Migration and transnationalism in Italy

Highlights

- Migration of Italian nationals is rarely discussed in current debates despite its magnitude: almost 5 million Italians living abroad in 2017;
- The size of Italian emigration is comparable to that of the foreign population regularly residing in Italy (5.6 million migrants, 8.4% of the total resident population in 2017); like migrants in Italy, Italians abroad are increasingly young and are employed at all skill levels.
- While migration is often portrayed as driver of economic development in the Global South, its contributions to the dynamism of the economies of the Global North is significant.
- Migrant entrepreneurship in Italy maintained a sustained pace of growth even during the economic crisis when Italian firms stagnated (+26 in the last five years). Nevertheless, it is characterized by a high turnover and the prevalence of individual companies (79% of a total of 571,255 migrant firms registered in 2016). This indicates the need to strengthen the organizational, financial, technological and relational capacities of migrant enterprises for them to effectively contribute to socio-economic integration and the creation of decent work.
- Similarly, and despite data-related deficiencies, remittances received by Italy have seemingly grown steadily over the past years (9.5 billion USD in 2016), and are comparable in size to remittance sent from Italy (9.4 billion USD in the same year) according to the World Bank estimates.
- Overall, migrants' contributions are enabled when they have secured a strong status in the societies they belong to and fully participate in social, economic and political processes conducive to their engagement in transnational activities, which produce value for themselves and for the societies they bridge. As such, integration precedes migrants' engagement in development.

Transnationalism: an overview

Migration is part of broader processes of social transformation. Today, more and more people live 'transnational' lives, dividing their professional careers across several countries, moving back and forth between them, maintaining family ties that may extend across borders, and identifying to, or even holding the citizenship of several countries.

In migration studies, the concept of transnationalism has been used to recognize migrants' agency and capacity to influence political, economic, and social processes in all the contexts that they bridge. Migrants influence social change, as much as larger structures such as states, multinational firms or international organizations do.

The dominant 'root cause' approach to migration tends to focus on migration's (economic) impacts on the contexts of origin, often 'measured' through the lens of migrant entrepreneurship and the size of financial remittances. However, migration is an inherent element of social change, including development processes, irrespective of where these occur (e.g. in 'developed' or 'developing', 'origin' or 'destination' countries). This approach also tends to emphasize the role of 'diasporas' (especially transnational communities of developing

countries) as 'development actors', disregarding the transnational processes in which nationals of so-called 'developed' countries residing outside their country of birth participate.

To shed some light into these processes, this briefing explores a few transnational dimensions of migration from and to Italy: the emigration of Italian citizens; migrants' entrepreneurship in Italy, financial remittances to and from Italy, and the links between migration, integration and development.

Emigration from Italy

Italy experiences, simultaneously, migration inflows and outflows. Migration from Italy or of Italian nationals is rarely discussed in current migration debates. Despite its magnitude, this dimension of migration is often overshadowed by the high level of political, media and public attention on migration to Italy, and especially on arrivals by sea.

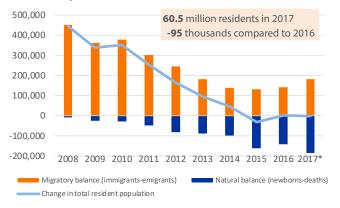
Nevertheless, migration outflows from Italy are as significant as migration inflows. In 2006, there were 3.1 million Italian citizens (excluding Italians born abroad) registered in the Registry of Italians Residing Abroad (AIRE). This number increased by 60 per cent, with



almost 5 million Italians registered in AIRE as of 1 January 2017 (4,973,942 or 8.2% of the total resident population that year). Forty-eight per cent of them is female.

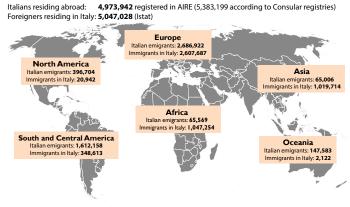
This is not only consistent with Italy's historical emigration patterns,² but also shows that the size of the Italian population residing abroad is similar to the size of the foreign population regularly residing in Italy, which represents 8.4 per cent of the 60.5 million residents as of January 2018 (Istat).³

Fig. 1: Change in total resident population: natural and migration balance compared, 2006-2017.



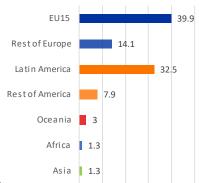
Source: Istat (2018). * provisional data.

Fig. 2: Italian *emigrants* and *immigrants* from abroad, 2017.



Source: Istat, AIRE.

Fig. 3: Italians residing abroad by continent (%), 2017.



Source: AIRE.

More than half of the Italian citizens abroad live in Europe (2,684,325, 54%), of which almost 40 per cent live in the EU15 (1,984,461).⁴ Some 2 million live in the Americas (40.4%), specifically in Latin America (1.6 million, 32.5%), and the rest reside in Oceania (3%), Africa (1.3%) and Asia (1.3%). Argentina (804,260), Germany (723,846) and Switzerland (606,578) are the countries with the largest Italian communities abroad, while the United Kingdom recorded the fastest growth in new registrations (27,602 in 2016; IDOS, 2017).

Half of all Italians registered in AIRE are originally from southern Italy (50.1%), 34.8 per cent from northern Italy, and 15.6 per cent from the central regions. Interestingly, new registrations in 2016 came mainly from two northern regions Lombardy (23,000), and Veneto (11,600), followed by Sicily (11500), Latium (11,100) and Piedmont (9,000).

The population of Italians abroad is increasingly young. The number of Italian citizens born abroad increased from 1,818,158 in 2015 to 1,956,311 in 2017. Individuals below 18 years of age represent 15 per cent of all Italians abroad. Moreover, individuals between 18 and 34 years of age represent 39 per cent of the 104 thousand new registrations in 2016.⁵

Italian emigrants incorporate in foreign labour markets at all skill levels, with the occupational span ranging from low-skilled jobs in the service sector of Northern European economies, to highly skilled employment in various fields (e.g. science, academia, multinational companies and high-level research). Over the past ten years more than 32 thousand professionals from Italy had their qualifications recognized in another EU single market country (EU plus Norway, Switzerland and Ireland), with health professionals (doctors and nurses) being the most mobile among all (EC's Regulated Professions database, 2017).

¹ Italian citizens residing abroad for less than 12 months, seasonal workers, and employees of the Italian government and of Armed Forces deployed abroad are not registered in AIRE. Moreover, although the registration is mandatory for all Italian citizens who establish their residence abroad, many Italians are reluctant to register with national authorities when living abroad to avoid losing benefits in Italy, notably health coverage. Therefore, most experts agree on the fact that official figures underestimate the scale of Italian emigration.

² It is estimated that around 30 million Italians left the country between 1860 and 1985 (Baldi and Cagiano de Azevedo, 1999).

³ Data from the registry of residence permits (Ministry of Interior) reveal some 206,866 foreigners not yet registered in the administrative registry (Anagrafe). This would result in a total of 5.36 million migrants regularly residing in Italy in 2016 (IDOS, 2017).

⁴ EU-15: Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, the Netherlands and United Kingdom.

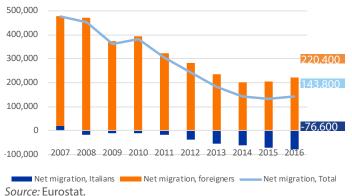
⁵ According to IDOS (2017), the number of new emigrants in 2016 could have reached up to 285-300 thousand if one adds to AIRE registrations the figures provided by the statistical authorities of some preferred destination countries (e.g. Germany and the United Kingdom). As an example, the number of Italians receiving social security benefits in the UK in 2016 doubled the number of those registered with AIRE (see here).



The decision to migrate involves more and more 'nuclear families' with children (20% of the new registrations in 2016, of which 12.9% with children under age 10), or 'enlarged' families with relatives above age 65 joining the family (5.2% of new registrations), signalling an increase in stabilization of Italians abroad. The group between 50 and 64 years old are almost one tenth of new registrations, likely to be represented by long-term unemployed, yet active members of the population.

Overall, Italy's net migration (inflows minus outflows of both Italians and foreigners) is positive but declining over the last ten years. As shown in Fig. 4, the net migration of Italians started to be negative (more outflows than inflows) in 2008, with an increasing number of nationals officially residing abroad since then (dark blue bars), while net immigration of foreigners was positive (orange bars) but declining since 2007, despite the significant mixed migration flows from North Africa and the Middle East.⁶

Fig.4: Net migration of Italians and foreigners to Italy, 2007-2016.



Migration and development: within and beyond Italy

A major area of interest related to migration's transnational dimensions, is the relationship between migration and development. The latter has conventionally been conceived as unilateral, emphasizing its economic dimensions, with optimistic approaches focusing on migrants' contributions to economic growth (e.g. in terms of financial remittances, investments, skills transfers); and pessimistic views stressing its negative impacts (e.g. in terms of 'brain drain', or remittances' use for 'consumption'). IOM understands migration as inherent to larger processes of social change, and the relationship between migration and development as reciprocal: migration has impacts on sectoral policy goals, and the latter have impacts on migration decisions, conditions and consequences. Along these lines the next sections explore two dimensions often discussed in the migration and development debates: migrants' entrepreneurship and financial remittances.

<u>Migrants' entrepreneurship in Italy</u>

Migration is often portrayed as a driver of economic development, especially in the Global South⁷. However, migrants' contribution to the dynamism of the economies of the Global North is increasingly recognized. For instance, migrant entrepreneurship is increasingly addressed in policies related to intra-EU mobility of workers, as well as third-country nationals' integration in European labour markets.

Seemingly, there is consensus on the important role of small and medium enterprises as a source of employment in the European Union (EU) after the 2008 economic and financial crisis. The European Commission's *Entrepreneurship 2020 Action Plan* (2013) recognizes for the first time the value and potential of migrant entrepreneurship, and urges all Member States to identify appropriate measures to enhance it. The Plan recommends Member States to develop policies to attract new foreign entrepreneurs, and to promote the activities of migrants already established in Europe (e.g. through programs and policies to address migrants' vulnerabilities and disadvantages in terms of regulations and markets, skills, access to credit).

Diasporas and productive investments: IOM's *B.A.S.E.* **project**

With the aim of contributing to the empowerment of the Senegalese diaspora in Italy, IOM supported the establishment of the Bureaud'AppuiauxSénégaldel'Extérieur (B.A.S.E.), in close collaboration with the City of Milan and the Senegalese Embassy in Italy. The office supports those members of the Senegalese diaspora in Italy who are interested in investing in Senegal. The office acts as a bridge between potential and actual Senegalese entrepreneurs, agencies and organizations registered with the Senegalese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and offers information and technical assistance to plan investments, and facilitate remittances at reduced costs (read more here).

Data from the Eurostat's Labour Force Surveys allow to draw a general picture of migrant entrepreneurship in Europe: at the end of 2016 there were around 32.7 million entrepreneurs and autonomous workers, 6.7 per cent of whom were foreigners (with a slight prevalence of EU nationals). In this framework, Italy is the first country by number of small enterprises (15.5% of all self-employed individuals of the EU);

⁶ See <u>IOM Italy Briefing 02</u> (2017) for more on this issue. On drivers of Southern European migration are discussed by Bartolini et al. (2016).

⁷ Many policies that address migrant entrepreneurship promote it as means to address the 'root causes' of migration and/or guarantee migrants' sustainable return and reintegration in the countries of origin.

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the third most important country by number of foreign entrepreneurs (14% of the EU total); and the first country by number of non-EU entrepreneurs (73% of foreign entrepreneurs in Italy are third-country nationals). While migrant entrepreneurs who work autonomously in Italy increase steadily, those who employ workers are decreasing (19.5% in Italy, lower than the EU average of 25%), suggesting the need for supporting plans to enhance the solidity and capacity of migrant entrepreneurs.

Migrant entrepreneurship in Italy maintained a sustained pace of growth even during the economic crisis⁸ (Fondazione Moressa 2017; IDOS 2017). Presumably, migrant self-employment constituted a strategy to cope with growing unemployment and the associated risk of losing regular status due to the crisis. Many new entrepreneurs opened a business in sectors where they had been previously employed, providing services to their past employer as sub-contractors.

While firms managed by Italian workers stagnated (-0.1% in 2016), migrant firms kept growing (+25.8% in the last five years, +3.7% between 2015 and 2016). At the end of 2016, there were more than 571,255 migrant firms, which represent almost a tenth of all firms in the country. However, migrant firms experience a high turnover – which is a sign of the precariousness of these activities – and the prevalence of individual companies (79.3% of the total, 453,185), which entail lower costs and exposure to risk than firms with dependent workers.

The range of sectors of activity reflects the high heterogeneity of migrants' entrepreneurial activities. The wholesale and retail trade sector represent 35% of all migrant firms, from regulated street and market vendors, to small shops and super-markets; followed by the service sector (22%) and construction (21%).

Migrant entrepreneurs and self-employed individuals tend to concentrate in specific sectors of activity by nationality. Two of the most representative entrepreneurial communities in Italy, Moroccans and Chinese, tend to be characterized by a strong presence of autonomous workers and to concentrate in specific sectors (72% of Moroccan entrepreneurs concentrate in trade, while 38% and 34% of Chinese are in trade and manufacturing, respectively, as shown in Fig. 5). Other top countries of origin of migrant entrepreneurs are Romania (9.5%), Albania (6.1%), Switzerland (5.4%) and Bangladesh (5.3%).9

Likewise, there is a clear pattern in the distribution of migrant entrepreneurs across Italy. Three-quarters of all foreign-born entrepreneurs are concentrated in central-northern regions (77.4% versus 65.8% of entrepreneurs born in Italy).

⁸ See Sacchetto and Vianello (2016) for a discussion on the different coping strategies of Romanians and Moroccans in Italy in the aftermath of the economic crisis.

Tab. 1: Number of migrant firms by sector, 2016.

Sectors	Migrant firms	Migrant firms (%)	Share on total firms (%)	2015- 2016 variation (%)
Wholesale & retail trade	237,155	35.2	12.6	2.9
Services	146,668	21.7	6.4	4.5
Construction	142,646	21.1	14.1	1.1
Accommodation & food service activities	64,914	9.6	11	3.6
Manufacturing	63,858	9.5	7.3	2.3
Agriculture	19,782	2.9	2.2	5.5
Total	675,292	100	9	2.9

Tab. 2: Added value produced by migrant firms by sector, 2016.

Sectors	Added value (million €)	Added value (%)	Share on total firms (%)	2015- 2016 variation (%)
Wholesale & retail trade	22,162	21.7	13.2	8.7
Services	43,277	42.4	4.7	4.2
Construction	11,068	10.8	15.8	-0.2
Accommodation & food service activities	5,686	5.6	10.6	8.2
Manufacturing	19,199	18.8	8.1	9.1
Agriculture	666	0.7	2	11.3
Total	102,058	100	6.9	5.8

Source: Fondazione Moressa (2017, p.112 e 116).

Half of all migrant firms (51%) are registered in just four regions - Lombardy, Latium, Tuscany and Emilia Romagna – where migrant firms represent between 10 and 13 per cent of the total registered firms. The metropolitan areas of Rome and Milan, the areas of Naples, Reggio Calabria and Palermo are those with the highest rates of growth of migrant enterprises.

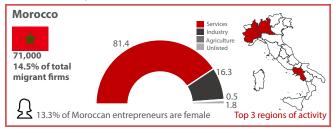
Tab. 3: Distribution of migrant firms by region and share of migrant firms on total firms, 2016.

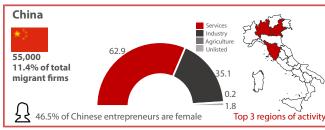
on total firms, 2016.		
Migrant firms	Share by region (%)	Share of total firms (%)
Lombardy	19.3	11.5
Latium	13	11.5
Tuscany	9.4	12.9
Emilia Romagna	8.8	10.9
Veneto	8.3	9.7
Italy	100	9.4
	Lombardy Latium Tuscany Emilia Romagna	Migrant firms Share by region (%) Lombardy 19.3 Latium 13 Tuscany 9.4 Emilia Romagna 8.8 Veneto 8.3

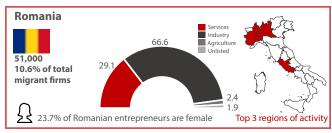
Source: Fondazione Moressa (2017, p.112-113).

⁹ The number of Bangladeshi registered firms has increased by four times since 2008, especially in trade and services to businesses.

Fig. 5: Migrant entrepreneurship: top 3 national groups by number of firms, 2016.







Source: adaptation of IDOS (2017), data from CNA/Info Camere.

Migrant entrepreneurs frequently resort to self-financing and opt for activities that do not require large start-up investments, as a strategy to cope with limited access to credit. This implies that their activities may remain at the margins of the economic system and may not represent an effective means neither of socio-economic integration, nor of creation of decent work. As such, the state continues to play a key role in ensuring access to services and equal opportunities to all citizens, including those who wish to start an entrepreneurial activity.

Despite its significant economic value, both in terms of employment creation and economic added value in all sectors and regions (6.9% of the total added value, 102 billion euro in 2016), migrant entrepreneurship is still perceived as a marginal phenomenon and it is not yet fully acknowledged in national, regional and local public initiatives that could contribute to enhancing migrant entrepreneurs' organizational, financial, technological and relational integration in the Italian production system.

IOM and migrant entrepreneurship: *MigraVenture* project

Launched in 2015, the <u>MigraVenture</u> project aims at capitalizing on migrants' competencies and enhancing their role as entrepreneurs and potential agents of transnational development in line with the 2030 Agenda. The initiative, implemented by IOM Italy in partnership with Etimos Foundation in 2015-2017, targets African entrepreneurs, or potential entrepreneurs, based in Italy, interested in starting a business in their countries of origin.

The project has offered training and individualized coaching to 41 migrant entrepreneurs. With a total investment of more than 460,000 euros, MigraVenture has facilitated access to risk capital for ten business ideas to be realized in Cameroon (6), Senegal (2), Nigeria (1) and Burkina Faso (1). The projects cover a wide variety of sectors, from agriculture and food production and transformation to sanitation, to cosmetics, to audio-visual communication, to child-care services.

A new Migraventure call will be launched in early 2018 to support entrepreneurs with coaching and co-funding of business ideas.

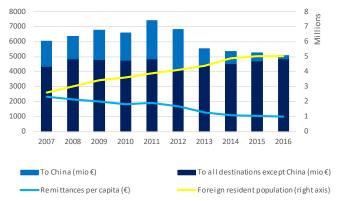
Financial remittances in Italy and beyond

In the dominant migration and development discourse, remittances are portrayed as a tool for financing development, economic growth and poverty alleviation, although some 'myths' underlying this approach have been increasingly clarified (Clemens and McKenzie, 2014; Yansura, 2016).

Remittances are voluntary, private international monetary transfers that migrants make, individually or collectively, to people with whom they maintain close ties. Therefore remittance senders and recipients decide on the use of these private funds. Following a rights-based approach, IOM is concerned with how remittances are earned (e.g. decent work, ethical recruitment), sent (e.g. transparency in service provision) and used (e.g. as complementary income for recipients, rather than as a major tool for financing development).

Along these lines, a first observation regarding remittances to and from Italy, concerns the great variation in the type, logic and means of these transactions, which makes it difficult to accurately estimate inflows or outflows from any given country (Alvarez, et al., 2015). In addition, while information on remittances received by so-called 'developing countries' is widely disseminated; little attention is devoted to remittances' impacts on the economies of 'developed' countries.

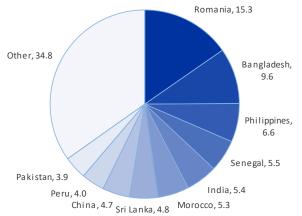
Fig. 6: Remittances from Italy to all destinations (million €), foreign resident population in Italy and remittances per capita (€), 2007-2016.



Source: Bank of Italy and Istat.

Data on remittances from Italy (by foreign and Italian residents)¹⁰ are, by definition, underestimated.¹¹ Despite data-related deficiencies, the volume of officially recorded remittances from Italy was estimated at 5.07 billion euro in 2016 (0.3% of the Italian GDP the same year).¹² Almost half (48%) of remittance outflows originate from only three Italian regions: Lombardy, Lazio and Tuscany.

Fig. 7: Remittances from Italy, share by country of destination (%) – top 10 countries and others, 2016.



Source: Bank of Italy.

¹⁰ The Bank of Italy's estimates are based on current balance of payments accounts. Since 2005, the Bank adopted a system for acquiring detailed data directly from money transfers operators. Refinements to this data collection system were introduced in the first quarter of 2016, making available disaggregated data by country of destination on a quarterly basis, and by Italian sending province on an annual basis. Nevertheless, these data cover only money transfers made through official intermediaries (banks, post offices, money transfer operators).

¹¹ The European Commission estimates that around one third of remittances from Europe is not registered, especially those transfers between neighboring countries for which cash transfers are more common (e.g. between Spain and Morocco, Italy and Romania, Greece and Albania).

¹² The maximum peak of outflows was recorded in 2011: 7.4 billion euro (0.5% of the GDP that year) according to the Bank of Italy.

Italy is the third most important country by volume of financial outflows in Europe, after France and Spain (Oddo et al., 2016).

Except for remittances to China, which decreased by 90 per cent since 2011, and by 57 per cent only in the past year, remittances to other countries have gradually increased. In 2016, remittances from Italy to Romania were estimated at 777.1 billion euros; at 486.6 billion euros to Bangladesh, and 334.9 billion euros to the Philippines (Bank of Italy, 2017). Bangladeshi nationals sent the highest estimated amount of annual remittances per capita (€4,096), followed by nationals of Senegal (€2,842), Sri Lanka (€2,393) and the Philippines (€2,019).13 Improved methods that distinguish between private remittances and commercial flows (relevant for Chinese family-owned enterprises), and changes in the composition of the migration population in Italy affect remittance trends: family reunification, for example, may alter migrants' family obligations to provide for economic support to relatives or other persons in the country of origin (Bartolini, 2015).

Italy also receives financial transfers, both from Italians and from foreigners residing abroad who keep family and other social or economic ties in the country (with Italian and foreign residents). Despite methodological challenges,¹⁴ remittances to Italy have seemingly grown steadily over the past years, and are comparable in size to remittance outflows, when estimated with the same methodology.¹⁵

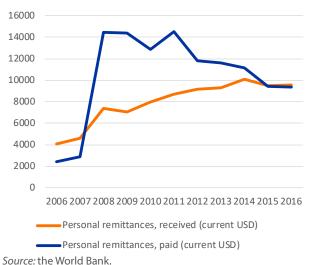
In 2016 remittances sent from Italy were estimated at 9.4 billion USD, while remittances received by Italy were estimated at 9.5 billion USD (World Bank, 2017), revealing that remittances received by Italy significantly contribute to the country's welfare, even in times of crisis (+27% since 2008, when the economic and financial crisis began).

¹³ Estimates elaborated on the assumption that all nationals residing in Italy send remittances.

¹⁴ The World Bank defines personal remittances as composed by "personal transfers" and "compensation of employees", two items that are recorded in the balance of payments. Personal transfers include all current transfers in cash or in kind between resident and non-resident individuals, independent of the source of income of the sender (irrespective of whether the sender receives income from labour, entrepreneurial or property income, social benefits, and any other types of transfers; or disposes assets) and the relationship between the households (irrespective of whether they are related or unrelated individuals). Compensation of employees refers to the income of border, seasonal, and other short-term workers who are employed in an economy where they are not resident, and of residents employed by non-resident entities.

¹⁵The only currently available source of data to compare remittance inflows and outflows from any given country is the World Bank's global remittances database. The World Bank and the Bank of Italy use different definitions and methods, and therefore, estimates from both institutions are not comparable. Estimates from the World Bank here reported reported are in US dollars and were not converted into euros, as this would bias the information.

Fig. 8: Personal remittances to and from Italy, 2006-2016 (million current USD), 2006-2016.



Migration, integration, development

Beyond the economic dimension, the reciprocal relationship between migration and development needs to be always contextualized, which makes diffult to isolate single factors and effects. The mutual impacts of migration and development depend on the structural conditions of the contexts in which migrants participate, including whether these contexts are enabling for migrants to fulfil their potential and lead the lives they value. This tends to happen when migrants have secured a strong status in the societies they belong to, and can participate in social, economic and political processes conducive to their engagement in transnational activities which produce value for themselves and for the societies they bridge.

Over the past years, Italian authorities have promoted migrants' empowerment, acknowledging not only their agency and role in development processes in the countries of origin, but also the need to enhance their participation in the social, economic, political and cultural life of the Italian society, as well as their organizational capacity. Migrants'role in contributing to sustainable development was officially recognized by law in 2014. Since then, a Working Group on Migration and Development has been established within the National Council for Development Cooperation, to serve as a platform for participation, consultation and action, where migrants are represented.

Empowerment of Diasporas: IOM's A.MI.CO **Training Courses**

The project Associazioni Migranti per il Cosviluppo (A.MI.CO.) offers training to migrant associations across Italy, to enhance their capacity to develop and implement small-scale social or economic projects in countries of origin. The trainings are aimed at discussing with participants both theoretical and practical aspects that relate to the associations' organizational capacities, as well as to the development of concrete project ideas.

Between 2011 and 2017, eight editions of A.MI.CO training courses have been held in Rome, Milan, Naples, Bari and Catania with the participation of more than 120 associations with connections with over 40 countries around the world. Some trainees who attended previous editions of the course have been empowered and are now key interlocutors of national institutions concerned with development. In 2017, the training course has been complemented with the A.MI.CO Award, granted to the best project ideas, selected through a competitive process, in order to support their implementation and real contribution to the achievement of Agenda 2030.

A context that recognizes the value of diversity and guarantees access to services and participation in all dimensions of the local life, is more likely to enable migrant-led transnational initiatives that contribute to the welfare of the societies they belong to. It is a virtuous circle in which, the more migrants are part of the social, economic, and political life of the realities they bridge, the more they are aware of structures and conditions that facilitate their organized participation in processes of social change, including opportunities for capacity building and financing to support their transnational engagement.

¹⁶General Rules Governing International Development Cooperation (Legge 125/2014)

¹⁷ With the support of the Italian Agency for Development Cooperation, the Council organized a national diaspora summit on 18 November 2017, with some representatives of migrant communities in the country.

DATA SOURCES

All statistical information presented in this Briefing are taken from the following sources, with the latest available figures (2016 or 2017):

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