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**A comparison of Male and Female
Migration Strategies: The cases of
African and Filipino Migrants in Italy**

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1. Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to understand what has been the experience of emigrating to Italy of Filipino women. The experience of Filipino women is compared with that of Senegalese men in order to point out eventual differences of attitude of the two groups towards immigration.

After a rapid discussion of the nature and form of the field research, of the sampling procedures adopted and the limitations of the results obtained, the following questions are considered:

- how the two groups of immigrants differ with regard to some demographic and socio-cultural characteristics which, other than sex, influence the motivations to emigrate and the migration project;
- what the occupational situation is in Italy of immigrants, what role the variable sex plays in the process of selection of the types of work "suitable" for immigrants;
- what impact migration has had on the family situation of immigrant women, what is the role of the family in the migration strategy, what they are and how the prospects differ for family reunion;

- what kinds of intermediary intervene in the emigration process, what role they play and what has been the influence in the decision to emigrate of the presence of members of the family and/or acquaintances already in Italy;

- what are the objectives aimed at by means of emigration and the specific migration projects of Senegalese men and Filipino women;

- what is the impact of migration on the status of the Filipino woman.

2. Nature of the inquiry and sampling procedures

The complexity of the points just mentioned required a vast amount of information that could only be got through specifically oriented field research.

In fact we relied on research not directly aimed at a comparison of the migration strategies of males and females and the study of changes in the status of migrant women. Its objectives were of a more general nature. They concerned the evaluation of the size of the immigration phenomenon, analysis of its fundamental characteristics and prospects for its evolution; the reconstruction of the course followed by immigrants with the aim of clarifying the role of

Italy in their project to emigrate, to verify the relations with the country of origin and to understand by this means the nature of immigration; analysis of the occupational situation of the immigrants and problems of economic and socio-cultural integration that foreign immigration puts on the host society (1).

A lot of the information collected however has been very useful in giving full answers also to the questions treated in this paper.

For aspects more directly relating to change in the condition of the woman produced by migration it has been necessary to augment the data available with indirect information acquired through discussions with selected witnesses.

The research was carried out in some parts of Tuscany (the Florence area and along the coast) and was conducted using a special questionnaire (2) on the most representative ethnic groups in the area: Filipinos, Iranians, Capeverdians, Senegalese, Moroccans, Tunisians.

To compare the different migration strategies of immigrant males and females - which is the specific scope of the paper - the Filipino and Senegalese groups have been chosen. The choice of these two groups is for the following reasons:

- they are strongly characterized by sex. The Senegalese community is almost totally made up of males whereas the Filipino one is almost four out of five female.

- both migrations are for economic reasons.

- both migrations are of a "permanent" nature in the sense that the flows of immigrations are very seldom seasonal or temporary.

- they are among the most numerous communities in Italy.

The carrying out of the inquiry posed two fundamental problems:

1) what sampling procedures to adopt in order to make the samples as representative as possible, limiting the risks of introducing large biases in the results;

2) how to form a relationship with the subjects to be interviewed so as to make their replies to the questionnaire as valid and reliable as possible.

Relative to the first problem it was not possible to follow totally random criteria in the attribution of the unit sample. This was for two main reasons:

the impossibility of compiling a list of unit population not having been able to have access to

the archives of the Minister of Home Affairs (residence permits) or the Registry Office (for residence) (3).

because, even if it had been possible to consult these records, the lists would only have contained the official part of immigration, completely ignoring the large area of irregular and clandestine immigration (4), Consequently the samples extracted would have given a distorted picture and at best would have been representative only of segments, often minority, that make up the emergent component of the phenomenon.

The choice of the unit sample was therefore based on criteria of a subjective nature, based on general knowledge of the populations that we have managed to acquire.

The official sources have enabled us to form quite a reliable picture, both from the point of view of size and some structural characteristics of the sub-populations of the immigrants officially present in the territorial area investigated. The size and structural characteristics of the sub-populations of irregular immigrants have instead when defined by means of information obtained from discussions and interviews with chosen witnesses (with those responsible for associations, with some

leaders of the two groups, with representatives of political, trade union and religious organisations directly involved with problems of welcoming and fitting immigrants into society) (5).

By comparing and integrating the two types of information we have been able to hypothesize the main characteristics of the populations.

The assumptions were then verified by those people who earlier had been contacted as chosen witnesses.

The sampling procedure was that of a reasoned choice by quota: once the sizes of the samples had been fixed, the individuals making them up were assigned on the basis of some control characteristics (age, sex, civil state), in proportions approximately similar to the numbers in the respective populations.

The numbers in the samples were fixed at 70 both for the Filipino and the Senegalese communities. It was not considered useful to extend further the size of the samples because it already appeared clear during the preliminary discussions and even more evident in the course of the inquiry, noticing from the high uniformity of the replies to the questions set in the questionnaire, that both

populations were very homogeneous in the characteristics studied.

If the sampling method adopted does not allow us to evaluate the probable margin of error in the assessment, we can still say that the samples form a reply on a reduced scale of the population they come from and therefore give us a very faithful picture of the structure of the respective populations.

As far as resolving the second problem is concerned, namely how to get in touch with the subjects to interview and make their answers the most valid and reliable possible, one fundamental factor has been the use of highly trained interviewers with extensive personal relationships within the communities. The inclusion among the researchers conducting the field inquiry of a Filipino and a Senegalese, both qualified on a professional level and motivated on a social, cultural level, and strongly integrated into their respective communities, was all-important in getting into contact with the people to be interviewed and establishing a relationship devoid of diffidence and fear.

The creation of a relaxed, confidential atmosphere was, besides, a necessary condition for

increasing to the maximum the degree of reliability of the replies, thus reducing the probability of insincere or evasive replies.

3. Demographic and economic social structure of the two groups of immigrants.

Similarities and differences in the structure of the two groups of immigrants.

Before tackling the central themes of our work, it is good to give some information on how the two groups of immigrants differ in terms of age, level of education, civil status, type of occupation before emigrating and whether of urban or rural origin.

By examining tables 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 one can see:

- the structure by age is strongly unbalanced in both groups towards the youngest classes of active age.

The balance, however, is more marked among Senegalese immigrants, where less than 7% are over 35 years of age, against 28% of the Filipinos.

- very little difference appears in the structure according to civil status with a strong prevalence in both groups of unmarried people.

- very different instead are the two groups as far as the level of education is concerned. The Filipino immigrants have largely reached high levels of instruction (70% have spent more than 13 years at school and 13% more than (6). On the contrary, almost half of the Senegalese immigrants have achieved only a process of reading and writing through the Koranic School i.e. by religious teaching got in most cases within the family of origin. The number of illiterate people, given their young age, is by no means negligible.

- connected with the level of education is the work and professional status before expatriation. Among the Senegalese immigrants almost 3/4 of them left their country either without work (21%) or employed in marginal activities and at low wages in the agricultural sector (34%) and in being itinerant salesmen (17%). Filipino immigration is instead connected to a large presence (50%) of people who in their own country had clerical positions and only a small number of people in search of work.

Table I. Structure by age of Filipino and Senegalese immigrants (in percentages).

Age	Filipinos	Senegalese
18-19	2.1	2.1
20-24	17.0	23.4
25-29	35.6	40.4
30-34	17.0	27.7
35 and over	28.3	6.4
	-----	-----
	100.0	100.0

Table 2. Structure by civil status of Filipino and Senegalese immigrants (in percentages).

Civil state	Filipinos	Senegalese
Unmarried	55.3	63.8
Married:	42.6	36.2
with children	29.8	31.9
without child.	12.8	4.3
Widows/widowers	2.1	-
	-----	-----
	100.0	100.0

Table 3. Structure by degree of education of Filipino and Senegalese immigrants (in percentages).

Degree of education	Filipinos	Senegalese
Illiterate	-	4.3
Literate without qualification (Koran School)	-	48.8
State Schools: years of study		
4-8	6.4	29.8
9-12	23.4	4.3
13-15	57.4	12.8
+ 16	12.8	-
	-----	-----
	100.0	100.0

Table 4. Distribution of Filipino and Senegalese immigrants by occupation prior to emigration (in percentages).

Occupational status	Filipinos	Senegalese
Occupied:	71.0	79.0
clerical	50.2	3.5
labouring	8.8	15.5
Self-employed and/or adjuvant	12.0	8.7
itinerant seller	-	17.3
agricultural labourer	-	34.0
in search of occ.	6.3	21.0
no fixed occ.	22.7	-
	-----	-----
	100.0	100.0

Table 5. Distribution of Filipino and Senegalese immigrants by urban or rural origin (in percentages).

Origins	Filipinos	Senegalese
Rural area	2.1	44.7
Small town	80.8	38.3
Big centre	17.1	17.0
	-----	-----
	100.0	100.0

- finally with regard to urban or rural origins, one can see, with all the necessary caution because of the meaning the terms urban/rural can have in such different territorial, socio-cultural context, that the Filipino women come mainly from a type of urban area whereas among the Senegalese men, there is a strong incidence of people coming from villages of rural areas.

It is rather in social and cultural characteristics than in a demographic one, therefore, that significant differences between the group of Filipino women and Senegalese men are met.

The Filipino women reach Italy already accustomed to a type of life and a system of relationships associated with urban environments, with a very high degree of education and cultural level and close to the western model.

The Senegalese men arrive in Italy with low levels of professionalism and little to offer in the host community, with an experience of life lived in rural types of environment with a type of culture far removed from the western one, with a low level of education strongly connected with religious elements.

These profiles that are so different should have as a consequence greater difficulty of

assimilation for Senegalese men, less educated and with a lower capacity for mediation between the culture of origin and that of here and better adaptation by the Filipino women who show strong elements of westernization.

We will see instead that the effects of interaction between the structural characteristics, the migration project, and the conditions imposed by the host society will be better for Senegalese men. They will be able at least to have the prospects of changing their positions of disadvantaged immigrants.

4. Conditions on the labour market.

Immigrants to Italy from the Third World find jobs in the least qualified occupations in the service activities, in seasonal agricultural work, fishing, building and in some branches of industry (foundries, iron and steel industries, metal-mechanical, resins and transformation of food products).

For the most part they occupy the segment of the informal economy or better that part of it that can be defined as hidden economy, which does not elude the market but eludes substantially the state and trade union regulations (Pugliese, 1983).

The marginal, precarious position of immigrants finds its fundamental *raison d'être* in the continuous expansion of their numbers, in the growing diffusion of irregular, hidden situations, especially among those arrived in Italy most recently and in the fact they are really the most unqualified sections of the economy that offers a greater chance of work (Calvanese, Pugliese, 1989).

In the developed countries, evolution of demand for work creates an ever stronger distortion among a growing number of precarious and low qualified jobs offered mainly in the services sector and a much lower number of qualified posts in sectors connected with modern technology (Piore, 1979).

The current phase no longer corresponds to an extension of the demand that would open up residual employment to foreign immigrants. This system was typical of the expansion areas of the 1950's and 60's when the workers of importing countries of manpower achieved a social rise, entering more qualified jobs and moving towards the tertiary sector, leaving the least qualified posts for the immigrants. (Castles, Kosack, 1983).

Rather than an expansion of demand we are at present forced with modification of its characteristics, which translates itself into an

increase of jobs "labelled" for immigrants. However they do not occupy now jobs left free by local workers but accept working conditions which the local workers avoid because they are below the guaranteed minimums, not secure, have no possibility of professional improvement or wages considered acceptable related to the current level of social and civil development (Mingione, 1985; Pugliese, 1985).

In this context, what is the specific connotation of female work?

The woman whatever area she comes from is segregated into the role of a servant with a family. Among those occupied in Tuscany according to law 943, 85% has this type of position (Tab. 6).

Table 6. Incidence of domestic servants in families among women emigrated from the Third World into Tuscany, working according to law no. 943/87 (in percentages).

Geographic area	Servants	Others	Total
Asia	90.0	10.0	100.0
Africa South of the Sahara	92.0	8.0	100.0
Central/South America	74.3	25.7	100.0
North Africa	53.0	47.0	100.0
Total	85.2	14.8	100.0

Source Provincial Offices for Labour and Full Occupation in Tuscany

The demands of the work leave out of consideration different degrees of professionalism, different levels of education, experience or culture.

If this fact is because also in the presence of a great mass of qualified female Italian labour force without an occupation nevertheless it is really a 'model' that sex eliminates all the variables of the labour market and that the immigrant, given that she is a woman, is used for these activities that the host society considers 'naturally' suited to the female sex.

The immigrant woman satisfies the demand for work that comes not from the productive system but from families and therefore is linked more to the process of the redistribution of income than that of producing income.

But who are the families that express this demand? They are selected families from the middle bourgeoisie that rediscover in the domestic labour of an immigrant a function for women that is now obsolete in Italian female culture but one that is still of great use for the organisation of family life.

The non-availability on the part of Italian female workers is not because of the type of work

in itself (even if it is one of the least acceptable) as the conditions and the way it is carried out.

To be "a domestic help for all work" means in fact that the immigrant woman is at the beck and call of the family she works for, 24 hours out of 24. And this happens because the work contract seems almost more oriented to controlling the free time of the workers rather than the work time, leaving ample leeway to the provider of the work to use the work time as he thinks best, in the space of the entire day. Thus he can buy, paying the equivalent only of the working hours, the entire living time of the woman.

Reference to Filipino immigrants helps us to understand why immigrant women accept these conditions of work even when they have a very high level of education and an appreciable level of professionalism and how they live their working experience.

For the Filipino woman, immigration has brought a complete loss of professionalism. This does not constitute a transitory fact, namely limited to the initial period of her stay in Italy but takes on the aspects of a lasting event given the complete absence of socio-professional mobility that

relegates the Filipino work force always and in any case to the role of a servant.

But how do immigrant Filipino women accept this worsening of their professional status?

If we consider that over 60% declared themselves satisfied with their work we can say that the majority do not give much importance to the loss of professionalism that migration has produced. Even more so of the remaining 40% that expressed dissatisfaction only half of them gave as their main reason "the inadequacy of acceptance of their own professional qualification or the non-recognition of their qualification".

This indifference to the loss of professionalism should be relooked at in the light of the replies the immigrants give as to why they undertake this type of work. Now the large majority (68% of the total) indicate among their reasons the lack of other work opportunities and/or the achievement in any case of an income much higher than what could be got in the country of origin.

The certainty already before leaving of having a post 'booked' in the new country, with a salary far superior to that of the work activity lost when leaving the country of origin, the coincidence between the place of work and the place of living

that lightens the costs of maintenance and gives the possibility to save enough for remittances regularly to the country of origin, are the main factors that explain the advantages on the part of the female supply to accept the conditions placed by the demand of work.

Certain data support the points reported. Over 40% of the Filipino women interviewed had a signed work contract before leaving or had had assurances of one and a further 44% found work as soon as they reached our country. Then the fact that over 4/5 of those interviewed live at work and 3/4 of them say they are satisfied with their living conditions; that almost 80% expressed satisfaction at their level of earnings and that finally 85% of those interviewed transfer money regularly to their families in their country of origin, all this gives an indication of the total of the advantages that the Filipino labour force manages to find in activity that because their conditions for carrying out the work are avoided by the local work force.

From an examination of these points one can draw up the picture of a woman that does not hesitate in emigrating to sacrifice her own skills and professional qualities to the need for getting immediately the financial means for raising her own

level of consumption and that of members of her family remaining back home.

If the loss of professionalism is compensated for by having greater economic and financial resources, the costs of this change would seem heavy. The tempo of life, obsessively dictated by the work level, is reduced to few short periods available for freedom. This greatly impedes the capacity and possibility for integration of immigrants into the host society, opposite whom even after by no means short periods of stay, they remain almost extraneous.

The situation of segregation on the labour market, the homologation between sex and work activity appear less evident in male immigration.

If also for males the 'rule' is the placing in marginal jobs with a low professional profile, the exceptions are always more numerous. In some ethnic groups, especially in those where there is a greater presence of educated people, as for example the Iranians (7), examples of socio-professional movement have been achieved that a not negligible number of immigrants, after some years of stay in Italy, have allowed great progress in the work situation and sometimes a re-assumption of the

professionalism lost at the time of abandoning the country of origin.

But also for an ethnic group like the Senegalese where low levels of qualification and education prevail and where there is very little professionalism and qualifications potentially useable on the host labour market, phenomena of occupational differentiation and processes of transition can be seen from one job to another that become stronger with an increase in the length of stay.

In our sample about 1/4 of the Senegalese has 'given up' the activity of itinerant salesman that he originally did in Italy and has taken up a job of the craft or industrial type as an employee.

Considering the status in their home country characterized as has been seen by a preponderance of people unoccupied and seasonal agricultural labourers it seems that immigration into Italy has not only produced for the Senegalese a general improvement in their economic conditions out for some of them has given the opportunity to insert themselves, even if in an irregular and precarious form, into the process of professional qualification.

However the economic conditions of life for the Senegalese are worse than those experienced by the Filipinos. Also if they do have an income not lower than the Filipinos they do not get the benefit of that integration of earnings in real terms that comes from the availability, at no cost, of board and lodging.

The lower capacity for earning results for the Senegalese in a lower possibility for making regular transfer of money (80% declared they had never made such remittances or to have made them only rarely or on and off against 85% of the Filipinos who instead, as we have seen, said they make regular remittances to members of their family back home).

But economic help to the family of origin is one of the main objectives that both groups of immigrants intend to achieve by emigration. A good 80% of Filipino women and over 70% of Senegalese men indicated among their reasons for moving the sending of money to members of third families in their homeland. It is therefore no surprise then that over 3/4 of the Senegalese (compared to 1/5 of the Filipinos) declare themselves to be completely dissatisfied with their current earnings.

Faced with the situation of insufficiency or uncertainty of the sources of income, the Senegalese immigrant does not however remain passive. He reacts by looking again for a more stable or more remunerative job or demanding greater security in carrying out his work as an itinerant salesman. Doing so he becomes visible and not only from the colour of his skin to the society where he has arrived. His questions require answers. Dialectics represent the premise by a process of interaction with the host society, if not the way to a process of integration.

5. Migration and the role of the family.

In migration together with individual reasons family strategies interact in the sense that by some of its members emigrating the family tends to achieve general objectives of development such as improving living standards both on the economic and social plane (L. Ling, 1988).

We are not able to show clearly the influence the family has had on the decision to emigrate and on the emigration project however by queries about the civil status of the immigrants, about children and other members of the family left at home, on the number and role of relatives already present in

Italy at the moment of emigration, on prospects of reuniting the family we are able to evaluate links between emigration and family factors.

Emigration of Filipino women is essentially emigration of unmarried people. At the moment of expatriation over 2/3 of Filipinos at present in Italy were not married.

The family of origin of the migrant is a large family with an average of 5.6 children. It is a family greatly affected by emigration: of the 5 children, 2 are abroad.

The unavailability of partners of the same nationality because of the great imbalance between the sexes of the population emigrating from the Philippines on the one hand and the nature of the work done which hinders the development of relationship with the local population on the other, have made it so that only a small number (18%) of Filipino women who arrived in Italy unmarried have later married. And this is so notwithstanding that women at the time of expatriation had an average age of 24 years an age at which the propensity to marriage is high and the average length of stay in Italy is already sufficiently long (approx. 5 years).

Because of emigration the Filipino woman risks, therefore, finding herself on the definitive path of remaining single or of postponing for a long time the role of being married and of limiting the possibilities of having children to the last, least productive years of her own child-bearing life. All the more so that the expressed intention about the length of stay in our country is to stay a long time and at least for a period of not less than 4 years.

Observing the Filipino women who at the moment of leaving their country were married (32%), it is revealed that 87% emigrated alone leaving behind a husband and children.

Emigration has therefore brought them an interruption in the functions of wife and mother. A break that has been overcome only in the smallest part, if we consider that after an average stay in Italy of almost 6 years still over 60% of immigrants have in the country of origin both a husband and children (on average 4 per woman). And that when the process of family reunion has been started it involved the husband rather than the children (23% against 15%) but in no case both.

This lower preference for the children can be attributed to the type of work undertaken which can

be reconciled with difficulty to the presence and upbringing of little children. It is not by chance that scarcely one third of Filipino women who have got married in Italy have had children and that the phenomenon is frequent of repatriation and the assignment to the family of origin of children born in Italy (in our sample this has been verified in 30% of the cases).

The role of the family in the migration process is very strong. The family assigns to emigration its youngest members to obtain remittances of money and to raise its standard of living. And when the one to emigrate is a married woman it is the family increased in size that takes on the looking after of the children and the husband.

But the role of the family is not finished with the creation back home of the conditions to "liberate the labour force". It, we will see later, intervenes in the transfer movement, in the choice of country of destination in creating conditions for welcoming the migrant during her stay abroad.

Once arrived in Italy the Filipino woman either unmarried or married, is inserted into a network of relations which is at the time itself an instrument for inserting her into the host society, a means of

lessening the feeling of separation from the family of origin and a means of social control.

This network of relatives with its possibilities for influence on and control of the woman can be seen as a type of propagation in the new country of the family of origin. And just how widespread this family protection is can be seen from the fact that little less than 60% of Filipino women share with uncles and aunts, nephews and cousins not only where they live but also their free time, their friendships and their social relationships.

But what are the prospects for Filipino women to be reunited with their families?

The reply to this question cannot be unambiguous because the prospects are a function of the different type of separation produced by the fact of emigrating.

The majority of married women think of unification hoping it can take place in Italy. In fact 2/3 will call to Italy the husband and/or the children as soon as they possibly can.

For the others the project of reunion with their own family will take place in their country of origin. This latter strategy has been chosen by those women that have particular family situations

in the Philippines (disagreements with their husband that induced them to leave their country, and grown-up children who have already created their own family nucleus.).

The urge to be reunited with their families is also felt by a good percentage (38%) of unmarried women. For them the intention to be reunited with their families expressed not only the aspiration of reconstructing in Italy part of their original family but also the projection on to their brothers and sisters who remained behind of an experience of emigrating lived as something positive and of an evaluation likewise positive of the host society.

Finally it should not cause surprise that all the women who arrived unmarried and who later married their co-nationals and therefore already are with their family in Italy have absolutely no intention of being reunited with other Filipino relatives.

But what is the role that the family plays with regard to Senegalese immigrants? Is it similar to that seen among Filipinos?

Certainly if also for the masculine group the family expects from emigration large economic and social benefits, its interaction with the various phases of the emigration process appears to be much

more limited. Contrary to what was revealed among Filipino women, married Senegalese have not achieved any reunion with their close family (children and wives), all of whom are still in their country of origin. And also reunion with relatives in a collateral line (in particular brothers) is a phenomenon that is not very evident.

However relationships of strong solidarity which have been established among people of the same nationality who try out the same socio-occupational situations in the host country, have created systems of living together in more or less large groups among people who also have in common the area where they come from (rural area, village, town) (8). The inclination for family reunions is, as we shall see, linked to the nature of the emigration project. It should be said that the Africans all have the intention of going back to their country of origin and all of them foresee a rather brief stay in Italy. With this outlook, family reunification loses its meaning.

6. Nature and role of intermediaries.

The nature of Filipino migration, an migration driven by labour supply by Italian families, encourages the intervention of intermediaries in

the various stages of the process of emigration. The possibility of asking to have as domestic help a Filipino worker in the country of origin is in fact formally catered for through the official channels of the Consulate and Embassy.

But even more than official channels, private agencies operate and the family itself plays an active role in mediation. About the role of private intermediation little is known also because of the reticence shown by the very women interviewed. The information collected through chosen witnesses leads one to think that it is a question of organisations that help the emigrant after being well paid, to leave his own country and that sometimes facilitate his insertion into Italy.

If the agencies have a role to make possible the emigration and organize the journey, the capacity and functions of intermediation by the family seem much more extensive.

Members of the family that have already immigrated into Italy furnish not only specific information on the work possibilities and on the living conditions in the country of destination but they often give economic help both for the transfer from the country of origin and for their first settling in, at their destination.

20% of Filipino women have made use of help from members of their family to organize their journey for transfer to Italy (a little less than 60% instead had made recourse to agencies, 10% could count on the intervention of the person offering the work and only 8% did everything alone) (Tab. 7).

Table 7. The journey from country of origin was organised by (in percentages).

	Filipinos	Senegalese
Family members	19.2	14.9
Friends	4.2	2.1
Private agencies	57.5	-
Employers	10.6	-
Alone	8.5	83.0
Total	100.0	100.0

The role of members of the family already present in the country of destination seems important also because it is from them to a large degree, 55% of the cases, the immigrants get specific information judged almost always decisive in the decision to emigrate and in getting financial help.

Finally the function of members of the family as a channel for finding a first job appears to be important. It is through relations that 40% of all Filipino women interviewed managed to get their

first domestic job in families (Tab. 8). This is a type of work which, as we have seen, allows them also to solve the problem of where to live.

Table 8. Through which channels was the first job found in Italy (in percentages).

	Filipinos	Senegalese
International agency	6.7	-
Private agency	26.7	-
Family members	41.1	2.3
Friends/co-nationals	18.9	88.6
Others	6.6	9.1
Total	100.0	100.0

At this point we can say the emigration of Filipino women is one helped at each stage by the family. It is the family that makes the emigrant aware of the possibility of working abroad. Once the decision is taken to emigrate and the family takes on the care of the husband and children left at home and it is always the family, in its most widespread form that allows entry into the labour market.

Contrary to Filipino emigration the Senegal one is a supply migration. Namely there are motivating factors connected with the socio-economic conditions of the country of origin that trigger off the emigration process while the labour demand from the country of destination, up to now seems to

have less weight in directly activating the migration.

In this situation recruitment agencies of manpower do not yet find a reason for existing as happens instead for Filipino women who can from the word go count on a job.

It is not therefore surprising that a good 83% of Senegalese men, compared to scarcely 8% Filipino women, said they had organized on their own the journey to Italy (Tab. 7).

As far as is concerned the intermediation that operates through the network of personal references in the country of destination the lower presence in Italy compared to Filipino women of family members already emigrated makes it so that the Senegalese rely on information from friends and fellow-countrymen.

In spite of the information being often very general and in any case never accompanied by economic help, this has however been decisive for the Senegalese in the choice of Italy as a country to migrate to.

But once they have arrived in Italy also the Senegalese can count on a network of solidarity which is founded, if not on family relatives, on relationships of friendship or simply that they are

fellow-countrymen. And it is actually through this channel that almost 9/10 of the Senegalese interviewed said they had found their first job (usually as an itinerant salesman). (Tab 8).

It is to be pointed out however that as the process already started of absorbing Senegalese immigrants into occupations in the industrial sector develops, the more it is probable that recruitment offices can begin to operate to quickly satisfy the specific needs of the labour demand. On the other hand it is not to be excluded that a network of intermediaries - operating illegally - is already superimposed on the work carried out formally as itinerant salesmen, which still constitutes the most important outlet for immigrants.

7. Migration projects and the impact of immigration on the host society.

Taking up again some points already considered, let us now delineate more precisely the objectives and specific emigration projects of the two groups and try to evaluate the different impact the two emigrations have on the host country.

Since they are both migrations of an economic nature, the objective that links them is that of

obtaining or increasing the earning capacity of the migrant. But this objective is a function of two different migration projects. If immediately the getting of economic resources ends up both for the Filipinos and the Senegalese with making remittances home, the final objective is different. The Senegalese immigrant aims at accumulating capital of dimensions such that he can honourably return to his own country. Capital that can be used in craft and commercial activity on a family basis inserted into the non-institutional area of the economy - the area that seems to constitute the most dynamic nucleus in the economic systems in developing countries. For the unmarried immigrant the resources accumulated can serve also to achieve some more personal objectives such as to pay the dowry to the family of his future bride and/or to acquire a home which are indispensable conditions for marriage.

The Senegalese migrant asks the host country not only for earnings but also the development of his professional capacities. 2/3 of the Senegalese say they are available to attend courses of professional education and in particular those that offer qualifications (mechanics, builders,

electricians, joiners, plumbers) that could be used to good purpose in their country of origin.

The Senegalese migration project is one with the final aim of reinsertion, in the best conditions, in the country of origin. The estimated length of the emigration is short, no immigrant expresses for now the intention of staying long in Italy and consequently no immigrant thinks of being rejoined here with his own family members.

If the impact with the host society does not radically change the emigration project, Senegalese immigration seems destined to remain, at least for some years, an emigration of an individual migration.

On the contrary Filipino women do not consider migration as a temporary event, namely destined to end with a return more or less set at a future date to their country.

The migration project of Filipino women is centred on acquiring the best capacities for participating in the model of western life. A model already conceived in their country of origin. But the possibility of trying it out is precluded in their homeland because of low levels of earning and we can think that the conflict between resources and needs is felt in a particularly acute way among

women with a higher level of education and a higher professional profile. But the acquisition of a western life style can only be achieved so long as their stay in Italy lasts. Filipino women, as we have seen, lose their professionalism by emigrating. They have no intention of converting their qualification to a more sought after one in Italy (64% declared they did not want to attend any course of professional education. Besides the continual remittances and the spending of these remittances on consumer goods reduces a lot their capacity to accumulate capital. Emigration therefore does not create conditions for reinsertion in better conditions into Filipino society.

There are then two ways in which the woman can extend to her own family members, to whom as we have seen she is very closely linked, the benefits of her migration experience. If she is married, she will call to her, her own family members to make them take part in these new living conditions. If she is unmarried and, as the answers obtained by us have indicated, she tries through migration not only for an increase in her own earnings but also an adventure of an existential type she will continue for a long time after arrival in Italy

always and with regularity to be for her family an "income pooling".

But what is the impact on the host community of an immigration that has these characteristics?

In this phase of immigration Filipino women pose no problems for Italian society. Because they:

- do a typically female job, outside the productive system, avoided by the local work force. They are therefore absolutely non-competitive on the labour market, they thus satisfy a demand from families that would otherwise remain unsatisfied.

- they are not in competition with the local population in the demand for housing and social services for infants.

- they live for the most part of their time within the family they are working for and many problems connected to interaction with the host society are solved by the family itself.

All this makes the Filipino woman invisible to Italian society.

This explains why Italian society does not seem to pose itself particular problems by the presence of Filipino women who constitute one of the most numerous ethnic groups (perhaps the most numerous of all), as it does instead daily in the case of Senegalese immigration.

If on this different attitude certainly weighs a presumed competitiveness on the labour market from Senegalese men one cannot however exclude that the Filipino immigrant in so far as she is a woman is looked on by the host society as a less important figure, less disturbing less threatening by the loss of her cultural identity.

What could then be suggestions for an effective migration policy towards these two groups of immigrants?

The project of repatriation should be encouraged for the Senegalese, helping them to develop a professionalism that could be used in their country of origin, inserting thus in a correct way the immigration policy in a policy of international co-operation.

For Filipino women, starting from considerations that the heavy sacrifices they suffer (moving away from the family, loss of professionalism) cannot be tolerated for long, it would be a question of setting in motion a policy tending to favour the reunion of families and to effect a process of integration into Italian society in respect of the rhythms of adjustment and cultural models of the immigrations.

The more family reunions take place will specific requests for social services (housing, infant care) be made, but they will create conditions for breaking the ghetto effect of job opportunity.

The passage of the situation from "invisibility" to that of "presence" of Filipino women, which indeed our society must promote, might create conflicting situations and friction. The effectiveness of immigration and social policies will be really verified by its capacity to foresee and resolve these conflicts.

8. Impact of migration on the status of the immigrant woman.

Study of the changes in the condition of the woman brought about by migration should be based ideally on a comparison of the status before and after emigration (L. Ling, 1988). However it is a question of a quite simple operation because the same terms of comparison are difficult to identify. On one hand the appreciation of the immigrant woman of her position relative to the man in the family and in the socio-economic, political and cultural context of origin is strongly conditioned by the experience that comes from migration and the

capacity to absorb the customs of the host society. On the other hand, in evaluating the situation she is actually experiencing, the woman who has emigrated probably tends to compare herself with the conditions of the women in her surroundings where she lives rather than make a balance between the advantages and disadvantages of emigration on her own position, in terms of more or less freedom from the control of men, rights and obligations compared to those of the men in the family and in the society of origin.

As mentioned in Section 2 of our inquiry these aspects have been investigated from information collected from discussions with selected witnesses (9). If this type of information does not allow the making of inferences of a strictly probabilistic nature, the authoritativeness of the people interviewed, the wide awareness of the phenomenon and the high level of competence that they showed, induce us to maintain that the assumptions made and the evaluations formulated are however trustworthy.

Since the position of the women in the family can influence differently the various dimensions of the change of status, it is useful to consider separately the category of married Filipino women who have moved leaving behind their own husbands,

from that of single women who emigrate "autonomously" (L. Ling, 1988).

An interesting question posed with reference to the first category of immigrant women is if the migration has produced, if not exactly an overturning at least a minor asymmetry of the roles between wife and husband. After all, the Filipino woman, make the sacrifice of migration, has become the principal if not the only source of maintenance for the family.

But has this 'objective' change of her position also produced a change in her status as a woman? On the economic level have her ability and possibility to control the economic financial resources increased? Politically and socially have the capacity and power to take decisions increased and has her prestige gone up in terms of respect and regard accorded to a woman? Finally in the normative sense has the idea the woman has of herself changed, namely the way she "perceives, understands, accepts, condemns and fights against her subjection as a woman both within the family and society?" (MoroKvasic. M. 1988) (10).

In general the answers to these questions are in the negative. The married Filipino woman - also after periods of absence from her country of origin

that are not short - continues to perceive the fact of emigration as part of a family strategy tending to increase the well-being and to satisfy the needs of consumption of each component and altogether the whole of the family nucleus. After all it is the family that has chosen her as the one to emigrate and it is the family that in her absence provides for the upbringing and care of her children. From her the family expects to receive remittances and waits for her to manage to create, in the host country, the conditions for the reunion with husband and other family members.

The physical separation, induced by emigration, does not in any way reduce the family ties, in fact it cements the force of cohesion. The success of the Filipino woman is the success of the whole family group; the failure is the failure of the whole family.

Emigration imposes on the Filipino woman the renunciation to directly exercise the role of mother and wife. But paradoxically it is actually to be a 'better' mother and wife that she has emigrated. This explains why no Filipino woman although aware of being the main breadwinner lays claim to greater autonomy and power of decision in relation to her husband and also to her parents.

And when a family reunion takes place the husband, after arrival in Italy, returns immediately to playing fully the role of head of the family subjecting the wife to his protection and his guidance. By virtue of her sex the Filipino woman accepts her condition as natural and unchangeable.

The new social surroundings seem to have little influence on her status. Italian society certainly gives greater prestige and consideration to women than her society of origin. But the Filipino woman is little exposed to new social and behavioural patterns. The entreaties, suggestions and opportunities for emancipation that the socio-cultural surroundings offer her have little bearing on her.

The work of a servant done by her in private homes tends to isolate her socially and culturally. The linguistic barrier constitutes another factor of isolation (11) and does certainly not represent an opening towards the host society spending all her time exclusively among her fellow country-women (12). The group, in fact, repropose the regulations, the schemes of the society of origin, exalts the values of docility, resignation, acquiescence of the woman, the naturalness of her condition of dependence opposite the man. She is

stigmatized, suggesting it a sin, any attitude of emulating the Italian woman, especially towards sexual liberalization and emancipation from the man.

If resistance towards opening up to the values of the host society can have a logic of its own in the prospect of reunion of the family in Italy, unmarried immigrants should show themselves more interested in observing the emancipatory customs of the host society and to liberate themselves from traditional authority.

Especially when they consider Italy as the definitive arrival point of their emigration, they should realize with greater intensity the need to integrate into the surroundings they live in. At least if they have as an objective that of creating a family in Italy and of improving their social and working conditions.

This tension shows itself, as seen from the numerous discussions with selected witnesses, in the majority of still unmarried Filipino women. But the desire for emancipation conflicts with the desire to be recognized and appreciated as Filipinos within the group of co-nationals. The group, and through the group the family of origin, judges behaviour deviating from traditional

customs. It creates internal conflicts and thus slows down the process of female emancipation.

According to the words of one immigrant the Filipino woman "finds herself squeezed between two walls the one that she does not manage to climb, represents emancipation and insertion into the host society, the other, from which she has already climbed down, represents tradition".

NOTES

- 1/ For a more detailed analysis of the aim of the research see L. Lecchini, "On some interpretative hypotheses of the role of international immigration and the aims of our research", in O. Barsotti (edited by), The foreign presence in Italy. The Tuscan Case, F. Angeli, Milan 1988.
- 2/ The division of the questionnaire is thematic. The first information regards structural characteristics, either demographic (sex, age, civil status) or socio-professional (degree of education, languages known, position in the profession, (sector of economic activity and condition non-professional). The structural data were collected according to variable 'time'. This allows one to go back wards the structural transformations that took place. The structural data are supported on one hand by information regarding place of residence and living conditions of foreigners in Italy, with a view to evaluate demand for particular social services, and on the other by a series of questions about the socio-professional situation, with a view to evaluate the economic compatibility of the supply of labour with the demand and supply for national labour. The successive themes regard the degree of integration and future intentions of the immigrants.
- The questionnaire is reported integrally in Appendix III of the volume edited by O. Barsotti, The foreign presence in Italy, op. cit.
- 3/ The residence permits and registry registrations (of residence) represent two up-to-date and important sources for showing foreigners officially present. Other official sources that can be referred to in Italy to evaluate the size and some structural characteristics of the part officially present are the following:
- Population census.
 - Data on non-independent workers in non-agricultural sectors, INPS.
 - Data on foreign workers, Ministry of Labour and Social Security.
 - Entrance visas, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
 - Foreign students, Ministry of State Education.
- 4/ The official sources register only the tip of a population formed for the most part of irregular and clandestine components that are extremely mobile and evasive. The most recent data on residence permits show an official presence of foreigners in 1988 of 645,000 people. However of these not more than 300,000 come from Third World countries.
- In fact one can estimate that for every legal presence there are at least three illegal. The global figure should be about 1,200,000 people. In relative terms immigrants

from the Third World in Italy would not touch the threshold of 2% of the entire Italian population. Not a negligible amount but still very far from that in other European countries with an older tradition of immigration.

- 5/ It can be considered that in Italy the Filipino community amounts to 120,000 and the Senegalese to 20-30,000. In the area investigated the number of Filipinos is about 2,500 and of Senegalese 1,000.
- 6/ The law 943/86 entitled "Rules for the placing and treating of immigrant outside Common Market workers and against clandestine immigration". The regulation rules can be for the most part united under the following headings a) regularization of work situations in course and those pre-27-1-87 (date of the law being in force); b) placing and treatment of immigrant outside Common Market workers and their families; c) programming work and discipline of new people entering. Given the poor effectiveness of law 943 (those who have regularised themselves according to the meaning of the above-mentioned law are little more than 100,000) recently has been passed a decree with the force of law (D.P.R. no. 416 of 30/12/89) which arranges an amendment for those from outside the Common Market that entered Italy before December 1, 1989 and that within 120 days make their application; disciplines new entrants into Italy of immigrants from outside the Common Market, establishes that the Ministries of Labour, Foreign Affairs and Finance fix year by year the maximum number of workers Italy can accept; extends the status of refugee to all those that are persecuted in their own country. Thus the so-called geographical reservation is dropped that recognized the right to asylum only to citizens from Eastern Europe; establishes that people from outside the Common Market, even if unemployed, can obtain medical care like any other Italian citizen.
- 7/ See on this point O. Barsotti, "Field Inquiry: the position on the labour market", in O. Barsotti (edited by), The foreign presence in Italy, op. cit.
- 8/ A good 90% of Senegalese interviewed said they lived with other co-nationals, sharing the expenses of lodging.
- 9/ We contacted Filipino women involved in Trade Union and political activities at a national level, leaders of the Filipino community, private and religious organisations that work in the field of immigration from the Third World.
- 10/ The quotation is reported in L. Ling 1989. For a thorough analysis of the impact of immigration on the various dimensions of the status of the immigrant woman we refer you to this essay.
- 11/ It is to be noted, that about 3/4 of the Filipino women interviewed said they knew little or scarcely adequately

the Italian language. However they do not show any particular desire to improve their linguistics knowledge. Only 1/5 said she was prepared to attend Italian courses. This low propensity to attend Italian language courses is determined by the type of linguistic need required from a servant whose vocabulary does not need to be very wide, being used in general also a knowledge of the Italian language limited to the use of a few words, those that allow them to carry out the necessary functions of their own job. It is not by chance, furthermore, that 4/5 of the women interviewed said they speak Italian only during work.

- 12/ Scarcely 1/4 of the Filipino women interviewed said they met, in their free time, Italians or other foreign immigrants. 75% therefore pass their free time exclusively with their co-nationals. Thus isolation of the work surroundings associates itself with a kind of group segregation.