



*ITALY IN THE MIDDLE OF A CROSSROAD OF MOVEMENTS:
A STUDY ON THE IMPACT OF MIGRATION OF WOMEN IN MILAN'S
ECONOMIC PERFORMANCE.*

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Camilla Carolina Brignoli

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Executive Summary

Migration is the phenomenon that built our history; and during centuries it brought positive and negative effects on all societies it involved in its process. Italy is a country that at first was characterized by emigration; and only later in the second half of the twentieth century, thanks to the development of cities and industries, patterns changed: the economy became more attractive; emigration switched to internal migration; and migrants from foreign countries started reaching Italian cities looking for better lives and opportunities. Due to this sudden change, and the dispersion of foreign residents in all regions of Italy, the phenomenon has been considered irrelevant for many years. In 1978 the first census demonstrated that immigration had an impact on the economy since foreign residents living in Italy reached a number of 0,5 million. Since then, politics began analyzing the phenomenon, but in a very simplistic way. Indeed, it was not until 2011, thanks to the publication of the *Condition and Social Integration of Foreign Citizens* (ISTAT), that more institutions and national organization began studying and researching more in relation to the topic to understand the life of foreign residents in Italy, and the effect, and contribution, of their presence on the Italian economy.

This dissertation has immigrant women under the spotlight: the null hypothesis of this research assumes that the labor force of female immigration has no economic impact in Milan's annual economic performance (H_0); whereas the alternative hypothesis states that the labor force of female immigration has a positive economic impact in Milan's annual economic performance (H_1). The research is divided in six chapters. The first chapter starts with the definition of immigration and the explanation of the choice of working on immigrant women working in the Metropolitan Area of Milan. The second chapter has a general beginning describing some figures about the phenomenon of migration world wise; and the migration policies implemented. The second half of this chapter narrows down to Italy, explaining the history of immigration and describes the country's demography. The third chapter is about previous literature related to the subject, and goes over the following topics: the importance of immigration for countries' economies; the concept of job-downgrading; differences in gender to explain why the research focuses only on

women; and finally, it describes the previous researches about the impact of women in the labor market.

The results of this dissertation are based on both primary and secondary data. As for primary research, a questionnaire has been developed to be able to develop a “profile” of immigrant women living and working in the Metropolitan Area of Milan. Moreover, four in-depth interviews have been carried out with researchers, professors and professionals working in the field of immigration. On the other hand, for secondary research statistics, graphs and previous studies and researches have been used.

After having collected and analyzed all data collected, the research found that the alternative hypothesis (H_1) is right: immigrant women do have a positive impact on the performance of the economy of Milan; but it could grow even more. In 2017, in Milan there were 200 937 immigrants employed, and 40,9% of them were women. The latter alone, in only one year produced 4 108 million euros in GDP; and 1,3% of added value produced by immigrants on the total added value. The results are positive, but not at their full potential. In fact, it was found that immigrant women have to face many barriers when trying to access the labor market, and that some of them can be partially removed, if not completely. For instance, culture, religion and social class are three barriers that are hard to remove because they are part of the individual; whereas the double discrimination, double presence and the parental network for support can and should be eliminated. The consequence of these barriers is reflected on both women and the economy: blocking new female workers prevents the economy to grow, and if the economy is stuck, other workers (meaning natives and all immigrant workers) will be affected. One other problem that is highlighted in this research is that current policies (i.e. absence of a Flow Decree; Salvini Decree; and the remaining family reunification) are pushing the future of the Italian economy in the wrong direction. It is explained that not allowing immigrants to regularize themselves will not change the number of workers in the economy and it will not push them to migrate to their country of origin. The only outcome of having these policies concurrently only makes immigrant workers (both man and women) more vulnerable: it strips them of their rights, the possibility of finding a proper job, and makes them the most attractive workers for the informal economy. If the situation will not change, all workers will become poorer because the economy affects everyone, competition will increase, and it will involve native, regular and irregular immigrant workers; pushing young and brilliant minds to move abroad to avoid this downward competition and have a better life.

Therefore, instead of trying to avoid and block the phenomenon of immigration, politics should understand that if managed properly (i.e. regularizing immigrants and avoiding them to be part of illicit businesses) it is positive for the economy of a country; especially for one like Italy, which is only growing older and is facing a serious demographic decline.

Table of Contents

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	I
TABLES	VI
1 INTRODUCTION TO THE TOPIC	1
2 METHODOLOGY	3
2.1 HYPOTHESIS AND RESEARCH QUESTION	3
2.2 METHODOLOGY	3
2.3 MOTIVE FOR CHOOSING THIS TOPIC	5
3 BACKGROUND	6
3.1 MIGRATION AND GLOBAL TRENDS	6
3.2 MIGRATION POLICIES	8
3.3 THE ITALIAN HISTORY OF IMMIGRATION AND THE CREATION OF LAWS ON IMMIGRATION	9
3.4 ITALIAN POPULATION AND NATIONAL DEMOGRAPHIC BALANCE (2018)	11
4 LITERATURE REVIEW	13
4.1 THE IMPORTANCE OF IMMIGRATION FOR THE ECONOMY OF DESTINATION COUNTRIES	13
4.2 JOB DOWNGRADING AND NEW OPPORTUNITIES IN ITALY	14
4.3 DIFFERENCES IN GENDER	17
4.4 THE IMPACT OF WOMEN IN THE LABOR FORCE	18
5 DATA ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS	20
5.1 FEMALE IMMIGRANT POPULATION LIVING IN MILAN	20
5.2 IMMIGRANT WOMEN AND ACCESS TO THE LABOR MARKET	28
5.3 IMMIGRANT WOMEN IN THE LABOR MARKET AND THEIR IMPACT ON THE ECONOMIC PERFORMANCE OF THE ECONOMY OF MILAN	31
5.4 FUTURE SCENARIO OF IMMIGRANT WOMEN'S WORK AND IMPACT ON THE ECONOMY OF MILAN	35
6 CONCLUSION	38

6.1 CONCLUSION FOR THE OBJECTIVES OF THE RESEARCH	38
o <i>How is the female immigrant population that is living in Milan?</i>	<i>38</i>
o <i>Which are the main barriers for immigrant women to access the labor market?</i>	<i>39</i>
o <i>Is the impact in Milan's annual economic performance of female immigration labor force positive or negative?</i>	<i>40</i>
o <i>Given current politics and public opinion, how is the impact going to change in their near future?</i>	<i>40</i>
6.2 GENERAL CONCLUSION	42
BIBLIOGRAPHY	44
APPENDIX	47
APPENDIX 1	47
APPENDIX 2	47
APPENDIX 3	48
APPENDIX 4	49
APPENDIX 5: INTERVIEW WITH ENRICO DI PASQUALE	50
APPENDIX 6: INTERVIEW WITH GLORIA ALBERTINI	54
APPENDIX 7: INTERVIEW WITH ANDREA STUPPINI	57
APPENDIX 8: INTERVIEW WITH FRANCESCO DELLA PUPPA	60
APPENDIX 9: SURVEYS	65

Tables

Chapter 3: Background

- Figure 1: International migrant population and the World's population.
- Figure 2: Migrant workers by gender, 2017.

Chapter 5: Analysis and Findings

- Table 3: Population in the Metropolitan Area of Milan, divided by gender and residency (2019).
Source: ISTAT.
- Table 4: Countries of origin. Immigrant women living in Milan, 2019 (own elaboration).
- Table 5: Age ranges of immigrant women living in the Metropolitan Area of Milan, 2019 (own elaboration).
- Table 6: Number of kids of immigrant women living in the Metropolitan Area of Milan, 2019 (own elaboration).
- Table 7: Family status of immigrant women living in the Metropolitan Area of Milan, 2019 (own elaboration).
- Table 8: Level of education of immigrant women living in the Metropolitan Area of Milan, 2019 (own elaboration).
- Table 9: Individual migration percentage of immigrant women living in the Metropolitan Area of Milan, 2019 (own elaboration).
- Table 10: Permanent migration of immigrant women living in the Metropolitan Area of Milan, 2019 (own elaboration).
- Table 11: Percentage of immigrant women who migrated to the Metropolitan Area of Milan for economic reasons, 2019 (own elaboration).
- Table 12: Years spent living in Milan, 2019 (own elaboration).
- Table 13: Years of work in Milan, 2019 (own elaboration).
- Table 14: Immigrant women's labor. Sectors, 2019 (own elaboration).
- Table 15: Working hours per day of immigrant women living in the Metropolitan Area of Milan, 2019 (own elaboration).

- Table 16: Average working days of immigrant women living in the Metropolitan Area of Milan, 2019 (own elaboration).
- Table 17: Earnings per month of immigrant women living in the Metropolitan Area of Milan, 2019 (own elaboration).
- Table 18: Location of the family of immigrant women living in the Metropolitan Area of Milan, 2019 (own elaboration).
- Table 19: Remittances towards countries of origin, 2019 (own elaboration).
- Table 20: Easiness to access the labor market of immigrant women living in the Metropolitan Area of Milan, 2019 (own elaboration).
- Table 21: Added value produced by immigrant workers in each region, 2017. Source: Annual report on the economy of immigration, 2018.
- Table 22: data on foreign residents and foreign workers in Lombardia and Milan, divided by gender, 2017 (own elaboration). Source: ISTAT.
- Table 23: Impact of immigrant women on the performance of the economy of Milan, 2017 (own elaboration). Source: ISTAT.

1 Introduction to the topic

Although the phenomenon of migration at first seems to be a current issue, it has far more distant roots in history. Since the beginning of times, people have been migrating to different places and conquered new lands, until the countries that are in today's World map were created. Without migration the geography of our planet would be completely different. Today, migration is one of the main causes of disputes and disagreements between different parties, and countries, due to the aftereffects and political fallouts it has on societies. Depending on this, and on the ideals of governments, there are different opinions and points of views in regard to the topic: in some countries the sense of nationalism is raising and as a consequence countries are closing their doors to foreigners; on the contrary other countries are more interested in embracing this big wave of change, and welcoming new people.

The term migration¹ defines the movement of people to a new area or country in order to find work or better living conditions. When analyzing this phenomenon, there are different aspects we need to consider, such as: spatial and temporal mobility, number of individuals, and some formal aspects. The first condition, *spatial mobility*, comprises the movements from a certain region to another one, and it usually is characterized by specific modalities and reasonings. More in detail, *immigrants* are individuals who migrate from the outside; and *emigrants* are the individuals who leave their place of origin and move somewhere else. If these movements take place within one country, the migration is called *internal*; in case they cross national borders, the migration is called *external*. The second aspect is *temporal mobility* and it has differences to consider as well: depending on the reason of the individuals' decision to migrate, the time-frame might be temporary or definitive. For instance, there is *seasonal migration* which is of interest of workers who move abroad for a limited period of time concurrently with their activities; and on the other hand, there are *commuter migrations* which regard people who found a job in a place other than that of their residence, and go there once per day. In regard to the number of people migrating there are two main categories: *individual vs. familiar migrations*. Initially, migration is likely to be individual since adapting to a new environment is easier when young and without a family to bring along; but it is also possible the migration of the entire family in the first place. As for the formal aspects, it is important to specify the distinction between legal and illegal migrations. *Legal*

¹ Migration. (n. d.) In Oxford Dictionary. Retrieved from <https://www.lexico.com/en/definition/migration>.

migrations are the ones characterized by individuals moving respecting all laws and regulations from both the country they are leaving and the country they are moving to. Therefore, the person will be in need of the following: a passport and a visa which will permit their entrance in the destination country, a residency and work permit. On the contrary, anyone who enters a country following all legal procedures, but continues his, or her, stay in an illegal manner is considered an *illegal immigrant* (i.e. an individual who uses a tourist visa to cross the frontier, but doesn't leave the country when it expires). At last, there are *clandestine immigrants* who cross the frontier without any document required by law.

Immigration can be considered an urban phenomenon because it is in big cities that citizens and residents meet and interact. From the creation of new connections big changes occurred: cities had modified their structure; the use of space and even the lifestyle of citizens in certain areas. Milano is seen worldwide as the Italian commercial capital. Indeed, this research is focusing on this city, because it offers many opportunities for labor flows; therefore, it will be possible to analyze the impact immigration has on such a big city.

Moreover, in 2017, women constituted more than half of all international migrants in one hundred different countries and regions of the world, accounting for 48,4% of all international migrants worldwide (UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2017). In the past, the husband was leaving the country looking for better work opportunities, and women were migrating years after to reunite with them; today, these trends are changing. With the different mentality the world is developing, and the more recent laws on women's rights, there are more opportunities available for women in a lot of countries; thus, women today are constituting an increasing portion of migration related to employment (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2017). The objective of this dissertation is to analyze the impact of immigration on the annual economic performance, focusing specifically on women, to understand if their labor force is impacting the economy of Milan positively or negatively.

2 Methodology

2.1 Hypothesis and research question

The null hypothesis (H_0) formulated for this dissertation is:

The labor force of female immigration has no economic impact in Milan's annual economic performance.

Under other conditions, the alternative hypothesis (H_1) is:

The labor force of female immigration has a positive economic impact in Milan's annual economic performance.

More in particular, the purpose of this research is, once the data processing and data analysis are completed, to answer different query:

- How is the female immigrant population that is living in Milan?
- Which are the main barriers for immigrant women to access the labor market?
- Is the impact in Milan's annual economic performance of female immigration labor force positive or negative?
- Given current politics and public opinion, how is the impact going to change in the near future?

2.2 Methodology

The approach chosen for this research is the inductive method. Empirical data collected from statistics and purposive surveys will be analyzed to prove the main objectives of the dissertation. Distinctive data sources will be taken into consideration to be used and compared through the use of cross-sectional analysis. The methods chosen are the following:

I. Primary data

- i. Questionnaire: A set of 18 questions has been created to address key respondents; with the aim of collecting more information to demonstrate if the female immigration

<u>Research Area:</u>	<u>Type of Respondent:</u>	<u>Questionnaires Completed:</u>
Milan	Immigrant women working in Milan.	40

ii. In-depth interviews: The qualitative research has been carried out through in-depth interviews to four professionals.

- Enrico di Pasquale: researcher at the Leone Moressa Foundation. Immigration and euro-planning expert. He has collaborated in various projects on the following topics: socio-economic integration, associationism, education and communication. Since 2013 he participates in the creation of the Annual Report on the Economy of Immigration. He also collaborates with << Lavoce.info >>, << il Mulino >>, << Neodemos.it >>.
- Gloria Albertini, sociologist working for Cestim, the Immigration Study Center of Verona; and is a social worker and sociologist for the organization Caritas of Verona.
- Andrea Stuppini: Project Manager of << Immigration and Health Expenditure in Emilia-Romagna >>. He mainly deals with welfare, immigration and social exclusion. Annually it prepares the chapter on public expenditure in the Idos Immigration Statistical Dossier. He also collaborates with << Lavoce.info >>, << il Mulino >>, << Neodemos.it >>.
- Francesco Della Puppa: researcher in the Department of Philosophy and Cultural Heritage of the Ca' Foscari University of Venice, member of the Master on Migration and Social Transformations at the same university. He is interested in international migration and asylum, immigrant family and family reunification, gender and migration, young people of immigrant origin, urban contexts, social innovation.

II. Secondary data

- i. Previous studies and researches: Books, articles and official reports related to immigration and the economic impact are consulted and highlighted during the research.

- ii. Statistics and graphs: It consist in data collected from official websites as part of the quantitative research. The statistics and graphs taken into consideration are related to the population living and working in the Metropolitan Area of the City of Milan.

2.3 Motive for choosing this topic

Nowadays, the phenomenon of migration has become a major topic for many countries around the World; even though it is a phenomenon that started in ancient times and contributed to the creation of today's populations. When thinking about migrants, the first thought that reaches one's mind is probably "disagreement": in Italy, and many other countries as well, current politics are arguing over this phenomenon because some of them want to embrace it, and others want to block it.

The rational for choosing this topic for the research is personal interest: one of the greatest experiences encountered during the degree has been Change the World Model UN, in which the topics of migration and human rights were main issues in all cases discussed. Moreover, the phenomenon of migration has always been considered more of a "*male-driven phenomenon*", but in the last ten years trends changed: women are transiting from being mainly housewives to important contributors to countries' economies.

Firstly, the research emphasizes two types of differences: men and women; and native women and immigrant women. These two distinctions are important to point out because, not only man and women are different in their nature and ways of carrying out one task, but women of different culture and origin as well.

Secondly, this research focuses on the importance of immigrant women and their contribution to the labor market to further comprehend their essential role for the economy, having their work complementary for the work of native women.

Being Italy a country in which this phenomenon is discussed often, the overall goal of this research is to inform the readers and give them a different, and very specific, point of view on such an important, and sometimes confusing, topic.

3 Background

3.1 Migration and global trends

Due to the high numbers of migrants the world reached in the last decade, most people think this phenomenon is recent; but actually, the international migrant population has always been present and remained stable as a proportion of the world's population (Figure 1). According to the *World Migration Report 2018*, the world has been experiencing an increase in international migrants. In the year 2000, 2,8% of the world's population (155 million people) emigrated from their own country of birth; and later on, in 2015 the percentage increased reaching 3,3% (approximately 244 million people). Worldwide, the most frequent type of migrant is male, young and unmarried. Old people and kids are seldomly leaving, unless the whole family is. Besides this general trend, there are some stereotypes of migrants depending on the geographical area they are leaving from (i.e. individuals leaving from Asian and African regions are usually women working as housekeepers; individuals leaving from the Islamic world are usually young unmarried men).

Nowadays, there are different reasons lying under this phenomenon, and are grouped in two categories: *repulsion* from their own country and *attraction* to the country of destination. In the first case, there are all events related to natural, social, economic, political or cultural issues which push individuals to migrate, or escape, their own country. On the other hand, the factors of attraction are all solutions an individual can find to counteract the factors of repulsion – i.e. strengthen familiar boundaries reuniting to a part of the family who migrated to another country; look for better work opportunities abroad; transfer to another country where international law and various regulations will protect the individual; etc. The most common factor that is motivating migration today is economical – people migrate to find better working opportunities and, as a consequence, to improve their education –, but with the development of technology and communication means, the phenomenon is speeding up and helping to maintain strong links with the life and culture they had in their country of origin.

Out of the figures previously described, 164 million individuals are migrant workers; and even within this category there has been an increase of +9%, compared to the 150 million migrant workers in 2013. Today, migrant workers are more skilled, with medium-high levels of education. Furthermore, at the beginning of the current millennium women represented 50% of the foreign residents in developed countries; but the data the International Labor Organization collected

shows an increase (see Figure 2): the majority of migrant workers are still men (96 million individuals), but women migrant workers reached a total of 68 million (ILO, 2018). Manuela Tomei, the Director of the ILO Working Conditions and Equality Department, explained that, besides the increase in the number of women migrating for work-related reasons, the total amount is still lower compared to numbers of men migrant workers because a lot of women are victims of discrimination due to their gender and nationality.

Besides the phenomenon of *Brain Drain*², and related losses to departure countries created by some migrant workers, there are proves of benefits generated by migration, to both the individuals and the country involved in the process. Economically speaking, migration is positive because it influences effectively the reduction of unemployment and balances out with the fulfillment of lacks in workforce in other countries. In some cases, the income earned by one person in one country is exactly half compared to the income earned by a person in another country, with the same working position and educational background. Thus, migration helps improving the human development and wealth of the whole family. It is also a positive factor to diminish unemployment and poverty in the country of origin of many migrating individuals (International Organization for Migration. *World Migration Report, 2018*).

In regard to the distribution of immigrants around the World, the ILO estimated that in 2018, 27,9% of migrant workers live in high-income countries; 18,6% live in medium-high income countries; 10,1% in medium-low income countries and only 3,4% in low income countries. Besides this, between 2013 and 2017 the concentration of migrant workers decreased in countries with a high-income level and increased in the medium-high income level countries.

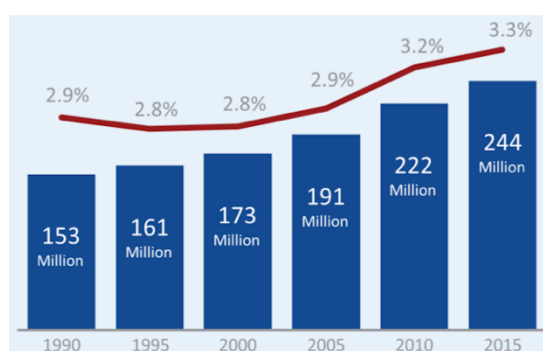


Table 1 - International migrant population and the World's population

² The situation in which large numbers of educated and very skilled people leave their own country to live and work in another one where pays and conditions are better. Brain Drain. (n.d.) In Cambridge Dictionary. Retrieved from <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/it/dizionario/inglese/brain-drain>.

MIGRANT WORKERS

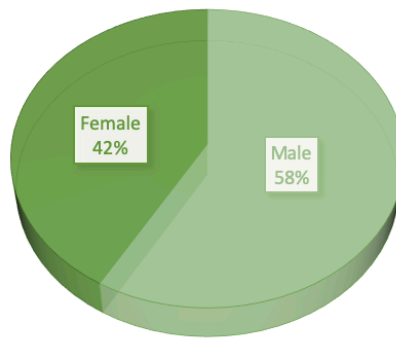


Table 2 - Migrant workers by gender, 2017

3.2 Migration policies

Migration policies are used by arrival states to regulate entry flows of individuals crossing their frontiers. The objective of entry policies for migrant workers are mainly four: (i) increase control over its borders to check on new entries; (ii) promote socio-economic inclusion of immigrants present in the country; (iii) promote temporary immigration; (iv) prevent problems caused by permanent concentration of immigrant populations.

The character of such regulations depends on the economic situation of the country, especially the labor market. For instance, if the labor market is not able to absorb all the manpower coming from abroad, it is likely for the state to close the frontier and allow only a small number of new entrants per year, implementing stricter policies for immigrant workers, and give more importance to the reunion of families to favor repatriations with prizes and economic incentives. Currently, all restrictive policies on immigrant workers had the opposite desired effect: the increase in restrictive policies for migrant workers caused an increase in entries due to humanitarian aid or family reunions; as a consequence, there is an unplanned growth in the supply of manpower that is difficult to absorb.

Because of all insecurities caused by this big sudden change happening in the economic and political sphere, the integration of immigrants is also regulated by migration policies of the destination country. Besides all *traditional measures* – such as social and sanitary assistance, professional training, education, process of learning the new language and maintaining the language of their origin, etc. – there are measures that are supposed to prevent and fight discriminatory practices, racism and hemophobia. Again, all these regulations depend on the

direction of the government and the political parties involved: some countries will promote nationalistic and xenophobic policies, which create a hostile environment for immigrants sometimes characterized by racial violence; and others might develop anti-racist movements and voluntary activities in favor of immigrants.

3.3 The Italian history of immigration and the creation of laws on immigration

Despite the common situation and all issues that the entire planet has to face as one unit, each country has its history, relationship and ideals in relation to immigration. Italy in particular has a history marked by emigration towards other countries: between the 19th and 20th century almost 30 million emigrants looked for better opportunities abroad, especially in countries such as the United States, Argentina, Brazil, Belgium, Germany and Switzerland. Later on, the phenomenon subsided since the emigration changed from being external to internal: people began moving to big Italian cities thanks to the development of the industries and the increase in job offer. Slowly the situation was reversed: the economy developed, and the country became more of interest for certain groups of people. The first immigrants were mainly displaced individuals, former prisoners or refugees from the Jewish diaspora passing through the country hoping to reach the Americas or Palestine. At the time, refugee camps were set up all over Italy; and they looked like the spaces used to lock up enemies during wartime. Between 1960 and 1970 the episode of decolonization increased migration flows towards Italy. During this decade, Italy experienced the arrival of a lot of women, students, male and female workers coming from the country's old colonies. In Europe the impact of immigration was easy to quantify since all immigrants were concentrated in big cities where big industries were located. Conversely, in Italy, immigrants were performing smaller and simpler jobs in all regions; thus, the impact was hard to identify and quantify.

The Italian laws on immigration that the country has today, developed in a timeframe of 25 years, and the character of the regulation depended on the type of immigration flow the country was experiencing while the government was writing the objectives of the law.

The first step in developing laws on immigration was made in 1963 when the Ministry of Labor issued a circular which described how to integrate immigrants in the labor market. Nevertheless, because of this "*well-distributed immigration*", the government never focused on this specific

matter because it was considered as a marginal event; but in 1978 the first *census*³ of foreign workers in Italy was published and reported the presence of 0.5 million foreigners in the country, showing that immigrants were enough to have an impact on the economy.

In 1986, the government focused more on this matter, and the Foschi Law was issued: it introduced new regulations on student and tourists stay; family reunification; and declared plain and formal equality among Italian and foreign workers. Immigration kept growing, especially in the area of Friuli-Venezia Giulia – the Italian region which borders the former Yugoslavia – and in western Sicily. Until this moment, the event never colluded with the Italian spirit: the number of immigrants present in the country was low, and they were important for the labor market since they were used for cheap labor.

In 1989 with the collapse of the Berlin Wall, a lot of women headed from the former Soviet bloc to Italy in search of new opportunities; and as a consequence, one year later a new law was passed: Law Martelli. It imposed the implementation of a more restrictive entry process in order to be in line with all other European regulations; and new important features such as the creation of a quantitative program of entry flows, and an integration program. With the disintegration of the Soviet regime, Italy faced the first big disembarkation: more than 10.000 Albanians, escaping from the Balkans war, arrived at the harbor of Bari in 1991. After this first event, most people coming to Italy were from Tunisia (the current second community in the country), and from Libya. As the foreigners were increasing, the Italian population started developing a sentiment of rejection towards immigrants, a sentiment that only one year later was contrasted by manifestations against racism.

In 1995 the government decided to open new reception centers along the coast for three years; but the project actually evolved into the current Italian reception center. Later on, in 1998, what is considered the first general law on immigration was created: law Turco-Napolitano. Along with this, the *Testo Unico on immigration* was approved: a legislative text with all laws and regulations on the topic. The population was at this point divided in two: some citizens were convinced that immigration needed to be fought, and others believed that it was a positive event for the economy and the country itself. Immigration increased in other European countries as well, therefore, more people had access to Italy and had the right to ask for a residency permit. Rome,

³ official survey of the population of a country that is carried out in order to find out how many people live there and to obtain details of such things as people's ages and jobs. Census. (n.d.) In Collins English Dictionary. Retrievable from <https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/census>.

to respond to these trends signed the agreements with Ghedaffi to retain migrants in centers of detention in Libya; this move was done to gain more control over the phenomenon.

Meanwhile, in Europe the community legislation had the main objective of harmonizing all European states. The European Community developed many directives changing the norms on detention and expulsion; entry measures; displacements and hospitality. In 2016, Turkey decided to close the access to the road that would take people from their countries of origin to Europe, and for this reason, there was an excess of immigrants coming in from the south of Italy (almost 350.000 individuals). One year after, the procedures to grant international protection and to contrast international immigration increased.

Matteo Salvini, the current Deputy Prime Minister of the country and Minister of the Interior, passed the Decree Salvini, a reform of the right of asylum and citizenship, which penalizes the permanence of immigrant workers in the country.

Finally, in the last decade immigration stabilized and begun decreasing due to the new laws and regulations; but it is clear that the fact that Italy did not have a concrete and well defined law on immigration since its beginning, created issues and disagreements both in the government and among the population, fueling chaos.

3.4 Italian population and national demographic balance (2018)

The Italian population has been decreasing since 2015; in particular in 2018 it decreased of -0,2% compared to the previous year, reaching a number of 60.359.546 residents in total. This change is mainly due to the increase in Italian cancellations and the change in natural birth rate. The average age at childbirth increases, reaching an average of 32 years old in 2018; while the number of childbirths per woman remains stable, but still very low. Since 2014 Italy has lost around 677.000 residents but had 638.000 new people who earned the citizenship.

The migration balance with foreign countries is still positive, and both immigration and emigration are increasing (+1,7% for immigrations and 3,1% for emigrations). Out of the 160.000 individuals who emigrated to another country 40.000 are foreign citizens. On the other hand, Italian citizens expatriations (120.000 units) are higher compared to repatriations (47.000 units). Thus, the high number of entry flows is due to the arrival of foreign citizens, which in 2018 reached the highest figure of the last six years and counted for 302.000 individuals in total.

The geographical distribution is stable compared to the past years: the most populous area is the North-West with 26,7% of the total population, followed by the South with 23,1%, North-East with 19,3% and the islands with 11,0% of the total population.

At December 31, 2018 the National Institute of Statistics recorded an increase of 2,2% of foreign residents registered in the registry office, reaching a total of 5.255.503 (8,7% of the total resident population). Therefore, having an increase in foreign citizens allowed Italy to contain the overall loss in its population.

4 Literature Review

4.1 The importance of immigration for the economy of destination countries

It is commonly agreed by many scholars that in the short-term immigration entails high costs for destination countries; but in the long run this phenomenon generates many benefits as well. Immigration increases the income per capita and the living standards of the population in the destination country. In fact, in advanced economies, only an increase of 1% in the share of migrants, increases by 2% the GDP per capita, thanks to the increase in labor productivity generated by the arrival of new high- and low-skilled workers (IMF, 2016).

Immigration is considered a *complementary* phenomenon, in the sense that immigrants complement natives in job-position fulfillment. Usually, natives are not interested in taking job positions which do not require a high level of skills (due to the higher level of education); and for the most part, today immigrants arrive to the destination country with a low-skill level. Thus, they fill-in the gaps in the labor market applying for those low-skills jobs, which are actually essential for the economy of a country. Researchers also found out that the migration of high-skilled workers has been increasing, bringing new talents and experts to destination countries. Moreover, immigration does normalize the demography of a country, especially in advanced economies with an ageing population (F. Jaumotte, K. Koloskova and S. Saxena, 2016).

According to OSCE, in the case a good immigration policy is created and implemented, all sectors which are in a declining phase will continue running thanks to the arrival of new low-skilled workers; and therefore, natives will be enabled to work in high-development sectors which require a higher level of education and set of skills. In the case of Italy, as described in *The Italian History of Immigration and the Creation of Laws on Immigration*, the laws and policies which regulate immigration in the country developed throughout a long time, and still need to be studied and updated; therefore, all prejudices and insecurities related to the topic are obstacles for the integration of foreign residents in the labor market (M. Straniero, 2015).

Immigrants are a priceless resource for the Italian economy. First of all, in 2017, 2.4 million foreign residents working in Italy contributed to 8.7% of the Nation's GDP, creating an added value of 131 billion euros. It was found out by La Fondazione Leone Moressa, that in the year of reference, only 5.5 billion euros were sent back to the immigrant's country of origin; and they also estimated that

in Italy there are around 500.000 individuals classified as illegal, which are for the most part a cost to the government – even though they have indirect earnings on consumption taxes (La Fondazione Leone Moressa, 2018). Analyzing the fiscal impact of immigration, the outcome was found positive: in general, foreign residents declare 27.2 billion euros per year, and pay 3.3 billion euros in taxes for personal income. With these trends, because of the decrease in newborns, Italy needs an average of 140.000 new immigrants per year in order to pay the pensions of the ageing Italian population. In terms of health, immigrants have a social security contribution of 11.9 billion euros (which pays for almost 600.000 pensions, mostly of Italian citizens); but hospitalization and care services for foreign citizens are half compared to the one used by Italians. Therefore, the immigration balance can be considered positive (L. Liverani, 2018).

Considering only the production of immigrants, in Italy the most fruitful industry is the one of hotels and restaurants, followed by the service industry and the manufacturing sector. Moreover, the provision of foreign entrepreneurs is not to be underestimated: the percentage of entrepreneurs with foreign residence increased substantially in the last five years (+16.3%); and during the same period, the amount of Italian entrepreneurs diminished by -6.4%.

Finally, for a country such as Italy, immigration is not only important for the employment it generates in low-skill sectors; but mostly, because the population is growing old, and the economy needs young workers to support it. In the 20th century Italy experienced the lowest level of population between 15-64 years old (working age); but in a recent future, the weight of the population out of this age range will surpass the historical maximum reached in the last century. The difference between these two low points is that the first time, the population had a high rate of newborns; whereas, in this potential future, the population will be mostly constituted by old people (due to the decrease in newborn rates). Currently, out of all immigrants resident in Italy, 79.1% are in the working age range; whereas Italians between 15-64 years old are only 63% of the entire population. According to the estimations, if trends do not invert, in 2061, one fourth of the population in this age range will be constituted by foreign residents (M. Maroni, 2018).

4.2 Job downgrading and new opportunities in Italy

As it happened with the development of laws on immigration, the development of knowledge on the phenomenon of migration in Italy was available to the citizens very late. One of the first thorough researches carried out with the goal of better understanding the overall quality of life of

immigrants in Italy – i.e. dynamics, migration patterns, conditions and perceptions of their life – was the *Condition and Social Integration of Foreign Citizens* made in the two-year period 2011/12 by the Italian National Institute of Statistics. The inspiration of this study was taken from the *Theory of Assimilation* made by Barry R. Chiswick and it marked the beginning of the development of many different sources of data in relation to the topic, encouraging the participation of all governmental departments with the goal of providing data to researchers, journalists and citizens.

In the *Journal of Human Capital* (Barry R. Chiswick and Paul W. Miller, 2012) Barry R. Chiswick wrote an article called *The Negative and Positive Assimilation, Skill Transferability and Linguistic Distance* in which he described the theory of assimilation. The paper analyzed two models: the *positive assimilation model*, meaning that the earnings of immigrants increase as skills relevant in the country of destination are gained; and the *negative assimilation model* which explained the idea of immigrants with highly transferable skills who experienced a decrease in earnings while their economic rent was diminishing (Chiswick, Miller, 2012). People migrating for economic reasons are looking for better opportunities and, usually, higher wages. This is possible, but mostly because life in the country of destination is more expensive. Moreover, the inability to speak the language and the lack in knowledge in relation to the dynamics of the labor market; the lack in qualification recognition; and the impossibility of the use of skills acquired in the country of origin, are all reasons which contribute in *job downgrading*⁴ (Monica Perez, ISTAT, 2018).

According to the theory of *assimilation*, differences in the salaries of foreign residents and nationals should decrease throughout time, as the obstacles creating the gap should be overcome: with time, foreign residents will acquire knowledge of the language and the skills required to get a higher position in the organization they are working in; they might also learn how the labor market works and have the possibility to study and earn new qualifications recognized by the country of destination. Therefore, Chiswick claimed that this downgrade experienced by foreign residents in the labor market is only a part of the transition process.

The outcome of the research made by the Italian National Institute of Statistics was that there are many factors considered important to understand what controls job downgrades and creates opportunities to develop a new career in Italy; and they are: (i) gender; (ii) age; (iii) area of origin; (iv) high degree of education; (v) reason of migration; (vi) having kids.

⁴ finding a job with a lower position compared to the one they had in the country of origin.

First of all, it is important to mention that, having Italy as reference country for this research, the job position a foreign resident possessed in his, or her, country of origin does not influence nor predict the job they might find in Italy. Analyzing the factors previously listed, the first element is gender: women are more exposed to job downgrading because of many reasons, but mostly, because they have to face discrimination for their gender and their country of origin at the same time. Moreover, it was found that the younger the individual who migrated to Italy is, the easier it is for them to adapt to the new context.

The degree of education and the ability to enter the labor market from the “front door”⁵ are the most important factors to avoid this issue; these elements have more impact if possessed by a woman, because it is very hard to find a female immigrant who has a bachelor’s degree, knows the language and had a job before moving to Italy.

When analyzing the component of the area of origin, the outcome was that for immigrants coming from states with high pressures caused by migration, the application of job downgrading is done without distinction based on ethnic groups.

The reason that pushed people to migrate is very important in this analysis. Refugees and economic migrants are more inclined to accept a job of a lower level due to the necessity to have a wage to support themselves and their family; whereas migrants with motivations such as family reunion, study or people looking for a better life, are not obliged to settle for the first offer received.

The last important factor to consider, which is also related to gender, is if the immigrant has or has not children: women with a child are more likely to accept any job in order to have the money to provide for their family.

Having all factors explained, it is evident that women are more at risk of having a job downgrading when migrating to Italy; but it is possible, that the more downgraded an immigrant is, the more possibility to have a “rebound” effect during his or her stay in the country. Not possessing the elements to avoid this issue, pushes the foreign resident to develop their human capital and adapt to the new context more rapidly compared to immigrants who already possessed some of the factors needed. Afresh, for women it is not as easy as it is for men: for female immigrants it is harder to maintain the *status* they had in the country of arrival, and it is as hard to improve their situation even after many years of stay in Italy.

⁵ Having a job before migrating to the country of destination and not finding it with personal connections.

4.3 Differences in gender

Studying the phenomenon of migration means that the objective of study is the history of a Nation or a Continent, but first and foremost, the objective of study is the life of a person. The latter depends on the country of origin, the culture and the journey a person decided to undertake; and being a male or female immigrant makes a difference when studying immigration opportunities and motivations. Therefore, in order to truly understand the current reasons and consequences of this phenomenon it is important to make a distinction in gender.

The essential difference in gender and the consequent effect on movements around the globe is that male migrants are motivated mainly by economic reasons and better working opportunities; whereas female migrants are adaptable to change and move for diversified reasons. Nevertheless, women answer to the demand of labor too, but in a different way, depending a lot on values and norms of their country of origin (Petrozziello, 2013). As mentioned by Morokvasic “birds of passage are also women” (1984): this distinction was never made before simply because it was believed that female migration depended only on male movements around the globe, considering that man are the ones taking decisions within the family unit (Bailey, Boyle, 2004). Even when the decision was taken autonomously by a female migrant, researchers assumed that they were migrating with the same economic motivations and patterns man had (De Luca, 2018). Later on, with the availability of more information and data in regard to migrant women and the labor market, it was found that women have different reasons which push them to move to another country (Thadani, Todaro, 1984).

Moreover, the term “*feminization of migration*” used by many scholars and researchers is not referring to the increase of women’s presence in the phenomenon, because the number of female immigrants has been stable over the last decades (Zlotnik, 2003). In truth, it is suggesting that the role of women within families and migration is changing; thanks to the increase in women’s independence their role is accountable for an impact on the overall economy (King, 2006).

Today, almost half of all international migrants are women and girls pushed to leave their country of origin mainly due to conflicts; but women do represent a big portion of economic migrants as well. In particular, emigrants leaving countries in North Africa and in the Indian sub-continent do not have much decisional power when discussing emigration in their families; thus, if women do leave to another country it is because their partners decided to. On the other hand, it is important to specify that there are different projects which push one person to migrate – i.e. economic

projects; projects for freedom; projects for family reunion; escaping projects; etc. – and that today the percentage of women migrating as heads of their households is higher, representing for women an opportunity to overcome discrimination and improve their empowerment (UNFPA, 2018). In fact, women leaving from countries in Latin America and in Eastern Europe are more autonomous in making decisions, and therefore, they represent the percentage of women interested in the labor market since it is the mean to complete their project.

In Italy the studies on female migration flows begun only in the last decade of the twentieth century. Changing perspective helped researchers understand that women are not only following their husbands and families around the world, but they migrate to follow a project they developed to have a better life, for themselves and their family. Therefore, female migration is important, not only because of how many female immigrants Italy welcomed, but because of the dimension it developed in the country: in fact, it was female immigrants the ones who activated the first true immigration flows towards Italy (Favaro, Tognetti Bordogna, 1991).

4.4 The impact of women in the labor force

The term *labor force*⁶ is defined as “(...) the sum of persons in employment plus persons in unemployment. Together, these two groups of the population represent the current supply of labor of the production of goods and services taking place in a country through market transaction in exchange for remuneration”. Therefore, gender is not taken into consideration when defining the labor force of one country. This means that substituting a male worker with a female worker does not make any difference; but actually, if in the analysis firm-level data, sectoral and macroeconomic information are taken into consideration, the outcome will show that male and female workers complement each other in the production process. This would be the effect of bringing different skills, new perspectives, and different attitudes to collaboration and risk management.

Unfortunately, today, in most countries, there are many barriers which prevent women to enter the labor market; and besides the fact that this causes a major level of unemployment, it also causes events such as tax distortions, discrimination, etc. (C. Lagarde and J. D. Ostry, 2018).

⁶ Labor force. (n.d.) International Labor Organization. Retrieved from: https://www.ilo.org/global/statistics-and-databases/statistics-overview-and-topics/WCMS_470304/lang--en/index.htm

During an interview, Christine Lagarde, the Managing Director of the IMF, pointed out that inequality, and therefore all cultural and legal barriers that prevent women to enter the labor force, need to be eliminated as soon as possible, since they are one of the major factor which is blocking the growth of many nation's GDP. Italy was ranked 70th in the Global Gender Gap Report; and if trends do not change in the next couple of years, the prevision is that Italy will reach equality in 108 years from today (2018). Once equality will be established, the national GDP would increase of 35 percental points; out of which four fifths of this increase would be generated by the new workers who entered the labor market, and the remaining one fifth would come from the effect of having more diversity within the production process. Another additional benefit would be the increase in the amount of income earned by male workers, a consequence of the increase in productivity. The first reaction to this effect, would then be the increase in will to include more women into the labor force (C. Lagarde and J. D. Ostry, 2018).

The Fondazione Leone Moressa estimated the wealth produced by women in Italy and the potential value if all housewives, especially the ones in the South, would enter the labor market. Currently, women produce 614,2 billion euros, accounting for 41.6% of the national GDP. The most productive sector is the service industry (which creates 70% of the total wealth produced by women); followed by the manufacture industry (11.5%) and trade (11.3%). Currently, there are 7.3 million housewives in Italy, and 60% of them is in the age range comprised between 15-64 years old (ISTAT, 2016). In case all housewives would find a job, the employment rate would reach 70.3% (with an increase of 22% compared to current trends) and the country would finally meet the European goal of reaching 67-69% of female employment rate. But Chiara Tronchin, one of the researchers for the Fondazione Leone Moressa, specified that it would be very hard for all these women to find a job all of a sudden. Furthermore, she explained that 30% of the unemployment in the regions present in the South of Italy is due to the culture and the lack in services, such as childcare. Nevertheless, it is always possible to create policies and incentives to motivate and promote female talents and independence values (G. Badalassi, 2019).

Therefore, women are the new emerging force with a different history and different values: once placed in the labor market it translates into a total innovation for the economy (G. Badalassi, 2019).

5 Data Analysis and Findings

Before answering the main question of this research, there are different aspects to analyze. This chapter is divided in four different sections, and each one of them will be focused on one of the questions presented in the *Methodology*. To carry out this analysis, primary and secondary data collected will be combined. Chapter 5 will be divided as such:

- The first section describes the “*profile*” of immigrant women living in Milan, with the aim of understanding if they have sufficient requisites to have an impact on the performance of the economy of Milan.
- The second section goes through all barriers immigrant women have to face when trying to access the labor market. The goal of this part is to understand what restrains a further development of the economy of Milan and sets the ground for suggestions to contrast this situation.
- The third section, the core of this research, describes the impact of immigrant women in the metropolitan area of the city of Milan, focusing on the <<GDP of immigration>> and the Added Value created by immigrant women.
- The last part of this chapter is dedicated to the description of future trends and the impact of immigration policies to further point out the importance of the role of immigrant women for the economy of Milan, and more in general, for the Italian economy.

5.1 Female immigrant population living in Milan

The history of immigration towards Italy had different phases: depending on the economic and political situation in the countries of origin, waves of different people emigrated to Italy. For instance, up until the 1990s the phenomenon had as major players male immigrants coming mainly from Africa. Later on, in 2002, many foreign residents were regularized thanks to the Bossi-Fini Law. Most of these people were women coming from Eastern countries. During the interview with Andrea Stuppini, Project Manager of “*Immigration and Health Expenditure in Emilia-Romagna*”, he pointed out that:

“[...] if we want to indicate a turning point, I would say the rectification of Minister Maroni, after the Bossi-Fini Law: during this period there was an influx of mainly female workers – at the time there was still a flow decree, and not only entry flows for family reunions. Since then, in the Italian history of immigration, the female component remained the majority, in addition to 50% of resident immigration.”

As of January 1st, 2019, the National Institute of Statistics reported that in the Metropolitan area of Milan out of 3.250.315 total residents, 470.273 are foreign residents (14.5%). As shown in Table 3, in the area of study there are 1 673 999 women, and 14,3% of this number are foreign residents.

	<i>Italian</i>	<i>Foreign Residents</i>	<i>Total</i>
Male	1.345.299	231.017	1.576.316
Female	1.434.743	239.256	1 673 999
Total	2.780.042	470.273	3.250.315

Table 3 – Population in Metropolitan Area of Milan, divided by gender and residency (2019). Source: ISTAT

As mentioned in the introductory section, to understand if women are in the position to make a difference in the economy, it is necessary to picture a “*profile*” of these 239 236 foreign women living in Milan.

First and foremost, the analysis focuses on the country of origin. This factor does make a difference because depending on the nationality, they will have different cultural backgrounds (i.e. some women might be used to a culture that believes they can, and should, be part of the labor market; or a culture with opposite values, that requires women only to take care of the family and the house). Enrico di Pasquale, researcher at the Leone Moressa Foundation, observed that women coming from eastern countries are usually migrating alone, and also, they are the major component of the phenomenon. Being in a different country without a husband or a family at their side, obliges them to be part of the labor market. Thus, they are the majority of workers in the care sector, due to the easier access for the level of skills these women have. Conversely, in regard to countries in North Africa and South Asia, the migration is predominantly a male phenomenon. Migration from these countries happened more than 10 years ago; and today, Italy is experiencing the family reunification of these men’s wives.

In regard to Milan, from the research conducted, it appears that most foreign women living in the area of interest come from the Philippines (18%) and from The People's Republic of China (10%); but there is also an important presence of women coming from Albania (8%); Sri-Lanka (8%) and Perú (8%) as well. In Table 4 the category "other" accounts for 20% of the population interviewed; the countries specified in this category are: Nigeria (5%); Argentina (2,5%); Turkey (2,5%); El Salvador (2,5%); Bolivia (2,5%); Kenya (2,5%); Uruguay (2,5%).⁷

Furthermore, in order to understand the possible barriers these women face when migrating to Italy, it is fundamental to take a closer look to some factors such as: age, family status, children and level of education.

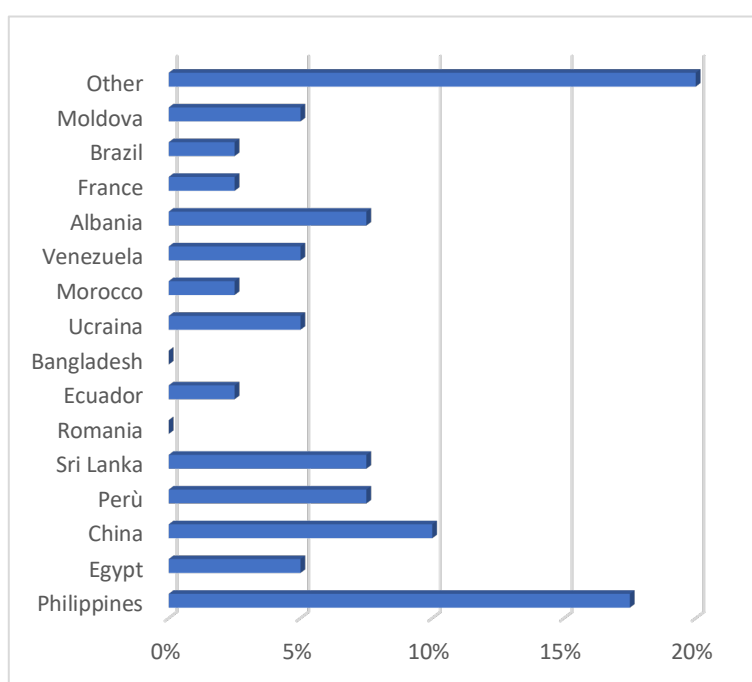


Table 4 - Countries of origin. Immigrant women living in Milan, 2019 (own elaboration).

First of all, as shown in the following tables, most foreign women living in Milan are between 40 and 49 years old (40%), are married (55%) and have only one child (30%). The fact that they are married is positive because it means that they already have one source of income, the one of their husbands; but unfortunately, today it is not enough. Francesco della Puppa explained:

⁷ All percentages representing the country of origin of foreign women living in Milan are based on calculations made on numbers extracted from the questionnaires.

“[...] In recent years, in urban centers, the family structure has changed: families increasingly need two sources of income; therefore, man and women need to enter the labor market outside the walls of their homes”.

This trend applies for both natives and immigrant families; therefore, immigrant women are pushed to have a *double-presence*: both within their house-walls, in order to take care of their family and home; and outside the house-walls in the labor market, to grant a second source of income. Moreover, generally speaking, most immigrants coming to Italy have a low level of skills, and therefore it is hard for them to access higher positions in the labor market; but actually, the outcome of the questionnaires in regard to the level of education of immigrant women living in Milan shows a different result. In fact, 38% of women interviewed have a Bachelor’s Degree; 30% of women have a High School Diploma; another 30% has a Middle School Diploma; and only 3% of immigrant women has Elementary School level. These percentages show that, in the area of research, immigrant women do have a higher level of education; but unfortunately, this does not ensure them a better position in the labor market (see pg. 35 – *Immigrant women and access to the labor market*).

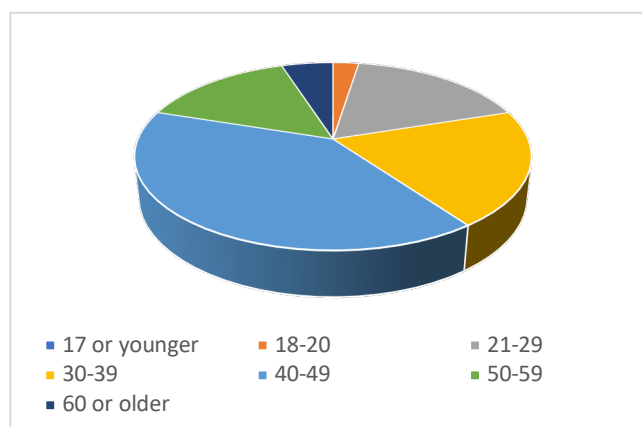


Table 5 - Age ranges of immigrant women living in the metropolitan area of Milan, 2019 (own elaboration).

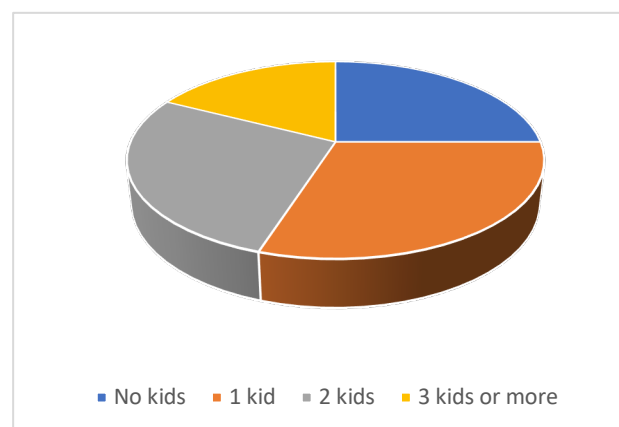


Table 6 - Number of kids of immigrant women living in the metropolitan area of Milan, 2019 (own elaboration).

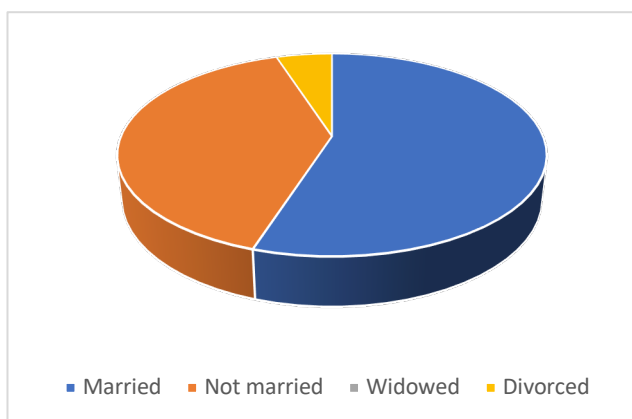


Table 7 - Family status of immigrant women living in the metropolitan area of Milan, 2019 (own elaboration).

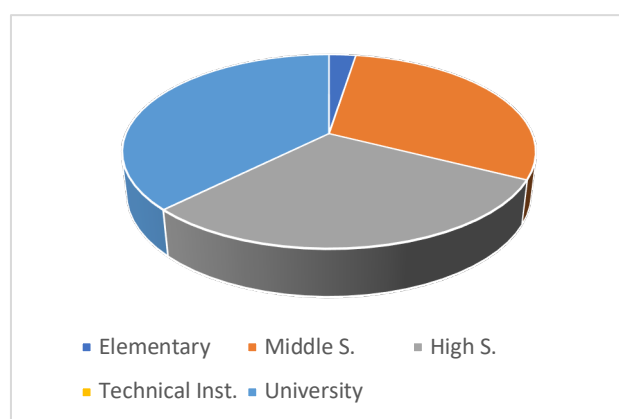


Table 8 - Level of education of immigrant women living in the metropolitan area of Milan, 2019 (own elaboration).

The second aspect to consider is the type of immigration these women pursued. As explained in the first chapter in *“Introduction to the topic”*, there are different types of migration, and depending on which one is pursued, the impact on the economy will be different. As Tables 9, 10 and 11 show, 75% of women interviewed migrated to Italy on their own, and only 25% with the rest of the family; matter that is also confirmed by the fact that most immigrant women living in Milan are from the Philippines and China; and as specified before, most women migrating from eastern countries are moving on their own. This conclusion, could be both positive or negative for the performance of the economy: positive because migrating to another country alone is one additional motivation to enter the labor market; but negative because being alone might make the process of integration more difficult, but mostly, because the urge to have at least one source of income, might push immigrant women to accept any job offered. Furthermore, 85% of women interviewed specified their will to remain for the rest of their life in Milan; and only 15% of them was open to new opportunities or had the dream of going back to the country of origin to open a business. Thus, in the case that the impact on the performance of the economy of Milan will be positive, the economy will not lose this source of profits, because these women are seeing themselves living and working in Milan in their future. Finally, it was found that 80% of women interviewed moved to Milan specifically to find a job; and therefore, it is possible to say that most women do have some type of impact on the economy, because most of them came to the area of research to work.

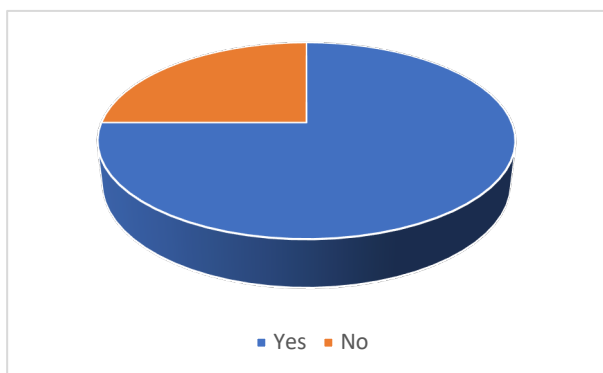


Table 9 - Individual migration percentage of immigrant women living in the metropolitan area of Milan, 2019 (own Elaboration).

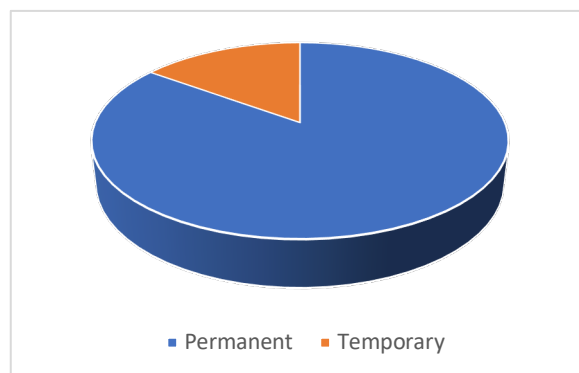


Table 10 - Permanent migration of immigrant women living in the metropolitan area of Milan, 2019 (own elaboration).

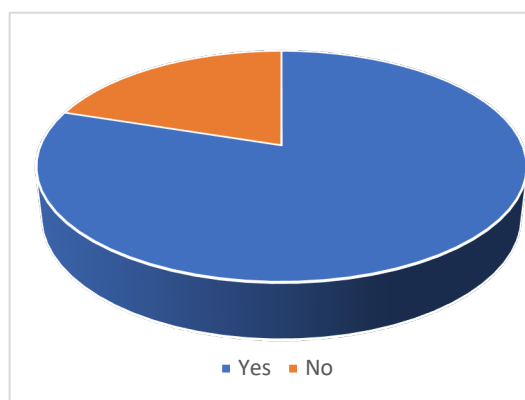


Table 11 - Percentage of immigrant women who migrated to the metropolitan area of Milan for economic reasons, 2019 (own elaboration).

At this point it is understood that immigrant women in the metropolitan area of Milan have a “*profile*” that fulfills the requirements to have an impact on the performance of the economy; but is it necessary to take a more in-depth look at the presence of immigrant women in the labor market.

Most women interviewed have been living in Milan for more than six years (68%), and as a consequence a high percentage of them (58%) has been working in Milan for more than 6 years.

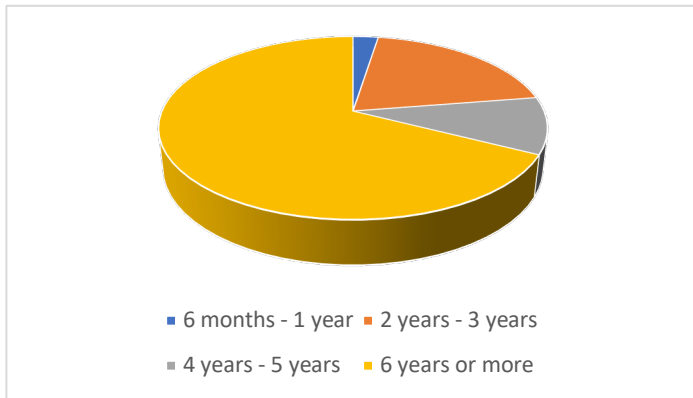


Table 12 - Years spent living in Milan, 2019 (own elaboration).

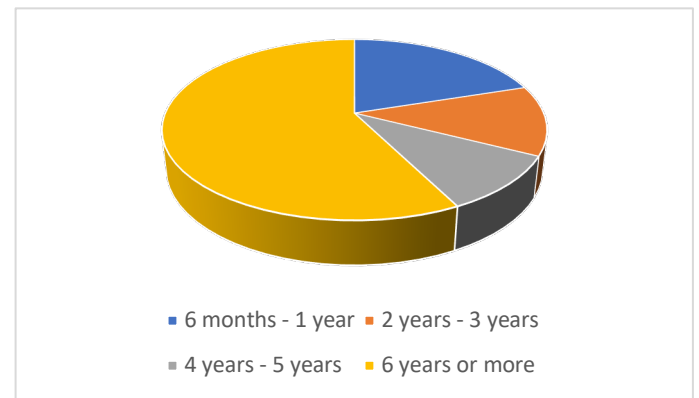


Table 13 - Years of work in Milan, 2019 (own elaboration).

Moreover, it was found that most immigrant women work in three sectors: 25% of women works in the household and cleaning sectors; 23% of women work in the health and social care sector; and 15% in the accommodation and catering services sector. Also, being Milan the Capital of Fashion, it is obvious that some immigrant women work there too (8%). Finally, the section “other” has been marked by 15% of women: 7,5% of women interviewed works in business administration; 2,5% works as bodyguards and the remaining 2,5% as a shop assistant.

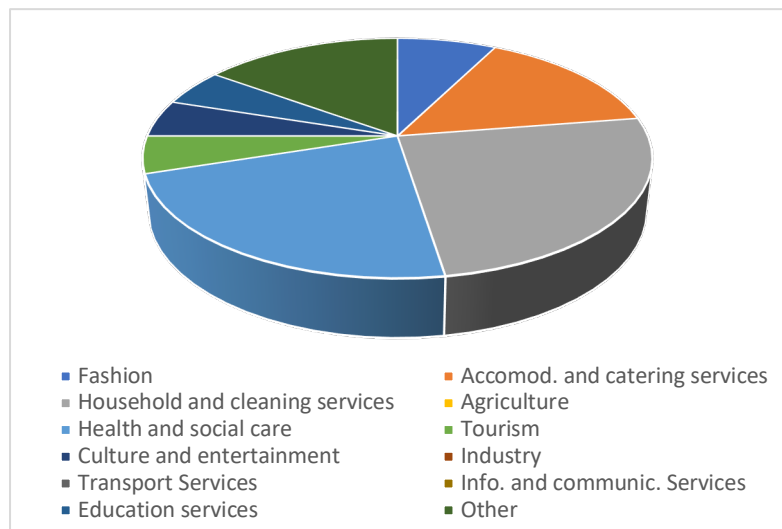


Table 14 - Immigrant women's labor. Sectors, 2019 (own elaboration).

In relation to the working days and hours, it is observed that 48% of women interviewed work from three to five days per week; only 13% of them works between one to two days; and the last 40% works between six to seven days. The latter is an important aspect to consider since only 25% of women interviewed doesn't have any kids to take care of (Table 6); and since 50% of them is

working eight hours per day (Table 15). Moreover, Table 17 shows the earning per month of immigrant women: 38% of them earns 800 euros per month or less; 35% between 800 euros and 1200 euros; and the remaining 28% earns 1200 euros or more. These percentages are evidence for the need for two different sources of income: a woman that works for this amount of days and hours, and has a kid (or more than one) and a house to take care of would need more than what she earns to be able to provide for everything necessary.

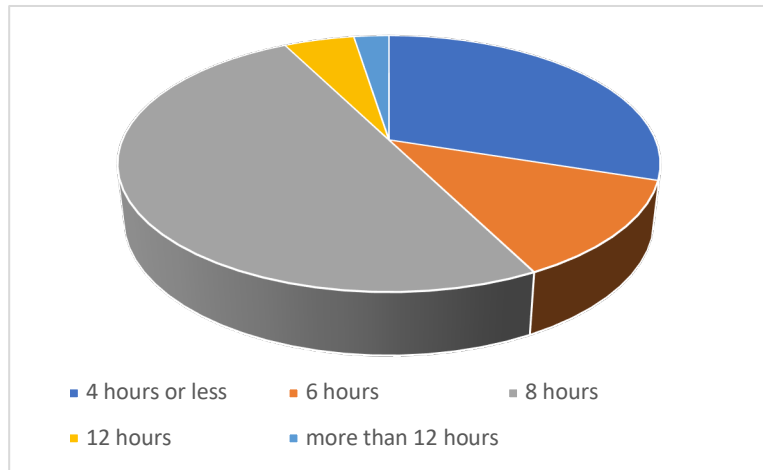


Table 15 - Working hours per day of immigrant women working in the metropolitan area of Milan, 2019 (own elaboration).

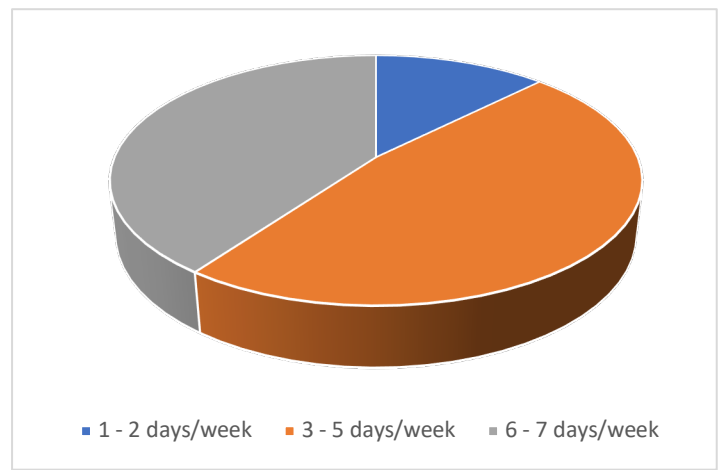


Table 16 - Average working days of immigrant women working in the metropolitan area of Milan, 2019 (own elaboration).

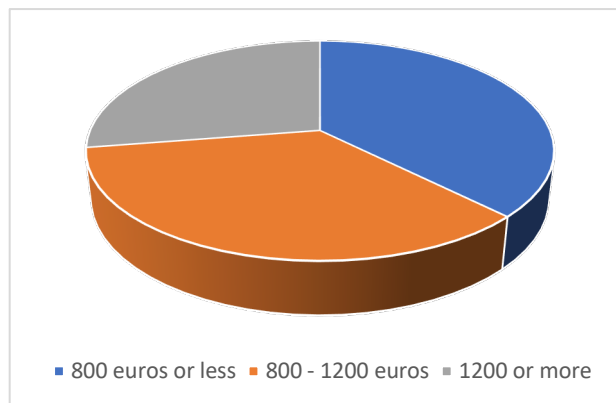


Table 17 - Earnings per month of immigrant women working in the metropolitan area of Milan, 2019 (own elaboration).

The last factors included in this section is related to the families of immigrant women and remittances. It was found that, although 75% of women interviewed left their countries of origin

alone, currently 68% of them is living with the family in the metropolitan area of Milan.⁸ Francesco della Puppa explained during his interview that:

“[...] family reunification [policy] does not allow the arrival of other family members, except the spouse (or husband) and their children.”

Therefore, it is assumed that immigrant workers would send some money to the rest of their family back in their country of origin. As demonstrated in Table 19, 85% of women working in Milan send between 0% - 20% of their monthly income as remittances; only 8% of them sends to their family between 25% - 45% and 50% - 70%. This can be understood considering that most women do not earn enough to take care of the whole family, the one in Milan, and the one in their country of origin.

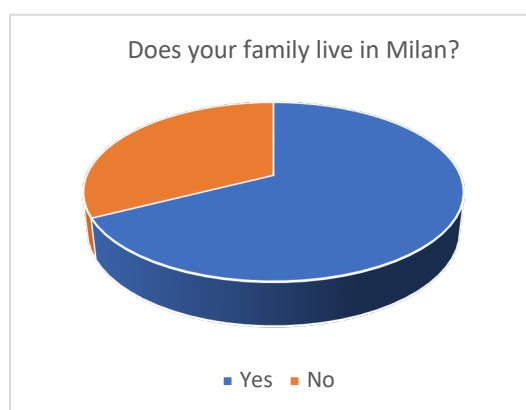


Table 18 - Location of the family of immigrant women living in the metropolitan area of Milan, 2019 (own elaboration).

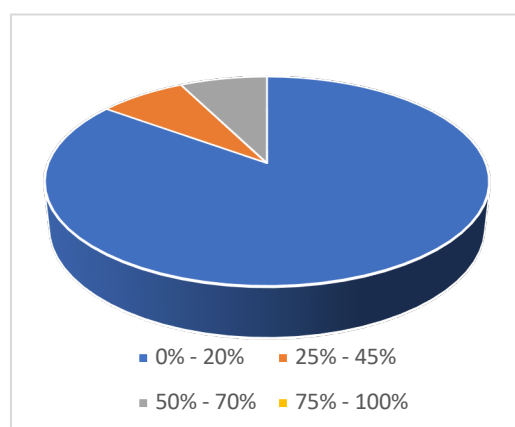


Table 19 - Remittances towards countries of origin, 2019 (own elaboration).

⁸ The question asked, “Does your family live in Milan?” assumes that the term *family* refers to husband and kids.

5.2 Immigrant women and access to the labor market

The economic crisis of 2008 affected in many ways the Italian economy; and one surprising effect was pointed out by Gloria Albertini, sociologist working for Cestim (Italian Immigration Study Center), during her interview:

“[...] among both Italians and foreigners, the only trend that increased is the one of women workers; whereas man became the predominant part in the home environment. This is the effect of the entry of women into the labor market: a growing effect [...]”

Nevertheless, there are still many obstacles to consider when talking about the access of women, especially foreigners, to the labor market.

It resulted that 68% of immigrant women interviewed found an easy access to the labor market, and only 33% of them expressed the opposite impression (Table 20).

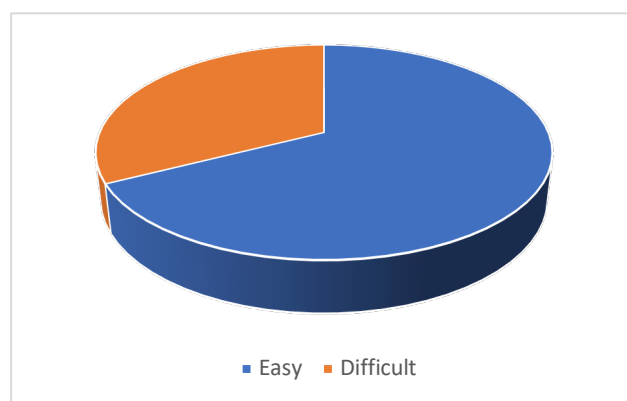


Table 20 - Easiness to access the labor market of immigrant women in the metropolitan area of Milan, 2019 (own elaboration).

Despite this, there are six obstacles that all immigrant women face when looking for a job in a foreign country, such as: possibility to choose (i); double discrimination (ii); culture and religion (iii); social class (iv); double presence (v); and family structure (vi).

The first barrier is not having the *possibility to choose*. As mentioned before, the family structure is changing, and the need of having a double source of income is increasing. This situation becomes a barrier for women accessing the labor market because this urge, pushes women in a position in which they are willing to accept any job offered to them, even if it is not a job of their interest; nor that will allow them in the future to grow to a better position within the company.

The second obstacle is one that applies to both foreign and native women: *discrimination*. In Italy the gender gap is very high compared to other European states, meaning that for women it is harder to find a job compared to men; and even once they do have a job their remuneration is 10,4% lower than men's (Gender Gap Report 2018).⁹ Therefore, for women in general it is difficult to access the Italian labor market; in the case of immigrant women it is even harder:

"[...] if we take a look at unemployment rates of foreign women, the numbers will be far higher compared to unemployment rates of foreign workers in general, and higher compared to the unemployment rate of women in general – foreign women suffer a double discrimination: they are women and foreigners." (Gloria Albertini)

The third, and probably most important, barrier is *culture* and, more in particular, *religion*. It is true that a country that has a mixture of cultures will, at some point, benefit of it; but the first impact is not as good as one may think. The major player when discussing culture is religion, because the values of individuals have their roots in it. Some religions are in favor of women being independent and workers; others are in favor of women working within house walls, taking care of the husband and their kids. Therefore, women that believe in religions with ideals such as the latter, when migrating to another country will have one more barrier to the entrance in the labor market that actually is imposed by their own religion.

When foreign workers migrate to another country, people tend to place them in the "working class"; but actually, in their country of origin, these people are probably part of the middle class, if not higher. Francesco della Puppa pointed out that migrating to another country is very expensive, and people that belong to low social classes, and are poor, cannot even afford to travel from their village to the capital. Therefore, it is discouraging for women who belong to these social classes to migrate and find a job that is not considered adequate to their social class. Indeed, the *social class* from the emigration side is to consider as a barrier to the entrance in the labor market.

The fifth issue is related to women in general, both natives and foreigners: the *double presence*. Women already have a 24/7 job, which is taking care of their house and family; and to this it adds up the necessity to find a job that is outside the house walls and pays them monthly to be able to provide for food and any assistance that requires a payment.

⁹ Source: https://winningwomeninstitute.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/09/Gender_Gap_Report_2018.pdf

At last, the *family structure* of immigrants is a barrier itself to the access in the labor market. Native women, once they have a job outside the house walls, have parents and siblings that can help with their kids when they are off to work. In the case of immigrant women, they usually do not have the same family network that gives them that extra support they need in case they have a job; thus, sometimes they find themselves obliged to stay at home. Francesco della Puppa stated:

"[...] immigrant families are more vulnerable because they have less support, which is a support for the entire household; which can sometimes also be an economic support for the management of expenses."

To sum up, there are several barriers that women in general, and, as in this case, immigrant women need to face; but it is also possible to take down some of them, at least the ones that are built by natives, such as double discrimination, double presence, and the allowance to build a strong parental network to finally give immigrant women more possibility to choose and raise in job positions. This is important from both an ethical point of view, and an economic point of view: the more workers in the labor market, the more improvement in the performance of the economy.

5.3 Immigrant women in the labor market and their impact on the economic performance of the economy of Milan

The phenomenon of migration and the economy of a city, such as Milan, are strictly related. As explained in the *Introduction to the topic* migration is attracted by strong and driving economies, which then translates into a new contribution to the performance of the economy; to be more precise, a structural contribution. The role of immigrant women is becoming more and more essential for both the services to families and companies. Francesco della Puppa pointed out that Milan is a very big and industrialized city, with lots of companies carrying out services for businesses; and even in this field, the contribution of immigrant women is a first necessity. Moreover, the care work is so vast, that the welfare system cannot guarantee assistance for everyone; therefore, having immigrant women mainly employed in this sector is crucial for the economy of our country and cities.

“[...] this also implies economic repercussions for the city: obviously, not having to carry out care work but delegating it to immigrant women, the members of the family are able to work for the market outside the house walls.”

To have a numerical demonstration of the impact of immigration on the economy, the Fondazione Leone Moressa writes annual reports on the economy of immigration. In this research they calculated the added value generated by all immigrants in Italy for each sector of production (assuming that within the same sector, the productivity of national and foreign workers is equal); and the GDP created annually by all immigrants. These calculations are made only on a national and regional basis. Instead, in this section, the calculations are made only on the metropolitan area of the city of Milan, and the group of people taken into consideration are only immigrant women.

Regions	% Immigrant workers	GDP created by immigrants (millions of euros)	% of added value produced by immigrants on the total added value
Piemonte	8,3	10.211	8,8
Valle d'Aosta	0,2	244	6,1
Liguria	2,7	3.591	8,3
Lombardia	23,2	35.107	10,7
Trentino-Alto Adige	1,8	3.343	9,1
Veneto	9,8	13.845	9,9
Friuli-Venezia Giulia	2,2	2.965	8,9
Emilia-Romagna	10,6	16.419	11,9
Toscana	8,1	9.865	9,8
Umbria	1,8	1.769	9,2
Marche	2,4	2.766	7,5
Lazio	14,0	16.805	10,1
Abruzzo	1,4	1.396	1,9
Molise	0,2	175	3,1
Campania	5,0	4.593	4,8
Puglia	2,3	2.011	3,1
Basilicata	0,4	384	3,6
Calabria	1,6	1.384	4,7
Sardegna	1,1	951	3,2
Sicilia	3,1	2.842	3,6
Italia	100,0	130.665	8,7

Table 21 – Added value produced by immigrant workers in each region, 2017.
Source: Annual report on the economy of immigration 2018

Table 21 represents a screenshot of immigration in Italy. The region with the highest percentage of immigrant workers (both man and women) is Lombardia (23,2%), followed by Lazio (14,0%) and Emilia-Romagna (10,6%). Moreover, the data that attracts the attention of the reader is 35 107 million euros, which represents the gross domestic product generated by immigrants in Lombardia (26,9% of the total GDP created by immigrants all over Italy). The last column represents the added value produced by immigrants on the total added value. One more time, Lombardia has one of the highest values: Emilia-Romagna has the record, producing 11,9% of added value; followed by Lombardia, producing 10,7% of added value.

LOMBARDIA		MILAN	
FOREIGN RESIDENTS:			
Male	553.326	Male	218.413
Female	586.137	Female	228.510
Total	1.139.463	Total	446.923
IMMIRGANTS EMPLOYED:			
Male	388.988	Male	118.769
Female	287.793	Female	82.168
Total	676.781	Total	200.937
*2.917.159 are the total workers in Lombardia			

Table 22 - Data on foreign workers in Lombardia and Milan, divided by gender, 2017 (own elaboration).
Source: ISTAT

Table 22 represents the number of foreign and native residents, as well as workers, both in Lombardia and in Milan. Out of all 12 provinces in Lombardia, Milan has the highest number of residents, reaching 3 218 201 people; and it is followed by Brescia (1 262 678 residents) and Bergamo (1 109 933 residents). Out of these three million residents, 446 923 are foreign residents, with the majority being women: 48,9% are male and 51,1% are female. With the data reported in Table 22 and the knowledge in regard to women's obstacles to access the labor market, it is evident that women do not have the same possibilities as man, since only 35% of female foreign residents are employed in the metropolitan area of Milan.

Enrico di Pasquale, when discussing the impact of immigrant women on the economic performance of Italy and Milan, explained that:

“[...] the foreign workforce is complementary to the Italian one: even in the same sectors, the tasks that are generally requiring a lower level of skills and qualifications is usually covered by foreign workers; whereas the ones in need of a higher level of skills and qualifications is usually given to nationals”.

Therefore, immigrant women are employed in lower sectors and allow native women to reach for higher working positions. For example, immigrant women working in the care and housing sector are of big help for native women: helping them with their kids and taking care of their houses allows for greater employment of native women.

Moreover, it is evident that the contribution of immigration in big cities such as Milan is stronger, since these cities live mostly on services, and thus labor is more present. To support this concept, Table 23 shows the amount of GDP and the added value produced by immigrant women living and working in the metropolitan area of Milan. In regard to the production of GDP, immigrant women in Milan create a value of 4 108 million euros per year, representing 11,7% of Immigrants' GDP of Lombardia, and 3,1% of the overall amount of GDP created by immigrant workers in all Italian regions.

	% IMMIGRANT WORKERS	<<IMMIGRANT'S GDP>> (millions of euros)	% of added value produced by immigrants on the total added value
LOMBARDIA	676.781 (23,2% of 2.917.159)	35.107	10,7 %
Milan	200.937 (6.8% of 2.917.159)	10.046	3,2%
Women in Milan	82.168 (2.8% of 2.917.159) (40.9% of 200.937)	4.108	1,3%

*Table 23 – Impact of immigrant women on the performance of the economy of Milan, 2017 (own elaboration).
Source: ISTAT*

Therefore, it is possible to say that immigration does have a positive impact on the economy of Italy; but in this case, there is proof that also the work of immigrant women is essential and does have a positive impact on the performance of the economy of Milan.

Until now, all chapters and calculations refer only to regular immigrants; but Francesco della Puppa discussed also the economic contribution of irregular immigrants: Italy has a big chunk of its GDP made by informal work, in which immigrants without a residency permit play a very large part (i.e. fruit and vegetable market – high use of low-cost, highly flexible manpower; which is labor of irregular immigrants in the daily agenda).

“[...] We are not talking about a criminal or an underground economy, which has no contact with the formal economy; all these different economies are closely intertwined. Therefore, the contribution of immigration in general, regular or irregular, is an inevitable contribution for the Italian and Milanese economy.”

5.4 Future scenario of immigrant women’s work and impact on the economy of Milan

Even though there are still many barriers women need to face when trying to first access the labor market, in the previous subchapter the impact of immigrant women on the performance of the economy of Milan has been demonstrated to be positive. Being such a complex phenomenon with many variables being part of it, it is possible that this impact will change in the future. For this reason, during all interviews one topic discussed was current policies on immigration and future scenarios.

The context of reference is a country which has a very few number of children per family; a population that is growing older; and many young brilliant minds moving to foreign countries to study or find better job offers.

In regard to active policies that might affect future trends and future impact of the phenomenon of immigration, three policies will be analyzed: *family reunifications* (i); the absence of a *Flow Decree* (ii); and *Salvini Decree* (iii).

First of all, the absence of the Flow Decree, implies that the only way immigrants can come to Italy is through *family reunification* policy. This regulation doesn’t affect the access of immigrant workers to the labor market: once the wife reaches her husband in the country of destination, she will be able to apply for a job (in case she is willing to work).

The second policy discussed is the *Flow Decree*. Francesco della Puppa explained:

“The Flow Decree did not involve new entries of workers from abroad, but rather it was used as an amnesty. The flow decree was for those who were irregular in Italy to

simulate being abroad: they would apply for the “entry to Italy”, and once the application was accepted, they threw away the old passport, asked the embassy for a new one and pretended to have entered in Italy with a regular visa. [...] Thanks to this passage people could regularly enter the labor market, because to access the flow decree they needed a work contract.”

The consequence of the absence of these “*masked amnesties*” is not that immigrants will not be able to work; but rather that they will have one less opportunity to regularize their stay in Italy. As previously mentioned, the Italian labor market is composed by a very big percentage of irregular work; this mainly because there are many foreign residents that do not have a residency permit, and are not in the position to access a protected job since they were not able to regularize through an amnesty. Hence, having a Flow Decree in the past did not increase the number of workers migrating to Italy; and not having a Flow Decree now, does not expel immigrants from the labor market,

“[...] it only strips them of rights they would have, if they entered the labor market with a regular contract and a regular document.”

Thus, immigrant women will be even more vulnerable and exploitable than what they already are.

The last policy to discuss is the *Salvini Decree*. This decree abolishes humanitarian protection in Italy; which was the other way for immigrant women, and man, to apply for a residency permit, and asking to be protected. The consequence of this policy is certainly not fewer immigrants in Italy:

“[...] the people that are in Italy, obviously will not return to their country of origin because the journey has cost them a lot in economic, social, and physical terms; [but] they are deprived of the possibility of regularizing with humanitarian protection, and consequently, they will become the mass of attractive people in the informal labor market.”

Thus, this policy does not change the number of workers; but again, it will affect the set of rights these workers would have if they were regularized.

Therefore, if policies and trends do not change in the near future, a dynamic of “stripping rights” will be established and immigrant workers will be obliged to accept even more humble jobs

compared to the ones they already are accepting. This will not only have a negative consequence on the economic performance of big cities; but also, all jobs (of natives and immigrants) will be devalued, leading to a *downward* competition between Italian workers, regular immigrant workers and irregular immigrant workers. Francesco della Puppa concluded stating that

“This [situation] causes the creation of a new phenomenon as well: the emigration to foreign states to avoid competing (on the downside) in the Italian labor market, both of young Italians and young immigrants. [...] Hence, if someone suffers a reduction in rights and guarantees, there is a backlash even on those who were better off in the first place.”

Besides these political decisions and future predictions, Italy and big cities, are already experiencing some demographic and economic changes. Before the economic crisis of 2008, economic migrations were the main type of migration affecting Italy; after 2008, Italy has been hit by a strong refugee crisis which has only been slowing down in the last few years. As pointed out by Andrea Stuppini, the question Italy needs to answer is “How Italy can cope with the demographic decline?”; a phenomenon that already affected the school systems and is now starting to affect the labor market as well.

To sum up, politics should now focus on these issues to be able to fix this decrease in rights and regularization of immigrant workers, in order to solve the demographic decline Italy is facing today.

6 Conclusion

The conclusion for this research is divided in two parts: a general conclusion describing the result related to the hypothesis; and the conclusion related to the questions outlined in Methodology (Chapter 2).

6.1 Conclusion for the objectives of the research

This sub-chapter describes the findings and conclusions for all the objectives listed in the Methodology. All four questions have been thoroughly answered.

○ How is the female immigrant population that is living in Milan?

The first step in the research was to understand if immigrant women living and working in the Metropolitan area of Milan do have the requisites to have an impact on the economy. The outcome of the research is the following:

- Currently, there are 239 256 immigrant women working in the area of research, and most of them coming from the Philippines, China, Albania, Sri-Lanka and Perú. Most women coming from these countries have strong working values; trend that is confirmed by the fact that 80% of them moved to Milan for working reasons.
- Most women interviewed are married with kids, only 25% of them does not have kids; and also, only 33% of them has a low-level of education (considering elementary and middle school).
- Most women came to Milan alone; and are willing to remain in the city of reference for the rest of their life. The sectors in which 63% of women are working in are: health and social care, accommodation and catering services and household and cleaning services industries. As for now, 68% of women interviewed has been living in Milan for more than years, and 58% of them has been working for the same amount of years.
- Most women work for eight hours per day, for three to five days per week; and 35% of them earns 800 euros or less and 28% between 800 euros to 1200 euros per month. Moreover, most of them lives with their family (only husband and kids); and 85% of them stated to send between 0% - 20% of their monthly income as remittances to their countries of origin (trend that makes sense considering that these women work for a small revenue and have kids to take care and provide for).

Therefore, it is possible to state that immigrant women do have the requisites to have an impact on the economy.

○ Which are the main barriers for immigrant women to access the labor market?

It was found that, unfortunately, women have to face several obstacles when accessing the labor market; some obstacles are related to their country of origin, and others are created by the situation and the society of the country of destination. Based on this distinction, it is possible to sunder the barriers that could be removed, and the ones that are possible to only diminish.

- Culture and religion are obstacles that are going to follow women in any country they arrive to. If women come from a country in which man are the strongest sex, and have faith in a religion that does not expect they should be part of the labor market because their only job is to take care of the house and the children, it is not possible to take down this barrier, because their migration is probably only done to reunite with their husband, and no intention to find a job.

In case the woman migrates and has the necessity to find a job despite her religion, culture can be a barrier, but it can be softened by increasing policies of integration.

- The social class that women are in when in their country of origin is a barrier in the sense that, before they might have not needed to have a job; and if they did, it was probably a high-positioned job. Once they move to Italy their social class shifts downwards, and due to the lower skills, they can offer to the labor market they are forced to take job positions that are not as high as the ones they had in their country of origin. This barrier cannot be taken down; but it could be softened if the recruiting process was different.
- Double discrimination is probably the biggest barrier that women face, but could be taken down: if more policies were implemented in regard to the issue of discrimination for the Nationality of a person, one side of this barrier would be avoided; in regard to gender discrimination, Italy is moving forward with the aim of eradicate the issue, but the process is still in its first phase. Therefore, the barrier can be completely taken down if the first ones to work against it would be organizations and businesses creating the demand for new workers.
- The barrier of double presence can be easily removed: immigrant women need to work both outside and inside the house; if the access to services for families was more accessible for

them as well, they would not have this problem. Therefore, the solution would be to increase the governmental assistance towards families in general; or to have a better parental support.

- The last barrier is related to the previous point: the parental network of support these women have. If immigrant families were allowed to have more relatives at their side, through the use of a different policy for reunification of families, immigrant women would have a more similar support for the care of kids and the house, as native women.

- *Is the impact in Milan's annual economic performance of female immigration labor force positive or negative?*

In regard to the contribution of immigrant women to the performance of the economy, there are three main conclusions. First of all, women and man in general have different ways of solving issues they face, both in their personal and in the professional life. Thus, the contribution of women can be considered different from the one of man, because they bring different opinions and inputs to the economy. Moreover, women and man are employed in different sectors, because they have different skills: this means that immigrant women and immigrant man's employment is complementary. For the same reason, immigrant and native women have complementary employment: even if they work in the same organization, they have different skills which lead to having different job positions. At last, immigrant women are mainly employed in health and social care, or household and cleaning sectors; allowing native women to have more possibilities to find a job outside the house-walls.

Finally, the outcome of the calculations on immigrant women's impact on the performance of the economy of Milan is positive: results show that only immigrant women working in the Metropolitan Area of Milan produce an annual GDP of 4 108 million euros; and 1,3% of added value on the total added value of all immigrants in all Italian regions. Therefore, if these trends are sustained and improved in the future, removing some, if not all, barriers of the access to the labor market, women will play an important role in solving the demographic decline affecting Italy.

- *Given current politics and public opinion, how is the impact going to change in their near future?*

The phenomenon of immigration is very complex and there are too many variables to consider. For this reason, it is very hard to make a prediction on how trends are going to change in the future; but for sure, it is possible to understand how the situation is at the moment, and expecting

all variables to be the same, it is possible to expect certain effects on the society, and finally, the economy. During the research three policies have been analyzed in order to understand the consequences they have on the work of immigrant women.

- The use of family reunification as one of the only ways to allow immigrants to come to Italy will not change the number of immigrants working in Italy; women will still be able to access the labor market.
- The absence of flow decree does not reduce the number of immigrants moving to Milan, and Italy; it has always been used as a “masked amnesty” to regularize immigrants. Its absence will have consequences on the life of foreign residents in Italy: they will be mostly irregular (because they won’t have this amnesty); they will become more and more vulnerable and exploitable, becoming part of the informal labor market.
- The Salvini Decree might have a similar effect as the previous point explained: abolishing international protection is one other way to take away the possibility for immigrants to regularize and find a proper job. Moreover, people that are already in the boot-shaped country will not leave due to the high amount of resources needed; therefore, once again, foreign people will become more vulnerable, and they will find themselves in the condition to have to accept even more humble jobs.

These three policies, if they are not changed will have two major consequences that will affect the economy of big cities such as Milan, and as a consequence, of Italy. First of all, a dynamic of stripping rights to immigrant workers will be established; and this consequence will affect even more the discrimination of immigrant women in the labor market. Hence, this will cause the devaluation of all jobs, including natives, regularized immigrants and irregulars. The second consequence these policies will have is the creation of a Brain drain phenomenon: the third generation of immigrants, will have a higher level of education compared to previous generations; but once old enough to enter the labor market, they will face a downward double competition, involving native workers and irregular immigrants working in the informal economy. Therefore, they will try to migrate again to other countries to avoid this negative competition.

6.2 General conclusion

The context of reference of this research is Italy, a country that is growing older, both because families are having fewer number of children and the average lifetime is increasing; and because it is a country affected by the phenomenon of brain drain. People are beginning to wonder how the situation is going to be in the future. During centuries, immigration brought negative and positive effects on the economies of countries; and now, it is likely to become the answer to the future of Italy. Moreover, the phenomenon has been changing throughout the years, showing different trends depending on the situation in the countries of origin of people involved in the process of migration.

This research has a specific area of reference: The Metropolitan Area of Milan. It was chosen because it is one of the biggest cities and biggest economic center in Italy, which makes it one of the main attractions for immigrants looking for better opportunities of work, to create for themselves, and for their family, a better life. Moreover, the study puts immigrant women under the spotlight to evaluate their role in the economy (of Milan) with the final aim of understanding if their contribution to the labor market generates a positive or a negative impact.

The null hypothesis (H_0) formulated at first was:

The labor force of female immigration has no economic impact in Milan's annual economic performance.

Under other conditions, the alternative hypothesis (H_1) was:

The labor force of female immigration has a positive economic impact in Milan's annual economic performance.

To conclude, the outcome at the core of this dissertation is that the null hypothesis (H_0) has been rejected; and the alternative hypothesis (H_1) has been accepted. This because, after having collected and analyzed all data gathered with primary and secondary researches, it appears that immigrant women living in the Metropolitan Area of Milan are, most part, working and willing to work in the area of reference; they contribute producing 4 108 million euros per year for the Italian GDP; they generate 1,3% of added value; they complement native women's work, and allow them to have more time to dedicate to jobs outside the house-walls. Nevertheless, there are

still many barriers that they need to face when trying to access the Italian labor market; therefore, if Italy would take down some of these barriers, their contribution and impact on the economy would grow even more compared to the current situation.

Italy, and all cities like Milan, should embrace the phenomenon of immigration, and try to ensure both parts – immigrant man and women, and native man and women – get some benefit from this situation; in such a way, the economy of Milan, and Italy as a whole, will flourish as it never has before.

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Appendix

Appendix 1: Resident population and registry movement by region and distribution – year 2018.
Source: ISTAT.

	LOMBARDY	ITALY
Population from 01.01.18	10.036.258	60.483.973
Total registered	338.220	1.795.100
Registered from foreign countries	66.184	332.324
Balance registered - cancelled	48.165	68.959
Male population	4.924.451	29.384.766
Female population	5.136.123	10.060.574
Total population	30.974.780	60.359.546

Appendix 2: Migration movement with foreign countries by citizenship (absolute value, balances and rates per 1000) – year 2018. Source: ISTAT.

	LOMBARDY	ITALY
REGISTERED:		
From abroad (total)	66.184	332.324
From abroad (Italians)	9.367	46.824
From abroad (foreigners)	56.817	285.500
CANCELLED:		
Moved to foreign country (total)	30.343	156.960
Expiry of residency permit	3.862	27.703

Appendix 3: Foreign population resident and registry movement by region and distribution – year 2018. Source: ISTAT.

	LOMBARDY	ITALY
Population up to 01.01.2018	1.153.835	5.144.440
REGISTERED:		
Total	132.361	592.155
From another municipality	63.603	246.299
From abroad	56.817	285.500
CANCELLED:		
Total	119.248	538.846
Moved to foreign country	8.088	40.228
Moved to another municipality	60.909	244.422
For other reasons	19.777	141.673
Due to the acquisition of the Italian Citizenship	30.474	112.523
BALANCE (registered – cancelled)	13.113	53.309
Male population up to 31.12.2018	577.342	2.536.787
Female population up to 31.12.2018	604.430	2.718.716
Total population up to 31.12.18	1.181.772	5.255.503

Appendix 4: Resident foreign population up to December 31, 2018 (values and indicators).
Source: ISTAT.

	<i>LOMBARDY</i>	<i>ITALY</i>
Foreign residents	1.181.722	5.255.503
Percentage of total foreign residents	22.5%	100%
Foreign female for every 100 foreigners	51.1	51.7
Acquisition of italian citizenship for every 1000 foreign residents	25.8	21.4

Appendix 5: Interview with Enrico di Pasquale, researcher for the organization Fondazione Leone Moressa.

Signature: Enrico di Pasquale.

Contact: info@fondazioneleonemoressa.org

Date: October 15th, 2019

- 1. In your opinion, does the Italian economy depend on the work of immigrant people legally resident in Italy? If so, what is the impact immigration has on a city such as Milan? Moreover, do you think that the input added by immigrant workers to the Italian economy has a positive impact on the economic performance of the country?**

In general, we observed that the contribution of immigration to the Italian economy is positive: meaning that it is worth 9% of the national GDP; having estimated the added value, produced by the work of immigrant workers (both men and women), to be around 139 billion euros (2018).

We also observed that the incidence among workers is over 10%, therefore 1/10 of Italian employed people is a foreigner. Moreover, the foreign workforce is complementary to the Italian one: even in the same sectors, the tasks generally requiring a lower level of skills and qualifications is covered by foreign workers; whereas the ones in need of a higher level of skills and qualifications is usually given to nationals.

In regard to the distinction between big cities such as Milan and other peripheral areas, let's say that the contribution in big cities is stronger, in the sense that those who live mostly on services and labor is therefore more present.

- 2. In the last years, gender acquired more importance in discussions in regard to the phenomenon of immigration. Why? Do you think that the benefits created by immigrant women are different compared to the ones generated by immigrant men?**

When discussing immigration there is one important distinction to be made: there is a substantial difference in nationalities, between one and the other. For example, if we talk about immigrants coming from Morocco *gender-distinction* is completely different compared to the one made in countries such as Moldavia or Ukraine. Therefore, there are nationalities from the East, in which women are the major component, in which the phenomenon of caregivers, and therefore family assistants which is almost exclusively covered by women coming from eastern countries. Thus, migration fluxes are predominantly female and are

women whom come to Italy alone (and remain alone for many years since family reunification made by man is very rare) with the ultimate goal to go back to their country of origin after so many years.

In regard to other nationalities, especially North Africa and South Asia (i.e. Bangladesh and India, Morocco, etc.) migration is mostly a male phenomenon. In many cases this migration happened more than ten years ago, and therefore what we are seeing now is the family reunification of these men's wives. The problem here is that the issue of integration is quite felt: this migration flow, typically women migrate with their children and therefore they have problems of integration into society; and if their children are at school age, they mostly have problems of integration in the school system as well. In some countries there are many barriers for the insertion of women into society (meaning that women are not very present in the labor market), which then translates to women not working even when they moved to another country: they will stay at home to take care of their kids, and only hang out with other people of their same nationality, developing a very small and insignificant number of interactions with the rest of the society.

I don't know the causes, but the labor market is strongly diversified among women and men: it is evident that the two genders will have different jobs; and therefore, even foreign women do have very different specializations compared to the ones of men, especially in the service area (i.e. beauticians and hair-dresser); and all care and assistance types of jobs (i.e. cleaning-lady, caregivers and housekeepers).

3. ***As for a more “mathematical and economical” analysis, how do you calculate the value generated by immigrant workers? Which values do you take into consideration (in particular in regard to women)? As for the Added Value, between the one created by immigrant women and men, is there a big difference? If yes, what is the factor which affects this gap?***

We took the added value created by the National Institute of Statistics (ISTAT) for all sectors of production, and we assume that, within the same sector, the productivity of national workers and foreign is the same; and therefore, we calculate the amount of the added value for all sectors, considering the percentage of foreign worker present.

In regard to the added value, we did not make an estimate specifically on women, but considering that there are more employed male-immigrant rather than female-immigrant, the

added value of men will be higher, since it depends on the number of individual present in the labor market.

- 4. *Since the employment of immigrant workers is considered complementary, we could deduct that the employment of immigrant women is complementary to the employment of women born in Italy. In this county was estimated that if all housewives entered the labor market, the rate of employment for women would reach 70%; but unfortunately, there are some factors which prevent these women to do so (i.e. in southern Italy 30% of the housewives will not enter the labor market due to their culture. Hence, in your opinion which are the factors affecting the potential productivity of immigrant women in the labor market?***

The most important element to take into consideration is culture, and I also mean the religion of the county of origin: if we compare Chinese women and women of Bangladesh, the latter are used to stay home and take care of the family; whereas Chinese women are strong and independent workers.

The second important element is gender itself: in Italy there is a big gender gap, despite nationality, therefore, as for Italian women it is hard to enter the labor market, it is even harder for foreign women.

- 5. *With the policies and current laws, how the ongoing trends will switch in the future? What kind of effect will there be on the economies of cities such as Milan?***

Unfortunately, in Italy we are rather behind compared to other countries, especially the states in northern Europe, and the policies needed by women and families, other than the creation of new jobs (another big issue Italy is facing today), is the theme of conciliation the time to spend with the family and the one to dedicate to work; therefore, all services which let women have major participation in the labor market. All these services are still very weak in Italy (kindergarten, general family assistance services, flexibility in work hours, etc.).

- 6. *In five-ten years-time, how do you imagine the impact created by immigrant women, who arrived in Italy with the goal of finding a job?***

In my opinion, in regard to integration and job placement policies, Italy has been going backwards in the last couple of years. The reference context is of a country which does not

have kids, is growing old and all its young minds are looking for better opportunities abroad. Therefore, in such a context, the workforce of immigrants in general will surely be necessary to guarantee the replacement of labor for the elderly, and in particular the demand for jobs such as assistance and care, in which women are employed in, is going to increase substantially. Thus, the domestic assistance and domestic helpers, caregivers and all health services (nurses, hospital assistants, etc.) will have a very strong demand.

Appendix 6: Interview with Gloria Albertini, an Italian sociologist working in the field of immigration.

Signature: Gloria Albertini.

Contact: glorialbertini@gamil.com

Date: November 15th, 2019

- 1. In your opinion, does the Italian economy depend on the work of immigrant people legally resident in Italy? If so, what is the impact immigration has on a city such as Milan? Moreover, do you think that the input added by immigrant workers to the Italian economy has a positive impact on the economic performance of the country?***

We are talking about two related phenomena, where one feeds the other. From the distribution of residents around the territory, we can observe that immigrants usually move to areas with strong and driving economies; consequently, this translates into an increased contribution to the performance of the economies. Therefore, yes, I believe that the input added by immigrant workers to the economy of our country is positive.

- 2. In the last years, gender acquired more importance in discussions in regard to the phenomenon of immigration. Why? Do you think that the benefits created by immigrant women are different compared to the ones generated by immigrant men?***

For sure the employment of immigrant women is very important; it must be said that more than 40% of immigrant women workers in Italy, carry out domestic work. This is an added support: it allows greater employment of native women, because some help with the family and the house allows people to work outside their homes.

Italian and foreign women workers work in complementary sectors; therefore, they do not affect the most competitive sectors, but having this support allows workers, perhaps the best qualified, to work.

- 3. Since the employment of immigrant workers is considered complementary, we could deduct that the employment of immigrant women is complementary to the employment of women born in Italy. In this country was estimated that if all housewives entered the labor market, the rate of employment for women would reach 70%; but unfortunately, there are some factors which prevent these women to do so (i.e. in southern Italy 30% of the housewives will not enter the labor market due to their culture).***

Hence, in your opinion which are the factors affecting the potential productivity of immigrant women in the labor market?

There are many different factors: first of all, there are totally different migration patterns depending on the country of origin (migration patterns emerge easily even only by checking how many males and females there are for each country). For example, if we consider the fact that Ukrainians in Italy are 80% women, it is clear that many women come from this country to work independently; while from other countries the models may be different.

The barriers for immigrant women at work can be of different types: first of all, it is not necessary for a person to must have a job, there should be *the possibility to choose*.

Furthermore, there are *cultural barriers*, and barriers linked to *discrimination*. The latter means that if we take a look at unemployment rates of foreign women, the numbers will be far higher compared to unemployment rates of foreign workers in general, and higher compared to the unemployment rate of women in general – foreign women suffer a double discrimination: they are women and foreigners.

The fourth factor that I would take in account is the *double presence*, even though this factor affects all women, no matter their country of origin. The presence in the labor market implies a double job, if we consider that women most of the time working also at the domestic level, especially for those who have a big family and kids. Foreigners are also more in difficulty as they often do not have a supportive parental network and therefore the double presence becomes an objective obstacle to starting to work.

Some studies have shown that during the economic crisis, both among foreigners and Italians, only one trend have increased, the one of women workers; whereas men became the predominant part in the home environment. This is the effect of the entry of women into the labor market: it is a growing effect but there are still these obstacles to consider.

4. With the policies and current laws, how the ongoing trends will switch in the future? What kind of effect will there be on the economies of cities such as Milan?

I think that blocking the entries for work, and the fact that there are no incoming flows into the world of work, is an effective block to the productive capacity of the country. It's not that they change, Italy is engaging in this spiral for which the entrances allowed are only those for family reasons or for the sphere of international protection. Therefore, this will ensure that

there is no answer especially in the context of their self-sufficiency, an area in which the state is unable to respond to families. I honestly hope that the situation does not remain like this, and that sooner or later there will be a reflection on the entry flows; however in this way there will also be some shortcomings: in the context of assistance and domestic work, in Italy there is a large part of undeclared work, and given the situation, surely there will be solutions of this type which are absolutely not desirable.

5. ***In five-ten years-time, how do you imagine the impact created by immigrant women, who arrived in Italy with the goal of finding a job? Considering that Italy is an ageing country.***

Surely there would be a shortage of this type of figures, above all the ones that are qualified; and unfortunately, there is a large chunk of black labor, especially in the domestic and agricultural sectors. Clearly women are mainly employed in domestic work. Thus, there would be a lack, but it would then be replaced in an absolutely unsuitable way, as mentioned before. Furthermore, there would be a loss of rights for women and contributions, meaning taxes paid for the state, and therefore a whole series of other factors: if the idea is to contrast undeclared work, the increase in entrance fees etc.; a reflection must be made on the entry flows, otherwise the direction will be that.

Signature: Andrea Stuppini.

Contact: andrea.stuppini@gmail.com

Date: November 15th, 2019

1. *In your opinion, does the Italian economy depend on the work of immigrant people legally resident in Italy? If so, what is the impact immigration has on a city such as Milan?*

In Italy the region with the highest percentage of employed immigrants over the total is of Emilia-Romagna; the second region with the highest percentage is Lombardia, with an approximate value of 11%. To answer this question, we should go over all different sectors; but as in regard of women, the principal and highest value will be found in caregivers, family assistants and domestic workers. I want to specify that these are two different jobs: caregivers are the ones who help the elderly who are not auto-sufficient anymore; on the other hand, domestic workers help families to take care of household chores (i.e. cleaning, cooking, babysitting, etc.). The majority of immigrant women in Milan will be working in these sectors. For example, I observed that in Bologna, in the richest neighborhoods on the hills, there are many foreign women of East European or South American origin who work as domestic helpers.

2. *Moreover, do you think that the input added by immigrant workers to the Italian economy has a positive impact on the economic performance of the country?*

Yes, my colleagues from the Moressa Foundation are also able to give you the precise figure of the contribution of foreign immigrants to the GDP, which will certainly be less than 11% of employment, but I'm sure the percentage will be around 9%. This is certainly an important factor for production, but also from a tax point of view as in regard of social security contributions and tax revenue (i.e. income tax, VAT, etc.).

3. *In the last years, gender acquired more importance in discussions in regard to the phenomenon of immigration. Why? Do you think that the benefits created by immigrant women are different compared to the ones generated by immigrant man?*

The turning point was 2002: the history of Italian immigration up until the 1990s is predominantly characterized by male immigrants – more in particular adult males who came

mainly from Africa. In 2002, within the Bossi-Fini law, an amnesty was made for 650,000 people – meaning that people were regularized). Most of these were women and caregivers from the East. Therefore, if we want to indicate a turning point, I would say the rectification of Minister Maroni, after the Bossi-Fini Law: during this period there was an influx of mostly female workers – at the time there was still a flow decree, and not only entry flows for family reunions. Since then, in the Italian history of immigration, the female component remained the majority, in addition to 50% of resident immigration.

- 4. *Since the employment of immigrant workers is considered complementary, we could deduct that the employment of immigrant women is complementary to the employment of women born in Italy. In this country was estimated that if all housewives entered the labor market, the rate of employment for women would reach 70%; but unfortunately, there are some factors which prevent these women to do so (i.e. in southern Italy 30% of the housewives will not enter the labor market due to their culture. Hence, in your opinion which are the factors affecting the potential productivity of immigrant women in the labor market?***

For sure there are barriers, but the positive thing is that the situation is evolving. Furthermore, from the demographic point of view, usually foreign women have more children compared to native women in any country – in fact in the 1990s the birth-death balance given by the birth rate in Italy had held back growth because foreign women had more kids). After the year 2000, foreign women started to approach Italian birth standards (so they began having fewer children). However, foreign families are more numerous, so if one has a husband, and if the husband has a job, the woman can stay at home and look after her kids.

Bear in mind that often these families do not have a vast family network like natives; most of the time there are no grandparents, which makes a big difference. If we make a comparison to an Italian woman of the same age, with husband and work, usually she can count on her parents and relatives to take care of her kids, and as a consequence she has time to find herself a job. On the other hand, if we consider an immigrant woman, it is more likely that the grandparents are not in Italy, and the situation is more complex; therefore, the woman must give priority to taking care of the children and not go to work – this, in the case that she is with husband that already has a job.

5. *With the policies and current laws, how the ongoing trends will switch in the future? What kind of effect will there be on the economies of cities such as Milan?*

It is clear that these are political decisions, regardless of which there are demographic and economic factors that we are already experiencing. From a legal point of view, we distinguish employment in Italy in two major phases. Before the year 2011 we had mostly economic migration that was possible thanks to the decrees on entry flows, amnesties, etc. After the year 2011 this practice has been stopped for two main reasons: due to the economic crisis of 2008 there were a lot of immigrants that could not find a job and were unemployed; and having also many Italians that were unemployed it was not easy to explain to the public opinion that they were creating decree flows.

After this stage, the refugee phase began. Today, that this phase is decreasing, we begin to question how Italy could cope with the demographic decline that has lasted for several years, phenomenon that has already touched the sector of education and is beginning to be seen in the labor market too. This issue is beginning to be noticed in other European countries too (i.e. Macron announced that in 2020 there will be entries for immigrants for work related reasons). Thus, politics will have to respond to this; the demographic decline affects the whole country, and therefore Italian women and men, whether they work or not. The problem is that the demographic decline will then become social security decline (question: who will pay future pensions?).

Hence, my hope would be that in the coming years the government will examine the possibility of returning to work entrances, certainly with mechanisms very different from those of the early 2000s. The entry flow decree is a very bureaucratic thing, it's not good for current trends. We should base our processes on a more qualitative criteria, or the so-called Anglo-Saxon *Point System*: it is not true that it can be done only for engineers; it can also be done for caregivers for example. Basically, we would give a score depending on the age, the experience (previous and current, both in Italy and country of origin), educational qualification – and many other factors – of an individual. So, I think it is possible to build a *Point-System* for not particularly qualified jobs as well, and I hope that the path we are going down will be this one.

Appendix 8: Interview with Francesco Della Puppa, Professor for the Master on Immigration at the University of Venice.

Signature: Francesco Della Puppa.

Contact: francesco.dellapuppa@unive.it

Date: November 19th, 2019

- 1. In your opinion, does the Italian economy depend on the work of immigrant people legally resident in Italy? If so, what is the impact immigration has on a city such as Milan? Moreover, do you think that the input added by immigrant workers to the Italian economy has a positive impact on the economic performance of the country?**

It is a structural contribution the one of immigrants in general, including men and women, and I cannot give you quantitative data. But if we think of all the services to families among all the care work that influences the Mediterranean, it is so vast that it cannot guarantee help for all families who need assistance for the elderly and children. As for companies, Milan is an industrial city and therefore has many companies that perform services for industries; moreover, being a such a big city, there are many advantages: companies carry out services for businesses (i.e. logistics). In offices and hotels, the contribution of immigrant men and women, especially for the help within households is essential for families. This also implies economic repercussions for the city: obviously not having to carry out care work but delegating it to immigrant women, the members of the family are able to work for the market outside the house walls. Thus, I would say that the contribution of immigrant workers is an essential structural contribution, both for Italy, but above all, and for large urban centers like Milan. You have mentioned the economic contribution of legal immigrants, but I would add that the economic contribution of irregular immigrants, both men and women, is also essential for Italy. Our country, like all Mediterranean countries, has a large part of structural GDP made up of informal work - work colloquially called "*black*" – in which immigrants without a residence permit play a very large part. As for Milan, an example might be the fruit and vegetable market where the use of low-cost, highly flexible, that is the labor of irregular immigrants is in the daily agenda. Again, it is not a criminal or underground economy, which has no contact with the formal economy, but all these different economies are closely intertwined. Therefore, the contribution of immigration in general, regular or irregular, is an inevitable contribution for the Italian and Milanese economy.

2. ***In the last years, gender acquired more importance in discussions in regard to the phenomenon of immigration. Why? Do you think that the benefits created by immigrant women are different compared to the ones generated by immigrant man?***

The word gender does not mean only women, it means to elaborate the term immigration considering the impact and work of both women and men. If we linger on analyzing the female gender, as I mentioned before, the contribution of immigrant women is fundamental, mainly because in recent years, in urban centers, the family structure has changed: families increasingly need two sources income; therefore, men and women are needed to enter the labor market outside the walls of their homes. Nevertheless, children and elderly people need to be taken care of; and this task is not covered by public welfare. This situation might also create gender conflicts within families because of their culture. This necessity can be delegated to outsiders, meaning in this case immigrant women. This situation appears to be unrelated to the labor market, and therefore the economic development of the city; but in reality, the two factors are closely linked to one another, allowing Italian man and women to contribute to the economic development of the city themselves.

In addition to this, if we observe industries such as hotels and restaurants (shops as well), it is possible to observe that the labor of immigrant women is essential. All the hotels (i.e. women cleaning the rooms and maids on all floors of hotels, are mostly immigrant women). If a city like Milan, which is a big center for economic and industrial services (for many different sectors, especially fashion), if it was deprived of women's work it would collapse.

3. ***Since the employment of immigrant workers is considered complementary, we could deduct that the employment of immigrant women is complementary to the employment of women born in Italy. In this county was estimated that if all housewives entered the labor market, the rate of employment for women would reach 70%; but unfortunately, there are some factors which prevent these women to do so (i.e. in southern Italy 30% of the housewives will not enter the labor market due to their culture.***

Hence, in your opinion which are the factors affecting the potential productivity of immigrant women in the labor market?

I do not entirely agree that in southern Italy women do not enter the labor market for cultural reasons; they often do not enter because they are discouraged by the fact that the wages and the working conditions, they would find are so low that it is not convenient for them.

As in regard to the obstacles for immigrant women to access the labor market, there will always be a *cultural* component playing a role in this situation. Besides this fixed factor, I would say it is important to consider the *social class* of immigrants. For the Italian society, almost all the immigrants who arrive are part of the working class; but in reality, these women are part of the middle class in their country of origin (sometimes even middle-high class). This matter is explained by the fact that a big amount of economic resources is needed for migration (i.e. people arriving from Bangladesh, Pakistan, India, Maghreb, need money to get to Italy), and only certain social classes have economic and cultural resources; whereas the poorest people in the countries of origin do not even have the money to move from the village to the capital.

Thus, for these social classes (middle classes), and especially for women, it is discouraging to enter the labor market, because they are used to being part of a social class that does not consider adequate to carry out certain jobs. Therefore, it is necessary to observe this phenomenon considering the emigration side as well, and to observe also the class stratification of immigrants present in the area studied.

Another obstacle may be the *structure of the immigrant family*. Usually they are reunited families, and the family reunification does not allow the arrival of other family members, except for spouse (or husband) and their children.

Thus, if an Italian family can delegate part of childcare to grandparents and uncles; for immigrant families this is not possible because they cannot bring their parents or siblings with them. Therefore, families are often very small, nuclear families, unlike Italian families. For this reason, the need of having a double source of income, both coming from the husband and wife, it creates the problem of who manages the children; and if it is not possible to have guaranteed access to public services, one of the parents (usually the woman) must remain at home to take care of the house and family. The structure of the nuclear immigrant family, caused by reunification policies, makes it difficult for them to have a double source of income, because they have very small families that cannot take advantage of the support of parents and relatives for childcare. This means that immigrant families are more vulnerable because they have less support, which is a support for the entire household (which can sometimes also be an economic support for the management of expenses).

4. *With the policies and current laws, how the ongoing trends will switch in the future? What kind of effect will there be on the economies of cities such as Milan?*

I would say that as far as family reunification is concerned, not much will change: reunited women will still be able to participate in the labor market. As regards the absence of flow decrees (the lawful entry in the country for work-related reasons), it has been a couple of years already that we don't have decrees flows in Italy. Thus, instead of inhibiting the entry of immigrants into the market of labor, it will cause the presence of more irregular immigrants, and therefore more vulnerable and exploitable immigrants in the labor market. The flow decree did not involve new entries of workers from abroad, but rather it was used as an amnesty. The flow decree was for those who were irregular in Italy to simulate being abroad. They would apply for the "entry to Italy", and once the application was accepted, they threw away the old passport, asked the embassy for a new one and pretended to have entered in Italy with a regular visa. This is how they became regular immigrants and obtained a residence permit. Thanks to this passage people could regularly enter the labor market, because to access the flow decree they needed a work contract. The fact that the flow decree is not used anymore, implies that there will be less of opportunities for immigrants to regularize using these forms of "masked amnesties". The consequence of this politic is that there will be more irregular immigrants in Italy; but this does not mean that they will not work: as I said before, the Italian labor market, like the labor market of the Mediterranean area in Europe's economy – including Greece, Spain and Portugal – is an economy in which the component of irregular work, and therefore the work of immigrants without a residence permit, is very large. Thus, these people will work in the informal labor market, because they will not be in the position to access a protected job since they have not been able to regularize with an amnesty. Hence, we can say that the absence of flow decrees does not expel immigrants from the labor market, it "simply" strips immigrants of rights they would have if they entered the labor market with a regular document and a regular contract.

As for international protection, I would say the same thing: the Salvini decree abolishes humanitarian protection, which is the main motivation for requesting a residence permit and a state of protection for the applicants. The fact that this humanitarian protection is canceled will mean that these people who are already in Italy, obviously will not return to their country of origin because the journey has cost them a lot in economic, social and physical terms, and they would risk their lives in their country of origin. They are already in Italy, and in Italy they will remain; but they are deprived of the possibility of regularizing themselves with humanitarian protection, and consequently, they will become the mass of attractive people in

the informal labor market (i.e. collecting fruit and vegetables; workers in the back rooms of restaurants). Therefore, finding themselves in this position they will accept any job position. The number of immigrants who work will not change, because if the economy needs it there is a meeting point between the supply and demand; but the number of sets of rights that these workers will have will decrease.

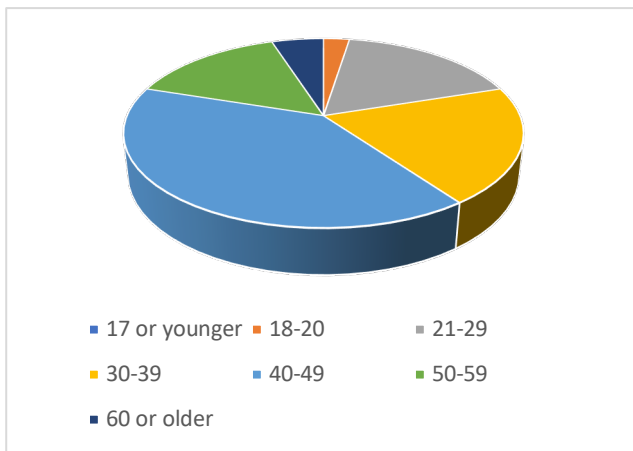
5. ***In five-ten years-time, how do you imagine the impact created by immigrant women, who arrived in Italy with the goal of finding a job? Considering that Italy is an ageing country.***

In general, this dynamic of stripping rights will be established; thus, immigrants will be more vulnerable and will have to carry out humble jobs with fewer rights. All jobs, both of immigrants and Italians, will be devalued.

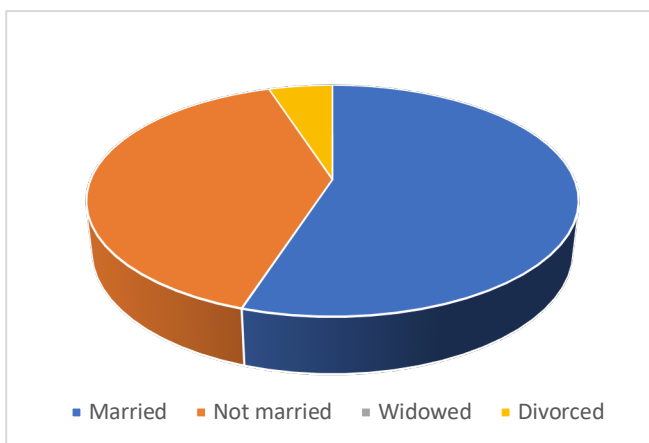
When the children of immigrants will be old enough to be able to enter the labor market, they will face competition from other immigrants (who at that point will be irregular) who will accept worse conditions. As a consequence, in this scenario, competition between Italian workers, regular immigrants and irregular immigrants will increase: all wages will be lower; and workers will be poorer. This causes the creation of a new phenomenon as well: the emigration to foreign states to avoid competing (on the downside) in the Italian labor market, both of young Italians and young immigrants. This is because the labor market somehow connects Italian workers, immigrants and irregular workers. Hence, if someone suffers a reduction in rights and guarantees, there is a backlash even on those who were better off in the first place.

Appendix 9: Surveys

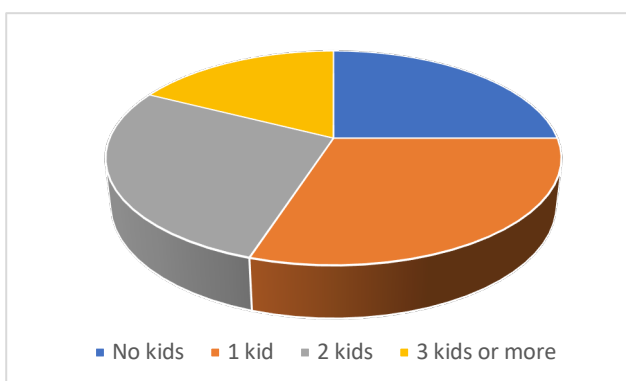
Question 1: How old are you? Choose one answer.



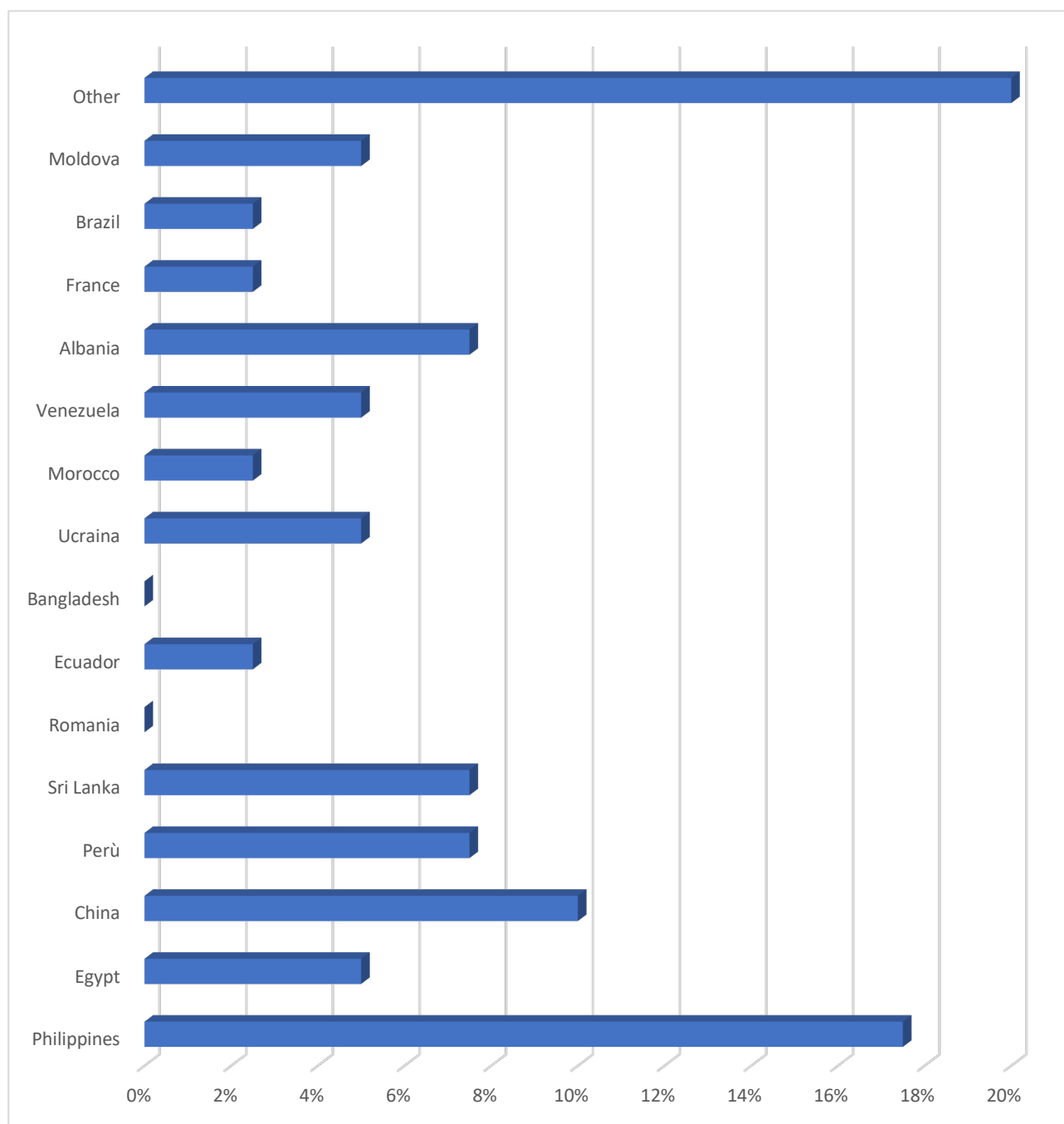
Question 2: What is your family status? Choose one answer.



Question 3: Do you have kids? And if yes, how many? Choose one answer.

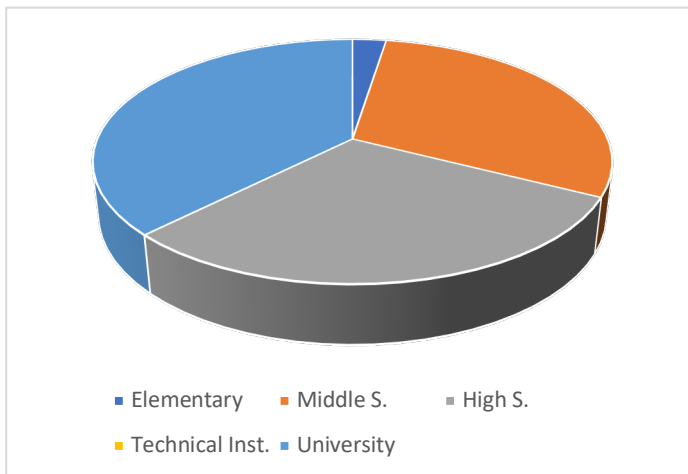


Question 4: Which is your country of origin? Choose one answer.

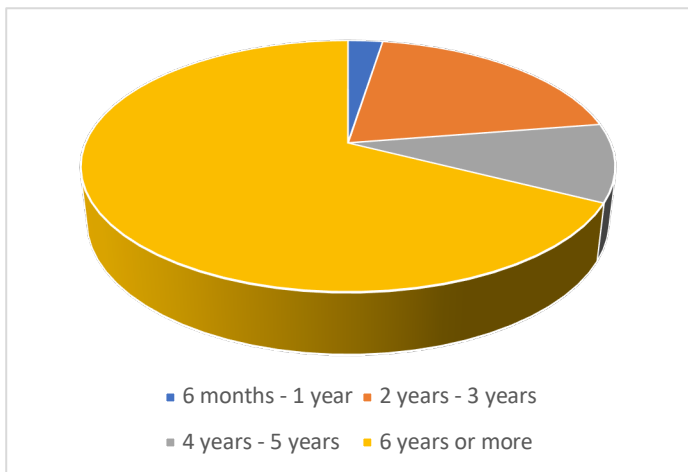


Other: Turkey 2,5%, Nigeria 5%, Argentina 2,5%, El Salvador 2,5%, Bolivia 2,5%, Kenya 2,5%, Uruguay 2,5%.

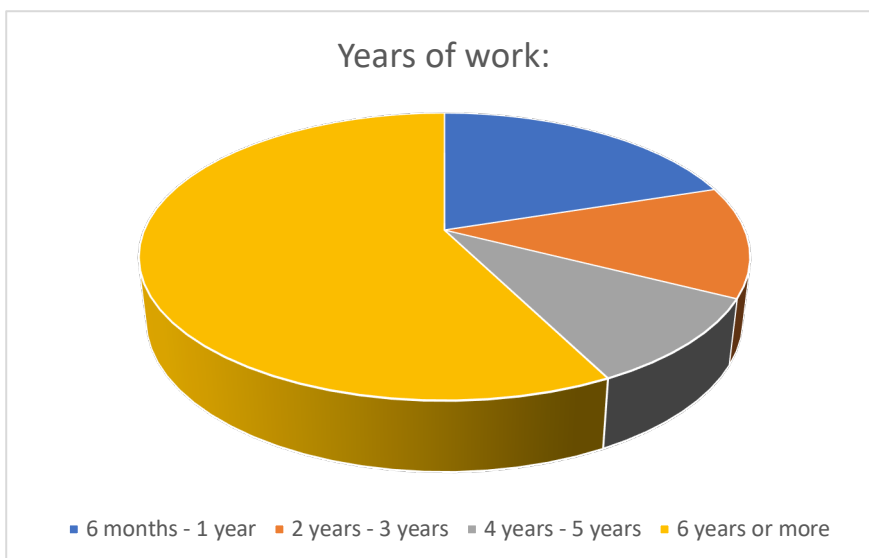
Question 5: What level of education do you have? Choose one answer.



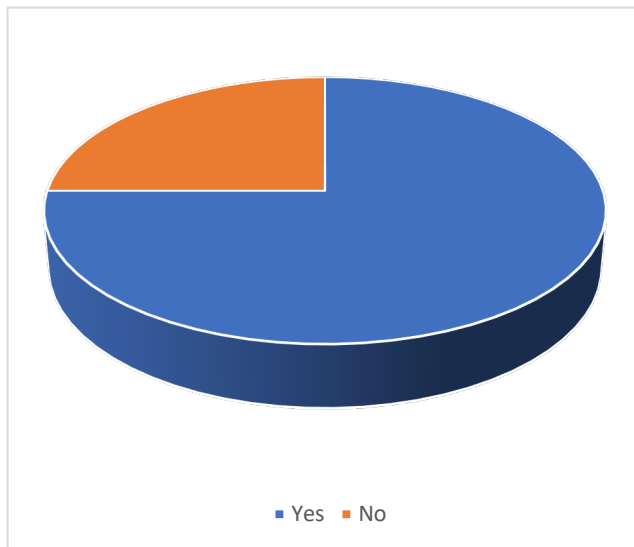
Question 6: How long have you been living in Milan? Choose one answer.



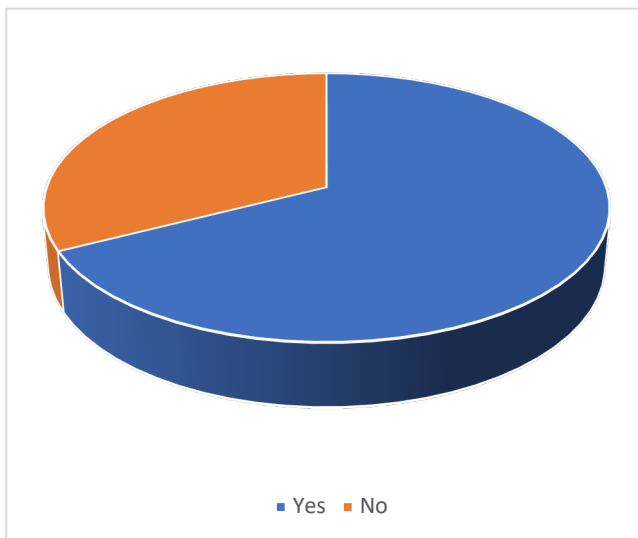
Question 7: How long have you been working in Milan? Choose one answer.



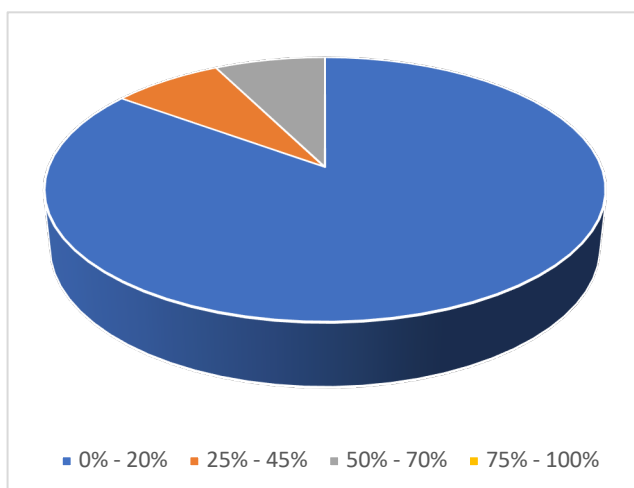
Question 8: Did you come to Milan by yourself? Choose one answer.



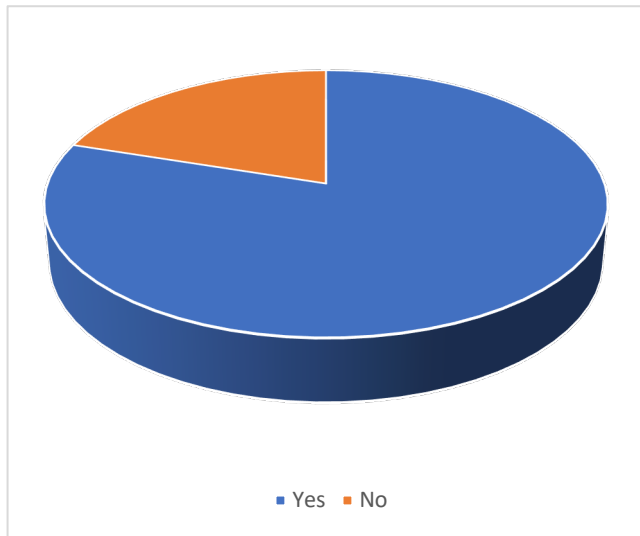
Question 9: Does your family live in Milan? Choose one answer.



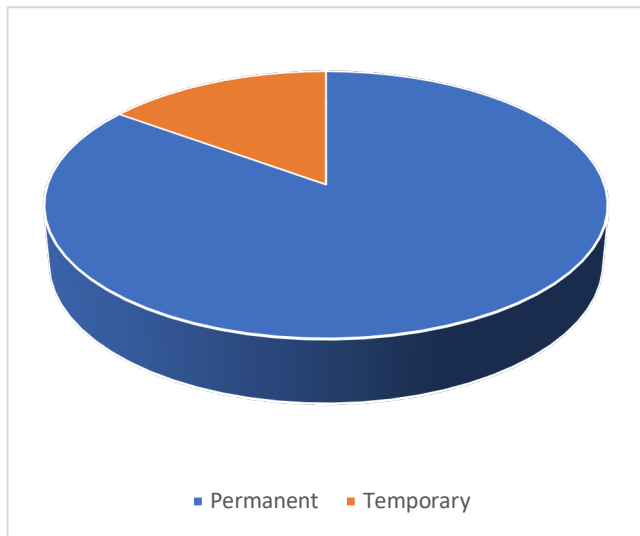
Question 10: If not, how much money do you send to your family leaving abroad? Choose one answer.



Question 11: Did you come to Milan specifically to find a job? Choose one answer.



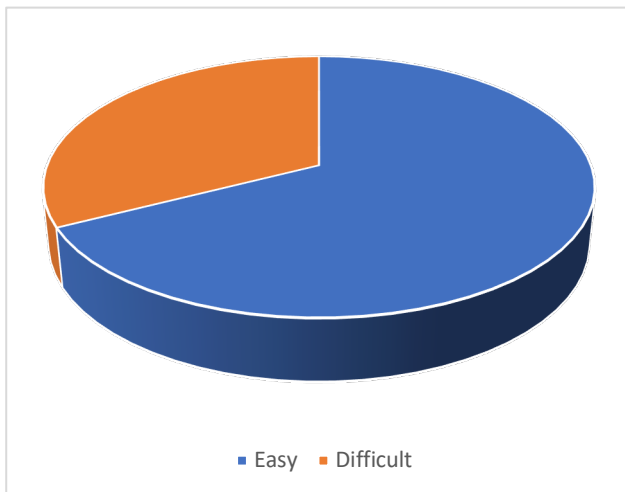
Question 12: Are you thinking to live your whole life in Milan? If not, why? Choose one answer.



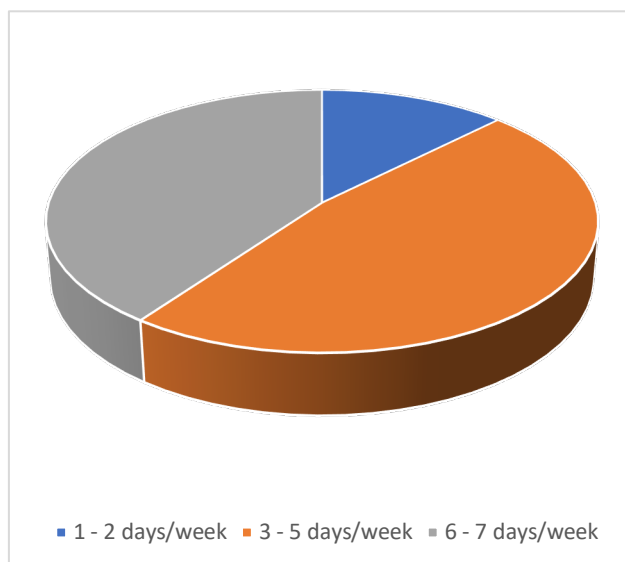
No, because...

- | | |
|---|------|
| - Open to new possibilities | 10% |
| - Go back to my country and open a business there | 2.5% |
| - Go back to my country for my pension | 2.5% |

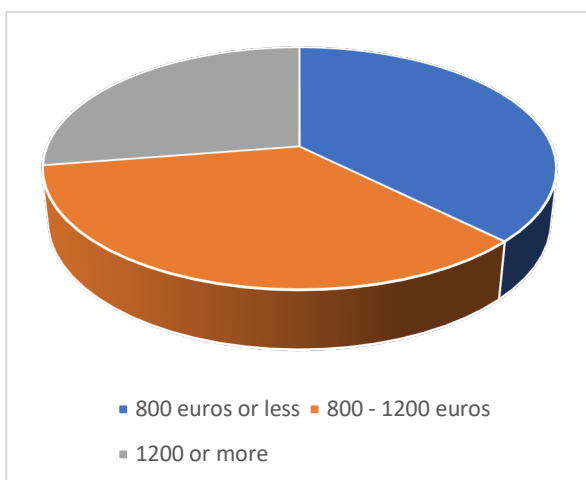
Question 13: Was it easy to find a job?



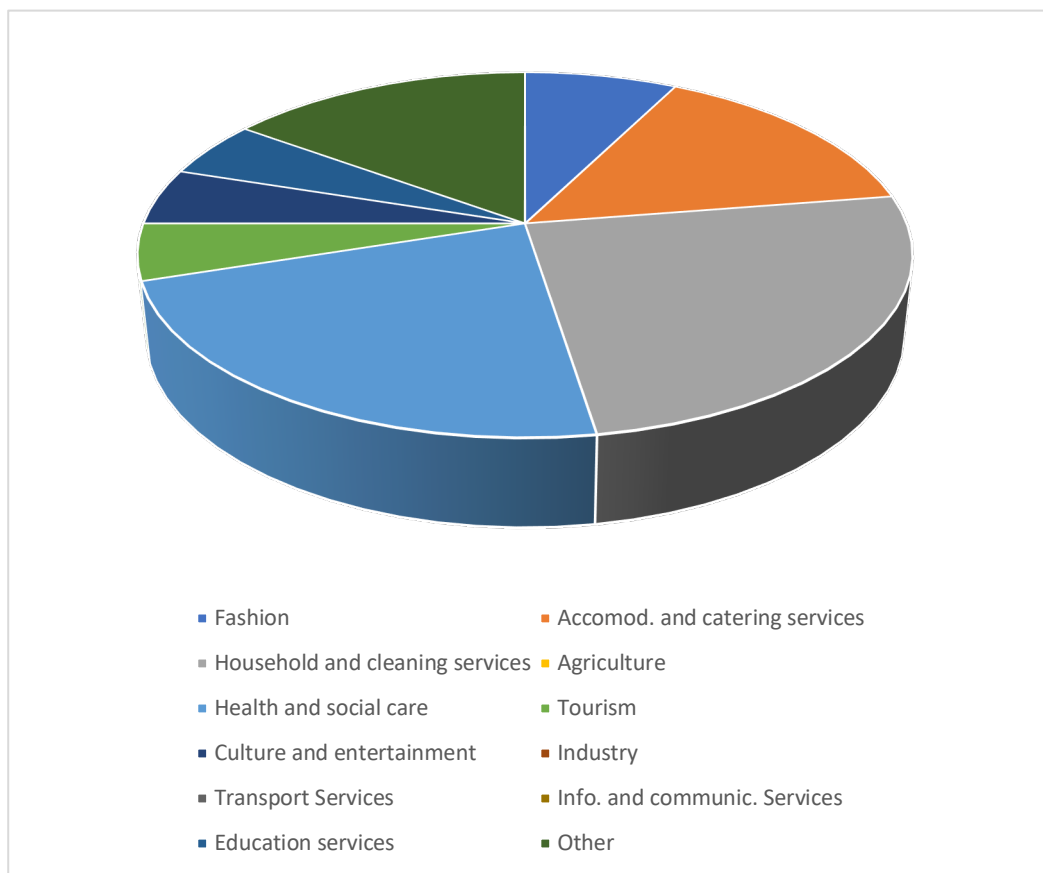
Question 14: How many days per week are you working? Choose one answer.



Question 15: How much are you paid per month? Choose one answer.



Question 16: In which sector are you working? Choose one answer.



Other:

- Tea Shop 2,5%
- Security 2,5%
- Business administration 10%

Question 17: Specify your job position.

- Assistance for the elderly	12%
- Teacher	5%
- Entrepreneur	7%
- Chef	5%
- Ballerina	5%
- Support teacher	5%
- Bodyguard	2%
- Entertainment (holidays)	5%
- Nurse	7%
- Dental Assistant	2%
- Cleaning lady	20%
- Employee	2%
- Barmaid	10%
- Manager	2%
- Babysitter	5%
- Designer	2%
- Brand Manager	2%

Question 18: How many hours of work do you do per day? Choose one answer.

