertainty of the migratory project is linked to a minor attitude to interact with the Italians. In general, within the

¹ For the analysis it has been used SPSS 11.5. It has been chosen a simple-variable coding scheme for the categorical variables. It has been carried out a forward stepwise selection.

same national community, the factors that could be considered as signs of stability (legal status, presence of the partner, decision of stay in Italy forever, house as owner or renter, etc.) are connected with a stronger attitude to be in relation with the Italians. Considering the work conditions it seems clear that the services sector puts the foreigners in contact with the Italians outside work, but not the services to families. The analysis seems to suggest that the migratory model is filtered by the “citizenship”. Of course in this way “citizenship” should be considered the proxy of the culture and of the social situation in the country of origin. These last elements seem to mark also the migratory project and the structure of the community in the host country.

3. The immigration mosaic

The survey conducted in Rome confirms that, considering the immigrants relations patterns, the “citizenship” plays an important role in shaping different behaviours (as the example reported in the previous paragraph shows). The attempt to classify the different behaviours of the interviewed immigrants using a factorial and a cluster analysis has been the next step of the analysis².

It has been carried out a correspondences analysis using 14 active variables (behaviours and attitudes about cultural matters, social relations and social participation) and 9 illustrative variables (demographic and migratory characteristics) that has made possible to individuate two relevant synthetic factors³. The first factor represents the level of attachment to the origin culture. On the positive side are placed the cultural flexible positions. The behaviours and the attitudes that show a strong affection to the traditions of the country of origin are located in the negative side. The second factor summarizes the variables that reflect the attitude to interact with the Italian social environment. The strong positions are opposed to the less defined situations.

Considering these two factors it has been carried out a cluster analysis (mixed method of clustering) on 1103 interviewed persons. Six different clusters have been individuated. For each cluster one - and only one - citizenship is a relevant characteristic.

The first group (268 individuals), called “closed without cracks”, is characterized by a strong attachment to the culture of origin, refusal of the Italian culture, interest for the news about the country of origin, participation to ethnic associations, intense interethnic relations, lack of contacts with the Italians. A large quote of this group are Filipinos (40%).

The second group (273 persons), “closed with some concessions”, shows attachment to the culture and traditions of origin. They have intense interethnic relations, above all within the same family group. In this cluster it is possible to individuate some signals of reception of the Italian culture, and clear signs of stabilization in Italy. Also in this group it is relevant the percentage of Filipinos.

The third group is characterized by “Uncertainty and lack of participation” (142 persons). The individuals in this cluster are giving up their own traditions, but show some uncertainties. They are not interested in politics and in ethnic associations. They

² The correspondences and the cluster analysis have been carried out using SPAD 4.02.

³ They represent the 70% of inertia according to the evaluation method suggested by Benzecri.

have intense interethnic relations, but also intense relations with the Italians. A large part of the group are Romanians (35%).

The fourth cluster (155 persons) has left the culture and the traditions of origin, they are “ready for the assimilation”. The individuals in the group are open minded about the Italian culture. They are not interested in the politics of the country of origin and in the ethnic associated life. They have weak links with their ethnic community and they are not stabilized in Italy. A large quota are Romanians (41%).

The fifth group (66 individuals), “assimilated”, has left the traditions and the culture of origin. The individuals in the cluster are open minded about the Italian culture and, as the persons in the previous group, are not interested in the matters of the country of origin and have rare contacts with their ethnic community. On the contrary they have frequent relations with the Italians. Despite the name that has been chosen for this group some characteristics of the cluster are signs that it collects immigrants fleeing from their origins rather than assimilated. The 38% of the group are Romanians.

In the sixth cluster, “suspended, looking for a strong identity” (199 persons), are collected individuals that show extreme behaviours and attitudes, sometimes at the opposite of the used scales. In the group are gathered persons that in some circumstances are open minded about the Italian culture and society, but about specific matters follow very traditional behaviours and show close attitudes. A large quota of the group are Moroccans (35%).

Conclusions

The cluster analysis has permitted to individuate the different relations patterns of immigrants in Rome. It has also confirmed the importance of the “citizenship” in shaping these behaviours. The Filipino community is essentially concentrated in the two “closed” clusters (over the 68%). On the contrary the Romanians are largely grouped in the “assimilated” clusters. The Moroccans are concentrated above all in the group “suspend, looking for a strong identity”, nevertheless a quota of this community is gathered in the “closed” clusters. The Peruvians are mostly concentrated in the closed groups. But some of them are “suspended” and only few assimilated. Observing the relations patterns in Rome gives the impression of a complex mosaic. It seems that to the many different migratory models followed by the several communities correspond many peculiar relation patterns.

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