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**Working Paper**

## Governing Migration: Immigrant Groups' Strategies in Three Italian Cities - Rome, Naples and Bari

Nota di Lavoro, No. 37.2004

**Provided in Cooperation with:**

Fondazione Eni Enrico Mattei (FEEM)

*Suggested Citation:* Crane, Kristine (2004) : Governing Migration: Immigrant Groups' Strategies in Three Italian Cities - Rome, Naples and Bari, Nota di Lavoro, No. 37.2004, Fondazione Eni Enrico Mattei (FEEM), Milano

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**Governing Migration:  
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in Three Italian Cities  
Rome, Naples and Bari**

Kristine Crane

NOTA DI LAVORO 37.2004

**FEBRUARY 2004**

KTHC – Knowledge, Technology, Human Capital
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# **Governing Migration: Immigrant Groups' Strategies in Three Italian Cities - Rome, Naples and Bari**

## **Summary**

Ethnic networks constitute an important component of immigrants' integration in their host societies. This has been a particularly important strategy in Italy, where institutional assistance for immigrants is often paltry and problematic. This paper examines three ethnic communities in Italy that have been particularly successful in using their ethnic social capital for integrating into Italian society at the city level: the Mauritians in Bari, Filipinos in Rome and Chinese in Naples. Sending countries' policies and programs, as well as the socio-historical context of ethnic relations within the countries has also influenced the patterns of these networks. The psychological or motivational element behind these groups' migration project is also critical to their integration, and is often manifested on a group level.

**Keywords:** Migration, Immigrant, Ethnic group

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Governance may be thought of as an open-ended process whose outcome is neither foreseen nor forced by governments, which use an implicitly top-down approach. Governance processes have been used for immigrants' integration in their host societies, and we discuss how this has taken place as a result of immigrants' own strategies instead of government-directed programs. There are roughly 2,395,000 regular immigrants in Italy, which is 4.2% of its population, only slightly below the European average.<sup>1</sup> In the essay "The Italian Case, Employment, Under-employment, Self-employment: Patterns of Integration of Immigrant Workers in Italy", Mauro Magatti and Fabio Quassoli note the particular importance of immigrants' own ethnic networks in economic integration strategies, particularly in the context of what they call rather negligent Italian institutions and private associations in immigrants' integration.<sup>2</sup> This paper discusses and compares three ethnic groups in Italy that have been particularly successful in negotiating their presence in three Italian cities: Mauritians in Bari, Filipinos in Rome, and Chinese in Naples.

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<sup>1</sup> Caritas Diocesana di Roma, Dossier, based on statistics from the Italian Internal Ministry. Press Release, May 13, 2003.

<sup>2</sup> Magatti, Mauro and Quassoli, Fabio. "The Italian Case, Employment, Under-employment, self-employment: patterns of integration of immigrant workers in Italy", paper presented for the first conference of the Thematic Network *Working on the Fringes: Immigrant Businesses, Economic Integration and Informal Practices*: "Migrant networks fundamentally shape migrants' economic strategies. Besides playing a fundamental role in the decision to emigrate, social networks mediate migrants'

## **Mauritians in Bari**

The first group is not very well known, owing to its relatively small size (Mauritians occupy the 31<sup>st</sup> place of all immigrant groups in Italy) and specific concentration in the regions of Lombardy, Sicily and Apuglia. Mauritians began immigrating to Bari at the end of the 1970s, and have had the greatest representation amongst immigrant groups there for several years, topped only slightly in the past three years by Albanians. In the post-war period, Mauritians primarily immigrated to the U.K. and North America. Male immigrants to the former worked in the public commercial sector, demonstrating little initiative towards self-employment and autonomous work. The few women that emigrated worked primarily in health care and social services. In general, they enjoyed a high level of integration in British society, perhaps owing at least in part to their perception of having arrived in a second home, since the island of Mauritius had been under British colonial rule from the nineteenth century until independence in 1968.<sup>3</sup> Mauritian immigrants to France in the 1970s and 1980s had a similar relationship to the host country, as France had colonised the island of Mauritius in the seventeenth century.<sup>4</sup>

Immigration to Italy was supported by private agencies in the Maurizio Islands, but in the second half of the '90s, the government adopted policies to limit this emigration, and governmental institutions took an active role in selecting the emigration candidates and granting visas. As we will see later with the Filipino community, the programs and policies of the sending countries have a critical role in governing migration flows. Indeed, creating networks with the countries of origin, usually through bi-lateral agreements, is considered to be one of the main components of governing migration. These international relationships, however, are usually incurred to control migration influxes and illegal immigration in particular. For example, the "Self-Governance at the Border" Project studies migratory flows and social transformations in receiving nations through bi-lateral

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interaction with public institutions, the local labour market and local traditions of informal arrangements."

<sup>3</sup> *Intemigra—Progetti Oltre Frontiera: L'Immigrazione nelle Regioni Adriatiche*; Comunità Europea, 2001.

<sup>4</sup> *ibid.*

relationships such as those between Canada and the U.S. and Mexico and the U.S.<sup>5</sup>

Mauritians have worked almost exclusively as domestic workers in Italy and have been conspicuously absent in entrepreneurship. Only recently have they started to work in restaurants, leaving the domestic work to the latest arrivals.<sup>6</sup> The demand for domestic work in the labour market has grown significantly over the last several years in Italy, owing to women's increasing participation in the regular labour market and the general crisis of the welfare state that has led to a restructuring of the economy. Mauritians have effectively monopolised this labour sector need, and are recognisably polite, reserved, professional and dependable according to their Italian employers.

These characteristics, however much they might have led to stereotyping, are also grounded in the social context of the island of Mauritius, where diverse historically-rooted cultural groups exist in an atmosphere of peaceful multiculturalism wherein these differences are privately maintained and publicly protected.<sup>7</sup> Located in the Indian Ocean along the coast of sub-Saharan Africa, the island was already a crossroads of peoples and cultures before the 17th century French colonisation that would bring many slaves from Africa to the islands. British colonisers effectively maintained the cultural diversity using a pluralistic model that endorsed a separate (but equal) status. The three main groups of origin are Indian, Chinese and Creole, and the main religious groups, Hindu, Islam and Christianity. In other words, Mauritians have been conditioned to live separately but peacefully. In Italy, two ethno-religious groups have distinguished themselves: Hindus and Tamils, with the former representing two-thirds of the population here. For example, in the area of Carbonara in peripheral Bari, a Hindu space within a Catholic institute has constituted the main place of prayer for over ten years for the entire Mauritian community throughout Italy, who come from Catania, Palermo and even Milan for the most important holidays. The autochthonous population has also taken part in festivities such as the *Diwali*, the festival of lights.

The pluralistic model of the British colonisers is said to have conferred a strong

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<sup>5</sup> See Eurogov web site, Links.

<sup>6</sup> *ibid.*

sense of individualism on Mauritians,<sup>8</sup> expressed by their highly competitive nature. Indeed in Italy, they have been shown to compete with each other for better jobs, a competitive drive that has been helpful rather than harmful in terms of their productivity as well as the affirmation of their identities. In this way, their success is measured against that of their compatriots, and so their point of reference remains their own community.

This point of reference is also manifested by Mauritians' perception of immigration as a short or medium-term economically motivated project, since the overall objective is to return to the island of Mauritius, which is also the case with Filipinos as we will see later on. Therefore, it could be said that psychologically, these two groups invest little of own their identities—both group and individual—in the host country. And indeed this psychological or motivational element on the part of immigrants has been recognised as ultimately more influential than explicit policies in determining the outcome of the immigration experience. For example, a European research project on the self-employment activities of women and minorities in six European countries, which aimed to assess the impact of policies aiming to promote self-employment amongst members of these groups, found that women's motives for opening their own businesses—such as the desire to liberate themselves from traditional and rigid family contexts characteristic of some immigrant communities—are usually more influential in their choice to initiate autonomous activities than policies that promote their business activities, whose effective implementation is often stifled by bureaucratic obstacles such as the inability to take out loans.<sup>9</sup> Indeed, psychological motivations have influenced the integration of the Somalian community in Italy: Women have integrated much more than men, particularly in the labour market (mainly domestic work) since it is considered less humiliating for them to work at jobs below their skill level than it would be for men, who normally remain unemployed, frustrated and isolated in Italian society.

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<sup>7</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> See Eurogov: Ethnic minority and migrant modes of social participation project, European Commission, DG Research. Project web site: [www.eurogov.it](http://www.eurogov.it), SEWM project.

### **Filipinos in Rome**

The Filipino community in Rome resembles the Mauritian community in Bari in the sense that it has taken over the labour market sector of domestic work. There are over 60,000 Filipinos in Italy, an estimated 25,000 of them in Rome, and roughly two-thirds of this population is female.

Filipinos first began coming to Rome at the beginning of the 1970s, as a consequence of economic hardship incurred by the repression of the Ferdinand Marcos government, and particularly the Martial Law of 1972.<sup>10</sup> During the Marcos government, which lasted until 1986, the recruitment system helped ease the situation of unemployment in the country, and positively influenced the country's economy with remittances. Emigration continued to be encouraged in the successive Corizan Aquino government with the proliferation of numerous intermediary agencies, as well as in the Fidel Ramos government, when the figure of the (temporary) "overseas contract worker" was regarded as a national hero.<sup>11</sup> Therefore, Filipinos have to some extent been socialised not only to accept migration as perhaps the only chance improve their economic status, but to actively choose it as part of a process of upward mobility. The Philippines is second only to Mexico as a sending country of emigrants.<sup>12</sup> Many have gone to the U.S. and Canada, countries in the Middle East and Europe, where Italy is the preferred destination followed by Spain.

Recruitment agreements between the Italian and Filipino government initially regulated migration, with an important intermediary role having been played by the Catholic Church. There are 39 associations of Filipino immigrants in Rome that are supported by the Catholic Church, and the churches are gathering places for the community itself, thereby representing a space for the ethnic network. Churches have

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<sup>10</sup> Lodigiani, Rosangela. "Il caso filippino" in *L'integrazione Subalterna: Peruviani, Eritrei e Filippini nel mercato del lavoro milanese*, a cura di M. Ambrosini, R. Lodigiani, S. Zandrini, Fondazione Cariplo—I.S.MU. Milano, 1995.

<sup>11</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>12</sup> *ibid.*

also been important as meeting places for employers and potential workers.<sup>13</sup> Indeed, one explanation invoked for Filipinos' relative absence in entrepreneurship regards the "theory of disadvantage" which posits the choice of entrepreneurship as a last resort for immigrants who have been unable to find other employment. Filipinos, with the support of both the Catholic Church and their own ethnic communities, have been quickly absorbed into a labour market sector, making it unnecessary for them to seek out riskier ventures.<sup>14</sup>

Research suggests that Filipinos' involvement with the Catholic Church has paralleled, or in many cases, surpassed that of Italians, but the Church has not necessarily acted as a meeting place for Italians and Filipinos.<sup>15</sup> Furthermore, Filipinos' contact with Italians has essentially remained limited to employment. Filipinos constitute the most well-liked immigrant group in Italy, as they are perceived as being polite and dependable. This more or less corresponds to what representatives of the Filipino community say about the group: The Labour Councillor of the Filipino Embassy here said that the average Filipino domestic worker is a "jack of all trades," willing to cover many tasks with little protest.

The fact that Filipinos are so flexible on the labour market is also a reflection of the fact that like the Mauritians in Bari, they regard their immigration experience as being temporary, even if this often changes following immigration. This makes it easier for them to accept low-status jobs without feeling as if they have lost their identities, as their thoughts are mainly on what kind of future they will be constructing for themselves and their families—perhaps even young children left behind—back in the Philippines.

Another Italian institution where Filipinos are represented is CGIL, the largest trade union in Italy, which opened an office for consultation in Manila. But most other cultural organisations are based on the ethnic network. A radio station, the *K.P. Radio Kaibigan Pinoy*, airs every Friday and provides information on necessary documents and other necessary information for Filipino immigrants.

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<sup>13</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>14</sup> *ibid.*

These ethnic networks are based on family and friendship ties, and have cultural, psychological and practical functions in the sense that they confer identity on immigrants in a strange land, providing solidarity and material needs. These informal groups do not, however, have a homogenising effect on the ethnic community. The internal diversity reflecting the ethnic composition of the countries of origin persists insofar as they reflect salient divisions in the host countries. Refugees, for example, usually harbour antagonistic feelings for an enemy ethnic group in their country: Hutus and Tutsis who fled Burundi during the civil war remain divided in Italy. This fragmentation constitutes an obstacle in these groups' ability to engage in dialogue with local or national officials. About a year ago, a group of Somalians tried to get support for a plan of action for Somalia with the support of the Italian government, but the divisions between them made the effort obsolete. There are about two hundred mosques and prayer rooms in Italy, and Muslim immigration is increasing in Italy, but internal fragmentation of Muslims is often invoked as an explanation for their inability to gain official recognition with the state.

So ethnic networks ease integration in the host society on one level. At the same time, they are also the outward manifestation of the fact that the point of reference for these immigrants remains the country of origin insofar as it is where they affirm their identities and measure their success. This can also ultimately ease their integration in the host society, but where the influence of countries of origin persists to the point of incomprehensibility and incommunicability on the part of host country institutions, the process of governing migration is stifled.

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<sup>15</sup> *ibid.*

### **Chinese in Naples**

The third group that we examine differs from the first two in that its economic activity has been primarily characterised by entrepreneurship and “ethnic hording” of a sector, in this case textiles.

Italy has a particularly high percentage of self-employed middle and lower class workers since the lack of large structures often reduces the opportunities for those with a medium to high educational level to make professional progress. Entrepreneurial activities in Italy are subject to strict social and institutional rules; furthermore, Italy continues to be distinguished by the formal and socio-economic obstacles that immigrants meet on their path towards becoming business owners.<sup>16</sup> These circumstances have limited the representation of immigrants in entrepreneurial activities, even though there has been an 18% growth of foreign entrepreneurs in Milan between April 1999 and April 2000, namely in commercial activities. Nearly one-third of all immigrant groups are owned by Chinese and Egyptian citizens, two of the oldest national immigrant communities.<sup>17</sup>

The Chinese community is the most long-standing immigrant group engaged in entrepreneurial activities in Italy. The Chinese began arriving in Northern cities—namely Milan and Turin—in the early twentieth century. The first Chinese businesses consisted of workshops for working silk and the production of neckties, while the first self-employed individuals were street-sellers of neckties. This migratory group was exclusively made up of males, and the labour force was Italian, as were the purchasers of the end product and the suppliers of the raw materials and machinery required for the work. This particularly activity was interrupted by the German invasion in 1943, and

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<sup>16</sup> Magatti, Mauro and Fabio Quassoli, “The Italian Case: Socio-economic Characteristics of Immigrant Businesses in Italy.” Paper prepared for the Second Conference of the Thematic Network *Working on the Fringes: Immigrant Businesses, Economic Integration and Informal Practices*, Jerusalem conference, June 18-20, 2000.

<sup>17</sup> *ibid.*

progressively substituted by leatherwork.<sup>18</sup>

Recognisable “ethnic businesses” (restaurants and supermarkets) emerged in the 1970s, and were managed by prominent members of the Chinese community in Italy who had acquired wealth as wholesalers in the production and sale of leather products. They perceived the opening of restaurants as an economic opportunity as well as one to promote the community culturally. Many of the entrepreneurial activities developed into a self-sufficient ethnic business model, which was based on both the local Chinese community as well as increasingly close trade relationships with China. The Chinese have also benefited from a peculiar normative framework since the mid-1980s, which effectively suspended the rule of reciprocity for Chinese citizens. The reciprocity rule states that foreigners opening businesses in Italy receive residency permits as self-employed persons only if Italian citizens are granted the same right in the foreigners’ countries of origin. In 1987, a bilateral agreement between the Italian and Chinese governments allowed Chinese immigrants to receive a residency permit and regularise their position as self-employed persons, one of the few cases of non-EU citizens living in Italy who are legally allowed to start a business in both the service and industrial sectors. As a consequence, many of the informal Chinese businesses began emerging from the shadow economy where they had remained for many years, offering the Chinese a favourable institutional environment in which to develop their activities.<sup>19</sup>

Chinese immigrants began coming to the Naples area (San Giuseppe Vesuviano) at the beginning of the 1980s, opening up a network of restaurants, and they were immediately recognised as capable entrepreneurs. The second influx of Chinese immigrants in the area occurred in the 1990s and was concentrated in the textile industry. Even if the Tuscan town of Prato is most well known for the concentration of Chinese immigrants in this sector, and indeed reports the greatest overall numbers, this Naples area has experienced the highest rate of growth: Between 1996 and 2000, the Chinese population increased from 53 to 568 people. Collaborative agreements between the two

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<sup>18</sup> Magatti, Mauro and Fabio Quassoli, “The Italian Case: Socio-economic characteristics of immigrant businesses in Italy,”; paper prepared for the Second Conference of the Thematic Network *Working on the Fringes: Immigrant Businesses, Economic Integration and Informal Practices*, Jerusalem, June 18.20, 2000.

<sup>19</sup> *ibid.*

cities with regard to the experience of the Chinese have focused on the need to evaluate the experiences of the respective communities—indeed, to study the “good practices” and tools for the development of the respective territories. Their economic integration—and effective overtaking of the textile industry, with a growth of import/export activity, also favoured acceptance on the part of the local community. A stereotype developed, however, which tagged the Chinese as the “invisible community” given the community’s insularity. This is often contradicted by their visibility as well as their gradual participation in public life with festivities such as the Chinese New Year, along with streets that begin to bear signs of a developing “Chinatown.”

These immigrants come from the portal city of Wenzhou, and are known for being able merchants in textiles who work according to a system of mutual assistance based on privileges.<sup>20</sup> The social networks are often characterised by unequal or ambiguous relationships that often come under suspect by local authorities in host countries. For example, the Chinese community has been accused of using child labour in exploitative conditions. Workers are often indebted to their employers—in other words, they must work a few years essentially for free in order to pay the price of their migration. The December 2000 Human Trafficking Report of the Anti-Mafia Commission cited a considerable increase in the number of Chinese arrested for aiding illegal immigration as well as an increase in the number of illegal Chinese immigrants in Italy. It has been reported that sometimes, immigrants’ relatives in China have been threatened to pay ransom.<sup>21</sup>

The success of the Chinese community near Naples has even been attributed to suspected relations between the Chinese Mafia and local Mafia.<sup>22</sup> Many of these accusations have remained unfounded, however, and the community has been subject to cultural misinterpretation since it is characteristically insular and also expresses what

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<sup>20</sup> *Il caso della comunità cinesi: comunicazione interculturale ed istituzionale*, Ceccagno, Armando: Roma, 1997.

<sup>21</sup> Crane, Kristine, “A Paper for Chinese Immigrants Brings Italy to an Isolated Group: The Staff of ‘Il Tempo Europa Cina’ Tries to Ease the Assimilation Process” in *Italy Daily of The International Herald Tribune*, July 3, 2001.

<sup>22</sup> Anti-Mafia Commission first semester analysis, 2002. Although the Interior Ministry’s report on criminality from 2000 raises the issue of the links between the growth of the Chinese immigrant population and the local Mafia, the Camorra, the Anti-Mafia Commission reports that there are no definitive links.

Maurizio Ambrosini calls “particular solidarity,” which is manifested in regular immigrants’ favouring the arrival and insertion of irregular compatriots in the same labour market sector, often under less favourable conditions.<sup>23</sup> This is based on a system of “guarantees” which rests on the sacrifices of ethnic networks, which are justified by the familial or friendship obligations implicit to the networks.<sup>24</sup> The values that characterise the community include the perception of the family as the primary unit of economic competition, along with values such as parsimony, loyalty and a hard-work ethic.<sup>25</sup> Once debts have been paid to compatriots, many Chinese find themselves at a crossroads: to continue to work independently, or as a dependent of an Italian employee, or else to start-up their own business, usually without a license and hence in conditions of irregularity. Research has shown that most prefer the latter, since entrepreneurship is the main objective of the Chinese immigration project.<sup>26</sup>

In the essay “Chain Migration and Opportunity Hoarding,” Charles Tilly distinguishes exploitation and the reproduction of organisation models from “opportunity hoarding,” which occurs when “members of a categorically-bounded network acquire access to a resource that is valuable, renewable, subject to monopoly, supportive of network activities, and enhanced by the network’s modus operandi, then exclude others from use of that resource.”<sup>27</sup> He applies this model to the Italian-American community in Mamaroneck, New York, who effectively took over the landscaping business at the turn of the century, sequestering this sector—and information regarding it—for arriving Italian immigrants. This solved an immediate employment problem for these Italian immigrants (from *Ciocaria*), and also created a set of social ties, reinforcing Italian identity as a basis for those ties: “By sequestering technical knowledge, ties to wealthy households and institutions, reputations for good work, and access to capital within an

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<sup>23</sup> Ambrosini, Maurizio, “L’Immigrazione dei servizi tra azione della domanda, tendenze evolutive ed esigenze di promozione” in *L’Integrazione Subalterna: Peruviani, Eritrei e Filippini nel mercato del lavoro milanese*, edited by M. Ambrosini, Fondazione Cariplo—I.S.MU., Milano, 1995.

<sup>24</sup> Zandrini, Sara, “Economia informale e comunità etnica,” in *Lavorare nell’Ombra: L’inserimento degli immigrati nell’economia informale*, edited by Maurizio Ambrosini, Fondazione Cariplo I.S. MU., 1997.

<sup>25</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>26</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>27</sup> Tilly, Charles, “Chain Migration and Opportunity Hoarding”, in *Governance of Cultural Diversity*, edited by Janina W. Dacyl and Charles Westin, CEIFO Publications, Stockholm, 2000.

ethnically-defined network, they have fashioned a classic immigrant niche.”<sup>28</sup> Furthermore, these networks help identify immigrant groups according to what they are *not*: “Frequent interaction in a highly concentrated niche promotes a sense of group identity; if the niche is one of the salient traits that group members share in common it also becomes an interest that helps define who they are. Thus, greater attention is paid to the boundaries that define the niche, and the characteristics of those who can and cannot cross those boundaries. Just as the niche helps identify ‘we-ness,’ it also serves as a mechanism for defining whom we are not.”<sup>29</sup> This becomes particularly important in contexts where certain immigrant groups are stigmatised.

Ethnic networks can be an obstacle for carrying out policy objectives, since social networks may provide information channels that replace or overlap with official ones. Of course, this is not always the case. The bi-weekly Chinese language newspaper *Il Tempo Europa Cina* (the second most important newspaper for Chinese immigrants in Europe), which is published in Rome, has eased the integration process for the community. The newspaper includes international news, focusing on that from China (from the “New China” agency), as well as information and ads on import-export stores along with hundreds of shops and restaurants in Italy.<sup>30</sup>

Indeed, ethnic networks and hoarded ethnic niches can have several positive effects on the migration experience as well, especially if governed correctly, as Tilly writes: “If hoarded niches yield relatively equal rewards, if exits from those niches occur on relatively equal terms, and if barriers exist against conversion of niches into devices for exploitation of others, chain migration and its complementary opportunity hoarding can, over the long run, actually promote the equalisation of opportunity, the mutual aid of migrants, and the productivity of migrant-occupied niches. Instead of seeking to stamp it out, an egalitarian policy should intervene in chain migration to produce just such

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<sup>28</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>29</sup> *ibid.* Cited reference is Waldinger, R. *Still the Promised City? African-Americans and New immigrants in New York, 1940-1990*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996.

<sup>30</sup> Crane, Kristine, “A Paper for Chinese Immigrants Brings Italy to an Isolated Group: The Staff of ‘Il Tempo Europa Cina’ Tries to Ease the Assimilation Process” in *Italy Daily* in *The International Herald Tribune*, July 3, 2001.

outcomes.”<sup>31</sup>

A study of informal business activities of the Chinese in the U.S. illustrates that this community has been particularly successful precisely because of its use of “class or cultural resources,” which include cultural values, kinship and education.<sup>32</sup> According to this study, over 80% of the Chinese firms in the San Francisco Bay area are family-owned and operated, and accordingly, the initial capital was received, not from banks, but from family savings. Business failure is often due to family problems. Ultimately, however, immigrant enterprises must work under two sets of pressure, and immigrant entrepreneurs must meet the needs and learn the techniques of the formal economy. As Bernard Wong writes, “An immigrant entrepreneur, in the true sense of the word, is a culture broker who works under the reinforcement and constraints of two resource structures.”<sup>33</sup>

## **Conclusion**

To sum up what we’ve examined, immigrant groups who have been most successful in governing their immigration experience have relied on strong ethnic networks, which facilitate not only material help, but also exist as a point of reference for immigrants’ sense of identity. Migration schemes in countries of origin or bi-lateral agreements between host and sending countries, as well as the intermediary involvement of organisations such as churches, have also been used as effective governance strategies. These findings can be relevant for policy makers in that they ought to consider the subtle dynamics—in part psychological, in part cultural—in interpreting the immigration phenomenon and devising policies to govern it. Above all, in illustrating the strategies of immigrants themselves, it becomes quite clear involving non-traditional actors in governance processes is essential. Indeed, European research projects on migration have

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<sup>31</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>32</sup> Wong, Bernard, “The Informal Economy Within the Formal Economy: Business Practices in the Enclave Enterprises of the Chinese”. Paper presented at the conference TSER/ESF network, *Working on the Fringes: Immigrant Businesses, Economic Integration and Informal Practices*. Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies, University of Amsterdam, Netherlands, October 7-9, 1999.

<sup>33</sup> *ibid.*

shown that the inclusion of immigrants in the states' general policies and institutions is much more effective in favouring their integration than measures that are targeted at migrants and their children.<sup>34</sup>

Ultimately, immigrants are effective not only in driving (but not forcing) processes of integration, but also in changing the dynamics of the communication between the government and immigrant communities, and thereby ultimately influencing policy-making on issues that directly involve them.

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<sup>34</sup> See Eurogov: Ethnic minority and migrant modes of social participation project, European Commission, DG Research. Project web site: [www.eurogov.it](http://www.eurogov.it) , EFFNATIS Project.

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- (lix) This paper was presented at the ENGIME Workshop on “Mapping Diversity”, Leuven, May 16-17, 2002
- (lx) This paper was presented at the EuroConference on “Auctions and Market Design: Theory, Evidence and Applications”, organised by the Fondazione Eni Enrico Mattei, Milan, September 26-28, 2002
- (lxi) This paper was presented at the Eighth Meeting of the Coalition Theory Network organised by the GREQAM, Aix-en-Provence, France, January 24-25, 2003
- (lxii) This paper was presented at the ENGIME Workshop on “Communication across Cultures in Multicultural Cities”, The Hague, November 7-8, 2002
- (lxiii) This paper was presented at the ENGIME Workshop on “Social dynamics and conflicts in multicultural cities”, Milan, March 20-21, 2003
- (lxiv) This paper was presented at the International Conference on “Theoretical Topics in Ecological Economics”, organised by the Abdus Salam International Centre for Theoretical Physics - ICTP, the Beijer International Institute of Ecological Economics, and Fondazione Eni Enrico Mattei – FEEM Trieste, February 10-21, 2003
- (lxv) This paper was presented at the EuroConference on “Auctions and Market Design: Theory, Evidence and Applications” organised by Fondazione Eni Enrico Mattei and sponsored by the EU, Milan, September 25-27, 2003
- (lxvi) This paper has been presented at the 4th BioEcon Workshop on “Economic Analysis of Policies for Biodiversity Conservation” organised on behalf of the BIOECON Network by Fondazione Eni Enrico Mattei, Venice International University (VIU) and University College London (UCL) , Venice, August 28-29, 2003
- (lxvii) This paper has been presented at the international conference on “Tourism and Sustainable Economic Development – Macro and Micro Economic Issues” jointly organised by CRENoS (Università di Cagliari e Sassari, Italy) and Fondazione Eni Enrico Mattei, and supported by the World Bank, Sardinia, September 19-20, 2003
- (lxviii) This paper was presented at the ENGIME Workshop on “Governance and Policies in Multicultural Cities”, Rome, June 5-6, 2003

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