

# Geographical and social mobility in Italy

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## Introduction

Migration has characterized the social and economic development of Italy since the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The history of Italian migration is long and complex, if we think only of the many different destinations of Italians during the years: United States and Latin America, in the first two decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century; continental Europe, since the second post-war period; the industrialized areas of northern Italy, being continually chosen in the course of the last 60 years. Internal migration, which has seen thick flows of workers from the south to the north, especially in the years between the 1955 and 1975, seems to grow again in the last years.

We wonder if the migratory experience bring, in addition to economic benefits, social advantages. The objective is to understand if a geographical mobility corresponds to social mobility, if geographical mobility is a channel able to ensure greater social mobility and able to give a contribution to the reduction of inequalities both of distributive and of relational order.

Social classes continue to play a dominant role, although other factors of inequality, such as gender and generation, can also play an important role in the dynamics of stratification. Social class, understood as systematic inequalities in opportunity and power structures, still matters (Schizzerotto 2002). Even if welfare capitalism has contributed to equalize the distribution of welfare and life chances, they are still highly correlated to social class (Esping Andersen 1999).

People decide to emigrate in order to find more opportunities and, thus, to improve their condition. We think a migratory experience is one of the mechanisms put into action by people in order to bypass the limits imposed by local circumstances. «A man's economic chances are improved by his *motility*, that is, his not being rooted to his place of birth but free to leave it for better opportunities elsewhere»<sup>1</sup>. Blau and Duncan in their classical study "The American occupational structure" analysed the relation between the geographical and social mobility. According to these authors, migration provides a social mechanism for adjusting the geographical distribution of manpower to the geographical distribution of occupational opportunities. It «is an essential adjustive mechanism in industrialized societies»<sup>2</sup>, in fact they analysed the bearing of migration between more and less urbanized communities on occupational mobility. Several years before, in another classical study on social mobility, Lipset and Bendix (1959) claim that internal migration, from rural areas and small communities to metropolitan areas, influences the people distribution in the occupational structure<sup>3</sup>. These are

<sup>1</sup> Blau and Duncan, 1967, p. 250.

<sup>2</sup> Ibidem, p. 244.

<sup>3</sup> Migrants, on the one hand, especially from rural communities, occupy the lowest positions so allowing the residents to move on the top of the class structure, but, on the other hand, there is a "migrant élite", coming from small or large cities who have success.

the main contributions to the study of the relation between social and geographical mobility in the United States. IN regarding to Italy, Massimo Paci (1974), following the Lipset and Bendix approach, finds the same results in a study on social mobility and labour market in Italy, studying the occupational structure in large Italian northern cities during the 1960s.

In this paper we provide a preliminary analysis of the relation between the migratory phenomenon and social mobility. We will attempt to answer the following questions: does migratory experience enable people to achieve a higher social status? And; are there differences in time and between geographical areas of Italy?

To answer these questions, we will provide a presentation of the internal migratory phenomenon in Italy and we will show how intergenerational mobility in our country differs between geographical areas and by the cohort of birth. Finally, we will analyse the differences between intergenerational mobility of migrants and nonmigrants, both in different geographical divisions and over different periods of time.

### **Data and variables**

The data file used for our analyses is from the Istat "Indagine Multiscopo. Famiglia e soggetti sociali" survey of the 2003. It is based on a 24,000 families' sample (approximately 50,000 people). We worked on a limited sample that counts 23437 respondents born in Italy (we excluded the people born abroad) between 1945 and 1983 (that is individuals from 20 to 58 years old).

#### *Social classes*

Social class of origin and social class of the first job are coded according to the occupation of the respondent's father at age fourteen. When we don't have information about father's occupation we use that of the mother. Social class of origin and class of the first job are coded following a variation on the Goldthorpe classification (see Breen 2004, Goldthorpe 2000), adapted to Italian society.

The scheme distinguishes between six classes: the first is the Bourgeoisie (Bou) corresponding to classes I + II of Goldthorpe class schemes. Bou includes three sub-classes, Entrepreneurs, Managers and Professionals. The second class is formed by White Collar workers (Wco), and includes non-manual employees, it corresponds to classes IIIa and IIIb<sup>4</sup> of the Goldthorpe scheme. The third class is the Urban Petty Bourgeoisie (Upb), which includes self-employed workers, and corresponds to classes IVa and IVb of the Goldthorpe scheme. The fourth class is the Agricultural Petty Bourgeoisie (Apb), including self-employed agricultural workers, which corresponds to class IVc of the Goldthorpe scheme. The fifth class is the Urban Working Class (Uwc), including manual skilled and unskilled, as well as non-manual unskilled workers and corresponding to classes V, VI and VIIa of the Goldthorpe scheme. The sixth class is the Agricultural Working Class (Awc) corresponding to class VIIb of Goldthorpe scheme.

#### *Migrants*

<sup>4</sup> The data about occupations don't allow to distinguish between skilled and unskilled workers.

We coded migrants as the individuals born in a municipality different from current residence at the moment of the interview.

Inter-regional migrants are those that move in a different Italian region (that is region of birth is different from region of current residence); inter-division migrants are people that move in a region of a different geographical area of the country.

The different geographical areas of Italy are: North-west: Piemonte, Valle d'Aosta, Liguria, Lombardia; North-east: Trentino-Alto Adige, Friuli-Venezia Giulia, Veneto, Emilia-Romagna; Centre: Toscana, Lazio, Umbria, Marche; South and Islands: Abruzzo, Molise, Campania, Basilicata, Puglia, Calabria, Sicilia, Sardegna.

### *Education*

We coded information about education in four levels: the highest corresponds to the degree (degree, master's degree or doctorate's degree); the second level is higher secondary education (3 or 5 years of study), the third one is constituted by compulsory schooling (lasts three years, from 11 to 14); the last level corresponds to either no title or the lowest level of compulsory education (that is primary school that lasts five years, from 6 to 10).

### **Geographical mobility in Italy**

For some time, researchers and politicians have directed their interest at problem of international migration, while devoting relatively little attention to internal migration. Recently many demographic and social researches have pointed to the reviving of internal migration that had a crucial role in the industrial and socio-economic development of Italy.

Italy, at the end of the war, was a country that had suffered considerably from serious damage to its industry and infrastructure. The establishment of democracy had to take into account the heavy inheritance of 20 years of dictatorship largely based on isolation and autarchy; during which there was even a law to block the internal mobility of the population. The post-war years witnessed what was probably the most important social transformation in Italian history, involving significant internal migration flows (Ginsborg, 1989).

In the early 1950s, Italy was still mainly agricultural and rural<sup>5</sup>, the tumultuous economic growth of subsequent years radically changed the situation, enabling the growth of a definitive modern industrial sector able to compete in European markets. Inevitably, this process entailed enormous population flows. The major industrial areas in northwestern Italy were concentrated in the "industrial triangle" of Milan, Turin and Genoa, which together with Rome were powerful attraction points which could absorb immigrants from adjacent provinces and regions, and from the regions of north eastern Italy and the South. After this intense initial phase ended in the early 1970s, the flows tended to follow patterns less linked to regional economic imbalances (Bonifazi and Heins 2000).

Over the next 20 years, the function of internal migration in regional labour market readjustment has declined, there have been more moves to suburban areas, and consumption-

<sup>5</sup> 43% of the workforce was employed in the primary sector and 27% of the population lived in municipalities with fewer than 5000 inhabitants (Bonifazi and Heins 2000, p. 112).

oriented flows have increased with respect to production-oriented ones (Terra Abrami and Bonaguidi, 1993 and 1996).

Nevertheless, Italy shows features differing from the overall typical western societies transition process, especially because of the persistence of the extremely wide economic and social gap between the South and the rest of the country (Bonaguidi, 1987; Bonifazi, 1992). Migratory intensity increased in the 1950s and peaked in 1961-63. In the 1960s, migration rates remained high. Migratory intensity further decreased in the 1970s, although there was a slight revival between 1979 and 1982. Subsequently, the rate continued to fall (see Bonifazi and Heins 2000 pp. 113-114).

Now that we have described general trends of the Italian migration during the last fifty years, we can go on with the analysis about any characteristics of Italian migrants. We will see how the migratory inclination is related to socio-demographic characteristics as gender, cohort, education level, place of birth and social origin.

First of all, we show the percentages of inter-regional and inter-division migrants (see table 1 and figures 1 and 2). We can see that the value concerning the total migration between geographic divisions is lower than inter-regional ones (9,5% e 13,1%).

Among the regions that have a higher emigration interregional (figure 1), that is "short range" migrations, we find the southern regions, Calabria, Puglia, Campania and Sicilia, from which almost one individual of five leaved to go to a different region. The picture is the same for inter-division migration, i. e. "large range" migration. Also in this case, the South has the highest percentage of out-migrants.

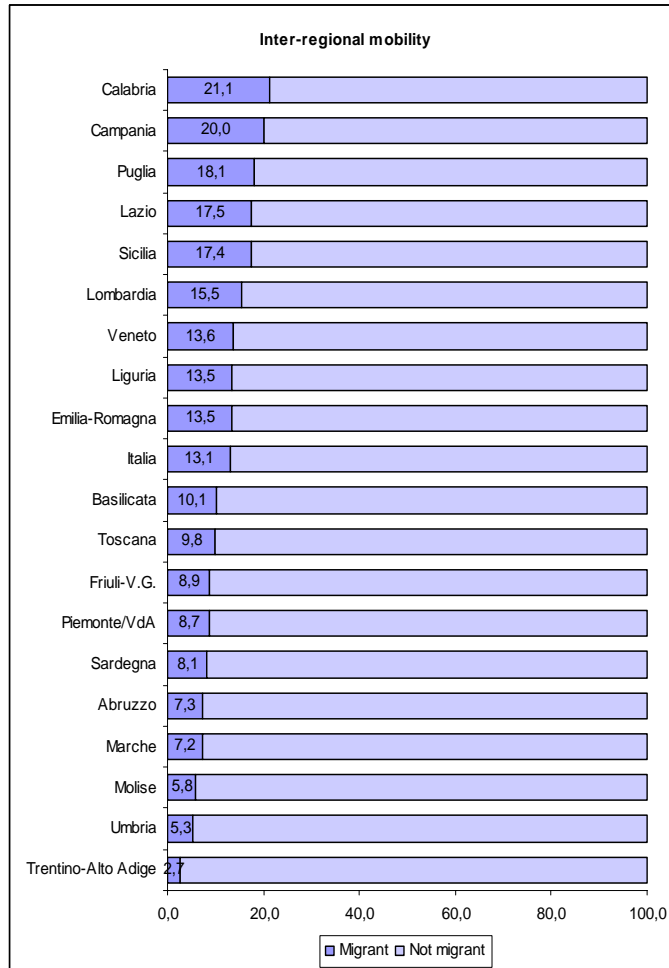


Figure 1: Percentages of out-migrants by region of birth.

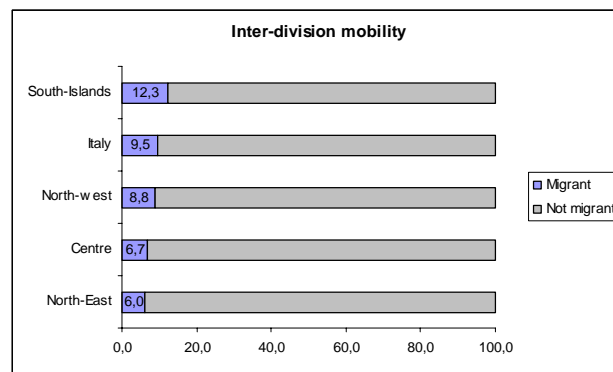


Figure 2: Percentages of out-migrants by geographical division of birth.

The difference between interregional and interdivision migration is even clearer when we look at birth cohorts. Observing the migrants' age, we can see that the birth cohorts match the migratory waves in the course of time: the first, from 1945-1960, covers the '60-'70 migrations (assuming the migratory experience is realized between 20 and 29 see Heins, 1994), while the second one, 1961-1975, draws '80-'90 migrations and the third cohort, 1976-1983, covers the most recent movements until 2003 (year of our survey). Actually, if we see the migrants' values distributed by birth cohort we can trace roughly the migratory waves described by demographers: first the large migratory flows and then a slow reduction, especially for inter-division migration. It is interesting to note that, in the last birth cohort, the inter-regional movements decline (see what following).

From this point on we will speak exclusively about geographic mobility between division. As we have seen from our results, the inter-division mobility in Italy is less strong than the inter-regional one, this is an important evidence because it informs us that there are mostly short distance movements. Such movements, especially in the most recent decades have characterized the greater part of Italian migration (Bonifazi, Chieppa, Heins, 1999).

Nonetheless, in the Italian case, inter-regional mobility remains an essential component of the migratory phenomenon, in confirmation of the existence of deep demo-economic imbalances in our country. This is hardly surprising, given the deep gaps that continue to separate the northern productive system and the labour market from the southern one (Svimez 1997, Svimez, 2000).

When it comes to the differences between migrants' education among the different cohorts of birth we can say the following: among the people born between 1945 and 1960 we do not see strong differences among who have various levels of education (figure 3); for the people born in the second cohort we see that all values decrease, but the differences are not very remarkable. For the third cohort, we should give clarifications. It consist of younger individuals (between 20 and 27) and not all of them have completed the cycle of highest education (university). Therefore we need to consider only the remaining educational levels and with due precaution, taking into account also the short time of the cohort. Anyway, we can see that the percentage of the people with the lowest educational level is very similar to the previous cohorts. It could mean that, independently of the cohort of birth, those have a low level of education move much more than the others.

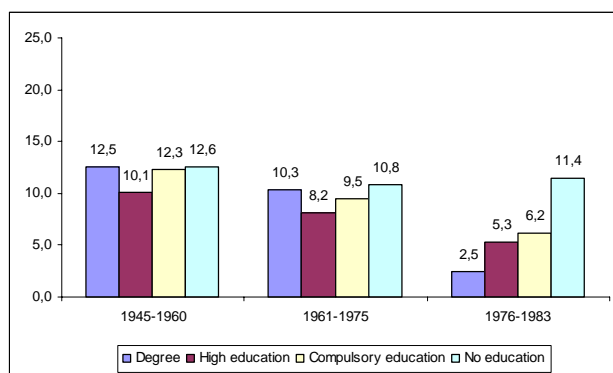


Figure 3. Emigrants (inter-division mobility) by cohort and education. Percentage values.

We can see that the distribution of migrants from different geographic areas of Italy changes in the cohorts: actually, the migrants from South register a much higher presence among those born during 1945 and 1960 (figure 4), while in the following period we can see the North-western component move on. This is evidence of the change of the attraction pole transferred from this area to another, the Central-eastern one.

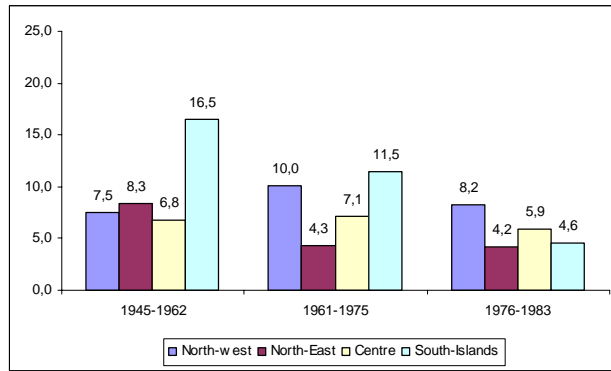


Figure 4. Emigrants (inter-division mobility) by cohort and division of birth. Percentage values.

In the following graph (figure 5) we see the distribution of migrants in the three cohorts by the social origin: we may say that during the period of more intense movements (for those born during the first cohort) the people come from two highest classes and working class were more mobile; those belonging to second cohort move on more often the white collars', professionals' and managers' and, finally, urban workers' children. What regards to the third cohort the differences are not so easy to interpret because of the reduced sample size.

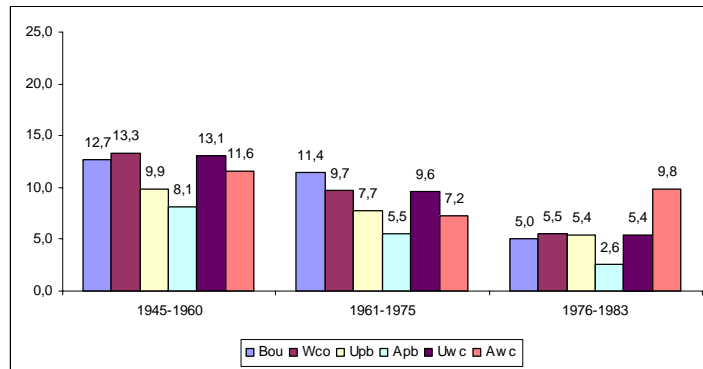


Figure 5. Emigrants (inter-division mobility) by cohort and social origin. Percentage values.

When we analyse the differences described above in the different geographical divisions we can note the particular situation in the South: the migrants from here are mostly urban workers' children compared with the other areas.

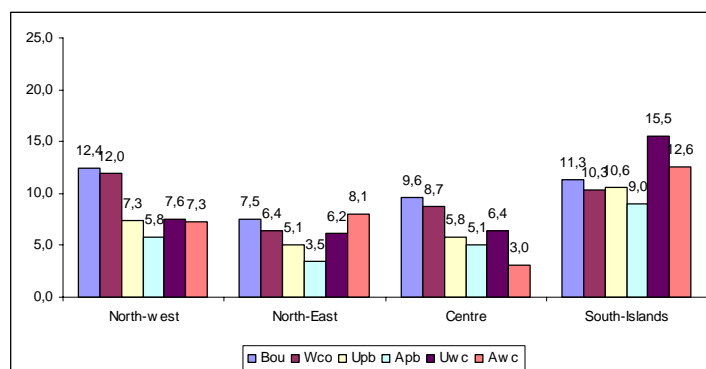


Figure 6. Emigrants (inter-division mobility) division of birth and social origin. Percentage values.

When it comes to migrants' education from geographical divisions we can see clearly that from North-west and Centre those with a higher education move more often than those with a

low level of education; for the South we can see that people move from here more frequently, in comparison with the rest of Italy, when they are less educated.

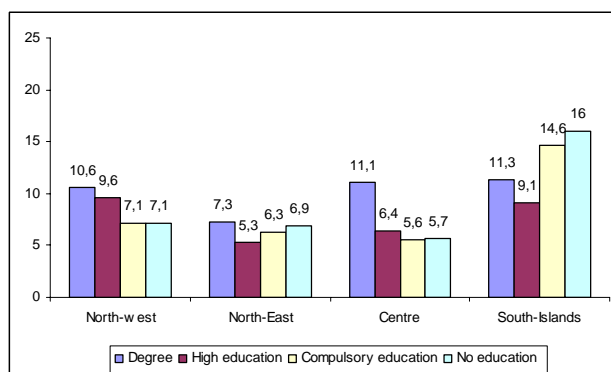


Figure 7. Emigrants (inter-division mobility) division of birth and education. Percentage values.

Furthermore, we wonder where migrants go, from which origin to which destination. From our analyses we are able to see the flows described in the first section of this paper, the following analyses are purely descriptive of the situation about the movements in Italy. The objective is that to understand the migratory dynamics related any socio-demographic variables.

To better understand the data we used a geographical mobility table. In the column we find the division of residence at the moment of the interview and in the row the respondents' division of birth. In the cells of the main diagonal are the values of those that live in the same division where they were born, above the diagonal, on the right of table, there are those moved on from north to the south while below our diagonal we find people moved from north to south of the country.

As we have already seen, the people from the south are the most mobile in Italy (see tab. 1). They prefer to move to the north-west. It is not hard to guess that these people moved to this division mostly during the Sixties and Seventies, to find an evidence of this hypothesis in our data we have created mobility tables by different birth-cohort. (see tab. 12 in Appendix ). In fact, there are more Southern emigrants in the North-west area (but also in general) among those born in the first cohort than in the other cohorts. Moreover, from this table we can see clearly also the transfers, in the same period, from the North-east area: this division has seen thick flows of people move to the north-western "industrial triangle" (Golini 1974; Bonifazi, Chieppa, Heins, 1999).

For those born in the second cohort we see that, in a scenario of less intense migrations, the South remains the area that provides the highest number of migrants – again mostly north-westbound – but with a small number of migrants moved to the North-east and Centre. These areas that have become, from 1975 on, migrants' favourite destinations thanks to a particular industrial development that allowed a readjustment between population and economic resources (Bonifazi, Chieppa, Heins, 1999, pagg. 57-58; see also Bagnasco, 1977; Trigilia, 1986).

Tab. 1 Table of geographical mobility (inter-division). Division of residence by division of birth. Row percentages. Individuals between 20-58, 2003

Division of birth	Geographical division				Total	N
	North-West	North-East	Centre	South-Islands		
North-west	91,2	3,3	2,1	3,4	100	4341
North-East	3,3	94,0	1,3	1,4	100	4620
Centre	2,1	1,6	93,3	3,0	100	3986
South-Islands	6,3	2,9	3,1	87,8	100	10490
<b>Total</b>	<b>20,7</b>	<b>20,7</b>	<b>17,9</b>	<b>40,7</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>23437</b>

It is interesting to look at the movements, for migrants belonging to this cohort, from North-west to South, since these represent the returns of some families, emigrated in previous times, from the South (Bonifazi 2000). Concerning those born in the third cohort, the emigration from the South seems to have decreased and continue to the North-east. Unfortunately the small sample of this cohort does not allow to do further inferences<sup>6</sup>.

### Social mobility in Italy

In this section we analyse the intergenerational social mobility in Italy. Firstly, we will show the general trend of our sample with particular interest to the differences among areas of our country, then, we will examine the differences in social mobility between migrants and nonmigrants, both in different periods of time and in the geographical areas.

In the table 2 we can see that the individuals coming from White collar class are the most immobile of all (75,4%), then there are those from Urban Working class (66,6%) and those having origins in the Bourgeoisie class (54,8%). We can note also a low percentages about descending mobility (above the main diagonal) and high values concerning the ascending mobility.

This is consistent with findings of main researches on social mobility in Italy (Cobalti and Schizzerotto 1993, 1994; Schizzerotto 2002), in brief: a high incidence of inheritability's phenomena of the highest position, the capability of highest occupational groups to protect their own heirs from occupying lower positions; the general high proportion of ascending mobility existing in our country. This last evidence, is the same also in other countries, is the consequence of the modernization process in the economic system and, especially, of the dilation of the skilled and semi-skilled occupations to the detriment of the manual and low-skilled ones<sup>7</sup>.

Tab. 2 Intergenerational mobility in Italy. Occupational class of the first job by parents' occupational class (row percentages). Individuals between 20-58, 2003

Social origin	First occupational class						Total	N
	Bou	Wco	Upb	Apb	Uwc	Awc		
Bou	54,8	28,0	5,0	0,9	10,5	0,8	100	2621
Wco	9,7	75,4	2,4	0,1	11,7	0,6	100	3851
Upb	6,2	26,8	49,2	1,0	16,0	0,9	100	3554
Apb	4,2	18,0	4,8	51,7	17,9	3,4	100	2479
Uwc	4,2	24,2	3,1	0,2	66,6	1,7	100	9021
Awc	2,8	13,6	5,1	0,7	25,2	52,6	100	1911
<b>Total</b>	<b>10,9</b>	<b>31,9</b>	<b>10,5</b>	<b>5,9</b>	<b>35,1</b>	<b>5,6</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>23437</b>

<sup>6</sup> Moreover, some demographic studies found a fall of rates of out-migration between 1993 and 1995 (see Bonifazi, 1998).

<sup>7</sup> We will see this later with reference to the cohort of birth.

Tab. 3 Main diagonal values of intergenerational mobility tables for Italy and the four division of residence. *Occupational class of the first job by parents' occupational class (row percentages). Individuals between 20-58, 2003*

<b>Social class</b>	<b>Italy</b>	<b>North-west</b>	<b>North-east</b>	<b>Centre</b>	<b>South-Islands</b>
<b>Bou</b>	54,8	53,2	48,8	53,7	61,2
<b>Wco</b>	75,4	76,4	71,6	70,7	78,7
<b>Upb</b>	49,2	43,1	44,7	44,7	56,5
<b>Apb</b>	51,7	50,3	52,4	50,7	52,0
<b>Uwc</b>	66,6	63,6	65,4	63,2	71,0
<b>Awc</b>	52,6	49,5	45,4	50,8	55,7

With regards to the differences in social mobility in the four Italian divisions (see below tab.3 and also tab. 15 in Appendix) we can notice particular differences (see table 3) especially in the South: here the values about immobility are much higher than in the rest of Italy, especially in the case of the highest classes.

It seems that all aspects of Italian social mobility, mentioned above, in the South result more pronounced: a greater propensity of highest classes to defend their own heirs to fall in a lower positions and a lesser facility to reach higher position from the bottom of the social structure.

Observing the migrants' intergenerational mobility (table 4) we can see that, in general, those that move from a division to another are more socially mobile than those did not move. This is not true for the bourgeoisie's and urban workers' descendents.

In the first case: the individuals from bourgeoisie class, changing geographical division save opportunities to remain in the same high parents' position, in comparison with those remain in the same area. That is, the managers' children that emigrate have more chances to occupy high social positions than those does not move. In this case the narrow availability of these positions pushes them to leave to look for the highest positions to occupy.

In the second case, for urban workers' children, it is the same but in disadvantageous terms: when they emigrate do not improve their social status, in fact only one worker's child that move of three will occupy a different social position from his/her father<sup>8</sup>.

Tab. 4 Migrants' and nonmigrants' intergenerational mobility Occupational class of the first job by parents' occupational class (row percentages). Individuals between 20-58, 2003

<b>Geographical mobility</b>	<b>Social origin</b>	<b>First occupational class</b>						<b>Total</b>	<b>N</b>
		<b>Bou</b>	<b>Wco</b>	<b>Upb</b>	<b>Apb</b>	<b>Uwc</b>	<b>Awc</b>		
<b>Migrant</b>	<b>Bou</b>	58,5	28,1	3,0	0,4	9,6	0,4	100	270
	<b>Wco</b>	11,1	73,8	1,1	0,0	13,5	0,5	100	370
	<b>Upb</b>	6,7	30,7	42,4	1,1	18,0	1,1	100	283
	<b>Apb</b>	4,7	26,2	4,1	42,4	22,7	0,0	100	172
	<b>Uwc</b>	5,4	19,4	3,2	0,2	70,0	1,7	100	918
	<b>Awc</b>	1,0	14,0	3,1	0,0	33,7	48,2	100	193
	<b>Total</b>		12,6	31,1	7,9	3,6	39,6	5,2	100
<b>Not migrant</b>	<b>Bou</b>	54,4	28,0	5,3	0,9	10,5	0,9	100	2351
	<b>Wco</b>	9,6	75,6	2,6	0,1	11,5	0,6	100	3481
	<b>Upb</b>	6,2	26,4	49,7	0,9	15,8	0,9	100	3271
	<b>Apb</b>	4,2	17,4	4,8	52,4	17,5	3,7	100	2307
	<b>Uwc</b>	4,0	24,8	3,1	0,2	66,2	1,7	100	8103
	<b>Awc</b>	3,0	13,5	5,4	0,8	24,2	53,1	100	1718
	<b>Total</b>		10,8	32	10,8	6,1	34,6	5,7	100

<sup>8</sup> For instance, we see only 20% among emigrants from urban working class, at the first occupation, is a white collar, while for who remains in the same division the percentage is 25%.

Concerning the petty urban and rural bourgeoisie, as for agricultural working class, the emigrants, more often than nonmigrants, have more probabilities to fall in the urban working class.

We can not say that this situation depends from migration, actually this trend can be found in all economic systems in the industrial societies. This is clearer in a period of transition from a mainly agricultural to industrial economic system in which there are drastic changes in the occupational structure (Erikson and Goldthorpe, 1992; Cobalti and Schizzerotto, 1994) that produces a widening of social mobility processes (see also Lipset and Bendix, 1959; Paci, 1974).

Going on, we can also analyse the differences among the Italian divisions: synthetically<sup>9</sup> we can note that only the southern area shows a particular situation: while from the rest of Italy migrants from bourgeoisie maintain their status, southern emigrants from the same class have more risks to lose the high origin position. The same is true for white collars' children that move from this area<sup>10</sup>.

In the table 5 we present a synthetic scheme to facilitate reading of the findings on social mobility of migrants. We have created three classes out of the previous six (putting together the first two classes, Bourgeoisie and White collars class, the two petty bourgeoisies and the working classes). Then, in order to see more clearly the dynamics of social mobility, we have the percentages about the "immobile", the ascending and descending people (respectively the percentage values of the main diagonal in intergenerational mobility tables, of people that reach a higher social class and those that fall in a lower social class). The same values are calculated both for migrants and nonmigrants.

The main evidences are:

- there are no differences between migrants and nonmigrants among the no-mobiles, and migrating is not important for the intergenerational mobility in this class;
- in the petty bourgeoisies migrants are more mobile and have more opportunities to improve their position than who does not emigrate;
- in the working classes we do not see differences between migrants and nonmigrants, it seems that the migrants are more immobile, as we have seen above.

*Tab. 5 Social ascending, descending mobiles and immobile by social class and migrants and non migrants (row percentages). Individuals between 20-58, 2003*

Inter-division mobility	Class	Social mobility			N
		Immobile	Ascending	Descending	
Migrants	Bou+Wco	85,6	-	14,4	640
	Upb+Apb	44,6	34,9	20,4	455
	Uwc+Awc	73,5	26,5	-	1111
Non migrants	Bou+Wco	84,0	-	16,0	2206
	Upb+Apb	53,4	28,1	18,6	5832
	Uwc+Awc	69,5	30,5	-	5578

<sup>9</sup> See Appendix for details about migrants' and non migrants' social mobility tables by divisions.

<sup>10</sup> Most of them fall in the urban working class.

Using the same scheme of analysis we examine (see table 6) the differences by birth cohort in order to grasp the differences in the time.

In general for the highest classes the situation on social mobility does not change so much among the different cohort: the power to defend their heirs remains always very high, both for migrants and nonmigrants.

*Tab. 6 Social ascending, descending mobiles and immobile by social class and migrants and nonmigrants in the different birth cohorts (row percentages). Individuals between 20-58, 2003*

Inter-division mobility	Cohort	Class	Social mobility			N	
			Imm.	Up	Down		
Migrants	1945-1960	Bou+Wco	87,3	-	12,7	251	
		Upb+Apb	46,2	37,5	16,3	251	
		Uwc+Awc	75,0	25,0	-	613	
	1961-1975	Bou+Wco	86,3	-	13,7	299	
		Upb+Apb	43,0	32,7	24,2	165	
		Uwc+Awc	69,5	30,5	-	403	
	1976-1983	Bou+Wco	78,9	-	21,1*	90	
		Upb+Apb	41,0*	28,2*	30,8*	39	
		Uwc+Awc	81,1	18,9*	-	95	
Nonmigrants	1945-1960	Bou+Wco	86,5	-	13,5	1685	
		Upb+Apb	57,5	26,5	16,0	2609	
		Uwc+Awc	68,7	31,3	-	4262	
	1961-1975	Bou+Wco	82,3	-	17,7	2564	
		Upb+Apb	45,9	33,3	20,7	2195	
		Uwc+Awc	66,8	33,2	-	3973	
	1976-1983	Bou+Wco	84,2	-	15,8	1583	
		Upb+Apb	60,9	18,3	20,8	774	
		Uwc+Awc	78,6	21,4	-	1586	
	Total	1945-1960	Bou+Wco	86,6	-	13,4	1936
			Upb+Apb	56,5	27,4	16,1	2860
			Uwc+Awc	69,5	30,5	-	4875
1961-1975		Bou+Wco	82,7	-	17,3	2863	
		Upb+Apb	45,7	33,3	21,0	2360	
		Uwc+Awc	67,0	33,0	-	4376	
1976-1983		Bou+Wco	83,9	-	16,1	1673	
		Upb+Apb	59,9	18,8	21,3	813	
		Uwc+Awc	78,7	21,3	-	1681	

\*N < 20.

Among those born in family petty-bourgeoisie we can find some differences by cohort: the petty-bourgeoisie's children have been more mobile among those born between 1961 and 1975. The probability to move in a higher social class decreases in more recent times. People during 1960s (born from 1945) come from petty bourgeoisie reached higher social classes. That was the period of the greatest industrial and economic development in Italy that produced radical changes in the economic system and, consequently, in the occupational structure. In this way the mobility processes show an expansion (see Cobalti and Schizzerotto, 1994) that we can see, sketched, in our data.

In the working classes we can note that the youngest cohorts have less opportunity to improve their position. Nonetheless, this trend seems to be reversed in the case of migrants. Unfortunately the data (see table 6) do not allow us to conclude it with certainty.

To move to the analysis of migrant people, we can see that the situation of these people is worse.

Firstly, as we have said, the chances to go up in the social structure, for the younger working classes' children that have changed geographical division, seem to decline.

Furthermore, it seems that also the younger heirs of the highest classes, that move on, more often risk to fall in a lower class (we can not say, from our analysis, where they end up).

Finally, the petty bourgeoisie's children (seeing only the two older cohorts, table 6), that change division of residence, especially regarding those born in the oldest cohort, mostly end up in a higher social class (more likely in a white collars class and especially when they came from urban petty bourgeoisie, see table 4). In more recent time (second cohort) the probability to end up in a higher class decreases, for migrants from petty bourgeoisie: actually one individual out of 4 becomes a worker, while in the previous period only 16% had this chance.

## **Conclusions**

We can conclude that, firstly, the social mobility in Italy is different in the geographical areas That reflects the economic and social differences between the areas. We found particular differences especially in the South, here the values about social immobility are much higher than in the rest of Italy.

Moreover, in general, those that move from a division to another are more socially mobile than those did not move, but this is not true for the bourgeoisie's and urban workers' descendants. In the first case the narrow availability of the highest positions pushes them to leave to seek "proper" positions to occupy. In the second case, when the working classes' descendants emigrate do not improve their social status, in fact only one out of three occupies a different social position. In regards with the south, we have seen that, while from the rest of Italy migrants from bourgeoisie maintain their origin's status, southern migrants from the same class have more risks to lose the high origin position.

Furthermore, he petty bourgeoisie's heirs, that in the past, changing division of residence, mostly end up in a higher social class, in more recent time this probability is decreased. It seems that also the younger heirs of the highest classes, that move, more often risk to fall in a lower class. Also the younger working classes' descendants have less chances to end up in a higher social class than older migrants.

Finally, from our preliminary analyses we can conclude that, in general<sup>11</sup>, migration does not influence the people social mobility. Especially if we analyse the recent situation. In any cases it seems, in more recent time, that leaving one's own native "land" implies more risks than advantages (in terms of social mobility).

<sup>11</sup> Conscious of needing deeper and complete analyses.

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## APPENDIX

Tab. 1 Inter-regional mobility by region of birth. Percentage values and N

Region of birth	Inter-regional mobility		Total	N
	Emigrant	Non migrant		
Trentino-Alto Adige	2,7	97,3	100	1249
Umbria	5,3	94,7	100	711
Molise	5,7	94,3	100	572
Marche	7,2	92,8	100	944
Abruzzo	7,6	92,4	100	872
Sardegna	8,2	91,8	100	1147
Piemonte/VdA	8,7	91,3	100	1705
Friuli-V.G.	8,9	91,1	100	689
Toscana	10,1	89,9	100	1244
Basilicata	10,2	89,8	100	682
<b>Italia</b>	<b>13,1</b>	<b>86,9</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>23437</b>
Emilia-Romagna	13,5	86,5	100	1239
Liguria	13,6	86,4	100	732
Veneto	13,6	86,4	100	1443
Lombardia	15,7	84,3	100	1904
Lazio	17,4	82,6	100	1087
Sicilia	17,4	82,6	100	1783
Puglia	18,2	81,8	100	1953
Campania	20,1	79,9	100	2157
Calabria	21,3	78,7	100	1324

Tab.2. Inter-division mobility by division of birth and gender. Percentage values and N

Gender	Division of birth	Inter-division mobility		Total	N
		Emigrant	Not migrant		
Male	North-west	8,2	91,8	100,0	2076
	North-East	5,5	94,5	100,0	2311
	Centre	6,9	93,1	100,0	2023
	South-Islands	11,8	88,2	100,0	5229
	Total	9,1	90,9	100,0	11639
Female	North-west	9,3	90,7	100,0	2265
	North-East	6,6	93,4	100,0	2309
	Centre	6,6	93,4	100,0	1963
	South-Islands	12,8	87,2	100,0	5261
	Total	9,9	90,1	100,0	11798

Tab.3. Inter-regional and inter-division mobility by gender, cohort, education and social origin. Percentage values of emigrants and total N

	Geographical mobility		N
	Inter-regional	Inter-division	
<b>Gender</b>			
Male	12,3	9,1	11639
Female	13,9	9,9	11798
<b>Cohort</b>			
1945-1960	15,9	11,7	9671
1961-1975	12,6	9,1	9599
1976-1983	7,8	5,4	4167
<b>Education</b>			
Degree	16,2	10,4	2629
High education	11,4	8,0	10366
Compulsory education	13,5	10,3	7744
No education-primary	15,5	12,3	2698
<b>Social origin</b>			
Bou	15,6	10,3	2621
Wco	14,5	9,7	3851
Upb	11,1	8,1	3554
Apb	9,8	6,9	2479
Uwc	13,5	10,3	9021
Awc	12,8	10,1	1911
<b>Total</b>	<b>13,1</b>	<b>9,5</b>	<b>23437</b>

Tab. 4. Inter-division mobility by education and gender. Percentage values. Percentage values

Education	Gender	Inter-division mobility		Total	N
		Migrant	Not migrant		
Degree	Male	10,3	89,8	100,0	1198
	Female	10,5	89,5	100,0	1431
	Total	10,4	89,6	100,0	2629
High education	Male	7,5	92,5	100,0	5137
	Female	8,4	91,6	100,0	5229
	Total	8,0	92,0	100,0	10366
Compulsory education	Male	10,0	90,0	100,0	4157
	Female	10,5	89,5	100,0	3587
	Total	10,3	89,7	100,0	7744
No education	Male	11,2	88,8	100,0	1147
	Female	13,1	86,9	100,0	1551
	Total	12,3	87,7	100,0	2698

Tab.5 Inter-division mobility by social origin and gender. Percentage values

Social origin	Gender	Inter-division mobility		Total	N
		Migrant	Not migrant		
Bou	Male	9,5	90,5	100,0	1338
	Female	11,1	88,9	100,0	1283
	Total	10,3	89,7	100,0	2621
Wco	Male	9,0	91,0	100,0	1873
	Female	10,3	89,7	100,0	1978
	Total	9,7	90,3	100,0	3851
Upb	Male	7,2	92,8	100,0	1762
	Female	8,9	91,1	100,0	1792
	Total	8,1	91,9	100,0	3554
Apb	Male	6,7	93,3	100,0	1256
	Female	7,2	92,8	100,0	1223
	Total	6,9	93,1	100,0	2479
Uwc	Male	10,2	89,8	100,0	4482
	Female	10,4	89,6	100,0	4539
	Total	10,3	89,7	100,0	9021
Awc	Male	9,9	90,1	100,0	928
	Female	10,4	89,6	100,0	983
	Total	10,1	89,9	100,0	1911

Tab.6 Inter-division mobility by cohort and education. Percentage values.

Education	Cohort	Inter-division mobility		Total	N
		Migrant	Not migrant		
Degree	1945-1960	12,5	87,5	100,0	1036
	1961-1975	10,3	89,7	100,0	1313
	1976-1983	2,5	97,5	100,0	280
	Total	10,4	89,6	100,0	2629
High education	1945-1960	10,1	89,9	100,0	3133
	1961-1975	8,2	91,8	100,0	4344
	1976-1983	5,3	94,7	100,0	2889
	Total	8,0	92,0	100,0	10366
Compulsory education	1945-1960	12,3	87,7	100,0	3265
	1961-1975	9,5	90,5	100,0	3550
	1976-1983	6,2	93,8	100,0	929
	Total	10,3	89,7	100,0	7744
No education	1945-1960	12,6	87,4	100,0	2237
	1961-1975	10,8	89,2	100,0	392
	1976-1983	11,4	88,6	100,0	69
	Total	12,3	87,7	100,0	2698

Tab.7 Inter-division mobility by cohort and division of burth. Percentage values.

Division birth	of Cohort	Inter-division mobility		Total	N
		Migrant	Not migrant		
North-west	1945-1960	7,5	92,5	100,0	1630
	1961-1975	10,0	90,0	100,0	1946
	1976-1983	8,2	91,8	100,0	765
	Total	8,8	91,2	100,0	4341
North-East	1945-1960	8,3	91,7	100,0	1971
	1961-1975	4,3	95,7	100,0	1875
	1976-1983	4,2	95,8	100,0	774
	Total	6,0	94,0	100,0	4620
Centre	1945-1960	6,8	93,2	100,0	1652
	1961-1975	7,1	92,9	100,0	1624
	1976-1983	5,9	94,1	100,0	710
	Total	6,7	93,3	100,0	3986
South-Islands	1945-1960	16,5	83,5	100,0	4418
	1961-1975	11,5	88,5	100,0	4154
	1976-1983	4,6	95,4	100,0	1918
	Total	12,3	87,7	100,0	10490

Tab. 8 Inter-division mobility by cohort and social origin. Percentage values.

Social origin	Cohort	Inter-division mobility		Total	N
		Migrant	Not migrant		
Bou		12			
	1945-1960	,7	87,3	100,0	785
	1961-1975	11,4	88,6	100,0	1221
	1976-1983	5,0	95,0	100,0	615
	Total	10,3	89,7	100,0	2621
Wco	1945-1960	13,3	86,7	100,0	1151
	1961-1975	9,7	90,3	100,0	1642
	1976-1983	5,5	94,5	100,0	1058
	Total	9,7	90,3	100,0	3851
Upb	1945-1960	9,9	90,1	100,0	1306
	1961-1975	7,7	92,3	100,0	1586
	1976-1983	5,4	94,6	100,0	662
	Total	8,1	91,9	100,0	3554
Apb	1945-1960	8,1	91,9	100,0	1554
	1961-1975	5,5	94,5	100,0	774
	1976-1983	2,6	97,4	100,0	151
	Total	6,9	93,1	100,0	2479
Uwc	1945-1960	13,1	86,9	100,0	3661
	1961-1975	9,6	90,4	100,0	3789
	1976-1983	5,4	94,6	100,0	1571
	Total	10,3	89,7	100,0	9021
Awc	1945-1960	11,6	88,4	100,0	1214
	1961-1975	7,2	92,8	100,0	587
	1976-1983	9,8	90,2	100,0	110
	Total	10,1	89,9	100,0	1911

Tab.9 Inter-division mobility by division of birth and social origin. Percentage values.

Social origin	Division of birth	Inter-division mobility		Total	N
		Not migrant			
		Migrant	Not migrant		
Bou	North-west	12,4	87,6	100,0	578
	North-East	7,5	92,5	100,0	627
	Centre	9,6	90,4	100,0	519
	South-Islands	11,3	88,7	100,0	897
	Total	10,3	89,7	100,0	2621
Wco	North-west	12,0	88,0	100,0	693
	North-East	6,4	93,6	100,0	691
	Centre	8,7	91,3	100,0	668
	South-Islands	10,3	89,7	100,0	1799
	Total	9,7	90,3	100,0	3851
Upb	North-west	7,3	92,7	100,0	688
	North-East	5,1	94,9	100,0	688
	Centre	5,8	94,2	100,0	617
	South-Islands	10,6	89,4	100,0	1561
	Total	8,1	91,9	100,0	3554
Apb	North-west	5,8	94,2	100,0	256
	North-East	3,5	96,5	100,0	541
	Centre	5,1	94,9	100,0	332
	South-Islands	9,0	91,0	100,0	1350
	Total	6,9	93,1	100,0	2479
Uwc	North-west	7,6	92,4	100,0	2003
	North-East	6,2	93,8	100,0	1806
	Centre	6,4	93,6	100,0	1557
	South-Islands	15,5	84,5	100,0	3655
	Total	10,3	89,7	100,0	9021
Awc	North-west	7,3	92,7	100,0	123
	North-East	8,1	91,9	100,0	267
	Centre	3,0	97,0	100,0	293
	South-Islands	12,6	87,4	100,0	1228
	Total	10,1	89,9	100,0	1911

Tab 10. Inter-division mobility by division of birth and education. Percentage values.

Education	Division of birth	Inter-division mobility		Total	N
		Not migrant			
		Migrant	Not migrant		
Degree	North-west	10,6	89,4	100,0	546
	North-East	7,3	92,7	100,0	508
	Centre	11,1	88,9	100,0	486
	South-Islands	11,3	88,7	100,0	1089
	Total	10,3	89,7	100,0	2629
High education	North-west	9,6	90,4	100,0	2090
	North-East	5,3	94,7	100,0	2176
	Centre	6,4	93,6	100,0	1882
	South-Islands	9,1	90,9	100,0	4218
	Total	7,9	92,1	100,0	10366
Compulsory education	North-west	7,1	92,9	100,0	1423
	North-East	6,3	93,8	100,0	1456
	Centre	5,6	94,4	100,0	1267
	South-Islands	14,6	85,4	100,0	3598
	Total	10,2	89,8	100,0	7744
No education	North-west	7,1	92,9	100,0	282
	North-East	6,9	93,1	100,0	480
	Centre	5,7	94,3	100,0	351
	South-Islands	16,0	84,0	100,0	1585
	Total	12,1	87,9	100,0	2698

Tab. 11 Table of geographical mobility (inter-division). Division of residence by division of birth and gender. Row percentages. Individuals between 20-58, 2003

Gender	Division of birth	Geographical division				Total	N
		North-West	North-East	Centre	South-Islands		
Male	North-west	91,8	3,4	1,8	3,1	100	2076
	North-East	3,5	94,5	1,0	1,0	100	2311
	Centre	2,2	1,7	93,2	2,9	100	2023
	South-Islands	6,1	2,9	2,7	88,2	100	5229
	Total	20,2	21,0	17,9	40,9	100	11639
Female	North-west	90,8	3,3	2,3	3,6	100	2265
	North-East	3,1	93,5	1,6	1,8	100	2309
	Centre	2,1	1,4	93,4	3,1	100	1963
	South-Islands	6,4	2,9	3,4	87,3	100	5261
	Total	21,2	20,5	17,8	40,5	100	11798

Tab. 12 Table of geographical mobility (inter-division). Division of residence by division of birth and birth-cohort. Row percentages. Individuals between 20-58, 2003

Cohort	Division of birth	Geographical division				Total	N
		North-West	North-East	Centre	South-Islands		
1945-1960	North-west	92,6	3,8	2,0	1,7	100	1630
	North-East	5,5	91,7	1,5	1,3	100	1971
	Centre	2,9	1,7	93,3	2,1	100	1652
	South-Islands	9,4	2,8	4,1	83,7	100	4418
	Total	21,5	20,9	18,5	39,1	100	9671
1961-1975	North-west	89,9	3,6	2,0	4,5	100	1946
	North-East	2,1	95,7	1,2	1,0	100	1875
	Centre	1,9	1,6	92,9	3,6	100	1624
	South-Islands	5,2	3,4	2,8	88,6	100	4154
	Total	21,2	21,2	17,6	40,0	100	9599
1976-1983	North-west	91,8	1,6	2,5	4,2	100	765
	North-East	0,5	95,7	1,0	2,7	100	774
	Centre	0,8	1,1	94,2	3,8	100	710
	South-Islands	1,2	2,2	1,1	95,5	100	1918
	Total	17,6	19,3	17,2	45,9	100	4167

Tab. 13 Table of geographical mobility (inter-division). Division of residence by division of birth and education. Row percentages. Individuals between 20-58, 2003

Education	Division of birth	Geographical division				Total	N
		North-West	North-East	Centre	South-Islands		
Degree	North-west	89,4	5,7	2,0	2,9	100	546
	North-East	3,5	92,7	2,6	1,2	100	508
	Centre	4,1	2,7	88,9	4,3	100	486
	South-Islands	3,2	3,8	4,3	88,7	100	1089
	Total	21,3	21,1	19,1	38,4	100	2629
High education	North-west	90,4	3,6	2,0	4,0	100	2090
	North-East	2,5	94,7	1,0	1,8	100	2176
	Centre	1,8	1,6	93,6	3,0	100	1882
	South-Islands	4,1	2,5	2,5	90,9	100	4218
	Total	20,7	21,9	18,6	38,8	100	10366
Compulsory education	North-west	92,9	2,1	2,0	3,0	100	1423
	North-East	3,8	93,8	1,4	1,1	100	1456
	Centre	1,7	1,3	94,4	2,5	100	1267
	South-Islands	8,2	3,1	3,3	85,4	100	3598
	Total	21,9	19,7	17,6	40,8	100	7744
No education	North-west	92,9	3,2	2,5	1,4	100	282
	North-East	5,0	93,1	1,3	0,6	100	480
	Centre	2,6	0,6	94,3	2,6	100	351
	South-Islands	9,8	3,1	3,1	84,0	100	1585
	Total	16,7	18,8	14,6	50,0	100	2698

Tab. 14 Table of geographical mobility (inter-division). Division of residence by division of birth and social origin. Row percentages. Individuals between 20-58, 2003

Social origin	Division of birth	Geographical division				Total	N
		North-West	North-East	Centre	South-Islands		
Bou	North-west	87,5	5,4	2,8	4,3	100	578
	North-East	3,7	92,5	2,2	1,6	100	627
	Centre	4,0	2,5	90,4	3,1	100	519
	South-Islands	4,7	3,0	3,6	88,7	100	897
	Total	22,6	24,8	20,3	32,3	100	2621
Wco	North-west	87,9	3,9	3,0	5,2	100	693
	North-East	2,3	93,5	1,9	2,3	100	691
	Centre	2,2	2,4	91,2	4,2	100	668
	South-Islands	4,2	2,8	3,1	89,9	100	1799
	Total	18,6	19,2	18,2	44,1	100	3851
Upb	North-west	92,7	3,3	2,3	1,6	100	688
	North-East	3,3	94,9	0,4	1,3	100	688
	Centre	1,6	1,0	94,2	3,2	100	617
	South-Islands	4,2	3,3	2,9	89,6	100	1561
	Total	20,7	20,6	18,2	40,5	100	3554
Apb	North-west	94,1	2,3	1,6	2,0	100	256
	North-East	1,7	96,5	1,3	0,6	100	541
	Centre	0,9	1,8	94,9	2,4	100	332
	South-Islands	4,2	2,1	2,6	91,0	100	1350
	Total	12,5	22,7	14,6	50,2	100	2479
Uwc	North-west	92,5	2,7	1,5	3,3	100	2003
	North-East	3,7	93,9	1,1	1,3	100	1806
	Centre	2,0	1,3	93,9	2,8	100	1557
	South-Islands	9,1	3,2	3,1	84,6	100	3655
	Total	25,3	20,9	18,0	35,8	100	9021
Awc	North-west	93,5	3,3	0,8	2,4	100	123
	North-East	5,2	92,1	1,5	1,1	100	267
	Centre	1,7	0,3	96,9	1,0	100	293
	South-Islands	6,8	2,7	3,1	87,4	100	1228
	Total	11,4	14,9	17,1	56,6	100	1911

Tab. 15 Tables of intergenerational mobility in the different divisions of residence. Occupational class of the first job by social origin class. Row percentages. Individuals between 20-58, 2003

Division	Social origin	First occupational class						Total	N
		Bou	Wco	Upb	Apb	Uwc	Awc		
North-West	Bou	53,2	30,7	5,6	0,7	9,6	0,2	100	592
	Wco	9,4	76,4	1,1	0,4	12,6	0,1	100	716
	Upb	6,3	33	43,1	0,8	16,3	0,5	100	736
	Apb	4,5	18,7	4,8	50,3	20,0	1,6	100	310
	Uwc	4,6	28	2,7	0,1	63,6	1	100	2282
	Awc	1,4	11,9	3,2	1,4	32,6	49,5	100	218
	Total	11,4	34,9	9,1	3,6	38,2	2,9	100	4854
North-East	Bou	48,8	32,7	2,9	1,2	12,9	1,4	100	651
	Wco	9,7	71,6	2,6	0,0	14,7	1,4	100	739
	Upb	6,3	27,6	44,7	0,8	19,5	1,1	100	733
	Apb	3,7	17,6	1,2	52,4	20,6	4,4	100	563
	Uwc	3,7	27,1	1,4	0,3	65,4	2	100	1887
	Awc	3,5	12,7	3,5	0,4	34,5	45,4	100	284
	Total	11,1	32,7	8,4	6,5	36,8	4,5	100	4857
Centre	Bou	53,7	27,7	5,5	0,4	11,9	0,9	100	531
	Wco	13,0	70,7	2,4	0,0	13,6	0,3	100	699
	Upb	7,0	27,2	44,7	1,1	19,3	0,6	100	646
	Apb	4,4	16,9	6,6	50,7	19,9	1,4	100	361
	Uwc	5,5	24,9	4,4	0,3	63,2	1,7	100	1625
	Awc	2,4	11,6	4,9	0,0	30,3	50,8	100	327
	Total	12,7	31,5	10,7	4,7	35,4	5,0	100	4189
South-Islands	Bou	61,2	22,7	6,0	1,1	8,3	0,8	100	847
	Wco	8,5	78,7	2,9	0,1	9,3	0,5	100	1697
	Upb	5,8	23,0	56,5	1,0	12,5	1,1	100	1439
	Apb	4,3	18,4	5,8	52,0	15,5	4,0	100	1245
	Uwc	3,4	19,6	3,7	0,2	71,0	2,1	100	3227
	Awc	3,0	14,7	6,0	0,8	19,7	55,7	100	1082
	Total	9,9	30,2	12,3	7,2	32,5	7,9	100	9537

Tab. 16 Tables of intergenerational mobility of emigrants and nonmigrants by geographical division of birth. Occupational class of the first job by social origin class. Row percentages. Individuals between 20-58, 2003

Geograph. division	Geograph. mobility	Social origin	First occupational class						Total	N
			Bou	Wco	Upb	Apb	Uwc	Awc		
North-west	Migrant	Bou	61,1	25	4,2	0,0	9,7	0,0	100	72
		Wco	10,7	76,2	1,2	0,0	11,9	0,0	100	84
		Upb	16,0	32,0	42,0	0,0	8,0	2	100	50
		Apb	0,0	26,7	0,0	60	13,3	0,0	100	15
		Uwc	7,3	19,9	4,6	0,0	67,5	0,7	100	151
		Awc	12,5	12,5	0,0	0,0	37,5	37,5	100	8
		<b>Total</b>	19,2	35,0	8,4	2,4	33,7	1,3	100	380
	Not migrant	Bou	53,2	31,0	5,9	0,8	8,9	0,2	100	506
		Wco	9,4	77,0	1,3	0,5	11,8	0,0	100	609
		Upb	6,1	32,9	43,7	0,6	16,1	0,5	100	638
		Apb	4,1	14,9	5,4	54,4	19,1	2,1	100	241
		Uwc	4,7	30,2	2,8	0,1	61,4	0,8	100	1852
		Awc	1,7	9,6	4,3	2,6	26,1	55,7	100	115
		<b>Total</b>	11,7	36,4	9,7	3,7	36,2	2,2	100	3961
North-East	Migrant	Bou	59,6	34	2,1	0,0	4,3	0,0	100	47
		Wco	4,4	84,4	2,2	0,0	8,9	0,0	100	45
		Upb	11,4	22,9	54,3	0,0	11,4	0,0	100	35
		Apb	5,3	26,3	5,3	47,4	15,8	0,0	100	19
		Uwc	1,8	23,6	2,7	0,0	70	1,8	100	110
		Awc	4,8	23,8	0,0	0,0	23,8	47,6	100	21
		<b>Total</b>	13,7	35,4	9	3,2	34,3	4,3	100	277
	Not migrant	Bou	48,1	32,6	3,1	1,4	13,4	1,4	100	580
		Wco	9,4	71,5	2,8	0,0	14,7	1,5	100	646
		Upb	6,3	27,1	45,6	0,8	19,0	1,2	100	653
		Apb	3,6	17,2	1,3	52,9	20,1	4,8	100	522
		Uwc	3,5	27,6	1,5	0,4	65	2,1	100	1696
		Awc	3,7	12,2	3,7	0,4	35	45,1	100	246
		<b>Total</b>	10,8	32,6	8,6	6,8	36,6	4,6	100	4343
Centre	Migrant	Bou	64,0	28,0	2,0	2,0	4,0	0,0	100	50
		Wco	8,5	81,4	1,7	0,0	8,5	0,0	100	59
		Upb	2,8	33,3	36,1	0,0	27,8	0,0	100	36
		Apb	11,8	23,5	0,0	52,9	11,8	0,0	100	17
		Uwc	7,4	22,1	1,1	0,0	68,4	1,1	100	95
		Awc	0,0	22,2	0,0	0,0	11,1	66,7	100	9
		<b>Total</b>	17,7	38,0	6,0	3,8	32	2,6	100	266
	Not migrant	Bou	52,9	27,7	5,5	0,4	12,4	1,1	100	469
		Wco	12,8	70,9	2,5	0,0	13,6	0,2	100	609
		Upb	7,1	26,5	44,4	1,2	20,3	0,5	100	581
		Apb	4,8	16,8	6	51,1	19,7	1,6	100	315
		Uwc	5,1	25,4	4,2	0,3	63,5	1,5	100	1462
		Awc	2,8	12,0	4,6	0,0	31,3	49,3	100	284
		<b>Total</b>	12,5	31,6	10,5	4,7	36	4,7	100	3720
South-Island:	Migrant	Bou	53,5	27,7	3	0,0	14,9	1,0	100	101
		Wco	13,7	67,6	0,5	0,0	17,0	1,1	100	182
		Upb	3,7	31,5	41,4	1,9	20,4	1,2	100	162
		Apb	4,1	26,4	5,0	38	26,4	0,0	100	121
		Uwc	5,3	18,0	3,2	0,4	71	2,1	100	562
		Awc	0,0	12,3	3,9	0,0	36,1	47,7	100	155
		<b>Total</b>	9,4	27,6	7,9	4	44,1	7,1	100	1283
	Not migrant	Bou	60,6	22,9	6,3	1,0	8,4	0,9	100	796
		Wco	8,5	78,5	3,0	0,1	9,3	0,6	100	1617
		Upb	5,8	23,2	56,6	1,1	12,3	1,1	100	1399
		Apb	4,2	18,1	5,9	52,2	15,5	4,1	100	1229
		Uwc	3,4	19,7	3,7	0,2	70,9	2,1	100	3093
		Awc	3,1	14,6	6,1	0,8	19,7	55,7	100	1073
		<b>Total</b>	9,7	30,0	12,4	7,4	32,4	8,1	100	9207

Tab.5 Main diagonal values of emigrants' and nonmigrants' intergenerational mobility for Italy and the four division of birth. Occupational class of the first job by parents' occupational class (row percentages). Individuals between 20-58, 2003

Class	Italy		North-west		North-east		Centre		South-Islands	
	Migrant	Not migrant	Migrant	Not migrant	Migrant	Not migrant	Migrant	Not migrant	Migrant	Not migrant
<b>Bou</b>	58,5	54,4	61,1	53,2	59,6	48,1	64,0	52,9	53,5	60,6
<b>Wco</b>	73,8	75,6	76,2	77,0	84,4	71,5	81,4	70,9	67,6	78,5
<b>Upb</b>	42,4	49,7	42,0	43,7	54,3	45,6	36,1	44,4	41,4	56,6
<b>Apb</b>	42,4	52,4	60,0	54,4	47,4	52,9	52,9	51,1	38,0	52,2
<b>Uwc</b>	70,0	66,2	67,5	61,4	70,0	65,0	68,4	63,5	71,0	70,9
<b>Awc</b>	48,2	53,1	37,5	55,7	47,6	45,1	66,7	49,3	47,7	55,7