

INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION PAPERS

67

**Labour market discrimination
against migrant workers in Italy**

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SOCIAL PROTECTION SECTOR
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Table of contents

Foreword	v
Introduction.....	1
Part I. Immigrants in the Italian Labour Market.....	5
1. The growth of legal employment	5
2. More regularizations than authorized entries	6
3. Geographical differences	8
4. The sectoral distribution and geographical models of entry into employment.....	9
5. Stability and skills of immigrant labour	10
6. Accidents at work.....	12
7. The principal sectors in which immigrants are employed.....	13
8. An ethnically based labour market?	15
9. Unemployment.....	16
10. Integration in the hidden economy.....	16
11. Wages and mobility of foreign workers.....	21
11.1 Foreigners' length of service	21
11.2 Foreigners' wages	23
Part II. Description of the methods used in the field studies.....	27
1. Selection of areas and sectors for study in Italy.....	27
1.1. Moroccan immigrants in Italy	28
1.2. Characteristics of the three areas selected for the study in Italy.....	29
1.2.1. Turin.....	29
1.2.2. Rome	31
1.2.3. Naples.....	33
2. Organization of the field study	36
3. Procedures for identifying demand for labour	38
4. Conduct of the tests	39
5. Internal validity test	40
Part III. Results.....	42
1. Results for Italy as a whole	42
1.1. Results of the first stage: "telephone call"	43
1.2. Results of the second stage: invitation to an interview	47
1.3. Results of the third stage: offer of a job.....	48
2. Results specific to the three cities.....	50
3. Results by sector	51
4. Results by characteristics of companies seeking employees	54
Part IV. Conclusions.....	57
References	63
Authors (contact details).....	66

Foreword

The ILO's International Migration Programme publishes two working paper series (*International Migration Papers* and *Perspectives on Labour Migration*) with the goal of making quickly available to ILO tripartite social partners, and the general public, current research on global migration trends, conditions of employment of migrants, and the impact of State policies on migration and the treatment of migrants. Their main objective is to contribute to an informed debate on how best to manage labour migration, taking into account the shared concerns of countries of origin and employment for generating full and productive employment of their nationals, while at the same time respecting the basic rights of individual migrant workers and members of their families.

In 1991 the ILO initiated a research project on *Combating Discrimination Against Migrant and Ethnic Minority Workers in The World of Work*. This project was developed to support countries in applying international standards and to assist tri-partite constituencies in addressing discrimination in employment against migrant and ethnic minority workers,

The objective of this ongoing effort is to reduce discrimination against migrant and ethnic minority workers by informing policy makers, employers, workers, civil society organizations and individuals engaged in anti-discrimination activities on how legislation, training and practical measures can be rendered more effective. The project has focused on demonstrating and documenting how discrimination occurs. Complementary components are identifying and disseminating remedial measures and activities and developing approaches to evaluating effectiveness of different measures.

ILO studies documenting the incidence and character of discrimination in access to employment were conducted previously in Belgium, Germany, the Netherlands and Spain. Other studies using the same methodology have been done by other institutions in Denmark and, recently, Sweden and Switzerland. The research for this study was carried out by FIERI (International and European Forum on Migration Research) in Turin, Italy in consultation with the International Migration Programme of the ILO.

The findings in Italy were consistent with research results in other European countries. Research results in all countries surveyed to date show significant, similar, and disturbing levels of discrimination in access to employment. The research in Italy showed an overall net-discrimination rate of some 37 per cent-- similar to rates found in other countries-- meaning that in more than one out of three application procedures regular immigrant workers were discriminated against.

Migrant workers often face objective disadvantages such as inadequate education and training, lack of access to networks and connections to employers, non-recognition of their qualifications gained abroad, and/or inadequate command of the host country's language. However, these studies clearly demonstrate that immigrant workers experience illegal discrimination on the grounds of their actual or perceived nationality, colour, religion, "race", or ethnic origin.

The challenge discrimination poses for Europe is urgent. The over-representation of migrants in the ranks of the long-term unemployed and socially excluded reflects the economic, social and political costs associated with discrimination. While the extent of immigration needed in future European economies and labour markets remains debatable, there is no question that non-European migrants have become a substantial and visible part of work forces and populations across the region. However, acceptance and integration of significant populations of immigrants present for many years in Europe has not been achieved.

The outcome of this study reinforces the validity and importance of cooperation and shared approaches across Europe to preventing racism and discrimination, including measures being adopted to implement the EU Directive on racism.

The ILO is particularly appreciative of concern and foresight demonstrated by the Ministry of Labour of Italy, in particular State Secretary for Labour Mr. Maurizio Sacconi, for supporting this study and ensuring provision of the necessary financial resources.

Mr. Patrick Taran, Senior Migration Specialist, International Migration Programme, served as the ILO Project Coordinator for this research study. Mr. August Gächter of the Centre for Social Innovation of Vienna, Austria, assisted in providing technical support to the FIERI research team in Italy.

Geneva, September 2004

Manolo I. Abella
Director
International Migration Programme

Introduction

Immigration in Italy, as in many other countries in southern Europe, came fairly late. The migratory flows began after the 1973-1974 oil price shock and the consequent economic crisis which led to high rates of unemployment throughout the world. Other European countries, which had long attracted intensive flows, then closed their borders, in particular Great Britain, Germany and, above all, France. The migratory flows were thus, at least partly, directed to the countries of southern Europe, whose borders were less controlled. The 1981 census already indicated an unexpectedly “high” number of foreigners resident (nearly 211,000) or simply present (some 110,000). But the really intensive flows began later, between 1984 and 1989 when, according to estimates by Mauri and Micheli (1992), some 700,000 to 800,000 people entered the country, of whom some 300,000 –to 350,000 lacked authorization.¹

In the 1980s, Italy joined Germany and Great Britain as the European countries with the highest numbers of incoming migrants, and this characteristic has not diminished with time. Between 1992 and early 2002, according to the latest available ISTAT data², the average annual geometric increase was over 9 per cent³. This increase appears discontinuous, with sudden peaks after the regularizations. If all the applications for regulations in the last amnesty had been accepted, the increase in foreign-born residency at the beginning of 2002 would have been just under 50%⁴. It can be assumed, as maintained by Massimo Cafagna⁵, that there is a link between authorized and unauthorized entry of immigrants from countries with strong pressures to emigrate. Italy attracts irregular immigration more than other European countries both because of the enormous length of its external borders with countries of emigration and transit, and the extent of the informal economy⁶, as Emilio Reyneri explains in the first part of this report.

In turn, the informal economy feeds on both the strong demand for domestic and personal care services and a fabric of small businesses where unauthorized migrants can more easily find work. Moreover, the frequency of amnesties may contribute to the perception that unauthorized entry by the back door is more effective than via the front door of programmed flows and family reunions. These numerous amnesties are not able to drain the pool of unauthorized migrants, which constantly refills. This situation confronts the Italian Government with the dilemma of bringing migrants within its legal and tax infrastructure, or leaving things as they are and dealing with the challenges of immigration enforcement. Italian Governments up to now have opted for the first solution. Even the centre-right Berlusconi Government allowed its reform law (Law. No.189 of 30 July 2002) to include the possibility of regularizing one domestic helper per family and an unlimited number of care-givers for persons who are not self-sufficient. In another decree (No. 195, 9 September 2002), regularization was also extended to other employees.

¹ This, like other estimates of irregular immigration, must be taken with due caution.

² ISTAT is the Italian National Institute of Statistics.

³ At the beginning of 1992, valid permits were almost 649,000 which, according to ISTAT, comes to some 706,000 after adding a quota of children included in their parents' permits, while at the beginning of 2002, there were some 1,448,000 and 1,708,000 with the addition of the unregistered quota of children. The increase is about 8.4% without children and 9.2% including children (Cibella, Gabrielli, Strozza and Tucci, 2003).

⁴ At the expiry date, 16 December 2002, there were 702,156.

⁵ Caritas Report 2002, p.144.

⁶ According to the latest ISTAT estimates, the informal economy was attributed a value ranging from 15.2% to 16.9% of gross domestic product. The same source points out a constant growth in the hidden economy from 1992 to 2000.

Sustained migratory flows with a significant unauthorized component can explain the growing opposition to new immigrants in public opinion⁷, although this opposition does not yet appear to be matched by predominant discriminatory attitudes at work: only 16.6% of those interviewed in a survey by the Commission for the Integration of Immigrants said that they agreed with the statement: “If I were an employer, I would not like to hire an immigrant, even if he had the right qualifications.” 72% said that they would have been troubled, “if a person had been refused promotion, just because he was of foreign origin”. It is true that the surveys conceal reservations and include uncertainties which emerge in a practical simulation, such as carried out in this field study. However, even our research is subject to distortions which must be taken into account if we want to evaluate the results correctly. Our choice of a specific immigrant minority as a case study may constitute such a distortion.

Among the specific characteristics of Italian immigration is the absence of one or more predominant nationalities. (Redundant) At 31 December 2001, the largest minority, Moroccans, represented only 11.6% of the foreign population in Italy, followed by Albanians (10.6%), Romanians (5.5%), Philipinos (4.7%), Chinese (4.1%), Tunisians (3.4%), US-Americans (3.2%), Yugoslavs (2.7%), Germans (2.6%), and Senegalese (2.5%). Nor is there a prevalent religious confession: also at 31 December 2001, Catholics were 29.2%, other Christians, 21.3%, Moslems, 35.4%. Our choice of the Moroccan minority as a case study was to some extent imposed by external research considerations, yet serves to highlight the biases of potential employers, particularly at the time when the study was carried out. Before 11 September 2001, Italian attitudes towards Islam were fairly tolerant⁸. The fact that Moroccans, even then, did not achieve high levels of popularity as employees seemed related to a perception of deviancy rather than a distrust of their religion.⁹ Indeed, Senegalese were decidedly popular as compared with gypsies, who are placed at the bottom of the list. Gypsies belong to various religions, a fact not known to the majority of the Italian public. Since 11 September, however, mistrust of Islamic minorities and the Arab community in Italy has risen. A third of Italians said that they were more afraid and mistrustful of these groups following the attack on the Twin Towers (ISPO, October 2001).

As in other countries where studies have been undertaken, the empirical research we present here was designed to identify discrimination in the recruitment of personnel belonging to immigrant minorities based on nationality. The study assumed that nationals and immigrants with the same characteristics would answer the same job advertisements. Preferences and idiosyncrasies could be and were recorded at the various stages: answering the telephone, availability (greater or less) in fixing an appointment, conduct during the interview, and their recruitment methods. When we compare the empirical research in Italy with that previously undertaken by the ILO in other countries (see table below), it should be noted that some of the disparities can be attributed to *timing*. In our case, not only was the research done at a time of

⁷ Excluding “Don’t know” answers, 80.9% of those interviewed in the survey by the Commission for the Integration of Immigrants (ISPO) in 2000 said that they disagreed with the statement “We must increase the quota of immigrants who enter Italy legally each year, because some businesses have difficulty in finding available labour”.

⁸ A comparative study by the European Union in 2000 showed that only 10% of the Italian sample said it was against immigration from Islamic countries, compared with a European average of 18%. And 30% were prepared to accept it without restrictions, against the European average of 17%. Moreover, the opposition to unrestricted immigration from Eastern Europe, mainly agnostic or Christian, did not give very different results: 9% opposition and 31% total acceptance (EUMC, 2001).

⁹ According to the survey by the Commission for the Integration of Immigrants (ISPO) in 2000, only 41.2% of those interviewed considered Moroccans very or fairly likeable, compared with 75.7% for Philipinos, Senegalese 62.2%, Egyptians 60.3%, Chinese 59.5%, Albanians 19.3% and Gypsies, 10.5%.

heightened mistrust, but also after the submission of applications for regularization, when many employers had already formalized a large number of immigrant employees.

There are also significant differences, as indicated above, in relative perceptions concerning the reliability of workers of the specific minority observed. Thus, it emerged from our research that, with few exceptions, workers of specific Eastern European nationalities are preferred not only to Moroccans but also to Italians. In some occupations networks of personal acquaintance are also important, and can be based on ethnic ties, especially in certain sectors and jobs. Also important, moreover, are the geographical areas selected for study. In Italy we did not include, for reasons linked to its size, a city in the North-East, where we would perhaps have found greater demand for immigrants in formal employment.¹⁰ Another point to be underlined in a study of this type is that willingness to recruit is not necessarily accompanied by more general attitudes of acceptance of immigration in social terms. For example, even the North-East is characterized by high levels of intolerance towards immigrants and less acceptance of equal treatment (Commission for the Integration of Immigrants (ISPO), 2000).

Rate of discrimination in five European countries

	Belgium	Germany	Netherlands	Spain	Italy
First stage: telephone call	19	13	23	25	27
Second stage: invitation to interview	12	6	9	8	12
Third stage: offer of work	2	not done	5	3	2
Total rate of discrimination	33	19*	37	36	41

Sources: Zegers de Beijl, 2000; for Italy, the present study.

* Partial total given that third stage testing was not conducted in Germany for technical reasons.

The report is organized into four parts. The first part consists of a summary description of the placement of immigrants in the Italian labour market: sections 1-10, by Emilio Reyneri, describe the distribution of employment and deals with unemployment and presence in the informal economy; the extensive section 11, by Alessandra Venturini, analyses levels of assimilation of national and immigrant workers in terms of wages and job security. The second part of the report describes the phases and methods adopted in the field study. The third part illustrates and comments on the results. The fourth presents some conclusions.

The study was directed by Enrico Allasino, who was also responsible for drafting the text detailing the stages and results. The empirical research in each city was organized by a local director: Amedeo Rossi in Turin, Mauro Cotesta in Rome, Mohamed Saady in Naples. Frank Bovenkerk himself, together with Rafael Pérez Molina, of the team which carried out the study in Spain, provided crucial assistance in explaining the method and illustrating the difficulties involved in practice. Patrick Taran and August Gächter were kindly present at all stages of the study and were generous with their suggestions. The study would not have been possible without the help of employers willing to explain the rudiments of the job and to put

¹⁰ For example, according to research by the Unioncamere-Ministry of Welfare, Excelsior Information System (2003), employers forecast total employment in Italy in 2003 of 21,743 seasonal workers, 52.3% of them in the North-East. Evidence suggests, however, that the economy is slowing even in the North East. For example, according to ISTAT September data, exports from the North-East declined by 3.1% between January and June 2003.

the testers on guard against potential pitfalls. We are also indebted to the representatives of the principal Italian trade unions, who participated with a critical contribution in the joint meeting organized by the ILO Rome office. None of them can be considered responsible for any shortcomings in this report, but all have certainly helped to prevent them and to correct any errors.

Part I. Immigrants in the Italian Labour Market

1. The growth of legal employment

In evaluating the presence of immigrants among employed and unemployed, it is not possible to use labour force surveys, which are likely to capture only well established immigration¹¹. There is thus no alternative to relying on administrative data for legal employment¹² and rough estimates of unauthorized employment.

It can be seen from Table 1, that between 1991 and 2000, legal employment of immigrant workers from non-EU countries more than tripled, from less than 120,000 to almost 420,000.¹³ The growth was concentrated in 1996, when numbers of employed third-country workers increased by over one third in a single year. In the other years, the rate of growth was far lower, although there was no interruption even during the 1992-1995 economic crisis when Italian employment fell considerably. The increase in 1996 was due essentially to the amnesty in 1995, when 140,000 immigrants declared a job offer in order to be regularized. On the other hand, the employment figure for 2000, which does not include the rise in domestic labour, reflected only a portion of the 190,000 regularized workers who submitted applications at the end of 1998 and received permits in early 2000.

Table 1 – Non-EU workers employed legally, 1991-2000 (thousands)

	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000
Manufacturing industry	40	43	40	46	53	77	86	95	97	128
Construction	13	16	14	13	14	21	21	23	24	30
Services	26	33	34	36	41	58	63	68	72	73
Domestic work	36	54	59	52	67	121	111	103	114	*114
Agriculture				10	12	26	42	52	60	72
Total	115	146	147	157	187	303	323	341	367	417

* 1999 data

Sources: Caritas (1998; 2002); ISTAT (1998); INPS (2000)

These data on workers in industry, construction and services are further understated because they are taken from possibly inexact declarations by companies relating to the nationality of employees. Analyses of the INPS workers' register give much higher values. Some studies (Venturini and Villosio, 1999; Bonifazi and Chiri, 2001), , found three times as many workers born in developing countries as were declared by companies during the period between 1991 and 1997.. In particular, in 1997, workers estimated in this way totalled 490,000 compared with 170,000 recorded in the companies' register for the same sectors. Projecting that estimate into 1999 would suggest a total of 700,000 legally employed immigrants, compared with just over 360,000 recorded in the companies' register. An accurate comparison of the

¹¹ According to EUROSTAT, which compiles labour force surveys from EU Countries, at the end of the 1990s, only 200,000 non-EU foreign workers were recorded in the surveys. This explains why the National Institute of Statistics does not report such data in Italy.

¹² But even with administrative sources, obtaining reliable data is not at all easy, as shown by Anastasia (2003). And the situation is not improving, moreover, because the regionalization of employment services has interrupted the collection of data on recruitment and unemployment. This explains why some historical series ended in 1999 or 2000.

¹³ Employer data registered with the National Institute of Social Security (INPS).

two sources for Veneto (Anastasia *et al.*, 2002) showed that the new estimate errs on the high side, so it is probable that the truth lies somewhere in between. Finally, for 2001, data, albeit provisional, are available for workers registered by retirement institutions, which give us a total between 650,000 –and 700,000 third-country immigrant workers (Caritas, 2002). Thus, at the beginning of the new century, immigrants legally employed in companies (unemployed family members would not be included in employment estimate) amount to 4% of employment in Italy. However, the submission of a further 700,000 applications for regularization in December 2002, even taking into account duplications and cases without proper documents, is likely to bring the number of immigrants in employment to at least 1.2 million, almost 7% of the employed population in Italy.

Another indicator of the growing integration of immigrants into legal employment is the pattern of placements in work. This is not a case of stock data but flows. In other words, the number of placements shows how many workers have found a job during the year, but many may have been placed several times in short-term jobs and others may have stayed in the same job until the end of the year. Nevertheless, assuming that the rate of turnover does not vary too much between industries, the pattern of placements is a good indicator of employment. As can be seen from Table 2, the annual number of placements grew throughout the 1990s, although there was a fall in 1993, due to the adverse economic situation. These data do not take account of the recruitments related to regularization in 1996 and 1998-1999, since such procedures were not reflected in placements. However, the increase in legal immigrants with a permit to stay comes in the year following the increase in placements, which in 2000 reached 340,000, an increase of 50% over 1999. As regards the varied sectoral composition of placements for workers registered by the INPS, it should be borne in mind that recruitment of domestic labour is only partly reflected in placements and that workers can be placed several times, so that placements are understated in sectors such as the manufacturing industry, where fixed-term work is less common and thus placements for individual workers are on average less frequent.

Table 2 – Non-EU workers placed by economic sector, 1991-1999 (thousands)

	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
Agriculture	17	16	17	22	21	28	39	41	51
Industry and construction	59	52	31	38	49	57	75	75	91
Domestic work	18	21	13	14	17	7	9	10	8
Restaurants and service to the public	14	16	13	14	10	17	20	19	24
Other services	18	19	11	12	14	20	29	36	50
Total	126	124	85	100	111	129	172	180	223

Source: prepared by the author from Ministry of Labour data

2. More regularizations than authorized entries

The vast majority of immigrants entered Italy without documents authorizing them to work legally. Some arrived clandestinely or with false documents, while others obtained short-stay permits (tourism, study, etc.) All of them have worked for varying lengths of time without a legal contract, in unregistered jobs in the informal economy.¹⁴ Their entry into the legal

¹⁴ A significant portion of employment in Italy is unregistered. Referred to as employment “al nero,” non-registered work avoids tax and other social costs.

labour market has been made possible only thanks to frequent regularizations, which since 1995-96 have required the declaration of an offer of legal employment by an employer or a family member (Table 3).

Table 3 – Non-EU immigrants who used regularizations, 1986-2002

	1986-87	1990	1995-96	1998-99	2002
Regularized	118,700	217,700	238,200	193,200	702,156*

* Number of applications

Unlike regularizations of immigrants who entered without a work permit, legal entries for work purposes, allowed under a law of 1986, have contributed little since 1999 to the growth of legal employment. This procedure, which requires prior verification of the lack of applicants available for placement in the work offered (except for domestic work) and the invitation to a named worker residing abroad, has allowed the entry since 1992 of only 20,000 to 25,000 workers per year although the quota fixed by the Government was much higher (see Table 4). Almost all of these applications have been submitted from the Trentino-Alto Adige administrative region for domestic workers.

Table 4 – Authorized entry for work purposes, 1992-1999

	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
Total	31,629	23,088	22,474	24,246	16,619	20,739	27,203	36,454
Men	14,621	11,125	12,086	14,152	11,200	13,235	17,424	22,765
Women	17,008	11,963	10,388	10,094	5,419	7,504	9,779	13,689
Type of contract								
Permanent	20,848	16,351	11,775	11,966	4,411	7,447	10,703	14,884
Fixed term	10,781	6,737	10,669	12,280	12,208	13,292	16,500	21,570
<i>(of which Trento)</i>		<i>(4,862)</i>		<i>(9,990)</i>	<i>(11,227)</i>	<i>(10,981)</i>	<i>(13,024)</i>	<i>(15,040)</i>
Economic sector								
Agriculture	1,659	2,788	5,777	7,578	8,880	8,449	13,070	16,999
<i>(of which Trento)</i>	<i>(1,178)</i>			<i>(7,418)</i>	<i>(8,656)</i>	<i>(7,620)</i>	<i>(10,635)</i>	<i>(11,990)</i>
Industry and construction	3,183	1,479	941	1,050	927	2,258	2,796	5,179
<i>(of which Veneto)</i>	<i>(981)</i>			<i>(277)</i>	<i>(235)</i>	<i>(698)</i>	<i>(1,033)</i>	<i>(2,010)</i>
Domestic work	21,828	14,555	12,420	10,712	2,591	4,816	6,183	6,795
Tourism	3,398	3,285	2,876	3,762	3,353	4,299	3,952	5,960
<i>(of which Trento)</i>	<i>(2,474)</i>			<i>(2,808)</i>	<i>(2,707)</i>		<i>(2,442)</i>	<i>(3,171)</i>
Other services	295	1,561	981	457	1,135	868	917	1,521
<i>(% Trento)</i>	<i>13.6</i>	<i>23.2</i>		<i>43.6</i>	<i>70.5</i>	<i>54.6</i>	<i>50.0</i>	<i>43.6</i>
<i>(% Trento excluding domestic)</i>	<i>43.8</i>	<i>62.7</i>		<i>78.1</i>	<i>83.5</i>	<i>71.1</i>	<i>64.7</i>	<i>52.6</i>

Source: Ministry of Labour

The failure of this program is due to the fact that the procedure established for legal entry was not appropriate for a country like Italy, where the hidden economy is very widespread (except in Trentino) and at the same time there is both high unemployment and unsatisfied demand for labour. To appreciate this, it is enough to see what happened after the entry into force of Law 40/98, which no longer required verification of the availability of Italian labour and granted entry to a certain number of immigrants (16,000 in 2000 and 2001) to “seek

work” These formally recognized “job seekers” required the guarantee of a sponsor (a person, even foreign, or an organization) who undertook to maintain the immigrant for a year until he found a job or was repatriated. Already in 1999 the volume of entry permits grew by a third and, while the relative proportion of domestic work and work in Trentino declined, work permits for industry and construction reached a significant level, in particular in the North-East. Then, in 2000 and in 2001 for the first time, with an additional 50,000 annual permits, the quota ceiling was almost reached, with a strong increase in permanent recruitment in industry and temporary hiring in agriculture. This legislation, however, was scrapped by the right-leaning Government, which in 2002 tightened up the immigration law, reducing annual quotas for work permits and reintroducing the prior check on availability of workers registered with employment centres. Nevertheless, another source of legal entry of immigrants is ultimately destined to grow; since 1996, family reunions have increased significantly, and since 1998 the law preventing those entering with family reunification permits from working for a year was abolished.

3. Geographical differences

The pattern of placements shows that entry into the legal labour market affects some regions more than others. As shown in Table 5, the process of geographical differentiation became more marked from 1996 with the economic recovery. Placements of immigrants stagnated in Lazio and barely increased in the south, Liguria and Piedmont. On the other hand, the growth in placements was very high in other more dynamic regions: the two areas of new industrialization based on small enterprises (the North-East and Centre) and in Lombardy, where the demand for domestic labour and tertiary services in Milan augmented that for production workers in factories, and in bioengineering enterprises in other provinces. At the end of the 1990s, almost 75% of legal recruitment was concentrated in these areas (North-East, Centre and Lombardy), with over 55% in the North-East and Central Regions alone. The extreme case is Veneto, where in 1999 one recruitment in ten involved an immigrant worker and one in five unskilled workers.

Table 5 – Placement of non-EU workers by geographical area, 1991-1999

	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
North-West	11,596	11,659	7,687	8,441	8,639	9,571	14,086	16,464	22,054
Lombardy	28,372	25,204	14,922	17,419	20,375	23,731	32,991	33,508	42,244
North-East	22,613	19,122	16,318	23,110	28,773	39,420	44,789	46,868	57,612
Centre	30,691	29,753	22,072	26,952	31,798	33,599	46,614	50,535	66,968
Lazio	14,062	15,000	9,758	9,284	8,652	6,547	7,559	8,550	7,524
South	18,128	22,948	14,211	14,636	13,028	16,318	26,069	28,400	26,749
Italy	125,462	123,686	84,968	99,842	111,265	129,186	172,108	184,325	223,151

Source: Ministry of Labour

The tendency of legal employment of immigrants to concentrate in areas where the local supply of labour is enough to satisfy demand is confirmed by the geographical distribution of workers registered with the INPS. (The growing demand for immigrant workers in these regions is clear. However, this argument would benefit from evidence supporting the claim that “the local supply of labour is enough to satisfy demand.”) In 1992, a good 82% of employment in industrial companies and services was concentrated in Lombardy and the regions of North-East and Central Italy. The same goes for domestic work, although the areas

of greatest concentration differ in some ways. In 1999, almost 55% of immigrants employed in domestic service were concentrated in Lazio and Lombardy, dominated by the metropolitan areas of Roma and Milan, while in 1994 the figure was just over 48%. With the addition of the regions of central Italy, the figure rises to 66% in 1994 and 73% in 1999. The geographical concentration of domestic work is rising against a background of a slight decline since 1996, which may, however, be apparent only because of the increasing spread of unregistered informal labour in this activity.

4. The sectoral distribution and geographical models of entry into employment

As regards the breakdown by economic sector, both the pattern of employment in the INPS companies' register (Table 1) and the pattern of placements (Table 2) show a stabilization since 1997. The percentage of employees registered with the INPS vary from around 27% for manufacturing industry, construction 7%, services 20%, domestic work 30% and agriculture 16%. As to placements, since 1997 they have been stable in agriculture at 22%, industry (including construction) at 41% and restaurants and services to the public at 11%. However, the slight decline in the share of domestic work (from 5% to 3%) is offset by the rise in other services (from 17% to 22%). Within the manufacturing sector throughout the 1990s metal engineering predominated (23%-24%) while employment in services, commerce and catering have increased (from 24% to over 27%) (CER, 2000; Reyneri, 2001a). Just two of these sectors since 1999 account for over half of employment in industrial companies and services registered with the INPS. Their dominant position is increasing because together they covered almost 60% of additional employment from 1991 to 1999. Conversely, construction, though rising in absolute terms, has shown a slight decline in relative terms (from 16% to 13%). Among the smaller sectors, the share of the chemicals, rubber and leather branch (some 8%) and textiles and clothing branch (5%) are significant.

The substantial stability of the sectoral distribution, compared with a growing geographical concentration, explains the fact that the regions with the strongest demand for legal employment of immigrants are not economically homogeneous and thus "use" the new work force in highly different ways. Various geographical models of employment of immigrants can be derived from both the data on placements in employment and the INPS data on company employees and their families (see Tables 6 and 7).

Table 6 – Non-EU workers placed by sector and socio-economic area, 1999 (distribution %)

	Agriculture	Industry + construction	Domestic work	Public Commerce	Other services	Total
North-West	14.9	46.2	2.7	11.2	25.0	100.0
Lombardy	7.9	46.2	2.5	10.4	33.0	100.0
North-East	20.2	44.4	2.1	12.7	20.7	100.0
Centre	23.6	42.6	4.1	11.7	18.0	100.0
Lazio	25.6	21.8	2.5	3.2	46.9	100.0
South	56.1	19.0	8.8	6.9	9.1	100.0
Italy	22.8	40.6	3.7	10.8	22.2	100.0

Source: Ministry of Labour

Table 7 – Non-EU workers by sector (distribution %)

	Agriculture	Industry	Construction	Domestic work	Services	Total
North-West	9.2	26.3	11.7	30.7	22.2	100.0
Lombardy	5.7	31.8	5.9	31.0	25.6	100.0
North-East	22.0	39.7	7.9	8.5	21.8	100.0
Centre	15.4	33.0	9.0	22.2	20.5	100.0
Lazio	7.3	3.1	3.0	71.6	15.0	100.0
South	38.3	7.6	2.8	39.7	11.6	100.0
Italy	14.9	27.7	7.0	29.7	20.7	100.0

Source: restatement of INPS 1998 data for agriculture and domestic work, 1999 data for the other sectors

The result is a typology consisting of three models:

- 1) In the industrial model of the North-East and the central regions (from Emilia to the Marches), there is a clear prevalence of demand for labour by small manufacturing companies. Also important in the North-East is demand for labour by agriculture, mostly seasonal, while domestic work is of some importance only in the cities of central Italy (Bologna, Florence).
- 2) The metropolitan model, specific to Milan and Rome, but also found in the medium-sized cities of the Centre-North, is characterized by strong demand from families for domestic labour, personal care services and other services necessary for urban quality of life (catering and cleaning). Lombardy, with its complex socio-economic structure, contains both of these employment patterns.
- 3) Lastly, the southern model consists of two sub-models: in the large and medium-sized cities there is almost as high a demand for domestic work by families, while in rural areas, the demand for labour mostly comes from seasonal agriculture, harvesting, and stable employment in glasshouses, livestock and fisheries.

5. Stability and skills of immigrant labour

The growing integration in the legal labour market and in particular in the industrial sector means a clear improvement in immigrants' work conditions, after the initial years dominated by intermittent and unregistered work, harvesting in agriculture and street vending.

For women, employment is becoming more desegregated, but domestic work remains by far the most common option for immigrant women. Although almost 80,000 immigrants entered Italy with a permit for domestic work and a further 90,000 were regularized as domestic help during the 1990s, the percentage of foreign workers in irregular situations remains high, probably double since the last regularization. Living in the home of an Italian family is the best way of avoiding controls. The first women immigrants into Italy were recruited by organizations linked to the Catholic Church, which has a longstanding tradition as an agency for placing Italian domestic workers (Andall, 2000). Since young Italian women are ever less inclined to do domestic work, the proportion of foreigners in legal domestic work has been growing rapidly, from 25% in 1993 to over 50% in 1999. Immigrant domestic workers are concentrated in the major cities, both in the North and the South (ISTAT, 1998).

Immigrant domestic workers, more often than Italians, lodge with their own employer and work up to 12 hours per day. The advantages of secure lodging explain why well-educated young women accept servile conditions which are highly restrictive of free time. After a few years, many shift to hourly paid domestic work, thanks also to the ethnic network which often manages this transition. There are also growing opportunities for production work (in food factories, metal engineering and clothing) and especially care services (nursing, child care assistance and care for the elderly). The importance of home help for the elderly emerged strongly in the 2002 amnesty, when a further 300,000 families declared that they illegally used immigrant labour without residence permits, in over half of cases as personal care attendants for the elderly. : The following migration pattern has emerged to meet this need: a young worker comes to Italy from an Eastern European country with a 3-month tourist visa to work without a contract as a domestic worker or personal care attendant for the elderly. When the visa expires, the girl goes back to the country of origin and is replaced by another, and so on in rotation. The entry and stay are authorized and thus the risks are small, but obviously the work is unregistered. This opportunity apparently derives from the recent suspension of the visa requirement for some countries of Eastern Europe.

The data on placements among the remaining workforce indicate a level of stability and skills in terms of the legal employment of immigrants (see Table 8). From 1991 to 1999, the annual volume of placements for an indefinite term remained stable or slightly in decline, while fixed-term contracts increased enormously, rising from 40% at the beginning of the 1990s to almost two-thirds by the end of the decade. The trend is similar to that for Italian workers, but a little more marked. The data from retirement institutions confirm that immigrants tend to have more short-term contracts than Italian workers (Caritas, 2002).

Table 8 – Non-EU workers by type of contract, 1991-1999 (%)

	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
Permanent	59.6	62.6	57.5	52.4	51.1	36.5	38.2	37.8	35.9
Fixed-term	23.3	19.8	27.9	32.2	34.3	54.2	43.9	46.8	48.7
Part time	10.3	13.2	10.4	11.0	9.8	3.8	12.1	10.9	11.3
Training	6.9	4.4	4.3	4.4	4.8	5.6	5.8	4.6	4.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Ministry of Labour

Unlike Italians, however, immigrants' vocational skills are not improving, and may even be deteriorating a little, as shown in Table 9. The proportion of immigrant placements as general workers, which fell in the mid-1990s, rose again to over 77% while placement of skilled workers fell to only 18% and specialist workers to under 3%. The proportion of immigrants placed as white-collar workers remains minimal (little over 2%). By way of comparison, it should be noted that in the same period, for Italians, the proportion of placements as skilled or specialist workers ranged from 31% to 35% and for white-collar workers, from 11% to 14%.

Table 9 – Non-EU workers by vocational skills, 1991-1999 (%)

	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
General worker	81.0	79.2	76.7	76.9	75.8	74.5	75.4	77.5	77.3
Skilled worker	15.7	17.3	19.2	19.7	19.8	19.8	19.4	17.9	17.9
Specialist worker	1.8	1.7	2.3	2.0	3.1	4.0	3.7	2.9	2.7
White collar	1.6	1.7	1.8	1.4	1.2	1.7	1.4	1.8	2.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Ministry of Labour

It should also be borne in mind that the level of education of immigrant workers is not in fact lower than that of local workers, and in some cases may be higher. Unfortunately, this is difficult to ascertain with certainty. Employment services do not appear to take the least account of the educational certificates of immigrants they place, because foreign credentials are rarely recognized in Italy, and surveys, on the contrary, may tend to overstate. Nevertheless, from a large sample of immigrants living in Lombardy in 2001, it was found that over 60% had higher education, secondary or tertiary, but the great majority were employed in manual work, factory workers or services (Reyneri, 2003). Distinguished by country of origin, immigrants from Morocco are the least educated, with a proportion of higher education which does not reach 40%.

6. Accidents at work

The employment of immigrant workers in the lowest strata of the labour market might expose them to greater risk of accidents. According to data from the government institute concerned with insuring workers against accidents (INAIL), it appears that accidents suffered by immigrants as a whole grew from 4.1% in 1999 to 5.2% in 2000, and 5.4% in 2001. These levels are only a little higher than the percentage of immigrant workers to the workforce at large. However, this does not in practice mean that immigrants are less prone to accidents than Italians. In the first place, it can reasonably be supposed that in the case of immigrants, accidents are only reported in the most serious cases.¹⁵ Minor accidents can be ignored or written off as normal occurrences. This is also common practice for serious accidents involving unregistered workers. Thus, underreporting is probably considerable.

Among immigrants who have suffered an accident at work, those from Morocco, in all the three years considered, represent a little less than 22% of the total. Among immigrants placed in work during the same years, Moroccans represented less than 19%. Males alone, who are more prone to risk of accidents, were just over 20%. Thus we find Moroccans among the workers most prone to accidents. This can be explained by their strong presence in high-risk sectors, such as construction and certain branches of the manufacturing industry (from metalworking to chemicals).

¹⁵ Fondazione Labos, *Situazione attuale e ipotesi per la costruzione di modelli di rilevazione e di stima efficaci sulle dimensioni del fenomeno degli infortuni sul lavoro degli immigrati*, October 2001, research report by the Commission for the Integration of Immigrants.

7. The principal sectors in which immigrants are employed

Since the 1970s, when the Reggio Emilia foundry industry and the Sassuolo pottery industry began employing immigrant workers), the presence of immigrants in manufacturing has grown at a rapid pace. Throughout the 1990s, when regularization coincided with shortages of labour, especially in the North-East and central regions, it was possible to recruit immigrants legally. In factories, in fact, it is less easy to employ unauthorized labour. Many companies, in any case, save labour costs by paying immigrants the contractual minimum and paying overtime in cash. Companies which employ immigrant labour are generally small and medium-sized. Few immigrants are employed in artisanal micro-enterprises, which are structured on a family basis, and few work in the large companies still providing stable jobs, for which competition from Italian workers is intense.

Immigrants are concentrated in work where the conditions are harder, requiring greater physical effort, strength and willingness to work overtime and multiple shifts, with greater hazardousness and greater risks of accidents. However, surveys in industrial districts refute the hypothesis of a correlation between employment of immigrant workers and obsolete factories. Even companies engaged in key technological innovation have jobs for semi-skilled and arduous work because it is complementary to those requiring high vocational skills. (Failla and Lombardi, 1993; Sciarrone, 1996). For some years, moreover, the number of immigrants in jobs which require dexterity and vocational skills, as well as physical strength, has been growing: welders, machine operators, carpenters. Even these jobs are hard to fill from local labour because the poorly educated young people who might be available for such work may be unwilling to learn the required skills.

Immigrants who work in construction, to some extent in all regions including those with the highest unemployment rate, come mainly from Morocco, Albania, the countries of the former Yugoslavia and (recently) Eastern Europe. As in seasonal agriculture, the “day labour market” is very widespread, especially where the services of immigrant middlemen are available. The construction industry attracts more unregistered migrants than Italian workers, who generally work as “independent craftsmen.” However the grey market of sub-contracting to false cooperatives, in which the members are formally self-employed workers, involves an ever-growing number of immigrants (Ambrosini, 1997).

In commerce, catering and other tertiary employment, immigrants are concentrated in a few not very satisfying manual activities: dishwashing, waiters, cooks, petrol pump attendants, caretakers, laundry-workers, workers in repair shops, garages and cleaning companies, doormen and porters, messengers, butchers’ and bakers’ assistants, handymen, labourers and so on. The common characteristics of these jobs are that they require low skills, physical effort and great strength, long and inconvenient hours, few career opportunities and very low social status. Even when they are legal, the employment contracts are precarious, because most of the companies are small and have a high turnover of workers. Wages are generally the contractual minimum, although formal part-time jobs, which allow the other hours to be paid “off the books” and thus increase the take-home pay, are not unusual.

The growing employment of immigrants in manufacturing, construction and urban services has considerably reduced their relative engagement in agricultural employment. Nevertheless, the use of immigrant workers in seasonal activities at harvest time is now widespread throughout the southern regions, to the extent that it has become a fundamental component of Mediterranean agriculture. The willingness of immigrants to accommodate to highly varied

levels of labour demand during the year has resulted in their replacement of marginal Italian workers (women, young people, the elderly), the traditional recourse in that region. Immigrants also work in greenhouses and livestock farms, both in the poor ones in the South and the rich ones in the North. Some immigrants are transient: they come for the harvest and go back to their countries when it is finished. Some follow the various harvest seasons from one region to another, or alternate agricultural work with street vending, construction work or low level services. The majority work in the South, where few have a legal contract. Many are hired by the day, under the traditional “day labour market” system which, after going through a crisis in the 1970s, again began to involve some Italians. Day laborers are hired by “bosses”, mostly immigrants, who take them to the workplace and in turn hire them out to the owners. They are paid piece rates (per box of tomatoes, grapes ...) and receive wages well below those of unregistered Italian workers, who are used for lighter work (Pugliese, 1991).

In the North, on the other hand, the majority of immigrants employed in the harvest of apples, beans, flowers and grapes are hired legally and paid the contractual minimum. Employment in livestock is also relatively stable, from the dirty and dangerous pig-farming to the less demeaning but equally hard work in cattle sheds. Those employed in herding and milking, working in cowsheds in double shifts all year round, are now most often Moroccans, Poles, Pakistanis and Indians, because the young people are not prepared to take over from the older generation in hard and degrading work, however well paid (Ambrosini, 1997). Finally, immigrant couples often work in the processing of agricultural products: from cheese factories to warehouses in which hams are “seasoned”. In fishing, the presence of immigrants has spread beyond Sicily, where they were present at the end of the 1970s. Although legislation limits foreigners to one third of the crew, in the fisheries of Mazara del Vallo in Sicily and San Benedetto del Tronto in the Marches, Tunisians and former Yugoslavs are very much in the majority. Working in refrigerated holds is very tiring and fishing in other countries’ territorial waters can be dangerous. Foreign workers are always also in the majority on Italian cargo ships.

Since the mid-1990s, however, there has been a dramatic decline in street vending, which characterized the first immigrants to the point that the term *vu cumprà* (you buy), with all its pejorative connotations, became synonymous with foreign workers. In the 1980s, many newly arrived immigrants engaged in street vending, a form of trade which has an ancient tradition in Italy, but which was dying out. According to CENSIS (1990), street vendors at the time represented 15% of workers from developing countries, although it should be recalled that street vendors are highly visible and mobile, so they could easily be double counted. The situation changed after the regularization in 1990, which allowed many immigrants to settle in the central and northern regions and find regular employment. Street vendors are now generally only found in specific locations: in tourist resorts and the seaside during the summer, in the big cities during the winter. Moroccans and Senegalese can be found on street corners or in holiday resorts selling jewellery, watches, lighters, sunglasses, handbags and boxes; Chinese vendors have for some time appeared alongside them.

Although only a few vendors sell counterfeit goods, and usually advertise when this is the case, they nevertheless break laws that regulate street vending. They are therefore liable to fines and/or confiscation of the goods. Moreover, those that do not have a residence permit may be ordered to be expelled. Thus, immigrants can sell in the streets only thanks to the lack of controls or the tolerance of the police, who tend to intervene only when serious crimes have been committed (drug-trafficking, theft, rape, assault) or when shop owners protest (Belotti, 1996). Recently, some immigrants have succeeded in obtaining street vending

licences and acquiring stalls at a high price, in the market places found in every Italian town. This reflects a current trend in which some immigrants operate as wholesalers to street vendors by setting up import-export networks with their countries of origin. Through these networks, exotic crafts are exchanged for manufactured goods that are obsolete in a European country but marketable in the developing world. Some of these operations are legal, but others specialize in unregistered production and marketing.

8. An ethnically based labour market?

Immigrants are now present in all the lower segments of the employment system and in some they represent a significant proportion. But are we faced with ethnic segmentation of some areas of the Italian labour market? One can only cite as examples domestic work with lodging in the employer's home, and a few other occupations where the presence of immigrants has now become dominant. However, there is no "ethnic specialization", whereby immigrants in a group concentrate in particular activities based on cultural traditions. The Senegalese seem to be inclined to commerce and thus to street vending, but they are the immigrants most integrated as production workers in some provinces of Lombardy. Moroccans, too, work in a wide variety of industrial, service and agricultural occupations, as do other groups. Integration in the Italian labour market is predicated less on cultural foundations than through concentration in occupational niches and the paradoxical result of the efficiency of the social networks of some immigrant groups (Ambrosini, 2001a).

The integration of immigrants today is a structural component of the labour market, even outside domestic work. This is shown by their high level of recruitment, 10% overall since 2001, and especially in new jobs (equal to the difference between recruitments over terminations of employment relationships) which reached 20% in 2001 (Caritas, 2002). For every ten workers recruited, one is a non-EU worker, and one in every five remaining employed at the year-end is an immigrant. As shown by a survey by the Agnelli Foundation, Italian companies, especially in the more dynamic regions of the Centre-North, share the view that immigrants satisfy structural needs by allowing entire sectors to survive despite the lack of a local workforce. (Sciarrone and Santi, 2000)

Moreover, since the end of the 1990s, the demand for immigrant labour by private companies in industry and services reached very high levels in the face of the difficulty of finding Italian workers. According to a survey covering all private non-agricultural companies, immigrant workers, since 1999, have been making up between one fifth and one quarter of the total planned recruitment (Zanfrini, 2000). The sectors where demand is most concentrated are metal engineering, services to businesses (predominantly cleaning and portering), and construction. However, other sectors are also significant: transport, health and personal services, the clothing and leather industries. Naturally, most of these jobs are for unskilled workers, even if the proportion of specialized manual jobs, initially noteworthy only because they include bricklayers, is increasing rapidly, especially in the northern regions. Those working in cleaning services, as shop assistants, waiters and in personal care services account for one fifth of expected recruitment of immigrants, while around one quarter are semi-skilled or unskilled industrial workers. The non-manual occupations do not exceed 7%. In some sectors, some regions and some occupations, the immigrant share is reaching critical levels. Immigrants, out of the total of expected recruitment, reach 35% in the regions of the North-east, with over 44% in company cleaning services, 40% in construction and over 30% in many other sectors from the woodworking industry to clothing, from leather and hides to rubber and plastics, to private health services. Categorized by occupational types, they make

up over 50% of unskilled labour in construction and the manufacturing industry (with peaks over 55% for manual workers and cleaners), almost 50% for skilled jobs in construction (bricklayers, electricians, carpenters, plumbers) 47% for machine-tool operators, and almost 46% for personal care attendants (Zanfrini, 2000).

9. Unemployment

Along with legally employed immigrants, the number of those registered with the employment offices is also rising; from just over 80,000 at the end of 1991 to almost 220,000 at the end of 2000 (Table 10). The greatest increases coincide with the years following the regularizations of 1996 and 1999, when employment offices registered those regularized workers who did not manage to keep the job on the basis of which they had been regularized. The number of women increased more than men, due to growth in women who started to look for work after entering through family reunification. In reality, for both Italians and immigrants, only some of those registered with employment offices are actually unemployed.

Table 10 – Non-EU workers registered with unemployment offices at 31 December, 1991-1999 (thousands)

Time registered	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
Up to 3 months	27	26	32	32	34	52	52	51	54
3 to 12 months	37	31	26	30	34	53	67	72	62
Over 12 months	20	15	18	25	30	42	61	83	80
Total	84	72	76	87	98	147	180	206	196

Source: Ministry of Labour

Statistics for Veneto, Anastasia, Gambuzza and Rasera (2001) show that 14% of those registered with the employment office at the end of 2000 were working part time or fixed-term and a further 41% had been offered opportunities to work legally during the year, so that genuinely unemployed immigrants were less than half of those registered. It is reasonable to believe that the situation is similar in Lombardy and other regions in the North and Centre, where there is a strong demand for immigrant labour. As for the south, the demand for legal labour is scarce even for Italians. In 1992, Pugliese nevertheless expressed serious doubts that those registered as such really were unemployed, maintaining that the vast majority were employed, albeit in extremely precarious and totally illegal conditions. It can be concluded that those registered with employment offices are in the main not unemployed, but employed part-time, workers “in transit” from one temporary job to another or irregular workers. It can therefore be estimated that, at least for authorized immigrants, the employment rate was little over 7% in 2001, as can be deduced from the ratio of employees seeking work with work permits to total work permits authorized (Caritas, 2002). This level is lower than for Italians, even if the conditions of unemployed immigrants are decidedly worse, because immigrants can rely very little on meagre public benefits and they lack the support of family members still residing in the country of origin.

10. Integration in the hidden economy

Despite the strong growth in legal employment, the percentage of immigrants who work without authorization is still high. There is some indication that these numbers are falling. A distinction should be made between those who hold a work permit but have worked in

unregistered employment, and those who are forced to work in unregistered settings because they do not have a permit. Successive regularization schemes have greatly reduced the presence of unauthorized workers, but seems to have had less effect on the employment of immigrant workers in the informal economy, although authorized employment was the condition for amnesty eligibility in 1996 and 1998-1999, as well as the last in 2001. This pattern is shown by the results of Ministry of Labour inspections Ministry of Labour inspectors cover thousands of companies every year and 12,000 to 26,000 workers from non-EU countries. although they are limited in the scope of their control activities, by lack of staff and the errors endemic to their institutional and organizational sources.

As can be seen from Table 11, the percentage of immigrant workers for whom irregularities were found varies, from a peak of over 55% in 1994, settling at just over 30%, then rising again from 1999 to around 40%. The lowest levels occur in the regularization years, 1991 and 1996, while the highest in 1994 and 1999 could in part be due to an inspection campaign targeting companies determined likely to use unauthorized immigrant labour (Reyneri, 2001a). In any case, the proportion of irregularly employed immigrants is never less than 31%, over double that of Italian workers employed in the informal sector (Reyneri, 2002). The renewed rise of this rate in 2000 was due essentially to the increase in immigrants working without authorization because they did not have a work permit. This was the case until 2000, due to the 1998-1999 regularization schemes, while in 2001 it was the mark of new unauthorized immigration caused by announcement of a subsequent regularization.

Table 11 – Percentage of unauthorized workers among non-EU employees, 1991-2001*

	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001
Without permit	–	–	16.8	27.6	12.9	15.7	11.2	8.8	12.2	27.3	21.9
With permit	–	–	31.5	29.2	24.2	15.9	22.7	22.5	26.1	14.0	17.6
Total	33.1	33.5	48.3	56.7	37.1	31.6	33.8	31.2	38.3	41.3	39.5

* Excluding Sicily 1993 and 1997

Source: prepared by the author from Ministry of Labour data

The differences in unauthorized employment between regions and sectors are significant. The percentage of immigrants employed without authorization is lower in the North-East regions and, in the last few years, also in the central regions. These are the regions where legal employment in the manufacturing industry is constantly rising (see Table 12). On the other hand, the percentage of immigrant workers not legally employed is higher than the national average in the south, Lazio and Lombardy (which include the metropolitan areas of Rome and Milan) and is growing in Piedmont and Liguria. Considering the principal economic sectors, the percentage of immigrant workers employed without authorization is higher in catering and tourism, cleaning services, domestic work, small businesses and retail shops, while it is lower in transport and industry (and would probably be even lower in the manufacturing industry if that could be separated from construction). If we exclude domestic work (which employs a large proportion of immigrant workers and a smaller proportion of unregistered Italian workers), the distribution by sector of immigrants employed without authorization would be almost the same as for unregistered Italian workers.

Table 12 – Percentage of illegal workers among non-EU employees by socio-economic area, 1996-1999

	Illegal				of which without residence permit				of which with residence permit			
	1996	1997	1998	1999	1996	1997	1998	1999	1996	1997	1998	1999
North-West	50.5	51.3	51.2	41.5	27.3	20.2	14.8	14.2	23.2	31.1	36.3	27.4
Lombardy	50.5	30.5	47.6	38.1	14.3	9.0	6.8	10.7	36.2	21.5	40.8	27.3
North-East	14.6	20.3	9.4	22.5	5.9	8.5	3.2	7.5	8.7	11.8	6.2	15.0
Centre	26.1	39.6	41.2	37.3	13.9	10.2	9.8	13.2	12.2	29.4	31.4	24.1
Lazio	47.4	39.5	n.d.	56.9	21.1	5.2	n.d.	9.0	26.3	34.3	n.d.	47.9
South	32.2	33.3	42.9	52.3	20.6	12.3	18.4	17.7	11.6	20.9	24.4	34.6
Italy	31.6	33.8	31.2	38.3	15.7	11.2	8.8	12.2	15.9	22.7	22.5	26.1

Source: Ministry of Labour

Not all unauthorized immigrants are also without a permit to stay in Italy. Thus, depending on the year, from one third to one half have a work permit and could have a legal job. The presence of immigrant workers employed without authorization because they do not have a work permit is lower in the years immediately following the regularizations. As shown in Table 11, in 1997 and 1998, only one immigrant employee in ten was without a permit, while before 1996, the level was almost double. On the other hand, even after the 1996 amnesty, over two immigrants in ten were employed without authorization, despite the fact that they had permits. Of the two objectives of the 1996 amnesty, only the termination of unauthorized residency seems to have been fully achieved. Ironically, this was not the central objective of the regularization in 1998-99. Its procedures were protracted for almost a year and a half, and those who had made an application were not allowed to change employer. As a result, all those who were found in the course of inspections to have changed their job were considered to be employed without authorization because they did not have a residence permit¹⁶.

There is considerable geographical variation in the distinction between immigrants forced to work without authorization because they do not have a permit and those immigrants who, like Italian workers, are employed in the informal sector, although they could theoretically take an authorized job (Table 12). In the Southern districts of Piedmont and Liguria, the high rate of unauthorized work is due essentially to the lack of residence permits. In the regions where the situation is more critical for Italian workers, immigrants have more difficulty finding work, with the exception of those without work permits willing to accept poor conditions. Conversely in Lombardy, Lazio and the central regions of Italy, many immigrants will take unauthorized jobs although though they have a permit allowing them to work legally. Finally, in the North-East, both causes of unauthorized work are much less widespread.

Thus growing legal employment was accompanied up to 1999 by a net reduction in unauthorized work due to absence of residence permits, while the number of immigrants working in unregistered jobs although eligible for legal employment remained considerable. 2001, however, signalled a reversal in the trend, in anticipation of a new amnesty. To give an idea of this development, the pattern in the three major areas of immigrant employment was estimated: legal, unauthorized without permit and unauthorized with permit. . The estimate is based on data from Ministry of Labour inspections, combined with others from various sources: work permits, employees registered with the INPS in the companies and employee

¹⁶ The situation was only cleared up after a long delay by a Ministry of Labour circular.

registers, and ISTAT estimates¹⁷. The unreliability of the data usually published by the INPS must be taken into consideration. The number of legally employed immigrants was also estimated, with a similar result to an estimate by Caritas (2001) using other methods and confirmed by the initial results from the employee files of insurance institutions (Caritas, 2002).

As can be seen from Table 13, it can be estimated that in 1994 only one in three employed immigrants had a legal job, while the others worked without a contract of employment and without the necessary permits for self-employment. The proportion of unauthorized immigrants among those working in unregistered work was over 70%, although it is also likely that many of them had residence permits issued for other reasons (family, tourism, etc.). Finally, among those in possession of a work permit, the proportion of unauthorized workers was around 40%.

Table 13 – Employed immigrants by employment position and presence, 1994-2001

Presence	Occupation	1994	1996	1999	2001	1994	1996	1999	2001
		Absolute values (thousands)				%			
With permit	Authorized	211	391	585	700	30.6	52.9	61.9	60.3
With permit	Unauthorized	138	166	245	160	20.0	22.5	25.9	13.8
Without permit	unauthorized	341	182	115	300	49.4	24.6	12.2	25.9
Total		690	739	945	1160	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: estimates prepared by the author from Ministry of Labour, INPS and ISTAT data

In 1996, even with the regularization still in progress, the scenario changed profoundly. Less than one immigrant in two could at the time be estimated as working in an irregular situation. Moreover, among workers in irregular situations, immigrants without permits were only just over half. However, there was a slight fall in the proportion of workers in unregistered jobs among immigrants with a work permit, from just under 40% to just under 30%. The following regularization, begun in 1998 but still not completed in 1999, later reduced the proportion of immigrants employed without authorization to 38%. Most of all, immigrants without permits were fewer: of those who worked in unauthorized jobs with less than one third forced to work in the informal sector due to lack of a work permit. However, the number of those who worked in unregistered jobs, even though they had a work permit, was not falling, and even continued to rise in absolute terms: of immigrants with permits, the proportion of those employed without authorization was still just over 30%.

Having a work permit is a necessary but not a sufficient condition for being legally employed. Many immigrants continue to work in unregistered employment even though they have obtained a work permit, because they have short-term plans to migrate and do not see that paying taxes and social security contributions will bring any benefits in the future. They prefer to be paid “cash in hand”, in an attempt to keep more than they would by working legally, because the employer who does not pay taxes and contributions can give part of it the increased profits to the worker. But this behaviour is not always the product of an opportunistic attitude. Immigrants mostly work in activities where unregistered labour is rife (high proportion of unskilled labour, low productivity, low profile, etc.). Moreover, because

¹⁷ The calculation is based on certain assumptions: immigrants with employee status are estimated to have a work permit and their unauthorization rate is considered equal to that of employees; when other sources provide different measures for the same category of workers, the highest estimate is taken: legal workers are also assumed to have work permits (see also Bonifazi and Chiri, 2001 and Anastasia, Gambuzza and Rasera, 2001).

they frequently change jobs, immigrants are very often faced with a choice between quickly finding an unregistered job or finding a legal one with great difficulty. Given that they get little protection from unemployment benefits and cannot rely on family assistance, even immigrants with permits are not keen to spend long periods of time looking for work. Often, only the need to obtain or renew a work permit forces them to make the financial sacrifices necessary to find a legal job. This attitude is accentuated by social policies which do little to integrate and encourage permanent settlement. In an attempt to discourage opportunistic behaviour, the Turco-Napolitano Act of 1998 introduced the possibility of refunding social security contributions paid (at a rate of interest of 5%) to immigrants who wished to return to their country of origin, even after only a few years working in Italy. However, the Bossi-Fini Act abolished this option (which, moreover, was not proposed for Italian workers).

Even employers are faced with a choice, because they can “hire” into unregistered jobs even an immigrant in possession of a work permit. Employers’ behaviour is highly conditioned by legal regulations and how strictly they are applied, as well as labour market conditions. This distinction, moreover, does not necessarily result in discrimination. On the contrary, those legally intended to be excluded can be the most sought after by companies and families who resort to unregistered labour. Paradoxically, employers and families may risk less by employing an immigrant without a valid work permit in unregistered jobs than one who is in possession of such a permit, because it is less likely that an unauthorized immigrant will go to the labour inspector or ask for better working conditions. Employing unauthorized immigrants involves heavier penalties than employing legal immigrants in unregistered jobs, but what counts for employers is the probability of being inspected and reported. On the other hand, legal immigrants are also blackmailed by employers, because they must have a contract of employment to renew their work permit. Especially in domestic work, where controls are scarce, employers can “grant” a short-term contract to immigrants when their work permit comes up for renewal, in exchange for accepting an unregistered job and worse working conditions after that period has lapsed. The scenario again changed profoundly in 2001. The number of immigrants working in unauthorized jobs, even with a work permit, declined, while there was a significant increase in those legally employed, in particular due to the regularization of 1998-99, and especially among those previously forced to work in the informal economy due to the lack of a work permit. However the proportion of legally employed immigrants remained constant at 60%, while the overall composition of unregistered employment reverted to that of the early 1990s, with a clear prevalence of immigrants in an irregular situation.

The rise in immigrant workers without a proper work permit is even more evident from the 2002 amnesty, in which over 700,000 unauthorized immigrants submitted applications, more than double those estimated in 2001. Various factors contributed to the number of immigrants, enhanced push and pull factors between Italy, other European countries and third countries of emigration combined with the stabilization effect which has resulted immediately before every amnesty announcement. For example, the level of “commuter” immigration from Eastern Europe has recently increased enormously as young people enter with a tourist or student visa, work in unregistered jobs for a few months, return to their country of origin and then after a short while, emigrate again in the same way. Fearing that they would not be able to legalize their position if they continued this commuting pattern, they stayed in Italy, causing a sudden rise in the stock of unauthorized immigrants. At the same time, many immigrants already living in Italy had to reapply for amnesty. Of the 200,000 immigrants regularized in 1998-1999, many still faced the obstacle of the first renewal of their permit in 2001. It is probable that those who did not succeed resorted to the new amnesty. Finally, since

almost 300,000 applications for regularization concern immigrants who declared domestic work or personal care for the elderly in families, it is possible that the presence of unauthorized immigrant workers is still understated, because national statistics are largely based on inspections of companies and not families, where it is easier for persons without a residence permit to find work.

For a legal immigrant, the condition of unregistered employment can only be temporary, since the application for renewal of the work permit must demonstrate sufficient legal income. Especially in the domestic and personal care sector, where demand for immigrant labour is strong, some try to obtain legal work at the time of renewal, but this is a high risk strategy. More than a few fall back into the vicious circle of unauthorized employment, their only hope a new amnesty and regularization. According to a recent study (Carfagna, 2002), in the three amnesties of 1990 to 1998, from 10% to 5% of regularized immigrants who had already benefited from a previous amnesty had reverted to an irregular situation. Thus in Italy, as in other southern European countries (Reyneri, 2001b), the widespread hidden economy not only exerts a powerful attraction for irregular immigration, but also discourages the stabilization of immigrants who are regularized through amnesties.

11. Wages and mobility of foreign workers

As shown in the previous sections, it is difficult to ascertain the exact number of foreign workers and thus even information on foreign workers' wages is difficult to determine. If, however, this analysis is confined only to foreign workers registered with the INPS, which excludes those employed in agriculture and domestic services, it is possible to obtain relatively accurate information.

Using this database, Venturini and Villosio (2002) sought to study the assimilation of foreigners in terms of occupation and wages. This research began with length of service, which is the first step in understanding the stability of employment among foreign workers and then their annual wage and career development.

11.1 Foreigners' length of service

Immigrants have a shorter length of service than Italian nationals. This result is linked to the fact that foreigners are on average younger than Italian workers, they have only recently had a legal job and are employed in less-skilled jobs with lower turnover costs.

If we measure length of service as the *number of months in employment between 1986 and 1996*, a period of ten years which covers the first phase of the new immigration phenomenon, the difference between the average length of service of Italians and foreigners is very high, 57.7 months for Italians and 27.5 months for foreigners. The difference is greater between manual workers (57.7 for Italians and 24.1 for foreigners) than clerical staff (59.9 for Italians and 48.6 for foreigners). However, if we confine the analysis to a more similar group of foreign workers, young Italians (aged under 36 years) in manual jobs, the difference is less (41.8 for Italians and 23.7 for foreigners) although it is still high.

If, however, we use another measure of integration in employment, *gross turnover*, in this case too, the difference between the two groups is very high (0.6 compared with 1.4). However, if we compared foreigners with more similar Italian groups, i.e. young manual

workers, the difference between the two groups is less (e.g. 0.8 compared with 1.4 in 1996, see Table 14).

Turnover¹⁸ is very stable from sector to sector among Italians while, conversely, it varies greatly among foreigners, declining after the 1991 regularization and rising again with the next regularization in 1996.

Table 14 – Gross turnover of Italian and foreign employees in the private sector, 1991-1996

	1991	1993	1995	1996
Total Italians	0.60	0.50	0.59	0.62
Italian workers	0.63	0.55	0.66	0.67
Italian workers <40 years	0.81	0.66	0.82	0.81
Total foreigners	1.86	1.12	1.32	1.47
Total Africa	1.81	0.99	1.25	1.37
Mediterranean Africa	2.14	1.18	1.43	1.54
Non-Mediterranean Africa	1.43	0.78	1.08	1.20
Eastern Europe	2.63	1.63	1.64	1.77

Source: Venturini and Villosio. 2002

If we look at the national composition, the same pattern is repeated. Immigrant flows from Eastern Europe began in the 1990s; thus their turnover is higher than the average for foreign workers. If we compare this figure with African workers, the only population with a sample size large enough to be separated into two groups, we find that foreign workers from Mediterranean Africa also show a high turnover. Indeed there is a constant flow to Italy from the Northern Mediterranean coast, while immigrants from Ghana, Mali and other West-African countries were more numerous in the 1980s than in the 1990s, and show a lower turnover and fewer problems of integration into employment.

This interpretation is confirmed by the analysis of trends in rates of turnover in entry to legal employment. Using the above-mentioned administrative data, Venturini and Villosio (2002) show that the rate of turnover of foreigners is very high when they enter the labour market, e.g. 3.95 for foreigners who entered in 1991, 3.05 for those who entered in 1993, 3.93 for entrants in 1995, but that one year after entry, the turnover rate falls, declining and settling at around 1.1. Though this is higher than for Italians, it remains very low.

This trend in the turnover rate is not surprising because the main channel of access to legal employment was represented in Italy by regularizations. This implies a prior period of unregistered work, a vocational training phase which, when the worker becomes legal and enters the formal labour market, enhances his stability.

Workers' employment stability is also very important in understanding the wage assimilation of foreign workers. Indeed, the more stable a foreign worker, the more similar his wage profile to that of an Italian worker.

¹⁸ Turnover is calculated as entrants plus leavers from employment over total employed.

11.2 Foreigners' wages

The annual report of the Central Institute of Statistics (ISTAT) provides information on foreigners' wages, as shown in Table 15 below. The comparison between the average monthly wage received by Italian nationals and foreigners by productive sector is very broad, and does not take account of the different characteristics of the two groups. However, even at this level, the wage differentials between Italian nationals and foreigners is small, although it varies from one sector to another.

Table 15 – Gross monthly wage for Italian nationals and foreigners, 1999-2001

Sector	Foreigners: wages per capita (in euro)			Nationals: wages per capita (in euro)			Differential (%)	
	1999	2001	Variat. %	1999	2001	Variat. %	1999	2001
			1999-2001			1999-2001		
Manufacturing	1,216	1,228	1.0	1.538	1.620	5.3	-21.0	-24.2
Construction	1,074	1,085	1.1	1.269	1.320	4.0	-15.4	-17.8
Commerce	1,229	1,239	0.8	1.421	1.484	4.5	-13.5	-16.5
Hotels and catering	966	971	0.5	1.044	1.062	1.7	-7.4	-8.5
Other	845	855	1.2	1.295	1.359	4.9	-34.8	-37.1

Source: ISTAT, financial data, in ISTAT, 2002, pp. 222-223

To capture the real differentials between wages in the two groups of workers, it is necessary to check the different characteristics of the two groups of individuals, and this is what Venturini and Villosio (2002) did using daily wages¹⁹ of Italian and foreign workers registered with the INPS private companies' register. Using this dataset, it was possible to check the principal individual characteristics, such as age, sex, level of skills, length of service with the same employer, as well as the principal activities of the company, such as sector of activity, size and geographical position. The studies into wage assimilation showed that a crucial variable proved to be the number of years of presence in the country of destination as a *proxy* for the accumulation of general and social human capital specific to the country of destination, such as command of the language of the destination country, or the prevalent practices of social integration. Unfortunately, the dataset used does not provide this information, though it does allow the construction of a variable "years of legal presence"²⁰ which approximates the acquisition of general human capital and general human labour capital, bearing in mind that the majority of legal foreigners consist of employed workers who enter the labour market following regularization. This variable²¹ differs from the variable "length of service with the same employer", which captures instead the acquisition of specific human capital and thus allows length of service of various migratory waves within the same nationality or across nationalities of origin to be checked. The results (Table 16) show that 80% of total wage differentials between the two groups can be explained by the different characteristics prevalent in the two groups.

¹⁹ Gross daily wage rates including overtime and workers' social security contributions.

²⁰ The variable is calculated as the difference between the year in question and the first year in which the individual appeared in the dataset. As it is a proxy for general human capital and general human labour capital, it includes all the years between the first and the last even in cases where the foreign worker left the dataset and entered informal labour.

²¹ To capture foreigners in the labour market before 1986, another variable "years of legal presence" was also introduced skewed to the left.

Table 16 – Total daily wage differential for Italian nationals and foreigners, 1991-1996

	1991	1996
Log national wage (mean)	4.497	4.700
Log foreigners' wage (mean)	4.349	4.533
Wage differential	0.148	0.167
Africa, non-Mediterranean	0.174	0.169
Africa, Mediterranean	0.142	0.155
Asia	0.194	0.206
Eastern Europe	0.066	0.169
Latin America	0.188	0.153
Explained (%)	88.48	82.80
Not explained (%)	11.52	17.20
% of differential by characteristics		
Sex	-22.27	-23.28
Age	9.56	6.15
Years of legal presence	26.52	22.67
Length of service with same employer	12.34	12.42
Training	41.12	42.05
Sector	-6.15	-4.62
Size of company	31.17	33.83
Geographical area	-5.97	-6.66

Source: Venturini and Villosio, 2002

Before commenting on these results, we shall analyse the effect in the INPS data of the characteristics of the company and workers on wage differentials. Immigrants are mainly men, whose concentration reduces total wage differentials, while there are relatively few young Italian nationals, which increases the total wage differential. The two variables “years of legal presence” and “length of service with the same employer” explain 34% to 38% of the total wage differential. The variables which capture the largest part of the wage differential between the two groups are human capital variables (general or specific to the company) skills (foreigners have lower skill levels than Italian nationals) and the size of company (foreigners are mainly in small enterprises). Although in the long-term the human capital variables can be regarded as having less positive impact on the wage differential between the two groups, the variables more closely linked to the productive structure, such as size of company and skills, require a change either in demand or supply which cannot be rapid. Geographical area and sector of occupation, on the other hand, have a negative effect on the differential because foreigners work mainly in areas of high wages and growth sectors.

To understand better the importance of the wage differentials between national and foreign workers, we compared it with the wage differential between men and women calculated from the same dataset by Bonjour and Pacelli (1998). The total differential in their case was 0.225 and the explained proportion of the different characteristics checked in the dataset only 25%, while in the case of differentials between nationals and foreigners in 1991 we have a much

lower value, 0.147, and the part of the differential explained by the various characteristics between the two groups over 80%.

The analysis presented up to now is a static analysis which says little about wage assimilation of foreigners, i.e. if the wage differential for foreigners who remain employed falls compared with nationals with similar characteristics. Venturini and Villosio (2002), comparing foreigners entering employment in 1991 and still employed in 1996 with similar nationals found that the wage differential falls, showing a considerable assimilation effect which nevertheless varies between national groups. Workers from Eastern Europe seem to have a more marked process of assimilation; both the explained and unexplained components of the various characteristics contribute to the reduction in the differential. It seems, therefore, that employers value the productivity of workers and reduce their wage discrimination or, rather, they pay for the workers' non-measurable productivity. These results, albeit limited to the most successful foreign workers, i.e. those who have managed to keep their jobs for the whole five years, are encouraging. If foreign workers have a chance to become regularized and enter the formal labour market, their occupational situation, after one or two years, stabilizes and their wage differential becomes very small, at 14%, falling to only 7% after 5 years of employment.

Other studies based on field surveys allow analysis of gender wage differentials for foreigners. Strozza, Gallo and Grillo (2002) used a survey of 1,440 immigrants belonging to three communities – Moroccans, Yugoslavs and Poles – and calculated the weekly wage differential within each community. The authors had access to a very rich dataset which enable them to analyse by years of education, ability to speak Italian, length of unemployment, rate of employment and the number of dependents, as well as the traditional variables of sex and age. The differential in 1998 between male and female weekly wages was 0.128 for the Moroccans, 0.341 for immigrants from the former Yugoslavia and 0.228 for Polish immigrants. In the latter group, 90% of the differential can be explained by gender differences, while among the Moroccans, the lower differential was unexplained.

Even more interesting is the study by Baldacci, Inglese and Strozza (1999) on wage differentials between legal and illegal foreign labour. In a survey of 1,574 immigrants of working age employed in two regions, Lazio and Campania, and a broader mix of nationalities than the previous study, the authors compared the monthly remuneration of a legal and an illegal worker. It was found that the legal worker received monthly remuneration for males 24% and for females 19% higher than that of the illegal worker. If this evidence could be extended to other regions, it would explain the strong desire of immigrants to become legal workers not only for the sake of social integration but also economic integration and it would contradict the thesis that immigrants prefer to hold unauthorized jobs because that way they earn more.

The data presented in this section provide a general overview of the integration of immigrants into the Italian labour market, and raise many questions concerning the role which discrimination, in its various forms, can play in this situation. The results of the analysis cited in the last paragraph suggest that when foreign workers are legally and stably integrated in the productive system, discrimination has relatively little impact on wage conditions. The problem, however, lies in the attainment of that condition. Unregistered work is in fact an almost obligatory stage to be passed through, not chosen, by many immigrants, who only thanks to amnesties have a chance of legalizing their position. The data on the extent of

unregistered labour provide a disturbing picture of the conditions of work of a large section of immigrant workers and cast a shadow over their future fate.

It is obvious that not all the disadvantage stems from discrimination, because the market inevitably penalizes the lower skills and limited social integration of many immigrants. Nevertheless, with the passage of time, the growth in the proportion of resident immigrants and the birth of a second generation present challenges not only for immigrants but also for the host society in which they live, as is well known in countries with a longer tradition of immigration. The lack of corrective measures by national and local governments may also become a cause of discrimination, because it allows the creation of a class of unskilled foreign workers or workers of foreign origin who accumulate the disadvantages of low incomes, low skills, concentration in industries that are old-fashioned and in crisis, housing problems and insufficient legal protections.

In any case, the possibility for foreign workers to rapidly obtain legal work, and thus use and develop their abilities to the fullest, is crucial to the reduction of risk and socio-economic disadvantage, both in the workplace and the host society at large. In this respect, discrimination in access to work, at the time of selection and recruitment of labour by companies, is particularly harmful. Our empirical research, the results of which are presented in the following chapters, examines this aspect of the problem in particular.

Part II. Description of the methods used in the field studies

1. Selection of areas and sectors for study in Italy

The methodology developed by ILO to study discrimination at work indicates general guidelines which must be adapted to the situation in each country in which it is applied. Indeed, not many studies have already been conducted into discrimination in the labour market in Italy using this specific method²². Based on the information available on the situation of immigrants in Italy, consideration was given to the practical conditions in which the study would presumably be conducted²³, and the following terms of reference were agreed with the ILO for the study in Italy in relation to the overall project.

General outline:

- 1) to study discrimination at the time of recruitment;
- 2) to measure discrimination against two groups of immigrants: a stabilized group with a high proportion of second generation members and another group of young first generation males;²⁴
- 3) to analyse levels of skills: semi-skilled workers among recently arrived first generation immigrants and more specialized work by second generation workers;
- 4) to conduct studies in areas with a high concentration of immigrants and in sectors with a high demand for labour, especially in services and industry (excluding agricultural work where competition with nationals concerns unskilled labour).

The first point was also retained in the Italian study, as in previous ILO studies.

The second point presented a difficulty: in Italy, where the absolute and percentage proportion of second-generation immigrants is still very low. It was therefore decided to consider only one group, young first generation immigrants from Morocco, the most numerous nationally among foreigners in Italy and fairly well spread across the country and in various productive sectors.

²² A study using this method was conducted in Turin into discrimination against immigrants in access to housing. Persons who said that they were foreigners from various origins replied by telephone to offers of accommodation advertised in newspapers or estate agents. Sometimes, owners and agencies stated openly that they did not want to let to foreigners. In many cases, however, they were told that the accommodation was already let, while it was available in subsequent telephone controls by an Italian. It was thus proved that there was a high rate of discrimination against foreigners in access to housing (Committee Against Racism, 2000). Moreover, even at the time when the tests in the present study were starting, a television programme showed some scenes in which two testers, one Italian and one Moroccan, applied for vacant jobs: the latter received many more refusals than the former. This programme does not seem to have had any practical consequence for the present study. It accurately reflected the research procedure, but it raises certain doubts as to the effectiveness of public denouncement of discrimination.

²³ Particular consideration was given to the study on Spain, which is the country considered to have the greatest similarities with Italy in terms of immigration and the labour market.

²⁴ The study was also limited to males, for consistency with other studies previously carried out by the ILO. Naturally, this does not imply a strategy which disregards the existence of specific and considerable problems of discrimination against foreign female workers.

It was also decided to present Moroccan workers in their true status as foreigners in possession of a legal work permit, as well as Italian citizens of Moroccan origin. The reason for this is the number of people of Moroccan origin holding Italian citizenship is still quite low and in Italy it is rather difficult for foreigners to obtain citizenship²⁵. For employers, the experience of finding workers of foreign origin but with Italian citizenship is still quite unusual, if not impossible. There is a fear that by saying that they hold Italian citizenship, Moroccans could arouse employers' suspicions²⁶. Moreover, the problem of discrimination against Italian citizens of immigrant origin is still at the embryonic stage, although likely to grow soon.

Consistent with the guidelines in the ILO method, it was decided to focus the study on semi-skilled occupations, in which it is presumed that competition between Italian citizens and Moroccan immigrants is more common. In practice, many of the jobs offered in the sample of advertisements proved to be low-skilled.

As to the fourth point, given the variety of labour market and immigrant situations to be found in Italy, it was decided to study three large cities, one in the North, Turin, one in the Centre, Rome, and one in the South, Naples. It cannot, strictly speaking, be claimed that these three cities are representative of the integration of Moroccans in the whole of the national labour market, but it can give a significant illustration.

Finally, as suggested by the ILO methodology, it was decided to focus the study on three sectors: manufacturing industry, construction, and services.

The distinction between public and private employers was held to be untenable in Italy, because both public employment and large state-owned enterprises do not usually resort to procedures which allow the conduct of studies using our methodology.

The design of the study adapted to the Italian case can thus be summarized as follows:

- 1) to study discrimination at the time of recruitment;
- 2) to measure discrimination against one group of Moroccan immigrants, young first generation males;
- 3) to analyse semi-skilled and low-skilled jobs in which competition between Italian and Moroccan applicants can realistically be assumed;
- 4) to conduct studies in three cities (Turin, Rome and Naples) and in three sectors (manufacturing industry, construction and services).

1.1. Moroccan immigrants in Italy

Unlike other European countries, there is no clearly predominant nationality among immigrants in Italy. However, Moroccans are the largest national group, some 158,000, or

²⁵ From 1991 to 2001, 72,000 foreigners obtained Italian citizenship, almost 90% of them through marriage. This ratio is rather low compared with the number of those present.

²⁶ However, in some cases, it was evident that the mere foreign name or accent was enough to generate a discriminatory response, with no room for any explanation about the applicant's Italian citizenship.

11.6% of all foreigners, followed by Albanians (144,000), Romanians (75,000), Philipinos and Chinese (at 31 December 2001). Moroccans began to arrive in Italy almost thirty years ago. Their relative number and visibility have made them emblematic of foreign immigration in Italy.

Moroccans are present throughout the whole country, but more numerous in the north of Italy and less present in the Centre and South. It is still predominantly male immigration, although with a considerable presence of women (32%) and children. Those resident in Italy for over five years are the most numerous (61%). It is thus a community which is stabilizing and giving rise to a second generation. Moroccans, to simplify the picture, are primarily low-skilled or semi-skilled manual workers in industry and services. However quite a number of them have started their own businesses (20% of work permits for self-employment) (Caritas, 2002).

1.2. Characteristics of the three areas selected for the study in Italy

The Italian economic system is famously diversified by regions across the country. The traditional division into three macro areas, the so-called “three Italys” (Bagnasco, 1977) can be further broken down and specified by productive sector and feasibility for study. Macro regions, industrial districts, developed and underdeveloped areas make up a composite and variegated mosaic of productive systems, in turn rooted in diverse local social systems.

Studies into the integration of immigrants in Italy have long identified the strong regional variations of migrants’ characteristics and their patterns of settlement (Zanfrini, 1998; Ambrosini, 2001a). Moving between constraints and opportunities found in any local system, carving out room to integrate or possibilities of innovation, immigrants in their turn complicate this mosaic.

In the light of the diversification of the labour market for foreigners in Italy, it is difficult to identify discrimination in its many forms within the country. We therefore focused on a few significant areas, even if not statistically representative of the national picture. The ILO method suggested concentrating on areas where there was a high concentration of immigrants and an active demand for labour in industry and services. Practical considerations advised against selecting an area, such as an industrial district, too small to provide a sufficient number and variety of job applications in a reasonable time frame, and not to disperse the subsamples over too large an area.

The choice thus fell on three large cities which at the same time offered a broad, heterogeneous and dynamic labour market, a strong immigrant presence, in particular of Moroccans, and which had rather distinct, basic socio-economic characteristics. The cities are Turin, in the North, Rome, in the Centre, and Naples, in the South. The following sections summarize some of the social and economic characteristics of the selected cities.

1.2.1. Turin

Turin currently has 897,000 inhabitants. The population grew rapidly in the 1950s and 1960s following strong immigration from other regions, especially the South, rising to 1,200,000 inhabitants. The Italian immigrants were required by the demand for labour from the city’s

large manufacturers, primarily FIAT. Subsequently, starting in the 1970s, the resident population declined, spreading out into the metropolitan area which now has a total of 1,700,000 inhabitants in all.

The population of the city is relatively old, older than the national average. 21.4% of residents are over 64 years of age. Children under 18 years, on the other hand, make up 10.4% of the population. Consequently, even in Turin, the demand for care for the elderly is rising and has been frequently met by foreign immigrants, especially women from Eastern Europe and Peru., Families have an average of 2.17 members, compared with a national average of 2.6 (ISTAT data, 2001).

Even during the period in which this study was being conducted, there was a serious crisis in the dominant automobile company, FIAT, and consequently the companies which supplied it: the area's industrial fabric, however, is fairly diversified and thus recruitment did not come to a total stop. Recruitment in the tertiary sector was the most vigorous in Italy for many years. Turin still remains one of the major industrial centres in Italy, although with a heavy concentration of tertiary activities. The launch of the major construction works related to the 2006 Winter Olympics and the high-speed rail link with Milan have also increased demand for labour in construction and associated activities.

Recruitment in local units* by sector in Turin, 2001

Sector	Absolute values	%
Industry	76,298	22.3
Commerce	63,299	18.5
Other services	131,223	38.3
Institutions	72,045	21.0
Total	342,865	100.0

* Physical places where industrial, commercial or tertiary activities are performed
Source: ISTAT, Provisional data, Census 2001

The latest available data shows that during 2002 there were 100,000 recruitments in the city, four fifths of which were in services. A third of these recruitments concerned white-collar workers, while skilled and unskilled workers accounted each for 30%. There were also a small number of trainees. About 8,000 foreigners were recruited. The unemployment rate is relatively high at 6.2%, but as in the whole of Italy, many registered as unemployed are not actually seeking work.

There were over 46,000 foreigners residing in the city at the beginning of 2003, and this number has been rising constantly (there were 12,000 ten years earlier). Moroccan citizens were the largest group, at approximately 11,000, followed by Romanians, Peruvians and Albanians. It should be borne in mind, however, that over 35,000 foreigners without residence permits have presented applications for regularization in the province of Turin. The regularization procedures are in progress, in 2003, and thus it is not yet possible to provide a definite total, but the number of legal Moroccan immigrants is already known. The Moroccan total is expected to increase by at least one thousand, and has now been overtaken by the Romanians.

1.2.2. Rome

The population of Rome at the end of 2001 was 2,802,500 people²⁷, males 47.5% and females 52.5%. The population under the age of 13 years was 11.9% of the total, with a slight increase over 1997 (11.6%). Those aged over 65 years, however, increased in the period 1997-2001, from 16.3% to 18% of the total. From these data (and from the rate of participation in the labour market) an economic dependency rate can be derived which rose from 38.6% in 1997 to 42.7% in 2001.

Roman women who work are constantly on the increase: the share of the female population active in the workforce rose from 35.1% in 1997 to 38% in 2001. On the other hand, male workforce participation declined slightly (+0.9%, +0.6%)²⁸ in the biennium 2000-2001.

This first series of data shows an important fact concerning the integration of foreign labour: as in other large Italian cities, the participation of women in the labour market, the ageing of the population, and an increasing life span generate a private demand for domestic and personal care services which, to a large and growing extent, is satisfied by immigrant workers.

As regards the industrial structure, the latest census (2001) recorded 187,862 local units for 968,174 workers. The productive units employed on average 5.2 workers. The only sector which experienced a growth in employment compared with the previous census (1991) was services (+2.8%), while the total employed fell by 0.1%.

Employment, municipality of Rome, 1981-2001

Sector	1981	1991	2001*	Variation % 1981-1991	Variation% 1991-2001
Industry	161,440	151,460	145,653	-6.2	-3.8
Commerce	204,724	167,842	153,773	-18.0	-8.4
Other services and institutions	517,962	650,308	668,748	25.6	2.8
Total	884,126	969,610	968,174	9.7	-0.1

* Provisional data, Census 2001

The distribution of employment by productive sector (in parentheses the data for all Italy) shows that employment in industry was 15% (33%), commerce 15.9% (17.8%), other services 42.3% (29.5%) and employees in institutions 26.8% (19.7%). What is clear is the largely tertiary sector orientation in the city and the relatively low level of employment in institutions (many towns in the south and Florence have higher shares, while Bologna's is a little lower).

The productive sectors are dominated by various kinds of service jobs and construction (traditionally strong and in 2001 still reinforced by the effects of the public works undertaken for the Jubilee 2000).

²⁷ The majority of the data reported in this section are taken from the 2001 census. The other sources are indicated in footnotes or in the text.

²⁸ OPER, *Report on the Roman economy*, Rome, 2001

Companies in the province of Rome by productive sector, 2001

Sector	Absolute values	Sector	Absolute values
Agriculture, hunting and forestry	16,270	Hotels and restaurants	17,185
Manufacturing	37,287	Transport, storage	16,864
Construction	46,210	Health and other social services	2,152
Retail and wholesale commerce	109,899	Other social and personal services	22,191

Source: EU.R.ES from Infocamere data

The percentages for the productive sectors show that the proportion of some is critical: As far as this report is concerned, construction, personal services, commerce and tourism, are all productive environments in which demand for (and the presence of) foreign labour is very strong.

Percentage breakdown of companies in the province of Rome by certain sectors of activity, 2001

Sector	%
Industry	11,0
Construction	13,0
Commerce	36,9
Hotels and restaurants	5,8
Transport and logistics	6,4
Services to companies and persons (non financial)	15,1

Source: OPER, Report on the Roman economy 2001, Roma, 2001

Rome is the prime magnet for immigrants in Italy, for reasons which go beyond its capacity to absorb labour. Rome has the country's biggest airport, the presence of the Vatican (in 2001, of 48,000 permits for religious reasons, 38,000 were granted in Lazio²⁹, and Rome accounts for 18% of such permits); and an array of institutions for asylum-seekers as well as stable foreign communities which ensure an unofficial welcome.

Foreigners resident in Rome (other than visitors) at the date of the last census numbered 186,481: 47.9% males and 8.8% under the age of 14 years. According to Caritas, visitors at the same date numbered 212,095, of whom 46.4% had a work permit, 3.6% for self-employment and 18.2% for family reasons.

As in the rest of the country, there is not a preponderance in Rome of any community: only four communities exceeded 10,000 in 2001 (Philippinos, Romanians, Albanians and Poles). Among the remaining communities, the largest are Bangladeshi, Peruvian, Indian, Moroccan and Chinese.

The largest sectors of employment are undoubtedly personal care services (especially for women) and construction (for men from the East). In the last few years there has been a constant rise in foreign workers in services (cleaning, commerce, tourism and catering, portering and transport). Also noteworthy is the increase in foreign workers working in contact with the public, which up to three or four years ago was less frequent.

²⁹ Caritas, *Immigration, Statistical Report*, 2002, Rome, Nuova Anterem, 2003.

In this context, the Moroccan share of the total foreign-born population has been declining (4,400 residence permits, eighth community in size, while in 1992 it was third). The numerical data have remained constant between 4,000 and 5,000 from 1996 to today, (Repetitious – this has already been said.) As for other national groups (especially some national groups from Africa), the attraction of the labour market in the North, with more stable jobs in manufacturing, has led to a decline in the presence of some communities. Unlike communities which, because of the nature of their position in the labour market (personal care work) settle in the city of Rome, some communities from the east (Romanians, Poles) and Moroccans also live in the province (where they work in the agricultural sector as well as in construction and self-employed street vending).

In Rome, the presence should also be mentioned of between 5,000 and 7,000 businesses run by foreigners. These businesses stem from two separate currents: the business propensity of some communities (Chinese, Indians, Bangladeshi, Pakistani) and the successive migrations of foreign workers who, after years of experience in a sector, decide to start a business in a field that they know.

All these numbers will be revised in the light of the results of the current regularizations, since over 100,000 applications were submitted in Rome.

1.2.3. Naples

The city of Naples has a resident population of 1,000,470 people. However, there has been a decline of 6.3% since the 1991 census. As in other cities, apart from the falling birth rate, it seems that there has been an exodus to the suburbs. This exodus can be ascribed mainly to two factors: the presence in the Campanian capital of a weak property market not affordable to all and the availability in the suburbs of cheaper houses. The demographic growth of the urban belt in the municipalities has also contributed this phenomenon. Despite this, the population density in Naples is still high compared with other large Italian and European cities (8,550 inhabitants/km² compared with the national figure of 181 inhabitants /km²)³⁰.

An analysis of age groups further shows that this population decline is particularly prevalent among children and young people. Although even in Naples there is a downward trend in the proportion of this age group, the child population (0-14 years) and minors (0-17 years) is respectively 18% and 22% of the resident population compared with national values of 14.5% and 17.7%³¹.

The elderly account for 15.2% of total residents. Some 40% are over 75 years of age, which indicates an improvement in the living standards of this age group. The incidence of this fourth age group is greater than the regional average, but lower than the national average³². The fourth age, moreover, consists mostly of women and is also accompanied by illness, poor health and progressive lack of self-sufficiency which affects 17.5% of males and 21,8% of females³³.

³⁰ ISTAT, 1999. Data available at www.demo.istat.it

³¹ ISTAT, 2001. Data available at www.demo.istat.it

³² ISTAT, 2001. Data available at www.demo.istat.it

³³ Area social plan, I annual income, section N18

As regards minors, the trend in the 0-15 year age group mirrors the national and regional pattern. Indeed, in this age group a 12.2% decline in the population since 1991 was recorded. Overall, in 2001, minors (0-17 years) in Naples represented 22% of the resident population. Young people aged up to 29 years made up 17.6%³⁴. Naples is therefore a very young city.

The number of families, in line with the national trend and contrary to the population trend, is increasing, by 18.4% compared with the 1991 census³⁵.

1990s, social and cultural changes led to a change in the structure of Italian families and their typological differentiation. In Naples, as in other areas of the country, there is an increase in the total number of families, yet a decline in the number of family members. Families are smaller, and the number of individuals living alone has increased sharply. They constitute 25% of the total and, according to more recent sources, consist in large part of elderly people and of women of all ages³⁶.

Naples, moreover, is characterized by a higher number of family members who are minors, as well as a lower level of education, especially in some areas of the city. Alcohol, substance abuse and criminal activity among youth and adults expose families to serious problems of poverty³⁷. Finally, women are more exposed to poverty, either because they never enter the labour market or because, failing to reconcile work and family life, they interrupt their working life prematurely.

The province of Naples, more than other areas, shows an increase in young first-time job seekers. Added to these young people are people driven out of the labour market early as a result of the process of de-industrialization. In 2001, the unemployment rate was 26.4% compared with the regional average of 22.5%. Unemployed women represent 38.3% compared with 13% for Italy as a whole³⁸.

As regards the economic structure, the most recent findings show that the city of Naples is characterized by the presence of advanced services. The high concentration of activities in the tertiary sector, both private and public (university, National Research Council – CNR, as well as numerous professional activities) make this sector the wealthiest after the tourist economy.

The Campanian capital contains the greatest concentration of business activities in the area. Naples, with 59,624 production units, alone absorbs 40.6% of the total for the province³⁹. Employees of local economic units are also concentrated in Naples, with 46.5% of the total for the province⁴⁰. Moreover, the ratio of employees to local units (3.4) shows a trend towards very small businesses.

The distribution of local economic units is seeing a return to an environment strongly characterized by the presence of the commercial sector. With 26,340 local units and 48,913 employees, this surpasses both the services sector, including advanced (13,835 local units and 36,478 employees) and manufacturing (6,073 and 31,962)⁴¹.

³⁴ ISTAT, 2001. Data available at www.demo.istat.it

³⁵ ISTAT, 1999. Data available at www.demo.istat.it

³⁶ Area social plan, I annual income, section N18

³⁷ Area social plan, I annual income, section N18

³⁸ ISTAT, 2001. Data available at www.demo.istat.it

³⁹ Interim census of industry and services, ISTAT 1996

⁴⁰ Interim census of industry and services, ISTAT 1996

⁴¹ Interim census of industry and services, ISTAT 1996

Foreign immigration to Naples, in the last decade, has risen strongly. It has taken different forms over time, at times changing extremely rapidly due to a complex set of economic, political and social factors both internal and external to the country. The presence of immigrants in Naples has changed both in quantitative terms and in the characteristics of the emerging migratory models. Indeed, the ethnic and national groups present, their composition by age group, sex, educational qualification as well as social characteristics have gradually changed.

In 2000, there was an increase in the foreign resident population in the city of 174.8%, or 14,666 people⁴². While in the initial period of immigration Naples (the region in general) was mainly characterized as a city of passage, in the last few years it became a place of stable residence for certain groups. This is clear from the increase in family reunification, the presence of family units and children now attending nursery and elementary schools. Of the total resident immigrants, 14.4% are minors, mainly Sri Lankans, Philipinos, South Americans and, most recently, also Chinese⁴³. The actual number of foreigners is obviously higher. Recent estimates suggest a further 20,000 temporary immigrants without legal status.

The more numerous groups of immigrants, as far as the Asian continent is concerned, come from Sri Lanka and the Philippines and work in the domestic sector and personal care. Recently, Chinese immigrants working in commerce have been on the increase. As to Africa, the largest community comes from Cape Verde, followed by people from Somalia. There are also immigrants from Morocco, Tunisia, Algeria, Senegal and Côte d'Ivoire. Finally, there is also a growing presence in the city of immigrants from the countries of Eastern Europe, especially Poland, but also Albania, Ukraine and Romania.

Moroccans have been settled longer as a community. Their presence was already established in the second half of the 1970s. According to data provided by the Civil register for the year 2003, 152 residents of Moroccan nationality were registered. The group appears to consist mainly of men, but in recent years the presence of women has begun to be significant. The Moroccan women are mostly married and do not always work. Those who work have just arrived in Naples alone and are employed as hourly domestic workers.

The number of men living in irregular situations is difficult to quantify, firstly because it is widely scattered throughout the region and secondly because it is fairly mobile and thus there is a risk of counting the same worker more than once. The great majority of Moroccans, like those from other Maghreb communities, live in municipalities in the province, in particular in the area of Vesuvius and the Aversa plain. Even those who work in Naples do not generally live there. Despite this, they spend most of their spare time in the city, especially in the area around the Piazza Garibaldi, with its concentration of Arab restaurants and shops which sell typical products of their own country. This is the square where all the Moroccans engaged in commercial activities with France and Morocco gather to acquire their own goods wholesale (shoes and clothing), and is an ideal place to meet friends and acquaintances.

In the second half of the 1990s, the presence of children increased, especially Moroccans, either coming directly from the country of origin through family reunions or born in Italy. In the last few years, births from mixed marriages with Italians or Eastern Europeans have

⁴² ISTAT, 1999. Data available at www.demo.istat.it

⁴³ ISTAT, 1999. Data available at www.demo.istat.it

increased. In general, however, families are small, while they are more common in the regions of the North where the conditions for obtaining work and housing are better.

2. Organization of the field study

The ILO method for studying discrimination against immigrant workers stems from the tradition of real-life experiments in sociology. The researcher seeks to control a stimulus variable introduced into an otherwise entirely real and normal situation of social life. A company announces the intention of selecting new personnel in the open market, i.e. choosing a channel open to candidates who have not been pre-defined. Two persons belonging to the research group, the “testers, apply for the job. The situation is manipulated to the extent that the two testers have personal and professional characteristics particularly well-suited to the requirements of the job and are substantially equivalent⁴⁴, except for nationality. They follow the same procedure and behave in the same way. Since, in general, it can be assumed that only one person will be appointed, it is highly likely that one of the two will be selected (though both can be rejected or both can be accepted). The procedure is repeated a great many times. If national origin is a variable which does not influence the choice, each candidate should be preferred more or less the same number of times as the other. If, however, there is a systematic preference for the candidate of a particular nationality, the other conditions influencing the choice being the same, it can be assumed that national origin had played a critical role in the selection. The ILO methodology establishes that when the difference between negative outcomes of the tests for one of the two nationalities is more than 15% higher than the other, it can be concluded that there is discrimination. Thus it is not the unfair treatment of one tester in individual contacts which indicates the possible existence of discrimination based on nationality, but the difference resulting from the total results for the two groups, Italians and Moroccans.

The method adopted requires both testers to have equivalent characteristics and conduct and to be put in a position enabling them to follow procedures as similarly as possible. The technical conduct of the research requires that these conditions are created and maintained throughout the duration of the tests.

Once the design of the study had been established, the working group was formed and organized. The research base was established at FIERI headquarters in Turin. FIERI took care of the general coordination, contacts with the ILO and administrative, technical and methodological support for the local groups. A researcher was assigned to direct the overall field survey.

For each of the three cities, a city director was appointed responsible for identifying and selecting the testers and controlling their work, in collaboration with the central coordinator. The city director also had to draw up the schedules for each test and submit regular reports on the progress of the work. The city directors were three persons with experience of research on the subject of immigration, but also possessing group management skills and practical knowledge of how the local labour market operates. One of them is a Moroccan citizen. Given the distance between the three cities and the diversity of situations, the work of the city directors proved crucial to the proper conduct of the study.

⁴⁴ Obviously ensuring that this similarity is so pronounced that it might occasionally give rise to suspicions of manipulation.

The work began with a meeting in Turin on 18 and 19 October 2002, attended by the ILO support officers; Professor Frank Bovenkerk and Rafael Pérez Molina, from the team which carried out the study in Spain; and all the FIERI researchers. During the meeting, research methods were presented and discussed, including the particular adaptations to national contexts examined in previous studies, the problems that emerged and the solutions adopted from time to time. The specific methods for the conduct of the study in Italy were also agreed.

In the following weeks, the city directors selected the testers for the tests, in collaboration with the central coordinator. The selection took some time because the testers had to possess appropriate and similar characteristics. Moreover, they had to be available for rather demanding work throughout the required period. It should be borne in mind that in Italy there are very few Moroccan university students, and they have been widely used in the other national studies. In exchange, they were offered good remuneration for the period of the study.

Finally, two Italians and two Moroccans with similar characteristics were found in all the cities. These “testers” were nearly all university students. Some of the testers, in particular the Moroccans, brought personal experience to the task, having previously sought out and been engaged in semi-skilled work. The Moroccan testers all spoke adequate Italian at a level equivalent to their Italian counterparts. Some testers preferred to use false names in the tests⁴⁵, while the others used their own real names.

The purpose of the study was explained to the testers; meetings for that purpose were convened with the city directors and the central coordinator during which the method was described and procedures were illustrated to ensure consistent conduct of the tests. Thanks to the availability of some employers and recruitment experts aware of the problem of discrimination, the testers also received instruction from this perspective on the best ways of being accepted as applicants for a job. They were told about the principal tasks and machines with which they would have to demonstrate a minimum of familiarity. Obviously this brief preparation did not allow time for practical tests, but it did at least allow role-playing through telephone calls and conversations, even resulting in offers of appointment in some cases.

In order to conduct the study consistently, it was particularly important to have a fixed base in each city, where the group could meet, select advertisements, make a first contact by fixed telephone, log telephone calls and keep all the documentation. In Turin, the office was provided by FIERI, and in Naples by ANOLF. In Rome, after some initial difficulties, the home of one of the testers was used.

As planned in the research project, the tests were conducted first in Turin, from 17 February to 18 April 2003, then in Rome, from 7 April to 24 June, and in Naples, from 8 April to 20 June. The staggering of the tests allowed the last two cities to take advantage of the experience in Turin, speeding up the work and making the procedures more homogeneous.

The city directors and the FIERI coordinating group provided constant coordination and supervision of the tests. An interim meeting with the ILO support officers to check on the progress of the work and evaluate the first results was held in Rome on 22 May 2003.

⁴⁵ Because they envisaged having to seek work for real subsequently.

3. Procedures for identifying demand for labour

A fundamental methodological question was the identification of companies interested in selecting Italian and foreign workers for recruitment. Some channels, in particular public employment agencies and temporary employment agencies, had to be ruled out from the start, because they were not compatible with the survey method and time-frame. Personal recommendations were not useable because, by definition, they required acquaintance or relationship with certain persons. Sending a curriculum vitae to numerous companies for this type of work was an unusual procedure and of uncertain success in the short period.

There remained two efficient channels for seeking jobs: newspaper advertisements and direct applications to companies that were interested in recruiting. In all three cities, specialist magazines are published two or three times a week containing, among other things, numerous advertisements by firms seeking personnel. These advertisements are generally published free and feature low-skilled or semi-skilled jobs. The search for skilled personnel, on the other hand, is conducted through national newspapers and in paid advertisements often placed by specialist agencies.

The only practical difficulty in using newspaper advertisements is that new advertisements in each edition for relevant jobs were not very numerous and this extended the period of the tests to some extent.

Testers applied directly to the firms, in any case, but this proved not very practicable because it involved knowing who was looking for workers, and this information is not normally handed out by those who possess it. As will be seen, the number of tests in the construction sector was lower than planned because hiring in this sector is by word of mouth and it is therefore necessary to be in the “circuit” to know where to go.

At the methodological level, however, an important constraint emerged. It is known that in Italy, as elsewhere, the channels used by companies to seek labour vary according to skills and profiles required, the economic climate and from sector to sector. Local conditions also affect the procedures. Above all, larger companies use different channels and procedures from small and medium-sized companies. The result, therefore, is a rather segmented labour market, whose constituent parts communicate little or not at all with each other and which has large areas of little transparency.

An ISFOL survey on labour recruitment channels used by companies in some Italian provinces recently provided the following data for the total sample of companies interviewed (Table 17):

Table 17 – Methods of recruitment of personnel used by the companies interviewed (multi-response; %)

CPI (Employment Centres)	16
Other entities (Municipalities, Youth information, Schools)	5
Private agencies	10
Temporary agencies	18
Competitions	5
Newspaper, radio and local TV advertisements	16
Posting on own website	5
Family or friends contacts	51
Other	16

Source: ISFOL, 2003, p. 49

It should be noted that newspaper advertisements represent a fairly small proportion of available jobs. The use of channels of direct acquaintance with employers and relatives found in firms is clearly predominant, especially in small businesses and in the South. A study currently in progress in the province of Turin confirms the low level of advertisement in selecting personnel and the widespread use of direct notification.

The fact that the job opportunities identified by us come from a single, limited and partial source means that the results obtained cannot be considered as statistically representative of the general recruitment situation for Moroccans in each of the three cities or in Italy as a whole. However, we found direct discrimination in relation to the selection procedures analysed. This finding could shed some light, albeit partial, on attitudes to immigrant labour.

4. Conduct of the tests

When an appropriate job opportunity had been identified, two testers, one Moroccan and one Italian, telephoned the person indicated (or, in a few cases, went in person to the firm) within a few minutes of each other. In some cases the initial contact was not possible, because no one answered the telephone or because the number was incorrect, or even because it was found that the firm had already been contacted by the testers⁴⁶ (invalid test). In the majority of attempts, however, it was possible to contact the potential employer. If the answer given to *both testers* was that the worker sought had already been found or that skills or characteristics not indicated in the published text⁴⁷ were required, the tests were considered valid but not usable. If, on the other hand, it was possible to submit both applications, leaving the details and telephone number of *at least one* of the testers, or the employer had the possibility of making an initial selection, the test was considered usable. The results of other national studies indicated a rather high proportion of not-usable cases in the total of valid tests. The fact that in Italy the proportion of these is only 15.8% seems due to the fact that the telephone calls were made promptly, as soon as the newspaper with the advertisements appeared. Thus the

⁴⁶ Many advertisements carried only the telephone numbers to be called and a very general description of the job offered, and were announced weekly, so some duplications were possible.

⁴⁷ For example, when the testers introduced themselves as young men at the start of their career, the employer might indicate that several years of experience were in fact required, though the advertisements had referred to general types of occupation. Or else it was stated that they were looking for female rather than male workers (officially an illegal distinction).

possibility of the employer having already recruited a new workers or already having gathered a sufficient number of applicants is limited.

In the tests, according to the system outlined above, only the Italian applicant, only the Moroccan applicant or both could therefore be accepted. In the first two cases, the procedure was discontinued (since one candidate was now excluded). In the latter case, the test went on to the next stage.

In the second stage, the invitation to a meeting or interview with the employer did not present particular difficulties. The now general use of mobile phones made it possible for other national teams from previous years to easily contact testers. There were four possible outcomes: neither of the testers was invited to interview, only the Italian or only the Moroccan was invited (and in these first three cases, the process was discontinued) or both were invited and thus went on to the third stage.

In the third stage, the most delicate to carry out, some problems arose, but they had been foreseen. Some of the meetings consisted in fact of interviews conducted by employers about the applicant's relevant experience and skill level. The tester was sometimes asked to take a practical test. In some cases, the testers were invited to start work immediately. Somewhat surprising was the failure of some employers to keep appointments or the fact that they had to meet them in a public place, which was evidence of the informality and slapdash nature of some selection procedures. In other cases, however, the meeting consisted of an explanation by the employer of the work to a group of applicants.

This stage could have five outcomes. In some cases, the interview might not take place because documents were asked for or other requirements were imposed (interviews not carried out). In others, the work was offered or refused to both testers. Finally, the work could be offered to only the Italian or only the Moroccan.

For each test, a schedule was prepared at the outset containing all the information known about the firm (name, telephone number, address, sector, size), the time of the call, the pair of testers, the outcome of each phase and a series of remarks for use in reconstructing what had happened. At the end of the test, the positive or negative outcome for each tester was noted. Sometimes a more detailed discussion of the case between the testers and the team leader was necessary to evaluate the outcome.

5. Internal validity test

As mentioned above, in each city two pairs of testers operated, consisting of one Italian and one Moroccan. Although care was taken to ensure that the four testers were very similar and that their conduct during the tests was identical, it is possible that, in this as in other experiments, some uncontrolled factors could distort the results of the test. One of the testers might unintentionally seem more likeable or more reliable than the other and thus lead a potential employer to prefer him. To control for these effects, the ILO method prescribes changing the components of the pair during the study and applying a statistical test, *chi square* (χ^2) as a means for ensuring that the results for each pair should not be regarded as biased, or significantly better or worse for one of the testers (cf. Bovenkerk, 1992, p.30).

If we have two Moroccan testers (A and B) and two Italian testers (C and D), we can make four pairs which alternate in the tests (AC; AD; BC; BD).

In theory, each pair should obtain the same proportion of cases of net discrimination (i.e. cases in which the Italian is preferred less cases in which the Moroccan is preferred) for the usable tests performed (expected frequency: f_i). In practice, other results occur (observed frequency: f_o).

The formula $\chi^2 = \sum \frac{(f_o - f_i)^2}{f_i}$ is applied to all the rows and columns in the table.

The degrees of freedom of the table (df = column number minus one times row number minus one), which in our case equals 1, indicate that a critical value of at least 3.841 is required for a level of significance of 0.05 (i.e. a probability of less than 5% that the results observed are due to mere chance).

The data for the four pairs in the three cities are as follows:

Table 18 – Results of the tests by pairs of testers in each city

Pairs of testers	Valid tests	Non useable tests	Useable tests	Italian not accepted	Moroccan not accepted	Net observed cases of discrimination (f_o)	Expected cases of discrimination in conditions of equal distribution (f_i)
Turin							
1	52	9	43	2	18	16	19
2	50	4	46	2	21	19	20
3	64	12	52	2	22	20	22
4	46	4	42	0	24	24	18
Total	212	29	183	6	85	79	79
Rome							
1	51	7	44	4	20	16	20
2	52	9	43	0	21	21	20
3	49	4	45	0	26	26	20
4	50	7	43	1	18	17	20
Total	202	27	175	5	85	80	80
Naples							
1	58	16	42	1	13	12	14
2	54	10	44	5	16	11	15
3	55	11	44	2	23	21	15
4	52	7	45	5	20	15	15
Total	219	44	175	13	72	59	59

Applying the formula to this, we obtain a value for χ^2 equal to 2.56 for the Turin pairs, 3.10 for Rome and 3.78 for Naples. All these values are lower than 3.841 so we cannot therefore attribute the differences observed to the effect of systematic factors.

Part III. Results

1. Results for Italy as a whole

In this section, we present the overall results for the Italian study. In sections 2 and 3, we will present the specific results by city and productive sector.

633 valid tests were performed, i.e. tests in which a demand for labour with appropriate characteristics were found in newspapers or through direct notification and contact was established⁴⁸ between the testers and the employer. In some cases, however, it was not possible for either of the testers (testers) to submit an application (the post was already filled or the requirements were very different from those apparent from the advertisement). There were 100 of these in all (valid but not usable).

The other 533 cases are valid and usable for the purposes of the study. The rate of discrimination is calculated on the basis of these cases.

Table 19 – Results for Italy as a whole

First stage	
<i>Telephone call</i>	
1.1. Valid cases	633
1.1.1. No applicant accepted (valid but not usable)	100
1.1.2. Usable cases	533
a) Both applicants accepted	367
b) Only the Italian applicant accepted	154
c) Only the Moroccan applicant accepted	12
First stage: Net discrimination(b–c)	142
Net discrimination (%)	26.6
Second stage	
<i>Invitation to an interview</i>	367
2.1. No tester invited	150
2.2. Both testers invited	135
2.3. Only the Italian tester invited	72
2.4. Only the Moroccan tester invited	10
Second Stage: Net discrimination (2.3–2.4)	62
Net discrimination (%)	11.6
Cumulative discrimination	204
Cumulative discrimination (%)	38.3
Third stage	
<i>Offer of job</i>	
3.1. Both testers interviewed	135
3.1.1. Interview did not take place	12
3.1.2. Interview took place	123
a) Job not offered	59

⁴⁸ For the sake of simplicity, we shall call the first contact “telephone call”, even if in some cases the testers went in person to the firm.

b) Job offered only to Italian tester	16
c) Job offered only to Moroccan tester	2
d) Job offered to both testers	46
Third stage: Net discrimination (b–c)	14
Net discrimination (%)	2.6
Cumulative discrimination	218
Cumulative discrimination (%)	40.9
Critical rate of discrimination	8.5

1.1. Results of the first stage: “telephone call”

In the first stage, there were 367 cases of **equal treatment** – 1.1.2(a) “both applicants accepted”, equal to 68.9% of usable cases. In these cases, both testers were able to speak with the employer or the responsible person, submit their application and leave their name and telephone number (generally a mobile phone number). Sometimes the telephone call lasted the time strictly necessary to leave a number; at others, however, the applicants were asked specific questions.

In the other 166 cases, there was **unequal treatment** of the two testers. Specifically, the Moroccan tester was preferred 12 times (2.3% of usable cases) while the Italian was preferred 154 times (28.9%).

The preference for one of the two testers over the other was expressed in various ways, but following a pattern similar to that found in other national studies. Sometimes it was an outright and explicit refusal to accept foreign workers, particularly in Rome. In at least one case, the opposite happened. In the majority of cases, however, the refusal was masked. One of the two testers, almost always the Moroccan, was told that the job was already filled or that the person responsible was not available, while the other, generally the Italian who had called a few minutes later, was asked to leave his name and phone number and attend an interview. The details were even taken by the same person who had said that he was not authorized to do so in the other telephone call. Or else, the Moroccan’s vocational skills were considered insufficient, while the Italian, who said he had the same skills, was invited to an interview.

In some cases the Moroccan tester was not rejected outright, but was told that they would call back later, while the Italian was immediately offered an appointment.

The following are some of the outright rejections of the foreign tester. In the following case, the Arab accent was enough to unleash the discrimination:

Case 9D, Rome

Manufacturer seeking a metalworker.

First telephone call (Moroccan tester)

Moroccan: Hello, I am calling about your advertisement in the paper...

Employer: If you are foreign, no!

Second telephone call (Italian tester)

Italian: Hello, I am calling about the advertisement in “Porta Portese”...

Employer: Yes (*He was asked for details and an appointment was made*).

In other cases, the Moroccan's insistence convinced the speaker to concede at least the possibility:

Case 7, Turin

Transport firm seeks a truck driver for removals.

First telephone call (Moroccan tester)

M: Hello. Good morning. I am Rachid X, I am Moroccan. I saw an advertisement...

E: No, we... we only take Italians.

M: Even if I have the documents, and have had experience...?

E: Try and call me next week.

M: Ah, all right.

E: Ok, Goodbye.

Second telephone call (Italian tester)

I: I am Giuseppe X, I read your advertisement in "Seconda mano"...

E: Yes. Have you done removals?

I: Yes, I have done removals, clearing canteens, attics and so on...

E: Have you got a C licence?

I: Yes, I have.

E: Can you give me your telephone number?

I: xxxx

E: What is your name?

I: I am Giuseppe X.

E: Have you got a C licence?

I: Yes, I have a C licence.

E: Ok, Good. Goodbye.

Case 5C, Rome

Restaurant seeks a barman.

First telephone call (Moroccan tester)

M: Good evening. My name is Khalid X. I am calling about the advertisement in "Porta Portese".

E: Ah, the advertisement in "Porta Portese".

M: Yes

E: And what did you say your name was?

M: Khalid.

E: Foreigner?

M: Foreigner, yes, from Morocco.

E: No... well, no.

M: Why not?

E: Eh?

M: I am sorry, why not?

E: Because... well, are you in order?

M: Yes, I have everything in order, residence permit, work book, health card...

E: And... where are you from?

M: Morocco.

E: No, where do you live?

M: Ah, here! Near Piramide.

(His telephone number is taken and he is told that the owners will call back).

Second telephone call (Italian tester)

I: Hello, I am calling about the advertisement in "Porta Portese".

E: Er, Yes. And what is your name?

I: Ivano.

E: Ivano. How old are you?

I: Twenty-four.

E: Where do you come from, what area?

I: I am from Furio Camillo.

E: Er... have you ever done this work?

I: Yes, yes.

E: How many years?

I: I have been doing it for four or five years.

(His telephone number is taken and he is told that the owners will call back)

In these cases, the refusal is disguised:

Case C1, Naples

Ladies clothing and accessories shop seeks a home salesperson

First telephone call (Moroccan tester)

M: Good morning, my name is Khalid and I read your advertisement in "Fieracittà" and would like to know what is involved.

E: No, we sell dresses and accessories, women's things and ... are you foreign?

M: Yes.

E: We sell women's things and are looking for women to do demonstrations. You are suited to men's wear. ...

M: I understand.

E: So I am sorry (...).

Second telephone call (Italian tester)

I: Good morning. I am calling about the advertisement in "Fieracittà" and would like to know what it is about, as it doesn't say in the advertisement.

E: We sell clothes and accessories.

I: Oh yes, I have worked in a clothes shop, for women and men.

E: We sell door to door and pay commission (...).

(The tester says he is interested and is invited to an interview).

In Naples, in this and another case (No.33 *restaurant seeking a waiter*), both pairs of testers replied to the same advertisement. The result was that both times the Moroccan was rejected while the Italian was always invited to an interview. We thus have confirmation of the fact that the exclusion of the foreigner was not a matter of chance.

Case 48B, Rome

*Furniture factory seeks joiner.**First telephone call (Moroccan tester)*

M: Good morning, my name is Khalid X, I am calling about the advertisement in "Porta Portese"...

E: But we have already found someone.

M: Ah, ok, thank you. Goodbye.

E: Goodbye.

Second telephone call (Italian tester)

I: Good morning, I am calling about the advertisement "Porta Portese".

E: Good morning. Are you a joiner?

I: Yes.

(Second question about work experience)

E: Now I will give you the address (...). You can come here after five this afternoon .

I.: Fine.

Case 27, Turin

Restaurant seeking dishwasher.

First telephone call (Moroccan tester)

M: Hello. I am Fouad X, I am Moroccan. I read your advertisement in "Seconda mano" and I am interested.

E: But we have already found someone.

M: Ok, thank you.

E: Not at all.

Second telephone call (Italian tester)

I: Hello, my name is Giuseppe X, I read your advertisement in "Seconda mano" for a dishwasher.

E: Yes, and where are you from?

I: I am from Turin.

E: You're Italian, then?

I: Yes

E: Ah, I understand... Listen, we are a pizzeria, in via X. You can come tomorrow about six. You can come tomorrow evening?

I: The name of the pizzeria, sorry?

E: X.

I: Is it a big pizzeria?

E: How many people work there?

I: Yes, if you can tell me.

E: Five or six.

I: Fine, I'll be there tomorrow evening around six.

E: Fine.

The following case shows a form of discrimination based on nationality, both against the Italian and the Moroccan, in favour of a national group, the Romanians, considered particularly skilled and reliable in certain industrial activities and construction.

Case 38, Turin

Construction company seeks bricklayers.

First telephone call (Italian tester)

I: Hello. Good morning, my name is Giovanni X and I read that you are looking for bricklayers...

E: Yes.

I: ...and I want to know...

E: Are you Romanian?

I: No, Italian.

E: I'm sorry...

I: Ah, you only take Romanians?

E: We are only looking for Romanians with a work permit.

I: Ah, ok.

E: Bye.

Second telephone call (Moroccan tester)

M: Hello, I am Fouad, I am Moroccan. I read your advertisement in "Seconda mano" and am interested.

E: But, you see, our company is just looking for Romanians with a work permit. I'm sorry.

M: Ah, But I have a work permit, as well. I can speak Romanian. I have worked with Romanians, so I can talk to them.
 E: I am just telling you what I was told to say.
 M: Ah, thanks.
 E: Not at all.
 M: Thanks.

It is evident that in some cases the speaker is not the employer, but an employee who has been instructed to refuse certain applicants (“*I am just telling you what I was told to say*”, in the last example). There are also employers who have had positive experiences with foreign workers

Case B5, Naples

Delivery firm seeks messenger.

First telephone call (Moroccan tester)

M: Good evening. Listen, I would like some information on the advertisement which...

E: *(with clear Neapolitan accent)* Foreigner?

M: Yes.

E: For me that's excellent, for this work. Don't worry. I'll give you my number... address. I prefer foreigners because they are much more willing to work than Neapolitan lads.

M: Ah, how nice that you think like that!

E: I don't think so, I know so... I have been doing this work for twenty years, and all the lads that came to work here that were not Italian worked well...

(A meeting is fixed in which the job was offered to the Moroccan tester and not to the Italian tester who applied on the same day).

Sometimes, it also happened that the Italian tester was told that he was the only non-foreigner to reply to the advertisement (case 36A, Rome, *Engineering firm seeks welder* and case 28C, *Body shop seeks painter*).

Net discrimination against one of the testers (the Moroccan in practice) is obtained by subtracting the number of tests in which only the application of that tester was accepted from the number of times only the other tester's application was accepted. This procedure eliminates the preferences due to mere chance and not national preference. In the first stage, the Moroccan tester was preferred 12 times, the Italian 154: the net discrimination against the Moroccan is thus 142 cases, of 26.6% of usable cases. This meant that in over one telephone call in four, the Moroccan tester did not even have the possibility of obtaining an interview or presenting his own abilities and experiences. The rejection was based on the name and accent, without any assessment of personal characteristics. In the 166 cases in which one of the two testers was rejected, the procedure ended.

1.2. Results of the second stage: invitation to an interview

In 367 cases, both testers left their name and telephone number with the employer and awaited a call. In 150 cases (41% of the tests taken to the second stage) neither of the two received an invitation to come for interview. In the other 135 cases (36.8%) the interview was offered to both, thus going on to the third stage.

For 72 cases, however, only the Italian was invited to the interview. The opposite occurred 10 times.

Case 84, Turin – Second stage

Construction firm seeks scaffolder.

Both applicants were accepted at the first telephone call. After a few minutes, the Italian tester was called back and the employer invited him to an interview, adding that a Moroccan had also called, but they did not want to employ him because they worked for prestigious firms and did not want to look bad. Considering the discrimination evident, the Italian tester called the firm again before the appointment and cancelled. Only at this point did the Moroccan tester receive an invitation to an interview.

In the second stage, **net discrimination** against the Moroccan occurred in 62 cases, 11.6% of the usable tests (16.9% of all second stage tests). As with other national studies, discrimination was significantly lower than in the first stage. **Cumulative discrimination** against the Moroccan after this stage totalled 204 cases (142 + 62) or 38.3%.

1.3. Results of the third stage: offer of a job

In 135 cases, both testers had the opportunity to present themselves personally to the employer to demonstrate their abilities. This stage was the most delicate, because it meant appearing credible in the role and competent in a face-to-face relationship with the employer. In 12 cases, the meeting did not take place, for various reasons, such as failure of the employer to come to the appointment, or because documents were requested.

The testers tried to prepare themselves for the interview. They provided a credible curriculum vitae and acquired a minimum knowledge of the characteristics of the job to be performed and the machines to be used. In a number of cases, they were asked to take a test of their ability and this forced them to show that they were not up to the job. In another case a rigorous interview also brought their bluff to light; sometimes the employer was annoyed by this, but in other cases he said he would have considered their application if other better qualified workers had not applied, especially for recruitment as apprentices. It was generally followed by an invitation to attend another interview.

In more than a few cases, however, to the relief of the testers, the interview was rather easy and was just an explanation, sometimes in a group, of the work to be done.

Case 41, Turin – Third stage

Restaurant seeks waiter.

In this stage, too, a tendency in the end to exclude the application of the foreign tester was noted, while the Italian applicant was accepted subject to conditions. In this specific case, the Moroccan tester, who had been invited to an interview, was immediately dismissed because they no longer needed him, while the Italian was asked about his work experience and working hours and, finally, although confirming that another waiter was being tried, the employer said that they would call him again in case of need

Case 48, Turin – Third stage

Bookshop seeks sales assistant-messenger.

In this case, both testers (with other applicants) were subject to an in-depth interview and a series of tests. The conditions of work were then explained to all of them in a manner that suggested professionalism and transparency in the relations with the future employees. At this point, they were surprised to find that the work was unauthorized.

Case 71, Turin – Third stage

Plastics company seeks skilled worker.

The Italian tester went to this firm and was invited to come back for a practical test the next day. He assumed, however, that he would pass the test because he was the only applicant with the required skills. A little later, the Moroccan tester also went to the appointment. The same person who had previously met the Italian apologized for making him come and, without further checking his skill, told him that they had already found a qualified person and thus had no further need of him.

Case 35C, Naples – Third stage

Restaurant seeks waiter/ man Friday.

The distinction between jobs and even different firms can be very subtle. In this case, both testers were invited separately to an interview. The employer asked both of them numerous questions about their work experience, then explained that the waiter/man Friday did not serve only in the restaurant but would also have to work in another firm, in children's furniture. The jobs, specifically, could vary from washing cars to gardening, and small maintenance. The wage was 25 euros per day for 11 hours work. The employer noted the personal details and telephone number, but ended, both with the Italian and the Moroccan: "in fact I see you as wasted on this work". He said he was looking for highly motivated people willing to accept any work, "such as Ukrainians or Poles".

In the third stage, 123 interviews were conducted, 91% of those possible. On 59 occasions (48%) both testers were refused the job. In another 46 cases, both were offered the job (or they were asked to attend a further selection interview). In 16 cases, the Italian was preferred and in 2 the Moroccan.

The **net discrimination** against the Moroccan in the third stage was thus 14 cases, 2.6% of usable cases. As has occurred in other countries, on many occasions and in all stages, the Moroccan was treated formally the same as the Italian, but with a different behaviour on the part of the employer: shorter interviews, less precise explanations, less friendly tone. Sometimes the Moroccan's interview was longer and indicated mistrust, while the Italian's statements were accepted with greater confidence. In some (rare) cases, however, the employer enjoyed speaking with the Moroccan and showed sympathy.

The cumulative net discrimination against Moroccans totalled 218, a **rate of discrimination of 40.9%** of usable cases. The critical rate of discrimination required to refute the null hypothesis of equality of treatment at a significance level of 5% is 8.5⁴⁹. Since the rate obtained is 4.8 times higher, we can conclude, based on the data obtained and the method used, that there is significant discrimination against young semi-skilled Moroccan workers at the time of recruitment compared with Italian citizens with similar characteristics.

⁴⁹ The formula for the critical rate (CR) is $CR = 1.96/\sqrt{N}$ where N is the number of usable cases (cf. Bovenkerk, 1992, 0.23)

2. Results specific to the three cities

The general data reported above are the sum of the results obtained in each of the three cities in which the tests were conducted. Turin, Rome and Naples, it is recalled, were chosen because they offered a high absolute and percentage incidence of immigrant workers, Moroccans in particular; a fairly large and active labour market to facilitate the conduct of the tests; and also because they differ from each other in economic and social structure.

Table 20 sets out the data for the three cities (in order of implementation).

Table 20 – Results for the three cities

	Turin	Rome	Naples
First stage			
<i>Telephone call</i>			
1.1. Valid cases	212	202	219
1.1.1. No applicant accepted (valid but not usable)	29	27	44
1.1.2. Usable cases	183	175	175
a) Both applicants accepted	131	110	126
b) Only the Italian applicant accepted	48	62	44
c) Only the Moroccan applicant accepted	4	3	5
First stage: Net discrimination(b-c)	44	59	39
Net discrimination (%)	24.0	33.7	22.3
Second stage			
<i>Invitation to an interview</i>			
2.1. No tester invited	131	110	126
2.2. Both testers invited	43	60	47
2.3. Only the Italian tester invited	57	28	50
2.4. Only the Moroccan tester invited	29	21	22
2.4. Only the Moroccan tester invited	2	1	7
Second Stage: Net discrimination (2.3-2.4)	27	20	15
Net discrimination (%)	14.8	11.4	8.6
Cumulative discrimination	71	79	54
Cumulative discrimination (%)	38.8	45.1	30.9
Third stage			
<i>Offer of job</i>			
3.1. Both testers interviewed	57	28	50
3.1.1. Interview did not take place	11	1	0
3.1.2. Interview took place	46	27	50
a) Job not offered	10	21	28
b) Job offered only to Italian tester	8	2	6
c) Job offered only to Moroccan tester	0	1	1
d) Job offered to both testers	28	3	15
Third stage: Net discrimination (b-c)	8	1	5
Net discrimination (%)	4.4	0.6	2.9
Cumulative discrimination	79	80	59
Cumulative discrimination (%)	43.2	45.7	33.7
Critical rate of discrimination	14.5	14.8	14.8

In all three cities, the rate of discrimination is far higher than the critical rate. As might be expected, however, the results differ from city to city. In particular, the rate is three times higher than the critical rate in Rome and Turin and 2.3 times higher in Naples. It may be asked, however, whether the final rate of discrimination in the three cases is so different as to conclude that it results from significant differences in employment opportunities for young Moroccans in the local labour market. In other words, do the results obtained justify the conclusion that we are dealing with three different patterns of immigrant integration?⁵⁰

The lesser discrimination in Naples compared with Turin and, even more, Rome, is probably not attributable to factors such as greater cultural openness or greater sociability of the people of Naples. We are reluctant to draw such conclusions based on our limited data, and find that such evaluations would unnecessarily reinforce stereotypes. The discrepancies may to some extent be explained in terms of the predominant sectors and type of jobs offered in each area.

Only in Rome were advertisements found which explicitly stated the intention not to employ foreigners. The jobs offered in newspapers in Naples deserve some comment. On the one hand, various unskilled, precarious and low-paid activities were offered. This would correspond to the prevalent image of the Naples labour market. However, it is worth noting that young people are also sought in the labour market for domestic work, staffing news stands and restaurants, as car-park attendants or other odd jobs which, according to that image, could easily be done by relatives and friends. It is probable that, although the demand is still there, these jobs are not very attractive to Neapolitans and that, in general, the number of young people who might do them temporarily has also fallen for demographic reasons.

On the other hand these general advertisements also seek more highly skilled workers: computer technicians, bookkeepers, tourist guides or receptionists, for example. All this seems to suggest that networks of acquaintances are no longer sufficient to find low-skilled workers in Naples⁵¹

3. Results by sector

Construction is the sector with the lowest rate of discrimination, only just over the critical rate⁵². As indicated above, however, the number of tests that could be performed in this sector is low because hiring of semi-skilled and unskilled personnel is generally conducted directly through other workers or employers, or else by word of mouth. Experts in the sector explain, in fact, that as a result of the high cost of labour, the skills required and also current legislation, large companies tend to hire a small number of highly skilled permanent staff. To even out demand, these firms collaborate with much smaller firms, even at the artisanal level, which use precarious and unauthorized labour. These smaller firms execute contracts for short

⁵⁰ To obtain elements of evaluation, use can also be made in this case of the χ^2 test. Assuming that the cases of cumulative net discrimination at the third stage were distributed in proportion to the number of usable tests in each city, with an identical mean value (40.9%), we obtain the expected cases of discrimination. Applying to these the χ^2 formula we obtain a value of 3.469 with 2 degrees of freedom, which is lower, at a level of significance $\alpha = 0.05$ than the critical value of 5.991. We cannot therefore reject the null hypothesis: the difference in total discrimination in the three cities is not significant. The principal difficulty in the use of the statistical test is that the tests performed are not, strictly, a random sample of job offers in the three cities or the chosen sectors.

⁵¹ For an interesting reconstruction of the functioning of networks of personal acquaintances in hiring shop assistants in Neapolitan businesses, see Salmieri, 2001.

⁵² In the case of the results for the three sectors, too, manufacturing industry, construction and services, the value of χ^2 is not significant.

periods, in some cases by the day, through manual and semi-skilled workers within a highly informal market. In these cases, hiring is through personal contacts, family networks, friends and (in the case of foreigners) other nationals. At other times, employers and workers meet in the bar of a district inhabited by immigrants, or even the system of the “caporali”, who spends the morning in suburbs recruiting day workers and taking them straight to the place of work. When the principal firm identifies a particularly able and reliable worker who works for a smaller company, it recruits him legally on an indefinite contract. Clearly this system of selection of personnel does not allow for the use of the ILO testing method, because it rules out the possibility of placing two testers in direct competition, since access to work is subject to a system of informal recruitment and at the same time rigidly structured on the basis of personal contacts and trust at the personal level.

Table 21 – Results by labour market sector

	Industry	Services	Construction
First stage			
Telephone call			
1.1. Valid cases	142	429	62
1.1.1. No applicant accepted (valid but not usable)	20	66	14
1.1.2. Usable cases	122	363	48
a) Both applicants accepted	87	243	37
b) Only the Italian applicant accepted	33	111	10
c) Only the Moroccan applicant accepted	2	9	1
First stage: Net discrimination(b–c)	31	102	9
Net discrimination (%)	25.4	28.1	18.8
Second stage			
Invitation to an interview	87	243	37
2.1. No tester invited	40	86	24
2.2. Both testers invited	27	102	6
2.3. Only the Italian tester invited	18	47	7
2.4. Only the Moroccan tester invited	2	8	0
Second Stage: Net discrimination (2.3–2.4)	16	39	7
Net discrimination (%)	13.1	10.7	14.6
Cumulative discrimination	47	141	16
Cumulative discrimination (%)	38.5	38.8	33.3
Third stage			
Offer of job			
3.1. Both testers interviewed	27	102	6
3.1.1. Interview did not take place	4	6	2
3.1.2. Interview took place	23	96	4
a) Job not offered	11	47	1
b) Job offered only to Italian tester	4	12	0
c) Job offered only to Moroccan tester	0	1	1
d) Job offered to both tester	8	36	2
Third stage: Net discrimination (b–c)	4	11	–1
Net discrimination (%)	3.3	3.0	–2.1
Cumulative discrimination	51	152	15
Cumulative discrimination (%)	41.8	41.9	31.3
Critical rate of discrimination	17.7	10.3	28.3

Because the presence of foreign labour in the construction sector is very high, we may conclude that hiring immigrants must be a normal practice. In this case, the principal problem seems to be access to recruitment channels for those who do not know them, rather than employers' refusal to consider foreign applicants (a problem which was also found in the tests).

In services, on the other hand, the rate of discrimination is four times higher than the critical rate. This is a heterogeneous sector which comprises a wide variety of occupations and firms. We sought at least to distinguish the segment of catering and services to the public – bars, restaurants, pizzerias, etc. where the majority of job vacancies are for waiters, cook's assistants, or (seemingly confirming the stereotypes) pizza cooks; in commerce (shop assistants and vendors) and other activities (drivers, mechanics, panel-beaters etc.) (Table 22).

As already found in other countries, it seems that catering services, which require customer contact, present special difficulty of access for Moroccans⁵³. Since most jobs in Rome involve such occupations, it is possible that this contributes to raising the discrimination rate. Moreover, since the presence of foreign staff in bars and restaurants is evident throughout the city: the discrimination may specifically concern Moroccans. Perhaps many restaurant owners do not want a Moroccan waiter or barman because they think, rightly or wrongly, that the customers would not view them favourably.

Discrimination, however, seems minor in certain tertiary activities such as low level self-employment. These include, for example, door-to-door selling of products on commission, distributing leaflets, or else transporting goods using their own transport. In these cases, the risk generally falls on the workers. If they are inefficient, they earn less commission. These are demanding and unstable jobs, in which the turnover is very high (the same newspaper advertisements are repeated week after week). Being accepted to do these jobs is not indicative of trust in the ability to do the job.

Table 22 – Results by tertiary sector activity

	Commerce	Catering	Other
First stage			
Telephone call			
1.1. Valid cases	90	160	178
1.1.1. No applicant accepted (valid but not usable)	19	26	20
1.1.2. Usable cases	71	134	158
a) Both applicants accepted	48	80	115
b) Only the Italian applicant accepted	20	50	41
c) Only the Moroccan applicant accepted	3	4	2
First stage: Net discrimination(b-c)	17	46	39
Net discrimination (%)	23.9	34.3	24.7
Second stage			
Invitation to an interview	48	80	115
2.1. No tester invited	21	23	42
2.2. Both testers invited	19	34	49
2.3. Only the Italian tester invited	7	21	19
2.4. Only the Moroccan tester invited	1	2	5

⁵³ Once again, however, the chi table does not give values higher than critical for a level of significance of 0.05.

Second Stage: Net discrimination (2.3–2.4)	6	19	14
Net discrimination (%)	8.5	14.2	8.9
Cumulative discrimination	23	65	53
Cumulative discrimination (%)	32.4	48.5	33.5
Third stage			
Offer of job			
3.1. Both testers interviewed	19	34	49
3.1.1. Interview did not take place	1	0	5
3.1.2. Interview took place	18	34	44
a) Job not offered	8	21	18
b) Job offered only to Italian tester	1	5	6
c) Job offered only to Moroccan tester	0	0	1
d) Job offered to both testers	9	8	19
Third stage: Net discrimination (b–c)	1	5	5
Net discrimination (%)	1.4	3.7	3.2
Cumulative discrimination	24	70	58
Cumulative discrimination (%)	33.8	52.2	36.7
Critical rate of discrimination	23.3	16.9	15.6

4. Results by characteristics of companies seeking employees

The size of companies seeking employees is certainly a fundamental variable in understanding the strategies and rationale of the personnel search and selection process. Indeed, small companies are dominated almost without exception by informal and simplified procedures, while only in medium to large companies are formal procedures managed by appropriate departments or staff. It is rare, however, for a large company to rely on newspaper advertisements (unless for qualified or managerial staff) or spontaneous applicants.

The picture is complicated by the fact that we identified advertisements published by small agencies or branches of larger firms.

The size of the companies contacted were difficult to ascertain with precision. Indeed, many newspaper advertisements are anonymous and give only a telephone number. A specific question about the size or name of the company by the testers occasionally met with a refusal to answer. The telephone number was often a mobile or internal phone, thus it was not possible to find out the name of the firm. Even when the registered name of the company was identified, very often it was not found in business registers available on the Internet.

All these difficulties made it impossible to categorize with certainty how many workers were employed at the firms behind the advertisements. However, it is possible to infer from these difficulties that the net increase in demand for labour comes from small units.

In Turin, where the company size could be ascertained (simplified into three categories: under 10, 10 to 99, 100 workers and over) in a greater number of cases, our data seems to confirm a lower rate of discrimination among medium to large companies, whose more standardized procedures should to some extent prevent foreign applicants from being rejected at the first contact.

Table 23 – Results of tests in Turin by size of company

	Small	Medium	Large	Not known	Total
Valid tests	102	18	17	75	212
Usable tests	92	16	15	60	183
% valid tests	48.1	8.5	8.0	35.4	100
% usable tests	50.3	8.7	8.2	32.8	100
Net discrimination rate	47.8	43.8	26.7	40.0	43.2

Table 24 – Discrimination by sector and by city

	Industry				Services				Construction			
	Turin	Rome	Naples	Total	Turin	Rome	Naples	Total	Turin	Rome	Naples	Total
First stage												
<i>Telephone call</i>	69	47	26	142	114	127	188	429	29	28	5	62
1.1. Valid cases	12	6	2	20	11	15	40	66	6	6	2	14
1.1.1. No applicant accepted (valid but not usable)	57	41	24	122	103	112	148	363	23	22	3	48
1.1.2. Usable cases												
a) Both applicants accepted	46	23	18	87	67	69	107	243	18	18	1	37
b) Only the Italian applicant accepted	10	18	5	33	33	40	38	111	5	4	1	10
c) Only the Moroccan applicant accepted	1	0	1	2	3	3	3	9	0	0	1	1
First stage: Net discrimination (b–c)	9	18	4	31	30	37	35	102	5	4	0	9
Net discrimination (%)	15.8	43.9	16.7	25.4	29.1	33.0	23.6	28.1	21.7	18.2	0.0	18.8
Second stage												
<i>Invitation to an interview</i>	46	23	18	87	67	69	107	243	18	18	1	37
2.1. No tester invited	15	13	12	40	21	31	34	86	7	16	1	24
2.2. Both testers invited	20	5	2	27	32	22	48	102	5	1	0	6
2.3. Only the Italian tester invited	11	5	2	18	12	15	20	47	6	1	0	7
2.4. Only the Moroccan tester invited	0	0	2	2	2	1	5	8	0	0	0	0
Second Stage: Net discrimination (2.3–2.4)	11	5	0	16	10	14	15	39	6	1	0	7
Net discrimination (%)	19.3	12.2	0.0	13.1	8.9	12.5	10.1	10.7	26.1	4.5	0	14.6
Cumulative discrimination	20	23	4	47	40	51	50	141	11	5	0	16
Cumulative discrimination (%)	35.1	56.1	16.7	38.5	35.7	45.5	33.8	38.8	47.8	22.7	0	33.3
Third stage												
<i>Offer of job</i>												
3.1. Both testers interviewed	20	5	2	27	32	22	48	102	5	1	0	6
3.1.1. Interview did not take place	4	0	0	4	5	1	0	6	2	0	0	2
3.1.2. Interview took place	16	5	2	23	27	21	48	96	3	1	0	4
a) Job not offered	5	4	2	11	4	17	26	47	1	0	0	1
b) Job offered only to Italian tester	4	0	0	4	4	2	6	12	0	0	0	0
c) Job offered only to Moroccan tester	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	1
d) Job offered to both testers	7	1	0	8	19	2	15	36	2	0	0	2
Third stage: Net discrimination (b–c)	4	0	0	4	4	2	5	11	0	-1	0	-1
Net discrimination (%)	7.0	0	0	3.3	3.9	1.8	3.4	3.0	0.0	-4.5	0.0	-2.1
Cumulative discrimination	24	23	4	51	44	53	55	152	11	4	0	15
Cumulative discrimination (%)	42.1	56.1	16.7	41.8	42.7	47.3	37.2	41.9	47.8	18.2	0.0	31.3
Critical rate of discrimination	26.0	30.6	40.0	17.7	19.3	18.5	16.1	10.3	40.9	41.8	113.2	28.3

Part IV. Conclusions

Based on the results of the research, we can say that in Italy we have found situations of objective discrimination against young semi-skilled Moroccan men in recruitment procedures. The net rate of discrimination from the tests overall is considerably higher than the critical rate which the ILO methodology would be required to indicate that Moroccans are systematically disadvantaged.

Indeed, it was obvious in the tests performed that the job would almost always be offered to only one of the two applicants. However, because the professional and personal characteristics of the testers were so configured as to appear equivalent, except for nationality, the fact that Italians were far more often preferred than Moroccans suggests the existence of discrimination based on national origin.

In many cases, a Moroccan immigrant was excluded from the selection process without his skills being evaluated. We would like to observe that discriminatory behaviour causes serious harm not only to immigrant workers, but also to the companies which discriminate against them.

- The immigrants who are discriminated against are placed in a state of objective disadvantage. Their legitimate aspirations are frustrated and this can limit their propensity to invest in training.
- Companies which discriminate place themselves at a disadvantage because they reject a priori using workers with appropriate skills even in situations where the human resources available to companies are scarce. Objectively, discrimination is a real waste, and results in economic losses.

In the context of our research we found discrimination in all three stages in which the process is divided, i.e. application for the job, invitation to interview, meeting with the employer and offer of a job. As already seen in other national studies, the majority of cases of discriminatory treatment occur in the initial stage, with the mere submission of the application (26.6%). Since the majority of contacts are by telephone, the selection does not even include a face-to-face meeting with the employer. Discrimination has even occurred within a few seconds solely based on the foreign accent, name, and notice of Moroccan origin. In some cases, the refusal to employ foreigners was stated openly. In the majority of cases, the employer preferred to conceal a discriminatory attitude, saying that the job was already filled or that some characteristic of the young Moroccan did not meet the requirements. The subsequent call by the Italian tester revealed, however, that the selection process was still going on. The same characteristics, in an Italian, were considered suitable.

In the second stage, the invitation to interview, the net rate of discrimination fell to 11.6% and in the third stage, meeting with the employer, it fell again to 2.6%. In Italy, too, it seems clear that the major hurdle to be overcome is the pure and simple acceptance of the application. Those who wish to discriminate are most likely to do so at first contact. When the selection process enters the stage of face-to-face contact with the employer, the employers are already self-selected and there remains only a minimal propensity to discriminate, i.e. a propensity to apply more objective and universal criteria. Nevertheless, the fact remains that even at this stage, we find some element of discrimination. Only in relatively few cases did young

Moroccans manage to reach the final stages of the procedure in which, if they had actually been available, they would have been hired.

If we break down the results by city in which the tests were performed, by economic sectors involved, and by company size, we find variations which are not statistically significant. Discrimination seems to be distributed fairly consistently among a diverse range of cities and companies. This underlying consistency confirms the hypothesis, seen in previous studies, that discrimination has its roots in widespread attitudes not only among certain categories of employer, but throughout European society. In customer-oriented businesses and small firms, however, we see a greater propensity to discrimination which may single out particular groups. In customer-oriented businesses and commerce, in particular, the problem seems to arise from assumptions about the social acceptability of foreign workers to the customers with whom they will have personal contact. Foreigners in general, and especially those of certain origins, such as Moroccans, are held to be less accepted by the public than Italians or certain other nationalities.

It is possible, and should be verified by studies, that medium to large companies, thanks to more formal selection procedures and the possibility of attracting employees from other smaller companies (already selected and socialized in work) may resort less to *direct* discrimination. Small companies, on the other hand, are more likely to reject foreigners directly through mechanisms of statistical discrimination⁵⁴ because they use more informal procedures. Small companies, on the other hand, are more likely to reject foreigners directly through informal procedures as a way of reducing risk. For employers operating with a low profit margin, discrimination may be a strategy for avoiding undesirable workers by eliminating as potential employees an entire category perceived to include a significant number of individuals exhibiting these characteristics.

In general, the recruitment selection procedures used by small firms are not very professional. The employer himself or a non-specialist employee assembles the applications and assesses them by very rough methods. The greater discrimination in small firms can also be explained by the fact that the selector is almost certain to work side by side with the new employee. Consequently, the expectation of getting along with the candidate factors into his evaluation criteria, and reflects his personal biases. In large companies, on the other hand the selector is not destined to have direct relations with the recruited worker in the future and thus is less inclined to discriminate.

In theory, the use of newspaper advertisements might be expected to signal the company's intention to use universal criteria in the selection, since the advertisements are open to all (ISFOL, 2003). In practice, the use of advertisements indicates the exhaustion or unavailability of alternative channels of personal contact.

It is interesting to note that these search channels based on word of mouth and personal contacts, although considered individualistic, do not necessarily discriminate against

⁵⁴ A form of discrimination linked to a negative characteristic (i.e., lack of experience in working in a company) possessed by only some of the workers in the group concerned (Moroccans in this case), but which leads to the exclusion from employment of all members of that group because the employer does not intend to bear the cost of selection. Obviously, hiring a worker on probation allows his individual characteristics to be assessed, but this is also costly. A large company can better afford the cost of a certain number of errors. A small company more specifically seeks to minimize them, by specifically excluding all workers from the group with the highest expected failure rate.

immigrants. Indeed, it has been shown by many studies, including in Italy (Jenkins, 1986; Ambrosini, 2001b; IOM, 2003) that this procedure can favour the integration of employees of a specific ethnic-national origin into a company or a sector where the first entrants were successful, over time consolidating the image of reliability of that group. This generates a “grapevine effect” among relatives and friends to create ethnic niches, which actually discriminate both against other immigrants and Italians⁵⁵. The more or less forced imposition of a job through networks should be distinguished from the use of personal contacts for notification purposes (IRES, 1989). In the latter case, the person charged with notifying an applicant carries the responsibility of selecting only capable and reliable candidates to the employer. Some channels of contact and trust among foreign workers have been institutionalised, such as associations which devote much effort to optimizing the matching of supply and demand, by guaranteeing to companies that the workers they introduce are trained and socialized in the work that they will have to perform. Thus, discrimination in relation to channels of personal contacts and word of mouth may reflect issues of access to these networks rather than the treatment of immigrants within them, once access has been achieved.

As has been noted, the overall rate of discrimination in Italy, 40.9%, is high compared with the other countries previously studied by the ILO (cf. Zegers de Beijl, 2000, chap.6) While this may be part of a continuous trend,⁵⁶ the comparison between different national cases should be treated with due caution because of the diversity of contexts, the time elapsed between the various studies, and the margins of error inherent in the method. To assess better the Italian result, it should be borne in mind that:

- the Moroccan testers introduced themselves as foreigners and not as citizens of immigrant origin, as had been the case in other experiments;
- the new Italian immigration law, passed only a few months before the start of the study, introduced more complex and difficult procedures for hiring foreign workers. Although at the time of the study the law was not in full application and the restrictions concerned mainly new entrants from abroad, it could have provided ideological encouragement for discriminatory behaviour and instilled in employers the fear of possible complications, if they hired a foreigner;
- as a result of the regularization of 2002, during which over 700,000 applications were submitted, there was a constant stream of foreign workers at the time of the study moving to legal work, so that employers characterized by non-discriminatory attitudes had in fact already hired many of them.

It is worth mentioning some general limitations to the chosen method. The first is that the tests could not be considered a representative sample of procedures for selecting semi-skilled personnel in Italy, even in the individual cities, given the limited time-frame of the study. Newspaper advertisements are only a small part, not widespread, of the whole complex of transactions in the labour market in those areas and at that time. Furthermore, the survey only concerns one nationality, one gender, and a single age group: young Moroccan male workers. The method can confirm that episodes of discrimination against semi-skilled young Moroccans can indeed be documented, and that these are neither unusual nor sporadic cases. These results cannot, on the other hand, be extrapolated to other groups of workers or

⁵⁵ See Turin, Case 38 above (hiring only of Romanians as bricklayers).

⁵⁶ Total net discrimination according to the study in Belgium was 33%, 37% in Holland, 36% in Spain. In Germany it was 19% but the study ended after the first two stages of the process.

segments of the labour market. However, from the extent of discrimination found in this experiment, and the fact that it confirms similar results in other countries, it can be concluded that discrimination exists, even if we cannot quantify it precisely.

The second limitation of the method adopted is its inability to identify the causes or reasons for discrimination (Zegers de Beijl, 2000, p.10). We cannot from observation of discriminatory behaviour determine the reasons for it. It may be suspected that in some cases mechanisms of statistical discrimination are at play. In other situations, discriminatory behaviours may reflect the personal prejudice of an individual selector against North Africans, or in others the discrimination could be the result of a rational calculation, for example because the employer thinks that North Africans are less agreeable to customers. However the elements needed to separate out the relative weight of these variables is lacking in the data collected here.

The study does show that discrimination exists, and exists specifically in the operation of the labour market. It is a problem destined to play an important role in the Italian political agenda. On 1 July 2003, the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families entered into force. Italy is already required to apply European Directive 2000/43 EC, adopted in legislative decree No. 215 which, in the opinion of some legal experts, does not yet completely fill⁵⁷ the gaps in Italian law relating to the EU legislation. However, given that the Italian laws do not conflict with the Directive and that the Italian Constitution provides for the automatic incorporation of international laws, the courts can apply it in any case. There remains the need to develop specific policy measures which will suppress and monitor the phenomenon at its roots.

The presence of discrimination due to pure prejudice and irrational factors on the part of individual employers is highly probable, and remedial public action from this angle is needed, even if particularly difficult and likely to bear fruit only in the long term. More immediately effective could be intervention in relation to the rational motivation for discriminatory behaviour, by showing the economic costs of discrimination (Ortona, 2001) or making the public aware of its dimensions.

Statistical data on large groups of immigrants over many years can show the general organizational logic of discrimination and structural factors that could not be known from personal experience. It is a matter of better identifying that dimension of discrimination which derives from mechanisms within the economic system, such as concentration of immigrants in productive sectors rapidly becoming obsolete with scant prospects of development (horizontal segregation); the share due to discrimination in jobs and careers (vertical discrimination) or in

⁵⁷ Concerning the inversion of the burden of proof, the legislative decree, article 4, paragraph 3 states that “the complainant, to show the existence of discriminatory behaviour to his own detriment, can infer in law, as well as on the basis of statistical data, elements of fact, in serious, precise and consistent terms, that the court shall evaluate in accordance with article 2729, paragraph 1 of the Civil Code”. This therefore introduces a balanced system which, although not expressly exempting the complainant from the burden of proof, considers as determining factors the use of statistical data in substantiating indirect discrimination, as suggested by the European Court of Justice. Also with respect to the requirement to establish a monitoring agency, the decree responds in the form of an adaptation. Article 7, paragraph 1: “There shall be instituted in the Presidency of the Council of Ministers, Department of Equal Opportunities, an office for the promotion of equal treatment and elimination of discrimination based on race or ethnic origin, with functions of control and ensuring equal treatment and the effectiveness of safeguard instruments, with powers to undertake, independently and impartially, activities to promote equality and eliminate any form of discrimination based on race or ethnic origin, taking into account the different impact that such discrimination may have on women and men, as well as the existence of cultural and religious forms of racism”.

hiring. It is a matter of evaluating to what extent the laws of individual states contribute either to discourage or encourage that discrimination, or to create systemic difficulties in stabilising immigrant workers or facilitating their integration. Both in providing data and empirical evidence on the one hand and in influencing public policies at national and international levels on the other, the role of ILO is of high relevance in Italy.

The risk that discrimination against foreign minorities will develop into discrimination against Italian citizens belonging to the immigrant community is considerable. In addition to highlighting this phenomenon, and indicating the ethical and economic costs involved in such discrimination, it is a case of ascertaining whether there are effective preventive instruments, i.e. desirable" public policies. We must look for instruments which are effective and not merely repressive. And we must act promptly."

In the study commissioned by the National Commission for the Integration of Immigrants (Cotesta, 2002), some of the immigrants interviewed considered time as a good remedy against discrimination. However this simple remedy does not always work nor does it work for all minorities. The identification of appropriate instruments requires considerable investment in research. The repressive and persuasive proposals adopted so far in Italy and also in some other developed countries have produced interesting, but insufficient, results. More research is needed involving local studies and practices.

The discrimination at work which we examined in this experimental study is a highly specific form of discrimination, because it encompasses considerations of usability which can be extended or limited according to the circumstances, but which nevertheless fall within the broader scope of discrimination. Discrimination at work is only part of a wider phenomenon of general discrimination. Not even in this broader field have traditional instruments of conviction and persuasion proved to be effective.. Judging from another empirical study conducted in an Italian school (De Colle, 2002), secondary socialization against discrimination and racism through courses on awareness of the problem would only seem to confirm the attitudes of those inclined to discriminate, because it generates the perception of "compulsion to tolerance". The war against discrimination should perhaps be fought with non-conventional arms, the invention of which will require greater creative effort. More investment in studies and research, in identification and experimentation in the field with innovative practices are a necessary stage in developing public policies and measures with a reasonable degree of effectiveness.

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