

# Population Review

Volume 46, Number 1, 2007

Type: Article pp. 41-55

## The Dynamics of Immigrants' Life History: Application to the Insertion of Albanian and Moroccan Immigrants into Some Italian Areas

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### Abstract

The integration of immigrants into settlement areas is a complex phenomenon that persists throughout the life history of immigrants. The analysis of life histories should take into account the time dimensions of the different individual paths that can be traced back by retrospective surveys.

The aim of our research is to identify different steps, transitions, timings and determinants that characterise the insertion process of a sample of Albanian and Moroccan immigrants in two cities in Italy, Bari and Rome. The methodology employed is the Event History Analysis (EHA), rarely applied to international migration.

The work aims at singling out the main events, as well as their succession and their determinants, of the settlement course of the immigrants.

Data show that the main events characterising the migratory life cycle are the attainment of a paid job and obtaining a stable accommodation. Finding a regular (legal) job and stable relationship are less widespread as these are typically sought later on. Data also show that the stabilization process goes through a phase characterized by precarious solutions. Finally, with regard to the insertion process, Moroccan immigrants appear to face the most problems.

### Keywords

Immigrants, Italy, integration, event history analysis

\* This work is the result of a close collaboration between the authors. As for the actual text, paragraphs 1 and 2 have been written by the three authors; paragraph 3 by A. Paterno; paragraph 4 by G. Gabrielli; paragraph 5.1 by A. Paterno and S. Strozza; paragraph 5.2 by G. Gabrielli and paragraph 6 by S. Strozza. We warmly thank Valentina Turri for having edited the paper.

## Introduction

The integration of immigrants into settlement areas is often an advisable goal of social policy and a stimulating research issue. The extensive literature on this subject clearly shows the difficulty in finding terminologies, concepts and definitions that are univocally shared. If scholars find it hard to agree on a precise definition of “integration”, there is no doubt that it is a complex and dynamic phenomenon. The insertion and stabilisation path of immigrants in settlement areas should be considered as a multidimensional and interactive process with different phases along the life history of each immigrant (Natale and Strozza 1997; Zincone 2001). It has been emphasized that integration often entails of a long and difficult process (Böhning 1984; Cagiano de Azevedo et al., 1992; European Council 1994).

Available data normally allow an analysis of the situation only at the time of interview, that is, short-term transversal data coming from cross-sectional surveys. In this way it is possible to estimate the achieved stage but not the different timing and steps of the integration process. Thus, it is often impossible to properly consider the dynamics of the migration life cycle. Analyses of life histories need to take into account the time dimensions of the different individual integrations and insertion and stabilization paths. These can be traced back through retrospective or longitudinal surveys that aim at reconstructing situations and events experienced by the interviewees (Tribalat 1996). In only few situations can this approach be effectively utilized to study specific aspects of immigrants’ insertion in the hosting society (Simon 2003; Bonifazi et al., 2003; Phalet and Swyngedouw 2003).

In light of these considerations, and as an extension of previous research on the subject by two of the authors of this paper (see Paterno and Gabrielli 2004), the aim of the present research is to try to identify the different steps, transitions, timing and determinants that characterise the process of insertion and stabilization among the observed sample of immigrants in their respective settlement areas. In an attempt to understand the process of integration, we embrace a method of analysis that has rarely been applied by researchers in the study of international migration (Courgeau and Lelièvre 1992; Jorge, Massey and Parrado 1999): the technique of Event History Analysis or EHA. In this study, EHA is applied to data coming from a sample survey of Albanian and Moroccan immigrants in Italy.

The study aims to identify the main events in the settlement course of the immigrants observed, the successions of the most frequently occurring events, and the determinants of the overall insertion process.

## Data and methodology

We use data from a sample survey<sup>1</sup> carried out during 2002 on Albanian and Moroccan immigrants in Bari and Rome municipalities in Italy (Paterno et al., 2006). The selection was made using a centres of aggregation sampling method (Blangiardo 1996; Blangiardo, Migliorati and Terzera 2004). Two different urban areas were selected as target sites, each differing in size and foreign presence. The two largest foreign communities at the national level were considered: Albanians and Moroccans. During the interview period, the two ethnic communities comprised 168 thousand and 159 thousand legal residents registered up to January 1, 2002 (Istat 2003). Along with these numbers must be added a large number of illegal immigrants of the same nationality. Moreover, the two ethnic communities varied in terms of gender structure, time of presence in Italy, and type of immigration. Moroccans have a longer history of presence in Italy than Albanians, the latter only arriving in large numbers in the 90s. In addition, the Moroccan community is characterized by a preponderance of males. The Albanians are distinguished by a form of migration that aims at family reunification (Istat 1998).

The full dataset is made up of 1,001 interviewees divided into four groups: Albanians interviewed in Bari;

<sup>1</sup> The surveys were undertaken under the following research programmes: “Siamo pochi o siamo troppi? Alcuni aspetti delle relazioni tra evoluzione demografica e sviluppo economico e sociale”, Miur-Prin, year 2001 (and by specific funds of Rome and Bari Universities Research Units); “Il ruolo delle regolarizzazioni nella valutazione dell’immigrazione straniera nell’Europa mediterranea” (University of Rome “La Sapienza”, ex quota 60%, year 1998); “L’integrazione delle collettività immigrate in Italia” (University of Rome “La Sapienza”, ex quota 40%, year 2000); “L’integrazione degli immigrati a Roma” (Miur, Progetto Giovani Ricercatori, year 2001, assigned to Cinzia Conti). This article has been carried out in the framework of the research “L’immigrazione euro-mediterranea nei nuovi paesi di accoglimento dell’Europa meridionale: evidenze empiriche per l’Italia”, funded by Dipartimento di Scienze Statistiche Università di Napoli Federico II and co-financed by Ministero dell’Istruzione dell’Università e la Ricerca scientifica (MIUR) as part of the national project “Dinamiche demografiche, migrazioni e loro impatto economico” (PRIN 2005).

Albanians interviewed in Rome; Moroccans interviewed in Bari; Moroccans interviewed in Rome.

Only male interviewees between the ages of 16 and 30 (on their arrival in Italy) were considered in the analysis. This selection decision was necessary in order to make the groups internally homogeneous with regard to critical features, among them being the age at the time of the interview and sex. With regard to the first variable, we excluded those people that we thought had extremely exceptional features and life histories. This exclusion included immigrants less than 16 and more than 30 years of age. With regard to sex, women were excluded for two reasons: 1) explorative analysis revealed that their insertion paths were too heterogeneous compared to the insertion paths for men (so they could not be considered together with men) and 2) their number was not sufficient (288 cases) to analyse them separately. After eliminating missing data, our selected sample included 534 individuals.

In this work, life histories of individuals were analysed through the application of E.H.A. techniques. The study of life courses began with the work of Elder (1974) and places individual biographies at the centre of social dynamics. Drawing from the extensive literature on the subject, we followed the approach outlined by Blossfeld and Rohwer (2002:3) who claimed that “units of analysis occupy a discrete state in a theoretically meaningful state space and transitions between these states can virtually occur at any time. Given an event history dataset, the typical problem of the social scientist is to use appropriate statistical methods for describing this process of change, to discover the casual relationships among events and to assess their importance”. From this view, analysing the process of immigrants’ insertion requires the study of events that occur during a *priory* given period of time.

Following Allison’s approach (1984), in order to define such events, we examined specific and definite (not gradual) changes that occurred in each biography, in given times or moments, and in the migratory life cycle. For this work, the simplest observable situation in this kind of analysis was considered: the case of unique and independent events with a single origin or starting state and a single destination or ending state.

As suggested by Tribalat (1995), by focusing the analysis on events that have been objectively experienced by interviewees, opinions and subjective aptitudes have been effectively excluded, thus avoiding personal interpretations that can distort interviewees’ statements and allowing the reconstruction of life histories with a high level of accuracy.

Within the dataset, we selected important events of the integration path<sup>2</sup> that occurred for the first time for each person interviewed. In particular, we considered the start of the following events:

- first paid job (L)<sup>3</sup>;
- first regular work (R)<sup>4</sup>;
- first stable accommodation (A)<sup>5</sup>;
- first cohabitation (U)<sup>6</sup>.

The month and year when these events occurred were considered.

Given our time reference variable, which corresponds to the length of stay in Italy, the time interval under consideration was calculated from first arrival<sup>7</sup> up to the first 120 months<sup>8</sup>. All possible sequences for life history events were considered according to when they occurred, even when they occurred simultaneously.

Our analysis focused exclusively on the process of settlement from the point of view of positive transition

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<sup>2</sup> Unfortunately, it has not been possible to include the obtaining of the first permission to stay among the events, because in the questionnaire there was not a question about the issuing period, and the birth of the first child, since there were only few cases for this situation, due to the young age of the observed interviewees.

<sup>3</sup> A “first paid job” has been considered as any kind of job that has been paid regardless of payment methods, duration and legal category (legal, illegal, irregular).

<sup>4</sup> In this case only legal job is considered. If the interviewee has found a legally paid job as his/her first job in Italy, the two events L and R are regarded as contemporaneous.

<sup>5</sup> Rent or own house, excluding temporary accommodation in immigrants’ reception structures and at relatives’.

<sup>6</sup> This refers to the beginning of cohabitation whether defined as marriage contracted in Italy or a stable relationship with a partner in Italy, or where interviewees have been joined by spouses from their country of origin. If the family is already in Italy when the interviewee arrives to Italy, the union event corresponds to the arrival.

<sup>7</sup> It should be underlined that there are problems defining the exposition time for those who have left Italy after their first arrival and come back a few years later. But this amounts to a very small number of cases.

<sup>8</sup> E.H.A. allows the consideration of “censored data”, i.e. those who had not faced up the event when interviewed but who could experience it in the future. In the E.H.A. they are included in the sample until the interview date, and then they are immediately excluded from the population at the risk of facing up the event.

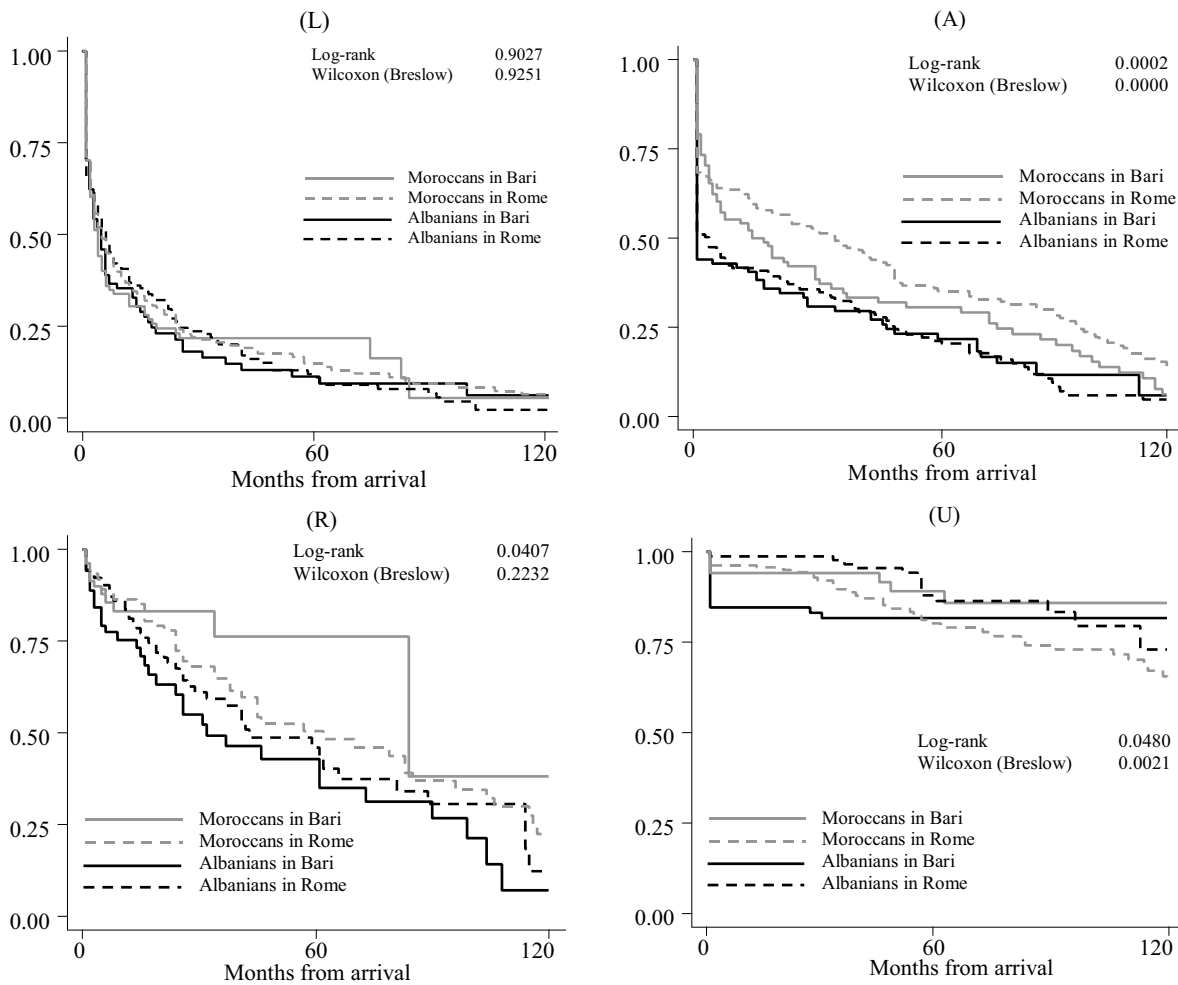
events—namely improvements in living conditions. Analysis of negative transition events, such as loss of occupation or worsening living conditions, were not included due to lack of information. Therefore, from the analyses made, we inferred an exclusively positive view of the migrants’ integration process—one that is always oriented towards improvement of their conditions.

**The events**

In a first approach, we considered Kaplan-Meier estimator of survival function (Fig.1) and the median waiting period after to arrival in Italy (Tab. 1) for each observed event.

We realised that the first paid job is usually obtained soon after the arrival in Italy and that the four analysed groups did not present important differences among them according to the Log-rank (0.903) and Wilcoxon (0.925) test. Independent of immigrants’ nationality and place of settlement, the percentage (close to 80%) of interviewees that experienced this event seems very high. The median waits pointed out for the four considered groups seem short and homogeneous (3-4 months).

Figure 1: Kaplan-Meier estimates of survivor functions for each observed event.



The first accommodation in an autonomous house occurs as an almost contemporary stage with immigration for the Albanians who, independently from the presence place, would anticipate the Moroccans in a significant way (Log-rank = 0.001 and Wilcoxon = 0.000). The median confirms that, being longer for Albanians than for Moroccans (15 and 36 months in Bari and in Rome, compared to 1 and 4 months for the Albanians in the two towns). Despite that, stabilization in terms of housing is rather widespread, as it occurred in about 80% of immigrants within 120 months since they arrived.

With regard to obtaining first regular work, Albanians seem more precocious than Moroccans, especially

those interviewed in Bari. The survivor functions are significantly different but only for Log-rank (0.041). This event occurs on average 32 and 43 months after their arrival (respectively in Bari and Rome) for Albanians and 84 and 62 months (respectively in Bari and Rome) for Moroccans. However, such an event is definitively less widespread among interviewees: the percentage of those who experienced it ranged between 39.6% for Albanians in Bari and 13.8% for Moroccans in Rome.

Finally, the “cohabitation” event is not widespread since it concerns just a few cases. It reveals a great delay, probably because of the young age of respondents. Percentages reach 20% for Moroccans interviewed in Rome only and decrease to 8.9% for those in Bari. The small number of people that tried this event does not allow us to draw precise information about the median wait times.

Table 1: Kaplan-Meier estimates of survivor time and percentage for each observed event at interview.

Events		% of events <sup>(a)</sup>	Survivor time		
			25%	50%	75%
<i>Albanians</i>					
<i>Bari</i>					
First paid job	(L)	82.4	1	3	18
First accommodation	(A)	83.5	1	1	49
First regular work	(R)	39.6	14	32	99
Start of cohabitation	(U)	17.6	#	#	#
<i>Rome</i>					
First paid job	(L)	83.2	1	4	25
First accommodation	(A)	84.5	1	4	51
First regular work	(R)	32.2	17	43	114
Start of cohabitation	(U)	9.0	113	#	#
<i>Moroccans</i>					
<i>Bari</i>					
First paid job	(L)	78.2	1	3	19
First accommodation	(A)	81.2	2	15	77
First regular work	(R)	13.8	84	84	#
Start of cohabitation	(U)	8.9	#	#	#
<i>Rome</i>					
First paid job	(L)	83.4	1	3	24
First accommodation	(A)	74.3	1	36	98
First regular work	(R)	29.4	24	62	116
Start of cohabitation	(U)	20.3	83	#	#

<sup>(a)</sup> These represent a quota of interviewees who, at the time of the survey, had already experienced the observed event compared to the total amount of interviewees, including those who had been in Italy for at least 120 months.

From this, we can claim that (particularly for Albanians in Bari), not only migration could have been planned before leaving their native country, but also that people who have already immigrated may have helped new immigrants *via* migration chains. For Moroccans, the process of stabilization apparently begins with the arrival to settlement areas, even without any previous migration project in play before departing from their origin country<sup>9</sup>.

Moreover, it would seem that there is a consequential line among the observed events: the first job appears as the first stage reached by the interviewed immigrants, followed by the house, a regular working activity and, in sporadic cases, a permanent co-habitation with a partner. This impression, however, cannot be considered probable or generalizable. Yet, because of the great variety of possible combinations among the events that occurred to the interviewees, we were compelled to undertake an in-depth analysis of the succession of events that were widespread in our sample.

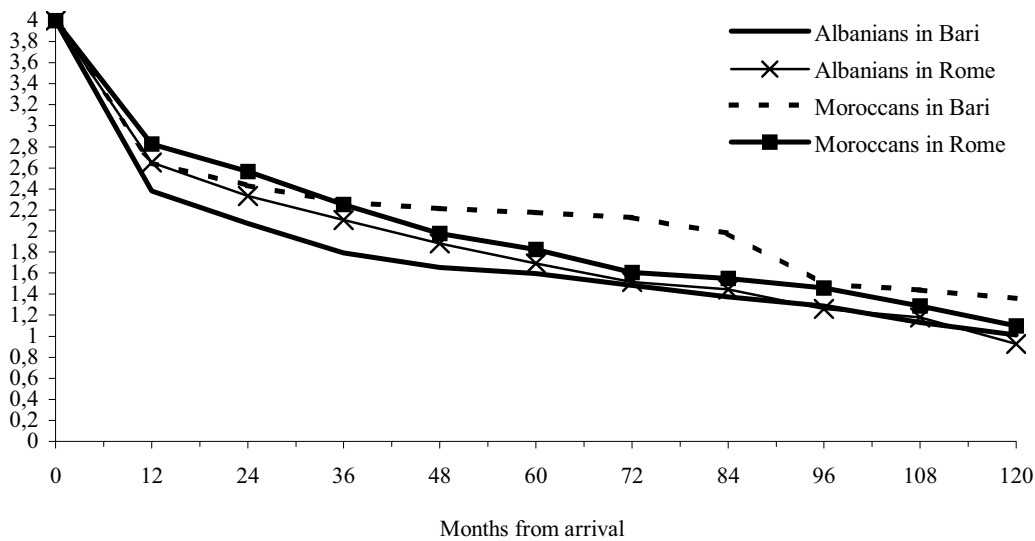
<sup>9</sup> The different migration history of the two communities should not be ignored. The first arrivals of Moroccans date back to the end of the '70s. The Albanians arrived in the early '90s, and the Italian Government helped them find jobs.

## The “life-courses”

As a preliminary analysis of the events that occurred in the four observed groups, we calculate the survival functions for each event. Results are shown in Fig. 2. The graph shows how many of the four events are yet to be tried and consider the time frame for each cluster. The four observed groups show similar behaviours: both the first and the second events occur for all groups soon after their arrival; the third event seems to occur after a long time; only few interviewees have experienced the fourth event. Anyway, there are some differences among the interviewed groups: compared to other communities, Moroccans interviewed in Bari appear to move more slowly from one event to another.

However, survival functions do not illuminate either the succession of the events or their possible sequence.

Figure 2: Sum of survivor functions for each observed event. Actuarial Method.



As to the first aspect, it seemed right to analyse how interviewees placed themselves according to the succession of occurred events. The data in Table 2<sup>10</sup> generally confirm the previous considerations, stressing that the greater numbers (between the 20.9% of the Albanians present in Bari and the 49.5% of the Moroccans present in Rome) correspond to interviewed people that obtained the first paid job at the beginning and then the first accommodation. Moreover, a reasonable number of immigrants experienced more than one event at the same time: this could be the case of all those interviewees who, due to their job, had an accommodation at their work place (e.g., those working in agriculture, caretakers, etc). On the whole, most of the Albanians interviewed in Rome and particularly in Bari have had at least one event (respectively 94.8% and 96.7%). Moroccans of both cities have showed the opposite behaviour: respectively 8.6% and 10.9% of interviewees have not experienced any transition.

<sup>10</sup> The data in Tab. 2 are refers to the situation at the time of the interviews with foreigners that had been in Italy for less than 120 months, and the situation at the 120<sup>th</sup> month for those that had lived in Italy for over 10 years. They refer only to the “states” with more than ten cases. In our elaborations two events were considered “same time” when there was less than a month interval between them.

Table 2: Sequence of life history events in first 10 years from arrival in Italy (%).

Process	Albanians		Moroccans	
	Bari	Rome	Bari	Rome
No event	3.30	5.16	10.89	8.56
L	6.59	6.45	5.94	11.23
A	12.09	11.61	10.89	6.42
A before L	12.09	14.19	2.97	8.56
L before A	20.88	25.81	49.50	24.60
LA <sup>(a)</sup>	14.29	10.32	10.89	5.88
L before A before U	0.00	1.94	0.00	3.74
L before R	2.20	2.58	0.00	2.67
L before R before A	6.59	7.10	5.94	9.09
LR before A <sup>(a)</sup>	4.40	4.52	5.94	7.49
L before A before R	1.10	2.58	0.00	3.74
A before L before R	17.58	15.48	4.95	4.81
A before LR <sup>(a)</sup>	8.79	5.16	2.97	1.60
A before L before R before U	1.10	0.65	0.99	3.21
Other cases	16.48	6.45	7.92	13.37
<i>Total</i>	<i>100.00</i>	<i>100.00</i>	<i>100.00</i>	<i>100.00</i>

(a) Same time events have not been divided: two events are considered "same time" when there is less than a month interval between them.

Source: Paterno, Gabrielli, 2004.

Another way to think about the matter comes from an examination of graphs constructed on the ways in which interviewed people placed themselves in different occupied states and at different temporal distances from immigration (Fig. 3)<sup>11</sup>. These graphs, coming from the application of a real method of life-course analysis, describe immigrants' situation (their states) for each month in the ten year period after arrival. The case is *right censored* if the interview occurred before the ten years considered.

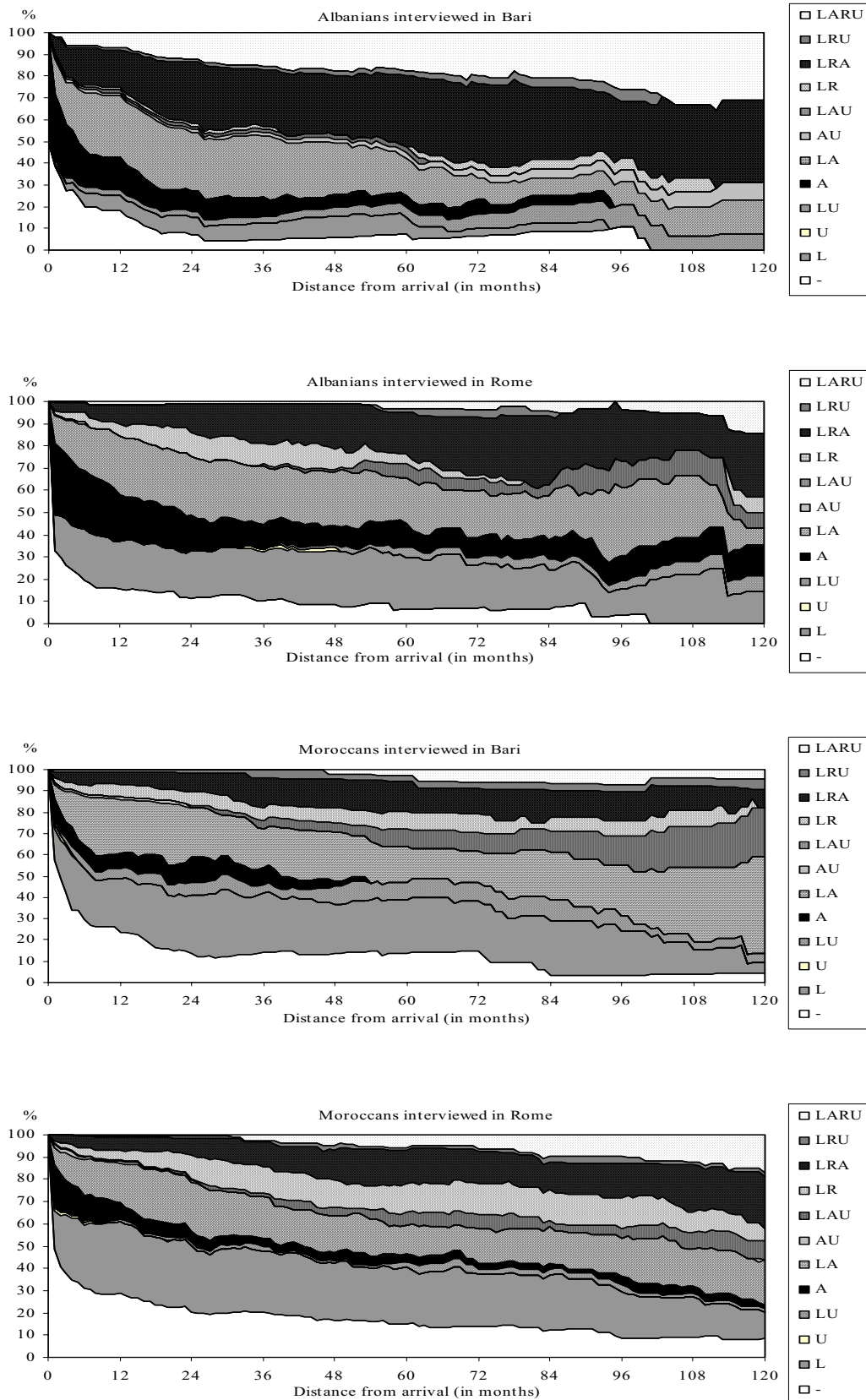
The analysis of Albanian interviewees in Bari showed that about 50% experienced at least one event at the moment of arrival and 90% experienced at least one event within the first 24 months arrival. The most important states correspond to achieving a stable accommodation, a job (either regular or irregular) and in many cases a relationship with a partner. In contrast, only 20% of Albanians in Rome experienced the first event at the moment of arrival. For this group the most important states corresponded to achieving a job—for most of them an irregular job—which is not necessarily associated with a stable accommodation. Few interviewees have experienced all four events. In particular, unlike Albanians, only a small number of Moroccans have experienced the first event as soon as they have arrived in Italy (about 10%).

As for the experienced events in Bari and Rome, getting a job seems to be most frequent one. The most difficult event is finding a stable accommodation. Moroccans in the capital experienced more frequently the other two events (i.e., beginning a regular work activity and a stable relationship). But at the same time, in the latter group, a longer stay corresponds to the experience of a single event or even none of them<sup>12</sup>.

<sup>11</sup> The combination illustrated in the picture does not reflect the order of the events but only their occurrence. The different states in which the events have occurred at the same time (within a month) have been distinguished in order to give clearer graphs.

<sup>12</sup> It is necessary to specify that the number of interviewees who have not experienced any event until the last months of the observed ten-year stay is overrepresented in the graphs (see Figure 3) because the longer the considered stay is, the smaller the community appears due to censored cases – those who have been in Italy for a number of months that is smaller than the one that is considered for each time. For example, the ten Moroccans who have not experienced any event after eight years in Italy are reduced to five over a period of time of ten years, but their percentage has not varied significantly (changing from 8,45% to 8.47%). The causes of such unfortunate cases can be manifold. First of all, due to issues concerning E.H.A. techniques, data on the date of arrival in Italy could not include the fact that many foreigners have gone back to their native country for a few months or years, reducing their stay in Italy. Secondly, such issues add to problems concerning the quality of answers provided by the interviewees (who may have omitted stagional or illegal jobs) and, in the case of the transition from to their first independent accommodation, the possibility that for a few of them this was not achieved due to their young age (they may have lived with their parents or other relatives living in the settlement areas).

Figure 3: Distribution of interviewees living under different “states” against distance from arrival in Italy (in months).



Source: Paterno, Gabrielli, 2004.



From a comparative analysis of the four clusters, it can be inferred that the Albanians, apart from the presence area, would have been at different moments from their arrival better included among the host population than the Moroccans.

A summarising picture about the observation of permanence length in the different states is given by the information in Table 3 which stresses (with some differences about nationality and/or presence area of the interviewed people) that the waits between the reaching of a stage and the transition toward the following one are longer when the first stages coincide with the “worker condition” (L), “worker with autonomous accommodation” (LA) and, above all for foreign people interviewed in Bari, with the situation of “regular worker with autonomous accommodation” (LRA).

Table 3: Average time of stay for each “state”, in months <sup>(a)</sup>.

Processes	Albanians		Moroccans	
	Bari	Rome	Bari	Rome
No event	9.48	16.05	11.18	21.12
L	6.00	27.22	24.50	28.95
U	0.07	0.06	0.19	0.11
LU	6.43	7.46	3.05	2.19
A	8.21	3.80	15.55	5.42
LA	22.35	27.38	27.12	20.38
AU	3.82	0.27	0.04	0.24
LAU	1.02	9.68	5.79	4.74
LR	2.68	7.65	5.63	12.86
LRA	35.16	13.50	22.59	15.40
LRU	2.59	3.34	0.95	1.63
LARU	22.22	3.58	3.71	6.97
<i>Total</i>	<i>120.00</i>	<i>120.00</i>	<i>120.00</i>	<i>120.00</i>

(a) For greater clarity here, all possible combinations between life history events have been considered without making any distinction for the occurrence of each life event.  
Source: Paterno, Gabrielli, 2004.

These results confirmed some hypotheses. We identified the most “important” states among the foreign people interviewed. We also noticed a great delay in the constitution of permanent couples. Moreover, we showed that the Moroccans interviewed in Rome and the Albanians interviewed in Bari were the most different groups. The first ones stay in Italy for two years on average without experiencing any event, and two years and a half achieving an irregular job only; the latter, stay for three years in a substantial regular condition, and about two years reaching all four stages considered. Such heterogeneity may be due to different reasons. For example, the delay of the first transition could be because interviewees may have spent part of the 120 considered months (from their arrival in Italy) in their native country or in another foreign country. Similarly, the longer delays of those interviewed in Rome than those in Bari could be due to a reduced mechanism of mutual aid between immigrants living in Rome. Nevertheless, Bari does not offer immigrants good chances to become part of the local productive and social net. In the following sections, we apply a parametric analysis to understand such mechanisms and insertion paths.

### Parametric analysis of the main life-courses considered: working hypotheses

In order to analyze the immigrants’ life-courses, we use of a *causal-structural dynamic approach* in the modelling of event histories with explicit reference to the interdependence among the different transition processes. According to this approach, “the researcher focuses on one of the interdependent processes (or events) and considers it the dependent one. The future changes of this process are linked to the present state and history of the whole dynamic system as well as to other exogenous variables” (Blossfeld and Rohwer 2002, p.138). One of the limits of this approach is represented by the principle of “temporal asymmetry between cause and effect” (Blossfeld et al., 1999), according to which events occurring simultaneously cannot be considered as one causing the other. In order to solve this problem, we deemed it necessary to adopt temporal axes, divided in very short one-month intervals. In addition, in this case, it was not possible to completely exclude distortion effects, but it can be supposed that a common reason (latent event) caused

the two simultaneous events<sup>13</sup>.

From a practical point of view, the analyses were made using a piecewise constant exponential model and dividing the observation period<sup>14</sup> in ten equal intervals. The four groups of interviewees were conflated in order to gather a reasonable amount of events. The dependent variable refers, every time, to each one of the three analysed events: first paid job (L), first accommodation (A), first regular work (R). It was not possible to analyse cohabitation because of the limited number of people that tried it.

All the explicative variables considered in the models refer to information about what chronologically preceded each observed event (Blossfeld and Rohwer 2002). They can be divided in two groups.

The first one concerns individual characteristics of the interviewees. Nationality and the place of the interview are considered through two dummy variables that answer the need to consider the features of immigrants' origins and destination. According to the achieved results, Albanians in Bari seemed to be the most advantaged group in the insertion process. In order to set such process within interviewees' individual life and migratory cycles it was necessary to introduce two variables into the models: birth date cohorts (cohorts 1955-70 vs. 1971-86) and age at arrival in Italy (ages 16-22 vs. 23-30). Education level (less than 9 vs. 9 and more schooling years) can be considered as a variable to determine whether interviewees that are more educated experience easier settlement processes. Some migratory characteristics are expressed through three variables: motivation for arrival (work vs. other reasons), the chance for immigrants to receive any kind of help upon their arrival in Italy; and the possibility of going back regularly to their native country. A positive effect is expected in the case of immigration due to work reasons, the actual possibility of receiving any kind of help at arrival, and a stable settlement period.

The characteristics outlined before are included in the models as control variables. The other parallel processes (or events) are considered in the second set of variables. They were dichotomised and constructed as time dependent<sup>15</sup>.

In the model in which the dependent variable corresponds to the achievement of a first accommodation (Model A), the other events correspond to the first paid job and the first regular work. In the model that considers the first paid job (Model L) only the variable concerning the first accommodation was included. In contrast, both events ("first stable accommodation" and "first paid job") were included in the model concerning the transition to the first regular work (Model R). It is believed that a previous experience of one or more events of the stabilization process can foster the transition to the following stages.

## Results

The graphical representation of the base line of the three studied events' hazard rate is shown in Fig. 4. The risk of reaching "first paid job" and "first accommodation" is very high during the first year of migration. It rapidly decreases towards to the fifth year and then it increases slowly. We could argue that interviewees can be divided into two opposite situations as far as these two events are concerned. On one side, we can group those who can find a first paid job and/or a first stable accommodation immediately, within the first year after their arrival in Italy (the great majority). On the other side, we there are immigrants who hardly start their insertion process in destination areas.

The "first regular work" event has a different pattern: it features low risk levels at the arrival in Italy and it slightly increases from the fifth year on. This picture outlines the marginal possibility of having a legal work position at arrival. Usually this occurs after a considerably long period of irregularity.

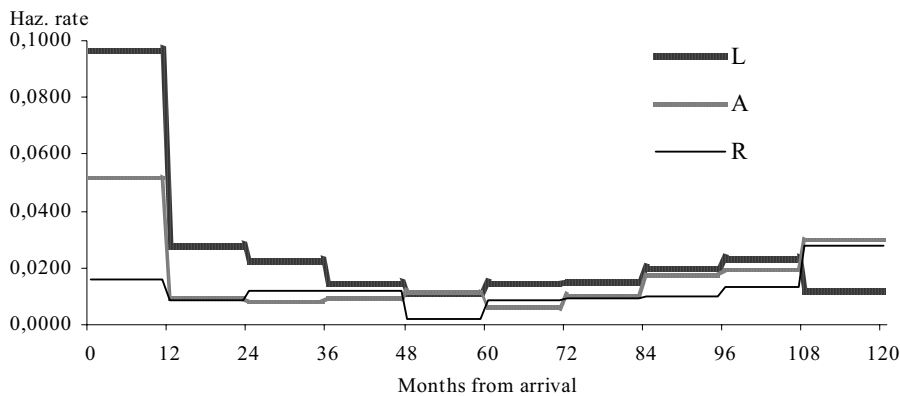
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<sup>13</sup> For example, we can consider those jobs (such as guardian-ship, family services, etc.) which involve having an accommodation in the employer's house, too: in this case, the "first job" and the "first accommodation" are two simultaneous events and the causal-structural dynamic approach cannot be properly considered.

<sup>14</sup> The observed period includes the first ten years from the arrival in Italy. The division of this period in intervals is necessary to define the model.

<sup>15</sup> Through the splitting procedure, the value of such variables amounts to zero throughout the period that precedes the event, and it goes up to one as the event occurs.

Figure 4: Base line of the haz. rate of first paid job (L), first accommodation (A) and first regular work (R).



Considering the “first stable accommodation” (Model A) in Table 4, the analysis highlights that the Albanians are more favoured than Moroccans. This result is consistent with both descriptive analysis and our hypothesis.

Immigrants who are older at the time of their arrival and those who belong to younger generations would have higher possibilities to obtain the first accommodation. In fact, it is possible to think that the former have a greater necessity to find a permanent accommodation, while the latter are probably helped by relatives or other people already present in the settlement areas. This observation is confirmed by the significant positive effect produced on the dependent variable by the chance that people, associations and/or institutions upon their arrival in Italy have helped all observed migrants (not only the younger ones). This result confirms the probable importance of situations linked to so-called “migratory chains”. Moreover, the lack of regular returns to native countries suggests a permanent and more stable migration. It also increases the chances of finding a stable accommodation.

Analysing the other parallel processes, the first paid job and the first regular work have a significant effect on the dependent variable, even if with opposite directions. According to this result, an irregular work should reduce the transition to a stable accommodation. In adding, our results show that a regular work position favours the transition to a stable accommodation.

With regard to the “first paid job” event (Model L), the lack of regular returns to native countries and the Albanian nationality confirm their importance and reveal their trend. An obvious result is that which confirms that moving to Italy for work reasons positively influences research for a job.

The data show (in Model A) that living in a stable accommodation reduces the probability of working in irregular conditions.

Finally, for the first regular work (Model R), Albanian nationality has a significant positive value. Among the other individual features included in the model, moving to Italy for work reasons only favours the transition to the observed model, even though this has a minor significance on what was observed in Model L. In addition to this, being employed illegally favours the transition to a regular job.

Interestingly, living in a stable accommodation has a positive effect with respect to the first regular work, even though in this case such variable has no particular significance.

The three models show that both the place and the level of education have no significant influence on the transition to the three observed events. But the parallel processes, the main subject of our analysis, prove to have a key influence on the achievement of the different steps of the stabilization process.

Our comments expressed so far on the relationship among the three observed parallel processes are summarized in Fig. 5, which gives a general picture and an interpretation of the three sequences studied according the hazard rate values and their significance. It is possible to think about two different situations for the interviewed people. The first widespread situation shows that the job and accommodation stabilization process necessarily goes through a phase in which the interviewed people have to be content with more precarious solutions in both the considered fields (irregular work and temporary accommodations). The second situation, which is less significant, is characterized by a considerable job

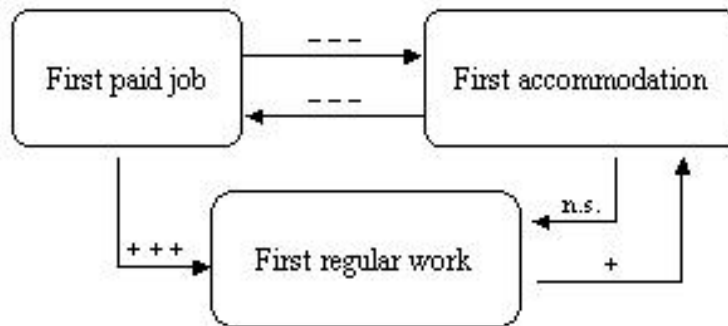
regularity and housing stability that can be reached when a legal situation is attained<sup>16</sup>.

Table 4: Determinants of first stable accommodation (A), first paid job (L), first regular work (R).

Variables	Model A		Model L		Model R	
	Haz.R.	(S.E.) p	Haz.R.	(S.E.) p	Haz.R.	(S.E.) p
<i>Nationality (ref.: Moroccan)</i>						
Albanian	1.329	(0.19)***	1.113	(0.11)*	1.194	(0.21)**
<i>Place of interview (ref.: Rome)</i>						
Bari	1.165	(0.12)	1.035	(0.11)	1.159	(0.20)
<i>Years of birth (ref.: 1955-1970)</i>						
1971-1986	2.279	(0.33)***	0.991	(0.13)	0.938	(0.19)
<i>Age at arrival in Italy (ref.: 16-22)</i>						
23-30	1.192	(0.14)*	1.035	(0.11)	0.945	(0.18)
<i>Years at school (ref.: less than 9)</i>						
More or equal to 9	1.053	(0.12)	1.012	(0.10)	0.947	(0.17)
<i>Reason of arrival (ref.: other reasons)</i>						
Work	1.089	(0.14)	1.730	(0.24)***	1.461	(0.31)*
<i>Help at arrival in Italy (ref.: yes)</i>						
No	0.821	(0.08)**	0.899	(0.09)	0.775	(0.13)
<i>Periodical return migrations (ref.: no)</i>						
Yes	0.507	(0.08)***	0.636	(0.09)***	0.943	(0.19)
<i>First stable accommodation (time dependent)</i>						
Occurred yet			0.604	(0.07)***	1.049	(0.18)
<i>First paid job (time dependent)</i>						
Occurred yet	0.392	(0.11)***			1.833	(0.34)***
<i>First regular work (time dependent)</i>						
Occurred yet	1.597	(0.45)*				
<i>Number of subjects</i>	546		546		546	
<i>Number of events</i>	437		449		163	

\*p<0.10; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01

Figure 5: Diagram of the relationships among first paid job, first accommodation and first regular work according the hazard rates and the levels of significance in the models.



<sup>16</sup> In this context, it would have been particularly important to analyse the effect of the permission to stay obtaining on the interviewed people introduction process, but the lack of information on this topic has not made it possible.

## Conclusion

Our results provide some answers to research questions of this paper. Data show that events that significantly characterise the migratory life cycle are the achievement of the first paid job and the first stable accommodation. Obtaining a regular job and a stable relationship are less widespread and harder to achieve.

As for the sequence in which these events typically occur, the first step is represented by the attainment of a paid job. This second step is represented by the attainment of a stable accommodation and, especially among Albanians, the attainment of regular work. As the sample only includes young adult male, the first cohabitation was understandably reached in only a few cases.

The descriptive analysis reveals that Moroccans face more problems than Albanians in the insertion process. Among them, the interviewees in Rome are the most disadvantaged. Albanians, especially in Bari, reach the highest degree of stabilization. Such heterogeneity among different groups may be due to several reasons. The most evident one is the strong cohesion and the mutual aid inside the Albanian community, both in destination areas and in their home country. With regard to Albanian migrants, the insertion process is generally planned before migration, largely with the help of fellow compatriots in the destination area. This “migration chain” phenomenon is well known in literature.

Parametric analysis confirmed that the Albanians’ had the highest ability to become part of the socio-economic net of settlement areas. Two opposite insertion processes were also shown. The first one concerned a global progressive stabilization and regularization process: the transition to an event favours the transition to the following ones. The second process is characterised by a general permanent condition of irregularity, instability and illegality: the initial problems in achieving one step prevent immigrants to start or continue the insertion process.

Given the situation experienced by this second group of foreigners, which most probably suffers a high degree of marginalisation, it is evident that the regulations and measures taken by the government to control and manage migration flux in Italy are not totally successful. The extended period of irregularity during the stabilization process should be investigated by researchers in order to help policy makers construct more efficient insertion tools and paths for immigrants.

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