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Je suis un Italien de Paris:

Italian migrants' incorporation in a European capital city

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Abstract

Italy has experienced a new wave of population outflows, in particular since the end of the 2000s, with France being among the top destinations. By focusing on the Parisian case, this paper investigates the structural and socio-cultural integration of Italian migrants in the French capital. The paper is based on a mixed methods approach, using in-depth interviews, French census data and an online survey. We found that the profile and incorporation patterns of post-crisis migrants do not differ from those of Italians who moved to Paris in the 1990s and 2000s, reflecting a more long-term trend of middling migration out of Italy. Like other studies, we show that current Italian migrants are prevailingly highly skilled and employed in

non-manual jobs. As for socio-cultural integration, the paper highlights the symbolic value of the host city, to which migrants are strongly attached. Moreover, the longer the duration of migration spells, the higher the integration in Italy-oriented activities both in the city and in the country of origin. This indicates a complex incorporation model that is at odds with assimilation but at the same time departs from ethnicized and community-based patterns. Italian migrants combine being both Parisian and Italian in a “synergistic balancing act” (Erdal and Oeppen 2013) of integration and transnationalism.

Introduction

While intra-European migration in the 2000s was primarily made up of East-West flows in the context of the EU enlargements, South-North population movements picked up in the 2010s, in the aftermath of the financial crisis that shook the continent (Triandafyllidou and Gropas 2014). In this context, Italy has experienced a new wave of migration outflows, especially since 2010, with France (+140%), Germany (+197%), the UK (+156%) and Switzerland (+140%) being the top destinations (Glynn 2014; Recchi and Salamonska 2015; Istat and Fondazione Migrantes 2016).

This phenomenon has sparked intense discussion in public debate and the media (e.g., Cucchiarato 2010; Riboni 2013; Severgnini 2009), yet remains under-explored in academic research (Tintori and Romei, forthcoming). The few existing studies have described it as in many aspects different from the post-war migratory wave: it is urban (mostly coming from and directed to city centres), skilled (most migrants hold a higher education degree), particularly drawing from the middle class (Tirabassi and Del Prà 2014; Giergji 2015). But the incorporation of these new migrants at a local scale in their host countries remains largely unexplored. This paper investigates the structural and socio-cultural integration of Italian migrants in Paris.

Until the end of the 1960s, in the context of Fordist mass migration, Italians were the largest migrant group in Paris and their integration in the city was described as a successful symbol of the French assimilation model. What about the incorporation of new Italian migrants who moved to Paris in the last decades? Can we still refer to it through the assimilation paradigm or does it follow new patterns of “integration through transnationalism” (see Trenz and Triandafyllidou in this special issue introduction)? And how has migration been affected by the economic crisis that hit Italy since 2009?

In order to grasp the complex modes of integration of Italian migrants in Paris, we distinguish two aspects of their incorporation: the structural (their position in the labour and housing market) and the socio-cultural side (sociability and sense of belonging).

The paper is organized as follows: in the first section, we discuss the academic literature about patterns of local integration of skilled intra-EU migrants. In the next section, we present our methodological approach which combines qualitative and quantitative data. The third section focuses on the structural side of Italians' integration: we use quantitative data to analyse migrants' socioeconomic and residential achievements. In the following section, we study the socio-cultural side of migrants' integration: we triangulate survey data and interviews to describe Italians' complex forms of belonging and highlight the symbolic importance of Paris in making sense of their migration. In the conclusion, we summarize our findings and interpret them as "synergistic balancing acts" (Erdal and Oeppen 2013) that combine local attachment and transnational ties.

Urban space and the incorporation of middle class migrants

In this paper, we investigate Italian migrants' incorporation with a urban perspective, in line with the increased interest for issues of local incorporation within the field of migration studies (Glick-Schiller and Çağlar 2011; Plöger and Becker 2015). Since the Chicago School pioneering works, "spatial assimilation" and urban careers of low-skilled migrants have been widely studied in a variety of contexts (Massey and Mullan 1984). Little research has in fact dealt with the urban incorporation of skilled migrants, as these were erroneously subsumed under the rubric of a "transnational elite" which was thought to be free-floating and uprooted. Its mobile lifestyle was associated with the erosion of local social relationships and a declining sense of belonging to places (Elliott and Urry 2010; Lewicka 2005). Yet, recent studies have demonstrated that even highly mobile transnational elites are still grounded

through everyday practices and interactions in specific local settings (Yeoh and Huang 2011; Andreotti et al. 2015).

Other studies have advanced the idea of “middling migration” (Conradson and Latham 2005; Colic-Peisker 2010; Mueller 2013; Plöger and Becker 2015; Smith 2005), in which mobilities, careers, urban practices and transnational lifestyles can be very different from those of both elite movers and traditional low-skilled migrants. Migration research has long been blind to middle class migrants, focusing almost exclusively on two polar strands of the non-manual migrant workforce. On the one hand, post-colonial South-North flows have been analysed from a “brain drain” or a “brain circulation” perspective (Meyer 2001). On the other hand, studies of “Northern” countries have focused on the “global elite”, dealing mainly with transnational managers, businessmen, high-flying academics or senior civil servants who frequently move on an international scale, using mostly institutional channels and occupying top job positions (Beaverstock 2005; Sklair 2000).

In fact, a focus on the middle class is central to understanding new patterns of intra-EU migration (e.g., Favell 2008; Recchi 2009). Indeed, in recent years, a large part of migration from developed countries has been planned individually (that is, out of expat circuits) and has increasingly involved a tertiary-educated middle class. Since their mobility is based on self-organized strategies and their job positions are less established, middle class migrants are more sensitive to the international crisis than the transnational elite that circulate under the protection of large institutions and corporations. In spite of the spread of this category of migrants, little is known about their social, residential and labour-market incorporation in receiving societies. Equally, their self-representation and sense of belonging, especially in the globally unique framework of the EU free movement regime (Recchi 2015), remains rather unexplored, especially in the context of the recent Euro-crisis. The adoption of a urban perspective and a sensitivity to the social class composition of migrants allows us to

overcome traditional dichotomies like assimilation/multiculturalism, national/transnational and low-skilled/elite migration towards a more complex and comprehensive view of Italian migrants' incorporation in the host society.

A mixed methods design

Under the aegis of its free movement regime, short-term migration within the EU can remain largely invisible to official statistics. In addition, no reliable and exhaustive list of non-national residents exists in France. On top of this, while Italian law asks nationals moving abroad to register at the closest general consulate, many migrants do not comply due to the lack of sanctions. Faced with these shortcomings in official data, our paper draws on three main sources of information: the French census, in depth-interviews and an online survey. By using this mixed-methods design, we were able to capture both objective and subjective aspects of the migration experience. For instance, while the survey provided us with important information about the occupations, incomes and residential choices of Italians in Paris, in depth-interviews focused on career prospects and work satisfaction.

The first step of the research project consisted of in-depth interviews. In 2012-2013, we conducted a preliminary study based on 20 audio-recorded interviews with young, highly skilled Italians (university graduates), aged between 25 and 40, who had been living and working in Paris for at least one year (Dubucs, Pfirsch and Schmoll, 2016). We tried to ensure as diverse a sample of interviewees as possible. Respondents were contacted through our own social networks, as well as on-line groups and institutional channels (schools and associations). We explored respondents' biographical and family backgrounds, their motivations and identities, their migratory and occupational trajectories, their local incorporation and their transnational living arrangements. In parallel, we captured the sense of belonging of Italian migrants by monitoring web communities between 2012 and 2016. As a

second step, we analysed French census data (INSEE 1999 and 2009) to describe the socio-occupational profile of Italians in the Paris Region. Lastly, we used the data of a respondent driven-sample survey that we circulated online in 2015, among 17 Facebook groups and 3 mailing lists of Italian citizens living in the Paris Region¹. The sample includes 515 respondents from quite varied social backgrounds. The survey explored their migration trajectory to Paris, their occupational status (with information about job contracts, places of work, incomes), their residential incorporation in the city (location and type of dwelling, tenure, number of rooms, co-residents), their ties with the home country and with Italian networks in Paris. Respondents were also asked to list the three places they felt most attached to in an open question. This survey enabled us to access information that is not usually available, such as migrants' incomes and addresses.

For this online survey, we resorted to respondent driven-sampling (RDS). As mentioned above, the population of Italians in Paris is unknown in size and characteristics. This makes a traditional random sample – whose feasibility is premised on knowledge of the universe – simply impossible. Given this initial constraint, we deemed RDS to be the best possible sampling strategy. Originally introduced by Heckathorn (1997; 2002), RDS starts with a limited number of highly diversified and unrelated respondents from the target population (known as “seeds”) who drive the recruitment process of further respondents. Although it originates from a non-random sample, this procedure reduces the dependence of the final sample on initial seeds. Tests have shown that, provided seeds are random and independent, the final outcome tends to be representative of the population (Gile and Handcock 2010; see also Salganik 2006). Traditional RDS has been developed in studies of sex behaviour, drug use, epidemiology, irregular labour, but it seems well suited to migration studies as well. In

¹The questionnaire can be found online at the following link:
https://docs.google.com/forms/d/1udgN6t1YpU4eGX65fwHZBHcn_GybxdgeSMiDjqdmMhE/viewform.

particular, we used web-based RDS (Bauermeister et al. 2012; Bengtsson et al 2012; Crawford 2014; Stein et al. 2014; a more comprehensive review of web-based RDS is in Wejnert and Heckathorn 2008). Web-based RDS is built on the premises of RDS, but is carried out online, thus assuming that the target population is electronically connected. This seems to be a reasonable assumption for our reference population.

For the first seeds of this RDS, we selected Facebook groups and mailing lists that cater to Italians in Paris, asking “city residents” to fill out the online questionnaire. Respondents were then asked to refer two or more new potential cases from their networks. While sometimes seeds are selected to maximize diversification, we opted for a “blind call” that might leverage motivation for the project, and thus reach sufficiently long referral chains (as well as a final sample which is unrelated to initial seeds). New referrals were encouraged to recruit further, and progressively several chains of referrals were created. We stopped the survey once we started to be referred to potential respondents who had already been sampled. Overall, the questionnaire was first distributed in early June and the last copies collected in October 2015.

The structural side of integration: Spatial settlement and socioeconomic status of Italians in Paris

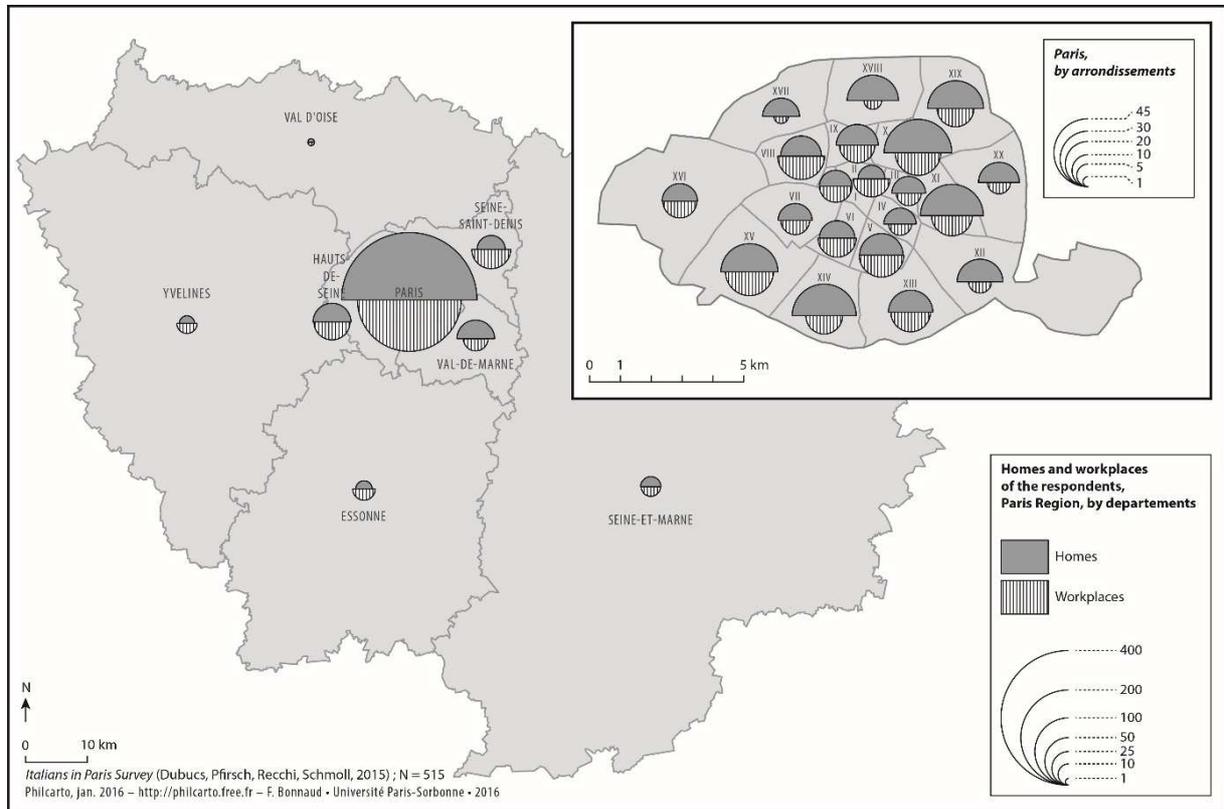
Italian migration in France is part of a long history that goes back to the Renaissance period. (Toscano 2011). But from the 1860s onward, Italian emigration to France became massive with 4.3 million Italian citizens settling in France between 1876 and 1976 (Rosoli 1978). Even if circulatory movements were frequent, Italians’ integration into French society has been described as very rapid and as a successful outcome of the French assimilation model (Blanc-Chaléard and Milza 1995; Rainhorn 2005). Cultural assimilation went hand in hand with urban incorporation. In Paris, first destination of these flows, the settlement of Italian migrants was a good example of the “spatial assimilation” process (Massey and Mullan 1984).

Even if they never achieved the size and cohesiveness of American “Little Italies” (Rainhorn 2005), some Italian micro-concentrations in streets and blocks emerged in Eastern Paris working class neighbourhoods in the late 19th century. After World War II, these Italian micro-spaces then gradually decomposed due to the high rate of mixed marriages and naturalizations, until mass emigration ceased in the late 1960s. In the 1980s, Italians’ presence in Paris had become “transparent” (Rainhorn 2005). But since the beginning of the 2000s, a new wave of Italian migration to France emerged, involving mainly skilled young adults.²

What about the urban incorporation of this new migratory wave? Does it still adapt to the “transparency” spatial assimilation model, or has it changed in the wake of the Euro-crisis? French census data show that the Paris Region stands out as the main destination for Italians heading to France: more than a quarter of Italian citizens live there today as opposed to 17 per cent in 1990. Furthermore, Italians are highly concentrated in central Paris (i.e., within the municipality of Paris, or *intra muros*) that hosts 35 per cent of Italian residents of the Paris Region. Italians are also over-represented at a close-up on the very central neighbourhoods (1-9 *arrondissements*). This centrality distinguishes Italians from other migrant groups (such as Africans or South Asians) who are mostly located in the former industrial areas at the edge of Paris, especially in the North-East (Delage and Weber 2014).

²While Italian migration to France had remained roughly stable in the preceding two decades, fluctuating between 3,000 and 4,000 entries per year, it started to increase after the Euro-crisis (5,000 new Italian residents were registered in 2011). Our online survey confirms this trend: 70 per cent of respondents arrived in the French capital after 2008, showing a clear “crisis effect” in terms of numbers.

Figure 1. Spatial distribution of respondents' homes and workplaces in Paris Region by department and arrondissement



Source: Italians in Paris Survey, 2015

The online survey confirms the concentration of Italians in central areas. But it also shows the astonishingly well-balanced spread of their residences and workplace within central Paris (fig. 1). Respondents are almost equally represented in the 20 *arrondissements* that compose the Municipality of Paris. For example, the posh and socially selective 16th arrondissement hosts the same number of respondents as the 20th arrondissement, which is historically home to a large share of immigrants and local working class. This dispersion across Parisian neighbourhoods may reflect differences in income levels, family structure, cultural tastes and lifestyles among contemporary Italian migrants. It also sets Italian migrants apart from most of

the others migrant populations who often cluster in few neighbourhoods of central Paris including other North-North skilled migrants.

This original dualistic spatial pattern (centralization at the Paris Region scale and dispersion at the Municipality scale) can be explained by several key factors. First, very central locations often characterize recent and/or temporary migration, occurring at the beginning of the migration experience, particularly when single or childless – like most of the survey respondents. Second, *intramuros* Paris tends to cater to high value-added activities of the upper-tertiary sector (Halbert 2004). These sectors are also the workplaces for a large part of recent Italian immigrants (see below). Third, living in the very centre of Paris appears to be a crucial housing choice for people whose migration abroad cannot be reduced to working or studying motives. Research on middle class migrants, especially in the context of North-North or intra-EU mobility, mentions that work-related motives are not crucial in determining the decision to move abroad (see Triandafyllidou and al. in this special issue; Santacreu et al. 2009), the selection of the migration destination, residential preferences and everyday practices in the selected city (Scott 2006; Krings et al. 2013; Burrell 2010). The desire to discover the cultural amenities of Paris and to adopt new lifestyles can lead migrants to prioritize central neighbourhoods. Many in-depth interviews with Italians living in Paris clearly express this location choice. One example is the case of Isabella, a 30 year old researcher who has been living in the 12th arrondissement since 2011 with her husband and children:

“We lived a couple of months in Orleans, in the French province. And there I said to myself: to live in France why not, but in that case it has to be in Paris, nothing else! There was no library at all, the only thing I could do was spend money in shopping malls. I felt so bad, it was unbearable. So it had to be Paris because of culture, theatres, exhibitions, museums, all that matters for kids. For us it was Paris, no discussion about that. Even if we would have to simply eat bread and potatoes.”

Many interviews echo the same fascination with Paris' central area. Some of our respondents may prefer to live in uncomfortable housing arrangements rather than in the outer suburbs. Flat-sharing is frequently adopted to afford Paris's expensive housing market:

“The plan was not to leave Paris at any cost. We love that city. Moving to Montreuil [*a Paris suburb*] would have been a very different thing.” (Alberto, 41, artist)

As anticipated, the concentration of Italian migrants in the central area of the city is partly linked to their socioeconomic profile, especially among those who have arrived more recently. The dualistic spatial integration pattern of Italians migrants – both centralized and dispersed – shows similarities with their integration on the Paris labour market which associates an overall high level of skills and a strong diversification of occupations and type of contracts(table 1).

Table 1. The social stratification of Italians in Paris: online survey (2015) and French census (2009) compared

Occupation	Italians in Paris Survey (2015), %			Italian migrants (INSEE, National census 2009), %		
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
Farmer	0	0	0	0	0	0
Shopkeepers, heads of business	6	4	4	5	1	3
Professionals and highly qualified workers	54	35	41	17	12	15
Technicians and associate prof.	12	23	19	10	10	10
Office workers	1	1	1	4	13	9
Manual workers	2	2	2	8	2	5
Retirees	4	0	1	47	44	46
Without employment	23	35	31	8	17	13
Students	16	22	20			

Total	100 (N=160)	100 (N=355)	100 (N=515)	100 (N=28174)	100 (N=28628)	100 (N=56802)
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Source: Italians in Paris Survey, 2015; INSEE, census 2009 (includes people over 15 living in Paris Region).

Our online survey yields converging information. Compared to the French census of 2009, the sample of Italian migrants (table 1) shows a marked over-representation of professionals and highly qualified workers (41 per cent vs 15 per cent) and an under-representation of retirees (1 per cent vs 46 per cent), as well as a less spectacular under-representation of office (1 per cent vs 9 per cent) or manual workers (2 per cent vs 5 per cent). Rather than a strong “crisis effect”, the sample reflects the long-term trend of an occupational upgrade of the Italian population living in Paris, while at the same time allowing for an understanding of its socioeconomic diversity. An extremely wide range of jobs are included. Even within each occupational category, the workplace status and type of employment contracts are quite heterogeneous (see Appendix): a quarter of employed respondents are interns (5 per cent) or on temporary contracts (20 per cent). Noticeably, these proportions are also to be found among “professionals and highly qualified workers”.

This diversity emerges more clearly once we take into account other features of the work profiles, such as monthly incomes (before taxes), which are rarely documented in social surveys. We asked the question by categories of income and got a fairly good response rate (86 per cent of the employed respondents). Half of respondents earn less than €2000 per month; the proportion of low-income earners is significantly higher among women (57 per cent) than men (38 per cent). Lowest-income earners (less than €1200, which is the legal minimum wage in France) amount to almost one fifth of the sample. More surprisingly, 9 per cent of the highly qualified workers and 27 per cent of the technicians and office workers earn less than €1200. Only 7 per cent of the employed respondents earn more than €5000 per month and can be considered as elite migrants.

Income data lead us to characterize Italians in Paris as predominantly middle class, in spite of their high educational qualification. These results raise the question of their over-qualification, which is a key issue both objectively and subjectively. There is indeed a relatively poor association between educational credentials and current occupations. While most of employed respondents holding a post-graduate degree work as professionals or highly-skilled workers, still one out of six are technicians and associate professionals, especially among migrants who arrived after 2009. It is hard to ascertain whether this is a “crisis effect”, but we also observe that 51 per cent of the university-degree holders that arrived after 2009 work as technicians and associate professionals. These figures suggest that neither upward mobility nor a fit between skills and occupations are the norm among Italian migrants in Paris.

Despite the mismatch between qualification level and effective job opportunities, in-depth interviews show how moving to Paris is nonetheless seen as an attractive option, since the Parisian job market is considered by our respondents to fare better than the Italian. Even when they face difficulties or joblessness, interviewees still describe their situation as more rewarding than in Italy:

“[During my unemployment period] I reloaded my batteries. When I was aware of the amount of unemployment benefits in France, I got between 1400 and 1600 euros a month, I did not feel anxious at all. I was relieved, unlike my mother who was hopeless. She worried about me. I told her: ‘you earn 900 euros to go to work all day long, while I stay home and I get more money!’”

(Alberto, 41, artist)

In that sense, Italians in Paris find themselves in a situation of reduced social downgrade. The key problem in Italy seems to be a lack of recognition, even more than a lack of jobs (Dubucs, Pfirsch, Schmoll, 2017). Despite the difficulties they find on the labour market, our respondents describe France as a more meritocratic society compared to Italy:

“We [young Italians in Paris] are all aware that if we are here it’s because we manage to do things here that we cannot do in Italy, simply because here we have been put in charge at a level that is unthinkable in Italy. Really unthinkable. I think I never could have done editorial work in Italy at the age of 30, I mean 27, 28, 29. Impossible. I would never have been a project manager for a big NGO like WWF. This is simply because work culture in Italy does not allow it. As a young person you are not given any chance to get a decision-making position, they don’t take any risk. They give you no recognition, while the French do...”

(Alessandra, 31, NGO manager)

Another striking feature of the open-ended interviews is that rarely the Euro-crisis features in the narrative of migration stories. Respondents rather talk about the “structural” and long lasting generational crisis that marks Italy: the lack of recognition for young adults and their hardships in reaching residential or economic independence in a society they describe as “gerontocratic” (Dubucs, Pfirsch and Schmoll, 2017).

The socio-cultural side of integration: Social relations and attachments of Italians in Paris

By making intra-EU migrants entitled to the same rights and welfare benefits as nationals, the EU citizenship framework reduces the appeal of traditional trajectories of incorporation in receiving societies. These are usually hinged on migrant associations and social networks that cater to newcomers, offering support in the critical phases of adaptation to the host country’s labour and residential markets (Alba and Nee 2005). Such an anchorage in co-national networks also tends to be the source of ethnic enclaves in cities of immigration. The previous section showed, in fact, that this spatial dimension of immigrant integration in urban context has totally disappeared among Italians in Paris. Then what about its relational counterpart – that is, the inclusion in social, cultural and political circles that have a specifically Italian

character? In other words, has Italian-ness been entirely phased out by a prevalingly individualistic strategy of migration?

To answer this question, our survey collected indicators that span over different forms of involvement in national relations: a *sociability-cultural* dimension, that expresses itself in participating in the activities of Italian associations in Paris (at least once a year) and in following expat blogs or other virtual arenas devoted to Italian migrants; a *consumption-cultural* dimension that is indicated by attending Italian restaurants in Paris (at least three times a year); and a *civic-political* dimension, which is attested to by being registered at the consulate as well as having voted in early 2015 for the election of the local council of registered national citizens (the so-called *Comites*).

Overall, both participation in the life of associations and voting turned out to be quite marginal activities: only 19 per cent of respondents performed these. The proportion of Italians in Paris who fulfil their civic duty of registering with the consulate is also rather low (52 per cent), if one considers that this is a legal obligation. Perhaps this signals a “light” presence in the city (as for some students, who do not have a long-term settlement project). More popular, in fact, are Italian restaurants (43 per cent of respondents go there three or more times a year) and virtual *piazas* (social networks groups such as *Italiansonlineparigi*, *Mammeepapaitalianiaparigi*, *ItalianiaParigi* as well as blogs such as *ItalianipocketandAltritaliani.net*) capturing the attention of Italians either for local events or national issues with an immigrant focus (44 per cent of respondents follow them regularly).³

Likewise, our in-depth interviews revealed that Italian sociability is an important feature of Italians’ social life in Paris. Consistent with the literature highlighting the role of migration in

³This proportion might have been boosted by our sampling strategy, which used the web to recruit respondents.

the Italian nation-building process (Choate 2008), the Parisian experience, according to some respondents, has reduced the significance of regional patterns of identification.

By summing up these five dichotomic indicators (participating in Paris Italian associations, using expat blogs, going to Italian restaurants, being registered at the Italian consulate, voting for the consulate elections), we constructed an “Integration in Italian Circles Index” that varies from 0 to 5. Only 13 per cent of respondents scored ‘0’, meaning that they are entirely detached from these different forms of connections to co-nationals or Italy-centred institutions. More than six respondents out of ten (61 per cent) adopt one or two of these practices. No more than 2 per cent declared to be involved or have performed all five types of activities. The average respondent scored 1.78 on the index (SD=1.20). Table 2 reports the results of an OLS regression of the index on a number of independent variables. Among these, we paid particular attention to the “period of migration”, distinguishing post-crisis migrants from earlier movers, and to social class, which we coded in line with the well-established EGP schema (Erikson and Goldthorpe 1992), but with two variants: on the one hand, a distinction of the “culture-creative” component of the service class (EGP I-IIb) from the mainstream salariat (EGP I-IIa);⁴ and on the other, the compression of classes IV to VII (petty bourgeoisie and working class) due to their limited size. Theoretically, an assimilationist take on socio-cultural integration would posit that time dissolves the ethnic focus of immigrants’ social life, while a multiculturalist view would consider the time variable relatively not influential. In fact, none of these expectations is fulfilled. In terms of social class, in fact, research on elite migrants (see section 1) would lead us to expect that upper classes may opt for a cosmopolitan life-style, in which ethnic affinities lose ground and significance.

⁴ Research on the social life of different occupational groups in Paris shows a neat split between on the one hand private sector executives and the professions, and on the other public sector executives, teachers, and workers of creative industries (Préteceille 2007). We capitalise on this insight to distinguish two fractions of the upper class.

Table 2. Predictors of the “Integration in Italian Circles Index”: OLS regression

	B		SE
Age	.002		(.008)
Years in Paris	.032	***	(.010)
Period of migration (ref: before 2010)	.215		(.167)
Gender (ref: male)	-.231	**	(.111)
Parental status (ref: has children)	.232		(.144)
Personal status (ref: single)	.001		(.122)
Education (ref: higher tertiary degree)	-.230	*	(.125)
Occupational status (ref: long-term contract)	.255	**	(.131)
Occupational class (ref: EGP I-IIa) ^o			
EGP IIb	-.165		(.245)
EGP III	-.108		(.230)
EGP IV-VII	.205		(.224)
Student	-.369	*	(.219)
Area of residence (ref: <i>banlieue</i>)			
Arrondissement 1-9	-.074		(.155)
Arrondissement 10-20	-.012		(.129)
Number of travels to Italy	-.019		(.017)
Number of visits from Italy	.016		(.018)
Paris as key place in life	.214	*	(.117)
Third country as key place in life	-.053		(.105)
Constant	1.934		(.380)

Source: Italians in Paris Survey (2015). N=504. R²=.19.
 Significance: ***: ≤.01; **: ≤.05; *: ≤.10.

Overall, we find that the longer the time of migration, the higher the integration in Italian activities and institutions in Paris. Consistently, migrants who landed in Paris after the Euro-crisis are equally less likely to be involved in such activities (although not significantly from a statistical viewpoint). We are not in a position to discern statistically whether this is a time or a period effect. In-depth interviews, though, tend to favour the first interpretation, describing a process of gradual involvement of immigrants in local Italian networks:

“I have always thought that I had not come to France to meet Italians, and then, finally... The Paris Italian network is so... Well, you just have to think one minute, and you realize you have acquaintances in common, well, we really know everybody.” (Sara, 31, NGO manager)

In other words, the migration experience becomes “Italianized” over time – for those who decide to stay, of course. Such an “ethnicization of migrant integration” – which counters the French assimilation pathway (Beauchemin et al. 2015) – picks up with a firmer entry into the local labour market (being more likely for respondents with long-term contracts). It is also significantly more widespread among women, who may rely on it as care-takers and the relatively less educated, who are probably less equipped linguistically to be admitted into other social networks. For the opposite reason, more or less formal channels of Italian sociability are shunned by Italian students, either for their relatively short-time investment in migration or a lack of interest in involvement in migrant-like circuits. Class-wise, we find higher integration in Italian social circles among both the traditional upper class (I-IIa) and the lower classes (IV-VII), contrary to views of upper class migrants as more internationalized actors; these effects are, however, not statistically significant.

Finally, we controlled for feelings of belonging to the host society, as assimilation theory would assume that this should weaken relations with co-ethnics. In fact, we found a strong attachment to Paris as a relevant predictor of inclusion in Italian circles.⁵ Far from being contradictory, “feeling Parisian” and “seeing Italians” turn out to be strongly associated.

We are particularly interested in exploring who named “Paris” as one of the three key places in their life, as this appears to be the clearest possible indication of subjective attachment to the city. Where does this sense of “Parisian-ness” come from? Results from a logit regression (table 3) show that time in the city plays out markedly: the longer respondents have lived in the “city of lights”, the more likely they are to mention it as a significant place in their life. In this regard, period effects can probably be ruled out, as it is not the older but the younger

⁵The survey included a number of open-ended questions, one of which asked respondents to mention (with a free format) the three most significant “places” of their life. Almost everyone (97 per cent) cited some Italian location (normally a city or village). More variance emerged in the quote of “Paris” (or a Parisian area: for instance, Montmartre) or a “third country place” (for instance, London or Brazil). Paris was mentioned by 73.6 per cent and a third country place by 45.6 per cent of respondents.

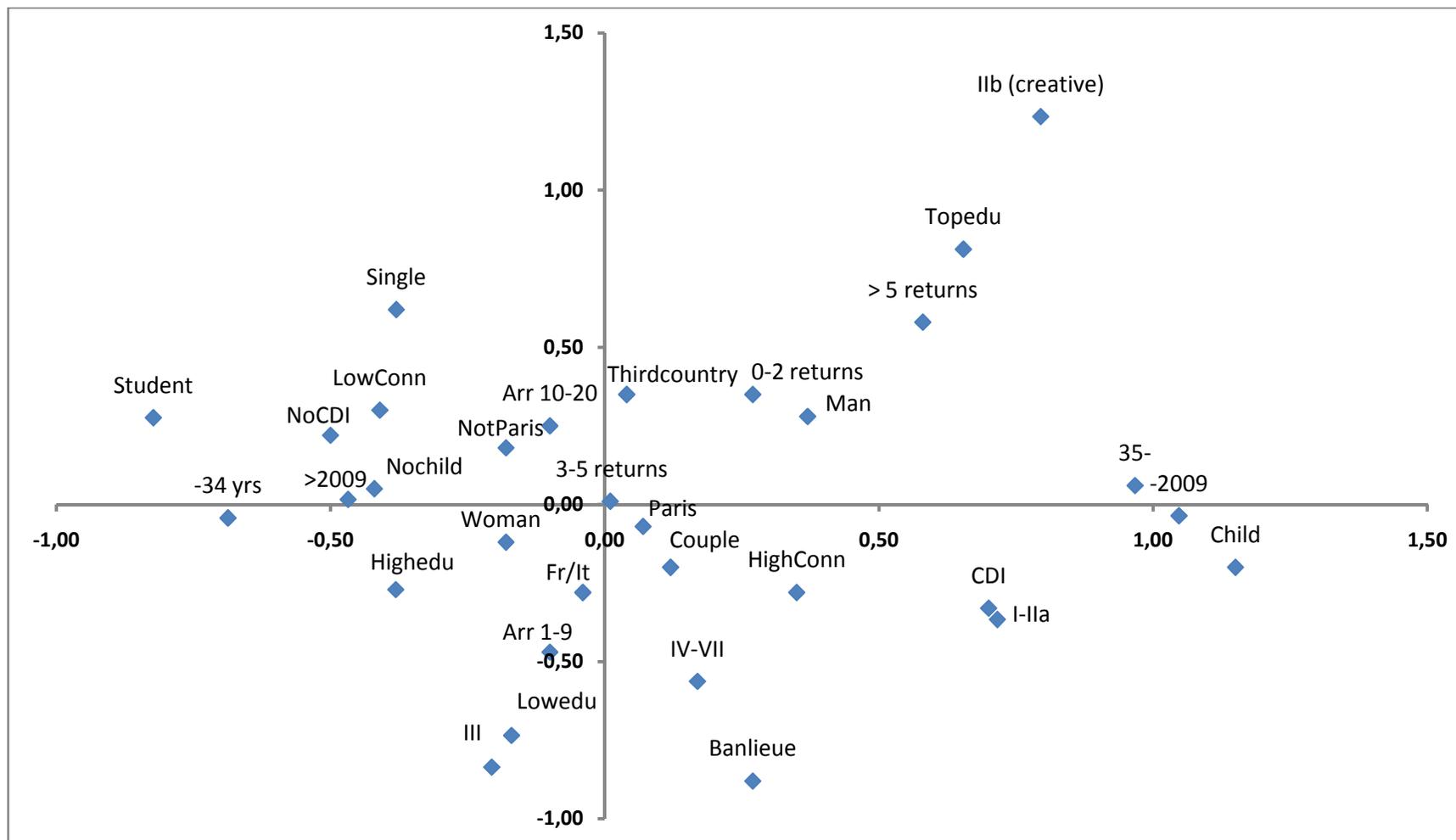
respondents who are slightly more inclined to feel the Paris effect. Perhaps younger migrants' attachment to Paris is contingent on their smaller range of travel experiences. For the same reason, the upper class (but not the creative upper class) is also less likely to see Paris as their geographical hub: they travel more and are more exposed to the allure of other places. Indeed, "feeling Parisian" is not easily compatible with being attached to third countries (that is, neither France nor Italy). The two indicators are quite robustly correlated negatively: Paris's allure is somewhat relativized by migrants who have experienced life in other countries and have maintained some attachment to them.

Table 3. Predictors of choice of Paris as key place in life: logit regression

	B		SE
Age	-.023	*	(.017)
Years in Paris	.072	**	(.031)
Period of migration (ref: before 2010)	.031		(.390)
Gender (ref: male)	-.184		(.242)
Parental status (ref: has children)	-.368		(.314)
Personal status (ref: single)	.013		(.261)
Education (ref: higher tertiary degree)	.109		(.263)
Occupational status (ref: long-term contract)	-.438		(.299)
Occupational class (ref: I-IIa) ^o			
EGP Iib	.443		(.520)
EGP III	.569		(.483)
EGP IV-VII	.353		(.476)
Student	.222		(.455)
Area of residence (ref: <i>banlieue</i>)			
Arrondissement 1-9	.350		(.330)
Arrondissement 10-20	.189		(.272)
Number of returns to Italy	-.053		(.037)
Number of visits from Italy	.049		(.041)
"Integration in Italian Circles index"	.187	*	(.100)
Third country as key place in life	-.613	***	(.218)
Constant	1.799		(1.432)

Source: Italians in Paris Survey (2015). N=505. Pseudo-R²=.11.
Significance: ***: ≤.01; **: ≤.05; *: ≤.10.

Figure 3. Dimensions of migrant incorporation of Italians in Paris: Multiple Correspondence Analysis (MCA)



Note:

-2009	= migrated up to 2009	NoCDI	=No long-term work contract
>2009	= migrated after 2009	CDI	=Long-term work contract
I-IIa	= upper class (EGP schema)	LowConn	=Integration in Italian Circles index: low score
IIb (creative)	=creative service class (EGP schema)	HighConn	=Integration in Italian Paris Circles: high score
III	=routine white collar (EGP schema)	> 5 returns	=yearly returns to Italy (6 or more)
IV-VII	=manual worker (EGP schema)	3-5 returns	=yearly returns to Italy (3-5)
Student	=students and retirees	0-2 returns	=yearly returns to Italy (0-2)
Lowedu	=education: below tertiary level	Woman	=gender: woman
Highedu	=education: tertiary level	Man	=gender: man
Topedu	=education tertiary level+MA/PhD	Arr 1-9	=Home location: arrondissements 1-9 (city centre)
-34 yrs	=age up to 34 years old	Arr 10-20	=Home location: arrondissements 10-20 (semi-central)
35-	=age from 35 years old on	Banlieue	=Home location: outskirts
Single	=No partner currently	NotParis	=Important places in life: Paris not mentioned
Couple	=Has partner currently	Paris	=Important places in life: Paris mentioned
Nochild	=Does not have children	Fr/It	=Important places in life: only French or Italian location
Child	=Has children	Third country	=Important place in life: also third country

Our final analysis seeks to grapple simultaneously with objective and subjective characteristics of the sample (figure 3). Multiple correspondence analysis (MCA) offers a parsimonious and inductive way of capturing different patterns of structural and socio-cultural integration by different social groups within the sample. All modalities of the categorical variables included in the analysis so far are taken into account and projected onto a two-dimensional plane in which distance from the centre represents the discriminatory power of each modality and mutual proximity stands for correlation. Orthogonal categories help interpret the two emerging dimensions. In our case, the horizontal axis is marked by *age-time* variables – in particular, age (people under 34 are on the extreme left, over 35 on the extreme right) and period of migration (after 2009 on the left, before 2009 on the right). The vertical axis has a *status-space* connotation. At the top of the graph, we find the “cultural bourgeoisie” (class IIb, in the interpretation we give to this Erikson-Goldthorpe category in our class schema), the most educated (holding a post-university title, like a master or Phd); at the bottom there are white collar routine workers (class III) and manual workers (IV-VII), the non-university educated and respondents who live in the *banlieue*. Noticeably, the centre (*arrondissements* 1-9) and semi-centre (*arrondissements* 10-20) neighbourhoods do stretch along the vertical axis, but are somewhat less discriminant than education and social class, as they are likely to be a too blurred classification of geographical stratification within Paris.

Once the structuring axes have been defined, the graph evidences a relatively unexpected association: the frequency of travels back to Italy is very much a function of social status, as is frequently found (in the French case: Beauchemin et al. 2011, 10-11), but not of time of migration. The modality “travels back to Italy more than 5 times a year” is next to the highest level of education and to the cultural fraction of the upper class, not to recency of settlement. In other words, long established migrants (i.e., who moved up to 2009: on the right hand side of the graph) are not less likely to travel back and forth to the country of origin than

newcomers, provided they have the means to do it. The over-time “attenuation” of cross-border connections that characterizes the normality of the immigrant experience in many developed countries (Waldinger 2015, 71) – a major proof of assimilation – does not show up here. Assimilation is not the kind of incorporation that suits Italian migrants in the Paris context. Moreover, we find a broad and common association between relatively high transnational practices (indicated by 3-5 returns to Italy per year), inclusion in ethnic activities (a high score on the Integration in Italian Circles index) and attachment to the host city (Paris as the most importance place in life). These three characteristics are next to each other and to the centre of the representation space, thus signalling that their association is widespread among respondents. This speaks to a “synergistic” interaction between integration and transnationalism – what Erdal and Oeppen (2013) have called the “balancing acts” that substantiate migrants’ incorporation. Such “balancing acts” express a form of adaptation to the host society that falls out of the assimilationist and multiculturalist clichés. As Erdal and Oeppen observe, in this pattern of incorporation “feeling of belonging and connection in one place give confidence to further develop connections [in the other]” (ibid., 878).

Conclusion

The Euro-crisis has amplified intra-EU migrations along the South-North route. Demographically, movements did not pick up in the early days of the crisis (Recchi and Salamonska 2015), but accelerated after 2012 (Glynn 2014). In this paper, we investigated the characteristics of Italians who moved to Paris after the onset of the crisis, compared to their predecessors, in order to catch out a possible “crisis effect”. We found that newcomers do not differ dramatically, if not for being somewhat younger and more likely in precarious employment – something that, however, can well be a life course effect and an outcome of

their recent access to the local labour market. In this respect, the case of Italian migrants epitomizes new forms of precariousness observed among highly-skilled migrants from other South-European countries (Machado-Taylor et al. 2016).

In other respects, post-crisis migrants seem to partake in a structural trend of middle class migration out of Italy. From a subjective viewpoint, we can hardly distinguish post-crisis migrants from other Italians residing in Paris in terms of local attachment and inclusion in Italian migrant networks. Our analysis confirms that the large majority of surveyed Italians are part and parcel of a large and variegated middle class, with shrinking numbers of low-qualified workers as well as a tiny minority of elite expats. Such a finding is in line with other scholarship on contemporary Italian intra-EU migration (Gjergji 2015; Del Prà 2011): contrarily to post-war migration, new Italian migration is urban (coming from and going to cities), middle class and highly skilled.

In the Parisian case, spatial analysis reveals that the residential integration of Italian migrants is far from a ghetto-like global city model, with a transnational urban elite being segregated in specific areas. Italians are settled in an almost randomly diffused way all around Paris. Their socioeconomic integration is also diversified, with a substantial share of workers employed in jobs that do not match their educational qualifications: 24 per cent of MA and Phd educated migrants work in routine employments. Why, then, migrate to Paris? In open-ended interviews, Italian migrants claim that the choice of Paris is connected to the search for better social recognition. Moreover, the fact that most Italians in the French capital declare a strong attachment to Paris – which is further evidenced and qualified in both the survey and the in-depth interviews – may indicate that Paris itself is the added-value of migration projects. Not only the search for a job, but also the need for a lively and attractive environment, may explain the choice to settle in the French capital. As shown by other studies, young

Italians seem to be generally attracted by European big cities, such as London, Paris, Berlin or Barcelona (Cucchiariato 2010; Scotto 2010; Del Prà 2011). Except London, these urban settings are apparently not the most rewarding from a mere labour market perspective. In fact, studies on Italians moving to so-called Eurocities (Favell 2008) show that a broader conception of a city's amenities (urban sociability and specific ways of life, culture, local history and landscape) is as important as labour opportunities in the choice of that particular destination. Thus, while a job search in a crisis context may be the trigger, the more robust benefit of migration to large urban areas may be the subjectively empowering experience that they can offer (Glick Schiller 2012).

This paper aimed to shed light on the urban dimension of migrants settlement, coherently with the increased interest for issues of local incorporation within the field of migration studies (Glick-Schiller and Çağlar 2011; Plöger and Becker 2015). Recent studies have revealed that even the highly mobile transnational elite is still grounded through everyday practices and interactions in specific local contexts (Yeoh and Huang 2011; Andreotti et al. 2015). Likewise, middle class Italians' local attachments are complex and multi-levelled: Being Parisian and Italian go hand in hand in their own self-definition. Italy-centred sociability is an important feature of Italians' social life in Paris. Similarly, also due to the geographical proximity of the country of origin, frequent returns are not contradictory to their long-term stay in Paris. Assimilation – even in a prototypical assimilationist country – is not the name of their game. At the same time, Italian migrants skip the kind of enclave living that is characteristic of communitarian forms of immigrant integration. Their practices reflect “balancing acts” between local and transnational attachments (Erdal and Oeppen 2013), possibly expressing an emerging “plural nationalism” (Triandafyllidou 2013) with, however, a marked urban connotation. In an age of enhanced mobility and shrinking distance, middle class intra-European migrants may articulate multiple forms of embeddedness and engage in

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mobile lifestyles without being obliged to choose between “here” and “there”. Further studies should try to elucidate whether dramatically changing macro-contexts in Europe – like Brexit and the rise of anti-EU nationalism – do alter this general picture and impose onto migrants more traditional forms of integration into host societies.

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APPENDIX

<i>Variable</i>	<i>Description of variable</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
-2009	Migrated up to 2009	36
>2009	Migrated after 2009	64
I-IIa	Upper class (EGP schema)	24
IIb (creative)	Creative service class (EGP schema)	16
III	Routine white collar (EGP schema)	20
IV-VII	Manual worker (EGP schema)	7
Student/Not working	Includes also inactives	33
Lowedu	Education: below tertiary level	19
Highedu	Education: tertiary level	48
Topedu	Education tertiary level+MA/PhD	33
-34 yrs	Age up to 34 years old	58
35-	Age from 35 years old on	42
> 5 returns	Yearly returns to Italy (6 or more)	17
3-5 returns	Yearly returns to Italy (3-5)	43
0-2 returns	Yearly returns to Italy (0-2)	40
Woman	Gender: woman	69
Man	Gender: man	31
Arr 1-9	Home location: arrondissements 1-9 (city centre)	22
Arr 10-20	Home location: arrondissements 10-20 (semi-central)	56
Banlieue	Home location: outskirts	22
NotParis	Important places in life: Paris not mentioned	27
Paris	Important places in life: Paris mentioned	73
Fr/It	Important places in life: only French or Italian location	54
Third country	Important places in life: also third country	46
Single	No partner currently	24

Couple	Has partner currently	76
Nochild	Does not have children	75
Child	Has children	25
NoCDI	No long-term work contract	26
CDI	Long-term work contract	64
LowConn	Integration in Italian Paris index: low score	45
HighConn	Integration in Italian Paris index: high score	55