Cultural goods, cultural practices and the role of cultural consumption in migrant integration

Exploring innovative cultural policies in Torino: a statistical survey

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To measure each national community's contribution to the single typologies of cultural consumption it is necessary to consider each community's intensity of consumption for each cultural activity and to measure its level of concentration. In this case, the index is calculated for each cultural activity and it is given by the sum of the squared market shares (expressed in percentage) to the j-th cultural activity held by each community. **36**

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SUMMARY

In spite of the growing attention for the social and economic inclusion of immigrants, its complexity has mostly been tackled so far by investigating the labour market and social conditions in a general sense. The present inquiry aims to show that studying the ways in which immigrant communities access and use cultural goods and activities in their destination countries can be a helpful tool to analyse the multifaceted nature of immigrant inclusion.
The city of Turin, like many other metropolitan areas, features a consolidated dynamic of immigration. Its numerous resident foreign communities, and its richly diversified cultural offer, provide a highly representative case for situating and attempting to investigate the problem.
The present research is the first one using a quantitative approach to the study of the immigration phenomenon in Turin. This is accomplished by a statistical analysis of the results of an ad hoc survey focussed on the city, involving 300 interviews on a sample of foreign residents.
The reference population for the project is formed by the most important foreign resident communities in Turin (in terms of their total population), namely those originating from China, the Ivory Coast, Egypt, the Philippine Islands, Morocco, Nigeria, Pakistan, Peru, Romania, Senegal and Somalia. The sample was stratified by country of origin, gender and age, featuring individuals with several years of residence in the city who, in theory by virtue of their adjustment to the context, were able access the cultural goods and activities offered. Individual interviews were carried out with the CAPI method, using printed questionnaires which had been translated into the principal languages, to facilitate the interviewees' response in the presence of cultural mediators. The research explores various dimensions of the individuals' life conditions, including questions on cultural participation. The interviewees were asked in particular to report the frequency with which, since their arrival in Italy, they had been attending cultural events/institutions and entertainment opportunities/activities such as museum visits, live concerts, movies, theatre performances, sports events, libraries, reading books, dance halls and community events. Multivariate statistical analysis followed by the calculation of diversity indexes was adopted to study how single individual traits and factors affect cultural consumption. This methodological approach allows a more rigorous and therefore more reliable study of the phenomenon than plain descriptive statistics.

Our findings point out how, even considering the individual features which normally explain the propensity for and intensity of cultural participation, factors such as the immigrants' length of stay, their occupational integration and, to a lesser extent, their cultural background, all play a highly significant role in explaining differences in cultural consumption.
Cultural participation is significantly and primarily oriented by different dimensions of integration in Italy. This suggests that the *acculturation* process is crucial in generating and promoting active participation in the cultural activities which are offered locally, as well as in making the cultural products of the host country both accessible and inclusion-friendly.

Nevertheless, participation in cultural and recreational activities can only partially be explained by the different cultural traits of the various immigrant communities. If, on the one hand, the subjects belonging to the communities whose cultural traits are most distant from the Italian culture, such as those coming from the Asian and Arabic countries, appear to be less active in cultural participation, on the other hand this finding cannot lead to an easy generalization, since participation also depends in many cases on the typology of cultural consumption involved.

Because this research constitutes one of the earliest attempts to deal with the question of the cultural consumption by foreign residents in Turin, further research is doubtlessly needed to explore the aspects which still remain difficult to understand, given the complexity and fluidity of the phenomenon.
In line with the literature on the effects of migrants' integration on social and economic results in the host country, our findings show a positive association between the level of integration and the propensity to access different types of cultural activity, thus partly confirming how cultural differences still account for variation in cultural participation. However, the lack of longitudinal data collected through multiple periods of observation does not allow entirely to unveil the causal nexus between the specific factors inherent in the migrants' level of integration and the various types of cultural activity.
The complex effect of the migrants' cultural background, whose variation depends on the cultural group as well as on the types of cultural activity considered, demands further in-depth study of single cultural activities, using more complete and detailed data on the preferences and cultural taste of different immigrants. From this perspective, it is worthwhile noting that migration phenomena tend to be highly context-bound and dependent on the socio-cultural and institutional features both of migration flows and of the country of destination.

Finally, several opportunities are deployed in the present investigation for reflection on the role and effectiveness of cultural policies aiming to favour the integration of immigrants into the Italian context. Considering that cultural inclusion carries important benefits both for social and economic inclusion, two potential and complementary strategies can be pursued.

The first strategy involves a more open attitude towards foreign citizens on the part of cultural institutions, through specific policies enhancing the understanding of the host culture by migrants, hence increasing their cultural proximity to it. A number of local institutions in Turin have been working in this direction, both by seeking new audiences and by stimulating cultural welfare. Here, our analysis reveals how the demand for cultural activities, within the single communities as well as from the foreign population in general, does not show any extensive polarization as to certain types of cultural consumption. This, at least with regard to the city of Turin and its context, goes to show how cultural awareness-raising strategies, or policies offering cultural products expressly profiled for single communities, would seem to be altogether unnecessary.

The second strategy, instead, is centred on the role itself of groups and associations aggregating foreign communities in the city. Here, the data gathered for this study clearly show how, amongst the popular recreational activities, participation in community events and initiatives, often organized by these migrant associations, has the lion's share and actually comes to represent by far the best-liked recreational activity most commonly attended by foreign residents. More than 60% in our sample state having attended such initiatives 4 times or several times. According to this perspective, offering activities in the course of the main social events of these communities, e.g. on the occasion of their celebrations, would indeed improve their chances of success, thus at the same time providing also local cultural institutions with a new model for cultural interaction. On the one hand, this latter strategy tends to reproduce a certain segmentation in cultural communication; on the other hand, it is likely to provide a good starting point in the promotion of economic and cultural proximity through a closer understanding of the hosting society and its culture.

1. Introduction

Integration, both in the labour market and in society at large, is lacking or poor. This seems more and more bound up with cultural factors. Empirical studies on integration in the workplace (Strom et al. 2018)[1] have shown how e.g. linguistic distance is an important explanatory factor. At the same time, there is a strong correlation between language distance and cultural distance, after respectively Adsera - Pytlikova (2015), who measures linguistic distance using ethnographic roots[2] and Hofstede (2001), whose index of cultural distance measures cultural distance using 6 value-based dimensions as cultural dimensions[3].

It would seem, then, that cultural "distance" could be an explanatory factor for lower economic integration. In the Italian case, for instance, Romanian workers, who have reached the highest level of economic integration, are also the ones who, according to the indexes quoted above, have a low level of linguistic and cultural distance from the Italians.

However, measures of linguistic and cultural distance based on value scales, though amply validated in the literature, provide a relatively static view of distances between the culture of foreign subjects and the host culture.

More recently, De Santis et al. (2021)[4] produced an index of diversity amongst foreign individuals which uses cultural consumption to provide a more concrete and factual representation of cultural distances between immigrants and the population of the host country.

The relevance of cultural interaction in favouring civil coexistence seems to be a necessary condition for integration. Ever since his early work Honneth[5] has been emphasizing the importance of intersubjective relations for understanding and developing social relations. His "Recognition theory" sets a cornerstone for the comprehension of conflict and the construction of positive social relations which favour integration. Gordon W. Allport (1954)[6]'s "Intergroup Contact Theory" considers the promotion of intensive contacts across groups as the best way to improve social relations between groups which would otherwise experience conflict, notably between the majority and minorities. The best way to contain and eradicate prejudice is to cultivate forms of communication which stimulate comprehension and appreciation of different viewpoints on lifestyles, pursuing and supporting an intercultural milieu for an interethnic

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[1] Strøm, Steinar, et al. "Wage assimilation of immigrants and internal migrants: the role of linguistic distance." Regional studies 52.10 (2018): 1423-1434.

[2] see Adsera, A., & Pytlikova, M. (2015). The role of language in shaping international migration. The Economic Journal, 125(586), F49-F81. In this paper the linguistic tree has 4 directions: Indoeuropean versus Uralic, German versus Slavic and so on.

[3] See Hofstede, G. (2001). *Culture's consequences: Comparing values, behaviors, institutions and organizations across nations*. Sage publications. Hofstede's dimensions for evaluating cultural distance are based on: distance from power, individualism or collectivism, long- or short-term orientation, aversion to uncertainty, indulgence or control, masculinity.

[4] De Santis G., Maltagliati M., Petrucci A.,*So Close, So Far. The Cultural Distance of Foreigners in Italy*, in «Social Indicators Research», 158(1), 2021, pp. 81-106.

[5] Honneth A., 2017, *La libertà negli altri. Saggi di filosofia sociale*, il Mulino.

[6] Allport, G. W. (1954). The nature of prejudice. Cambridge, MA: Perseus Books

society[7]. This approach has been used primarily with national citizens who were exposed to ethnic products to enhance comprehension of minority cultures, whereas little attention has been given to the promotion of foreign citizens' proximity by improving their knowledge and understanding of the host country and its culture, as if this process would simply develop over time.

Indirect contact through the consumption of cultural goods such as films, museum visits, reading books, participating in live events ("Indirect contact theory") can concur in limiting bias on both sides and bringing people culturally closer by improving the quality of interaction.

Within the debate on cultural policies at the European level, the importance of cultural consumption and cultural participation by foreigners is part of a larger research scheme covering strategies of *audience development* and of cultural organizations' accessibility to framework initiatives of the Creative Europe programme, which pursues social inclusion amongst its various objectives[8].

The aim of the present research is to study cultural consumption by foreigners in Turin, so as to stimulate a debate on the role that foreigners have in migrant integration processes. For the first time, a quantitative approach to the study of the migration phenomenon is applied. This is made possible by the statistical analysis of the results of a survey, produced *ad hoc* for the project, whereby a sample of 300 foreign residents in Turin were interviewed.

The results of the survey do not just furnish a descriptive picture of the typologies and levels of consumption by the foreign population in Turin. Using models of multivariate analysis and elaborating indexes that would capture the variety of consumption, the research group has attempted to investigate the factors and the determinants affecting the propensity for cultural consumption and the possible differences across national communities. This is no doubt an original feature of our analysis which will lead to a number of preliminary policy guidelines.

Although the results of the survey do not enable us to actually establish or define a causal nexus between cultural consumption and integration, comprehending the typologies and variety of cultural consumption of individual ethnic groups can in fact help us gain a better grasp of different integration processes.

There are issues and challenges that had to be met in the course of our work, that deserve to be mentioned and discussed in these introductory pages to fully understand the contribution provided by this study.

1) **Defining what cultural consumption really is for different cultures is a challenge in itself. From this perspective, and with the intention to use as much as possible a quantitative approach in data collection and analysis, it was decided to apply relatively standardized typologies of cultural consumption, which therefore do not take into consideration the many slight "shades" of difference or actual differences which the very same cultural manifestations and practices may take on in different cultures. The theatre and live performances in general are emblematic cases in point.**

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[7] Gianni D'Amato, 2017, Au-delà de la mobilité. La controverse autour de concepts comme interculturalité. Suisse Forum for migration and Population Studies; Giovanni Sartori, 2000, Pluralismo, multiculturalismo e estranei: saggio sulla multietnicita', 1, Milano Rizzoli.

[8] On this see Bollo, A. (2014). 50 sfumature di pubblico e la sfida dell'audience development. *I pubblici della cultura. Audience development, audience engagement, Milano, Franco Angeli*; De Biase, F. (2014).

2) **The results of our research primarily focus on the demand for cultural goods and activities by foreigners without however providing enough evidence on what was on the supply side, that is to say without identifying the businesses and institutions in Turin which offer goods and cultural activities appreciated by foreigners or identifying the nodes of consumption, for example within the family or with friends or in community locations etc. In this case, the complexity of the research object required methodological choices allowing to select only a number of dimensions of the phenomenon for more accurate analysis. Other aspects, such as the modes of consumption, though considered within the overall design of the survey, did not yield significant quantitative evidence.**
3) **Lastly, we must consider the impact of the pandemic -- how the crisis in the health system did in many ways affect our research project, which started in 2019. In the first place, interviews addressing a population sample like foreigners, whose selection and identification is hard under normal conditions, became remarkably difficult. The steps of the investigation slowed down considerably, and so did the planning phase with the cultural mediators. Secondly, the numerous lockdowns due to the crisis in the health system strongly affected or even annihilated cultural consumption and practices, especially those taking place outside private quarters. These problems forced the research team partly to reformulate the research questions on cultural consumption as an aftermath of the nearly 18 months during which such practices came to a complete halt.**

2. Cultural consumption by foreigners in Italy

2.1. The limits of empirical evidence

The main challenge in the comprehension of the effects of cultural consumption on the level of integration of foreigners is constituted by the lack of an adequate literature and of solid empirical evidence. The evidence, primarily qualitative or narrative, is mostly aimed at sharing good practices, as shown viz. by the bibliographic sources collected by Fondazione ISMU (Initiatives and Studies of Multiethnicity).
At the same time, it must be noted that quantitative analyses of the Italian context approaching the theme of migration in a systematic fashion with a rigorous empirical analysis are virtually unavailable.
Indeed, over the years a number of studies of cultural consumption by foreigners and migrants have been carried out in several Italian contexts. Outstanding among these are the 2009 study of Bologna carried out by the Sala Borsa Library in collaboration with the Observatory of Immigration of the *Provincia*, the 2009 study by the Documentation Network of the *Provincia* in Pistoia and also the inquiry within the "Incroci di parole" ("Word Crossings") project by Lule Cooperative in partnership with the Libraries of Magenta and Pieve Emanuele.
Although these inquiries provide a number of methodological cues for data collection on cultural consumption by foreigners, they often concentrate on attendance of libraries or Permanent Territorial Centres, with a clear risk of sample distortion. Besides, the recent activism spreading through institutions and research foundations has not been paralleled by a similar involvement and intensity of interest on the academic side. Although Italian research on the theme of cultural consumption has grown remarkably in recent years, the distinct case of immigrants has still been neglected.

Thus, an interesting in-depth Multipurpose Research on Families ("Indagine Multiscopo alle famiglie) was conducted by ISTAT in the year 2011-2012, devoted to comprehension of foreign lifestyles, wherein attention is given to cultural consumption and participation[9]. Data from this survey provide wider and better information on the foreign population for investigating the link between cultural consumption and integration, but so far they have not been used in any further study or applied research.

In 2018, Fondazione ISMU carried out an investigation into cultural consumption by foreigners in the Lombardia region, focussing on reading activities, cinema, the theatre, museums and concerts[10].

The research data from the *Osservatorio Regionale per l'integrazione e la multietnicità (Regional Observatory for integration and multiethnicity)* – based on a sample of 1,500 citizens from countries with strong migratory pressure, interviewed in the aggregation centres and milieus of the Lombardia region – enable researchers to delineate some differences in participation rates and intensity in cultural consumption. However, such differences are analysed in terms of gender or ethnic groups or geographic origin, without the in-depth multivariate analyses needed to understand the complexity of the phenomenon and its drivers.

In a wide-ranging research on migrant consumption authored by Fiocca and Cantu' in 2021, the theme of cultural consumption by immigrants is explored[11]. The chapter devoted to this topic focusses, mostly through a qualitative approach, on the dichotomy between "highbrow" culture, requiring education or at least economic resources, and "lowbrow" culture, more naïve and instinctive, as well as on motivations for cultural consumption, providing predominantly managerial implications for the configuration of strategies aiming at supplying cultural resources.

Finally, using ISTAT data from the "Investigation of the Conditions and Social Integration of Foreign Citizens" (Indagine sulla Condizione e Integrazione Sociale Dei Cittadini Stranieri), the authors of the present research investigated the 2011-12 national sample for factors affecting the cultural consumption by foreign citizens in Italy[12]. This study constitutes the first systematic investigation of the cultural consumption habits by foreigners in Italy, elaborating and testing on a representative sample of the reference population an interpretative approach, which inspires the present research.

2.2. Towards an interpretative approach

Cultural participation has been extensively researched, yet only rarely did most of these works study and furnish evidence on drivers of migrants' cultural consumption, thus aiming to explain the complexity of accessing cultural goods and activities in the host culture available to this segment of the population. Beyond the *accessibility which one may label as traditional*, viz. the sort that is available to all, based on socio-demographic features such as education, age,

[9] ISTAT (2014) Indagine sulla Condizione e Integrazione Sociale Dei Cittadini Stranieri. Information available at https://www.istat.it/it/archivio/191090

[10] Menonna A. (2019), I consumi culturali degli immigrati in Lombardia. Fondazione ISMU, Paper Series

[11] Fiocca, R., & Cantu, C. (2021). Immigrati e consumi in Italia. Franco Angeli

[12] Bertacchini, E., Venturini, A., & Zotti, R. (2021). Drivers of cultural participation of immigrants: evidence from an Italian survey. *Journal of Cultural Economics*, 1-44.

previous exposure to a given type of consumption, which are usually investigated in the literature on cultural consumption, two additional drivers can be identified to explain the heterogeneous feature of accessibility to cultural goods and services by migrants: heterogeneity of cultural traits displayed by immigrant groups (*ethnic, hence cultural accessibility*) and the individual process of acculturation (*accessibility through acculturation*).

***Traditional accessibility* is affected by financial and time affordance, hence individual preferences are affected by these limiting factors. Variation therefore depends on age, individual education, income and family costs as well as on social relations and the opportunity to access information on cultural events in the neighbourhood. The consumption of cultural goods also depends to a large extent on family exposure to such opportunities and has to do with the cultural background of the family or community.**

The second driver, constituted by *ethnic and thus by cultural accessibility*, apart from individual traits, concerns the heterogeneity of cultural features which are peculiar to the specific immigrant communities and in this sense still affect both the preferences and the intensity of participation in cultural and leisure activities available in the host culture. The cultural identity of a migrant can in fact be conceived of like a sort of social capital (Becker 1998) which, inasmuch as it works like a component of the cultural capital of an individual subject, exercises a potential impact on the level of appreciation of cultural products and services in the host culture.

Nationality is frequently used as a measure to capture the cultural identity of migrants. This proxy is coherent with the approach suggested in the economic literature to identify the impact of cultural values and beliefs on the variation of behaviour and on results of individuals partaking in the same institutional milieu (Fernandez 2011).

Cultural consumption by a given group can be directly influenced by cultural proximity across groups. Different measures have been used by researchers to represent cultural continuities across populations originating from different societies, but empirical calculations proved difficult because of the elusiveness of the concept (Felbermayr and Toubal 2010)[13].

Consequently, language remains one of the most frequently adopted measures of cultural proximity. A common language or language proximity are known as the prominent drivers both of bilateral trade and of international migration flows (Belot and Ederveen 2012; Adsera and Pytlikova 2015)[14]. Besides reducing the costs of communication, they facilitate similar habits and cultural interaction. Studying international trade in cultural goods and services, Schulze (1999)[15] suggests that cultural products from cultures which are "closer" to the native one are more accessible in terms of costs than those from other cultures. If we apply this line of argument to migrants, cultural and linguistic proximity between the country of origin and the country of destination could be positively associated to a rise of interest in the latter's products, leading to a higher appreciation by migrants of the cultural and artistic manifestations of the host culture.

Cultural backgrounds are known to be conveyed from parents to their children through the process known as "vertical transmission". Many empirical studies show that this process only rarely changes over time. "Horizontal transmission" of values, which produces variation of values with the passing of time, seems to be quite limited. "Peer group" pressure by

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[13] Felbermayr, G. J., & Toubal, F. (2010). Cultural proximity and trade. *European Economic Review, 54*(2), 279–293.

[14] Belot, M., & Ederveen, S. (2012). Cultural barriers in migration between OECD countries. *Journal of Population Economics, 25*(3), 1077–1105. Adsera, A., & Pytlikova, M. (2015). The role of language in shaping international migration. *The Economic Journal, 125*(586), F49–F81.

[15] Schulze, G. G. (1999). International trade in art. *Journal of Cultural Economics, 23*(1–2), 109–136.

schoolmates or in-group participation is often mentioned as a potential driver of change, though very few cases are investigated in the literature (Guiso et al. 2009, Tabellini 2008)[16].
The third driver, in the case of foreigners, concerns *accessibility* due to *acculturation,* which goes to explain the level of cultural adjustment to the new society likely to affect the models of cultural consumption by migrants. Berry (1997) emphasized how adjustment to the host country is a complex phenomenon, likely to follow different models of acculturation[17], which may lead either to cultural inclusion or to cultural marginalization. Like other types of migrant behaviour, participation in the arts and cultural activities can be thought of as the result of acculturation processes whereby individual interactions with the host country may lead to positive attitudes. Differences are perceived as less distant; the process of getting to know them makes them accepted and acceptable, sometimes even sought for.
According to Dustmann (1996)[18], integration in the new society depends on the intensity of exposure to the new milieu and on the amount of effort required for a migrant to access information on and knowledge of the new social structure. Exposure to the new context is mainly reflected in the length, viz. the years of residence in the destination country, a common finding in the literature being the positive association of this factor with higher levels of economic and social integration (Chiswik 1991; Venturini and Villosio 2018; Strom et al. 2018)[19]. At the same time, fluency in the language of the host country is considered a significant determinant in all studies of migrant integration (Dustmann and Fabbri 2003)[20], since this feature captures the capacity both to communicate and to access the culture of the resident population. Further factors impacting on the cultural adjustment of migrants are the extent of socialization with the natives, for example through intergroup relations and marriage (Bisin et al. 2016). We therefore assume that years of residence, language fluency and extent of socialization are all positively related both to the migrants' adjustment to context and to the accumulation of cultural capital in the host country, ultimately reducing ethnic diversity amongst migrant groups as well as with national natives.

2.3. Turin: the context

The city of Turin is characterized by a growing population of foreign residents (now totalling 10% of the urban population), whose social and economic conditions are known quite well whereas relatively little is known about its cultural consumption habits and behaviours.

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[16] See for example Guiso L., Sapenza P., Zingales L., (2009) Cultural Biases in economic exchange, *Quarterly Journal of Economics,* 124 (3), 1095-1131, Tabellini G. (2008), "Institutions and culture", *Journal of the European Economic association,* 6 (2-3), 255-294.

[17] Berry, J. W. (1997). Immigration, acculturation, and adaptation. *Applied psychology, 46*(1), 5–34. According to Berry, integration, assimilation, segregation and marginalization. Research has displayed a larger variety of models, which cannot be reported in this brief review.

[18] Dustmann, Ch. (1996). The Social Assimilation of Immigrants. *Journal of Population Economics, 9,* 37–54.

[19] Chiswick, B. R. (1991). Reading, speaking, and earnings among low-skilled immigrants. *Journal of Labor Economics, 9,* 149–170. Venturini, A., & Villosio, C. (2018). Are migrants an asset in recession? Insights from Italy. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 44*(14), 2340–2357.

[20] Dustmann, C., & Fabbri, F. (2003). Language proficiency and labour market performance of immigrants in the UK. *The Economic Journal, 113*(489), 695–717.

In the past, this context has been the focus of pioneer studies in Italy on the analysis of cultural consumption by foreigners, such as the 2002 study by Osservatorio Culturale del Piemonte[21] (the Cultural Observatory of Piedmont) or the project "Heritage for All" (2005-2008), whose principal objective was to identify the barriers, both material and immaterial, inhibiting access to cultural goods and to elaborate innovative strategies for breaking through them[22].

However, the evidence produced by these analyses may be at least partly dated today, as the migrant flows attracted by the city have changed and the cultural consumption has changed as well, owing to the new technologies.
Further, compared to the early 2000s the institutions and decision makers have grown more sensitive to the strategies of audience development addressing foreigners and immigrants. An example is the ISTAT-MiBACT 2015 Census of Museums and similar Institutes[23] which showed that the following museums in Turin had been carrying out communication/promotion campaigns tailored to addressing specifically immigrant citizens:

- **Museo Della Frutta 'Francesco Garnier Valletti'**
- **Palazzo Falletti Di Barolo**
- **Pinacoteca Dell'accademia Albertina Di Belle Arti**
- **Museo Ettore Fico**
- **Museo Del Risparmio**
- **Mao Museo D'arte Orientale**

More recently, the promotional activities by the Fondazione Museo delle Antichità Egizie (Foundation for the Museum of Egyptian Antiquity) addressing the Arabic language communities are worthy of mention.
The present study therefore aims to update and extend the knowledge of cultural consumption by foreigners in the Turin area, developing a new database which will support the promotion of actions and policies enhancing cultural proximity by cultural institutions and public decision makers, favouring the participation of foreigners in the cultural practices of the country of destination.

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[21] Curti Ilda and Dal Pozzolo Luca (eds.), and Cittadini stranieri e consumi culturali nella provincia di Torino, rapporto di ricerca dell'Osservatorio Culturale del Piemonte, 2002.

[22] Città di Torino, (2005). Un Patrimonio di Tutti. Musei e Inclusione Sociale. Quaderni dei Musei Civici Torinesi n.11

[23] https://www.istat.it/it/archivio/167566

3. Methodology

Cultural consumption by foreigners is highly heterogeneous, privileging informal access and participation modes and depending on the features of the ethnic community. To identify the factors which affect the typology and frequency of cultural consumption by foreigners, an in-depth investigation of cultural practices and cultural consumption by foreigners was carried out on a sample of foreign residents in Turin, over the period from January to March 2021.

Defining the sample

In sorting out the criteria for the selection of interviewees, the research team had to take into account the diverse distribution by nationality of foreign residents in Turin, which is different from the rest of Italy. Hence the reference population for the research is made up of the larger communities of foreign residents in the city (in terms of the total population) such as those from China, the Ivory Coast, Egypt, the Philippines, Morocco, Nigeria, Pakistan, Peru, Rumania, Senegal and Somalia. The sample of 300 foreign residents was stratified by country of origin, gender and age. To deal more accurately with the representativeness of the sample, the prominent institutions and associations for each ethnic community were contacted.
More specifically, *Associazione Panafricando ONLUS* was in charge of administering the questionnaires to interviewees from Egypt, Morocco, Nigeria, Somalia, the Philipines, Senegal/ the Ivory Coast; *Federazione delle Associazioni Romene e Moldave del Piemonte* was in charge of submitting the questionnaire to interviewees from Romania and Moldavia, whilst Peruvians were contacted by *Associazione Illary Hermanas Hay Mucho Que Hacer* and interviewees of Pakistani and Bengal nationality were selected by *Associazione Pakistan Piemonte*. The Chinese community was interviewed by a colleague who is familiar with them.
Because the objective of the inquiry was to investigate cultural consumption in the area of Turin, the selection strategy privileged foreigners who had been living on the national territory for a number of years, rather than newcomers or refugees or subjects who were still seeking international protection. Within this perspective, the sample is representative of the foreign population in Turin deploying a minimal level of adjustment to the context and therefore, at least in theory, enabled to access the local cultural goods and activities.

Interviewing method

The survey consisted of personal interviews using the CAPI method. Questionnaires were in printed form, translated into the principal languages to facilitate interviewees in providing their answers. This mode of presentation took care of the problems involved in the complex methodology and organization of the survey. Given the articulate structure of the questionnaire, the possibility for interviewees to be guided throughout by cultural mediators was considered a prerequisite for the coherence and completeness of the interview.
The questionnaires were submitted by the cultural mediators.

The contents of the survey

The survey investigates various dimensions of the life conditions of individuals, including cultural participation. In particular, interviewees were asked to report the frequency with which, since their time of arrival in Italy, they had participated in cultural events and forms of entertainment

such as museum visits, live concerts, cinema, the theatre, sports events, library attendance, reading books, dance halls and community events. The range of answers contemplated the following: never; once; 2-3 times; more than 12 times over the last twelve months. As for the drivers of cultural participation, the research team considered above all individual sociodemographic features such as age group, gender, marital status, family composition, education and employment situation.

These variables are identified in the literature as the most prominent factors shaping cultural consumption. To make sure that cases of higher access to information and more direct exposure to the habits shared by the native population would be contemplated, the possibility was considered that the interviewee's family could include Italian nationals. For an additional driver of integration, measuring the immigrants' degree of exposure to the host society, the difference (in years) was calculated between the time of the survey and the respondent's year of arrival in Italy. Further, the respondent's intention to remain and thus the prospect of Italy as the final destination of the migrant's own migration path was considered. The complete questionnaire is available in the Appendix.

Methodology for data analysis

Multivariate analysis was chosen to study how individual characteristics affect cultural consumption. This approach has the advantage of measuring the statistical effect of each variable, controlling for all the other variables included in the model.

Considering that the answers to questions on cultural consumption lead to the configuration of categorical variables, the principal statistical models applied in the analysis were the probit and the ordered probit.

In the probit model, the variables on cultural consumption take on two values: 0, if the interviewee states that s/he has never participated in a given cultural practice, 1 if the interviewee declares involvement in that very activity at least once. In other words, with the probit model it is possible to measure an individual's propensity for a given cultural practice and how single features and aspects of an individual subject affect such probability.

Alternatively, it is possible to use the variables of cultural consumption and to keep the values of all classes present in the answers (never; once; 2-3 times; more than 12 times in the last twelve months). Because these consumption variables are originally measured on an ordinal scale wherein the distances between categories are not equivalent -- which means that the categories displaying the number of visits have different intervals -- the research team used an ordered probit (see Green and Hensher 2010[24]) to estimate the effect of demographic dimensions (age, gender, country of origin) and of socio-economic factors (education, occupation) on the probability of visiting museums, going to concerts, to the cinema or the theatre, to attend sports events or go to the library, to read books and to attend dance halls and celebrations. This model allows not only to measure the probability for an individual to consume or not to consume but also the intensity of cultural consumption, as coded in the response classes.

Although the two models lead to statistically similar results, the ordered probit model was preferred in the subsequent presentation of results precisely because it also allows to provide a more accurate comprehension of the dynamics of intensity of cultural consumption.

[24] Greene, W. H., & Hensher, D. A. (2010). Modeling ordered choices: A primer and recent developments. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

4. Descriptive analysis of the sample

Profiling the interviewees

Table 1 shows the principal socio-demographic characteristics of the nearly 300 respondents in the survey. The sample is balanced for gender and age. 32% of the interviewees have secondary-level education, 29% accomplished a higher education diploma, and only 10% have no certified education. 38% have a job requiring average skills, 28% a job involving low-level skills and only 24% declare to be unemployed.

66% of the foreigners in the sample state that they are married, with 1 or 2 children and an average 15 years stay in Italy. In Table 2, the length of stay shows a certain variability based on national groups – interviewees from Peru, Senegal and the Ivory Coast claiming about 20 years in Italy, whilst those from Pakistan and China, with 7 and 12 years of stay respectively, have the shortest immigration profile.

Nearly 70% declare that they are willing to remain in Italy (see Table 3 for variation of the intention to remain according to the respondents' nationality) and only 1% has an Italian partner.

This data confirms that the sample group is positively selected with respect to the foreign population of residents in Italy or in the Turin area.

Indeed, as previously emphasized in this report, the survey was constructed so as to allow for sampling foreigners of 11 nationalities (see Table 4) who, having lived in Italy for several years, have been able to access cultural goods and activities of their country of destination, either alone or by virtue of integration projects.

Table 1 Descriptive statistics

Variable	N	Mean (%)	Std. Dev.	Min.	Max
Gender					
Man	301	0,502	0,501	0	1
Woman	301	0,498	0,501	0	1
Marital status					
Single	298	0,268	0,444	0	1
Divorced	298	0,074	0,262	0	1
Married/Living together	298	0,658	0,475	0	1
N. of children in Italy	301	1,246	1,421	0	10
Age					
Age<30	301	0,236	0,425	0	1
Age <39	301	0,286	0,453	0	1
Age <49	301	0,246	0,431	0	1
Age >49	301	0,233	0,423	0	1
Education diploma					
None	291	0,103	0,305	0	1
Primary school	291	0,289	0,454	0	1
Secondary/Vocational school	291	0,320	0,467	0	1
Higher education	291	0,289	0,454	0	1
Employment					
Unemployed	301	0,243	0,429	0	1
Low-skill occupation	301	0,286	0,453	0	1
Average-skill occupation	301	0,382	0,487	0	1
High-level skills	301	0,090	0,286	0	1
Area of Origin					
Rural area	294	0,310	0,463	0	1
Metropolitan/urban area	294	0,690	0,463	0	1
Years of stay in Italy	295	15,359	7,673	2	34
Intention to stay	301	0,681	0,467	0	1
Italian members in the family					
None	301	0,914	0,281	0	1
Yes	301	0,086	0,281	0	1

Table 2 Years of stay in Italy by nationality (mean)

Nationality	N	Media Mean	SD	Min.	Max
China	34	12,50	8,29	2	30
Ivory Coast	13	19,46	9,23	4	32
Egypt	29	17,76	9,30	5	34
Philipines	30	17,40	6,21	4	30
Morocco	28	15,61	6,23	7	27
Nigeria	28	16,71	4,65	6	24
Pakistan	30	7,03	3,99	3	22
Peru	30	19,57	7,08	7	31
Romania	28	17,54	4,80	9	26
Senegal	16	20,12	7,22	3	34
Somalia	29	10,34	5,52	4	32

Table 3 Intention to remain in Italy by nationality (mean)

Nationality	N	Yes (%)	SD	Min	Max
China	34	0,59	0,50	0	1
Ivory Coast	13	0,31	0,48	0	1
Egypt	30	0,77	0,43	0	1
Philipines	30	0,47	0,51	0	1
Morocco	28	0,89	0,31	0	1
Nigeria	30	0,70	0,47	0	1
Pakistan	30	0,93	0,25	0	1
Peru	30	0,80	0,41	0	1
Romania	30	0,63	0,49	0	1
Senegal	16	0,06	0,25	0	1
Somalia	30	0,87	0,35	0	1

Table 4 Sample distribution by nationality

Nationality	Frequency	Percentage	Linguistic proximity
China	34	11,30	0,5677608
Ivory Coast	13	4,32	0
Egypt	30	9,97	0,7249999
Philipines	30	9,97	0,6400057
Morocco	28	9,30	0,7249999
Nigeria	30	9,97	0
Pakistan	30	9,97	1,2596130
Peru	30	9,97	3,9785750
Romania	30	9,97	4,3746480
Senegal	16	5,32	0,2796308
Somalia	30	9,97	0,5907090

Cultural consumption

Table 5 provides a synopsis of the rates of attendance and frequency of access for the various cultural activities included in the survey. Besides the types of cultural activity usually considered in studies of cultural participation, interviewees were explicitly asked whether they had attended any celebrations in their community. This choice was determined by the attempt to set a benchmark for the individual's propensity for social interaction and to understand whether the community could be a channel for cultural proximity, correlating with other typologies of cultural consumption.

As we can see in Table 5, attending a sports event, going to the theatre, to a dance hall or to a library were found to be the cultural activities least cultivated by foreign citizens in Turin. Nearly 50% of respondents declare having never practiced any of these activities since their arrival in Italy.

On the contrary, going to the cinema is not only the most intensively practiced activity (only one respondent out of four declares having never been to see a film), but also the most frequently chosen one, with 47% of respondents stating to have gone to the cinema four times or more since their time of arrival. This result is in line with the Italian population, wherein the cinema is by far the most easily accessed form of cultural consumption, because of its cost, ease of information, audience variety and time of duration.

Interesting are the Museum visits, since the participation rate is similar to that of cinema-going (only 27% of respondents have never been to a museum) and a relatively high frequency since arrival (30% state having visited a museum 4 times or more since their arrival).

Finally, Table 6 shows how hard it is to take jointly into account variation in the accessibility of cultural activities and the diverse choices by different national groups in a descriptive analysis.

Table 5 Frequency of attendance by cultural activity since the time of arrival in Italy (percentage)

	Frequency

	Never	Once	2-3 times	4+ times
Museum visit	27,6%	14,5%	27,3%	30,6%
Live concert	39,3%	10,5%	22,4%	27,8%
Going to the cinema	25,0%	12,3%	15,1%	47,6%
Going to the theatre	50,3%	12,0%	20,2%	17,5%
(Live) sports event	52,6%	11,3%	21,2%	15,0%
Going to the library	49,0%	8,3%	14,8%	27,9%
Reading a book	30,7%	13,0%	21,5%	34,8%
Attending a dance hall	45,6%	8,5%	12,2%	33,7%
Going to a community event	10,7%	9,3%	15,5%	64,6%

Table 6 Frequency of participation in cultural activities since time of arrival by nationality (percentage values)

	Never	Once	2-3 times	4+ times	N
CHINA					
Museums	51,5%	21,2%	21,2%	6,1%	33
Concerts	81,3%	9,4%	6,3%	3,1%	32
Cinema	37,5%	18,8%	31,3%	12,5%	32
Theatre	78,8%	18,2%	3,0%	0,0%	33
Sports	72,7%	6,1%	15,2%	6,1%	33
Library	56,3%	15,6%	12,5%	15,6%	32
Books	18,8%	18,8%	18,8%	43,8%	32
IVORY COAST					
Museums	81,8%	9,1%	9,1%	0,0%	11
Concerts	63,6%	27,3%	9,1%	0,0%	11
Cinema	63,6%	27,3%	9,1%	0,0%	11
Theatre	81,8%	9,1%	9,1%	0,0%	11
Sports	80,0%	0,0%	10,0%	10,0%	10
Library	80,0%	0,0%	10,0%	10,0%	10
Books	60,0%	30,0%	10,0%	0,0%	10
EGYPT					
Museums	16,7%	10,0%	30,0%	43,3%	30
Concerts	33,3%	10,0%	33,3%	23,3%	30
Cinema	30,0%	10,0%	3,3%	56,7%	30
Theatre	46,7%	13,3%	23,3%	16,7%	30
Sports	48,3%	17,2%	20,7%	13,8%	29
Library	40,7%	14,8%	14,8%	29,6%	27
Books	48,3%	10,3%	6,9%	34,5%	29
PHILIPINES					

Museums	23,3%	40,0%	26,7%	10,0%	30
Concerts	56,7%	20,0%	23,3%	0,0%	30
Cinema	10,0%	20,0%	13,3%	56,7%	30
Theatre	63,3%	23,3%	13,3%	0,0%	30
Sports	56,7%	13,3%	16,7%	13,3%	30
Library	73,3%	20,0%	3,3%	3,3%	30
Books	46,7%	10,0%	30,0%	13,3%	30
MOROCCO					
Museums	3,6%	10,7%	28,6%	57,1%	28
Concerts	7,1%	3,6%	39,3%	50,0%	28
Cinema	14,3%	3,6%	3,6%	78,6%	28
Theatre	21,4%	3,6%	39,3%	35,7%	28
Sports	35,7%	3,6%	21,4%	39,3%	28
Library	25,0%	10,7%	10,7%	53,6%	28
Books	21,4%	3,6%	39,3%	35,7%	28
NIGERIA					
Museums	50,0%	16,7%	30,0%	3,3%	30
Concerts	3,3%	20,0%	13,3%	63,3%	30
Cinema	53,3%	16,7%	10,0%	20,0%	30
Theatre	82,1%	3,6%	14,3%	0,0%	28
Sports	50,0%	23,3%	20,0%	6,7%	30
Library	60,0%	0,0%	26,7%	13,3%	30
Books	23,3%	33,3%	26,7%	16,7%	30
PAKISTAN					
Museums	23,3%	6,7%	36,7%	33,3%	30
Concerts	60,0%	3,3%	30,0%	6,7%	30
Cinema	16,7%	23,3%	30,0%	30,0%	30
Theatre	72,4%	6,9%	17,2%	3,4%	29
Sports	56,7%	3,3%	16,7%	23,3%	30
Library	46,7%	6,7%	6,7%	40,0%	30
Books	46,7%	6,7%	16,7%	30,0%	30
PERU					
Museums	3,3%	6,7%	23,3%	66,7%	30
Concerts	20,0%	6,7%	23,3%	50,0%	30
Cinema	3,3%	0,0%	6,7%	90,0%	30
Theatre	10,0%	16,7%	40,0%	33,3%	30
Sports	37,9%	20,7%	17,2%	24,1%	29
Library	37,9%	6,9%	6,9%	48,3%	29

Books	16,7%	13,3%	13,3%	56,7%	30
ROMANIA					
Museums	3,3%	0,0%	43,3%	53,3%	30
Concerts	23,3%	6,7%	13,3%	56,7%	30
Cinema	3,3%	0,0%	6,7%	90,0%	30
Theatre	6,7%	3,3%	30,0%	60,0%	30
Sports	40,0%	16,7%	40,0%	3,3%	30
Library	46,7%	3,3%	20,0%	30,0%	30
Books	3,3%	3,3%	23,3%	70,0%	30
SENEGAL					
Museums	60,0%	6,7%	13,3%	20,0%	15
Concerts	42,9%	0,0%	35,7%	21,4%	14
Cinema	42,9%	14,3%	21,4%	21,4%	14
Theatre	57,1%	0,0%	7,1%	35,7%	14
Sports	57,1%	0,0%	14,3%	28,6%	14
Library	64,3%	0,0%	14,3%	21,4%	14
Books	50,0%	7,1%	14,3%	28,6%	14
SOMALIA					
Museums	33,3%	23,3%	20,0%	23,3%	30
Concerts	53,3%	13,3%	20,0%	13,3%	30
Cinema	33,3%	11,1%	29,6%	25,9%	27
Theatre	55,2%	24,1%	13,8%	6,9%	29
Sports	60,0%	6,7%	30,0%	3,3%	30
Library	33,3%	3,3%	33,3%	30,0%	30
Books	33,3%	13,3%	26,7%	26,7%	30

5. Drivers of cultural consumption

Multivariate analysis through the ordered-probit model allows to test the effects on cultural consumption of each characteristic of respondents. As previously mentioned, the cultural consumption variable captures four possible "states" of participation and intensity: from none to three different levels of cultural consumption (one, 2-3 times, 4+ since time of arrival in Italy).
Using the ordered-probit model therefore the respondents' traits are evaluated in terms of the four possible "states" of cultural consumption. Given the complexity of producing the findings (viz. the study of the effect of each trait for each typology of consumption), to present the findings in a clear and effective manner we provide a set of charts which illustrate the effects of single features (on the vertical axis) on the probabilities of occurrence (horizontal axis) of the cultural consumption investigated (Figures 1-9). Further, Tables A1, A2 and A3 in the Appendix

provide, both for the probit and for the ordered probit model, the numerical estimate of the coefficients for all the variables considered.

A number of socio-demographic characteristics are included in the multivariate analysis; focus is on the principal variables concerning the socio-economic condition (educational and occupational level), the level of integration (years of stay, Italian family member, self-stated intention to remain in Italy) and the country or area of origin. We concentrate on the two extreme values (Never, in blue; 4+ times, in yellow) since they clearly capture the two opposite and most interesting consumption profiles, viz. non-attenders and most regular attenders. The probability of non-participation can clearly be interpreted as the opposite of the propensity to access a given cultural activity, but will not capture the intensity of consumption. Observing even the most frequent consumers allows therefore to integrate the analysis of cultural participation with the analysis of its intensity.

The charts reveal a number of prominent trends for configuring the factors which enable and those which hinder cultural consumption by migrants in the area of Turin. As for socio-economic conditions, as confirmed in the literature, education rather than the condition of employment is one of the key explanatory variables of cultural consumption/non-consumption. In Figure 6, for example, the probability of non-attending libraries (blue dots) is nearly certain (90%) with foreigners who have no educational qualifications, but goes down to 25% (1 out of 4) with respondents who have post-secondary education.

Conversely, intensive attendance (yellow dots) shows a probability of 50% for respondents with post-secondary education to have attended libraries four or more times and a nihil probability of being an intensive user for those with no educational qualifications.

Again with regard to education, some typologies of cultural consumption show a more linear correlation between increasing levels of education on the one hand and participation as well as intensity of cultural consumption on the other. This is true for attendance of Museums, Cinema, Libraries, and for reading books. For other typologies of cultural activity (concerts, discos, sports events, theatre), the most significant differences appear only between having or not having educational qualifications, independent of their level.

Looking at the integration dimension (*accessibility of acculturation*), the diagrams confirm that the different variables used to measure this dimension suggest how better integration supports both participation and intensity of cultural consumption. The presence of an Italian family member significantly reduces the barriers to attendance in all the typologies of cultural activity considered. Likewise, the duration of stay in Italy (measured by the number of years since migration) remarkably reduces the probability of non-participation in cultural activities and significantly affects the frequency of consumption. In the case of Cinema for instance (Fig. 3), those who have lived in Italy less than a year have a 50% probability of never having gone to the cinema in Italy. This probability goes down by 10% after 10 years of stay. Likewise, the probability of having gone to the cinema 4 or more times is about 10% for foreigners who have just arrived but rises to 60% after 20 years.

The intention to remain or not in Italy, instead, is a variable which does not affect participation or intensity of cultural consumption. This can be explained by the fact that it is the only variable based on a subjective claim, whereas length of stay and the presence of an Italian family member are both variables which concern the respondent's objective situation.

Our findings therefore suggest how, having controlled for common individual characteristics, attendance and cultural consumption are primarily and significantly guided by the *acculturation* process which goes on in the course of the migrant's stay in the host country.

Finally, it is interesting to consider how, after controlling for demographic characteristics and for drivers of integration at the individual level through multivariate analysis, the immigrant's cultural background, by country or area of origin, may still have an important residual effect on participation and intensity of cultural consumption.

As the diagrams show on the right-hand side of Figures 1-6 (lower part), it is possible, though difficult, to detect some more or less stable patterns in the various forms of cultural consumption, which however are not worthwhile examining in depth given their scarcity in the statistical sample.

In the first place, migrants from China, Pakistan and some Arab countries (Egypt) have the highest probability of non-attendance, while migrants from eastern Europe, Latin America and also from Morocco constantly show the highest probabilities of attendance. The variation between the predictive probabilities explained by the migrants' nationality can be very large with a difference of nearly 70 percentage points, for example between the Chinese and the Nigerians, in the probability of never having attended a music concert.

The findings above will offer a first, though limited, indication of the role of the cultural background (*cultural accessibility*) in the decision to deploy recreational and cultural activities in the host society, after controlling for all other factors. A further indication from these findings points out how cultural goods, whose diverse accessibility is already usually conducive to different forms of consumption, are particularly sensitive to cultural diversity.

Figure 1 Predictive probabilities of museum attendance by selected variables

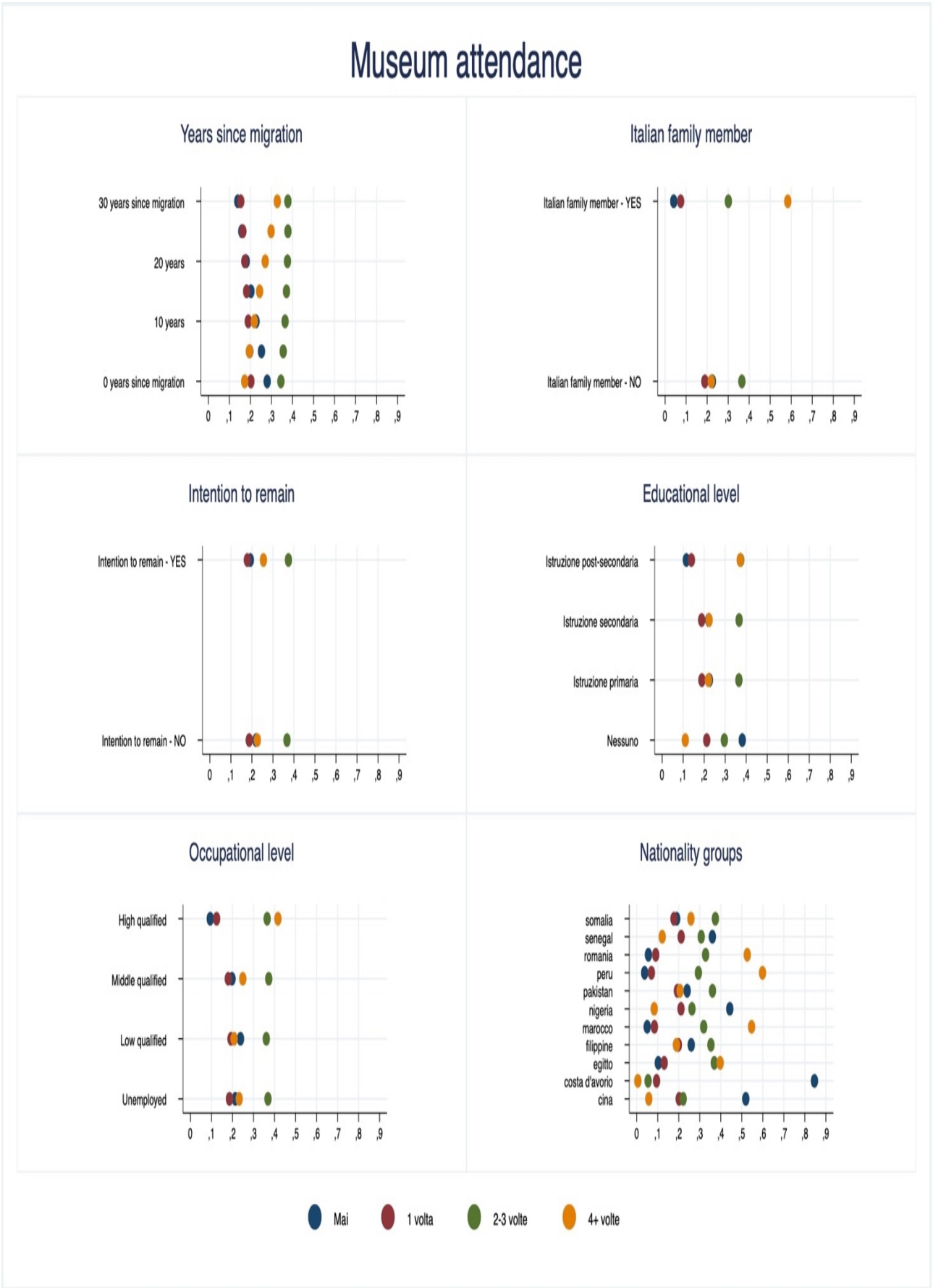


Figure 2 Predictive probabilities of music concerts attendance by selected variables

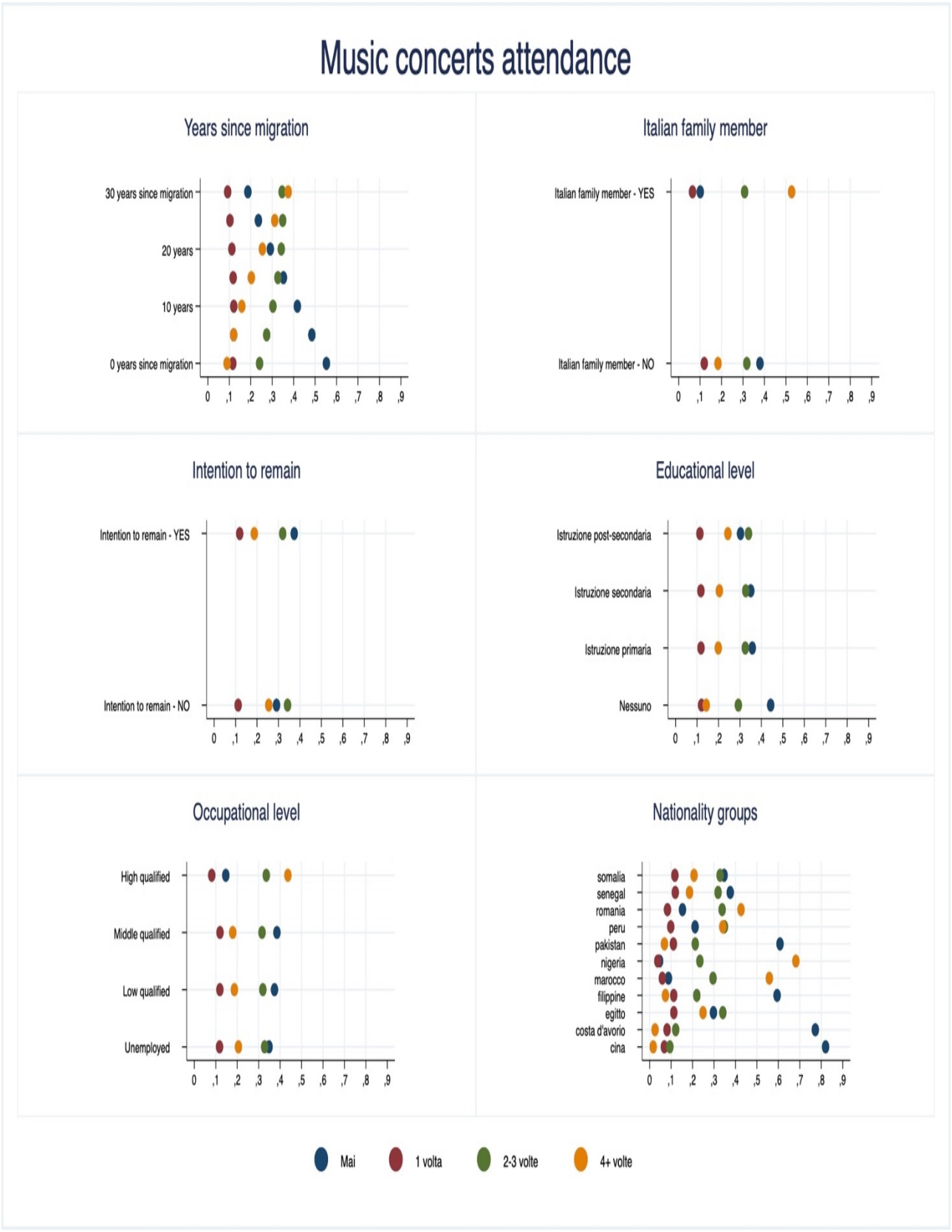


Figure 3 Predictive probabilities of cinema attendance by selected variables

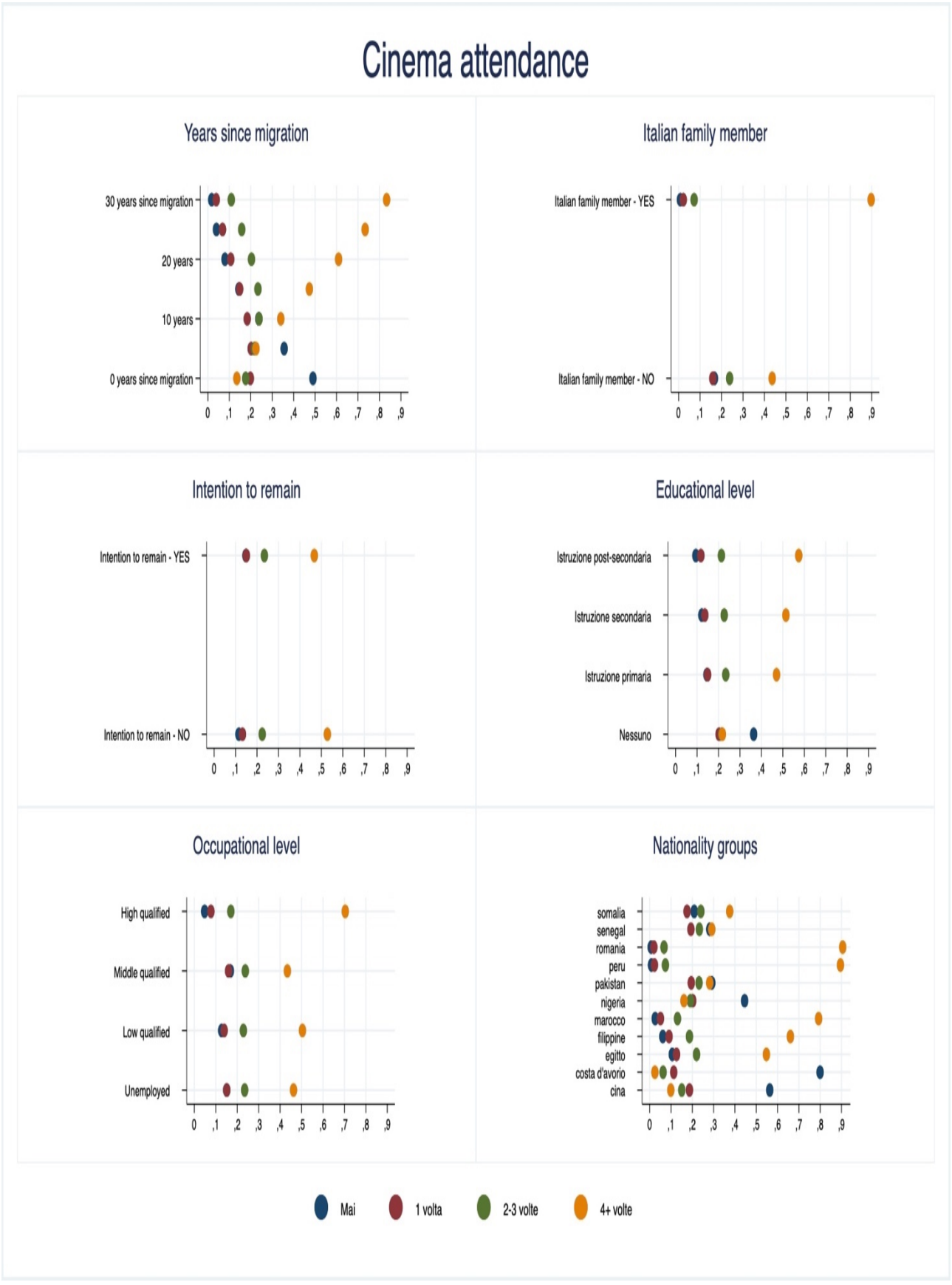


Figure 4 Predictive probabilities of theatre attendance by selected variables

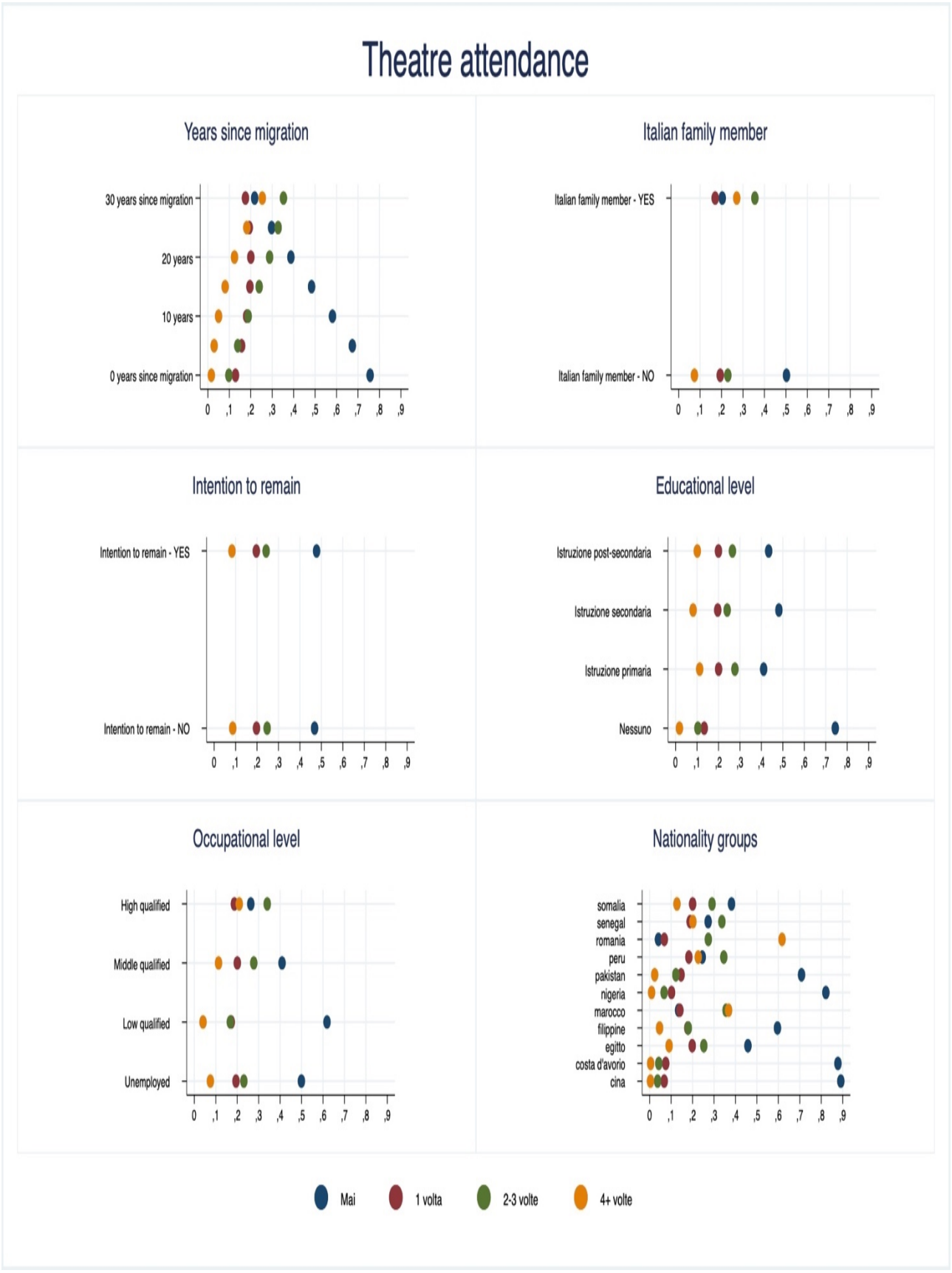


Figure 5 Predictive probabilities of sport events attendance by selected variables

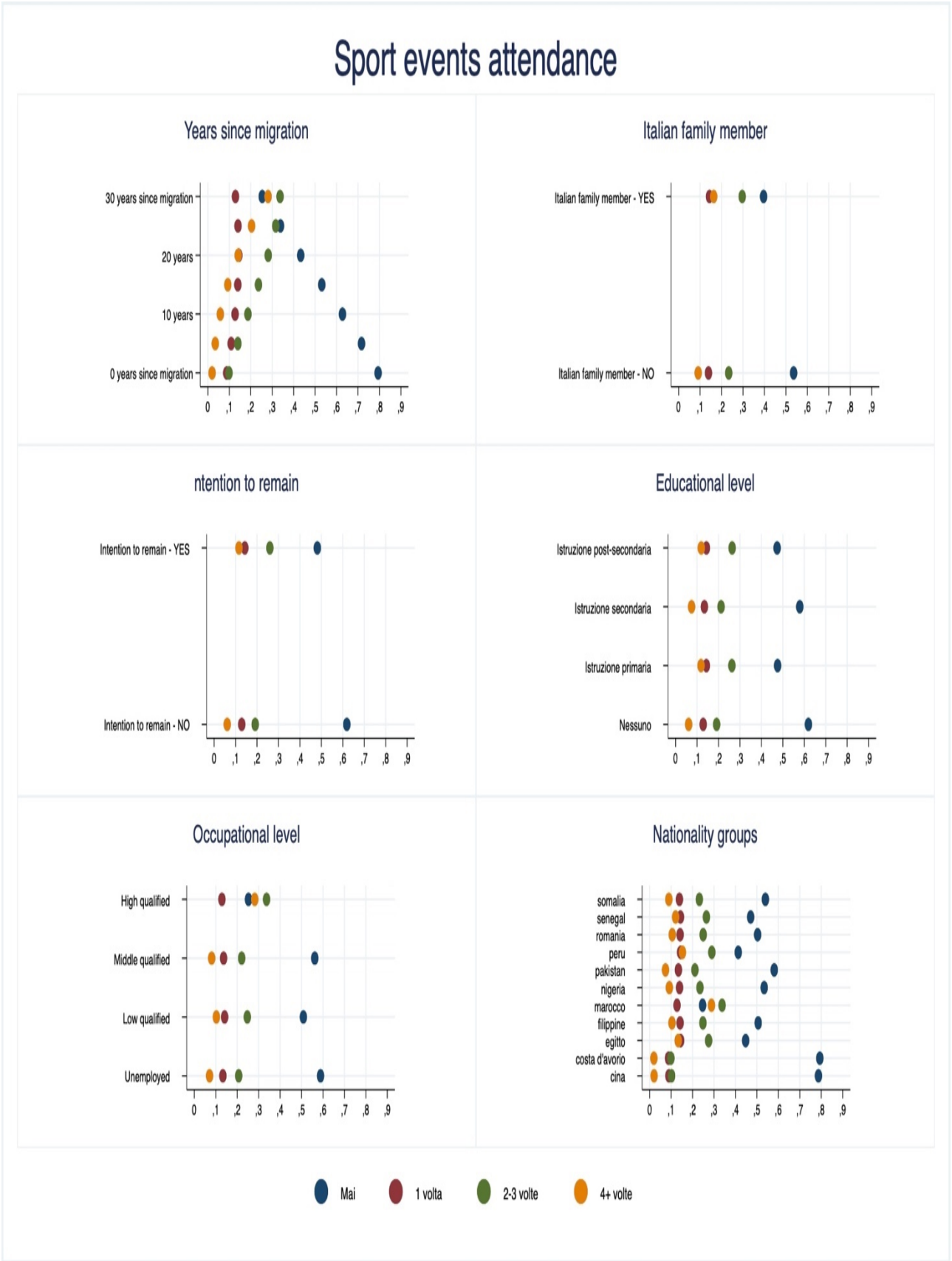


Figure 6 Predictive probabilities of library attendance by selected variables

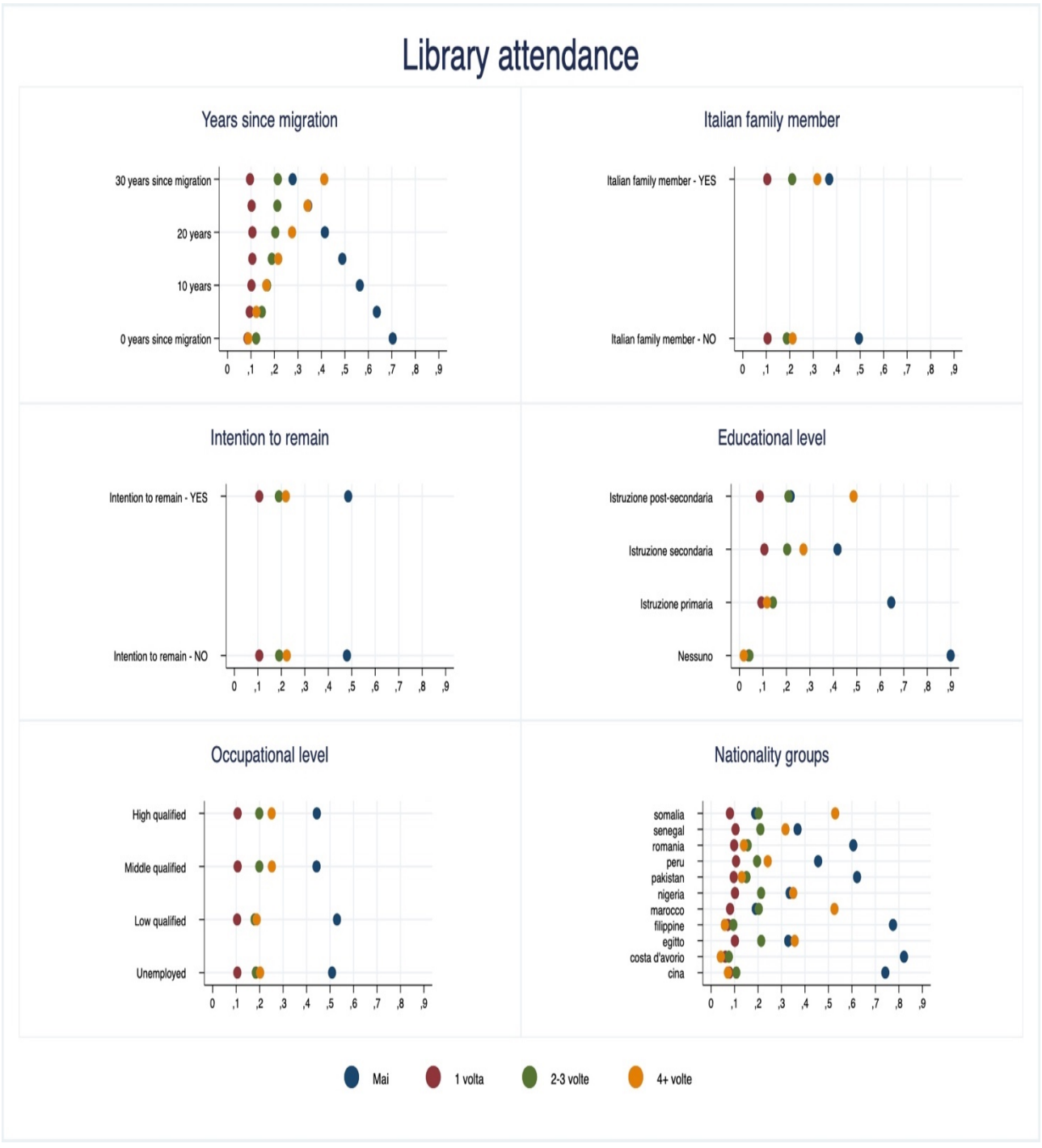


Figure7 Predictive probabilities of books reading by selected variables

Figure 8 Predictive probabilities of dancing venues attendance by selected variables

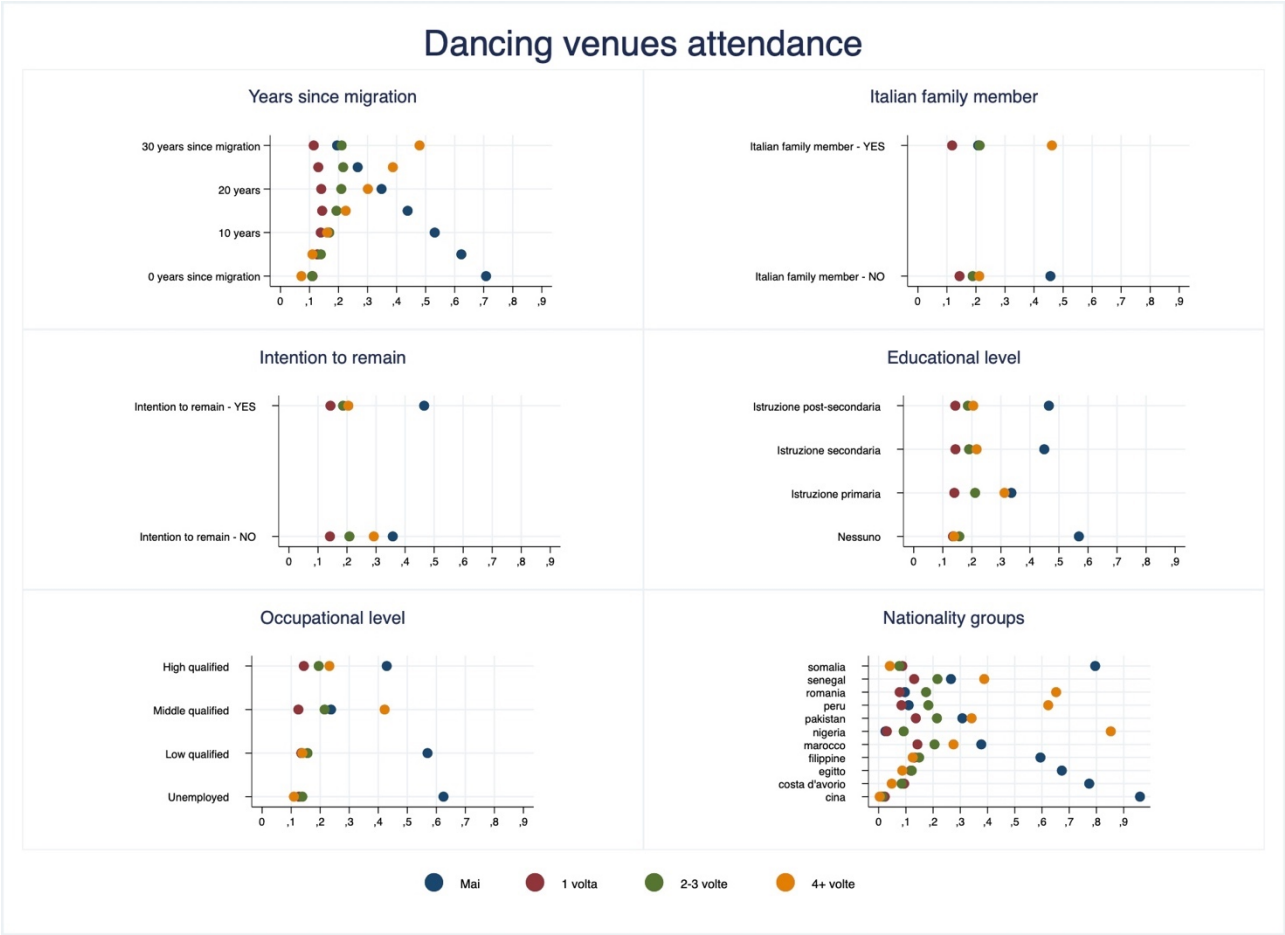
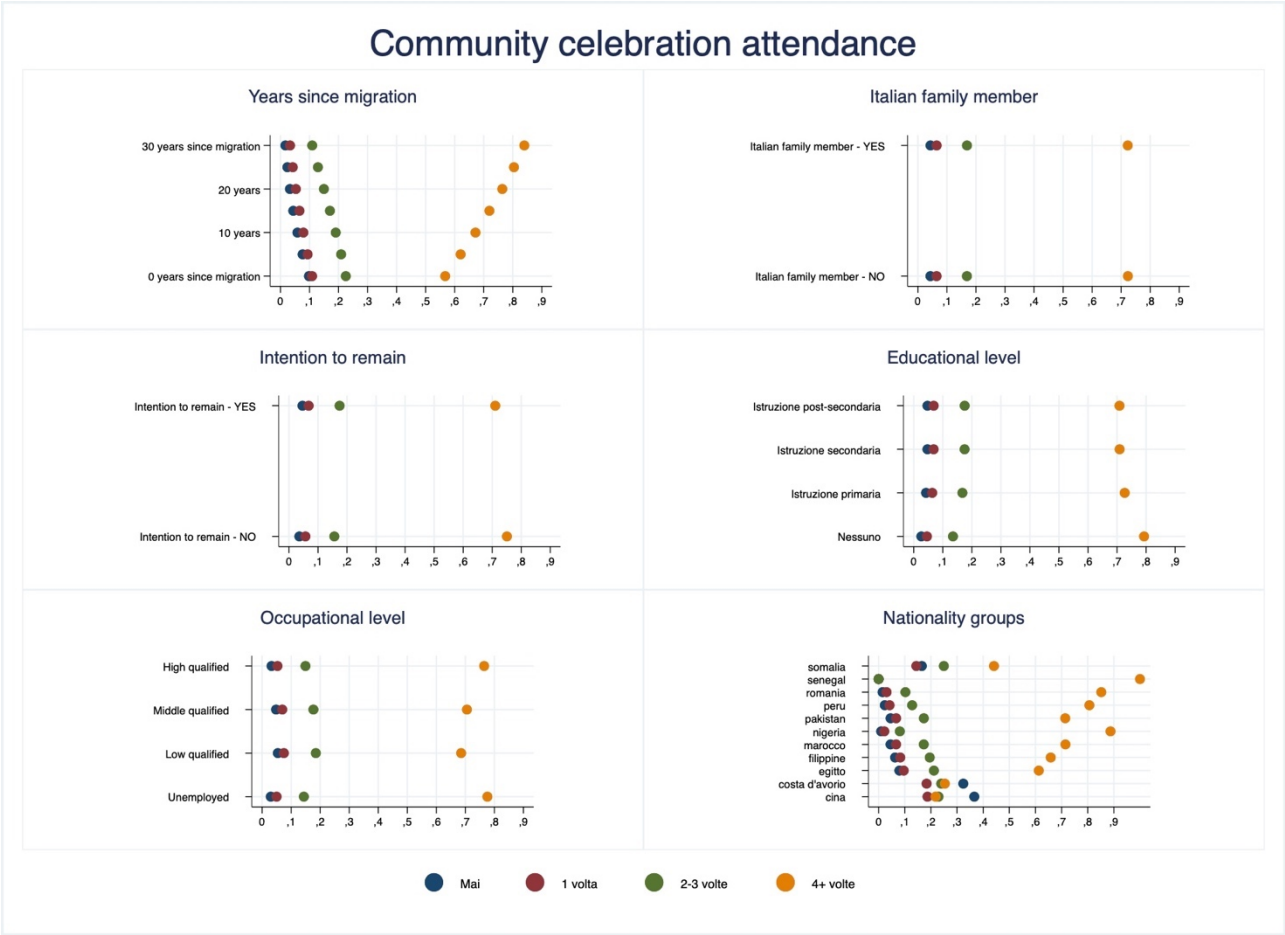


Figure 9 Predictive probabilities of community celebrations attendance by selected variables



6. Diversity of participation in consumption by communities and diversity of consumption across groups

The previous section was devoted to multivariate analysis for investigating determinants of accessibility to cultural consumption by foreigners. The present section pursues in-depth comprehension of cultural consumption by foreigners in Turin. Two complementary analytical dimensions can be identified by formulating two research questions:

1) **The first one is whether, given the total consumption by foreign citizens for each cultural activity (for example, going to the cinema or visiting a museum) it is possible to identify communities in the area whose contribution to the specific consumption is larger. The answer to this question implicitly addresses businesses and organizations which furnish cultural goods and activities inasmuch as it is likely to offer useful information on the structure of cultural demand by the foreign population. This information will in turn prove useful to provide goods that are more in line with the current demand and to amplify or adjust the supply of cultural goods to other communities by fine-tuning goods with their culture, within policies aimed at increasing cultural proximity.**
2) **The second question is whether any differences exist in the composition of cultural consumption across the various communities. This dimension of analysis addresses from an economics viewpoint the foreign population's demand for cultural activities, attempting to investigate whether the communities express any preferences which would prioritize any typology of cultural activity.**

To answer these queries, two indicators of variety/concentration of cultural consumption, based on the Herfindahl-Hirschman index, are proposed.

6.1. The Herfindahl-Hirschman index

The Herfindahl-Hirschman index[25]is an indicator which measures the degree of concentration/ diversity of a given population of subjects. It is commonly used in the literature on foreigners to measure ethnic diversity and its effect on the economic system. It is frequently used to study economic concentration among sectors, using the market shares of individual businesses.

$$H = \sum_{i=1}^{N} s_i^2$$

Above, s_i is the share of the _ith group on the total population.
The value of *H* is always positive and varies between 1/*N* and 1, *N* being the number of groups investigated in the target population.
A *H* lower than 0.01 indicates a population of highly diversified subjects.
A *H* lower than 0.15 indicates a non-concentrated population
A *H* between 0.15 and 0.25 indicates a moderate concentration.
A *H* higher than 0.25 indicates a high concentration.

[25] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Herfindahl%E2%80%93Hirschman_index

In general, an *increase of the Herfindahl index* points out that a group is growing and acquiring more and more importance with respect to the entire reference population, whilst a decrease points to a greater variety across the groups.
As mentioned above, this index will be used to understand 1) whether the consumers of the various cultural goods are equally important or whether, instead, there is a concentration by nationality, and 2) what is the structure of cultural consumption within single communities.
The more the Herfindahl index for each cultural activity increases, the more a single or a few foreign community/ies is/are leading consumption.
In the same manner, the Herfindahl index referred to the variety of cultural consumption of each community increases when the community keeps concentrating more and more on a few cultural products, whilst it decreases when its cultural consumption grows more and more diversified.

6.2. Diversity of cultural consumption by foreigners

6.2.1. Index of diversity for each cultural activity

To measure each national community's contribution to the single typologies of cultural consumption it is necessary to consider each community's intensity of consumption for each cultural activity and to measure its level of concentration. In this case, the index is calculated for each cultural activity and it is given by the sum of the squared market shares (expressed in percentage) to the j-th cultural activity held by each community.

$$H = \sum_{i=1}^{N} s_i^2$$

Above, s_i is the share of the *i*-th community (agent) of the total consumption within the *j*-th cultural activity (market). The total consumption of each *j*-th cultural activity is given by the sum of the participation indexes for each community, calculated as the sum of individual participation multiplied by the frequency of consumption of the *j*-th activity[26].
Consequently, the participation share of the *i*-th community is calculated as the ratio between the participation index of each community and the total consumption for each cultural activity.
For example, Table 7 shows that in the Chinese community 17 individuals never went to a museum, 7 went once, 7 went between 2 and 3 times and finally only 2 had been to a museum more than 4 times. Hence, the cultural attendance index for museum visits for China equals 17*0 + 7*1 + 7*2 + 2*4 = 29. For Egypt it is 73 (5*0 + 3*1 + 9*2 + 13*4), and so on for all community groups.

[26] By convention, the frequencies "Never", "Once", "2-3 times", "4+ times" were respectively assigned the values 0.1,2,4.

Table 7 Frequency of museum visits by national community

MUSEUMS		Never	Once	2-3 times	4+ times	
Nationality		0	1	2	4	Total observations
China		17	7	7	2	33
Ivory Coast		9	1	1	0	11
Egypt		5	3	9	13	30
Philipines		7	12	8	3	30
Morocco		1	3	8	16	28
Nigeria		15	5	9	1	30
Pakistan		7	2	11	10	30
Peru		1	2	7	20	30
Romania		1	0	13	16	30
Senegal		9	1	2	3	15
Somalia		10	7	6	7	30
Total n. of observations		82	43	81	91	297

The total cultural consumption is, then, given by the sum of each country's consumption, which in the case of Museums amounts to 569. Finally, the attendance share for the *i*-th community is calculated as the ratio between the attendance index for each community and the total consumption for each cultural activity (Table 8).

Table 8 Index of attendance and consumption share for museum visits by national community

Nationality	Index of attendance	Share of consumption by community
China	29	5%
Ivory Coast	3	1%
Egypt	73	13%
Philipines	40	7%
Morocco	83	15%
Nigeria	27	5%
Pakistan	64	11%
Peru	96	17%
Romania	90	16%
Senegal	17	3%
Somalia	47	8%
Total	569	100%

The Herfindahl Index is given by the sum of the squared consumption rates (expressed in percentage) for the *j*-th cultural activity held by each community, and in the case of museums it is equal to:

$$0.05^2 + 0.01^2 + 0.13^2 + 0.07^2 + 0.15^2 + 0.5^2 + 0.11^2 + 0.17^2 + 0.16^2 + 0.03^2 + 0.08^2 = 0.121$$

This value indicates that there is no remarkable concentration, though comparison with the number that would be obtained if all communities held the same consumption share shows a slight form of concentration: 0.121 > 0.091.

The distribution of consumption shares by community indeed shows that nearly 50% of the total cultural consumption for museums is concentrated in three communities, that is to say Peru (17%), Romania (16%) and Morocco (15%). On the contrary, the Ivory Coast, Senegal, Nigeria and China together only constitute 14% of the total consumption and represent the communities whose museum visits are the least intensive.

It is however necessary to point out that the diverse number of observations (Table 10) obviously involves a distortion of the index. Hence, participation indexes for each community were re-proportioned, using weighing weights which assume a fair distribution of observations, as shown in Table 9. Consequently, the value of the Herfindahl Index, weighed for museum visits, is also modified and becomes 0.116.

Table 9 Re-proportioned index of attendance and re-proportioned consumption share per community for museum visits

Nationality	Re-proportioned attendance index	Re-proportioned consumption share per community
China	26	4%
Ivory Coast	8	1%
Egypt	73	12%
Philipines	40	7%

Morocco	89	15%
Nigeria	27	5%
Pakistan	64	11%
Peru	96	16%
Romania	90	15%
Senegal	34	6%
Somalia	47	8%
Total	594	100%

The tables which follow provide a detailed presentation of the contribution by each national community distributed for every typology of cultural activity investigated in the survey. Table 10 more concisely shows the findings previously described for the example of museum visits. In this case, Peru (17%) and Romania (16%), followed by Morocco (15%) and Egypt (13%), are the biggest contributors in the demand for museum visits by the foreign population.

Table 10 Museums

Nationality	0	1	2	4	N. Observations	Index of attendance	Consumption share by community	Weight	Re-proportioned attendance index	Reproportioned consumption share by community
China	17	7	7	2	33	29	5%	0,9	26	4%
Ivory Coast	9	1	1	0	11	3	1%	2,7	8	1%
Egypt	5	3	9	13	30	73	13%	1,0	73	12%
Philipines	7	12	8	3	30	40	7%	1,0	40	7%
Morocco	1	3	8	16	28	83	15%	1,1	89	15%
Nigeria	15	5	9	1	30	27	5%	1,0	27	5%
Pakistan	7	2	11	10	30	64	11%	1,0	64	11%
Peru	1	2	7	20	30	96	17%	1,0	96	16%
Romania	1	0	13	16	30	90	16%	1,0	90	15%
Senegal	9	1	2	3	15	17	3%	2,0	34	6%
Somalia	10	7	6	7	30	47	8%	1,0	47	8%
Total	82	43	81	91	297	569	100%	1,1	594	100%

In the case of concerts (Table 11), the Nigerian (18%) and Moroccan (16%) communities' contribution to demand is higher than that of Peruvians (15%) and Romanians (16%), though the latter two communities are nonetheless culturally amongst the most active communities, probably due to their linguistic (hence also cultural) proximity.

Table 11 Concerts

Nationality	0	1	2	4	N. observations	Index of attendance	Consumption share by community	Weight	Re-proportioned attendance index	Reproportioned consumption share by community
China	26	3	2	1	32	11	2%	0,9	10	2%
Ivory Coast	7	3	1	0	11	5	1%	2,7	14	3%
Egypt	10	3	10	7	30	51	10%	1,0	51	10%
Philipines	17	6	7	0	30	20	4%	1,0	20	4%
Morocco	2	1	11	14	28	79	16%	1,1	85	16%
Nigeria	1	6	4	19	30	90	18%	1,0	90	17%
Pakistan	18	1	9	2	30	27	5%	1,0	27	5%
Peru	6	2	7	15	30	76	15%	1,0	76	14%
Romania	7	2	4	17	30	78	16%	1,0	78	15%
Senegal	6	0	5	3	14	22	4%	2,1	47	9%
Somalia	16	4	6	4	30	32	7%	1,0	32	6%
Total	116	31	66	82	295	491	100%	0,1	530	89%

As for the case of cinema, the factor of linguistic and cultural proximity/distance with regard to films seems to play an important role. The Peruvian and Romanian communities are the largest contributors to the foreign population's demand, whilst those from China, Pakistan, the Philippines and the Ivory Coast are the most distant ones in terms of language and culture from the films broadcasted in Italian Cinema.

Table 12 Cinema

Nationality	0	1	2	4	N. observations	Index of attendance	Consumption share by community	Weight	Re-proportioned attendance index	Reproportioned consumption share by community
China	12	6	10	4	32	42	6%	0,9	39	5%
Ivory Coast	7	3	1	0	11	5	1%	2,7	14	2%
Egypt	9	3	1	17	30	73	11%	1,0	73	10%
Philipines	3	6	4	17	30	82	12%	1,0	82	11%
Morocco	4	1	1	22	28	91	13%	1,1	98	14%
Nigeria	16	5	3	6	30	35	5%	1,0	35	5%
Pakistan	5	7	9	9	30	61	9%	1,0	61	8%
Peru	1	0	2	27	30	112	16%	1,0	112	16%
Romania	1	0	2	27	30	112	16%	1,0	112	16%
Senegal	6	2	3	3	14	20	3%	2,1	43	6%
Somalia	9	3	8	7	27	47	7%	1,1	52	7%
Total	73	36	44	139	292	680	100%	0,1	721	100%

The theatre is a cultural good whose consumption is complex both in linguistic and cultural terms, confirming that the relevant contributors to the scarce demand from the foreign population are the Romanian and the Peruvian communities (23% and 18% respectively). Interestingly, the Moroccan community also shows a relatively high percentage (17%).

Table 13 Theatre

Nationality	0	1	2	4	N. observations	Index of attendance	Consumption share by community	Weight	Re-proportioned attendance index	Reproportioned consumption share by community
China	26	6	1	0	33	8	2%	0,9	7	2%
Ivory Coast	9	1	1	0	11	3	1%	2,7	8	2%
Egypt	14	4	7	5	30	38	11%	1,0	38	10%
Philipines	19	7	4	0	30	15	4%	1,0	15	4%
Morocco	6	1	11	10	28	63	18%	1,1	68	17%
Nigeria	23	1	4	0	28	9	3%	1,1	10	2%
Pakistan	21	2	5	1	29	16	4%	1,0	17	4%
Peru	3	5	12	10	30	69	19%	1,0	69	18%
Romania	2	1	9	18	30	91	25%	1,0	91	23%
Senegal	8	0	1	5	14	22	6%	2,1	47	12%
Somalia	16	7	4	2	29	23	6%	1,0	24	6%
Total	147	35	59	51	292	357	100%	0,1	393	100%

As regards sports events, linguistic/cultural distance seems to count less. In general, the contribution by nearly all communities to the demand for this typology of consumption is about 9% with the exception of people from Morocco (16%).

Table 14 Sports events

Nationality	0	1	2	4	N. observations	Index of attendance	Consumption share by community	Weight	Re-proportioned attendance index	Reproportioned consumption share by community
China	24	2	5	2	33	20	6%	0,9	18	5%
Ivory Coast	8	0	1	1	10	6	2%	3,0	18	5%
Egypt	14	5	6	4	29	33	10%	1,0	34	9%
Philipines	17	4	5	4	30	30	9%	1,0	30	8%
Morocco	10	1	6	11	28	57	17%	1,1	61	16%
Nigeria	15	7	6	2	30	27	8%	1,0	27	7%
Pakistan	17	1	5	7	30	39	12%	1,0	39	10%
Peru	11	6	5	7	29	44	13%	1,0	46	12%
Romania	12	5	12	1	30	33	10%	1,0	33	9%
Senegal	8	0	2	4	14	20	6%	2,1	43	11%
Somalia	18	2	9	1	30	24	7%	1,0	24	6%
Total	154	33	62	44	293	333	100%	0,1	373	100%

As for attending libraries (Table 15) and reading books (Table 16), the trends appear to be similar. The best contributors are the communities from Romania, Peru and Morocco.

Table 15 Libraries

Nationality	0	1	2	4	N. observations	Index of attendance	Consumption share by community	Weight	Re-proportioned attendance index	Reproportioned consumption share by community
China	18	5	4	5	32	33	8%	0,9	31	7%
Ivory Coast	8	0	1	1	10	6	1%	3,0	18	4%
Egypt	11	4	4	8	27	44	10%	1,1	49	10%
Philipines	22	6	1	1	30	12	3%	1,0	12	3%
Morocco	7	3	3	15	28	69	16%	1,1	74	16%
Nigeria	18	0	8	4	30	32	7%	1,0	32	7%
Pakistan	14	2	2	12	30	54	12%	1,0	54	11%
Peru	11	2	2	14	29	62	14%	1,0	64	14%
Romania	14	1	6	9	30	49	11%	1,0	49	10%
Senegal	9	0	2	3	14	16	4%	2,1	34	7%
Somalia	10	1	10	9	30	57	13%	1,0	57	12%
Total	142	24	43	81	290	434	100%	0,1	474	100%

Table 16 Reading books

Nationality	0	1	2	4	N. observations	Index of attendance	Consumption share by community	Weight	Re-proportioned attendance index	Reproportioned consumption share by community
China	6	6	6	14	32	74	13%	0,9	69	11%
Ivory Coast	6	3	1	0	10	5	1%	3,0	15	2%
Egypt	14	3	2	10	29	47	8%	1,0	49	8%
Philipines	14	3	9	4	30	37	6%	1,0	37	6%
Morocco	6	1	11	10	28	63	11%	1,1	68	11%
Nigeria	7	10	8	5	30	46	8%	1,0	46	8%
Pakistan	14	2	5	9	30	48	8%	1,0	48	8%
Peru	5	4	4	17	30	80	14%	1,0	80	13%
Romania	1	1	7	21	30	99	17%	1,0	99	16%
Senegal	7	1	2	4	14	21	4%	2,1	45	7%
Somalia	10	4	8	8	30	52	9%	1,0	52	9%
Total	90	38	63	102	293	572	100%	0,1	607	100%

Table 17 summarizes indexes of concentration/diversity calculated for each cultural activity. The previous tables and this table lend themselves to a number of interpretations. On the one hand,

these data yield a degree of stability, with the Romanian, Peruvian and Moroccan communities configuring a tendency in which they are much better contributors to consumption with regard to single cultural activities than communities which are relatively distant from the Italian context in linguistic/cultural terms.
However, the values for the diversity index are usually, with the exception of the theatre, slightly above 0.1, thus showing how the foreign population's demand for cultural products remains relatively concentrated in some communities. In this sense, it seems difficult to stimulate awareness and cultural policies addressing community-tailored programmes.

Table 17 Synopsis of results: Herfindahl Index per typology of of cultural consumption

Cultural consumption	Herfindahl Index	Proportioned Herfindahl Index	Herfindahl Index with fairly distributed shares
Museums	0,121	0,116	0,091
Concerts	0,131	0,123	0,091
Cinema	0,118	0,111	0,091
Theatre	0,158	0,146	0,091
Sports	0,108	0,103	0,091
Library	0,115	0,107	0,091
Books	0,113	0,105	0,091

6.2.2.Index of diversity in cultural consumption by single community

In order to capture differences in the configuration of cultural consumption by individual communities, the intensity and variety of cultural consumption by each group of communities has been measured using Herfindhal's index.
In this case, the index is calculated for each community and is given by the sum of the squared consumption rates (expressed in percentage) for the *i*-th cultural activity within each *j*-th community.

$$H = \sum_{i=1}^{N} s_i^2$$

Above, s_i is the share of consumption for the *i*-th cultural activity against the total consumption within the *j*-th community.
The total consumption within each *j*-th community is given by the sum of the attendance indexes for each cultural activity, calculated as the sum of individual attendance multiplied by the frequency of consumption for the *i*-th activity[27].
Consequently the share of consumption for the *i*-th activity is calculated as the ratio between the participation index and the total consumption within the community.

[27] **By convention, the frequencies "Never", "Once", "2-3 times", "4+ times" were respectively assigned the values 0.1,2,4.**

For example, Table 18 shows how in the Chinese community 17 individuals never went to a museum, 7 individuals went once, 7 went between 2 and 3 times and finally only 2 individuals visited museums more than 4 times. Thus, the index of cultural participation for China within the activity of museum visits is equal to 17*0 + 7*1 + 7*2 + 2*4 = 29. Attendance for live music concerts is 11, for cinema 42, for theatre 8, for sports 20, for libraries 33 and for reading books 74. The total cultural consumption within the Chinese community is given by the sum of participation indexes for each cultural activity, that is 217.
Finally, the share of consumption by cultural activity is calculated as the ratio between the index of attendance and the total cultural consumption.

Table 18. China: Index of attendance and share of consumption by cultural activity

Cultural consumption	0	1	2	4	N. observations	Index of attendance	Consumption share by cultural activity
Museums	17	7	7	2	33	29	13%
Concerts	26	3	2	1	32	11	5%
Cinema	12	6	10	4	32	42	19%
Theatre	26	6	1	0	33	8	4%
Sports	24	2	5	2	33	20	9%
Library	18	5	4	5	32	33	15%
Books	6	6	6	14	32	74	34%
Total n. observations	129	35	35	28	227	217	100%

The Herfindahl Index calculated for the Chinese community is given by the sum of the squared consumption shares (expressed in percentage) for the *i*-th cultural activity within the reference community and is equal to:

$$0.13^2 + 0.05^2 + 0.19^2 + 0.04^2 + 0.09^2 + 0.15^2 + 0.34^2 = 0.207$$

The value indicates that there is a moderate concentration. Indeed, when compared to the number that would be given if all cultural activities held the same consumption share, a higher form of concentration, and then a lower variety, appears: 0.207 > 0.143.
The distribution of consumption shares per cultural activity in fact shows that reading books is the predominant activity (34%), followed by the cinema (19%).
Each community has cultural preferences which are connected with the history of its country of origin and with the immigrants' life stories.
To show the configuration of cultural consumption in detail, synoptic tables for each community are given below.
Some communities are more concentrated on specific cultural activities, even though the cinema, given its low cost and easy access is important for many communities (Egypt, Philippines, Peru, Romania, Pakistan, Somalia), while for the Nigerian community concert attendance shows a significant predominance over the other activities (34%), just as for the Pakistani and the Egyptian communities the attendance share for museum visits is the same as for the cinema.
Table 29 provides a synopsis of results, with the index values for each community.

A detailed analysis of the index of diversity quite clearly shows that the Chinese, Philippine and Nigerian communities present a relative concentration of consumption, whereas the other communities do not show a strong polarization. Further, in-depth data analysis reveals a tendency for levels of cultural consumption to negatively relate with diversity of consumption within the communities. The communities with a keen propensity for consumption are those with a more balanced configuration of consumption.
On the contrary, communities with lower rates of attendance and intensity of consumption (such as the Chinese, the Philippine and the Nigerian communities) are those wherein consumption of a given activity or good is definitely largely predominant. This finding, to be considered with caution given the small size of the sample, would however seem to suggest that the more cultural consumption increases the more diversified it grows.

Table 19 Ivory Coast: Index of attendance and share of consumption per cultural activity

Cultural consumption	0	1	2	4	N. of observations	Index of attendance	Share of consumption per cultural activity
Museums	9	1	1	0	11	3	9%
Concerts	7	3	1	0	11	5	15%
Cinema	7	3	1	0	11	5	15%
Theatre	9	1	1	0	11	3	9%
Sports	8	0	1	1	10	6	18%
Library	8	0	1	1	10	6	18%
Books	6	3	1	0	10	5	15%
Total observations	54	11	7	2	74	33	100%

Table 20 Egypt: Index of attendance and share of consumption per cultural activity

Cultural consumption	0	1	2	4	N. of observations	Index of attendance	Share of consumption per cultural activity
Museums	5	3	9	13	30	73	20%
Concerts	10	3	10	7	30	51	14%
Cinema	9	3	1	17	30	73	20%
Theatre	14	4	7	5	30	38	11%
Sports	14	5	6	4	29	33	9%
Library	11	4	4	8	27	44	12%
Books	14	3	2	10	29	47	13%
Total observations	77	25	39	64	205	359	100%

Table 21 Philipines: Index of attendance and share of consumption per cultural activity

Cultural consumption	0	1	2	4	N. of observations	Index of attendance	Share of consumption per cultural activity

Museums	7	12	8	3	30	40	17%
Concerts	17	6	7	0	30	20	8%
Cinema	3	6	4	17	30	82	35%
Theatre	19	7	4	0	30	15	6%
Sports	17	4	5	4	30	30	13%
Library	22	6	1	1	30	12	5%
Books	14	3	9	4	30	37	16%
Total observations	99	44	38	29	210	236	100%

Table 22 Morocco: Index of attendance and share of consumption per cultural activity

Cultural consumption	0	1	2	4	N. of observations	Index of attendance	Share of consumption per cultural activity
Museums	1	3	8	16	28	83	16%
Concerts	2	1	11	14	28	79	16%
Cinema	4	1	1	22	28	91	18%
Theatre	6	1	11	10	28	63	12%
Sports	10	1	6	11	28	57	11%
Library	7	3	3	15	28	69	14%
Books	6	1	11	10	28	63	12%
Total observations	36	11	51	98	196	505	100%

Table 23 Nigeria: Index of attendance and share of consumption per cultural activity

Cultural consumption	0	1	2	4	N. of observations	Index of attendance	Share of consumption per cultural activity
Museums	15	5	9	1	30	27	10%
Concerts	1	6	4	19	30	90	34%
Cinema	16	5	3	6	30	35	13%
Theatre	23	1	4	0	28	9	3%
Sports	15	7	6	2	30	27	10%
Library	18	0	8	4	30	32	12%
Books	7	10	8	5	30	46	17%
Total observations	95	34	42	37	208	266	100%

Table 24 Pakistan: Index of attendance and share of consumption per cultural activity

Cultural consumption	0	1	2	4	N. of observations	Index of attendance	Share of consumption per cultural activity
Museums	7	2	11	10	30	64	21%
Concerts	18	1	9	2	30	27	9%

Cinema	5	7	9	9	30	61	20%
Theatre	21	2	5	1	29	16	5%
Sports	17	1	5	7	30	39	13%
Library	14	2	2	12	30	54	17%
Books	14	2	5	9	30	48	16%
Total observations	96	17	46	50	209	309	100%

Table 25 Peru: Index of attendance and share of consumption per cultural activity

Cultural consumption	0	1	2	4	N. of observations	Index of attendance	Share of consumption per cultural activity
Museums	1	2	7	20	30	96	18%
Concerts	6	2	7	15	30	76	14%
Cinema	1	0	2	27	30	112	21%
Theatre	3	5	12	10	30	69	13%
Sports	11	6	5	7	29	44	8%
Library	11	2	2	14	29	62	12%
Books	5	4	4	17	30	80	15%
Total observations	38	21	39	110	208	539	100%

Table 26 Romania: Index of attendance and share of consumption per cultural activity

Cultural consumption	0	1	2	4	N. of observations	Index of attendance	Share of consumption per cultural activity
Museums	1	0	13	16	30	90	16%
Concerts	7	2	4	17	30	78	14%
Cinema	1	0	2	27	30	112	20%
Theatre	2	1	9	18	30	91	16%
Sports	12	5	12	1	30	33	6%
Library	14	1	6	9	30	49	9%
Books	1	1	7	21	30	99	18%
Total observations	38	10	53	109	210	552	100%

Table 27 Senegal: Index of attendance and share of consumption per cultural activity

Cultural consumption	0	1	2	4	N. of observations	Index of attendance	Share of consumption per cultural activity
Museums	9	1	2	3	15	17	12%
Concerts	6	0	5	3	14	22	16%
Cinema	6	2	3	3	14	20	14%

Theatre	8	0	1	5	14	22	16%
Sports	8	0	2	4	14	20	14%
Library	9	0	2	3	14	16	12%
Books	7	1	2	4	14	21	15%
Total observations	53	4	17	25	99	138	100%

Table 28 Somalia: Index of attendance and share of consumption per cultural activity

Cultural consumption	0	1	2	4	N. of observations	Index of attendance	Share of consumption per cultural activity
Museums	10	7	6	7	30	47	17%
Concerts	16	4	6	4	30	32	11%
Cinema	9	3	8	7	27	47	17%
Theatre	16	7	4	2	29	23	8%
Sports	18	2	9	1	30	24	9%
Library	10	1	10	9	30	57	20%
Books	10	4	8	8	30	52	18%
Total observations	89	28	51	38	206	282	100%

Table 29. Synopsis of results: Herfindahl's index per group of communities

Nationality	Herfindahl's index	Herfindahl's index with fairly distributed shares
China	0,207	0,143
Ivory Coast	0,152	0,143
Egypt	0,155	0,143
Philipines	0,204	0,143
Morocco	0,146	0,143
Nigeria	0,198	0,143
Pakistan	0,163	0,143
Peru	0,153	0,143
Romania	0,159	0,143
Senegal	0,145	0,143
Somalia	0,157	0,143

7. Concluding remarks

Understanding the ways in which immigrant communities access and use cultural goods and activities in their destination countries can be a helpful tool to analyse the phenomenon of immigration. In spite of the growing attention for the social and economic inclusion of immigrants, indeed its complexity has been tackled so far by merely investigating the labour market and social conditions in a general sense.

The city of Turin and its context, like many other metropolitan areas, features a consolidated dynamic of immigration. Its numerous resident foreign communities, along with a rich and diversified cultural offer, provide a highly representative case for situating and attempting to investigate the problem.

The findings of the present survey show that, even when taking into account the individual traits that normally explain the propensity for, and the intensity of, cultural participation, the immigrants' length of stay, their occupational integration and, to a lesser extent, their cultural background have a pivotal role in explaining differences in cultural consumption.

Various dimensions of integration in Italy primarily and significantly affect immigrants' cultural participation, suggesting that the acculturation process is crucial in setting up the foundations for active participation in the cultural activities deployed in the host territory and in sustaining access to its cultural goods, hence in favouring inclusion.

On the contrary, participation in cultural and recreational activities can only be partially explained by the different cultural traits in the various immigrant communities. Subjects belonging to communities whose cultural traits are more distant from the Italian culture (such as those from Asian and Arabic countries) are found to be less active in terms of cultural participation. However, this line of argument cannot lead to an easy generalization, since participation also depends in many cases on the typology of cultural consumption involved.

Because this survey constitutes one of the starting attempts to deal with the question of the cultural consumption by foreign residents in Turin, doubtless further research is needed to explore the aspects which still remain difficult to understand, given the complexity and fluidity of the phenomenon.

In line with the literature on the effects of migrants' social and economic integration in the host country, our findings show a positive association between the level of integration and the propensity to access different types of cultural activity, partly confirming how cultural differences still account for variation in cultural participation. However, the lack of longitudinal data from multiple periods of observation does not allow entirely to unveil the causal nexus between the specific factors inherent in the migrants' level of integration and the various types of cultural activity.

The complex effect of the cultural background of migrants, whose variation depends on the cultural group as well as on the types of cultural activity considered, demands further in-depth study of single cultural activities, using more complete and detailed data on the preferences and cultural taste of different immigrants. From this perspective, it is worthwhile noting that migration phenomena tend to be highly context-bound and dependent on the socio-cultural and institutional features both of migration flows and of the country of destination.

Finally, the present investigation offers several opportunities for reflection on the role and effectiveness of cultural policies aiming to favour the assimilation of immigrants into the Italian context.

Considering that cultural inclusion carries important benefits both for social and economic inclusion, two potential and complementary strategies can be pursued.

The first strategy involves a more favourable attitude towards foreign citizens on the part of cultural institutions, by enacting specific policies enhancing cultural proximity, such as those carried out over the years by a number of local institutions in Turin, both by seeking new audiences and by stimulating cultural welfare. Here, the present analysis reveals how the demand for cultural activities, within the single communities as well as from the foreign population in general, does not show any extensive polarization as to certain types of cultural consumption. This, at least with regard to the city of Turin and its context, goes to show how cultural awareness-raising strategies, or policies offering cultural products expressly profiled for single communities, would seem to be altogether unnecessary.

The second strategy, instead, is centred on the role itself of groups and associations aggregating foreign communities in the city. Here, the data gathered for this study clearly show how, amongst the popular recreational activities, participation in community events and initiatives, often organized by these migrant associations, has the lion's share and actually comes to represent by far the best-liked recreational activity, most commonly attended by foreign residents (more than 60% in our sample state having attended such initiatives 4 times or several times). According to this perspective, offering activities during the most important social events in these communities, e.g. on the occasion of their celebrations, would indeed improve their chances of success, thus at the same time providing also local cultural institutions with a new model for cultural inclusion. On the one hand, this latter strategy tends to reproduce a certain segmentation in cultural communication; on the other hand, it is likely to provide a good starting point on a pathway which, by enhancing cultural understanding of the destination country, favours social and economic inclusion.

Appendix

Table A-1 Estimates. Probit model, with nationality dummies

VARIABLES	(1) MUSEUMS	(2) CINEMA	(3) CONCERTs	(4) THEATRE	(5) SPORTS EVENTS	(6) LIBRARY	(7) BOOKS	(8) DANCING	(9) COMMUNITY EVENTS
Years of stay	0.0141	0.0538***	0.0364**	0.0453***	0.0464***	0.0452***	0.0232	0.0399**	0.0106
	(0.0166)	(0.0190)	(0.0159)	(0.0162)	(0.0158)	(0.0161)	(0.0164)	(0.0173)	(0.0189)
Intention to remain	0.192	0.120	0.0877	0.198	0.341	0.263	0.237	-0.332	0.103
	(0.197)	(0.219)	(0.186)	(0.196)	(0.190)	(0.187)	(0.191)	(0.211)	(0.231)
Italiano member in the family	1.295**	1.288**	1.366***	0.631	1.095***	0.300	1.018**	1.357***	0.830
	(0.574)	(0.549)	(0.500)	(0.373)	(0.352)	(0.308)	(0.467)	(0.433)	(0.577)
Gender: woman	0.124	0.493**	0.220	0.217	-0.757***	0.368**	0.444**	-0.594***	0.412
	(0.202)	(0.236)	(0.187)	(0.197)	(0.184)	(0.185)	(0.196)	(0.208)	(0.244)
Age	-0.0194	-0.0413***	-0.00916	-0.0163	-0.0338***	-0.0183	-0.0189	-0.0639***	0.00246
	(0.0119)	(0.0139)	(0.0113)	(0.0118)	(0.0119)	(0.0116)	(0.0117)	(0.0139)	(0.0135)
Marital status: single	0.0741	-0.0390	0.502	-0.342	0.302	-1.424	-0.405	0.868	1.552
	(0.830)	(0.288)	(1.055)	(0.943)	(0.827)	(0.941)	(0.835)	(0.917)	(0.982)
Divorced	-0.332	-0.709	-0.118	-1.475	0.309	-2.354**	-1.315	0.340	1.190
	(0.908)	(0.417)	(1.106)	(1.001)	(0.856)	(1.009)	(0.907)	(0.953)	(1.067)
Married/living together	0.126	1.190	0.0662	-0.859	0.154	-2.101**	-0.486	0.685	1.158
	(0.813)	(0.715)	(1.044)	(0.928)	(0.792)	(0.938)	(0.817)	(0.881)	(0.957)
Children	-0.0106	-0.133	-0.0663	-0.00947	-0.0140	-0.0963	-0.119	0.00139	0.0367
	(0.0720)	(0.0803)	(0.0713)	(0.0711)	(0.0721)	(0.0710)	(0.0727)	(0.0748)	(0.0973)
Education: primary school	0.642**	0.799***	-0.306	0.783***	0.213	0.970***	0.409	-0.552	-0.329
	(0.284)	(0.306)	(0.294)	(0.297)	(0.286)	(0.307)	(0.276)	(0.316)	(0.390)
Secondary7/professionale	0.507	1.324***	-0.437	0.790**	-0.0424	1.412***	0.804***	-1.132***	-0.301
	(0.298)	(0.344)	(0.308)	(0.315)	(0.297)	(0.323)	(0.297)	(0.339)	(0.409)
Secondary/Vocational	0.803**	0.753**	-0.403	0.703**	0.0564	1.653***	0.957***	-1.035***	-0.557
	(0.323)	(0.351)	(0.324)	(0.333)	(0.311)	(0.338)	(0.320)	(0.356)	(0.408)
Occupation: low-level skills	-0.163	0.830	0.0760	-0.376	-0.230	0.398	-0.153	0.329	0.168
	(0.324)	(0.434)	(0.318)	(0.317)	(0.324)	(0.326)	(0.322)	(0.329)	(0.416)
Average skills	-0.261	-0.170	0.0800	-0.106	0.173	-0.210	-0.160	0.950***	0.0555
	(0.231)	(0.249)	(0.230)	(0.230)	(0.229)	(0.230)	(0.231)	(0.247)	(0.271)
High-level skills	0.698	0.2901	0.244	0.530	0.763	0.346	-0.275	0.858	0.832
	(0.569)	(0.4039)	(0.429)	(0.444)	(0.429)	(0.417)	(0.440)	(0.441)	(0.659)
Constant	-0.421	-0.342	-1.259	-1.369	-0.588	-0.0811	0.652	0.149	-1.044
	(0.860)	(0.618)	(1.072)	(0.977)	(0.967)	(0.931)	(0.828)	(1.091)	(1.002)
Nationali dummies	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Observations	292	246	292	292	289	292	292	289	265
Log Pseudo-likelihood	-142.6	-113.2	-159.7	-150.6	-162.5	-166.1	-152.9	-131.7	-99.07
Wald	63.37	77.70	75.45	103.3	74.37	72.20	64.08	135.8	26.75
Prob>chi	2.11e-06	4.32e-10	2.29e-08	0	1.70e-08	7.93e-08	1.63e-06	0	0.111
Pseudo R2	0.182	0.255	0.191	0.255	0.186	0.179	0.173	0.340	0.119

Standard errors in parentheses // *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table A2 Predictive probabilities. Probit model with nationality dummies

VARIABLES	MUSEUMS	CONCERTS	CINEMA	THEATRE	SPORTS EVENTS	LIBRARY	BOOKS	DANCING	COMMUNITY EVENTS
	Predictive prob	Predictive prob	Predictive prob	Predictive prob	Predictive prob	Predictive prob	Predictive prob	Predictive prob	Predictive prob
YEARS OF STAY[1]									
0 years	0.7300	0.4115	0.5754	0.2456	0.1775	0.2053	0.6714	0.3113	0.8502
5 years	0.7567	0.4866	0.6648	0.3231	0.2545	0.2857	0.6926	0.3904	0.8689
10 years	0.7819	0.5622	0.7457	0.4092	0.3461	0.3787	0.7132	0.4744	0.8859
15 years	0.8055	0.6357	0.8150	0.4999	0.4477	0.4793	0.7331	0.5595	0.9013
20 years	0.8276	0.7044	0.8711	0.5907	0.5529	0.5812	0.7523	0.6420	0.9151
25 years	0.8479	0.7665	0.9142	0.6767	0.6544	0.6780	0.7708	0.7183	0.9274
30 years	0.8666	0.8206	0.9455	0.7543	0.7459	0.7639	0.7884	0.7858	0.9383
ITALIAN MEMBERS IN THE FAMILY[1]									
NO	0.7766	0.6075	0.7919	0.4752	0.4263	0.4762	0.7135	0.5350	0.8970
YES	0.9791	0.9105	0.9793	0.8178	0.7670	0.6183	0.9059	0.8511	0.9492
INTENTION TO STAY									
NO	0.8314	0.6671	0.8429	0.5275	0.3800	0.5071	0.7058	0.6327	0.9274
YES	0.7963	0.6306	0.8099	0.4994	0.4921	0.4801	0.7474	0.5370	0.8897
DIPLOMA									
None	0.5332***	0.5165***	0.5386***	0.2810**	0.3782***	0.1161*	0.3776***	0.5407***	0.9218***
Primary	0.8342***	0.6601***	0.7889***	0.6054***	0.5113***	0.3924***	0.6282***	0.7185***	0.9199***
Secondary/vocational	0.7509***	0.6223***	0.8916***	0.4877***	0.4080***	0.5491***	0.7773***	0.4551***	0.9096***
Higher education/ college or university	0.8942***	0.6857***	0.8310***	0.5152***	0.4861***	0.6704***	0.8633***	0.5397***	0.8648***
OCCUPATION[1]									
Unemployed	0.8296	0.6384	0.7920	0.4622	0.4269	0.4524	0.7856	0.3760	0.8786
Low specialization	0.8021	0.6480	0.8695	0.3261	0.4398	0.4751	0.5853	0.4160	0.8520
Average Specialization	0.7583	0.6154	0.7227	0.6023	0.4256	0.5156	0.7858	0.7769	0.9274
High-level specialization	0.9254	0.7403	0.9744	0.7919	0.7209	0.5102	0.7909	0.5465	0.9605
NATIONALITY									
China	0.4453***	0.1544**	0.5400***	0.1062*	0.2048**	0.2755***	0.6821***	0.0227	0.6831***
Ivory Coast	0.1212	0.2287*	0.2667*	0.1306	0.0697	0.1002	0.3280**	0.2177	0.5860***
Egypt	0.8886***	0.7002***	0.8504***	0.4835***	0.5309***	0.5777***	0.5086***	0.2356**	0.8445***
Philipines	0.8194***	0.4603***	0.9362***	0.5040***	0.5464***	0.2688***	0.6969***	0.6196***	0.8951***
Morocco	0.9833***	0.9465***	0.9134***	0.8037***	0.6553***	0.8282***	0.8229***	0.5871***	0.9736***

Nigeria	0.6123***	0.9815***	0.6127***	0.1257*	0.5321***	0.6172***	0.8752***	0.9672***	0.9611***
Pakistan	0.6364***	0.3846***	0.7868***	0.2312**	0.3892***	0.4252***	0.3188***	0.5835***	0.9410***
Peru	0.9816***	0.7384***	0.9695***	0.8518***	0.5918***	0.4188***	0.8410***	0.9659***	0.9534***
Romania	0.9754***	0.7494***	0.9684***	0.9639***	0.5898***	0.3741***	0.9747***	0.9577***	0.9627***
Senegal	0.4131***	0.5486***	0.6287***	0.4877***	0.3405**	0.4239***	0.6825***	0.5972***	0.7986***
Somalia	0.7600***	0.5992***	0.6932***	0.6626***	0.4648***	0.8486***	0.7988***	0.1532*	0.8734***
Observations	282	282	282	282	282	282	282	282	282

[1]All values significant at $p<0.01$

Table A3 Estimation results. Ordered probit model with nationality dummies

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
VARIABLES	MUSEUMS	CONCERTS	CINEMA	THEATRE	SPORTS EVENT	LIBRARY	BOOKS	DANCE	Community events
Years of stay	0.0132	0.0321**	0.0581***	0.0410***	0.0366***	0.0250	0.0245	0.0209	0.0197
	(0.0126)	(0.0130)	(0.0139)	(0.0128)	(0.0127)	(0.0129)	(0.0128)	(0.0132)	(0.0136)
Intention to remain	0.386**	0.100	0.159	0.281	0.328**	0.240	0.262	-0.109	-0.0194
	(0.151)	(0.155)	(0.160)	(0.157)	(0.158)	(0.155)	(0.153)	(0.162)	(0.168)
Italian family member	0.847***	1.358***	1.401***	0.542**	0.592**	0.413	0.693**	0.939***	0.504
	(0.296)	(0.314)	(0.412)	(0.272)	(0.250)	(0.267)	(0.294)	(0.291)	(0.322)
Gender: woman	0.139	0.247	0.251	0.179	-0.566***	0.263	0.227	-0.414***	0.108
	(0.149)	(0.152)	(0.165)	(0.152)	(0.152)	(0.151)	(0.151)	(0.157)	(0.164)
Age	-0.00470	0.00191	-0.0423***	-0.00836	-0.0230**	-0.00982	-0.00827	-0.0354***	-0.000447
	(0.00907)	(0.00936)	(0.0100)	(0.00912)	(0.00927)	(0.00930)	(0.00926)	(0.00972)	(0.00970)
Marital status: Single	0.0996	0.642	1.071	0.265	1.417	-0.346	-0.0636	1.891**	1.166
	(0.698)	(0.730)	(0.727)	(0.714)	(0.760)	(0.676)	(0.667)	(0.772)	(0.717)
Divorced	-0.498	-0.259	0.761	-0.666	1.230	-0.992	-0.846	1.533	0.891
	(0.752)	(0.780)	(0.783)	(0.765)	(0.806)	(0.733)	(0.723)	(0.829)	(0.781)
Married/partner	-0.107	0.185	1.190	-0.185	1.215	-0.856	-0.122	1.646**	1.024
	(0.689)	(0.720)	(0.715)	(0.701)	(0.749)	(0.669)	(0.659)	(0.762)	(0.709)
Widower	0.197	1.078	2.435**	0.356	1.113	-0.467	0.875	1.628	0.268
	(0.852)	(1.029)	(1.055)	(0.856)	(0.893)	(0.843)	(0.918)	(0.941)	(0.889)
Children	0.00752	-0.116	-0.0423	0.0522	0.000418	-0.0588	-0.0443	-0.0168	0.00477
	(0.0589)	(0.0604)	(0.0614)	(0.0596)	(0.0600)	(0.0597)	(0.0590)	(0.0617)	(0.0629)
Diploma: Primary education	0.388	-0.108	0.538**	0.608**	0.175	0.578**	0.257	-0.384	-0.648**
	(0.227)	(0.233)	(0.238)	(0.242)	(0.238)	(0.237)	(0.227)	(0.249)	(0.286)
Secondary/Vocational	0.498**	-0.259	0.727***	0.716***	0.0228	0.983***	0.780***	-0.752***	-0.781***
	(0.240)	(0.244)	(0.254)	(0.254)	(0.249)	(0.251)	(0.240)	(0.263)	(0.298)
Higher education	0.726***	-0.321	0.444	0.648**	0.0448	1.176***	0.964***	-0.808***	-0.742**
	(0.252)	(0.258)	(0.269)	(0.264)	(0.257)	(0.263)	(0.256)	(0.275)	(0.305)
Occupation: low specialization	-0.255	-0.0856	0.00551	-0.477	-0.0941	0.209	-0.237	0.111	0.176
	(0.253)	(0.262)	(0.263)	(0.269)	(0.270)	(0.260)	(0.257)	(0.269)	(0.300)
Average specialization	-0.0487	-0.0130	-0.206	-0.164	0.138	-0.208	-0.293	0.706***	-0.150
	(0.181)	(0.188)	(0.190)	(0.189)	(0.188)	(0.188)	(0.183)	(0.198)	(0.196)
High-level specialization	0.453	0.614	0.521	0.233	0.871**	0.388	-0.0105	0.825**	0.288
	(0.345)	(0.370)	(0.376)	(0.347)	(0.339)	(0.348)	(0.363)	(0.355)	(0.384)
/cut1	-0.939	-0.568	-0.367	-0.293	-0.481	-1.219	-1.681**	-0.880	-0.501
	(0.711)	(0.734)	(0.744)	(0.725)	(0.758)	(0.687)	(0.683)	(0.768)	(0.724)
/cut2	0.899	1.573**	1.199	1.957***	1.766**	0.760	-0.0712	1.510	0.304
	(0.709)	(0.741)	(0.748)	(0.729)	(0.768)	(0.685)	(0.678)	(0.780)	(0.726)
/cut3	1.380	1.889**	1.653**	2.377***	2.085***	1.000	0.326	1.815**	0.692

	(0.709)	(0.742)	(0.750)	(0.730)	(0.769)	(0.686)	(0.676)	(0.781)	(0.728)
/cut4	2.273***	2.666***	2.170***	3.220***	2.893***	1.462**	0.985	2.227***	1.248
	(0.712)	(0.745)	(0.752)	(0.737)	(0.773)	(0.687)	(0.676)	(0.782)	(0.729)
Nationality dummies	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Observations	292	292	292	292	292	292	292	292	292
Log Pseudo-likelihood	-360.8	-340.7	-321.9	-325.1	-342.1	-347.6	-368.7	-309.8	-302.8
Wald	99.81	115.2	140.3	127.2	67.32	64.55	88.22	125.7	64.52
Prob>chi	0	0	0	0	4.95e-07	1.37e-06	1.52e-10	0	1.39e-06
Pseudo R2	0.122	0.145	0.179	0.164	0.0896	0.0850	0.107	0.169	0.0963

Standard errors in parentheses // *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1