

Department of Political Sciences Master's Degree in International Relations Major in Security

Chair of Comparative Politics

FROM ARRIVAL TO INTEGRATION: COMPARING MIGRANT RECEPTION POLICIES IN THE US AND ITALY

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Academic Year 2023/2024

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Summary

| Introduction | | | |
|--|-----|--|--|
| Chapter 1: Explaining migration | 6 | | |
| 1.1 What is migration? | 6 | | |
| 1.2 Why do people migrate? | 9 | | |
| 1.3 Why talking about the US and Italy in terms of migration is important? | '14 | | |
| Chapter 2: The normative framework | 20 | | |
| 2.1 The US paradigm: a host country by nature | 21 | | |
| 2.1.1: Brief history of immigration in the US | 21 | | |
| 2.1.2 Migratory flows | 24 | | |
| 2.1.3 Rules for entering the country nowadays | 29 | | |
| 2.1.4 The status of migrant in the US | 35 | | |
| 2.1.5 Integration and citizenship | 38 | | |
| 2.1.6 Analyzing the political address | 43 | | |
| 2.2 Italy: from sending to host country | 45 | | |
| 2.2.1 Brief history of immigration in Italy | 45 | | |
| 2.2.2 Migratory flows | 45 | | |
| 2.2.3 Rules for entering the country nowadays | 48 | | |
| 2.2.4 The status of migrant in Italy | 55 | | |
| 2.2.5 Integration and citizenship | 56 | | |
| 2.2.6 Analyzing the political address | 62 | | |
| Chapter 3: Which system is the best | 66 | | |
| 3.1: Comparison between the two countries | 66 | | |
| 3.1.1: Comparing the status of migrant | 67 | | |

| 3.1.2: Comparing integration e citizenship | 68 |
|--|----|
| 3.2: Which system can be deemed the best | 72 |
| 3.3: Best practices: what is best to do? | |
| Conclusions | 85 |
| Bibliography | 87 |

Introduction

In 2021, the world's 32 conflicts, 17 of which are of high intensity, have combined their devastating effects with those of the climate emergency and the Covid-19 pandemic, making increasingly large areas of the planet uninhabitable. These expulsion factors has recently been compounded by the war between Russia and Ukraine, which by the end of September 2022 had already pushed 7.4 million Ukrainian refugees into EU countries. For that matter, conflicts multiply and exacerbate-with a striking intensity during the war in Ukraine – the food crises. In the world today, 870 million people, increased by 150 million since 2020. In turn, environmental crises, caused largely by climate change, in 2021 alone generated 24 million internally displaced persons. The effects of extreme weather, from droughts to floods, from desertification to air, water and land pollution, affect "especially poor countries and the poor living in rich countries." According to the World Bank, by 2050 the environmental migrants, fleeing environmental disasters caused by climate change, could reach 220 million people. The "3 Cs" of conflict, climate and Covid-19 are therefore among the key to understanding contemporary migration.¹

In the modern era migration was able to emerge as a crucial phenomenon that can profoundly change and shape societies, economies and even contribute to cultural shifts. In fact, it has become an important feature of our century, with societies changing quickly and bringing new challenges to the population. The world in recent times has experienced such a surge in migration due to the conflicts and natural disasters that we have experienced so far. This sudden surge will present opportunities and challenges to the countries that are involved and that have to deal with people moving across and within borders to find a suitable place to be. This thesis will deal with the topic of migration, in particular we are going to explore the way in which two countries, Italy and the United States of America, deal with migrant as of policies and how they are generally felt and treated in the country.

The approach used will be the one of comparison, but in order to do so we need some background.

The first chapter will deal with the topic of migration in general, talking about the broad definition of migration,

¹ **Dossier Immigrazione. (2022, October). Cartella Stampa Dossier 2022.** https://www.dossierimmigrazione.it/wp-content/uploads/2022/10/Cartella-stampa-Dossier-2022.pdf

why people decide to migrate and what are the main drivers of migration and finally it will touch upon the reason why the choice to compare Italy with America, and their long-lasting story of migration.

The second chapter instead will deal with the normative framework of the two countries exploring how the state acts upon migrants on a legal basis, from the welcoming of migrants to their citizenship and integration in the host country.

Finally, the last chapter will be dealing with the comparison of the two system. Once we have our general understanding of how migration can be defined, why the two countries taken into considerations are so important and what is their normative framework, we can finally see how these two countries compare and score against each other and we will find out which one can be considered the best. The final chapter will also deal with the creation of a possible hybridized system, made of best practices, along with the analysis of the European framework for migrant reception, which is in itself a form of best practices for the countries signatories of the so-called "Schengen Agreement".

Let us travel through this perilous journey across migration, to find the best possible approach among two great countries: Italy and America.

Chapter 1: Explaining migration

1.1 What is migration?

When we start thinking about migration the first thought it is common to have is linked to the recent times, to the outburst of the phenomenon of migration due to economic crises, natural disasters or wars. Especially what can come to mind these days are the tragic migration crises that struck Europe in recent times, for example the 2015 European migrant crisis, or the more recent Ukraine War that escalated in 2022 with the invasion of the Ukrainian territory by the Russian troops.

Although this is true, migration began millions of years ago, with the birth of the human species. It has been analyzed that the first populations of prototypical humans, mainly belonging to the *homo sapiens*, had started to move in the early stages of humanity, to avoid harsh weathers and to find better living conditions². This is an amazing fact since in at the beginning of the development of humanity there was an abundance of resources and there was enough land for the early stages of colonization. Through history people have always had a desire to move. Finding valuable resources like food, water and favorable living conditions has always brought people to seek territories where they would flourish. Though it is not the only reason why people are on the move. There are instances for example in which even in favorable conditions people would move just for the sake of moving, or perhaps to fulfil a social construct where moving is essential for one's personal growth.

But what really is migration? How can we define it? There are many different ways in which one can define migration and there is no internationally recognized description for the concept of migration. Using the European Union perspective, we can see that it is possible to define migration as: "[...] movement of a person either across an international border (international migration), or within a state (internal migration) for more than one year irrespective of the causes, voluntary or involuntary, and the means, regular or irregular, used to migrate". According to the International Organization for Migration (IOM) instead the term refers to: "an umbrella term, not defined under international law, reflecting the common lay understanding of a person who moves away from his or her place of usual residence, whether within a country or across an international border, temporarily

² Groeneveld, E. (2024). Early human migration. World History Encyclopedia.

https://www.worldhistory.org/article/1070/early-human-migration/

³ migration. (n.d.). Migration and Home Affairs. https://home-affairs.ec.europa.eu/networks/european-migration-network-emn/emn-asylum-and-migration-glossary/glossary/migration en

or permanently, and for a variety of reasons. The term includes a number of well-defined legal categories of people, such as migrant workers; persons whose particular types of movements are legally defined, such as smuggled migrants; as well as those whose status or means of movement are not specifically defined under international law, such as international students."⁴. So, according to these definitions, migration can be understood as the movement, which can be permanent or for a certain period of time, of a person from his place of residence. The time frame of the permanence in a new environment is dictated by the reason, or reasons, why a person decides to move. This can happen then both internally, so it would mean that the person moves inside the territory of his own country instead of moving across borders, as well as internationally, meaning that a person will cross borders and enter another state's territory. Further clarification though has to be made regarding migration. In fact, when we talk about migration, we just think about a person deciding to move, having the means necessary to do so, and then actually moving. Instead, there is far more complexity than that.

In order to have a deeper understand on the matter, there has to be a distinction between legal and illegal migration. When we talk about legal migration, we are talking about the use of mainstream means to reach a new environment. So, a person gathers the necessary documentations, crosses the borders, is registered into the country as a migrant, and has no further legal issues to worry about. Instead, when we take into consideration the illegal traffic of migrants, we are dealing with criminals smuggling people into the country. These people use any means necessary to cross the borders without having to provide for documents or anything. Most of the times the migrant tracts are extremely dangerous, and often leads to a large portion of people dying trying to move. These are extreme cases, where people often times request the help of criminals or illicit organizations to traverse between countries, trying to pay less fees at the cost of a dangerous journey. Furthermore, there is the distinction to be made between forced and voluntary migration. When we talk about voluntary migration, we talk about people willingly moving from one country to another and it can fall both under the category of legal and illegal migration. In this category people want to move and are choosing to, they have the means to decide freely. On the other hand, forced migration is a far more sensitive topic. First of all, it can be the cause of human trafficking, hence a rather unsettling form of illegal migration. Furthermore, forced migration can also mean that people are being forced to move for other reasons that go beyond their control, for example persecutions, natural disasters, city development and conflicts.

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⁴ About migration | International Organization for Migration. (n.d.). International Organization for Migration. https://www.iom.int/about-migration

Before moving forward in explaining why do people migrate though it is imperative to make a proper distinction. When talking about the movement of people one of the other words that commonly comes to mind are "asylum seeker" and "refugee". Although many people connect the terms of asylum seeker and refugee to the one of the migrant, they are profoundly different, and their differentiation is crucial at the level of international legislation. When we talk about refugees we are talking about "a person who has fled their own country because they are at risk of serious human rights violations and persecution there. The risks to their safety and life were so great that they felt they had no choice but to leave and seek safety outside their country because their own government cannot or will not protect them from those dangers. Refugees have a right to international protection."⁵ This classification by Amnesty International is crucial because it explains perfectly who a refugee is. A refugee is a person that genuinely fears for his life and wellbeing, usually in a time of conflict or because of a regime in its country and seek international protection. Before becoming a refugee though a person has to request asylum in a country. In this state a person is an asylum seeker, which Amnesty International classifies as "a person who has left their country and is seeking protection from persecution and serious human rights violations in another country, but who hasn't yet been legally recognized as a refugee and is waiting to receive a decision on their asylum claim".⁶ So, first a person is an asylum seeker, and once their claim is analyzed by the receiving country and accepted then it becomes a refugee and receives protection by the country. Of course, the status of refugee comes also with certain rules, different in every country, that the person has to follow in order to be able to stay without issues. When someone requests asylum it has to be analyzed and no state, under international law, can refuse to check a request for asylum. If the person does not qualify for any reason for asylum, then the country can deny access, but it has to process it and provide for the person if accepted.

The use of a proper classification for what is migration is crucial because, if the concept is not clear, it could lead to misinterpretations and wrong conceptions. We need to keep in mind though that migration is not an easy topic. There are far many explanations on what migration is, since every person has a different experience with it, and there is no one size fits all approach that can be taken in this matter. It can be useful to note that migration is being studied on various academical levels, stemming from politics and economics to phycology and medicine. This is due to fact that it has such a wide spectrum and influences a range of sectors.

⁵ Amnesty International. (2023, September 18). Refugees, asylum seekers and migrants - Amnesty International. https://www.amnesty.org/en/what-we-do/refugees-asylum-seekers-and-migrants/

⁶ Idem

1.2 Why do people migrate?

An important step in understanding migration is to understand why do people migrate. What pushes them to move and what are the forces at play in the life-changing decision that is leaving one's own birthplace to find fortune elsewhere.

Like the concept of migration, also the reasons to move are hard to tackle. What happens in the human brain is far too complex to analyze to allow us to really pin down the exact way in which a person decides to move. Even though complex there are certain explanations that makes it easier for us to have a somewhat feasible understanding of why people are on the move. For example, if we analyze the reason why people migrate using the push-pull factors (Figure 1) which are the basis of analysis of Neoclassical theories, then we can see that there are many ways in which we can explain why a person wants or does not want to move.

| Push factors | Pull factors |
|---|---|
| Poverty | Employment |
| Low wages | High wages |
| Unemployment | Low taxes |
| Famine | Property rights |
| High taxes | Educational opportunities |
| Discrimination | Personal and economic freedom |
| Religious or ethnic persecution | Religious freedom |
| War | Peace |
| Stay factors | Stay-away factors |
| | |
| Family ties | Strict immigration laws |
| Family ties Certainty | Strict immigration laws Language barriers |
| • | |
| Certainty | Language barriers |
| Certainty Social and economic status | Language barriers Low social status |
| Certainty Social and economic status Cultural familiarity | Language barriers Low social status Lack of political and social rights |
| Certainty Social and economic status Cultural familiarity Friendships | Language barriers Low social status Lack of political and social rights Unfamiliarity |

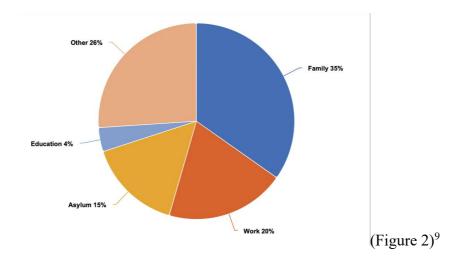
(Figure 1)⁷

⁷ Money, J., & Lockhart, S. P. (2021). Introduction to international migration: Population Movements in the 21st Century. Routledge.

The Neoclassical theories introduced two main ways in which we can understand why people chooses to migrate. First of all, we have the costs of migrating, which are the costs that one person might experience if there is a decision to move. These costs include moving, so airplane or other means of travel, documentation that are needed and housing. The second way in which Neoclassical theories try to explain the reason why people migrate is the push-pull factors which: "as popularized by Passaris (1989), describes and categorizes the factors that affect individuals' decision to leave their country of origin (i.e. push factors) and the factors that cause them to migrate to a particular destination country over others (i.e. pull factors)"8.

These factors are crucial to understand why people migrate. As portrayed in the scheme in Figure 1 we can see that there are four categories in this theoretical explanation. There are push factors which makes you take the decision to leave, for example poverty and unemployment in your own town. There are then pull factors, which are those factors that makes you choose a place over the other, for example low taxes and a high employment rate. We can also see stay factors, which are those factors that makes you want to stay in your own country, like for example family ties and cultural familiarity. Finally, we have stay-away factors, which are those factors that makes you discard a location completely, for example discrimination and language barriers.

By using the scheme of the push-pull theory we can see that there are many factors that people take into consideration when deciding if migrating is a feasible option for them. But the push-pull factors alone are not really a complete explanation of the reasons why people decide that they want to migrate.



⁸ Idem

⁹ Statistics on migration to Europe. (n.d.). European Commission. https://commission.europa.eu/strategy-and-policy/priorities-2019-2024/promoting-our-european-way-life/statistics-migration-europe_en, Resident permits by reason 2022

For example, as we can see in the Figure 2, there are five main documented reasons why people ask to receive a residency permit. We have family reasons as the highest asked, this mainly people want to reunite with their family that went abroad. The cause for this is because many people are first movers in a household and after some time, they ask the rest of their family to move with them after seeing that the chances of a better life are much higher in those countries. After that we have reasons that are included as "other" which includes permits issued for the reason of residence only, permits issued to victims of trafficking of human beings and unaccompanied minors, as well as permits issued for all other reasons for which residence permits may be issued and which are not covered by the other categories. Work has a 20% of occurrence, and even though we may think that there are more people migrate for work there is actually a higher request of connecting back with one's family. Also given the fact that over the years there had been numerous occasions when work related migration was much higher and was the main if not the only reason to move, we can see why there is a much higher request for familiar reasons for moving to a country of choice. Asylum seekers counts as 15% of the requests for residency request. It must be remined that, as we spoke about before, asylum seekers are different than migrants, even though many agencies find it useful to fit them in the same category it is imperative, in the perspective of international law, to keep them well separated. Lastly, we can see that there is a portion of people, a 4%, that requests entry and residency in a country to study. Across Europe especially there are many people that move to study, staying then in a country permanently or in a set time period, joining for example the Erasmus program.

The push-pull factors though show us an important actor to take into consideration in the decision to migrate, hence another explanation that could be given in why people want to migrate: the state. Through history the nation-states began to hold the monopoly on legitimate means of movement. This was done through the implementation of a system of passports and visas during the eighteen century. This has brough the states to become essential with their expressed or tacit approval whenever someone decides to move¹⁰.

The state is a crucial element when explaining migration and cannot be left aside. When talking about migration, in fact, we are talking about a person mainly moving across states or within a state territory. The state can be understood as the organ that allows you to move in or out of the territory. It is essentially the barrier to entry or the open gates to a country, but it can also prevent you from moving

¹⁰ Money, J., & Lockhart, S. P. (2021). Introduction to international migration: Population Movements in the 21st Century. Routledge.

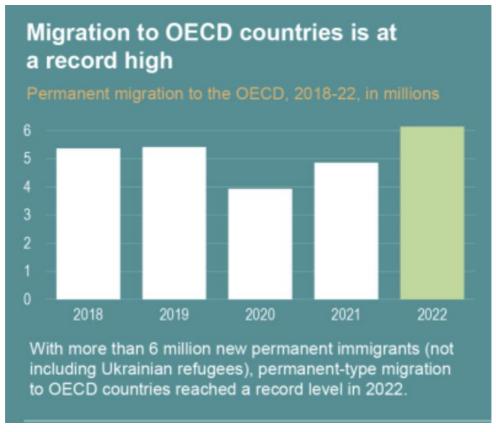
or incentivizing you to get out of its territory, letting you also come back with a stronger cultural baggage or with a better know-how for your job to help your own country.

The role of the state is mainly exercises through direct policies of entry and exit. As an example, we can see that many countries utilize border control, so outposts at its borders or at arrival stations like airports and naval ports to check and categorize who is coming in. The main strategy here would be the use of specific documentations, asked at the designated spots, in order to make sure of the reason of someone's stay. A request to the state where you would like to reside is also needed in these cases, so that the state organ that deals with these practices can accept or deny your request beforehand. In the United States, for example, the system is made of a series of different documentations, depending on the category of immigrant you fall into, called Visas that you have to fill in and request before going to the country, where you specify that you would like to be an immigrant and become permanent resident, along with proof or reason why you are interested in becoming a migrant. Furthermore, you are going to need a passport and a proof of identity in order to show at the frontiers who you are. If this request is denied, then you cannot enter until you are granted access.

Depending on the country you make your request there are going to be different documentations along with a better or worse probability of being able to get accepted.

Though states are not only favoring or preventing migration through direct policies but can also do so by working in a more quiet and discrete manner. This is made through the making of conditions that can favor or not migration. Examples of this behavior can be the presence of an anti-or pro-immigration party in the government, that would express the level of political openness. Or implementing a normative framework that can seem to favor or disfavor migrants through for example through the policies of rights of residence, how are they treated in relation to locals, inclusion in the society.

Among the way in which a state can influence migration we can also find the relations they have with other states and how they behave internationally. For example, states can enter in cooperation through agreements, and entering in an agreement, bilateral or multilateral, can influence how a state can react and can act towards the migrant population.



(Figure 3)¹¹

Looking at the graphical representation on Figure 3 we can see that, as we have stated above, the role of the state is of crucial importance as per its international cooperation agreements. The graph deals with the migration numbers in the countries that are part of the OECD Agreement. The OECD is The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development and is "[...] is an international organisation that works to build better policies for better lives. Our goal is to shape policies that foster prosperity, equality, opportunity, and well-being for all. We draw on 60 years of experience and insights to better prepare the world of tomorrow." Analyzing the data present in the OECD Report International Migration Outlook 2023, from which the graphical representation (Figure 3) is from, we can see that this cooperation agreement, based on the shaping of policies to provide for a better standard of living and a better life for every person living in the countries that are signatories if the agreement, has created an environment in which people are incentivized to move and that allows for a better integration of those that want to come in.

There is also the need to analyze that, especially in Democratic countries, popular demand might be of importance. In countries where the population has some form of say in the actions of the

¹¹ Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. (n.d.). International Migration Outlook. OECD. https://www.oecd.org/migration/international-migration-outlook-1999124x.htm

¹² OECD. (n.d.). About the OECD. Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. https://www.oecd.org/about/

government, these actions can be changed and adapted according to what the voters want and need. Furthermore, if the population does not approve of the policies of the government there might be violent action or an overturning of the government itself, so it is crucial for the government also to understand how the population would react to certain policy decision, in particular in these recent times, where human rights has taken a vital importance and where every person should enjoy them fully. This means then that the state can also be influenced in its decision-making process by its population, which becomes another strong variant in the discourse on the role of the state.

1.3 Why talking about the US and Italy in terms of migration is important?

Among the founding principles of the US Declaration of Independence of 1776 we can find freedom of movement and of migration: "He has endeavored to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose, obstructing the Laws for Naturalization of Foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migrations hither, and raising the conditions of new Appropriations of Lands." ¹³. This is because it is thanks to migration and the naturalization of immigrants that the US was born. For their country it was "[...] the engine of growth and prosperity and suspected the British king of reducing migration to keep the American colonies small and weak." ¹⁴ Furthermore, it is upon freedom that the US Constitution bases its roots. Having said that we can see that at first the US view on migration was very Liberal, allowing for many people, in line with its founding principles, to migrate and find their fortune in the US. The text of the constitution today in the US has not changed as much as in other countries at that time, given the fact that the constitution is more rigid hence is less changed overtime. However, the Constitution reverses the power to set immigration laws and policies directly to the federal government. ¹⁵

In a similar fashion Italy had based its first constitutional text, the Statuto Albertino, on basic freedoms: "Art. 26. - La libertà individuale è guarentita." ¹⁶ (The individual liberty is guaranteed). The protection of freedom has been then kept in the text of the modern constitutional text of the Italian Republic regarding the wider discourse on human rights. In particular, Article 2 of the Italian

¹³ National Archives. (n.d.). Declaration of Independence: A Transcription. https://www.archives.gov/founding-docs/declaration-transcript

¹⁴ L Braun-Strumfels, L., Marinari, M., & Fiorentino, D. (2023). Managing Migration in Italy and the United States: The Liberal Vision of International Migration and Its Opponents. De Gruyter Oldenbourg.

¹⁵ Attorney General's Office. (n.d.). Protect Yourself: Immigrants' Rights. https://www.attorneygeneral.gov/protect-yourself/civil-rights/immigrants-

rights/#:~:text=Constitution%20%E2%80%93%20the%20U.S.%20Constitution%20protects,based%20on%20race%20or%20ethnicity.

¹⁶ Quirinale.it. (n.d.). Statuto Albertino. https://www.quirinale.it/chi-siamo/storia/lo-stato-e-la-costituzione/statuto-albertino

Constitution states that: "La Repubblica riconosce e garantisce i diritti inviolabili dell'uomo sia come singolo, sia all'interno delle formazioni sociali ove si svolge la sua personalità, e richiede l'adempimento dei doveri inderogabili di solidarietà, politica, economica e sociale"¹⁷. In this article the Constitution bases human rights at its apex. This means that every person residing on the Italian soil has their rights protected as available to every human being, instead of for being Italian or because they are provided by the government. The article has been drafted particularly to allow foreigners to better integrate in the Italian society as holders of basic human rights, which are again something that everyone has independently from their cultural heritage and their origin. Furthermore, in Italy the "Testo Unico sull'Immigrazione" entered into force as a legislative decree, setting rights and duties for migrants in Italy. Article 2 of its text states that: "Allo straniero comunque presente alla frontiera o nel territorio dello Stato sono riconosciuti i diritti fondamentali della persona umana previsti dalle norme di diritto interno, dalle convenzioni internazionali in vigore e dai principi di diritto internazionale generalmente riconosciuti." ¹⁹ The migrant person today that arrives in Italy is granted a set of human rights that are inalienable to the person. This is due to the fact that after the horrors seen during the two World Wars states, both locally and at the international level, began to set in motion a series of policies and legislations that strengthen human rights and provides for every human being with the basis to live peacefully and in freely.

Seeing that both countries had, at the base of their constitutional texts a strong freedom of movement might take us to think that there would not be any issues regarding the liberty of people to cross borders. Though it is a striking fact that over time the legislations were overturned, and even though migration and freedom of movement was still guaranteed, there was a form of restraint on it. This is because in the US slowly a sentiment of opposition to migration began to grow and the Italian government had to act in order to still allow for some freedom of movement but at the rules set by America. Furthermore, it has to be said that Italy was not founded thanks to migration, and the unification process was thought to stop the need for migration altogether. This meant that, at that time, Italy had to hastily adjust to the new American laws regarding who was able to get in the country and who was not able.

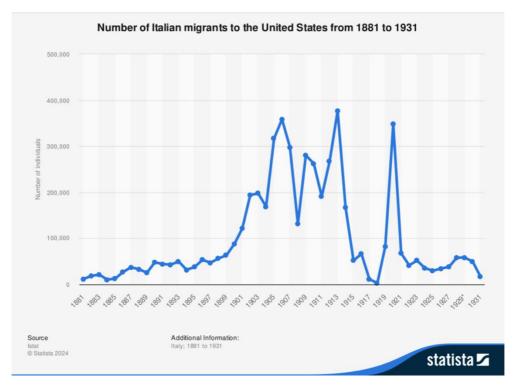
A lot of people were, in fact, sent back due to the strict regulations that were put in place, and the Italian government had to counter this wave of people coming back, covered in shame, through localized controls that allowed the country to select and send only those that were meeting the standards set up by the US government at that time.

¹⁷ Constitution of Italy. (1948). Costituzione della Repubblica Italiana, Art. 2. https://www.senato.it/istituzione/lacostituzione/principi-fondamentali/articolo-10

¹⁸ Legislative Decree No. 286. (1998, July 25). https://www.normattiva.it/urires/N2Ls?urn:nir:stato:decreto.legislativo:1998-07-25;286

¹⁹ Article 2 Ibid

But why the relationship between the US and Italy is so important when looking at the regulatory framework on migration? The importance of this relation comes from the fact that the first moment in history that we see a strong structurization of migration policies is the moment in time where the Italian population starts to move towards the US. This period can be pinpointed in the years between the 1871 and the early 1940's. This period goes from right after the Unification of Italy, which was an important historical milestone, to right in the Second World War. The period in which the majority of the period decided to move though was between the 1880 and 1920.



 $(Figure 4)^{20}$

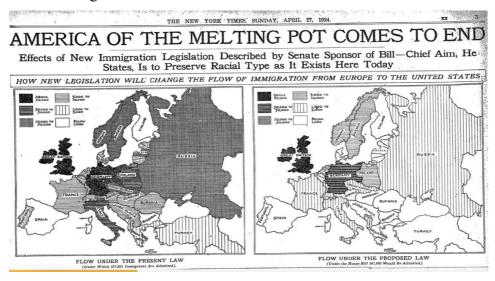
As we can see from the statistics in Figure 4 the period in which the majority of the people decided to move though was between the 1880 and 1920/21.

The causes that brought so many people to move from Italy to the US are various and by using the push-pull factors we can see why the US was so desirable during those times. Looking at the time between 1880 and the time before the First World War started, we can see that the factors that led many people to move away from Italy can certainly be that Italy, after the unification, experienced a strong wave of poverty, overpopulation and most importantly, political instability due to the protests for the unification. This situation in Italy brought many people to desire to move, but where? The United States, which at that time were striving due to the industrialization and had a flourishing

²⁰ Italy: number of Italians who emigrated to the United States 1881-1931 | Statista. (2024, February 2). Statista. https://www.statista.com/statistics/1074911/number-of-italian-migrants-to-the-united-states/

economy, giving hope to whoever wanted to move. Another contributing factor was that there was no migration legislation yet in place in the US, so everyone was relatively free to move regardless of its origins or any other requirement.

By using the graphical representation in Figure 4 as reference we can see that the period between World War One and the Second World War there was a lower migration rate towards the US. This is because at the outbreak of WWI in 1914 there was a halt to the migration patterns due to the fact that Italy faced setbacks both economically and at the military level due to what happened during the War. In the period between the two wars, we can see instead that there is a skyrocketing of migration. This is due to the fact that Italy had a catastrophic economic situation and had to face several challenges to be able to rise back, making it easier for many people to take the decision to flee the country and find their fortune elsewhere. In this period though the US migration laws changed, becoming far more restrictive than before and making it way harder for people, especially the Italian population, to be able to move. The main regulations, among all of the rules and regulations that were put in place through those years, that are striking for our analysis are the Emergency Quota Act of 1921 and subsequently its final state with the Immigration Act of 1924. In particular "The Immigration Act of 1924 limited the number of immigrants allowed entry into the United States through a national origins' quota. The quota provided immigration visas to two percent of the total number of people of each nationality in the United States as of the 1890 national census."²¹ This system of quotas was aimed mainly at restricting migration from Easter and Southern Europe, also influencing the Italian migration route.²²



 $(Figure 5)^{23}$

 $^{^{21}} Milestones:\ 1921-1936-Office\ of\ the\ Historian.\ (n.d.).\ https://history.state.gov/milestones/1921-1936/immigration-act$

²² Marinari, M. (2022). The 1921 and 1924 Immigration Acts a Century Later: Roots and Long Shadows. Journal of American History, 109(2), 271–283.

²³ The New York Times. (1924, April 27). [America of the Melting Pot comes to an end]. The New York Times, p. 181.

As we can see from Figure 5 the aim of the quota system was to drastically change the flow of migration from Europe to the US as portrayed by the New York Times. These quotas were part of the migration legislation for a long period of time, making it harder for people to get in the US. Furthermore, during those years there was a strong discrimination against foreigners, and in particular the Italians, that brought people and the government itself to avoid modifying the status-quo of these quotas. Discrimination came mainly from the language barriers and the strong competition in low-skilled jobs, making it harder for people to integrate fully in the American society.

However, in 1965 and even before in 1952 there were some significant changes to the policies on migration. First of all, in 1952 the Immigration and Nationality Act²⁴ entered into force by revising the 1924 system to allow for national quotas at a rate of one-sixth of one percent of each nationality's population in the United States in 1920. This allowed for 85 percent of the 154,277 visas available annually to be assigned to individuals of northern and western European origins.²⁵ Then in 1965 the so-called Hart-Celler Act finally abolished the quota system that was put in place in 1924, establishing the structure for today's immigration law. The Act Allocated 170,000 visas to those countries in the Eastern Europe and 120,000 to countries in the Western Europe. It also introduced a preference system based on family reunification and occupational skills.²⁶

It is important to state that Italian immigrants, as the 20th century unfolded, began to integrate themselves in the US society. By the years 1920-1930 the first generation of migrants were able to witness their child growing up as full-fledged Americans, instead of being viewed as migrants. This was thanks to the role of the US public school system that was able to integrate through education these children. Furthermore, overtime Italian Americans were able to be normalized also as a workforce, through unions and by being able to reach higher points in their careers. The military played an important part as well since many soldiers of the US army were naturalized Italians, the so-called Italian Americans. Today, Italian Americans hold positions throughout U.S. society, ranging from the Supreme Court to the National Academy of Sciences to the National Basketball Association. Over a century since the peak of Italian immigration, the descendants of the original immigrants, spanning multiple generations, continue to proudly celebrate the rich heritage brought by their predecessors to their new home. Thanks to this century of perils nowadays both countries benefit

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²⁴ Immigration and Nationality Act | USCIS. (2019, July 10). USCIS. https://www.uscis.gov/laws-and-policy/legislation/immigration-and-nationality-act

²⁵ Milestones: 1945–1952 - Office of the Historian. (n.d.). https://history.state.gov/milestones/1945-1952/immigration-act#:~:text=the%20full%20notice.-

[,] The %20 Immigration %20 and %20 Nationality %20 Act %20 of %201952%20 (The %20 Mc Carran %2D Walter, controversial %20 system %20 of %20 immigrant %20 selection.

²⁶ Hreflang="En">CISCISCIS.org. https://cis.org/Report/Legacy-1965-Immigration-Act

from the strong ties that were created, with a mix of cultures, with thousands of Americans exploring Italy today, and a rich Italian society choosing to live and spend time in the US.

In conclusion we can say that throughout this long period of time the Italian immigration to the United States had to face a significant change. It started with a very liberal view, with people being able to move freely as they pleased. Sentiments of hatred towards immigrants though brought a tightening of security in the US, allowing fewer and fewer people in, under the excuse of wanting to improve the quality and not the quantity of those allowed in. In the end though, after the Second World War, balance was restored, and the tight legislations were changed. It is striking to see that it is thanks to what happened between Italy and the United States that today we have such a diverse framework for migration control. The discourse on Italy and the United States is not only something linked to a distant past, but also something that helped shape the society today, allowing for two rich civilizations to share their cultural heritage. Furthermore, the relationship between Italy and the US is useful to see how the most recent migration legislation was born and how it shaped the way in which we see and experience migration today. It is indeed thanks to their sense of patriotism and belonging that the United States have put in place a plethora of migration limitations, which were then cultivated in the years later to become the current legislations. Furthermore, many countries learned from this fruitful relationship, developing the current system of migration, and contributing to this wide and important sector.

So, after having discussed the definitions of migration, the reasons why people migrate and why Italy and the United States are important for our understanding of migration policies, we can move to a more detailed analysis of the normative framework of the two countries that we take into consideration. It is crucial, for the purpose of comparison, to have a clear conception of how things work in both countries. This is because it is mainly thanks to the government and its legislation that people are allowed in or out of a country. Of course, as we said already, this is not the only way in which the state can control migration, but we are going to first explore the normative framework in order to better understand what are the rules and regulations that are put in place by the state bodies in regard to migration, and their importance in shaping public discourse and the sentiments of people towards the foreigners.

Chapter 2: The normative framework

This chapter will deal with the general normative framework of the two countries at hand: the US and Italy. These two countries, as previously said, have been the protagonists of an era of migration. Italians came in mass to the US when there were no laws and regulations regarding migration and the two countries had to build a system of sending and reception on their own, paving the way for the more recent policies and allowing for the other countries to follow their trail to build an effective system of reception.

This chapter is, furthermore, of great importance since it will pave the way for the last one that will deal with the actual final comparison between the two systems, in order to analyze which one would be better for a migrant to go to.

2.1 The US paradigm: a host country by nature

2.1.1: Brief history of immigration in the US

In the United States, the massive phase of the migratory process began in the 1871-1880 decade, when over two million eight hundred thousand immigrants arrived in the country. Of them, roughly 90% were coming from Western Europe, with only 10% coming from Southern Europe. By the end of the century, the number rose to almost nine million, this time mainly from Southern Europe. These populations were characterized by lower wealth, less literacy and a greater degree of irregularity and disorganization than in the past. It is critical to note that by 1920, nearly five million more people came to the United States.

This constant influx of immigrants set off a political conflict at the congressional level, starting in the late 1880s. Such conflicts aimed to limit, contain, reject, and expel immigrants, presenting them on the social stage as "invaders" or "destroyers of American culture". This generated alarm and concern, which in turn triggered racist reactions and phenomena. In this respect, the Native American Party of 1845, the Order of the Star-Spangled Banner of 1850 and the American Protective Association of 1887 represent just some of the organizations that, before and in those years, actively began to promote xenophobic campaigns²⁷.

The process of stopping emigration had begun, with a series of legislative measures from the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 to the Johnson Act of 1924 which were aimed at closing or limiting foreign access at the borders. These measures followed one another for 42 years, within a contradictory institutional and social context, in which strong contrasts emerged between those who consider immigrants as a resource for development and those who tend to systematically reject them. Such domestic contraposition was exacerbated by the introduction of quota policies and by the need for newcomers to recognize a national dimension and values, often unrelated to the reality of everyday life. Opposition to immigration was based on the idea that the presence of immigrants was substantially calling into question the prospect of survival of the US culture and heritage.

Undoubtedly, one group of supporters of these positions was the "progressive" sociologist Edward Alsworth Ross, future supporter of the Soviet Revolution. Ross made his opposition to immigration, and the resulting consequences in terms of lowering the country's living and cultural standards, a central element in some of his lyrics. In his criticism, Ross severely examined the standard of living of Italians, highlighting a marked contrast between people from the South and the

²⁷ Paparazzo, Amelia. Italiani del Sud in America. 1990. p. 15

North - to the detriment of the former. He found this contrast to lie in the violent nature and poor morality of those masses, which were often related to the use of drugs - particularly alcohol - and the practice of gambling. Ross defined the Italian population as a group that significantly introduced the presence of the Mafia and the Camorra into the United States²⁸.

These elements lead Ross to speak of a real "racial suicide" with respect to the entry and proliferation, through the birth rate, of new arrivals. This "exuberance" in births manifests itself especially in US regions where fertility levels among traditional Americans are becoming increasingly low. On the other hand, Ross underlines that the new immigrants arrive without any standard of modern life and even notes the presence of a series of existential habits that are also absent in the black population, thus demonstrating the cultural disparity between Southern European immigrants and other groups ethnic groups in the United States.

Besides the emergence of such anti-immigration trends and rhetoric, migratory flows heading towards the US never really dropped until the start of WWI. The war that began in 1914 abruptly interrupted migrations and, once it ended, gave the phenomenon an entirely new aspect because of the upheavals it triggered. The sudden reduction in the massive development assumed by some industries for war purposes caused unemployment, decreased activity in agriculture, the destruction of entire regions, and territorial changes with the creation of new states, undoing long-established currents of interest. The crisis was also reflected in countries not directly involved in the war, caused by unresolved issues, difficulties in trade due to monetary depreciation, and the significant shift in political and economic factors. This state of distress, especially in countries with exuberant populations, resulted in an imperious desire to emigrate.

However, both emigration and immigration states, both interested in preventing unconscionable migratory movements, began to impose strict restrictions, gradually implemented in an increasingly inadequate manner. This critical situation required deep reflection by all states and highlighted the obvious need to find, at least in the international context, a solution or at least a remedy. In this framework the United States, being one of the winning countries and undoubtedly the better looking in the aftermath of the conflict, experienced a renewed spike in asylum requests. Consequently, the social and political environment in the US became once again more hostile towards the newcomers. In fact, despite the refugees' urgency to relocate, the American public was not in favor of accepting new arrivals. A Gallup poll taken on November 24-25, 1938, asked Americans: "Should we allow more Jews fleeing Germany to come and live in the United States?" 72 percent of Americans answered "no"²⁹.

²⁸ E. A. Ross, *Old World Traits Tansplanted. The Significance of Past and Present Immigration to the American People*, New York, The Century, 1914, e, dello stesso autore, *Italians in America*, New York, The Century, 1914.

²⁹ Frank E. Smitha, *Roosevelt and Approaching War: The Economy, Politics and Questions of War, 1937-38*

With the start of the war in Europe in September 1939 and, in particular, the German invasion of Eastern European countries in the spring of 1940, many Americans suspected that Germany and the Soviet Union might exploit Jewish refugees as spies. The State Department asked consular officers to take special care in analyzing immigration applications. In June 1941, the State Department issued a "kinship rule" that denied visas to immigrants with close relatives still in Nazi territory. In this landscape, in 1924 the US Congress passed the Johnson-Reed Act, which revised U.S. immigration laws based on individuals' "nations of origin." This law introduced so-called quotas, establishing a specific number of visas available each year for each country. The quotas, influenced in part by American advocates of eugenics, were designed to favor immigrants considered "most desired," namely those from northern and western Europe, while limiting the number of immigrants considered "least desired," including Jews from southern and eastern Europe. People born in Asia and Africa were not admitted to the United States on racial grounds.

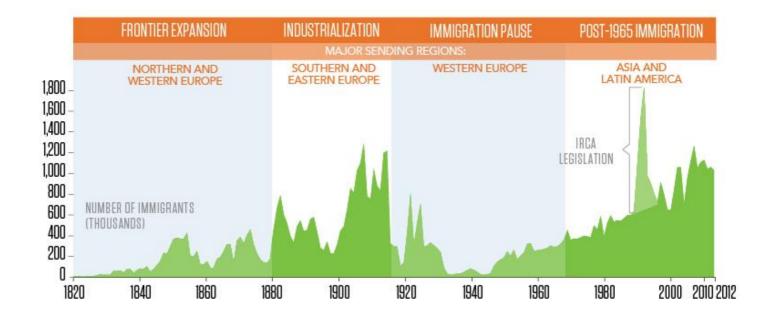
The United States had no specific policies for refugees, and immigration laws were not revised or amended between 1933 and 1941. The Johnson-Reed Act remained in effect until 1965. Potential immigrants had to apply for one of the available places assigned to their country of origin, not residence. After the United Kingdom, Germany received the second largest number of visas allotted; the total allowed amounted to about 153,000 visas.

The quotas represented the maximum number of people eligible, not a goal that State Department officials were trying to achieve. Unused quotas were not carried over to the following year.

With the outbreak of the refugee crisis in 1938, increasing competition for a limited number of visas, affidavits and travel options further complicated the immigration process. In June 1938, 139,163 people were on the waiting list for the German quota. A year later, in June 1939, that list reached 309,782 people. A potential Hungarian immigrant applying in 1939 had to wait about forty years to obtain a visa for the United States. In 1939, the German quota was completely filled for the first time since 1930, with 27,370 people obtaining visas.

This situation did not change up until the end of WWII. After the war the Congress reaffirmed the system of national origins with the enactment of the McCarran-Walter act in 1952, but after that it began to slowly liberalize immigration policies. In 1965 finally Congress repealed the national origins quotas and put an end to the restrictions against Asians. The system that was put in place before was finally changed with a preference system based upon family unification, occupations, and the status of refugees. The 1970s brought another change at the level of migration laws with their modification and the possibility for more people to enter the country. These changes led in the years to an increase in the number of people arriving in the country and with a higher set of skills than the

years prior to the WWII. Furthermore, the origins of those migrants was different too. While the majority of people came from Europe in those years, immigrants from 1965 started to come from those countries that were deemed as Third World Nations. Nowadays these countries, although not belonging to this category anymore, still make their appearance in the territory of the US.³⁰ Figure 6 gives us a proper graphical representation of those people that were coming in those years in the US. With the new legislations form 1965 people from Asia and Latin America began to have more and more interest in coming to the United States of America.



(Figure 6)³¹

2.1.2 Migratory flows

As already stated, and as we have seen previously, the US is a country that was born and proliferated thanks to migration. There are approximately more than 1 million of immigrants that cross the US borders each year. The number of immigrants in the US soil has been increasing from the first waves of migrants back in the 1850's as we can see from the graphical representation in Figure 7. The figure

³⁰ Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. (1894).

³¹ Trends in migration to the U.S. (n.d.). PRB. https://www.prb.org/resources/trends-in-migration-to-the-u-s/

represents both the share of migrants over the total of the population as well as the actual number of people that, per year, has arrived in the American soil. This is an important statistic because when we look at the graphical representation we can see that, although there is a high number of migrants in the state, the share of migrant per population is always on a lower level, except from the years 1850 to 1910 where the population of the US was not as high as over the later years and today and the migrant population actually took a rather large share of the overall population count.



 $(Figure 7)^{32}$

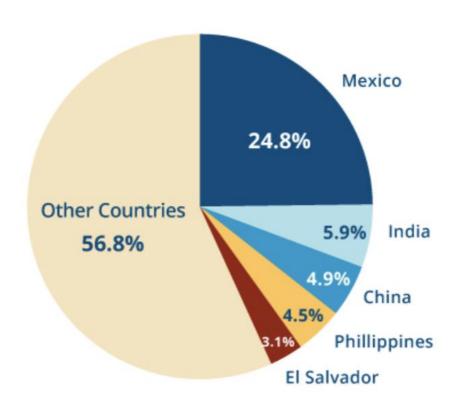
Among the countries that can be listed as the most significant sources of migration to the in the most recent times in the territory of the US we can find: Mexico, China, India, the Philippines, Vietnam, Central American countries, the Dominican Republic, Cuba, South Korea and the countries of Iraq, Syria and Afghanistan.³³ Approximately there are 44 million of immigrants that are currently residing in the US which are divided among these groups, as well as people from other countries, which are less in flow but still contribute to the high numbers of immigrants. This is because over the years the geographical areas that got more and more interested in the US has shifted. While for example Italians

³³ Ibid

³² Batalova, J. B. N. W. a. J. (2023c, September 20). *Frequently Requested Statistics on Immigrants and Immigration in the*. migrationpolicy.org. https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/frequently-requested-statistics-immigrants-and-immigration-united-states#immigrants_now_historically

and Europeans in general made a huge contribution back in the 1900 to the overall migrant population, nowadays they only make a small percentage compared to other countries like India and China as we can see in the Figure 8. This is due to the fact that nowadays the great migration routes changed. Europe has gained strength in its own territory and many people find themselves moving within the European borders. This will surely happen in the next years too, since migration is rather sensible to what happens in the international arena and anything could happen in terms of wars, policy changes, natural disasters.

The five largest immigrant populations in the United States are from:



Source: U.S. Census 2020 American Community Survey 5-year Estimates

(Figure 8)³⁴

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³⁴ The Immigrant Learning Center, Inc. (2023, January 9). Quick immigration statistics: United States < The Immigrant Learning Center. The Immigrant Learning Center. https://www.ilctr.org/quick-us-immigration-statistics/#how-many

| Region and country of last residence ¹ | 2000 to 2009 | 2010 to 2019 | 2020 | 2021 | 2022 |
|---|----------------------|----------------------|------------------|------------------|-----------------|
| Total | 10,299,430 | 10,633,446 | 707,362 | 740,002 | 1,018,349 |
| Europe | 1,349,609 | 906,816 | 70,284 | 60,744 | 69,145 |
| Austria-Hungary ^{2,3} | 33,929 | 30,227 | 1,144 | 1,108 | 1,140 |
| Austria ^{2,3} | 21,151 | 20,314 | 415 | 408 | 395 |
| Hungary ^{2,3} | 12,778 | 9,913 | 729 | 700 | 745 |
| Belgium | 8,157 | 7,473 | 653 | 651 | 548 |
| Bulgaria ⁴ | 40,003 | 23,571 | 1,084 | 959 | 1,024 |
| Czechoslovakia ⁵ | 18,691 | 12,641 | 887 | 810 | 743 |
| Denmark | 6,049 | 5,200 | 441 | 351 | 408 |
| Finland ⁶ | 3,970 | 4,279 | 325 | 345 | 287 |
| France | 45,637 | 46,745 | 4,212 | 4,234 | 4,353 |
| Germany ³ | 122,373 | 62,527 | 4,220 | 4,293 | 4,295 |
| Greece | 16,841 | 13,733 | 1,001 | 859 | 966 |
| Ireland ⁷ | 15,642 | 17,090 | 1,531 | 1,421 | 1,407 |
| Italy | 28,329 | 35,338 | 3,346 | 3,213 | 3,549 |
| Netherlands | 17,351 | 13,663 | 1,019 | 1,078 | 953 |
| Norway-Sweden ⁸ | 19,382 | 15,372 | 1,188 | 1,106 | 1,163 |
| Norway ⁸ | 4,599 | 3,591 | 274 | 244 | 280 |
| Sweden ⁸ | 14,783 | 11,781 | 914 | 862 | 883 |
| Poland ³ | 117,921 | 55,081 | 3,222 | 2,860 | 2,667 |
| Portugal ⁹ | 11,479 | 8,980 | 704 | 765 | 720 |
| Romania | 52,154 | 31,521 | 1,855 | 1,726 | 1,450 |
| Russia ^{3,6,10} | 167,152 | 91,813 | 8,213 | 5,344 | 7,563 |
| Spain | 17,695 | 30,941 | 2,826 | 3,015 | 3,124 |
| Switzerland | 12,173 | 8,969 | 690 | 698 | 680 |
| United Kingdom ¹¹ | 171,979 | 139,554 | 10,398 | 9,983 | 10,331 |
| Yugoslavia ¹² | 131,831 | 47,303 | 3,444 | 2,881 | 2,631 |
| Other Europe | 290,871 | 204,795 | 17,881 | 13,044 | 19,143 |
| Asia | 3,470,835 | 4,062,777 | 260,706 | 283,898 | 377,942 |
| China | 591,711 | 707,314 | 39,642 | 48,072 | 62,022 |
| Hong Kong | 57,583 | 27,341 | 2,143 | 1,602 | 2,564 |
| India | 590,464 | 623,919 | 44,367 | 90,967 | 120,121 |
| Iran | 76,755 | 83,378 | 7,915 | 4,978 | 8,011 |
| Israel | 54,081 | 44,921 | 3,989 | 3,275 | 3,393 |
| Japan | 84,552 | 59,145 | 4.153 | 4,336 | 4,248 |
| Jordan | 53,550 | 85,787 | 3,334 | 3,283 | 3,830 |
| Korea ¹³ | 209,758 | 201.059 | 16,021 | 12.352 | 14,899 |
| Philippines | 545,463 | 508,391 | 24,112 | 24,376 | 27,692 |
| Syria ¹⁴ | 30,807 | 46,611 | 2,072 | 1,024 | 2,161 |
| Taiwan | 92,657 | 53,860 | 4,759 | 4,233 | 4,714 |
| Turkey ¹⁴ | 48,394 | 87,047 | 5,000 | 4,805 | 6,824 |
| Vietnam | 289,616 | 327,997 | 29,334 | 16,000 | 22,604 |
| Other Asia. | 745,444 | 1,206,007 | 73,865 | 64,595 | 94,859 |
| America | 4,441,529 | 4,433,094 | 275,790 | 300,808 | 369,564 |
| Canada and Newfoundland 15,16,17 | 236,349 | 183,481 | 11,297 | 12,053 | 13,916 |
| Mexico ^{16,17} | 1,704,166 | 1,506,738 | 96,900 | 102,730 | 117,710 |
| Caribbean | | | | 76,076 | 94,672 |
| Cuba | 1,053,357 271,742 | 1,470,352 479,818 | 71,422 15,609 | 22,494 | 31,019 |
| Dominican Republic | , | | | | |
| Haiti | 291,492 | 503,978 201,329 | 29,723 | 24,232 | 36,007 8 546 |
| Jamaica ¹⁸ | 203,827 172,523 | 199,928 | 9,116 12,516 | 11,086 13,046 | 8,546 13,603 |
| Other Caribbean ¹⁸ | 113,773 | 199,928 85,299 | 12,516 4,458 | 5,218 | 13,603 5,497 |
| Central America | | | | | |
| | 591,130 | 487,826 8 487 | 35,931 | 40,891 | 61,869 |
| Belize | 9,682 | 8,487 | 502 1 757 | 694 | 493 |
| Costa Rica | 21,571 | 22,320 | 1,757 | 2,059 | 1,882 |
| El Salvador | 251,237 | 198,974 | 15,385 | 15,810 | 25,609 |
| Guatemala | 156,992 | 115,704 | 7,369 | 8,199 | 15,328 |
| Honduras | 63,513 | 98,276 | 7,843 | 9,425 | 14,762 |
| Nicaragua | 70,015 | 31,775 | 2,435 | 3,754 | 2,907 |
| D | | | 640 | | 888 |
| Panama ¹⁹ Other Central America | 18,120 0 | 12,290 0 | 0 | 950 0 | 0 |

(Figure 9)³⁵

³⁵ U.S. Department of Homeland Security. (2023, November). Policy Yearbook Immigration Statistics FY 2022. Department of Homeland Security. https://www.dhs.gov/sites/default/files/2023-11/2023_0818_plcy_yearbook_immigration_statistics_fy2022.pdf

| | 2000 | 2010 | | | |
|---|---------|-----------|--------|--------|---------|
| Region and country of last residence ¹ | to 2009 | to 2019 | 2020 | 2021 | 2022 |
| South America | 856,508 | 784,683 | 60,237 | 69,058 | 81,396 |
| Argentina | 47,955 | 37,981 | 2,902 | 3,152 | 3,392 |
| Bolivia | 21,921 | 17,164 | 922 | 1,049 | 1,337 |
| Brazil | 115,404 | 130,466 | 16,571 | 18,103 | 20,806 |
| Chile | 19,792 | 17,142 | 1,572 | 1,803 | 1,615 |
| Colombia | 236,570 | 186,833 | 11,375 | 14,611 | 16,763 |
| Ecuador | 107,977 | 107,624 | 6,166 | 7,544 | 10,615 |
| Guyana | 70,373 | 53,921 | 2,748 | 3,209 | 2,685 |
| Paraguay | 4,623 | 4,117 | 237 | 339 | 261 |
| Peru | 137,614 | 112,753 | 5,450 | 4,936 | 6,653 |
| Suriname | 2,363 | 1,582 | 98 | 118 | 87 |
| Uruguay | 9,827 | 11,420 | 673 | 833 | 578 |
| Venezuela | 82,087 | 103,671 | 11,523 | 13,361 | 16,604 |
| Other South America | 2 | 9 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Other America | 19 | 14 | 3 | 0 | 1 |
| Africa | 759,734 | 1,037,674 | 76,789 | 64,983 | 82,117 |
| Egypt | 81,564 | 112,364 | 6,720 | 4,320 | 7,378 |
| Ethiopia | 87,207 | 135,665 | 6,468 | 3,902 | 5,268 |
| Liberia | 23,316 | 33,846 | 1,600 | 2,284 | 1,874 |
| Morocco | 40,844 | 38,029 | 2,773 | 3,621 | 4,307 |
| South Africa | 32,221 | 31,072 | 2,927 | 2,774 | 3,573 |
| Other Africa | 494,582 | 686,698 | 56,301 | 48,082 | 59,717 |
| Oceania | 65,793 | 59,663 | 4,748 | 4,715 | 4,982 |
| Australia ²⁰ | 32,728 | 35,399 | 2,843 | 3,046 | 2,930 |
| New Zealand ²⁰ | 12,495 | 9,627 | 704 | 820 | 652 |
| Other Oceania | 20,570 | 14,637 | 1,201 | 849 | 1,400 |
| Not specified ²¹ | 211,930 | 133,422 | 19,045 | 24,854 | 114,599 |

(Figure 10)³⁶

As we see from the charts in Figure 9 and 10, and as stated above, each year there are a great number of people from different countries that arrive as migrants. These charts represent the number of people that obtained the status of lawful permanent resident in the territory of the US, so it is not a thorough analysis of how many people arrive each year since it only counts those that receive the citizenship status. As we can see from the data gathered there are less people coming than at the beginning of the century as overall total of people, yet the number is far higher than the period between 2020 and 2021 due to the COVID-19 pandemic which brought less and less people in. It has to be noted that the US

³⁶ Ibid.

is, as well as other countries, are in the middle of a change in the composition and flow of migration. Due to the recent pandemic, there is a number of people that did not wanted to risk it before and that might be able to migrate only years later their decision to do so. Furthermore, the two recent conflicts in Ukraine and Israel have changed the international arena, fostering a sentiment of aid for certain countries while hardening the relationships with others. This will also change the composition of people moving, since, at stated before, international conflicts do shift the tides in the scheme of international migration.

2.1.3 Rules for entering the country nowadays

The rules that are regulating migration in the US are present in the general public law. There is then a document, which is the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 (INA)³⁷, that is used to re-organize and collect all of the existing provisions on the topic of migration which are present in the general public law. When the Congress enacts a new law which affect immigration then there is the addition of this law to the Immigration and Nationality Act. The INA acts in essence as a repository for any existing law under the US jurisprudence that might deal with the topic of migration.

First of all, before explaining the rules to enter the US, we must say that there is a limit on how many people can enter from a country at any given time. The cap is put in place due to the fact that otherwise there might be too many people and it does not end at the nationality, but also at the level of the typology of migrant. As we will see later in the chapter in the US there is a system that divides migrants in regard to the reason they are trying to move for. There are an allotted spots according to the reason a person decides to move to the US. These rules can change with the current events in the international arena as well as the relationships that the US has with certain countries. Crucial is also the flux of people that comes from certain regions and the amount of people already residing in the territories of the US at the time. It is crucial to understand that because, even though someone might be eligible for a permanent or temporary stay in the country, there might be a denial at entry due to the aforementioned cap.

In order to migrate to the US, you need to get through the process of getting a visa, which is a document attesting your will and the reason to migrate to the US. There are more than 20 categories of visa depending on the reason why a person might want to get in and the first crucial step to migrate is the identification of the visa that you might require. Examples of the main categories of visas are:

³⁷ Immigration and Nationality Act | USCIS. (2019b, July 10). USCIS. https://www.uscis.gov/laws-andpolicy/legislation/immigration-and-nationality-act

family-sponsored, which implies you have a relative who is currently a citizen which then has to file a request for your visa to be accepted; employment-based, which applies when you are offered a job in the US and your employer has to file for an employment-based visa on the ground of your work contract; diversity visas, which allows countries with a low rate of immigration to the US to participate in a lottery to choose people to migrate to the US; the student visas, which applies if you are planning to pursue your studies in the US; the tourist or business visa, which is used for when you are planning to visit the US territory for leisure or for a short business trip. These are among the most common requested, since they are the ones providing entrance for the most people migrating to the US. The visa application process goes as follows:

§1202. Application for visas

(a) Immigrant visas

Every alien applying for an immigrant visa and for alien registration shall make application therefor in such form and manner and at such place as shall be by regulations prescribed. In the application the alien shall state his full and true name, and any other name which he has used or by which he has been known; age and sex; the date and place of his birth; and such additional information necessary to the identification of the applicant and the enforcement of the immigration and nationality laws as may be by regulations prescribed.

(b) Other documentary evidence for immigrant visa

Every alien applying for an immigrant visa shall present a valid unexpired passport or other suitable travel document, or document of identity and nationality, if such document is required under the regulations issued by the Secretary of State. The immigrant shall furnish to the consular officer with his application a copy of a certification by the appropriate police authorities stating what their records show concerning the immigrant; a certified copy of any existing prison record, military record, and record of his birth; and a certified copy of all other records or documents concerning him or his case which may be required by the consular officer. The copy of each document so furnished shall be permanently attached to the application and become a part thereof. In the event that the immigrant establishes to the satisfaction of the consular officer that any document or record required by this subsection is unobtainable, the consular officer

may permit the immigrant to submit in lieu of such document or record other satisfactory evidence of the fact to which such document or record would, if obtainable, pertain. All immigrant visa applications shall be reviewed and adjudicated by a consular officer.

(c) Nonimmigrant visas; nonimmigrant registration; form, manner and contents of application

Every alien applying for a nonimmigrant visa and for alien registration shall make application therefor in such form and manner as shall be by regulations prescribed. In the application the alien shall state his full and true name, the date and place of birth, his nationality, the purpose and length of his intended stay in the United States; his marital status; and such additional information necessary to the identification of the applicant, the determination of his eligibility for a nonimmigrant visa, and the enforcement of the immigration and nationality laws as may be by regulations prescribed. The alien shall provide complete and accurate information in response to any request for information contained in the application. At the discretion of the Secretary of State, application forms for the various classes of nonimmigrant admissions described in section 1101(a)(15) of this title may vary according to the class of visa being requested.

(d) Other documentary evidence for nonimmigrant visa

Every alien applying for a nonimmigrant visa and alien registration shall furnish to the consular officer, with his application, a certified copy of such documents pertaining to him as may be by regulations required. All nonimmigrant visa applications shall be reviewed and adjudicated by a consular officer.

(e) Signing and verification of application

Except as may be otherwise prescribed by regulations, each application for an immigrant visa shall be signed by the applicant in the presence of the consular officer, and verified by the oath of the applicant administered by the consular officer. The application for an immigrant visa, when visaed by the consular officer, shall become the immigrant visa. The application for a nonimmigrant visa or other documentation as a nonimmigrant shall be disposed of as may be by regulations prescribed. The issuance of a

nonimmigrant visa shall, except as may be otherwise by regulations prescribed, be evidenced by a stamp, or other 1 placed in the alien's passport.[...]

h) In person interview with consular officer

Notwithstanding any other provision of this chapter, the Secretary of State shall require every alien applying for a nonimmigrant visa-

(1) who is at least 14 years of age and not more than 79 years of age to submit to an in person interview with a consular officer unless the requirement for such interview is waived-[...]³⁸

After understanding which is the visa required, the person must submit an application along with the necessary documentation. The documentation needed changes depending on the typology of visa that one is asking for and is usually easy to gather from the US Department of State³⁹.

After getting the visa a person has not a direct guaranteed access to the US. The visa, in fact is an authorization to travel to the US and request admission to the US. It is only afterwards that you can gain access. This is possible through the mediation of the Department of Homeland Security U.S. Customs and Border Protection (CBP) immigration inspector, which can authorize or deny any admission to the United States. The same inspector then can approve the time of stay of the person requesting the permanence in the US territory. The issuance of a visa and the rules regarding the non-admission upon the arrival of a person are explained in the INA at length:

§1201. Issuance of visas

- (a) Immigrants; nonimmigrants
- (1) Under the conditions hereinafter prescribed and subject to the limitations prescribed in this chapter or regulations issued thereunder, a consular officer may issue
- (A) to an immigrant who has made proper application therefor, an immigrant visa which shall consist of the application provided for in section 1202 of this title, visaed by such consular officer, and shall specify the foreign state, if any, to which the immigrant is charged, the immigrant's particular status under such foreign state, the preference, immediate relative, or special immigrant classification to which the alien

³⁸ 8 USC 1202: Application for visas. (n.d.). https://uscode.house.gov/view.xhtml?req=granuleid:USC-prelim-title8-section1202&num=0&edition=prelim

³⁹ *Travel*. (n.d.). https://travel.state.gov/content/travel.html

is charged, the date on which the validity of the visa shall expire, and such additional information as may be required; and

[...]

(b) Registration; photographs; waiver of requirement

Each alien who applies for a visa shall be registered in connection with his application, and shall furnish copies of his photograph signed by him for such use as may be by regulations required. The requirements of this subsection may be waived in the discretion of the Secretary of State in the case of any alien who is within that class of nonimmigrants enumerated in sections 1101(a)(15)(A), and 1101(a)(15)(G) of this title, or in the case of any alien who is granted a diplomatic visa on a diplomatic passport or on the equivalent thereof.

- (c) Period of validity; renewal or replacement
- (1) Immigrant visas

An immigrant visa shall be valid for such period, not exceeding six months, as shall be by regulations prescribed, except that any visa issued to a child lawfully adopted by a United States citizen and spouse while such citizen is serving abroad in the United States Armed Forces, or is employed abroad by the United States Government, or is temporarily abroad on business, shall be valid until such time, for a period not to exceed three years, as the adoptive citizen parent returns to the United States in due course of his service, employment, or business.

[...]

(d) Physical examination

Prior to the issuance of an immigrant visa to any alien, the consular officer shall require such alien to submit to a physical and mental examination in accordance with such regulations as may be prescribed. Prior to the issuance of a nonimmigrant visa to any alien, the consular officer may require such alien to submit to a physical or mental examination, or both, if in his opinion such examination is necessary to ascertain whether such alien is eligible to receive a visa.

[...]

(h) Nonadmission upon arrival

Nothing in this chapter shall be construed to entitle any alien, to whom a

visa or other documentation has been issued, to be admitted <u>1</u> the United States, if, upon arrival at a port of entry in the United States, he is found to be inadmissible under this chapter, or any other provision of law. The substance of this subsection shall appear upon every visa application.

(i) Revocation of visas or documents

After the issuance of a visa or other documentation to any alien, the consular officer or the Secretary of State may at any time, in his discretion, revoke such visa or other documentation. Notice of such revocation shall be communicated to the Attorney General, and such revocation shall invalidate the visa or other documentation from the date of issuance: Provided, That carriers or transportation companies, and masters, commanding officers, agents, owners, charterers, or consignees, shall not be penalized under section 1323(b) of this title for action taken in reliance on such visas or other documentation, unless they received due notice of such revocation prior to the alien's embarkation. There shall be no means of judicial review (including review pursuant to section 2241 of title 28 or any other habeas corpus provision, and sections 1361 and 1651 of such title) of a revocation under this subsection, except in the context of a removal proceeding if such revocation provides the sole ground for removal under section 1227(a)(1)(B) of this title.⁴⁰

Furthermore, along the visa, a person might be able to apply for the so-called "green card". The green card is a permanent residency document which grants the non-citizen to be able to live permanently in the territory of the United States. A migrant might not ask for the green card if the permanence will be temporary and if the reasons for its stay are not for a future citizenship request. The request for a green card can be made from within the US, which means that a person has already received a visa and is currently residing temporary in the US but has decided to stay indefinitely. Or it can be made with the visa application, asking directly to become a permanent resident of the US for when a person is not currently residing in the US. When applying for the Permanent Residency Card you need to look at different categories depending on your status as visa holder since need to belong to a certain set of categories in order to be able to apply for a visa. For example, a person with family ties to the US is eligible, or a skilled worker. When talking about the issuance of a green card

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⁴⁰ 8 USC 1201: Issuance of visas. (n.d.).

https://uscode.house.gov/view.xhtml?req = (title: 8% 20 section: 1201% 20 edition: prelim)% 20 OR% 20 (granuleid: USC-prelim-title 8-section 1201)&f = treesort&num = 0&edition = prelim = title 8-section = tit

most people who apply will need to complete at least two forms: an immigrant petition and a Green Card application. One of the documents often is signed by another person, which becomes the person's petitioner or sponsor. This is the case for many of the categories of Green Card issuance, since a US citizen can provide for proof that you would be a valuable citizen to the US.⁴¹

The application process can vary depending on the typology of visa that you have or require. Even though there are special processes tailored to the different categories, the general application process for the Green Card is usually as follows:

- 1. Someone usually must file an immigrant petition for you (often referred to as sponsoring or petitioning for you). In some cases, you may be eligible to file for yourself.
- 2. After USCIS approves the immigrant petition, and there is a visa available in your category, you file either a Green Card application with USCIS or a visa application with the U.S. Department of State.
- 3. You go to a biometrics appointment to provide fingerprints, photos, and a signature.
- 4. You go to an interview.
- 5. You receive a decision on your application.⁴²

Once the Green Card is issued a person is able to reside freely in the territory of the US and can, as we will see afterward, acquire the status of citizen. The importance of the green card will be dealt with later on since it is an instrument that is necessary for the request for citizenship.

2.1.4 The status of migrant in the US

In 1903 with the Japanese Immigrant Case, or the Case of Yamataya vs. Fisher, we have a crucial decision by the Supreme Court of the United States:

Once an alien lawfully enters and resides in this country he becomes invested with the rights guaranteed by the Constitution to all people within

 $^{^{41}}$ How to apply for a green card \mid USCIS. (2020, July 5). USCIS. https://www.uscis.gov/green-card/how-to-apply-for-agreen-card

⁴² Ibid.

our borders. 43

Subsequently this ruling has been extended to everyone entering the US territory:

aliens who have once passed through our gates, even illegally, may be expelled only after proceedings conforming to traditional standards of fairness encompassed in due process of law. 44

This means that virtually anyone passing through the gates of the US is granted rights and duties alike per the text of the Constitution. This is due to the fact that anyone passing the gates is recognized as a person, and as such has a right to constitutional protection.

The US Constitution grants protection to all persons regardless of their immigration status, but there are still some distinctions made on paper for the definition of a person being a migrant. These reasons mainly affect the length of stay of a person and most importantly what the person is legally allowed to do. A Lawful Permanent Resident, for example, is granted permanent residency and is able to reside in the US territory unless its documents are revoked:

As a permanent resident, you are expected to consider the United States your home and to respect and obey this country's laws. Being a permanent resident also means that you have new rights and responsibilities. Being a permanent resident is a privilege, not a right. The U.S. government can take away your permanent resident status under certain conditions. You must maintain your permanent resident status if you want to live and work in the United States and become a citizen one day.⁴⁵

If instead you are a visa holder and you applied for a temporary residency, you will be forced to leave once the permit is expired and if you keep residing in the territory of the US you will be an illegal resident. The term of your stay is based upon the typology of visa that you applied for, as an example a student visa might expire at the person's graduation or once the requested study period is over.

⁴³ Library of Congress. (n.d.). Constitution Annotated, Article I, Section 8, Clause 18: Necessary and Proper Clause. Congress.gov. https://constitution.congress.gov/browse/essay/artI-S8-C18-8-7-2/ALDE_00001262/#ALDF_00015327
⁴⁴ Ibid

⁴⁵ U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services. (n.d.). M-618, Handbook for Employers. USCIS. https://www.uscis.gov/sites/default/files/document/guides/M-618.pdf

When we talk about the rights granted also to migrants, we talk about all of those rights that are granted by the Constitutional text to all people residing in the United States. Among these rights we have: constitutional rights, for example freedom of speech and freedom of religion; labor rights, which are those rights related to safe working conditions and wages; free access to public education; rights to access legal representation through the assignment of an attorney; rights to due process; and access to emergency medical assistance and services. Along with the enjoyment of the full set of rights migrants have to also comply with the duties of the American citizen. Among the duties they have towards the US: they have to comply with the law, pay due taxes and comply with the terms and conditions of their migrant status. It has to be highlighted though that different visas come with some differences in rights and duties. Even though on paper everyone is allotted the same rights per the constitution this is unfortunately not the case. For example, when we talk about migrant workers, they might not be able to switch jobs, or if a person is visiting the US for a certain period of time it cannot be employed⁴⁶.

A right that is not given to immigrants in the US is the right to vote: from the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigration Responsibility Act of 1996

- (a) It shall be unlawful for any alien to vote in any election held solely or in part for the purpose of electing a candidate for the office of President, Vice President, Presidential elector, Member of the Senate, Member of the House of Representatives, Delegate from the District of Columbia, or Resident Commissioner, unless—
- (1) the election is held partly for some other purpose;
- (2) aliens are authorized to vote for such other purpose under a State constitution or statute or a local ordinance; and
- (3) voting for such other purpose is conducted independently of voting for a candidate for such Federal offices, in such a manner that an alien has the opportunity to vote for such other purpose, but not an opportunity to vote for a candidate for any one or more of such Federal offices.⁴⁷

This law comes from the realization that immigrants, even though holder of rights, for the sake of not being natural born citizens of the United States, shall not be allowed to vote.

⁴⁷ Laws permitting noncitizens to vote in the United States - Ballotpedia. (n.d.). Ballotpedia. https://ballotpedia.org/Laws permitting noncitizens to vote in the United States

37

⁴⁶ University of Chicago Law School. (2009). [The Rights of Migrants]. Chicago Unbound. https://chicagounbound.uchicago.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1568&context=law_and_economics

2.1.5 Integration and citizenship

The process of gaining the status of citizen in the US for a person that is not a natural born citizen is comprised of a series of steps and you need to be in possession of certain eligibility criteria. Generally, you are eligible if: you are 18 years old, able to read, write and speak basic English and of good moral character. You also need to fall into one of four main categories of people: being a Lawful Permanent Resident, or green card holder, for at least 5 years, be married to a US citizen, having served for at least one year in the US military forces, or being child of a US citizen. In general, the naturalization process is made of required forms to be filed as well as providing for documentations of your permanent residency or any of the other requirements that are listed above. After the forms and documentations are submitted the candidate for citizenship will be required to take an interview for the naturalization process as well as the taking of the "Oath of Allegiance", which is the naturalization ceremony. Once a person has obtained their citizenship for the US they become a full-fledged American citizen. This implies that the person is now able to enjoy certain rights that it might not have been able to enjoy before:

- [...] Naturalized U.S. citizens share equally in the rights and privileges of U.S. citizenship. U.S. citizenship offers immigrants the ability to:
- Vote in federal elections;
- *Travel with a U.S. passport;*
- Run for elective office where citizenship is required;
- Participate on a jury;
- Become eligible for federal and certain law enforcement jobs;
- Obtain certain state and federal benefits not available to noncitizens;
- Obtain citizenship for minor children born abroad; and
- Expand and expedite their ability to bring family members to the United States.48

This means that one a person becomes a citizen it grows in its status. As we have said an immigrant is holder of many rights for the sake of being a human being in the

⁴⁸ Chapter 2 - Becoming a U.S. citizen. (2023, April 21). USCIS. https://www.uscis.gov/policy-manual/volume-12-parta-chapter-2

American soil, but it still have some limitations. These limitations are completely abolished once you obtain the citizenship, which makes you a functioning member of the society, enjoying the rights and duties of every American citizen, born or naturalized.

Data Table 1: Approved naturalizations for FY 2023 and top 10 countries

| Country of birth | FY 2023 |
|--------------------|---------|
| Mexico | 111,500 |
| India | 59,100 |
| Philippines | 44,800 |
| Dominican Republic | 35,200 |
| Cuba | 33,200 |
| Vietnam | 32,800 |
| China | 25,800 |
| El Salvador | 21,100 |
| Jamaica | 20,200 |
| Colombia | 17,100 |
| All Others | 477,800 |
| Total | 878,500 |

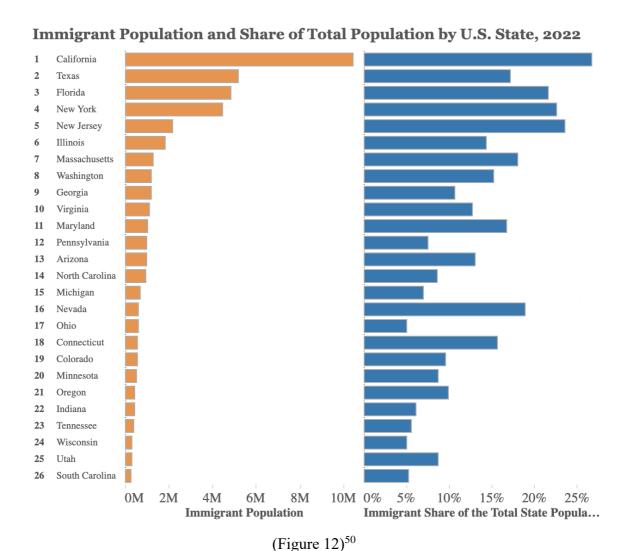
(Figure 11)⁴⁹

 $^{^{49}\ \}textit{Naturalization Statistics}\ |\ \textit{USCIS}.\ (2024b,\ January\ 12).\ USCIS.\ https://www.uscis.gov/citizenship-resource-particles.$ center/naturalization-statistics

In Figure 11 we can see that in 2023 alone there has been over 800,000 people that has been naturalized with people among the countries that send the most migrants to the US.

In the matter of integration, we need to look at which are the main states of the Federation can be seen as the most welcoming.

In the US every state can be seen as a separate entity from the whole Federation. Each state has its own legislations and can deal with its internal workings as it pleases. This also allows, depending on the political side a state finds itself in, for more or less migrants to move. If the internal regulations and the social status of the migrant in a certain state are favorable, then its highly likely that a person will move to a state rather than another. Furthermore, also the economic situation of a state is crucial when deciding where to move, since it would be easier to find an occupation as well as having a suitable and substantial salary.



⁵⁰ *Immigrant population by state, 1990-Present.* (2023, October 16). migrationpolicy.org. https://www.migrationpolicy.org/programs/data-hub/charts/immigrant-population-state-1990-present?width=1000&height=850&iframe=true

40

If we look at the data in Figure 12 the discourse of preference of certain states over the other seems rather obvious. Looking at the graph we can see that among the 26 states composing the US four have the most migrant population share: California, Texas, Florida and New York.

If we analyze these states, we can see that California for example has a very good view on migrants. Most people residing in the state of California has a positive view about migrants. From a survey, 66 percent of California adults choose the statement that "Immigrants today are a benefit to California because of their hard work and job skills," while only the other 32 percent chose that "Immigrants today are a burden to California because they use public services." Furthermore California has a great economic outlook and it is the perfect ground for skilled migrants to pursue their careers in and thrive. The state in fact is considered a hub for innovation and technology and presents great opportunities to people that wants to move there. It also holds a diverse culture along with favorable climate and a diverse geographical outlook. It has to be noted the California is the home of progressive policies, such policies relating to the environment, the healthcare system and other important topics.

Texas, which is the second biggest country for migrants, has the appeal of being a more affordable part to be in, especially if we talk about the housing cost, which is one of the greatest issues for first time movers. Furthermore, it is very close to the US-Mexico border, which is a catcher for any person who is tied to Mexico or any other Central American countries. Texas is also well-known for being a center for businesses and working migrants that wish to become entrepreneurs must be on the lookout for the great opportunities that the state offers.

Florida is well-known for its flourishing tourism thanks to its wonderful beaches and the presence of the Universal Studios, which is not only a great attraction for tourists, but also a great opportunity for anyone wanting a career in the sector. Furthermore, it is among the states that does not have the 'state income tax', which is an appealing feature that explains the great affluence of people moving there.

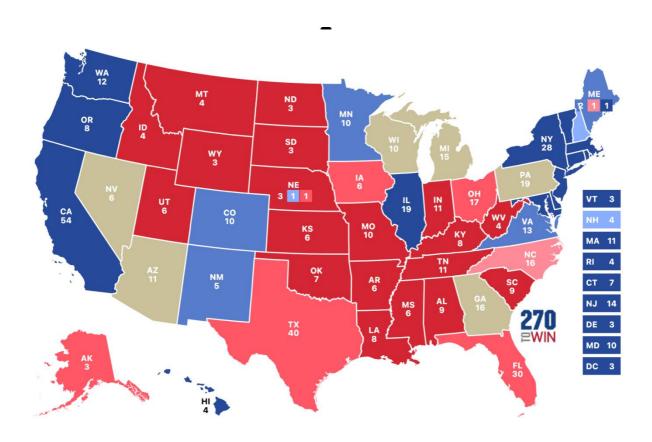
Finally, New York is the last country among the largest in appeal for migrants. The "Big Apple" has been the dream of every person once in their life, and when we think about the US the first state that comes to mind is New York itself. Being a global hub, full of different cultures and a great selection of opportunities is striking that it is not the most populated city in terms of migrants, yet it comes as no surprise that is among the state that has the most people arriving yearly.

Another important factor to take into consideration is the division of the country between "red", or

41

⁵¹ Baldassare, M. (2023, June 21). *The importance of Californians' views on immigration policies*. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. https://carnegieendowment.org/2023/06/21/importance-of-californians-views-on-immigration-policies-pub-90018

Republican, and "blue", or democratic, states. As we can see from Figure 13 the countries that we took into consideration have different political ideas among them. The main difference between democratic and republican states is the way in which their policies and the people living in them thinks. California, for example is a more democratic state, in fact there is a higher ethnic diversity, and the policies are more progressive and supportive. On the other hand, states like Texas, which are republican, tend to be more conservative, supporting a less regulatory approach on businesses. This difference is not crucial in the decision-making process since, as we have seen, both democratic and republican states are among the most chosen among migrants, but it is something that people take into consideration. We can say that most people chose a state based on its economic and social status, as well as which state might give the most benefit to them in terms of quality of life.



(Figure 13)⁵²

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⁵² 270toWin. (n.d.). 270toWin - 2024 Presidential Election Interactive Map. 270toWin.com. https://www.270towin.com/

2.1.6 Analyzing the political address

As we stated already, the US is a country that was born thanks to migrants and was able to flourish thanks to the educated and skilled workforce that came into the country in the years. It is striking then to see how such a country that had a long-lasting history of migration, still have some issues. If we look at the recent presidencies in the US we can clearly see the two faces of the US. Donald Trump is a republican candidate that won the elections in 2016, while Joe Biden is a democratic candidate that won the elections in 2020

Looking at Trump and his term we can see that he was fairly against migrants in the US, especially those in the country illegally. Furthermore, Trump stated that if he will be elected again in the November 2024 elections, he will aim at restricting both legal and illegal arrival of migrants. As stated in an article from the New York Times:

"Former President Donald J. Trump is planning an extreme expansion of his first-term crackdown on immigration if he returns to power in 2025 — including preparing to round up undocumented people already in the United States on a vast scale and detain them in sprawling camps while they wait to be expelled.[...] wants to revive his first-term border policies, including banning entry by people from certain Muslim-majority nations and reimposing a Covid 19-era policy of refusing asylum claims. [...] He plans to scour the country for unauthorized immigrants and deport people by the millions per year." 53

This is very worrying news, if paired with what Trump tried to achieve during his previous presidency, like the Mexico-US wall to impede migration or the massive sending back of people, especially during the COVID-19 pandemic in 2019/2020. Overall, in his former presidency he aimed at enforcing migration control in a stronger manner, trying to let less and less people in the US to protect nationalism.

Biden on the other hand, being a democratic candidate, had the desire from the beginning of his presidency to have an easier and less strict approach, wanting to be more humane than his predecessor. Although his aims were more and more lenient the Biden administration has to endure a large surge of migrants due to the post-COVID era, which brought a new wave of migrants, both legal

agenda.html

⁵³ Charlie Savage, Maggie Haberman and Jonathan Swan</sup> (2023, November 11). Trump Lays Out Immigration Agenda for 2025. *The New York Times*. https://www.nytimes.com/2023/11/11/us/politics/trump-2025-immigration-

and illegal, to the country. Even though he did not resolve to the "big, beautiful wall" his predecessor started, he sure had to use some more drastic measures, like the infamous Title 42. Title 42 as invoked by the Trump administration at the beginning of the COVID pandemic to protect the country from the spread of the disease. It traces back to 1944 with the Public Health Service Act, granting US health authorities emergency powers to prevent the spread of diseases⁵⁴. Title 42 allowed Trump's administration to expel in a quick manner a large number of migrants, using the COVID-19 pandemic as a justification for not welcoming them. The Biden administration found itself to need Title 42 as well, because of the surge of migrants that the post-COVID brought, due to the lifting of restrictions all over the world and the reduced scare and danger from the pandemic.

So, to conclude we can say that the situation in the US as per political address is quite diverse and difficult to grasp in some situation. We are living in a period of transition for the country since there will be the Presidential Elections in November 2024 and we cannot be sure what the situation will be in the next years.

If Trump, so republicans, will win, we are sure that there will be a strong halt to migration altogether, both the legal and the illegal. Trump's promised policies will tighten the grip on migrant welcoming and will probably change the cultural outline of the US.

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⁵⁴ United States Code (Preliminary Edition). (n.d.). Title 42. https://uscode.house.gov/view.xhtml?req=granuleid%3AUSC-prelim-title42&edition=prelim

2.2 Italy: from sending to host country

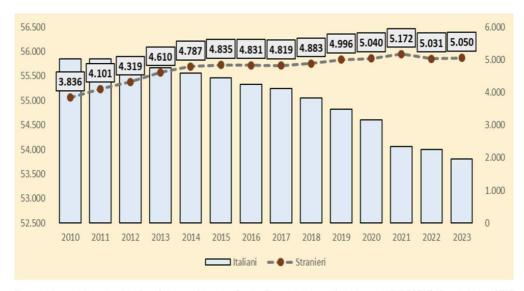
2.2.1 Brief history of immigration in Italy

The history of migration in Italy is very recent and it mainly began as the history of a sending country. First of all, as said in the previous chapter, we have seen that between the 19th and 20th century there was a massive wave of people that was emigrating to the Americas, especially the United States, with a sizeable portion of Italians that due to economic hardship and political instability decided to flee the country to find their fortune. This was due mainly to the recent unification as well as the two World Wars and it brought people to flee instead of coming in. The history of Italy as a host country began with a fist wave towards the end of the Second World War when Italy started to experience an economic development which brought people from other European Countries to explore the Italian soil and benefit from its flourishing. The second wave, which is currently going forward, can be tracked down the period of the late 20th century up until now. Given the position of the country, as well as the many opportunities that are present especially for low-skilled jobs, Italy became the safe haven for people from various countries, in particular North Africa, the Middle East and Eastern European countries. This wave of immigrants brought a strong cultural diversity that is rather showing in the country today but also brought some challenges at the social and the political level for various reasons. Furthermore, Italy has been the main gate for refugees in the conflicts that broke out in the recent years. For example, in 2022 after the breakout of the Ukraine War, approximately 77.000 people submitted a request for asylum in the Italian territory.⁵⁵

2.2.2 Migratory flows

The recent years have seen a strong increase in the movement of people. This was caused by the humanitarian crises, especially in 2016, that brought many people on the move. This has brought an increase in the foreign population in many states, that experienced an increase in the non-local population. In the case of Italy, looking at Figure 14, we can see that the migrant population has increased overtime, while the local population has experienced a sharp drop, especially in the years of the COVID-19 pandemic.

⁵⁵ Ansa. (2023, February 24). Over 77,000 asylum claims lodged in Italy in 2022. InfoMigrants. https://www.infomigrants.net/en/post/47084/over-77000-asylum-claims-lodged-in-italy-in-2022



Fonte: elaborazioni Applicazioni Data Science - Direzione Studi e Ricerche di Anpal Servizi su dati EUROSTAT (Population) e ISTAT (Indicatori demografici).

(Figure 14)⁵⁶

What is striking is that the localized Italian population has seen a sharp decrease while the migrant foreign population has increased. Between 2010 and 2023 in fact, the Italian residents were reduced by 840 thousand units, a 1.4% decrease, with an increase of 1.2 million for a 31.6% increase, which sightly compensated the decrease of people with Italian citizenship.⁵⁷ Furthermore, we can analyze through Figure 15 which are the main nationalities of those migrating in Italy. We can see that the highest number of people comes from Romania, which is a EU country, with approximately 1 millions of residents coming from the country, with a 21.5% over the total. Of the most numerous communities we can see that we have also a number of non-EU countries, like Marocco, Albania and China, which are among the first four countries that sends the most people to Italy.

Ministero del Lavoro e delle Politiche Sociali. (n.d.). XIII Rapporto MDL Stranieri 2023.
 https://www.lavoro.gov.it/temi-e-priorita-immigrazione/focus/xiii-rapporto-mdl-stranieri-2023
 Ibid.

Tabella 1.2. Numero di residenti stranieri in Italia per cittadinanza al 1º gennaio (v.a. e var. %). Prime 20 nazionalità. Anni 2021 e 2022 (chiave di ordinamento)

| NAZIONALITA' | 20 | 2021 | | 2022 | |
|--------------------|-----------|-------------------|-----------|-------------------|--|
| | V.a. | Var. % '20/'21 | V.a. | Var. % '21/'22 | |
| Romania | 1.076.412 | -6,0 | 1.083.771 | 0,7 | |
| Marocco | 428.947 | 3,5 | 420.172 | -2,0 | |
| Albania | 433.171 | 2,7 | 419.987 | -3,0 | |
| Cina | 330.495 | 14,4 | 300.216 | -9,2 | |
| Ucraina | 235.953 | 3,2 | 225.307 | -4,5 | |
| India | 165.512 | 8,0 | 162.492 | -1,8 | |
| Bangladesh | 158.020 | 13,8 | 159.003 | 0,6 | |
| Filippine | 165.443 | 4,9 | 158.997 | -3,9 | |
| Egitto | 139.569 | 9,0 | 140.322 | 0,5 | |
| Pakistan | 135.520 | 11,4 | 134.182 | -1,0 | |
| Nigeria | 119.089 | 5,3 | 119.435 | 0,3 | |
| Moldova | 122.667 | 3,5 | 114.914 | -6,3 | |
| Senegal | 111.092 | 4,6 | 110.763 | -0,3 | |
| Sri Lanka | 112.018 | 4,1 | 108.069 | -3,5 | |
| Tunisia | 97.407 | 4,3 | 99.002 | 1,6 | |
| Perù | 96.546 | 5,3 | 94.131 | -2,5 | |
| Polonia | 77.779 | -10,3 | 74.981 | -3,6 | |
| Ecuador | 72.193 | -0,6 | 66.590 | -7,8 | |
| Macedonia del Nord | 55.771 | -0,1 | 53.443 | -4,2 | |
| Bulgaria | 50.355 | -11,1 | 49.205 | -2,3 | |

Fonte: elaborazioni Applicazioni Data Science - Direzione Studi e Ricerche di Anpal Servizi su dati EUROSTAT (Population) e ISTAT (Indicatori demografici).

(Figure 15)⁵⁸

Citizens of non-EU countries, with data from 2022, are 3.6 million with the highest sending areas being Asia, with 1.1 millions, Africa, with 1 millions of people and with 987 thousands coming from non-EU European countries. The data can be seen in the Figure 16, where the macro-areas are analyzed in total percentage of the population as well as the number of people residing at the current moment. This data does not take into consideration thought the people that have made the request to become residents in Italy, hence there is a large amount of people that does not make the cut as permanent residence due to the fact that they are either ongoing with their process, or they have the status of temporary resident.

47

⁵⁸ Ibid.

Tabella 1.3. Cittadini Non UE regolarmente soggiornanti per grande area geografica (v.a. e %) al 1° gennaio 2022

| AREA GEOGRAFICA | V.a. | Comp.% |
|----------------------------|-----------|--------|
| Europa | 986.574 | 27,7 |
| Africa | 1.085.572 | 30,5 |
| Africa settentrionale | 683.572 | 19,2 |
| Africa occidentale | 341.118 | 9,6 |
| Africa orientale | 37.092 | 1,0 |
| Africa centro-meridionale | 23.790 | 0,7 |
| Asia | 1.109.331 | 31,1 |
| Asia occidentale | 64.866 | 1,8 |
| Asia orientale | 472.661 | 13,3 |
| Asia centro-meridionale | 571.804 | 16,1 |
| America | 377.366 | 10,6 |
| America settentrionale | 37.576 | 1,1 |
| America centro-meridionale | 339.790 | 9,5 |
| Oceania | 2.088 | 0,1 |
| Apolide | 609 | 0,0 |
| MONDO | 3.561.540 | 100,0 |

Fonte: elaborazioni Applicazioni Data Science - Direzione Studi e Ricerche di Anpal Servizi su dati ISTAT (Cittadini non comunitari regolarmente soggiornanti).

(Figure 16)⁵⁹

2.2.3 Rules for entering the country nowadays

When talking about migration in a state we need to understand which are the rules and regulations that foreign citizens have to abide to in order to be welcome in the host country. Which are these rules in Italy? In the Italian legislation the rules of entry as well as the regulations that the state and migrants have to follow for a lawful stay are collected in the Legislative Decree no. 286 of 25 July 1998, Consolidated text of the provisions concerning the regulation of immigration and rules on the status of foreigners.

First of all, we need to understand who can enter the Italian soil as a migrant. The aforementioned decree, on article 4 comma 1 states that:

"L'ingresso nel territorio dello Stato è consentito, nel rispetto delle condizioni previste dal codice frontiere Schengen istituito dal regolamento (UE) 2016/399 del Parlamento europeo e del Consiglio, del 9 marzo 2016, allo straniero in possesso del passaporto o di un documento di viaggio equipollente in corso di validità, nonché del visto d'ingresso o

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⁵⁹ Ibid.

dell'autorizzazione ai viaggi di cui all'articolo 3, paragrafo 1, punto 5), del regolamento (UE) 2018/1240 del Parlamento europeo e del Consiglio, del 12 settembre 2018, o di un permesso di soggiorno, ai sensi del regolamento (CE) n. 1030/2002, del Consiglio, del 13 giugno 2002, anch'essi in corso di validità. (91) "60."

"Entry into the territory of the State shall be permitted, subject to the conditions laid down in the Schengen Borders Code established by Regulation (EU) 2016/399 of the European Parliament and of the Council of March 9, 2016, to a foreigner in possession of a valid passport or an equivalent travel document, as well as an entry visa or travel authorization referred to in Article 3(1)(5) of Regulation (EU) 2018/1240 of the European Parliament and of the Council of September 12, 2018, or a residence permit, pursuant to Regulation (EC) No. 1030/2002 of the Council of June 13, 2002, which are also valid. (91)"

Any foreigner is able to move to Italy so long that they are in possession of a passport or an equivalent travel document and the entry visa or a travel authorization or a residence permit. So, according to the legislative text, virtually anyone is able to move into the Italian territory so long that they can provide for those documentations that are required and that these documentations are up to date. These documentations, especially those regarding request for residency and entry visas are usually granted at the Italian consular offices in the home country, or the Italian embassy. The embassy or the consulate will then process the application, in most cases also undergoing a process of background checking and verifications of the information which was provided. There are though some further conditions that has to be respected in order to receive access to the country. These further requirements are stated in article 4 comma 3 which states that:

"Ferme restando le disposizioni di cui all'articolo 3, comma 4, l'Italia, in armonia con gli obblighi assunti con l'adesione a specifici accordi internazionali, consentirà l'ingresso nel proprio territorio allo straniero che dimostri di essere in possesso di idonea documentazione atta a

⁶⁰ Stato, I. P. E. Z. D. (1998b, July 25). DECRETO LEGISLATIVO 25 luglio 1998, n. 286 - Normattiva. https://www.normattiva.it/uri-res/N2Ls?urn:nir:stato:decreto.legislativo:1998-07-25;286!vig=

⁶¹ Visto e permesso di soggiorno. (n.d.). Ministero Dell'Interno. https://www.interno.gov.it/it/temi/immigrazione-e-asilo/modalita-dingresso/visto-e-permesso-soggiorno

confermare lo scopo e le condizioni del soggiorno, nonché la disponibilità di mezzi di sussistenza sufficienti per la durata del soggiorno e, fatta eccezione per i permessi di soggiorno per motivi di lavoro, anche per il ritorno nel Paese di provenienza. I mezzi di sussistenza sono definiti con apposita direttiva emanata dal Ministro dell'interno, sulla base dei criteri indicati nel documento di programmazione di cui all'articolo 3, comma 1. Non è ammesso in Italia lo straniero che non soddisfi tali requisiti o che sia considerato una minaccia per l'ordine pubblico o la sicurezza dello Stato o di uno dei Paesi con i quali l'Italia abbia sottoscritto accordi per la soppressone dei controlli alle frontiere interne e la libera circolazione delle persone o che risulti condannato, anche con sentenza non definitiva, [...] Impedisce l'ingresso dello straniero in Italia anche la condanna, con sentenza irrevocabile, per uno dei reati previsti dalle disposizioni del titolo III, capo III, sezione II, della legge 22 aprile 1941, n. 633, relativi alla tutela del diritto di autore, e degli articoli 473 e 474 del codice penale, nonché dall'articolo 1 del decreto legislativo 22 gennaio 1948, n. 66, e dall'articolo 24 del regio decreto 18 giugno 1931, n. 773. Lo straniero per il quale è richiesto il ricongiungimento familiare, ai sensi dell'articolo 29, non è ammesso in Italia quando rappresenti una minaccia concreta e attuale per l'ordine pubblico o la sicurezza dello Stato o di uno dei Paesi con i quali l'Italia abbia sottoscritto accordi per la soppressione dei controlli alle frontiere interne e la libera circolazione delle persone.⁶²"

Without prejudice to the provisions of Article 3, paragraph 4, Italy, in harmony with the obligations assumed by adhering to specific international agreements, will allow entry into its territory to the foreigner who demonstrates that he or she is in possession of appropriate documentation capable of confirming the purpose and conditions of the stay, as well as the availability of sufficient means of subsistence for the duration of the stay and, with the exception of residence permits for work purposes, also for return to the country of origin. Means of subsistence are defined by a special directive issued by the Minister of the Interior, based

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⁶² Stato, I. P. E. Z. D. (1998b, July 25). DECRETO LEGISLATIVO 25 luglio 1998, n. 286 - Normattiva. https://www.normattiva.it/uri-res/N2Ls?urn:nir:stato:decreto.legislativo:1998-07-25;286!vig=

on the criteria indicated in the planning document referred to in Article 3, paragraph 1. A foreigner who does not meet these requirements or who is considered a threat to the public order or security of the State or of one of the countries with which Italy has signed agreements for the abolition of internal border controls and the free movement of persons or who has been convicted, even with a non-final sentence, [...] The foreigner's entry into Italy is also prevented by a conviction, with an irrevocable sentence, for one of the offenses provided for in the provisions of Title III, Chapter III, Section II, of Law April 22, 1941, no. 633, relating to the protection of copyright, and Articles 473 and 474 of the Criminal Code, as well as Article 1 of Legislative Decree No. 66 of January 22, 1948, and Article 24 of Royal Decree No. 773 of June 18, 1931. A foreigner for whom family reunification is requested, pursuant to Article 29, shall not be admitted to Italy when he or she poses a concrete and present threat to the public order or security of the State or of one of the countries with which Italy has signed agreements for the abolition of internal border controls and the free movement of persons.

So, according to section 3 of the article, not only a person has to exhibit documents showing its identity, its ability to stay and the reason for the stay itself, but also has to possess the means necessary to sustain itself for the duration of the stay, unless a person is moving for work related reasons. This is to allow for the full realization of the person's stay without economic issues and without becoming a burden to society.

As mentioned above the state grants access to whoever is in possession of the requisites set in place by law. If these requirements are not met, then the border police can effectively stop and reject any person who is not in possess of the documents that are needed. Furthermore, if a person stays in the Italian territory for more than the time allotted by the visa requested, then it is considered as an irregular resident. Irregular residents are expelled from the country, unless in possession of a special authorization or the entry ban has expired. If a person enters the country as an irregular migrant, through unlawful means, it will also be expelled, or kept in a migration center to check its identity and the reasons for its illegal stay in the country. The rejection of a migrant at the frontier is dictated by Title II Chapter II of the Legislative Decree: on Border control, Refoulement and expulsion.⁶³

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⁶³ Altalex, R. (2024, January 10). Testo unico sull'immigrazione - Titolo

II. Altalex. https://www.altalex.com/documents/news/2014/04/08/testo-unico-sull-immigrazione-titolo-ii#titolo2

The systems of visas for Italy is rather similar to the US counterpart. For Italy the required visas are divided among three main typologies which are in line with the Regulation (ec) no. 810/2009 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 13 July 2009⁶⁴: Visti Schengen Uniformi VSU (Uniform Schengen Visas), which are valid in the territory of the signatory countries for air transit as well as short permanence up to 90 days; Visti a Validitá Territoriale Limitata VTL (Visas to Limited Territorial Validity) which is valid only for the Schengen State whose Representation has issued the visa, without any possibility of access, even for transit only, to the territory of the other Schengen States, it constitutes an exceptional derogation from the common VSU regime, which is only permitted on humanitarian grounds, in the national interest or under international obligations; and finally we have the Visti per Soggiorni di Lunga Durata o "Nazionali" VN (Long Stay or "National" Visas) which is valid for stays which goes beyond 90 days and in the territory of the State whose Representation has issued the visa and for movements to other Schengen countries for less than 90 days. Furthermore, there are 21 types of visas that a person might ask depending on the reasons for the person's stay: adoption, business, medical care, diplomatic, family reasons, sports competition, invitation, self-employment, employment, mission, religious reasons, re-entry, elective residence, research, study, airport transit, transit, transport, tourism, work holidays and volunteering. 65

The issuance of the visa grants the so-called *permesso di soggiorno* or residency permit. This is ruled by the Legislative Decree no. 286 of 25 July 1998: Consolidated text of the provisions concerning the regulation of immigration and rules on the status of foreigners:

1. Possono soggiornare nel territorio dello Stato gli stranieri entrati regolarmente ai sensi dell'articolo 4, che siano muniti di carta di soggiorno o di permesso di soggiorno rilasciati, e in corso di validità, a norma del presente testo unico o che siano in possesso della proroga del visto ai sensi dell'articolo 4-ter o di permesso di soggiorno o titolo equipollente rilasciato dalla competente autorità di uno Stato appartenente all'Unione europea, nei limiti ed alle condizioni previsti da specifici accordi. [...]

2. Il permesso di soggiorno deve essere richiesto, secondo le modalità previste nel regolamento di attuazione, al questore della provincia in cui lo

⁶⁴ REGOLAMENTO (CE) N. 810/2009 DEL PARLAMENTO EUROPEO E DEL CONSIGLIO **(2009).** *Official Journal of the European Union*, L **243**, **1-58**. https://eurlex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:L:2009:243:0001:0058:IT:PDF

 $^{^{65}\} Dettaglio\ norma.\ (n.d.).\ https://integrazionemigranti.gov.it/it-it/Ricerca-norme/Dettaglio-norma/id/4/Il-visto-dingresso#:~:text=Per%20i%20cittadini%20provenienti%20da, passaporto%20valido%20o%20documento%20equipollente.$

straniero si trova entro otto giorni lavorativi dal suo ingresso nel territorio dello Stato ed è rilasciato per le attività previste dal visto d'ingresso o dalle disposizioni vigenti.

Il regolamento di attuazione può prevedere speciali modalità di rilascio relativamente ai soggiorni brevi per motivi di turismo, di giustizia, di attesa di emigrazione in altro Stato e per l'esercizio delle funzioni di ministro di culto nonché ai soggiorni in case di cura, ospedali, istituti civili e religiosi e altre convivenze. $(76)^{66}$

1. Foreign nationals who have entered the territory of the State on a regular basis in accordance with Article 4 and who are in possession of a residence card or a residence permit issued and which is valid may stay there, in accordance with this Consolidated Law or in possession of an extension of the visa pursuant to Article 4-ter or of a residence permit or equivalent document issued by the competent authority of a State belonging to the European Union, within the limits and under the conditions laid down in specific agreements.

[...]

2. The residence permit must be applied for in accordance with the rules laid down in the implementing Regulation, to the quaestor of the province in which the foreigner is located within eight working days from his entry into the territory of the State and is issued for the activities provided for by the entry visa or by the provisions in force.

The implementing Regulation may provide for special arrangements for issuing short stays for reasons of tourism, justice, waiting for emigration to another State and for exercising the functions of minister of religion and stays in nursing homes, hospitals, civil and religious institutes and other cohabitations. (76)

The length of a person's residency permit is linked to the reason of the issuance of the visa, which can vary from 3 months and up to 2 years unless specified by any other reason:

⁶⁶ Stato, I. P. E. Z. D. (1998d, July 25). DECRETO LEGISLATIVO 25 luglio 1998, n. 286 -Normattiva. https://www.normattiva.it/uri-res/N2Ls?urn:nir:stato:decreto.legislativo:1998-07-25;286

La durata del permesso di soggiorno non rilasciato per motivi di lavoro è quella prevista dal visto d'ingresso, nei limiti stabiliti dal presente testo unico o in attuazione degli accordi e delle convenzioni internazionali in vigore. La durata non può comunque essere:

a) superiore a tre mesi, per visite, affari e turismo;

[...]

c) inferiore al periodo di frequenza, anche pluriennale, di un corso di studio di istituzioni scolastiche, istituti tecnici superiori, istituzioni universitarie e dell'alta formazione artistica, musicale e coreutica o per formazione debitamente certificata, fatta salva la verifica annuale di profitto; secondo le previsioni del regolamento di attuazione. Il permesso può essere prolungato per ulteriori dodici mesi oltre il termine del percorso formativo compiuto, secondo quanto disposto dall'articolo 39-bis. 1; (49)

[...]

e) superiore alle necessità specificamente documentate, negli altri casi consentiti dal presente testo unico o dal regolamento di attuazione.⁶⁷

The duration of the residence permit not issued for work purposes shall be that provided for in the entry visa, within the limits laid down in this single text or in implementation of existing international agreements and conventions. However, the duration cannot be:

a) more than three months for visits, business and tourism;

[...]

c) less than the period of attendance, including several years, of a course of study for educational institutions, technical colleges, university institutions and higher education in the arts, music and dance, or for duly certified training, subject to the annual profit check; according to the provisions of the implementing regulation. The permit may be extended for a further twelve months beyond the end of the training completed, in accordance with article 39-bis. 1; (49)

[...]

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⁶⁷ Ibid

e) exceeds the specific documented needs, in other cases permitted by this single text or the implementing regulation

Furthermore, the residence permit can be extended or modified depending if the reasons for the stay have changed or if a person might need to stay for a longer period of time on the Italian soil.

2.2.4 The status of migrant in Italy

Now we need to talk about the status of the migrant in Italy. According to article 2 of the Legislative Decree no. 286 of 25 July 1998:

- "1. Allo straniero comunque presente alla frontiera o nel territorio dello Stato sono riconosciuti i diritti fondamentali della persona umana previsti dalle norme di diritto interno, dalle convenzioni internazionali in vigore e dai principi di diritto internazionale generalmente riconosciuti.
- 2. Lo straniero regolarmente soggiornante nel territorio dello Stato gode dei diritti in materia civile attribuiti al cittadino italiano, salvo che le convenzioni internazionali in vigore per l'Italia e il presente testo unico dispongano diversamente. Nei casi in cui il presente testo unico o le convenzioni internazionali prevedano la condizione di reciprocità, essa è accertata secondo i criteri e le modalità previste dal regolamento di attuazione.⁶⁸"
- 1. A foreigner however present at the border or in the territory of the State shall be accorded the fundamental rights of the human person as provided by the norms of domestic law, international conventions in force and generally recognized principles of international law.
- 2. A foreigner legally residing in the territory of the State shall enjoy the rights in civil matters attributed to the Italian citizen, unless the international conventions in force for Italy and the present Testo Unico

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⁶⁸ Stato, I. P. E. Z. D. (1998b, July 25). DECRETO LEGISLATIVO 25 luglio 1998, n. 286 - Normattiva. https://www.normattiva.it/uri-res/N2Ls?urn:nir:stato:decreto.legislativo:1998-07-25;286!vig=

provide otherwise. In cases where the present Consolidated Text or international conventions provide for the condition of reciprocity, it shall be ascertained in accordance with the criteria and procedures provided for in the implementing regulations.

So, both at the frontier as well as in the Italian territory the migrant is granted full human rights and the enjoyment of civil rights attributed to the Italian citizens. Furthermore, along with enjoying the rights of the Italian citizens, migrants must follow the same rules provided for by the law as the Italian citizen. This is crucial because a migrant is not to be considered an entity different from a Italian citizen in legal terms. First of all, they are considered human beings and as such they are granted full enjoyment of the basic human rights granted by the constitution as well as the international law on the matter of human rights. Secondly, as being temporary or permanent residents of the Italian soil, they also enjoy of the rights and duties provided for by the Italian legislation, in accordance with the Constitution⁶⁹.

2.2.5 Integration and citizenship

On a legal base the matter of integration and citizenship is laid out in the "Carta dei valori della cittadinanza e dell'integrazione" which is a document entered into force the 15 of June 2007. This document has been drafted according to the principles set out by the Constitution as well as the other European Charters on human rights, pointing out in particular the issues of the integration of a foreign citizen. The Charter is set out to be a pact between the foreigner migrant and the state, where both ends sign to show the commitment to respect the principles laid out in the document. After a brief introduction to the history of Italy as a country founded on multiculturalism the document lays out its content in six sections. The first section, named "Dignitá della persona, diritti e doveri" (Human dignity, rights and duties), lays out the rights and duties of the person coming in Italy. This is a crucial step for integration since the migrant is granted the rights of an Italian citizen and has to abide to the rules and regulations laid out by law. The second section is named "Diritti sociali, lavoro e salute" (Social rights, work and health) and it rules that a migrant has the same rights for an adequate compensation for its job as well as the same protection from discrimination and exploitation on the

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⁶⁹ Stato, I. P. E. Z. D. (1947, December 27). COSTITUZIONE - normattiva. https://www.normattiva.it/urires/N2Ls?urn:nir:stato:costituzione:1947-12-27~art54

⁷⁰ Ministero dell'Interno. (15 Giugno 2007). Carta dei Valori della cittadinanza e dell'integrazione. http://www.libertaciviliimmigrazione.dlci.interno.gov.it/it/carta-dei-valori-della-cittadinanza-e-dellintegrazione-0

workplace. Furthermore, it gives the migrant the full enjoyment of the public health system. The third section lays out the "Diritti sociali, istruzione, informazione" (Social rights, education, information) and it provides for the rights and duties of migrant children to attend the compulsory education which promotes integration among the students as well as knowledge for everyone. The fourth section deals with the topic "Famiglia, nuove generazioni" (Family, new generations) which lays out the recognition of the rights and duties of families founded upon marriage as well as the protection of minors from harm. The fifth section named "Laicitá e libertá religiosa" (Secularity and religious freedom) which sets out freedom of religion for everyone. The last section "L'impegno internazionale dell'Italia" (The international commitment of Italy) lays out the form in which Italy deals with the other countries in the international arena, as well as its commitment to peace and the respect of human rights.

Furthermore, in the Legislative Decree no. 286 of 25 July 1998, Consolidated text of the provisions concerning the regulation of immigration and rules on the status of foreigners, title 5 chapter 4 deals with the "Dispozioni sull'integrazione sociale, sulle discriminazioni e instituzione del fondo per le politiche migratorie" (Provisions on social integration, discrimination and establishment of the Migration Policy Fund). The first article, Article 42, lays out the measures for the social integration of the migrant resident:

- "1. Lo Stato, le regioni, le province e i comuni, nell'ambito delle proprie competenze, anche in collaborazione con le associazioni di stranieri e con le organizzazioni stabilmente operanti in loro favore, nonché in collaborazione con le autorità o con enti pubblici e privati dei Paesi di origine, favoriscono:
- a) le attività intraprese in favore degli stranieri regolarmente soggiornanti in Italia, anche al fine di effettuare corsi della lingua e della cultura di origine, dalle scuole e dalle istituzioni culturali straniere legalmente funzionanti nella Repubblica ai sensi del decreto del Presidente della Repubblica 18 aprile 1994, n. 389, e successive modificazioni ed integrazioni;
- b) la diffusione di ogni informazione utile al positivo inserimento degli stranieri nella società italiana in particolare riguardante i loro diritti e i loro doveri, le diverse opportunità di integrazione e crescita personale e comunitaria offerte dalle amministrazioni pubbliche e

dall'associazionismo, nonché alle possibilità di un positivo reinserimento nel Paese di origine;

- c) la conoscenza e la valorizzazione delle espressioni culturali, ricreative, sociali, economiche e religiose degli stranieri regolarmente soggiornanti in Italia e ogni iniziativa di informazione sulle cause dell'immigrazione e di prevenzione delle discriminazioni razziali o della xenofobia, anche attraverso la raccolta presso le biblioteche scolastiche e universitarie, di libri, periodici e materiale audiovisivo prodotti nella lingua originale dei Paesi di origine degli stranieri residenti in Italia o provenienti da essi;
- d) la realizzazione di convenzioni con associazioni regolarmente iscritte nel registro di cui al comma 2 per l'impiego all'interno delle proprie strutture di stranieri, titolari di carta di soggiorno o di permesso di soggiorno di durata non inferiore a due anni, in qualità di mediatori interculturali al fine di agevolare i rapporti tra le singole amministrazioni e gli stranieri appartenenti ai diversi gruppi etnici, nazionali, linguistici e religiosi;
- e) l'organizzazione di corsi di formazione, ispirati a criteri di convivenza in una società multiculturale e di prevenzione di comportamenti discriminatori, xenofobi o razzisti, destinati agli operatori degli organi e uffici pubblici e degli enti privati che hanno rapporti abituali con stranieri o che esercitano competenze rilevanti in materia di immigrazione.⁷¹"
- 1. The State, the regions, the provinces and the municipalities, within the scope of their competences, also in cooperation with associations of foreigners and with organizations permanently operating in their favor, as well as in cooperation with the authorities or public and private bodies of the countries of origin, favor:
- (a) the activities undertaken in favor of foreigners legally residing in Italy, including for the purpose of conducting courses in the language and culture of origin, by foreign schools and cultural institutions legally functioning in the Republic pursuant to Presidential Decree No. 389 of April 18, 1994, as amended and supplemented;

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⁷¹ Stato, I. P. E. Z. D. (1998b, July 25). DECRETO LEGISLATIVO 25 luglio 1998, n. 286 - Normattiva. https://www.normattiva.it/uri-res/N2Ls?urn:nir:stato:decreto.legislativo:1998-07-25;286!vig=

- (b) the dissemination of any information useful for the positive integration of foreigners into Italian society, in particular concerning their rights and duties, the various opportunities for integration and personal and community growth offered by public administrations and associations, as well as the possibilities for positive reintegration in their country of origin; c) the knowledge and enhancement of the cultural, recreational, social, economic and religious expressions of foreigners regularly residing in Italy and any initiative to provide information on the causes of immigration and the prevention of racial discrimination or xenophobia, including through the collection at school and university libraries, of books, periodicals and audiovisual material produced in the original language of the countries of origin of foreigners residing in Italy or coming from them;
- d) the implementation of agreements with associations regularly registered in the register referred to in paragraph 2 for the employment within their facilities of foreigners, holders of residence cards or residence permits of not less than two years' duration, as intercultural mediators in order to facilitate relations between individual administrations and foreigners belonging to different ethnic, national, linguistic and religious groups;
- (e) the organization of training courses, inspired by the criteria of coexistence in a multicultural society and the prevention of discriminatory, xenophobic or racist behavior, for the operators of public bodies and offices and private entities that have regular relations with foreigners or that exercise relevant competencies in immigration matters.

It rules that the state and the Italian regions will favor all of those activities and initiatives that are aimed at favoring the integration of a foreign migrant, in order to spread awareness on the rights and duties of the people as well as incentivizing and facilitating the process of inclusion.

On the matter of citizenship instead there is a strong body of law regulating the possibility for a migrant or the child of a migrant to receive the Italian citizenship. The decrees and laws that we have to take into consideration are: D.L. 4 ottobre 2018, n. 113, convertito con legge 1° dicembre 2018 n. 132; Legge 15 luglio 2009, n.94. Regolamento recante disposizioni in materia di intermediari finanziari; Legge 5 febbraio 1992, n. 91. Nuove norme sulla cittadinanza; DPR 12 ottobre 1993, n. 572. Regolamento di esecuzione; DPR 18 aprile 1994, n. 362 Regolamento dei procedimenti di acquisto della cittadinanza italiana

For now, we shall take into consideration the Decree of the President of the Republic April 18, 1994, No. 362: Regulation regulating the procedures for the acquisition of Italian citizenship. The acquisition of the Italian citizenship requires the presentation of documentation which is laid out in Article 1:

- "1. L'istanza per l'acquisto o la concessione della cittadinanza italiana, di cui all'articolo 7 ed all'articolo 9 della legge 5 febbraio 1992, n. 91, si presenta al prefetto competente per territorio in relazione alla residenza dell'istante, ovvero, qualora ne ricorrano i presupposti, all'autorità consolare.
- 2. Nell'istanza devono essere indicati i presupposti in base ai quali l'interessato ritiene di aver titolo all'acquisto o alla concessione della cittadinanza.
- 3. L'istanza dev'essere corredata della seguente documentazione, in forma autentica:
- a) estratto dell'atto di nascita, o equivalente;
- b) stato di famiglia;
- c) documentazione relativa alla cittadinanza dei genitori, limitatamente all'ipotesi in cui trattisi di elemento rilevante per l'acquisto della cittadinanza;
- d) certificazioni dello Stato estero, o degli Stati esteri, di origine e di residenza, relative ai precedenti penali ed ai carichi penali pendenti;
- e) certificato penale dell'autorità giudiziaria italiana;
- f) certificato di residenza;
- g) copia dell'atto di matrimonio o estratto per riassunto del registro dei matrimoni, limitatamente all'ipotesi di acquisto della cittadinanza per matrimonio."⁷²
- 1. The petition for the acquisition or granting of Italian citizenship, referred to in Article 7 and Article 9 of Law No. 91 of February 5, 1992, shall be submitted to the prefect with territorial jurisdiction in relation to the

⁷² Stato, I. P. E. Z. D. (1994, April 18). DECRETO DEL PRESIDENTE DELLA REPUBBLICA 18 aprile 1994, n. 362 - Normattiva. https://www.normattiva.it/uri-res/N2Ls?urn:nir:stato:decreto.del.presidente.della.repubblica:1994-04-18;362!vig=

residence of the petitioner, or, if the conditions are met, to the consular authority.

- 2. The application must state the prerequisites on the basis of which the interested party believes he/she is entitled to the acquisition or granting of citizenship.
- 3. The application must be accompanied by the following documentation, in authentic form:
- (a) extract from the birth certificate, or equivalent;
- (b) family status;
- (c) documentation regarding the citizenship of the parents, limited to the case where it is relevant to the acquisition of citizenship;
- (d) certification from the foreign state, or foreign states, of origin and residence, regarding criminal record and pending criminal charges;
- (e) criminal record certificate from the Italian judicial authority;
- (f) certificate of residence;
- (g) copy of the marriage act or summary extract from the marriage register, limited to the case of acquisition of citizenship by marriage.

This means that the process to receive the Italian citizenship begins with the request to the consular authority in the place of residence in the moment. Furthermore, the request has to be submitted with a series of specific documents in order to take into analysis any aspect of the person that might favor or impede the process of citizenship. In order to receive the citizenship the person must have resided for at least ten years and has to possess certain requirements, aside from the required documentation: it has to have a sufficient revenue to sustain itself, have no criminal record and not possess grounds impeding the security of the Republic. Another way in which a person can become citizen, aside from the formal request, is through marriage, or through birth.⁷³

An important rule to be taken into consideration can be found in Article 9.1 of the "Legge 5" febbraio 1992, n. 91 Nuove norme sulla cittadinanza" which states that:

> La concessione della cittadinanza italiana ai sensi degli articoli 5 e 9 è subordinata al possesso, da parte dell'interessato, di un'adeguata conoscenza della lingua italiana, non inferiore al livello B1 del Quadro

⁷³ Cittadinanza. (n.d.). Ministero Dell'Interno. https://www.interno.gov.it/it/temi/cittadinanza-e-altri-diritticivili/cittadinanza

comune europeo di riferimento per la conoscenza delle lingue (QCER). $[...]^{74}$

The granting of Italian citizenship under Articles 5 and 9 is subject to the person's possession of adequate knowledge of the Italian language, not less than level B1 of the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR). [...]

So, in order to be granted the Italian citizenship the person has to possess a level of Italian competence of at least B1, which is considered an intermediate level.

2.2.6 Analyzing the political address

Now we need to analyze how the political parties react to migration and what is the overall vision of the Italian politics in the matter of migration. For this part we will take the four most influent parties in the Italian political arena: Lega, Fratelli d'Italia, Partito Democratico, and the Movimento 5 Stelle. The Lega (Lega per Salvini Premier) is a party with nationalist orientation, populist and located at the center-right wing. It is a party that has more restrictive measures on migration. Under the leadership of Matteo Salvini, the Lega has sustained more rigorous policies for the control of migratory flows and has expressed worries on the management of migration at the national level but most importantly at the European level. The party's main ideas are: frontier control, reduction of migratory flows, public safety, policies for asylum seekers and refugees, national sovereignty. When the party was in a coalition government with the Movimento 5 Stelle the most notable action in regards migration was the so-called Decreto Sicurezza: Decreto-Legge 4 ottobre 2018, n. 113. Disposizioni urgenti in materia di protezione internazionale e immigrazione, sicurezza pubblica, nonché misure per la funzionalità del Ministero dell'interno e l'organizzazione e il funzionamento dell'Agenzia nazionale per l'amministrazione e la destinazione dei beni sequestrati e confiscati alla criminalità organizzata⁷⁵. At the time Matteo Salvini, leader to the Lega proposed this piece of legislation as the solution to stop the migrants' landings when he was Minister of the Interior. Its aims were to enhance security reducing migrants' landings on the Italian coast, guaranteeing less rights

⁷⁴ Stato, I. P. E. Z. D. (1992, February 5). LEGGE 5 febbraio 1992, n. 91 - Normattiva. https://www.normattiva.it/urires/N2Ls?urn:nir:stato:legge:1992-02-05;91!vig=

⁷⁵ Gazzetta Ufficiale della Repubblica Italiana. (2018, October 4). Decreto del Presidente del Consiglio dei Ministri 4 ottobre 2018. https://www.gazzettaufficiale.it/eli/gu/2018/10/04/231/sg/pdf

and favoring expulsions and repatriations. This was done to stop migrants from arriving from the sea and landing in Italy. In the past this solution has proved itself to be ineffective because, instead of providing for more security, it would increase illegal migration and take a toll on the front of human rights. The implementation of this Decreto Sicurezza and afterwards the Decreto Sicurezza Bis⁷⁶ was rather unfortunate from the party because it led to a disastrous political campaign that also led to legal proceedings, like the "Open Arms" case.

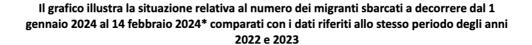
Fratelli d'Italia is a conservative party with more nationalist ideals. Its take on migration is of a more restrictive kind, with proposal of policies that pull a tighter string on border control and the management of migrant arrivals in Italy. They sustained overtime policies aimed at strengthening security and prevent the phenomenon of illegal migration. Furthermore, they are worried about the preservation of the Italian culture and its heritage, which influences deeply their ideas about migration. Fratelli d'Italia is tightly linked to the Lega party, supporting most of its doings in regards to the implementation of security policies to curb migrations to Italy.

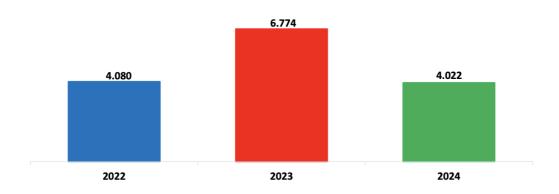
The Partito Democratico is more of a center-left party in Italy. It has sustained reception policies for both asylum seekers and migrants, trying to grant and foster the respect for human rights. Furthermore, it has promoted international cooperation to tackle the root causes of the mass migrations that had happened during the last years. The party has also defended thoroughly the idea of an immigration management based on European solidarity and has tried to promote policies that would favor the integration of migrants to the Italian society. The party main ideas are: hospitality and solidarity, international cooperation, integration, protection of human rights, reforms of asylum policies.

The Movimento 5 Stelle is a political party founded as a protest movement, transformed afterwards in a political party aimed at fostering direct and participative democracy. The Movimento 5 Stelle had some fluctuations on its positions on migration. In certain phases of its life it has adopted position that were favorite of the reception of migrants and has sustained the respect of human rights for the migrant population. In other phases it has instead expressed its worries over the migration management and has proposed more restrictive policies, particularly regarding the migration flows control.

⁷⁶ Gazzetta Ufficiale. (2019, June 14). https://www.gazzettaufficiale.it/eli/id/2019/06/14/19G00063/sg

Currently at the government of Italy we have as President of the Council Giorgia Meloni which is also the president of the Fratelli d'Italia Party. The government holds a coalition between Fratelli d'Italia, Lega and Forza Italia, which are all parties that have a restrictive vision on migration, proposing tighter border controls, the strengthening of security and the preservation of the Italian cultural heritage. Even though the aim of the government is to halt the arrival of migrants by sea the numbers that the government has gathered so far are not of an effective strategy.⁷⁷





^{*}I dati si riferiscono agli eventi di sbarco rilevati entro le ore 8:00 del giorno di riferimento.

Fonte: Dipartimento della Pubblica sicurezza. I dati sono suscettibili di successivo consolidamento.

(Figure 17)⁷⁸

In fact, as we can see from the graphical representation in Figure 17 in the year when the government Meloni started there were more people that came into Italy by sea, number that they wanted to lower with their strategy.

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⁷⁷ Ziniti, A. (2023, February 14). Migranti, fact checking sugli sbarchi: con il governo Meloni aumentati dell'80 %. La Repubblica. https://www.repubblica.it/cronaca/2023/01/11/news/migranti_sbarchi_piantedosi-383025254/

⁷⁸Sbarchi e accoglienza dei migranti: tutti i dati. (n.d.). Ministero Dell'Interno. https://www.interno.gov.it/it/stampa-e-comunicazione/dati-e-statistiche/sbarchi-e-accoglienza-dei-migranti-tutti-i-dati

To conclude, as we have seen the Italian legal framework is precise and welcomes the arrival of migrants, offering them a safe haven to grow as individuals. Migrants are treated as citizens, possessing the same rights and duties as naturalized Italians, but first of all they are human beings, and the law provides for the full protection and enjoyment of the rights that belong to every human for the sake of being human.

Then as analyzed we can say that the Italian political situation is one where the main parties are divided among two sides: on the one hand we have parties that want to welcome migrants and that foster European collaboration in regards to the migrant problem, only fighting the illegal form of migration, on the other we have parties that are not eager to welcome migrants, trying to lower the arrival of migrants to the Italian soil and the people wanting to become Italian citizenship.

We are not able, as with the case of the US to predict how future governments will react. The government Meloni is not very lenient on migrants, but there are many factors that might chime in in order to change this predisposition.

Chapter 3: Which system is the best

Now we shall compare the two systems that we have analyzed so far in order to respond to the question "which system is the best at managing migration?". We will look at the data gathered so far in order to compare the two systems, also looking at what are the best practices that are put in place in general and also to look at what could be done in the future, with a particular eye on the next steps that the two countries might take depending on their political address. As we have seen in fact both countries might be said to be in a transitory position, especially the US with the Presidential Elections that will be carried out during the month of November in 2024. In Italy instead the situation looks more stable in this sense, but as we know policies change as such a pace that we can still manage to shortly speak about what might happen with the coalition government of Giorgia Meloni, looking into the opposition parties and how they might deal with the policies put in place by the current government.

3.1: Comparison between the two countries

As we have seen we have two very different countries at hand. On the one side we have the United States of America, a country that is a federal republic divided among 50 federal states, a host country by its nature. As we have seen the US has been the protagonist of a substantial migration route throughout its history, going from a free for all approach at the beginning, to a more secluded and protected country from the 1900 up until the aftermath of the Second World War, to a mix of the two nowadays, where people can come in in relative freedom, with a set of regulations put in place by the government.

On the other hand, we have Italy, a parliamentary republic, which became a host country later in its journey through migration. In fact, Italy at first was mainly a sending country, barely receiving migrants and having still a crude understanding of migratory flows. This was due, as we have seen, to the fact that in Italy, after the Reunification, people thought that Italians would stay in the country. This was true for some people, yet economic hardship and political issues brought so many people to leave. After the Second World War, turning point in the Italian case as well, there was an abundance of people that were coming in due to the prosperity that Italy was enjoying at that time. This transformed Italy from a sending country to a host country, contributing to be one of the main migratory hubs today.

Furthermore, as we have seen previously, both countries share their histories. Italians travelled in mass to the US to find a better life, triggering a system of checks and balances that allowed for many of the modern views on migrant treatment that we have today.

Now we shall look deeper into the main categories that we analyzed before, namely the status of the migrant in both countries as well as the integration and citizenship process.

3.1.1: Comparing the status of migrant

As we have seen in the previous chapter the US system regards migrants as holders of the same rights and duties as any citizen. This has been granted and is provided for by the Constitution to all of those people, considered as aliens, that passes through the US borders and resides, even illegally in the territory of the US. Even though every human being as the same rights under the US constitution in its territory we still find some distinctions in the rights and duties of certain people. This is because the US migration system is composed of visas, as we discussed about previously, and these visas grants access for different permanency reasons to migrants. This means that, depending on your status, you will have different rights and duties from and to the country.

On the other hand, on the Italian side of things the migrant is treated equally and has equal rights and duties per the constitutional text. There is no significant difference between immigrant and citizen because everyone is treated as a 'human being' and as so everyone is granted the same rights. This comes from the horrors that the world has seen with WWI and WWII, with a stronger focus on human rights by states, in particular in the case of Italy. The Italian system of visas is rather extensive but not as difficult and as thorough as the US side, even though both systems have a rather extensive catalogue of visas.

As we can see both of the states treat the singular person as a human being, holder of rights and duties as provided for by their constitutional texts. This is important to note because, in both systems, the migrant is not an abstract entity. It is not treated as anything different than a human person. This is a crucial aspect because it means that the migrant is able to be a person in itself instead of being treated as entity.

Although in theory both systems look very much alike when talking about the US we saw that the migrant has the same rights and duties as a citizen, but is severely limited in its actions so long that it is a visa holder. This does not happen in Italy for example, where the person has far more freedom than in the case of the US. When we talk about the status of the migrant in both countries, we can see that there are differences in how they are perceived.

First of all, in the US there is a stronger sense of diversity. This can be regarded both from its history as well as from the visa point of view. The US has been a recipient for a great number of cultures over the years, fostering generation after generation of very different people from diverse backgrounds and geographical areas. Looking at its history as a host country, we can see that the borders of the US has been crossed by a multitude of people from all over the world, starting from the European Continent and going towards a more diverse area, with those countries that were from the so-called "Third World". This means that the US is far more ready to welcome new cultures and allowing for a better social status. Its migration system its rather complex and difficult to navigate, but it offers so many opportunities since it has a great number of categories that caters for the need of people from different backgrounds and status.

Italy instead has a less diverse background, given the fact that for most of its history after the Unification it has been mainly a sending country rather than a host country. As we analyzed previously, Italy was among the biggest senders towards the US in its history of reception. This has brought to the set of rules and regulations that we know today on both sides, like the institution of the visa system as well as the system of frontier check from both sending and receiving countries. The Italian system tends to focus mainly on the delivery of integration programs to help immigrants adapt to Italian society, including language courses and cultural assimilation initiatives. This is crucial because when a person arrives first in the country is rather difficult to assimilate a new culture, and in particular one so ancient and complex like the Italian one.

3.1.2: Comparing integration e citizenship

The process of integration is far from easy in any country, and America is no different. In order to gain the citizenship in the US you need to be a "green card" holder, which is the document which grants you permanent citizenship and allows you to be eligible for citizenship, for at least 5 years. Green cards are issues based on your visa typology and if you fit certain criteria as we saw already in the previous chapter. Furthermore, in order to become a naturalized citizen of the US you will need a series of documentations as we as pass an interview by a state official, along with possessing some minimum criteria to be considered for citizenship, like the basic knowledge of the English language, to be at least 18 years of age and to be of good moral character. After gaining the status of citizen you

enjoy the full set of rights as per the US Constitution instead of a limited enjoyment if you are a visa or green card holder.

It must be noted that in the US the experience of integration can be different depending on the state one person is in, since every federal state has the ability to deal with its internal policies as it wishes. As we have seen previously there are 4 main state destinations that a migrant chooses when arriving in the US: California, Texas, Florida, and New York. These are where migrant policies are more lenient and there are more opportunities for a migrant person to thrive.

On the Italian side you must request the citizenship to the consular authority of the territory you have lived in for a period of at least 10 years. Furthermore, it is required to the person to be of good moral character, not having committed any crime, as well as a series of documentations like the birth certificate, the certificate of residence and the familiar status. In Italy there is an astounding difference in terms of integration between northern and southern Italy. First of all, it is imperative to talk about the recent developments in the migrant crisis. Italy has been the protagonist of a great number of coastal arrivals from various countries. As we can see in Figure 18 most of the people coming by sea in Italy are of nationalities that are currently in heated conflicts and in a state of dire need, like Syria or Pakistan.

| Nazionalità dichiarate al momento dello sbarco anno 2024 (aggiornato al 19 febbraio 2024) | | | |
|--|-------|--|--|
| Bangladesh | 961 | | |
| Darigiaacsii | | | |
| Siria | 724 | | |
| Tunisia | 670 | | |
| Egitto | 475 | | |
| Pakistan | 236 | | |
| Eritrea | 214 | | |
| Etiopia | 174 | | |
| Sudan | 134 | | |
| Guinea | 109 | | |
| Gambia | 64 | | |
| altre* | 388 | | |
| Totale** | 4.149 | | |

(Figure 18)⁷⁹

The system of reception of those migrants coming from the sea is mainly based on the southern or coastal states, which are forced to take in this large quantity of migrants. Depending on the party of the mayor of the different Italian regions then there might be issues regarding migrant's integration and reception. If the party is heavily anti-migration, then there will be more issues for migrants to be

⁷⁹ Ministero dell'Interno. (2024, February 19). Cruscotto Statistico Giornaliero. https://www.interno.gov.it/sites/default/files/2024-02/cruscotto statistico giornaliero 19-02-2024.pdf

integrated in the society of the particular region, while if a party is more lenient on the topic, then there will be more people moving to a certain part of Italy due to the favorable environment.

The foreign presence in the Italian soil is more concentrated in the Central-North Regions (84%), and in particular in the North-West (34.2%). Lombardy is the Region that counts the greatest presences in absolute value (1 million and 191 thousand foreign residents, 23% of the total), followed by Lazio (636 thousand, 12.3%), Emilia-Romagna (562 thousand, 10.9%), Veneto (509 thousand, 9.8%), Tuscany (426 thousand, 8.2%) and Piedmont (406,000, 8.1%). Emilia-Romagna is also the region with the highest incidence of foreign citizens on the population (almost 13 per 100 inhabitants). This data can be also confirmed looking at the Figure 19 below.

ITALIA. Residenti stranieri per regione: valori assoluti e % sul totale nazionale (2022)*

| Regione | Numero | % |
|-----------------------|-----------|-------|
| Piemonte | 414.239 | 8,2 |
| Valle d'Aosta | 8.004 | 0,2 |
| Liguria | 146.601 | 2,9 |
| Lombardia | 1.165.102 | 23,1 |
| Trentino Alto Adige | 96.172 | 1,9 |
| Veneto | 494.079 | 9,8 |
| Friuli Venezia Giulia | 115.585 | 2,3 |
| Emilia Romagna | 548.755 | 10,9 |
| Toscana | 406.742 | 8,1 |
| Umbria | 89.009 | 1,8 |
| Marche | 127.294 | 2,5 |
| Lazio | 615.108 | 12,2 |
| Abruzzo | 80.963 | 1,6 |
| Molise | 11.907 | 0,2 |
| Campania | 241.008 | 4,8 |
| Puglia | 138.689 | 2,7 |
| Basilicata | 23.419 | 0,5 |
| Calabria | 94.203 | 1,9 |
| Sicilia | 184.761 | 3,7 |
| Sardegna | 48.617 | 1,0 |
| TOTALE | 5.050.257 | 100,0 |

*dati provvisori Fonte: Istat

(Figure 19)⁸¹

⁸⁰ EpiCentro. (n.d.). Migranti e salute i numeri in Italia. EpiCentro. https://www.epicentro.iss.it/migranti/numeri-italia

⁸¹ National Office Against Racial Discrimination. (2023). Integrazione dei cittadini stranieri. https://www.integrazionemigranti.gov.it/AnteprimaPDF.aspx?id=5997

3.2: Which system can be deemed the best

So, after having gathered the information needed, what is the final response? Is it possible to decide which system can be deemed as the best for migrant reception? Let's analyze both countries.

First of all, we must look into the history of both countries. Italy has begun its journey as a receiving country rather recently. It was for most of its modern history, after the Unification process, a sending country, being the protagonist of one of the most substantial migrant exoduses between the end of the 19th century throughout the 20th century. Only at the end of the 20th century Italy started to have migrants in its territory and it was due to the fact that it had a resurgence of its economy after the Second World War, with a substantial growth of its population and the availability of job opportunities. Given the fact that its history is rather new we can safely say that its policies are not as developed as other countries, where people were on the move far earlier and the country was able to adapt to the situation. At the same time, with the mass migration towards the US, Italy contributed to the making of the modern rules for migrant reception, which is a rather important step in the history of migration policies.



(Figure 20)⁸²

⁸² The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica. (2024, February 2). Ellis Island | History, Facts, immigration, & Map. Encyclopedia Britannica. https://www.britannica.com/place/Ellis-Island

Unlike Italy the US had a long history of movement, since its independence process and even before that, since we can say that the US was born thanks to migration processes. In Figure 20 we can see the complex of Ellis Island which was a partially artificial island that was a migrant reception center from 1892 up until its closure in 1954. This showed that the efforts to control migration due to its large number began in those years, but the history of the territory of the US as a choice for movement for people began way before, especially after the process of Independence from the United Kingdom. Example of one of the first naturalization laws was the Naturalization Act of 1790 which was one of the most liberal naturalization laws to date, as it created a short and uniform path to citizenship that lacked any specific requirement⁸³.

At the US level, we saw that the policies for entering are rather strict and extensive. For newcomers is a rather scary environment, having to navigate through a very thick bureaucratic system. There is a rather extensive list of reasons why a person may choose to enter the territory of the US, with a system of documents and paperwork that can be hard to grasp as well as pose a long and tedious process. At the same time, although difficult, is rather great at capturing any form of migration that there might be, allowing for virtually everyone to have a chance at passing the borders and becoming a resident in the territory of the US. Furthermore, it has to be noted though that in the US there is a strong sense of border protection, especially when coming to the Mexico-US borders from which a large number of migrants trying to get in the US comes from. From there people comes within legal means but a rather large amount attempts to cross the borders illegally. The US-Mexico border has been a main issue in many political campaigns and of many governments. If we take as an example the Trump presidency in America, as we have previously analyzed, we can see that he wanted to build a wall for enhanced security. Nowadays, for example, there has been a recent proposed bill within the Biden administration that would bring border security and immigration provisions in the Emergency National Security Supplemental Appropriations Act (Senate border deal)⁸⁴, in order to create order at the U.S.-Mexico border; release pressure on the broken asylum system, resource agencies and communities, as well as providing for further solutions to the migration issues in the US. This Senate bill was created on the assumption that changing legal standards and policy at the border to restrict asylum along with the resourcing of immigration enforcement and asylum

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⁸³ Andrew M. Baxter and Alex Nowrasteh. (2021). A Brief History of U.S. Immigration Policy: Colonial Period to Present Day. *Cato Institute*. https://www.cato.org/policy-analysis/brief-history-us-immigration-policy-colonial-period-present-day#post-ratification-period

⁸⁴ United States Senate Committee on Appropriations. (n.d.). Emergency National Security Supplemental Bill Text. https://www.appropriations.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/emergency_national_security_supplemental_bill_text.pdf

processing capacity will be able to significantly reduce the encounters at the border passes and foster order.⁸⁵

On the other hand, on the Italian front, we have an easier access. There is a less specificity, even though we still have a large pool of visa types. This is a less scary environment for people wanting to move to Italy. Yet this has proven to be rather unsuccessful. In the recent years the great migratory crises that Europe has experienced turned out to be a disaster for the Italian system. The arrival of people by sea in particular has presented the Italian framework with large issues regarding migrant reception and allocation. It has also brought many legal cases, like the Open Arms Case which has found the ex-Minister of Interiors Matteo Salvini, charged with "aggravated multiple kidnapping" and "abuse of office", due to the fact that he prevented the disembarkation of the 107 migrants stranded off Lampedusa in August 2019 aboard the Spanish NGO ship Open Arms ⁸⁶. Furthermore, the issue of migrant reception by sea has brought many policy changes, for example one of the most recent being the Legislative-Decree n. 20/2023, also called the Cutro Degree⁸⁷. The aim of this decree is to adopt state-controlled instruments to encourage the entry of those who come for work, and to discourage irregular arrivals through the routes of the smugglers. It remains without prejudice, of course. the legislation protecting international protection seekers, with some changes on the procedure and reception system⁸⁸. Although there is an attempt by the Italian government to ease the process and protect the migrant safety through the blocking of illegal trafficking, the system is still raw in this sense, with the International Migrant Organization (IMO) counting from the beginning of 2023 approximately more 2500 people had died in the sea⁸⁹.

Important for the sake of comparing is the way that the two countries deal with the citizenship and integration process. First of all it has to be noted that the US process in general is less lengthy, since you are required to be a permanent resident, or green card holder, for 5 years. The main requirements for a person to be granted citizenship are to be 18 years of age, to know at a basic level

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⁸⁵ Beaudouin, W. (2024, February 6). To resolve the humanitarian and administrative border crisis, the U.S. must fix the broken asylum system, help stabilize the western hemisphere, and provide robust, orderly migration pathways. *Center for American Progress*. https://www.americanprogress.org/article/to-resolve-the-humanitarian-and-administrative-border-crisis-the-u-s-must-fix-the-broken-asylum-system-help-stabilize-the-western-hemisphere-and-provide-robust-orderly-migration-pathways/

⁸⁶ Camilli, A. (2020, February 27). Tutto quello che c'è da sapere sul caso Open

Arms. *Internazionale*. https://www.internazionale.it/notizie/annalisa-camilli/2020/02/27/open-arms-matteo-salvini ⁸⁷ Ministero dell'Interno. (2023, March 10). Circolare ai Prefetti: D.L. 10.3.2023, n. 20 conv., con mod. dalla L. 5.5.2023, n. 50. https://www.interno.gov.it/sites/default/files/2023-

^{07/}circolare ai prefetti dl10.3.2023 n. 20 conv. con mod. dalla l. 5.5.2023 n. 50.pdf

⁸⁸ Occhipinti, S. (2023, May 9). Immigrazione: guida al Decreto

Cutro. Altalex. https://www.altalex.com/documents/news/2023/05/09/immigrazione-guida-decreto-cutro

⁸⁹ Fassini, D. (2023, December 19). 2023, anno orribile dei naufragi: più di 2.500 morti. Nel silenzio. *Avvenire*. https://www.avvenire.it/attualita/pagine/migranti-60-di-

 $naufragi\#: \sim : text = Secondo\%20i\%20 dati\%20 di\%20 Missing, Rights\%20 questo\%20 numero\%20\%C3\%A8\%20 sottostimato.$

the English language and to be of good moral character, which means to not have committed crime neither in your home country nor in the US territory. Though also the process for citizenship can be difficult to navigate since for every typology of migrant, so for every different type of visa, there is going to be a different process. Understanding and finding out which is the required process can be tricky and can discourage many people that, terrified of the bureaucracy, can often desist to file for citizenship.

On the other hand, the Italian system has lengthier requirements for the obtaining of the citizenship, which is of at least 10 years of residency in the Italian soil. Furthermore, as we have seen, the process is composed, in the general procedure, of a list of documentations to be provided for, as well as the possession of some specific requirements: a sufficient revenue to sustain oneself, have no criminal record and not being a threat to the security of the Republic, as we as the possession of an intermediate level of the Italian language (level B1). It has to be noted that, much like the US case, Italy also has a different approach in relation to the typology of visa that one has. The Italian system though is not as difficult to navigate as the US one, but at the same time the bureaucracy is worse than the US case. While for the US system the main issue is the length of the process rather the availability of the public administration, in Italy we find that the journey to obtain the citizenship can be quite the nightmare, with a large pool of people having their document missing from files or needing an absurd amount of time to file a simple document. In fact, Italy is said to be one of the worse countries in the EU for the quality of the public administration by the European Quality of Government Index 90. This, paired with the lengthy and grueling process required to obtain the citizenship, can be an obstacle to lawfully be part of Italy.

Finally, we should investigate the political address, which is crucial to look into the implemented policies, in both countries.

As we saw previously, the US is divided amongst Democrats and Republicans on its political spectrum. Currently at the presidency of the US we find Joe Biden, a leader from the democratic party. When talking about this party we can see that their focus is on a more humane treatment of migrants, fostering rather than blocking migration. The main ideas of the current democratic governments are to slow illegal migration, treating people still as human beings instead of the way in which they were handled by the former republican president. Though is imperative to investigate the current state of the political arena. On November 2024 there will be the elections for the new president of the US, and we are not able to predict who is going to win. As we saw previously, in the recent electoral campaigns, the republican option Donald Trump has talked at length about what he is proposing to do if he is going to be elected again. His plan is to scour the country for unauthorized

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⁹⁰ QOGS European Quality of Government Index. (n.d.). https://eqi-map.qog.gu.se/

immigrant and massively deport them, banning certain Muslim-majority nations from entering and other policies aimed at thinning the pool of migrants in the US. His campaign is, as was his presidency, aimed at demonizing immigrants, trying to build in the sentiment of hatred and disdain of a large portion of the population towards migrants. On the other side, Joe Biden comes as the democratic choice, going for a second term of presidency if re-elected. His promises are for a better treatment of those at the borders, both the legal migrants as well as the illegal migrants. As we stated above there has been a recently proposed bill within the Biden administration that would bring border security and immigration provisions in the Emergency National Security Supplemental Appropriations Act (Senate border deal)⁹¹, which was blocked on the 7th of February, but is deemed to be the starting point of new reforms after the elections⁹²

The new electoral campaign in the US comes in a time where there is a surge of immigrants at the US borders, which is putting a strain into the current political debate for both candidates at the White House.

On the Italian side instead we saw that there are four main parties that influence the Italian political arena: Lega, Fratelli d'Italia, Partito Democratico, and the Movimento 5 Stelle. The Lega and Fratelli d'Italia are the main parties that wants to restrict migration in Italy. The Partito Demorcratico is the main party that does not oppose migration, but rather attempts to tackle its root casues, aiding the sending countries and creating a European platform of migrants reception, based on the protection of human rights. Finally, we have the Movimento 5 Stelle, which has shifting views on migration, since in certain instances of its life it has adopted position in favor of migration, while in others it has opposed migration in a rather firm and aggressive way. Nowadays, as we saw previously, at the Presidency of the Council there is the leader of the Fratellli d'Italia party, Giorgia Meloni. Under her government we saw that there is a coalition between her party, Fratelli d'Italia, the Lega party and Forza Italia. All of these party forming the coalition have some restrictive views on migration and the firm belief of securing and preserving the Italian cultural heritage. Even though nowadays there is this coalition government we can be sure of the shifts that might happen in the coalition government. Furthermore, there needs to be a deeper analysis of the way in which the opposition parties to the government might react to the future actions, given the fact that this might be able to shift the tides to a more lenient policy packet over migration and migrant's treatment.

To answer to the question that this chapters poses, which system is the best for the reception of migrants? Which is the system that does it better? It is a difficult choice, but we believe that the

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⁹¹ United States Senate Committee on Appropriations. (n.d.). Emergency National Security Supplemental Bill Text. https://www.appropriations.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/emergency_national_security_supplemental_bill_text.pdf
⁹² Dmanson. (2024, February 22). *This year's bipartisan immigration bill offers a border blueprint for 2025*. Atlantic Council. https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/content-series/future-of-dhs/this-years-bipartisan-immigration-bill-offers-a-border-blueprint-for-2025/

United States' approach might be the best between the two. As per its history is the one that has the most knowledge and the most experience amongst the two, making it readier to welcome migrants. The population is more used to seeing and receiving migrants, making it easier in some parts of the country to accept the reception and the policies in favor of welcoming more people. The rules for entering the country are rather strict, but at the same time are made to engulf the greatest number of people, giving a chance to virtually anyone to cross its borders. It is true that the strictness might encourage illegal migration and that it might deny access to a large crowd of people, but it is finely designed to welcome a plethora of skilled people in the country, as well as reuniting families and making sure that international refugees can find a safe haven. Then we shall move to the status that the migrant has. Although there is a difference in rights and duties depending on the visa access that a person as, we analyzed that there is virtually the possibility for everyone to be treated equally. As we said previously in fact, the migrant is, first of all, a human being, and in virtue of being a human being is deemed able to enjoy the rights and duties as a citizen of the US, giving to everyone crossing the borders equal protection. We shall then analyze the process of integration and the granting of citizenship. The migrant has the possibility to receive the citizen status after a long bureaucratic process, that can easily scare newcomers especially those people that does not have familiarity with such a system. Although this is true, as we saw the integration process is rather quick depending on the state you reside in. among the 52 states composing the US we saw that California, Texas, Florida and New York are among the most desirable, given the great opportunities that anyone can have there as well as the policies welcoming migrants and helping migrants integrate into the American society. Finally, we can talk about the political address of the country. As we saw there is a division between republican and democratic party in the government. Nowadays the government falls in the democratic party with President Joe Biden in charge, which has been a lenient ruler towards migrants. On the other side we have ex-president Donald Trump, which is a firm believer of closing the borders and aims at having less and less migrants in the US territory. Elections are at the door, and by the end of the year we will see what will happen in the US.

3.3: Best practices: what is best to do?

After looking at both systems and having analyzed them deeply, finding out that overall, the US system might be deemed as more effective, we shall set out some best practices for a hypothetical hybrid system, composed of the practices of both states in order to find a common ground.

First of all, we should look at the rules for entering the country. As we analyzed at length, the system for entering the country in both states is often difficult to navigate, having such a quantity of different visas that one can apply for as well as very different documentations that are required for the application process. This difficulty though is weighed, especially in the US system, by a rather efficient process in terms of bureaucracy, as well as from the possibility of application by many different types of people. This means that although difficult, it can be a rather thorough system, allowing for many people of different backgrounds and situations to enter the country with ease. We would suggest to overcome this issue to devise a system that is thorough and that would allow for a large poll of people to be able to apply and come in the country, but at the same time to thin out the paperwork required and the overall tedious bureaucracy that accompanies the US system, as well as facilitating those people that might not apply for a visa due to the stress of filling out so many forms and understanding the infinite documentation process. By doing so a state would still have the ability to attract a number of different people, easing the job of the state as well as of the immigrant in analyzing and filling out the number of documents that would usually be required for such a process. Still the system would be able to sort them out and choose only those that would be deemed be in possession of the requisites for entering the country.

Then we shall analyze the status of the migrant. In both systems we saw that the common practice is to grant the immigrant equal rights and duties as a citizen would, for the sake that the person is a human being, hence possessing the same rights and duties as anyone that would enter and reside in the grounds of the chosen state. Furthermore, we have analyzed that the US, although on paper gives out the same rights and duties, it still makes a distinction on the basis of the reasons why a person is looking to reside in the territory of the US. The general case for granting the status of human being and the concessions of rights can be already deemed as a good practice. This is because, after all, migrants are per se human being and as such should be granted the protection of the basic human rights as provided for by the international system.

Finally, we shall look at the integration and citizenship process. The US system has been proved to be quite effective, although difficult to grasp and navigate. There are quite a large number of categories for which a person might require citizenship and it involves a great number of possibilities for any possible reason for why a person might want to be a permanent resident of the US and considered a full-fledged citizen. As we looked above though the system is far too wide and difficult to navigate properly, due also to the length of the bureaucratic practices, that are often prolonged and proves to be inefficient.

As per what we have looked above when talking about the rules for entering and the issuance of the entry visa, the system should be thorough and include as many categories as is advisable to

include, but without the hurdle of the bureaucratic mess that usually countries embed themselves in. Bureaucracy is something crucial yet is often the main cause for the failure of some activities in the public administration: it is a necessary evil. These though would be personal opinions, based upon what we, as students, think. There is a system, the European Union, that has devised a set of best practices for what would be considered a good system of migrant integration. The European Union was born with the aim to create a geographical area where people, goods, money and ideas would move freely and without constraint, in order to maximize cooperation.

In this context, special mention should be given to the Tampere European Council of 1999 where the European countries that were signatories at that time were part of a meeting on the creation of an area of freedom, security and justice in the European Union. Among the topics that were discussed and the milestones that were set we can find: the creation of a genuine European area of justice; a unified justice system for the fight against crime; a stronger presence in the international arena with external actions; and finally, what is most important for us, a common asylum and migration policy⁹³. The section on a Common EU Asylum and Migration Policy is rather important for our discourse because it shows the earliest attempts from the European Union to create a common rule for the handling of migrants and refugee in its geographical area. There are four main titles in this section which deals with:

I. Partnership with countries of origin: 11. The European Union needs a comprehensive approach to migration addressing political, human rights and development issues in countries and regions of origin and transit. This requires combating poverty, improving living conditions and job opportunities, preventing conflicts and consolidating democratic states and ensuring respect for human rights, in particular rights of minorities, women and children. To that end, the Union as well as Member States are invited to contribute, within their respective competence under the Treaties, to a greater coherence of internal and external policies of the Union. Partnership with third countries concerned will also be a key element for the success of such a policy, with a view to promoting codevelopment.[...]

II. A Common European Asylum System

13. The European Council reaffirms the importance the Union and Member States attach to absolute respect of the right to seek asylum. It has agreed to work towards establishing a Common European Asylum System, based on the full and inclusive application of the Geneva Convention, thus ensuring that nobody is sent back to persecution, i.e. maintaining the principle of non-refoulement.[...]

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⁹³ Tampere European Council 15-16.10.1999: Conclusions of the Presidency - European Council Tampere 15-16.10.1999: Conclusions of the Presidency. (n.d.). https://www.europarl.europa.eu/summits/tam_en.htm

III. Fair treatment of third country nationals

18. The European Union must ensure fair treatment of third country nationals who reside legally on the territory of its Member States. A more vigorous integration policy should aim at granting them rights and obligations comparable to those of EU citizens. It should also enhance non-discrimination in economic, social and cultural life and develop measures against racism and xenophobia. [...]

IV. Management of migration flows

22. The European Council stresses the need for more efficient management of migration flows at all their stages. It calls for the development, in close co-operation with countries of origin and transit, of information campaigns on the actual possibilities for legal immigration, and for the prevention of all forms of trafficking in human beings. A common active policy on visas and false documents should be further developed, including closer co-operation between EU consulates in third countries and, where necessary, the establishment of common EU visa issuing offices. [...]⁹⁴

This set of regulations were the start of the European Justice and Home Affaires policies. The treaties of the European Union offer guarantees on the freedom of movement throughout its territories for all nationals and to those entering legally in the EU. Virtually anyone residing or entering the EU can freely and safely travel around, settle and work. One of the objectives of the Tampere Council was to urge the European Union to construct a common policy framework for asylum seekers and migrants alike. The final goal would have been the construction of a common framework for asylum receptance and integration, a common visa and immigration system, allowing for both migrants and asylum seekers to be granted a standardized system to obtain entry to the territory of the European Union⁹⁵.

In this framework the Schengen Area was born, in 1985, devised to create a space without internal frontier checks, meaning that the countries: do not carry out controls at their internal borders, except in cases of specific threats and carry out harmonized controls at their external borders, based on clearly defined criteria. The Schengen area allows for approximately more than 400 million people to travel freely between member counties without the need to go through border controls⁹⁶. An example of the rules that govern this travel area we can look into the Visa Code⁹⁷. It is aimed at setting out the procedure and conditions for the issuance of visas for the Schengen area as well as the rules on airport transit visas. Its objectives and scope are laid out in its Article 1:

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ European Commission. (2002, September). Tampere European Council 15 and 16 October 1999 Presidency Conclusions. https://ec.europa.eu/councils/bx20040617/tampere-09-2002-en.pdf

⁹⁶ Council of the European Union. (n.d.). Schengen Area. https://www.consilium.europa.eu/it/policies/schengen-area/

⁹⁷ Regulation - 810/2009 - EN - EUR-LEX. (n.d.). https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=celex%3A32009R0810

- 1. This Regulation establishes the procedures and conditions for issuing visas for transit through or intended stays in the territory of the Member States not exceeding three months in any six-month period.
- 2. The provisions of this Regulation shall apply to any third-country national who must be in possession of a visa when crossing the external borders of the Member States pursuant to Council Regulation (EC) No 539/2001 of 15 March 2001 listing the third countries whose nationals must be in possession of visas when crossing the external borders and those whose nationals are exempt from that requirement (17), without prejudice to:
- (a) the rights of free movement enjoyed by third-country nationals who are family members of citizens of the Union;
- (b) the equivalent rights enjoyed by third-country nationals and their family members, who, under agreements between the Community and its Member States, on the one hand, and these third countries, on the other, enjoy rights of free movement equivalent to those of Union citizens and members of their families.
- 3. This Regulation also lists the third countries whose nationals are required to hold an airport transit visa by way of exception from the principle of free transit laid down in Annex 9 to the Chicago Convention on International Civil Aviation, and establishes the procedures and conditions for issuing visas for the purpose of transit through the international transit areas of Member States' airports. 98

Furthermore, the document explains the main procedural form in order to grant a person a visa document for travel.

The rules for the permanence with the Schengen visa provide for an allotted maximum stay between 90 days and a 180 day period. Furthermore, the visa can be issued for single or multiple visits. The responsibility for the issuance of the visa is given to the Member State. The factors that are taken into consideration for the state that has to issue the visa are: being the only destination,

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⁹⁸ Ibid.

which state is the main destination in terms of length or purpose of the visit or being the first destination with no clear main destination.

Applicants are required to submit their applications in person to any association that has a mandate from the EU, but Member States may waive this requirement in special cases. The applicant must bring the required completed form, travel document, photo, pay the visa fee, obtain a valid medical travel insurance, and provide for supporting documents indicating which is the destination, the accommodation or accommodations for the duration of the stay, the possession of the means to sustain oneself during the stay, and the intention to depart on time through a return ticket with any means of travel. Member States may waive the need for supporting documents in certain cases.

There is the possibility that a visa application may be rejected if the applicant fails to meet the required conditions for its travel, provides false or outdated documents, or is deemed a threat to public order, national security, or public health.

Member States have an obligation to ensure that the staff is qualified to ensure a common high service quality, and visa representation agreements can be established between states. Furthermore, states are required to cooperate amongst each other in order to provide for the best service as well as the best conditions in terms of the international arena. Cooperation may involve the sharing of important resources, and in those rare cases that requires so, external service providers can collect application documents, but the Member State remains the responsible organs for the assessment of a person's visa request⁹⁹. As we have seen the European Union framework offers a valuable example how to deal with migrant reception in an effective way, in a cooperative system like the EU.

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⁹⁹ EXT. (2022, November 28). *EU Visa Code - schengenvisum.info*. Schengenvisum.info. https://schengenvisum.info/en/schengen-visa-knowledge-base/eu-visa-code/

| Characteristic ‡ | Number of citizens of other EU countries \$ |
|------------------|---|
| Germany | 4,523,100 |
| Spain | 1,676,217 |
| France | 1,486,579 |
| Italy | 1,389,331 |
| Belgium | 957,970 |
| Austria | 826,339 |
| Netherlands | 650,691 |
| Ireland | 355,748 |
| Sweden | 299,852 |
| Luxembourg | 245,908 |
| Denmark | 235,530 |
| Finland | 197,067 |
| Czechia | 173,281 |

(Figure 21)¹⁰⁰

As we can see from Figure 21 there was a large number of people moving within the European system in 2022 thanks to this shared common system which continues to flourish.

To conclude, we have seen and analyzed that the US system is, for now, the best receptance system for migrants, coming from its long lasting experience as a host country, since before its birth with the process of independence. Migrants in order to enter have to undergo a thorough visa process, which is comprehensive of a rather complete selection of motives, yet rather hard to grasp, due to its

¹⁰⁰ Statista. (2024, February 13). *EU Migration: total number of citizens of other EU states living in EU countries* 2022. https://www.statista.com/statistics/1420564/eu-migration-number-other-member-states-citizens/

bureaucratic component and given the large number of documentations needed. Furthermore, the way in which migrants are received from a legal point of view is of importance as we have seen, giving migrants more or less the same rights and duties of citizens residing in the US territory. As we have also seen previously, the process for requiring citizenship is rather difficult and thorough, but it has a lower residency requirement than other countries, making it at the same time an easier process, if not for the bureaucracy that, as we have said, is a necessary evil. We have also devised a hybrid system, composed of the best practices from both. Finally, we have analyzed the European system of migrant reception, which can be regarded as a first step into a unified system, for now just in the EU, that can contribute to a common migrant framework that could ease the process and make travelling abroad less of a hassle, and more of an opportunity for personal growth and economic opportunities.

Conclusions

To conclude the perilous journey, we embarked upon we shall sum up what we have understood so far. The thesis dealt with the concept of migration, in particular the comparison of Italy and the United States of America in how they deal with migrants and their reception. This research has been done to understand which of the two systems might be deemed as the best, and to try and devise a system of best practices.

In the first chapter we talked about migration in general. We analyzed what is migration and how it can be defined, finding that it is a rather difficult concept, but managing to give a broad definition that could be of help. We laid out the theoretical foundations, finding great help in the Neoclassical theories. Furthermore, we analyzed the reason why people decide to migrate, seeing that there cannot be a pattern or a one-size-fits-all approach since the human mind is so complex that we cannot possibly be able to do so. In this sense was saw, in fact, that we cannot talk about a singular reason for why a person migrates, but is always a set of different reasons, often emotional, and not a simple question of go or not go. And finally we understood why the comparison between the US and Italy is so crucial for our understanding, seeing that both countries have such an intertwined and long going history that basically set down the building blocks of today's understanding of migration.

The second chapter dealt with the normative framework, analyzing both countries under certain categories in order to lay down the basis for our comparison, going first with the US and then analyzing the Italian system in a similar fashion. We analyzed, first of all, both histories as hosting countries, seeing that the US had a far longer experience than Italy in this sense. We continued with the migratory flows in both countries, looking at the typologies of people that used and use the countries as new permanent or temporary houses. Then we moved to the rules and regulations that a person must follow in order to enter the country, which we analyzed in dept and saw that both have rather strict rulings in this specific sense. We also looked at the way in which the migrant is viewed by the state, which is quite crucial for its rights and duties in the country where one can be. Furthermore, we saw which are the rules for acquiring the citizenship in both countries, which are quite strict and thorough, with demonized bureaucracies. Finally, we took the time to analyze the political address in both countries, seeing that it is so crucial for our understanding of migration policies.

The third and last chapter is where the comparison was carried out. Under the question, which system is the best, we started comparing both countries, looking at their histories first, to understand the level of competence that they might have. We put in comparison the way in which the migrant is seen by the state and the citizenship and integration process and then we asked ourselves: which

system can be deemed as the best? The answer is, the US, but with some punctualities. In fact, we also devised a hybrid system, in order to set out a system of best practices. Finally, we analyzed a more general system, in the form of the Schengen Agreement for European Countries, which is in itself a best practices system devised to permit to people to move freely across the European borders without having to go through the grueling process of migrant reception. The European Union laid out the basis for cooperation even in the matter of migrant reception, making it easy for countries to look into which practices might be the best to carry on.

To conclude, migration is a rather difficult topic, with scholars discovering continuously new approaches and new ways in which one can look at the matter. Furthermore, the countries we took in consideration are different but linked in the international arena. The US is going through a period of change, and we are not able to know yet where this will go. Italy might transform as well, and what we have laid out might not be true anymore. We will keep an eye on what is going on, trying always to understand: What is migration?

"So if people have an opportunity for a decent job, a decent education, a decent health care system and security, I know that forceful migration will be reduced to zero."

Nayib Bukele

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