Ethnic identity and labour market outcomes of immigrants in Italy

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Abstract

The paper explores the relationship between ethnic identity and labour market outcomes of immigrants in Italy. Using an IV strategy to deal with endogeneity concerns, we find that the probability of being employed, both regularly or irregularly, is higher for integrated immigrants. Interestingly, our analysis shows that assimilated foreigners have no better chances of being employed than separated ones. Therefore, these results seem to suggest that public policies supporting foreigners' assimilation to the majorities' culture might not be effective if not combined with policies aimed at maintaining the customs and traditions of the minorities.

Keywords: Ethnic identity, Acculturation, Labour market outcomes, IV

JEL *classification*: F22, J15, Z13

1 Introduction

In the last decades the phenomenon of immigration in Italy has grown at impressive rate. According to recent data published by the Initiatives and Studies on the Multiethnicity (ISMU) Foundation, at the beginning of 2014 the number of foreigners living in Italy either legally or illegally was about 5.5 million, increasing of about 600 thousand with respect to the previous year. The rapid expansion has not occurred uniformly throughout the country, implying that large communities of ethnic minorities have concentrated

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in the urban areas of some specific regions in the North and Central Italy. Therefore, the establishment of these enclaves has generated concerns about the way immigrants settle in local areas and whether this settlement is realized through a process of integration with the local communities or through a conflicting process as in other European countries.

The issue of immigrants' integration in Europe is attracting an increasing interest among researchers. Many studies have focused on the notion of ethnic identity, i.e., "the aspect of the acculturation process that focuses on the subjective sense of belonging to a group or culture and that becomes salient when immigrants come to a new society" (Phinney, 1990). Analysing how the individual's ethnic identity forms and the way it changes when people get in touch with other cultures is becoming a crucial point in order to understand the social and economic inclusion of immigrants in the host country. There is a growing evidence on the influence that ethnic identity exerts on foreigners' economic outcomes, especially in the labor market. A number of studies, as for example those related to Germany, the UK, Sweden, USA or Canada, have shown that the people that develop a high sense of belonging to the culture and the community of the destination country outperform the people that are firmly anchored to the own culture of origin while rejecting that of the host country. (see, e.g., Drydakis 2012; Bisin *et al.* 2011; Nekby & Rodin 2010; Battu & Zenou 2010a,b; Constant & Zimmermann 2008; Pendakur & Pendakur 2005; Mason 2004). However, the empirical evidence for the Italian case is scant. Few studies have focused on the immigrants' sense of identification to the host country (De Palo *et al.*, 2006), on the economic performance explained by variables other than the ethnic identity (Mazzanti *et al.*, 2009), and on the wage gap between foreigners born abroad and those born in Italy (Faini *et al.*, 2009).

The objective of this paper is to investigate the relationship between immigrants' ethnic identity and the economic performance they realize on the labor market in Italy. To measure ethnic identity, we use a two-dimensional indicator based on the individual's sense of belonging to both the host and the home countries' culture, as in Berry (1997) - who classifies immigrants as integrated, assimilated, separated and marginalized. In particular, our empirical analysis explores the role of the ethnic identity indicator in predicting foreigners' probability of being employed. In the attempt to provide a causal interpretation to the results of our analysis, we implement an IV strategy to properly address the endogeneity problems coming from the simultaneity in the relationship between ethnic identity and the employment status of immigrants. In particular, we use the respondent's use of the Italian language at home and her opinion on the freedom to profess religions publicly and in private as instruments for our endogenous variables. There are not many

other studies on this topic that try to solve the endogeneity issues. (Islam & Raschky, 2015), for instance, use the genetic distance between the host and the home countries as instruments for ethnic identity. They find a negligible role payed by the ethnic identity to explain the immigrants' labour market performance in Canada.

Using cross-sectional data collected by the *ISMU* Foundation in 2009 we find that the probability of being employed, either regularly or irregularly, for integrated immigrants is 25% higher than that for separated immigrants, while we do not find statistically significant differences between assimilated and separated foreigners in their probability of being employed. The results we obtain are very interesting because they seem to suggest that, in spite of the evidence and the attitude actually prevailing in Europe, the policies that support immigrants' complete assimilation to the host country, neglecting or even hindering the worship of own culture of origin, might not be effective.

The paper is structured as follows. In the next sections we describe the data, the empirical strategy and the results. The last section concludes.

2 Empirical framework

In this section we explain our empirical analysis. To investigate the relationship between immigrants' ethnic identity and their labour market outcomes, we first use an OLS estimation method. We measure the respondent's ethnic identity using the Berry's classification (Berry, 1997) that groups immigrants as integrated, assimilated, separated and marginalized, according to their level of self-identification with both the host and the home country. Therefore, immigrants with a high self-identification with the culture of both the host and the home country are classified as "integrated", while a strong identification with the country of destination joint with a low sense of belonging to the country of origin identifies people as "assimilated". The reverse case is defined as "separated", typical of foreigners firmly tied to the home country's values and customs but with low feeling toward the host country culture and traditions. Finally, the lack of self-identification with both countries describes "marginalized" immigrants.

To avoid endogeneity concerns due to the omission of individual characteristics that are related to both ethnic identity and labor outcomes, we add a large number of covariates in our regression. In particular, we introduce the age, the level of education, the civil status, the religion, the number of years spent in Italy at the time of the interview and, finally, the migrant's knowledge of the Italian language. Moreover, we add nationality fixed effects to capture different attitudes toward labour and identity that depend on the

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cultural aspects prevailing in the home country. To control for local labor market features, we include Italian province fixed effects and dummies for the economic productive sectors. This also allows us to take into account cross-provinces differences in natives' attitude toward immigrants and any other differences linked to local jurisdiction and environment.

A typical challenge in measuring the economic performance of foreigners in the host country is to account for the network effect that usually immigrants exploit to find a job. It is very common that foreigner people move from the home country to a given destination country after some other relatives or friends have already settled there. Through the network they may benefit from hospitality at arrival and from receiving information about labor opportunities. And this could facilitate them in finding a job, even if they do not integrate or assimilate. So the lack of variable accounting for the network effect could result in downward biased estimates of the effect of ethnic identity on labor market outcomes. Unfortunately, we do not have this specific information in the data, hence we try to address the issue by using a proxy, i.e., an interaction term between dummies for immigrants' nationality and dummies for Italian regions.

A major concern in using an OLS estimation strategy is to incur in some endogeneity problems, as the reverse causality between the status of being employed and the ethnic identity, due to the influence that the former variable could exert on the latter one: actually, the immigrant's satisfaction toward the host country increases if she is employed. To deal with this source of endogeneity we use an IV approach and exploit both the use of the Italian language at home and the immigrant's opinion on the freedom to profess religion as instruments for the status of integrated and assimilated foreigner, respectively. We expect that both the instruments affect the immigrant's attitude toward the host and home country, so her ethnic identity, but do not directly influence the probability of being employed. The fact that the immigrants prefer to speak the language of the destination country also at home, i.e., when they are not forced to do it, is a signal of their openness to the new culture and suggest that they feel very comfortable with the new country. Instead, the immigrant's opinion on the freedom to profess religion seems to be more related to the sense of belonging the home country. We expect that people living in a country that allows anyone to freely profess their religion feel themselves really integrated, just for the fact that the host country respect their culture and traditions. So, the costs associated to the high self-identification with the home country are low, and this could reduce the need for assimilating to the host country (that is higher if the society rejects the own origin's culture). Therefore, the immigrant's opinion on the freedom to profess religion should be positively correlated with the integra-

tion status and negatively associated with the assimilation to the country of destination.

To estimate the impact of ethnic identity on the probability of being employed, while addressing the aforementioned endogeneity problems, we use different estimation strategies. First, we use the two stage least square (2SLS) estimation method and estimate a linear probability model. We then use the two stage residual inclusion (2SRI) estimation method - as in (Terza *et al.*, 2008) - that allows to account for non linearities in the model, hence producing more precise estimates. However, we cannot rule out the possibility that the instruments might still be endogenous, so we are cautious in supporting a causal interpretation of the results we obtain. Regardless of this, our findings contribute to the existing research on the field and add information to the debate on the development of the immigration in the Italian case.

2.1 Data and descriptive statistics

Data are collected by the ISMU Foundation between October 2008 and February 2009. Respondents are 12049, both men or women, coming from EU and non-EU countries, aged 18 or older and living in 32 Italian provinces[1]. There are many advantages of using this dataset. One is the higher number of observations with respect to the data collected by other official institutions. Also, given the main goal of the ISMU Foundation to support studies that allow a complete and real understanding of the landscape of immigration in Italy, the survey collects not only the official information but also that regarding the irregular phenomenon. Moreover, to the best of our knowledge, this is the first survey that specifically focuses on the immigrants' integration in Italy, including proper information on the foreigners' feeling of belonging to the host country and their sense of identity. In addition to the specific questions on the immigrants' ethnic identity, the survey provides information on the respondents' socio-cultural and politico-economic conditions, allowing us to deeply examine the complex phenomenon of immigration in Italy.[2]

To obtain our measure of ethnic identity we use two questions of the survey that capture respondent's sense of self-identification with the host and home country. To the questions "How much do you feel to belong to the host country?" and "How much do you feel to belong to the home country?" respondents can choose among four options: "Far Too Little", "Little", "Enough" and "Very Much". We create 4 dummies: a dummy

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[1]The provinces are dislocated in 13 Regions: Piemonte, Lombardia, Trentino- Alto Adige, Veneto, Emilia-Romagna, Toscana, Marche, Abruzzo, Lazio, Campania, Molise, Puglia and Sicilia.

[2]A detailed description of the data is available in (Cesareo & Blangiardo, 2009)

identifying integrated immigrants, which is equal to one if the respondent answers "Enough" or "Very Much" to both questions and zero otherwise; a dummy for assimilated immigrants equal to one if the respondent answers "Enough" or "Very Much" to the former question and "Far Too Little" or "Little" to the latter. The dummy for separated immigrants corresponds to the reverse case, in which the variable takes value one if the respondent report as "Far Too Little" or "Little" her sense of self-identification with the host country and as "Enough" or "Very Much" her sense of self-identification with the home country; finally, the dummy for marginalized immigrants identifies the case in which the respondent answers "Far Too Little" or "Little" to both questions.

According to the summary statistics in Table 1, almost 50% of the people in the sample is *Integrated*, while slightly more than 40% is *Separated*. Less than 10% of the sample is *Assimilated* and, as expected, a very low percentage (less than 3%) is *Marginalized*. Due to the very small fraction of immigrants in the last category, we group separated and marginalized in a single class and use it as the reference category. We therefore compare the economic outcomes realized by both integrated and assimilated immigrants with respect to those realized by the control group. In particular, our dependent variable is the immigrant's employment status, measured by a dummy that takes value one if the respondent is employed either regularly or irregularly, and zero otherwise. We select only respondents that, at the date of the interview, work or are potentially job-seekers (85% of the sample), and exclude those in retirement age, housewives and students (in other words, those that declare not to be in a professional situation). In doing so, we restrict the sample to 10168 observations, of which about 44% is represented by women and 56% by men.

Not surprisingly, immigrants living in Italy are younger than native people; they are 36 on average and mostly married (over 50%). Surprisingly, instead, the percentage of those with at least a high school degree is about 60% (of this 60%, those with a BA degree or a higher level of education are the 17%). According to our data, 48% of the sample declares to be Christian and 39% to be Muslim. People belong to 128 different nationalities: the most of foreigners comes from Eastern Europe (especially from Albania, Romania and Ukraine) from Northwest Africa (especially from Morocco and Senegal) and, finally, from Asia (especially from Cina, India and Bangladesh).

The respondents usually spend many years in Italy (they say to have been living in Italy for 8.4 years on average) and this explain their high level of knowledge of the Italian language (on average they reach a score of 3.5 in a scale ranging from 1 to 5). The statistics on the productive sector show that the most of foreigners are employed in the family services sector (about

30% of those who are working), followed by those working in the commercial sector (21%) or in industry (18%) as employees, confirming the gap between the level of education and expertise of the immigrants living in Italy and the *low-skills* jobs they are able to find (overeducation phenomenon).

2.2 OLS and PROBIT estimates

To investigate the relationship between immigrants' ethnic identity and their labour market outcomes, we first estimate by OLS the following equation:

$$Employed_{ijz} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 Ethnic_{ijz} + X_{ijz}\delta + Province_j + Nationality_z + \epsilon_{ijz} \quad (1)$$

where the subscript i, j and z indicate the individual, the Italian province where currently lives and the nationality of origin, respectively. The dependent variable, *Employed*, indicates the respondent's probability of being employed either regularly or irregularly. *Ethnic* is a vector of dummies for the immigrant's status of integrated, assimilated and either separated or marginalized (the latter being used as the reference category). The X vector contains all the individual control variables, while *Province* and *Nationality* serve as fixed effects at the province and nationality level, respectively.

The estimates are reported in Table 2. Results in column 1 show a positive association between the probability of being employed and the immigrant's status of integrated. However, we find no significant difference between assimilated and separated foreigners in their employment status. The sign of the two coefficients do not change when we add individual covariates (column 2), but the effect of integrated decreases, as expected. The only variables that seem to influence foreigners' status of worker are the time spent in Italy and the knowledge of the local language (both positively related to the probability of being employed). There are not statistical differences between men and women and, not surprisingly, we find no impact of education. Results in column 3 show that the integration coefficient remain fairly stable when we include in the specification the interaction dummies between immigrant nationality and Italian region with the intent to capture the network effect. Given that *Employed* is a binary indicator, in the last two columns we present the estimates from a probit specification (we report the coefficients in column 4 and the marginal effects in column 5, respectively). Results in column 5 are very similar to the OLS estimates, thus suggesting that they are robust to misspecification of the model as a linear regression.

2.3   IV estimates

A major corcern implementing an OLS estimation strategy, as already described above, is the endogeneity issue. First of all, endogeneity may arise from a potential reverse causality between the status of being employed and the ethnic identity: the immigrant's self-identification with the host country might depend on whether she is or not employed. To deal with this problem, we use an IV approach and employ both the immigrant's opinion on the freedom to profess religion (in a scale from 1 to 5) and the use of the Italian language at home (in a scale from 1 to 5) as instruments for the immigrant's status of integrated and assimilated, respectively. We estimate the following structural equation:

$$Employed_{ijz} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 Ethnic_{ijz} + X_{ijz}\delta + Province_j + Nationality_z + \epsilon_{ijz} \quad (2)$$

$$Ethnic_{ijz} = \gamma_0 + \gamma_1 Z_{ijz} + X_{ijz}\lambda + Province_j + Nationality_z + \eta_{ijz} \quad (3)$$

where equation 3 is the first-stage regression and Z_{ijz} is the vector of instruments introduced above.

We first show results obtained using a 2SLS estimation strategy and then move to discuss those obtained by the 2SRI procedure. With regard to the relevance of the instruments, the first-stage results in Table 3 highlight a positive relationship between the *Use of Italian language at home* and the immigrant's status of integration (column 2) or assimilation (column3). Instead, the *Freedom to religion*, is positively correlated with *Integrated* (column 2) but negatively associated with *Assimilated*, in line with our prior.

The second-stage results are reported in column 1 of Table 3 and show that, when estimating by 2SLS to account for endogeneity concerns, the coefficients for *Integrated* and *Assimilated* fail to achieve significance at conventinal levels, thus suggesting that both integrated and assimilated immigrants do not systematically differ with respect to their probability of being employed from separated immigrants. However, using a 2SLS estimator might not be ideal in our case as both the dependent and the endogenous variables in the model are binary. Therefore, estimating a linear probability model might lead to imprecise estimates of the impact of ethnic identity on employment status. To deal with this problem, we follow Terza *et al.* (2008) and use the two stage residual inclusion (2SRI) procedure. The 2SRI estimator might be thought as an extension of the 2SLS estimator for non linear models, where in the second stage regression the endogenous variables are

not replaced. Instead, the first-stage residuals are included as additional regressors. This allows to control for all the unobservables that are correlated to both the endogenous variables and the outcome. The results obtained by 2SRI are shown in Table 4. In particular, columns 3 reports the second-stage estimates obtained from our baseline specification and column 6 those from a specification in which we account for network effects (our preferred specification). Results show that the impact of integration on employment's status is stronger than before and significant at 1%. In particular, the probability of being employed for an integrated immigrant is 25% higher than that for her separated counterpart. Yet, we find no significant impact of assimilation on employment status.

3   Conclusions

Nowadays the issue of the immigrants' integration in Europe represents a priority in the political agenda of the European Community. Many studies recently carried out in several European countries, such as Germany and UK, seem to show that the phenomenon of integration, i.e. the self-identification with the culture, the lifestyle and the customs of the country of destination improves the social and economic inclusion of immigrants. However, evidence about the Italian case is missing. This paper represents one of the first studies on the relationship between ethnic identity and labour market performance of the foreigners in Italy.

Using a measure of ethnic identity as described in Berry (1997) we show that the probability of being employed of integrated immigrants (i.e. those with a great sense of belonging to either the host or the home country) is higher than that of separated ones (i.e. those strongly anchored to their origin's culture but with a contemporaneously low self-identification with the country of destination). Surprisingly, we do not find evidence of a better labor market performance for assimilated people, as usually showed in previous studies. Our results are robust to different estimation methods. In particular, to deal with the endogeneity due to the simultaneity in the relationship between the immigrants' ethnic identity and their employment status we use an IV strategy estimated by the 2SRI method that is more appropriated in case of non linear models.

Although there might be some other issues to deal with, as for example a potential heterogeneous effects by gender- that we will analyze in future research-, this paper shows very interesting results: it seems to suggest that public policies supporting foreigners' assimilation to the majorities' culture might not be effective, in terms of improving their economic and social in-

clusion, if not combined with policies aimed at maintaining the customs and traditions of the minorities.

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Tables and Figures

Table 1: Summary statistics

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Employed	9885	0.805261	0.39602	0	1
Integrated	9885	0.486798	0.499851	0	1
Assimilated	9885	0.064138	0.24501	0	1
Separated	9885	0.423672	0.494165	0	1
Marginalized	9885	0.025392	0.157321	0	1
Male	9846	0.562259	0.496134	0	1
Age	9846	36.56206	9.802445	18	78
Years in Italy	9819	8.404624	6.053737	0	49
Single	9885	0.36085	0.480271	0	1
Married	9885	0.526252	0.499336	0	1
Widower	9885	0.026606	0.160937	0	1
Divorced	9885	0.076176	0.265293	0	1
No education	9672	0.719603	0.258435	0	1
Compulsory school	9672	0.336125	0.472407	0	1
High school	9672	0.417494	0.493171	0	1
BA Degree +	9672	0.174421	0.379491	0	1
Christian	9592	0.484988	0.499801	0	1
Muslim	9592	0.392515	0.488336	0	1
Buddhist	9592	0.033257	0.179316	0	1
Hinduist	9592	0.014804	0.120774	0	1
Other religion	9592	0.015221	0.122437	0	1
No religious	9592	0.059216	0.236041	0	1
Knowledge of the Italian language	9824	3.426277	1.017962	1	5
Freedom of religion	9599	4.605896	0.938409	1	5
Use of Italian at home	9481	2.553423	1.526461	1	5
Agricultural sector	9642	0.039722	0.195316	0	1
Industrial sector	9642	0.163866	0.370174	0	1
Commercial sector	9642	0.188861	0.391419	0	1
Firm services sector	9642	0.092201	0.289324	0	1
Family services sector	9642	0.24943	0.432705	0	1
Other sector	9642	0.130782	0.337179	0	1

Table 2: Ethnic identity and employment status: OLS and PROBIT estimates

	(1) (OLS)	(2) (OLS)	(3) (OLS)	(4) (PROBIT) Coefficients	(5) (PROBIT) Marginal effects
Ethnic identity					
Integrated	**0.0713*****	**0.0185***	**0.0198***	**0.196****	**0.0184****
	(0.0141)	(0.0101)	(0.0104)	(0.088)	(0.0083)
Assimilated	**0.0136**	**0.0151**	**0.0143**	**0.23**	**0.0216**
	(0.0303)	(0.0126)	(0.0143)	(0.143)	(0.0135)
Male		0.0156	0.0156	0.174*	0.0163*
		(0.0096)	(0.0111)	(0.0965)	(0.0089)
Age		0.0027	0.0032	0.0204	0.0019
		(0.0026)	(0.0029)	(0.0246)	(0.0023)
Age squared		-0.00003	-0.00003	-0.00021	-0.00002
		(0.00003)	(0.00004)	(0.00032)	(0.00003)
Years in Italy		0.0031***	0.0025***	0.0395***	0.0037***
		(0.0009)	(0.0009)	(0.0094)	(0.0009)
Compulsory school		-0.0099	-0.0076	-0.0931	-0.0087
		(0.0167)	(0.0193)	(0.131)	(0.0123)
High school		-0.0198	-0.0215	-0.215	-0.0201
		(0.0166)	(0.0199)	(0.133)	(0.0126)
BA degree +		-0.001	-0.007	0.016	0.0015
		(0.0182)	(0.0209)	(0.016)	(0.0015)
Italian language knowledge		0.0093*	0.0132**	0.082*	0.008*
		(0.0052)	(0.0052)	(0.0452)	(0.0042)
Other controls					
Religion		YES	YES	YES	YES
Marital status		YES	YES	YES	YES
Fixed effects					
Economic sectors		YES	YES	YES	YES
Migrants' nationalities		YES	YES	YES	YES
Italian Provinces		YES	YES	YES	YES
Nationalities*Italian regions			YES		
Observations	9885	9034	9034	8903	8903

Robust standard errors in parentheses. *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$. The dependent variable is a binary indicator that takes value 1 if the immigrant is employed either with a regular or irregular contract.

Table 3: Ethnic identity and employment status: IV (2SLS) estimates

	(1) (Second stage) (2SLS)	(2) (First stage) Integrated	(3) (First stage) Assimilated
Ethnic identity			
Integrated	**0.163**		
	(0.101)		
Assimilated	**0.171**		
	(0.152)		
Instruments			
Freedom of religion		**0.0270*****	**-0.0137***
		(0.0103)	(0.0074)
Use of Italian language at home		**0.0278*****	**0.0207*****
		(0.0072)	(0.0040)
Male	0.0267**	-0.00747	-0.0085
	(0.0124)	(0.0231)	(0.0116)
Age	0.0019	0.00521	-0.0041
	(0.0031)	(0.0065)	(0.0033)
Age squared	-0.00002	-0.00006	0.00004
	(0.00004)	(0.00008)	(0.00004)
Years in Italy	0.00033	0.0082***	0.006***
	(0.0012)	(0.0022)	(0.001)
Compulsory school	-0.0083	0.0478	0.0023
	(0.0184)	(0.0376)	(0.0194)
High school	-0.0296	0.0667*	0.00583
	(0.0192)	(0.0385)	(0.0195)
BA degree +	-0.0162	0.0892**	-0.00453
	(0.0228)	(0.0436)	(0.0225)
Italian language knowledge	0.0004	0.0514***	0.0155***
	(0.0077)	(0.0122)	(0.0057)
Other controls			
Religion	YES	YES	YES
Marital status	YES	YES	YES
Fixed effects			
Economic sectors	YES	YES	YES
Migrants' nationalities	YES	YES	YES
Italian provinces	YES	YES	YES
Nationalities*Italian regions	YES	YES	YES
Observations	8453	9688	9688

Robust standard errors in parentheses. *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$. The dependent variable is a binary indicator that takes value 1 if the immigrant is employed either with a regular or irregular contract.

Table 4: Ethnic identity and employment status: IV (2SRI) estimates

	(1) (First stage) Integrated	(2) (First stage) Assimilated	(3) (Second stage) 2SRI	(4) (First stage) Integrated	(5) (First stage) Assimilated	(6) (Second stage) 2SRI
Ethnic Identity						
Integrated			0.186***			0.251***
			(0.075)			(0.093)
Assimilated			0.032			-0.067
			(0.071)			(0.0723)
Instruments						
Freedom of religion	0.0613**	-0.0962***		0.0787***	-0.0882**	
	(0.0265)	(0.0334)		(0.0289)	(0.0375)	
Italian language at home	0.0757***	0.158***		0.0803***	0.176***	
	(0.0189)	(0.027)		(0.0202)	(0.03)	
Residuals						
Integrated			-0.169**			-0.232**
			(0.076)			(0.0948)
Assimilated			-0.014			0.080
			(0.072)			(0.073)
Male	-0.0393	-0.0192	0.024***	-0.0232	-0.0635	0.0203*
	(0.0616)	(0.0834)	(0.009)	(0.065)	(0.0911)	(0.0122)
Age	0.0204	-0.0293	0.0006	0.014	-0.0336	-0.00015
	(0.0172)	(0.0224)	(0.0025)	(0.0181)	(0.025)	(0.00327)
Age squared	-0.0002	0.0003	-0.000006	-0.0001	0.0003	0.000008
	(0.0002)	(0.0003)	(0.00003)	(0.0002)	(0.0003)	(0.00004)
Years in Italy	0.0231***	0.0378***	0.002**	0.0238***	0.0530***	0.0021
	(0.0055)	(0.0073)	(0.001)	(0.0061)	(0.0085)	(0.0014)
Compulsory school	0.163	-0.137	-0.015	0.139	0.0482	-0.0095
	(0.103)	(0.156)	(0.014)	(0.108)	(0.176)	(0.0168)
High school	0.209**	-0.106	-0.034**	0.202*	0.0919	-0.0337**
	(0.104)	(0.153)	(0.015)	(0.11)	(0.169)	(0.0169)
BA degree +	0.301***	-0.256	-0.022			-0.0345*
	(0.116)	(0.172)	(0.018)			(0.0205)
Italian language knowledge	0.152***	0.146***	-0.004	0.150***	0.175***	0.0007
	(0.033)	(0.047)	(0.006)	(0.034)	(0.053)	(0.0073)
Other controls						
Religion	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Marital status	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Fixed effects						
Economic sectors	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Migrants' nationalities	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Italian Provinces	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Nationalities*Italian regions				YES	YES	YES
Observations	9650	9467	8214	9195	7776	6455

Robust standard errors in parentheses. *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$. The dependent variable is a binary indicator that takes value 1 if the immigrant is employed either with a regular or irregular contract. The estimates in column 3 and 6 are marginal effects.