Just a matter of time?
The ways children of immigrants become similar (or not) to Italians

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In this paper, we study similarities between children of foreign parents and those of Italian parents using data from the Itagen2, a survey of a large sample of students aged 11-13 (10 thousand Italians and 10 thousand foreigners) enrolled in Italian junior high schools in 2006. We measure three different aspects of similarity (linguistic abilities, friendship with peers, and sense of belonging in Italy) and investigate the determinants of similarity using multivariate techniques. Results underline the significant relation between, one the one hand, similarity, and, on the other hand, age at immigration and the family's socio-economic condition. We also observe considerable differences by country of origin. Generally speaking, our results suggest that the Italian social context is favourable to a rapid assimilation on the part of children of foreign origin to the tastes and ideals of young Italians, although there remain important differences linked above all to family conditions, country of origin, and scholastic performance.

Keywords: Italian immigration, second generation, insertion, similarity, comparative analysis

1. Introduction

During the 1980s and 1990s, Italy, along with other countries in Southern Europe (mainly Spain and Greece) changed from a country characterized by emigration to a destination area for migratory flows (Cangiano and Strozza 2008; Gabrielli et al. 2007a; King et al. 2000; Raymer and Willekens 2007; Salt 2004). During the first decade of the new century, the foreign population living in Italy took on new characteristics. Family migration, family reunions and a growing number of births from foreign parent(s) resulted in a rapid increase in the presence of children of immigrants (Mencarini et al. 2009). This phenomenon represents a challenging issue in contemporary Italy (and a number of other developed countries) not only for

the school system, but also for larger society. Research on the children of immigrants in Italy has, however, a relatively brief history given the recentness of this social phenomenon (Ambrosini and Molina 2004; Mencarini et al. 2009; Silvestrini 2008).

Over the course of the 2005-06 school year, a multi-center research group coordinated by G. Dalla-Zuanna carried out the Itagen2 survey on a national sample of children aged 11-13. The data gathered provide a statistically sufficient basis for research, as described by Barban and Dalla-Zuanna (2010) and, in greater detail, by Barban and White (2011) in their statistical appendix. Using this dataset, Barban and White demonstrated that the scholastic achievements of young foreigners – especially those who have only recently arrived – are much less satisfactory than their Italian counterparts, even when controlling for a number of individual and familial characteristics (e.g. parents' level of education, number of siblings, etc.). The same authors also demonstrate that among those foreigners with good and excellent scholastic results, very few follow ambitious scholastic paths, choosing instead vocational schools which preclude access to university degrees and, in turn, more prestigious and better paid jobs. Considerable scholastic difficulties experienced by young foreigners living in Italy have also been highlighted by Mussino and Strozza (2011) through use of the Itagen2 and official statistics. The problematic issue of school performance on the part of children of foreigners is not new in Italy, but is reminiscent of the challenges faced by second generation southern Italians inhabiting the industrialized northwestern regions of Italy thirty years ago (Impicciatore and Dalla-Zuanna 2006).

Studies conducted thus far using the Itagen2 data focus above all on the difficult relationship between immigrants and schooling, a relevant and urgent issue for the development of appropriate political policies. That said, the survey is much richer, allowing for the construction of a multi-faceted

picture of children in immigrants in Italy (Casacchia et al. 2008; Dalla-Zuanna et al. 2009; Mencarini et al. 2009). In this paper we endeavor to measure the similarities/differences between children of Italians and children of foreigners, with specific regard to three important aspects in the construction of identity: linguistic abilities, friendships with peers, sense of belonging in Italy. We aim to answer to the following questions. According to these three dimensions, are young children of foreigners similar or different with respect to young Italians? Do similarities increase along with the timing of migration? Does the degree of similarity change with individual characteristics (e.g. social class, parents' or foreign parent's country of origin, family structure, etc.)? The Itagen2 survey is particularly suited for this type of comparison in that in addition to the 10,554 interviewed foreign students, 10,150 Italians were also interviewed, all attending the same junior high schools.

This paper builds upon the already existent extensive literature on the welfare of children of immigrants; indeed many researchers have sought to assess the determinants of immigrant children's social success or – on the contrary – their drift towards poverty, social marginality, and even criminal behaviour. The most common theoretical approach employed in such studies is *segmented assimilation theory* (Portes 1996; Portes and Rumbaut 2001; Portes and Zhou 1993; Rumbaut 1994 and 1997; Zhou 1997). Research has also highlighted less unilateral mechanisms such as integration or exclusion (Berry 2001; Crul and Vermeulen 2003; EFFNATIS Project 2001; TIES Project 2004). There exist two common key determinant factors in different types of assimilation, integration and exclusion: the family's social capital and origins, and teenagers' acquisition of human capital in childhood or adolescence (Glick and White 2004; Portes and Rumbaut 2001; Zhou 1997). In turn, these determinant factors depend on other elements, above all income, parents' social class, children's age of arrival in the host

society, and the potential for immigrant social mobility – both for youth and adults – within a given context.

Given the young age at interview, the Itagen2 survey data does not allow us to thoroughly investigate types of assimilation, integration or exclusion experienced by children of immigrants in Italy. The children are generally 11-13 years of age, although many foreigners tend to be one or two years older than the class in which they are enrolled (Mussino and Strozza 2011). Consequently, although this article takes into account the theoretical approaches cited above - both in the construction of the questionnaire and the selection of explanatory and response variables - our objective is somewhat less ambitious. However, given the almost complete lack of studies on these fundamental aspects of the lives of young children of foreigners, the descriptive and explorative approach adopted in this paper seems both useful and timely.

In the next section, we briefly describe the sharp increase in the number of children of immigrants in Italy. In section 3, the principal characteristics of the Itagen2 survey and those of the sample are described. In section 4, we pursue the primary objective of this paper: the measurement of the three above mentioned aspects of similarity, with a focus on the length of students' residence in Italy. In section 5, we share the results of our multivariate analyses, which estimate the determinants of similarity levels, taking into account the role played by country of origin. We conclude by reflecting on a number of political issues relevant to our results.

2. The dramatic increase in the number of children of immigrants in Italy

The number of foreigners aged 0-17 in the Italian Population Registers has greatly increased due to family migrations, family reunions and births. Data

on this last aspect are the most reliable: births from foreign parents increased from 5 thousand in 1992 to around 80 thousand in 2009 (see figure 1). Around 70 per cent of these newborns had parents who were both of foreign origin (Italian law is based on the principle of *jus sanguinis* – children are foreign citizens until they must make a decision on their 18th birthday), 20 per cent had an Italian father and 10 per cent an Italian mother (and thus according to law are Italian citizens). This considerable increase is demonstrated by stock data as well. Foreigners aged 0-17 living in Italy numbered only 59,000 in the Census of October 1991 compared to about 934,000 in the Population Register at the beginning of 2010, i.e. an increase from 0.6 per cent to 9.1 per cent of the population of the same age living in Italy. In the same period, youth aged 0-17 constituted 22 per cent of the (legal) foreign population. Children of immigrants living in Italy come from a number of different countries, a characteristic that sets Italy apart from most other European countries and is due to Italy's lack of a significant colonial history and geographical position. In early 2006 (the most recent available data), no country exceeded 20 per cent in terms of the total number of foreigners aged 17 or younger, indeed only Albania and Morocco surpassed 10 per cent (Dalla-Zuanna et al. 2009).

The presence of foreigners in Italy is also characterized by a notable difference between the Centre-North (18 per cent of the population aged 0-17 in 2010) and the South (3 per cent). This is largely due to job opportunities, which are lacking in the South even for natives (Strozza et al. 2009). Foreigners living in the South tend to be concentrated in specific enclaves, whereas in the Centre-North they are spread out relatively homogenously thanks to the localization of the economic system. Only in certain marginal areas of the Centre-North, mainly in the mountains or hills, are foreigners less in number.

<<Figure 1 about here>>

This rapid growth has put pressure on the Italian school system. According to data from the Italian Ministry of Education (Ministero dell'Istruzione, dell'Università e della Ricerca 2007-2010), the number of students with foreign citizenship enrolled in schools across the country (age 6-18, excluding kindergarten and university) has grown remarkably, especially in recent years: 32,000 in the 1992-93 school year (0.3 per cent of the total), more than 500,000 in 2006-07 (5.6 per cent) – the year when data for the Itagen2 were collected – and almost 630,000 in the 2008-09 school year (7.0 per cent). Italian law stipulates that foreign minors are allowed to attend school regardless of their official status (legal or not) and this applies to all grade levels. The school system is almost exclusively public and free of charge and is divided into primary school (ages 6-10, 8.3 per cent foreigners in 2008-9), junior high school (ages 11-13, 8.0 per cent) and high school (ages 14-18, 4.8 per cent). The lower proportion present in high schools is in part due to a relatively high drop-out rate among foreigners compared to native Italians (Barban and White 2011; Mussino and Strozza 2011).

3. The Itagen2 survey and the baseline sample

3.1 The survey

The Itagen2 survey is the first nation-wide extensive survey on children with at least one foreign-born parent, and focuses primarily on the determinants of social insertion. The sample used in this paper consists of 10,554 children with at least one foreign parent ("foreigners") and 10,150 children with parents who are both Italian ("Italians") included as a control

group. Students live in 48 of the 107 Italian provinces and attend 250 junior high schools. The schools were randomly chosen among those with a foreign student body consisting of +10 per cent of the total in six of the Central and Northern regions (Lombardy, Veneto, Emilia-Romagna, Tuscany, Marches and Lazio) and +3 per cent of the total in four of the Southern regions (Campania, Apulia, Calabria and Sicily). While this choice was in part made for practical reasons, the decision was above all driven by the desire to collect data on several phases of the social insertion process. More specifically, in schools with a relatively high presence of immigrants, a considerable proportion of the foreign children were born in Italy (the "second generation"), whereas in schools with a very small proportion of foreign pupils, the large majority of the latter are new arrivals. Moreover, it is possible that the distance between Italians and foreigners is underestimated, as the wealthiest Italian parents may try to enroll their children in private schools attended by very few foreigners. That said, however, private junior high schools are not very common in Italy (5 per cent of junior high schools at the time of the survey) and their presence is concentrated in urban areas.

In each school, three classes were interviewed (one from each level of junior high school) as were all of the foreign students. In schools with more than 60 foreign students, data for a greater number of classes was collected in order to improve the sample of natives. Data was weighted separately for Italians and foreigners, so as to ensure that the frequencies were representative of the two groups. The weights are N_{jF}/n_{jF} (foreigners) and N_{jI}/n_{jI} (Italians), with j being the province (1…48), N the number of students attending junior high schools with +10 per cent (+3 per cent in the South) of foreign students, and n the same quantity for our sample. Data were collected through a questionnaire filled out by the students under the supervision of their teacher and a researcher. The questionnaire was in part

inspired by the *Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study* (CILS), a large scale longitudinal investigation of a sample of "new" second generation teenagers conducted in the United States (Portes and Rumbaut 2001). However, some sections of the CILS questionnaire were considerably modified in order to take into account the younger ages of the students interviewed and several unique aspects of Italian society.

3.2 Basic characteristics of the sample

In light of examples provided in the literature (e.g., see among the others, Rumbaut 1997), we divide foreign students into four groups defined by the variable "generation": students who arrived in Italy 5 years or less before the interview (thus at the age of 6 or older) and received some education in their native country (G1.5); students who arrived in Italy 6 years or more before the interview, but were born abroad and received all of their education in Italy (G1.75); students born in Italy of both foreign parents (G2); and children of mixed couples (G2.5). Children whose parents are both native Italians are defined as G3.

The distribution by country of origin and by generation mirrors relatively closely the characteristics of immigrant flows to Italy, both in terms of provenance and time of arrival. For example, the G2 is primarily from the Philippines and Tunisia, while the G1.5 includes a high percentage of Romanians who, while already numerous in the 1990s, immigrated in mass to Italy during the early years of this century. In addition, among the children of mixed couples, the immigrants most likely to form a married and reproductive couple with an Italian (aside from those from developed countries) hail from South American and Eastern European countries (Maffioli et al. 2010).

When considering the Itagen2 sample as a whole, the G1.5 makes up the

majority of those interviewed (41 per cent) while almost a quarter of the sample fall into the G1.75 category. The G2 consists of 17 per cent of the sample, while children of mixed couples (where the foreign parent is often from a wealthy country) are even less represented. This distribution reflects quite accurately the “infancy” of the immigrant process in Italy.

<<Table 1 about here>>

Before turning to the three dimensions under consideration in the next section, we briefly describe several other characteristics of the students interviewed in the Itagen2 survey. We return to these characteristics in our differential analysis, maintaining the distinction according to time of arrival and comparing foreign and Italian youth (table 2).

General characteristics. The proportion of boys and girls is about 50 per cent for both G2 (children born in Italy of both foreign parents) and G3 (Italian pupils), while among G1.5, G1.75 and G2.5 boys prevail (54-57 per cent). This difference begs further study in that the sample consists almost exclusively of minors living in Italy with at least one parent; exploration of such gender imbalance could help to explain familial migratory strategies.

The distribution by area of settlement is certainly a reflection of the specific sampling frame of the Itagen2, although it also reveals the capacity of these three macro-areas of the country to attract immigrants (see section 2). In fact, in early 2010, 66 per cent of foreign minors were to be found in the North of Italy, 23 per cent in the Center and, only 11 per cent in the South, compared to 41, 18 and 40 per cent of Italian minors respectively.

Average age at interview is greater among the G1.75 and especially the G1.5 compared to Italians. This difference is not so much due to failing a grade – relatively uncommon in Italy during the first eight grades - as to the habit of inserting immigrant youth in class levels lower than those

corresponding to their actual ages, above all if their knowledge of Italian is limited (Mussino and Strozza 2011).

Family and parents. The number of foreign youth who live in extended families is double that of Italian youth. Single parent families are also more widespread among foreigners, confirming findings already existent in the literature (Paterno and Terzera 2008). These results could reflect affective and residential disadvantages, although it should also be underlined that the majority of foreign children (65 per cent) live in "classic" nuclear families, composed of two parents and children (or only-child). The length of residence in Italy directly influences the reconstitution of parental ties, described here via a "family proximity" index. The latter is considered "strong" if at least one grandparent or uncle or aunt lives at a distance of less than 10 kilometers from the house of the interviewee, "weak" if at least one of these relatives lives in Italy but further than 10 kilometers, and "absent" if they live abroad or are totally absent. This indicator is a good proxy of interaction with relatives (Hank 2007). A great number of Italians live in a context of strong family proximity (88 per cent), and practically none (0.4 per cent) have no relatives in Italy. Things are very different for foreigners. Even if half of the latter can count on a nearby relative, 23 per cent have no kin in Italy. Family networks are particularly weak for youth who have only recently arrived in Italy, stronger for the other groups (G1.75, G2 and G2.5).

Variables concerning the level of education and employment of parents were constructed on the basis of the highest level of education/employment achieved within the couple (or the higher between that of the father and that of the mother). More specifically, parents' level of education was differentiated according to the following categories: a) low (at least one of the parents studied up until the age of 15); b) medium (from 15 to 19 years of age); c) high (over 19 years of age). Employment was distinguished

according to the following groups: a) low (no activity, non-qualified activity, generic labor, farmers); b) medium (technicians, artisans, specialized labor, retail, services); c) high (management, business, professions characterized by high intellectual and scientific specialization).

Parents of the G2 – of "dated" immigration – have a higher level of education compared to the parents of Italian children. Among the parents of the G1.5 and G1.75, who have immigrated more recently, higher levels of education are much less common. Recent augmentation in the "unskilled" nature of the migratory movement towards Italy can also be observed through data on the employment of parents. The professional condition of parents reflects the downward occupational segregation characterizing immigrant workers in Italy (Strozza et al. 2009). The majority of foreign adults are, in fact, employed in lower profile jobs, even when they have been living in Italy for quite some time. Certainly, differences between the G2, G1.75 and G1.5 are in large part due to their diverse timing of arrival. The emancipation of recent immigrants (parents of the G1.5) from 3D jobs (dirty, dangerous and demeaning) is not, however, favored by their low levels of education, even if a closer look reveals that the distribution of this variable is practically identical to that of Italian children's parents.

Wealth. In asking questions of children, it is difficult to directly measure the income or wealth of their family. We therefore employ two indirect estimates of family well-being: homeownership and the number of objects possessed among the following ten material goods: dishwasher, microwave oven, digital camera, videotape recorder, personal computer, washing machine, scooter or motorbike, car, bike and at least 50 non-textbooks. This number increases along with length of time spent in Italy, but remains lower for all children of foreigners compared to that observed for the G3. The proportion of homeowners also increases considerably along with the amount of time spent in Italy, likely due to gradual stability in the family's

migratory experience and a context characterized by widespread homeownership among native Italians (Barban and Dalla-Zuanna 2010). Yet among parents of the G2, the percentage of home-owners is less than half of the total compared to a much higher percentage among Italian parents (40 per cent vs. 78 per cent).

School. Self-perception of school performance shows, generally speaking, a widespread disadvantage among foreign students. The most distressed pupils are to be found among the G1.5 and G1.75, who have both the highest proportions in terms of the perception of low performance and the lowest levels with regard to the perception of high performance. These results suggest a negative attitude towards school and/or an inability to adapt to school rhythms, even if the amount of the time spent on homework hardly varies among the observed groups.

TV and sport. Finally, the observation of two characteristics pertaining to the lifestyle of interviewees - which may ultimately facilitate understandings local culture and processes of socialization - reflect quite different trends. The habit of watching Italian television considerably increases from the G1.5 to the G2, although for both groups this proportion always exceeds 2/3 of the interviewees. On the contrary, sports activities (in Italy such activities are almost always organized by associations unrelated to schools) are practiced by 40 per cent of foreign youth, independent of their time of arrival, a proportion similar to that observed among young Italians.

<<Table 2 about here>>

4. Measuring similarity

As is common in the literature, we consider several dimensions in our analysis of the diverse facets of similarity between the children of Italians

and those of foreigners (Böhning 1984; Bonifazi et al. 2003; Gabrielli et al. 2007b; Zincone 2001). In light of the available information gathered through the survey, we have chosen the following aspects: (1) self-perception of language abilities, (2) friendships with peers and (3) sense of belonging in Italy. These aspects are similarly underlined in the existent literature on this topic (Portes et al. 2005; Rumbaut 1994) and aid in measuring the relative closeness of each child to the Italian context and culture. We begin by observing the distribution of these indicators according to the generation variable (table 3).

Self-perception of language abilities. This aspect is particularly important in the Italian context in that – differently that other European countries such as Spain, France and the UK, although similar to other host countries such Germany and Greece – very few immigrants arrive in Italy with any knowledge of the host country language. The ability to master the language of the host country has been linked to the desire to communicate with the host community and is a factor which would seemingly be indicative of levels of similarity with the autochthonous population (Medvedeva 2008). Almost all of the foreign children who had attended primary school in Italy reported a high or medium level of Italian, not all that different from that observed for the G3. This is not the case – as one might well imagine – among those of more recent immigration. Language ability perceived by the G2.5 is lower than that perceived by the G2 and G1.75, likely due to this group's relatively brief duration of residence in Italy (26.5 per cent of children of mixed couples has been in Italy less than 5 years). The survey also included a question concerning students' preferred language: Italian, local dialect, or foreign language. Results (available upon request) reveal that at least half of the foreign interviewees prefer to express themselves in Italian, independent of their generation. As the amount of time spent in Italy increases, we also observe an augmentation in the preference for Italian, as

well as for the local dialect. This is especially true in regions such as Veneto (in the North) and Campania (in the South) where dialect is quite frequently spoken among fellow Italians.

Friendships with peers. During preadolescence, the establishment of a network of friends reflects the "choice" of social group with whom one interacts; a decision which can have important consequences for levels of similarity to the host population (Mouw and Entwisle 2006; Guarneri et. al. 2009). The proportion of students who reported having more Italian friends notably increases along with time spent in Italy (rising from 30 per cent among the G1.5 to 49 per cent among the G1.75 and 89 per cent among the G3). Values below 20 per cent among the G1.75, 2, and 2.5, who report having more foreign friends, illustrate the lack of systematic ethnic segregation among the interviewees. This result is similar to that described above in terms of language ability (even the "leap" from the G1.5 to the G1.75), demonstrating a strong and rapid rise in similarity as amount of time spent in Italy increases, as well as the considerable importance of primary school – which in Italy is almost always public and inter-class – as a vehicle of multicultural socialization[1].

Sense of belonging in Italy. Answers to the question "Do you feel Italian?" can be interpreted in much the same way. The proportion of those who feel Italian notably increases from the G1.5 (21 per cent) to the G2 (58 per cent), even if in this case there is not such a net "leap" between the G1.5 and G1.75. Evidently, the process of acquiring a "different" national identity as opposed to that of one's parents' country of origin is much more complex than learning a new language and forming new friendships. This finding is also supported by the relatively high proportion of students who replied "I don't know" to the question posed above, suggesting feelings of indecisiveness that may reflect a sense of "limbo" between two worlds and life models, that of the native country and that of the host country. In fact

almost a third of interviewees whose parents are both foreign chose this response.

<<Table 3 about here>>

In sum, this preliminary analysis demonstrates that the three indicators of similarity are strongly linked to time of arrival in Italy, and that the G2 are the most similar to Italians. That said differences remain between the G2 and G3, in particular with regard to friendships and sense of belonging in Italy. In addition, the association between generation and the three indicators is sufficiently differentiated to suggest that they are effectively three specific, if interconnected, dimensions of similarity. In the next section we examine, through multivariate analyses, communalities and specificities of the three dimensions, and their association with several characteristics of foreign pupils and their families.

5. Similarity determinants

5.1 The statistical procedure

In this section we analyze the determinants of similarity through an examination of the three aspects described in the previous section (language abilities, friendships with peers, sense of belonging in Italy). In order to estimate the "distance" between G3 and the other generation groups, we assign a score (from 1 to 3) using the three-step scale as in table 3. We use an ordinal logistic regression model for each of the three indicators, which constitute our dependent variables. The independent variables are those reported in table 2 (general characteristics, family and parents, wealth,

school, watching TV and practicing a sport, see table 3), with the exception of macro-region and homeownership which are never statistically significant (p>0.1). We also include the parents' country of origin and, of course, generation, as variables. Moreover, consistent with our objective of highlighting the net effect of the independent variables on the specific indicator of similarity, each model also includes the two other aspects of similarity (e.g. in the model on linguistic abilities, we add friendship with peers and sense of belonging in Italy to the independent variables).

Our first analysis endeavors to better specify the strength of the generation variable on the degree of similarity (section 5.2). Given the multiple indicators of similarity and the number of interviewees in the Itagen2 sample (10,554 foreigners and 10,150 Italians) we estimated different regression models for each of the three indicators. The first model includes the sole explanatory variable generation while the second model includes all the other independent variables described above. A comparison of the results of these two models allowed for measurement of the distance between the G3 and the other generations, and whether this distance is due to compositional effects (e.g. heterogeneity in the interviewees' nationalities) or timing of migration.

A second series of models considers only foreign youth in order to measure the net effect of the independent variables on the three indicators of similarity. Although only one regression model is estimated for each indicator of similarity, to facilitate description of our results we begin with the independent variables described in table 2 (section 5.3). This is then followed by an analysis of the differences by parents' country of origin. In order to better study this very important aspect, we estimate three more ordinal logistic regression models, which in addition to including the

independent variables described above, also incorporate the interaction between parents' country of origin and the generation variable.

5.2 The strength of the timing of migration

In table 4, the models "with control variables" are clearly statistically superior to the models "without control variables" (LR chi2 tests are respectively higher in the former as opposed to the latter). Nevertheless, differences among generations persist (if to a lesser extent) when controlling for the other independent variables, confirming and strengthening the results in table 3. Thus, when all the aspects are considered, the control variables explain only in part the generation variability. The distance between generations is more clearly demonstrated by the predicted probabilities of generations (controlling for the other determinants) which show a "scale" pattern moving from G1.5 to G3 with respect to all of the similarity indicators (figure 2). S*elf-perception of language abilities* is low only among the G1.5, while among those born or socialized in Italy, there is very little difference compared to Italians. *Friendships with Italians* are also considerably less widespread among the G1.5, although we also observe levels quite far from those of Italians among foreign children born or socialized in Italy and children of mixed couples. Finally, a *sense of belonging in Italy* is slowly acquired along with time spent in Italy, although a notable proportion of both G2 and G2.5 do not feel Italian, or are undecided.

<<Table 4 about here>>

<<Figure 2 about here>>

5.3 Similarity elements

General characteristics. Similarity to Italians is more evident among girls than boys, especially with regard to linguistic abilities, but also sense of belonging in Italy (table 5). In addition, even when controlling for time of arrival in Italy, age at interview is inversely correlated with the capacity to create a network of Italian friends and feelings of belonging to the new host country.

Family and parents. There is less similarity to Italians when parents have low levels of education or are employed in less prestigious jobs. This is also true when the family structure is different (e.g. single parent or extended families) than that of the "classic" family formation composed of a couple with children. In addition, foreign youth who can count on strong family proximity are facilitated in their efforts to learn Italian. This may seem contradictory, but perhaps the ability to create a network, favored by the geographical proximity of relatives, is a sign of a more concrete migratory project, for this very reason able to more rapidly adapt to the new social context.

Wealth. Youth from wealthier families also seem to build a network of Italian friends and learn Italian more easily compared to other foreign students. This characteristic does not, however, influence sense belonging in Italy.

School. While diligence in doing homework is only weakly associated with the dependent variables, the connection between self-perception of scholastic performance and the three aspects of similarity is quite strong. This is true not only of self-perception of linguistic abilities (as one might imagine), but also of friendship with Italians and sense of belonging in Italy. This result further demonstrates the considerable importance – for youth and adolescences that today live in developed countries – of scholastic success

in facilitating a positive relationship with the world that surrounds them.

TV and sport. Watching Italian television programs and practicing sports are both strongly associated with all three indicators, with the exception of sports activities which is not significant with respect to linguistic abilities. Generally speaking, these findings highlight the importance of the role played by the broader social context (outside of school and the family) in all observed aspects.

<<Table 5 about here>>

5.4 The importance of country of origin

Compared to the broader European context, foreigners living in Italy stand out in terms of the extraordinary variability in country of origin (see section 2). Consequently, in what follows we share the results of an analysis of the influence of country of origin on the three dimensions of similarity. Broadly speaking, immigrant youth from 5 countries seem to have the most difficulty adapting to the new host country: China, Yugoslavia, Peru, Ecuador and the Philippines (table 6). Levels of similarity are highest among youth from Eastern Europe and the Balkans (with the exception of Yugoslavia), while African students seems to have less trouble compared to those from Asia and South America.

<<Table 6 about here>>

When observing the three indicators in more detail, we observe several differences that are more difficult to explain. For example, while it was easy to foresee considerable linguistic difficulties among Chinese and Indian students, language issues among Ecuadorians and Peruvians are somewhat

surprising given that Spanish is relatively similar to Italian. What then drives the low level of similarity among young Ecuadoreans and Peruvians? The answer may lie in the characteristics of individuals who migrate from these two countries to Italy who tend to be single mothers holding full time jobs. They consequently have very little free time to devote to their children, often leaving them to their own devices and depriving them of family support, similar to findings from major American cities (Kasinitz et al. 2004 and 2009).

We conclude this section with an examination of the interaction – in the level of similarity – between country of origin and generation (table 7). Generally, the idea of a progressive diminution of the influence of country of origin on the observed aspects is confirmed by the lesser variability among countries for the G2 compared to the G1.5 and G1.75 for the three indicators under consideration (figure 3). This occurs because G1.5 students who hail from countries with low levels of similarity are also those who "recover" most rapidly. For example, the Chinese and Albanian G1.5 are at opposite ends of the spectrum (net estimate with respect to the other explanatory variables included in the model) in terms of the proportion reporting having Italian friends (9.1 per cent among the Chinese, 39.5 per cent among the Albanians – a difference of 30.4 percentage points). Among the G2, this same indicator rises to 49.0 per cent for the Chinese and 67.2 per cent for the Albanians; the difference between the two groups is almost halved (17.8 points).

This more detailed analysis demonstrates that, in general, differences linked to provenance are much less evident among foreign students born in Italy - as if the migratory experience progressively loses importance with the passing of time spent in the host country. That said there are differences among nationalities. In particular, results confirm that the greatest difficulties are faced by youth from Peru, Ecuador and China. Among the

G2, differences among countries in terms of the ability to form friendships with Italians are also remarkable. The proportion of immigrant students with more Italian friends (estimated net of the compositional effects for the explanatory variables considered here) shifts from 31 per cent among G2 Yugoslavians to 67 per cent among G2 Albanians. In this case, geographical proximity between the two countries does not seem to produce common experiences.

Finally, the paths followed by children of mixed-couples (G2.5) are different than those of the G2, begging further analysis which would take into account not only the foreign parent's country of origin, but also age of arrival in Italy, social class of each parent, etc.

<<Table 7 about here>>

<<Figure 3 about here>>

6. Conclusion

The dramatic increase in immigration during the period of 2000-10 has given rise to strong feelings of fear in Italy. Many wonder if Italy is capable of receiving such a large number of immigrants in such a short time span, given very little prior experience in managing foreign immigrants. Feelings of uncertainty have similarly been provoked by the even more rapid increase in foreign minors. One way to understand whether such sentiments are justified and whether specific policies for integration should be introduced is to observe the ways young foreign pre-adolescent children are similar to their Italian counterparts and whether this resemblance increases with time spent in Italy.

Our analysis reveals that after just a few years of living in their new country, the large majority of the youth observed feel Italian, report

speaking Italian well, and have a number of Italian friends. Insertion into Italian society is even more rapid for girls, younger children, children living in families with greater social and human capital, children who have greater familiarity with the social context outside of the school environment, and children who perform well in school. Moreover, similarity to Italians is greater among those who were either born in Italy or arrived in the first few years of life.

Two years after the Itagen2, a random sample of 699 foreign students and 1,169 Italian students were re-interviewed by telephone (Barban and White 2011). Given this relatively small sample size and the more general nature of this paper, we decided not to include these interviews. However, several results aid in furthering discussion of the larger sample. In just two years, the distance between the G1.5, G1.75, and G2 decreased, due to a much more rapid learning of Italian, increase in Italian friends and feelings of belong in Italy on the part of the G1.5 and G1.75 compared to the G2. Indeed, the distance between children of Italians and those of foreigners does not seem to depend so much on age of arrival as on the amount of time spent in Italy.

Generally speaking, these results suggest a favorable response on the part of Italian society to the arrival of an increasing number of youth from abroad. Further research might investigate the forces driving the rapid rise in similarity between young Italians and foreigners, as the latter's period of residence in Italy lengthens. One hypothesis is that young foreigners do not live in ghettos or enclaves (Barban and Dalla-Zuanna 2010) but rather attend the same schools and classes as Italian children and spend their free time with the latter, thereby rapidly developing a strong sense of belonging to their new community. It would also be extremely interesting to conduct a detailed comparison of those nationalities for which similarity to Italians is quite strong (e.g. Albanians, Romanians, Moroccans) and those where

young foreigners take longer to resemble their host community (e.g. South Americans, Chinese, Filipinos, Yugoslavians, Macedonians).

We conclude be linking the results of this article with those – mentioned in the introduction – on poor school performance among children of foreigners living in Italy (Dalla-Zuanna et al. 2009; Mussino and Strozza 2011; Barban and White 2011). Although children of immigrants rapidly assimilate the tastes, dreams, and ambitions of their fellow Italians, they are at a greater risk of lacking the proper instruments to fulfill them, and thus potentially developing feelings of recrimination and resentment. This process may also lead to downward assimilation (Rumbaut 1997; Zhou 1997). Thus while, on the one hand, our findings strongly negate the idea that children of foreigners are excluded from Italian society, one the other hand they underline the fundamental need to develop policies (above all related to education) favorable to young foreigners, such that the similarities observed here may evolve into true integration.

Notes

[1] The way the question was framed means that a positive response does not necessarily demonstrate an oppositional attitude towards the parents' country of origin. In fact, the question "Do you feel closer to Italy or to your parents' country?" was not asked, but rather the query was simply, "Do you feel Italian?" This does not, however, mean that some foreign students may have struggled to answer, preferring the more neutral response of "I don't know."

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TABLES

Table 1 – Countries of origin of the parents of the children by generation

Countries	Total #	Column per cent				Row per cent				
		G1.5	G1.75	G2	G2.5	G1.5	G1.75	G2	G2.5	Total
- EAST EUROPE										
Albania	*1,560*	11.5	25.9	5.7	5.5	32.8	51.0	6.9	9.3	100.0
Romania	*844*	13.5	5.6	0.5	5.3	65.0	18.6	0.9	15.5	100.0
Yugoslavia	*335*	2.8	5.5	4.1	2.7	28.0	37.9	17.7	16.5	100.0
Macedonia	*398*	3.6	8.1	4.2	1.9	29.8	46.2	14.8	9.3	100.0
Other East Eur.	*900*	9.0	6.4	3.2	9.9	43.5	21.2	6.6	28.7	100.0
- ASIA										
China	*916*	12.9	6.0	9.4	5.0	53.5	17.3	16.8	12.4	100.0
Philippine	*378*	3.3	0.9	12.3	1.9	31.9	6.0	51.1	11.0	100.0
India	*434*	5.7	5.2	3.1	1.3	49.9	31.5	11.6	7.0	100.0
Other Asia	*572*	6.2	5.2	5.8	3.7	42.7	24.8	17.0	15.5	100.0
- AFRICA										
Morocco	*949*	6.8	12.2	13.7	4.9	28.3	35.0	24.4	12.3	100.0
Tunisia	*378*	1.6	2.2	8.1	2.2	20.3	19.5	43.6	16.6	100.0
Other Africa	*804*	5.0	5.0	19.7	7.4	23.6	16.1	39.5	20.9	100.0
- LATIN AMERICA										
Ecuador	*324*	4.9	3.3	0.1	3.7	51.6	24.3	0.4	23.7	100.0
Peru	*284*	3.4	2.6	3.0	1.7	45.6	23.4	17.2	13.9	100.0
Other Lat. Am.	*677*	6.7	4.0	3.5	10.8	38.3	15.9	8.5	37.3	100.0
- DEVELOP. COUNT.	*801*	3.2	2.1	3.8	32.1	12.7	5.6	6.4	75.4	100.0
Total	---	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	40.8	23.5	17.2	18.5	100.0
Total #	*10,554*	---	---	---	---	*4,317*	*2,477*	*1,811*	*1,949*	---

Source: our elaborations on Itagen2 data.

Table 2 – Characteristics of the sample by generation. Column percentages.

Variables	Pupil with at least a foreign parent by generation					Italians
	G1.5	G1.75	G2	G2.5	Total	G3
- GENERAL CARACTERISTICS						
Macro-region (per cent)						
North	63.9	60.9	62.8	60.5	62.2	50.7
Centre	26.5	30.1	26.2	28.6	27.8	22.2
South	9.6	9.0	11.0	10.9	10.0	27.1
Gender (per cent)						
Male	54.9	56.7	48.2	54.0	54.1	50.6
Female	45.1	43.3	51.8	46.0	45.9	49.4
Mean age at interview	12.9	12.6	12.0	12.3	12.6	12.1
- FAMILY AND PARENTS						
Household (per cent)						
Couple with one child	10.3	8.7	8.1	14.9	10.5	12.4
Couple with 2+ children	49.5	60.1	62.5	50.5	54.5	65.1
Mono-parental	22.9	22.1	19.2	16.6	20.7	15.0
Extended	17.3	9.1	10.2	18.0	14.3	7.5
Familiar proximity (per cent)						
Absent	32.2	18.8	19.0	15.4	23.0	0.4
Weak	21.4	21.5	23.3	22.6	22.0	11.5
Strong	46.4	59.7	57.7	62.0	55.0	88.1
Parents' education (per cent)						
Low	29.7	30.4	25.9	18.7	26.7	29.2
Medium	40.4	42.4	35.6	40.5	40.2	39.7
High	29.8	27.2	38.5	40.8	33.1	31.1
Parents' occupation (per cent)						
Low or unemployed	73.9	69.2	61.0	48.9	65.1	37.2
Medium	23.1	26.0	31.6	36.2	28.1	44.7
High	3.0	4.8	7.4	14.9	6.8	18.1
- WEALTH						
Household possession (per cent)						
Rentals	73.1	58.8	53.6	39.7	59.0	19.1
Free	5.8	5.0	5.9	3.9	5.2	2.9
Owners	21.1	36.2	40.5	56.4	35.8	78.0
Mean number of objects possessed	6.4	7.1	7.2	7.4	6.9	8.0
- SCHOOL						
Self-perc. of school performance (per cent)						
Not so well	45.7	47.5	41.7	42.0	44.7	30.9
Ok	45.3	40.7	45.8	44.6	44.1	49.4
Pretty well – very well	9.0	11.8	12.5	13.4	11.2	19.7
Mean number of hours for homework	2.0	2.1	2.1	2.1	2.1	2.2
- TV AND SPORT						
Watch Italian TV (per cent)						
No	30.5	19.3	17.1	15.5	22.2	0.5
Yes	69.5	80.7	82.9	84.5	77.8	99.5
Sport activities (per cent)						
No	57.9	60.2	58.3	58.9	58.8	60.7
Yes	42.1	39.8	41.7	41.1	41.2	39.3
Total #	*4,317*	*2,477*	*1,811*	*1,949*	*10,554*	*10,150*

Source: our elaborations on Itagen2 data

Table 3 – The three indicators of similarity by generation. Column percentages.

Variables	(assigned score)	Generation				
		G1.5	G1.75	G2	G2.5	G.3
Linguistic ability						
Low	(1)	24.9	2.3	1.6	7.1	0.6
Medium	(2)	43.6	17.7	14.5	18.5	7.9
High	(3)	31.5	80.0	83.9	74.4	91.4
Friendships with peers						
More foreign friends	(1)	43.3	18.9	17.4	14.6	1.7
More or less the same number	(2)	26.7	31.9	34.5	25.2	8.8
More Italian friends	(3)	30.0	49.2	48.1	60.2	89.5
Sense of belonging to Italy - Do you feel Italian?						
No	(1)	49.1	30.9	14.6	16.0	1.0
I don't know	(2)	29.7	31.1	27.1	19.8	1.4
Yes	(3)	21.2	38.0	58.3	64.2	97.6

Source: our elaborations on Itagen2 data

Table 4 – Ordinal logistic regression models by the three dimensions of similarity. Coefficients and p-value of generations with and without control variables. All sample of Italians and foreigners.

Generations	Linguistic abilities		Friendships with peers		Sense of belonging in Italy	
	Without control variables	With control variables [1]	Without control variables	With control variables [1]	Without control variables	With control variables [1]
G1.5	-2.586 ***	-2.095 ***	-1.169 ***	-0.306 **	-1.618 ***	-0.928 ***
G1.75	-0.265	-0.103	0.003	0.202	-0.861 ***	-0.673 ***
G2	0	0	0	0	0	0
G2.5	-1.153 ***	-0.632 ***	0.434 ***	0.225	0.018	0.110
G3	0.895 ***	0.721 ***	2.227 ***	1.111 ***	3.325 ***	1.735 ***
LR chi2 test	*1,830.96*	*2,794.21*	*2,604.22*	*3,477.02*	*4,811.02*	*5,449.92*
cut1	*-3.899*	*-1.825*	*-2.257*	*0.378*	*-1.740*	*-0.828*
cut2	*-1.651*	*0.705*	*-0.599*	*2.168*	*-0.525*	*0.513*

([1]) *Control variables: see table 2, excluding macro-region, including parents' birth country and the other two dependent variables (friendships with peers, sense of belonging in Italy, self-perception of school performance)*
Note: $^{*}p<0.1$; $^{**}p<0.05$; $^{***}p<0.01$
Source: our elaborations on Itagen2 data

Table 5 – The determinants of the three dimensions of similarity. Ordinal logistic regression coefficients (*) and p-value. Students with at least one foreign parent.

Variables	Categories	Linguistic abilities		Friendships with peers		Sense of belonging in Italy	
- GENERATION	G1.5	-2.127	***	-0.331	***	-1.200	***
	G1.75	-0.185		0.186		-0.741	***
	G2	0		0		0	
	G2.5	-1.111	***	0.220	***	-0.091	
- GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS							
Gender	Male	0		0		0	
	Female	0.202	***	-0.077		0.080	*
Age at interview	(cont.)	-0.023		-0.112	***	-0.073	***
- FAMILY AND PARENTS							
Familiar proximity	Absent	0		0		0	
	Weak	0.242	***	0.136	*	-0.077	
	Strong	0.372	***	0.069		0.047	
Household	Couple with one child	0		0		0	
	Couple with 2 or more ch.	0.022		-0.013		-0.210	***
	Mono-parental	-0.201	*	-0.136		-0.113	
	Extended	-0.376	***	-0.282	***	-0.382	***
Parents' education	Low	0		0		0	
	Middle	0.441	***	0.167	**	0.100	
	High	0.418	***	0.242	***	0.145	*
Parents' occupation	Low or unemployed	0		0		0	
	middle	0.232	***	0.287	***	0.174	***
	high	0.972	***	0.381	***	0.464	***
- WEALTH							
Mean n. of objects possessed	(cont.)	0.691	***	0.763	***	0.012	
- SCHOOL							
Self-perc. of school perf.	Not so well	0		0		0	
	Ok	0.268	***	0.140	***	0.236	***
	Pretty well – Very well	0.587	***	0.242	***	0.281	***
No. of hours to make homework	(cont.)	0.024	*	0.023	*	-0.010	
- TV AND SPORT							
Watch Italian TV	No	0		0		0	
	Yes	0.507	***	0.846	***	0.211	***
Sport activities	No	0		0		0	
	Yes	0.045		0.141	***	0.100	**
- SIMILARITY INDICATORS							
Linguistic abilities	Low level	-		0		0	
	Medium level	-		0.679	***	0.979	***
	High level	-		0.565	***	0.780	***
Friendships with peers	More foreign friends	0		-		0	
	More or less the same number	0.746	***	-		0.426	***
	More Italian friends	0.824	***	-		0.843	***
Sense of belonging in Italy	No	0		0	-		
	I don't know	0.293	***	0.370	*** -		
	Yes	0.641	***	0.813	*** -		
LR chi2 test		*3,432.53*		*2,151.23*		*1,389.02*	
cut1		*-1.953*		*-0.722*		*-1.919*	
cut2		*0.312*		*0.822*		*-0.457*	

*Note: * p<0.1; ** p<0.05; *** p<0.01*

(^) All the models include the variable parents' birth country as well (see table 6).

Source: our elaborations on Itagen2 data

Table 6 – Ranks of the origin countries according to the three dimensions of similarity. Ordinal logistic regression (*). Students with at least one foreign parent.

Parents' birth country	Linguistic abilities	Friendships with peers	Sense of belonging in Italy	Mean of the ranks
- EAST EUROPE				
Albania	5	3	10	6
Romania	2	10	9	7
Yugoslavia	13	13	14	13
Macedonia	3	12	8	8
Other East Europe	4	6	6	5
- ASIA				
China	16	16	11	14
Philippine	8	15	13	12
India	14	11	3	9
Other Asia	10	14	4	9
- AFRICA				
Morocco	7	2	12	7
Tunisia	15	7	2	8
Other Africa	9	8	5	7
- LATIN AMERICA				
Ecuador	12	4	15	10
Peru	11	9	16	12
Other Latin America	6	5	7	6
- DEVELOPED COUNTRIES	1	1	1	1

(*) Data come from the three regression models of table 5. To facilitate the readability, ranks replace the regression coefficients, that are available on request.

Source: our elaborations on Itagen2 data

Table 7 – Ordinal logistic regression models by the three dimensions of similarity. Predict probabilities (per cent) and std. errors of interaction between origin country an generation with control variables. Students with at least one foreign parent.

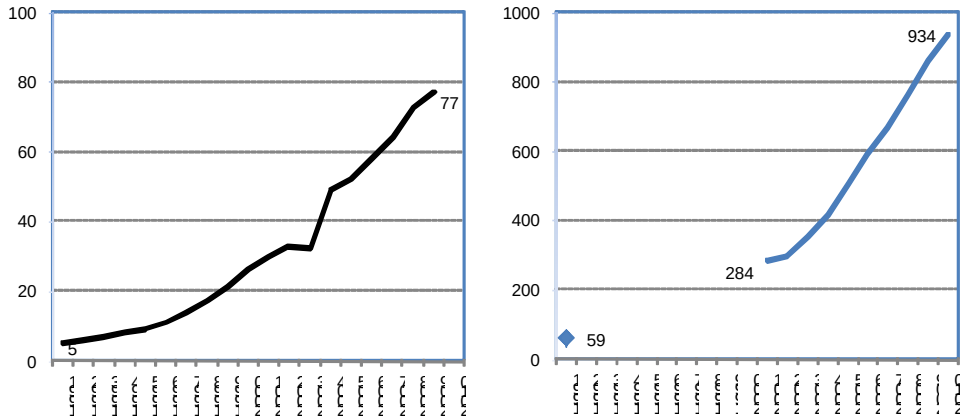
Parents' birth country	High linguistic abilities								More Italian friends								Belonging in Italy							
	G1.5		G1.75		G2		G2.5		G1.5		G1.75		G2		G2.5		G1.5		G1.75		G2		G2.5	
- EAST EUROPE																								
Albania	46.5		86.4	(0.1)	88.1	(0.3)	67.0	(0.2)	39.5		63.7	(0.1)	67.2	(0.2)	49.4	(0.2)	22.3		44.1	(0.1)	67.9	(0.2)	39.2	(0.2)
Romania	45.7	(0.1)	85.2	(0.2)	-		75.6	(0.2)	26.1	(0.1)	53.1	(0.2)	-		57.7	(0.2)	20.6	(0.1)	51.8	(0.2)	-		49.8	(0.2)
Yugoslavia	32.3	(0.2)	73.8	(0.2)	64.8	(0.3)	38.7	(0.3)	28.0	(0.2)	47.3	(0.2)	30.7	(0.2)	25.8	(0.2)	18.1	(0.2)	37.5	(0.2)	65.1	(0.3)	12.1	(0.3)
Macedonia	36.7	(0.2)	87.3	(0.2)	79.7	(0.3)	94.8	(0.8)	28.6	(0.2)	33.8	(0.1)	48.0	(0.2)	73.0	(0.4)	17.3	(0.2)	38.8	(0.1)	53.6	(0.2)	54.9	(0.3)
Other East Europe	42.5	(0.1)	86.4	(0.2)	94.6	(0.7)	73.7	(0.2)	33.5	(0.1)	50.2	(0.1)	62.2	(0.3)	66.5	(0.1)	25.0	(0.1)	46.9	(0.1)	71.7	(0.3)	64.0	(0.1)
- ASIA																								
China	7.6	(0.1)	52.6	(0.2)	81.8	(0.2)	25.2	(0.2)	9.1	(0.1)	24.7	(0.2)	49.0	(0.2)	23.7	(0.2)	17.3	(0.1)	21.4	(0.1)	52.2	(0.1)	26.6	(0.2)
Philippine	44.1	(0.2)	62.7	(0.4)	80.7	(0.2)	64.5	(0.4)	22.0	(0.2)	16.4	(0.4)	34.8	(0.1)	46.8	(0.3)	18.4	(0.2)	24.5	(0.4)	49.5	(0.1)	66.6	(0.4)
India	22.0	(0.1)	68.8	(0.2)	78.1	(0.4)	34.2	(0.4)	23.3	(0.1)	38.2	(0.2)	43.8	(0.2)	17.1	(0.4)	26.8	(0.1)	42.2	(0.2)	63.1	(0.3)	22.6	(0.4)
Other Asia	22.2	(0.1)	80.4	(0.2)	90.1	(0.4)	66.7	(0.2)	18.5	(0.1)	42.1	(0.2)	37.5	(0.2)	67.5	(0.2)	25.2	(0.1)	33.7	(0.1)	73.0	(0.2)	77.9	(0.3)
- AFRICA																								
Morocco	24.8	(0.1)	81.5	(0.1)	89.8	(0.2)	84.2	(0.3)	31.5	(0.1)	50.9	(0.1)	63.6	(0.1)	61.9	(0.2)	21.1	(0.1)	26.1	(0.1)	52.6	(0.1)	76.7	(0.2)
Tunisia	17.5	(0.2)	64.3	(0.3)	69.3	(0.2)	78.1	(0.4)	23.5	(0.2)	44.2	(0.3)	45.3	(0.2)	68.5	(0.3)	18.4	(0.3)	58.4	(0.3)	58.4	(0.2)	85.1	(0.4)
Other Africa	24.8	(0.1)	87.4	(0.3)	87.6	(0.2)	78.7	(0.2)	31.5	(0.1)	51.3	(0.2)	50.8	(0.1)	67.3	(0.2)	25.8	(0.1)	33.9	(0.2)	61.0	(0.1)	69.7	(0.2)
- LATIN AMERICA																								
Ecuador	34.4	(0.1)	75.7	(0.3)	-		41.4	(0.2)	37.2	(0.1)	54.3	(0.2)	-		43.5	(0.2)	16.3	(0.1)	30.5	(0.2)	-		40.2	(0.2)
Peru	26.8	(0.2)	68.0	(0.3)	91.2	(0.5)	68.0	(0.4)	31.7	(0.2)	49.1	(0.2)	49.2	(0.3)	61.5	(0.3)	14.6	(0.2)	29.4	(0.2)	50.2	(0.3)	51.7	(0.3)
Other Latin America	38.6	(0.1)	79.7	(0.2)	91.8	(0.5)	80.2	(0.2)	32.9	(0.1)	59.9	(0.2)	60.1	(0.3)	64.3	(0.1)	19.9	(0.1)	28.4	(0.2)	76.7	(0.3)	63.1	(0.1)
- DEVELOP. COUNT.	23.7	(0.2)	89.5	(0.5)	88.0	(0.4)	85.0	(0.1)	22.7	(0.2)	67.6	(0.3)	60.0	(0.3)	69.8	(0.1)	33.6	(0.2)	57.4	(0.3)	60.1	(0.3)	80.6	(0.1)
Variation coefficient	0.37		0.14		0.10		0.31		0.28		0.29		0.23		0.33		0.23		0.30		0.15		0.40	

Control variables: parents' birth country, gender, age at interview, parents' education, parents' occupation, familiar proximity, household, mean number of object possessed, linguistic preferences, friendships with peers, sense of belonging in Italy, self-perception of school performance, number of hours to make homework, watch Italian TV, sport activities.
Note: G2 of Romania and Ecuador include less than 10 students; thus they are excluded from the analyses.
Source: our elaborations on Itagen2 data

FIGURES

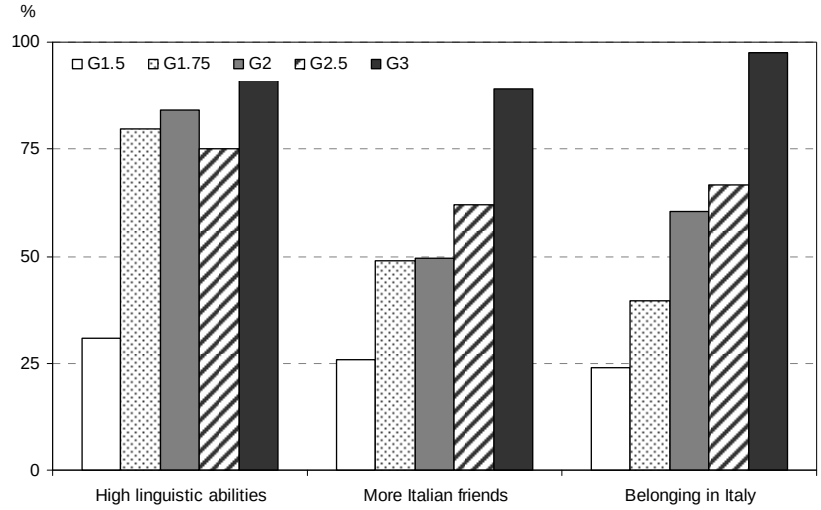
Figure 1 – Births from foreign parents (a) and foreign resident minors (b) in Italy (in thousands), period 1991-2010.

(a) Births from foreign parents (b) Foreign resident minors



Source: our elaborations on ISTAT data.

Figure 2 – Ordinal logistic regression models by the three dimensions of similarity. Predicted probabilities (per cent) of generations with control variables [1]. All sample.



([1]) *Control variables: see table 2, excluding macro-region, including parents' birth country and the other two dependent variables (friendships with peers, sense of belonging in Italy, self-perception of school performance)*
Source: our elaborations on Itagen2 data

Figure 3 – Variation coefficient of similarity indexes among countries of origin, by generation (see table 7).