

Mens Sana in Corpore Sano: A pilot study of the health of Italians living in Norway Summary of main results

Laura Terragni, Giovanna Calogiuri & Monica Miscali

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Abstract

Studies have shown how the move to another country is an event that has a possible negative impact on people's health. Italian immigrants have not been specifically studied in previous investigations in Norway, and therefore information is lacking. Although the prevalence of Italian immigrants in Norway is low, especially when compared with other immigrant groups, it has tripled in the past 15 years. The purpose of this project was thus to carry out a pilot investigation among Italians living in Norway to obtain knowledge about their perceived health, food habits, physical activity and social relations.

The study included an online survey (n = 330) conducted between 15 March and 24 April 2019) and some qualitative interviews (n = 14), This report presents the preliminary and descriptive findings of the study.

Based on our study's results, it emerges that the health of Italians in Norway is generally good, compared with both the health of Norwegians and that of other immigrant groups. The Italians in Norway are, generally, quite active. In particular, it seems that Norway offers better opportunities for engaging in physical activity and outdoor recreations. The Italians also have healthy nutritional habits, although we observed some challenges, mainly concerning the consumption of fruit and vegetables. The frequency and quality of interpersonal relationships is often judged as unsatisfactory. For many, the move to Norway meant a worsening of social relations. In addition, worthy of attention is the fact that a large number of the Italians report little trust in the Norwegian health system, as well as difficulties communicating with medical personnel.

The present study has a number of limitations, especially the fact that the sample does not fully represent the Italian population in Norway. For example, the proportion of women and people with a high level of education is larger than what is reported in the official sources from the Italian Embassy. This is important to take into consideration when interpreting the results, because previous studies indicate that women and people with a high level of education tend to have healthier lifestyles. Nevertheless, the results of this pilot study provide important indications about the general health condition of Italians and possible obstacles to a healthy life in a new country. This knowledge can be used to plan further studies, as well as to promote initiatives targeted at enhancing the health condition of the Italian community living in Norway.

NB: This study was conducted before the COVID-19 pandemic. How the pandemic affected the health of the Italians living in Norway and their relation with the Norwegian health care system is therefore beyond the scope of this study.

Introduction

Not so many Italians live in the kingdom of Norway, particularly if we compare the number with that of Italians living in other European countries, such as France and Germany. Nevertheless, Italians' immigration to Norway seems to be increasing, at least since the end of the 1990s, with a peak in the years after 2008. Thus, this is a progressively increasing population that deserves attention (Figure 1).

According to a report drafted by the Italian Embassy in Norway, the number of Italians residing in Norway and registered at the Norwegian Registry of Italians Resident Abroad (AIRE) is 7108. This number also includes the offspring of Italian immigrants who retained their Italian citizenship. The number of Italians who moved to Norway during their lives (the so-called 'first-generation immigrants') instead is about 4523 people, 2862 of whom are men and 1661 women.¹



Figure 1 Trends of Italian citizens living in Norway (blue = men; orange = women).²

Several studies about the phenomenon of migration have shown how moving to another country can have a negative impact on health.³ In fact, those who migrate may face many difficulties with regard to settling in a new country that is structurally and culturally different. Beyond the practical obstacles such as – mostly at first – poor knowledge of both the language and the health system, there are additional difficulties due to a clash of different cultures and health habits.⁴

A recent publication about the life conditions of some groups of immigrants in Norway (that not included Italians) emphasized how immigrants, more frequently than Norwegians, have a negative evaluation of their health. Diseases such as diabetes and cardiovascular problems are widespread, in addition to mental health challenges.⁵ The proportion of people not doing any physical exercise, or exercising rarely, is larger than among the Norwegian population, and the percentage of overweight or obese people is also higher. The survey also pointed out that immigrants have a weaker 'social capital' and fewer frequent contacts with both their family, and friends and acquaintances.

As Italian immigrants are not included in the above-mentioned survey, or in the other studies about quality of life and health that are regularly carried out by the Norwegian authorities,⁶ there is therefore a lack of information about Italians living in Norway.

So, how is the perceived health status of Italians living in Norway? How many Italians experience health challenge related to living in a country that is not their motherland? What are the Italians' habits with respect to health-related behaviours such as physical activity and nutrition? Can they take advantage of both cultures (Italian and Norwegian) or, rather, do they meet barriers (cultural, social and economic) that result in less healthy lifestyles?

Aim of the project

The aim of this project was to carry out a pilot investigation among Italians living in Norway to obtain a wider range of information about their perceived health and lifestyles. The research includes both a survey and qualitative interviews. The results of this pilot study provide some indications about both the health of Italians and possible obstacles to a healthy life in a new country. This knowledge can be used to plan future studies as well as to promote actions targeted at increasing the health of the Italian community living in Norway.

The study's methodology

The study was carried out through the distribution of an electronic questionnaire and qualitative interviews. The investigation started in the autumn of 2018 and was completed in the spring of 2019. The study was conducted according to the international guidelines for ethical research and approved by the Norwegian Centre for Research Data.^I

The electronic survey was distributed during the period between 15 March and 24 April 2019. A total of 330 people (156 men and 174 women) responded to the survey. As we had no access to a personal data list from the embassy, the questionnaire was distributed through different channels, such as the COMITES' mail list, adverts on the embassy's website and several Facebook groups for Italians in Norway. The following were the inclusion criteria: age ≥ 18 years; resident in Norway at the time of the survey; having spent most of their childhood (up to age 16 years) in Italy; knowledge of Italian language.

The data presented in this report have been analysed descriptively (using Excel and SPSS), and displayed using graphics and tables. Through a set of preliminary analyses, no relevant difference between men and women came out so it was decided to present, with the exclusion of socio-demographic data, the results for the entire sample.

Besides the questionnaire, we conducted qualitative interviews with 14 people, who were chosen with the purpose of representing the variation across migrants in Norway, with regard to the number of years of residence and the reasons for moving. Moreover, we tried to achieve a certain variation of gender and age. The final interviewed sample has the following characteristics: eight women and six men, half of whom have lived in Norway for more than 10 years – four between 5 and 10 years and three for <5 years; three of those interviewed originally moved to Norway for reasons of study, three for family relationships, two to follow the partner and the remainder for professional reasons; most were interviewed live in Oslo.

Interviews were conducted face to face or via Skype, recorded, transcribed, and analysed to explore and detail the more significant topics for the investigation, such as the definition of 'feeling healthy', changes in food habits after migration, connection with nature and physical exercise, and social relationships and identity. The analysis was conducted with the supported of the program Nvivo 12.

¹ For reasons of synthesis, the description of the methodology adopted in the present study, as displayed in this report, is not extremely detailed. Anyone interested in more information about the methodology of the study can contact the authors of this report directly.

Results

Socio-demographic characteristics of the sample

Who participated in our survey?

Detailed information about the socio-demographic profile of the sample is presented in Table 1, whereas below we report a summary of the main results. Women are represented slightly more than men (53%). With regard to age, the most represented group is that aged between 31 and 50 years (71%). The proportion of people with a university degree is 82%. With regard to the area of residence in Norway, most of the respondents (60%) live in Oslo-Akershus. Comparing these data with the figures provided by AIRE, one can see that our sample differs to some extent from the characteristics of Italians living in Norway: indeed our sample has a larger number of women, people aged between 31 and 50 years, and people with a high level of education (according to the reference figures, these groups should make 37%, 54% and 60% of the Italians in Norway, respectively). To a smaller extent, our sample also have a larger proportion of people living in Oslo/Akershus, which, according to the reference figures, should make 53% of the Italians in Norway. These discrepancies need to be taken into account when interpreting the findings of this study, as individual characteristics such as sex, age, educational level, and place of residence are known to influence people's lifestyles and health -for example, in Norway, people with the higher educational level live up to six years longer and have better health than those with lower educational level.⁷

The large majority of the respondents (60%) declared having permanent work. A smaller percentage had a temporary contract (22%). 5% of the respondents declared being a freelancer and 3% a students. 4.4% declared being unemployed, a slightly larger percentage than the Norwegian average⁸ but, at the same time, lower than other average immigrant groups.⁹

The most common reasons for moving to Norway were being offered a job (49%) or to join a partner (32%). Some relevant differences were observed between men and women with respect to these motivations, with more men than women (60% v. 40%, respectively) reporting to have moved because of a job offer while more women than men (39% v. 25%, respectively) reporting to have moved to join a partner. Moving to look for a job (13%) or for study reasons (13%) was also reported. 'Family reasons' and 'other reasons' made 12% and 5%, respectively. These reasons for migration are in line with data related to other migrant groups, in particular to groups coming from other European countries.¹⁰

With regard to the duration of residence in Norway, most of the respondents (45%) had been living in Norway for a period of between 4 and 10 years, whereas a lower percentage had been living in Norway for <4 years (24%) or >10 years (28%). Knowledge of Norwegian varied considerably across the sample: part of the sample (43%) declared having 'good' or 'very good' knowledge of the language, 28% 'intermediate' knowledge and the remaining 29% 'quite poor' or 'very poor' knowledge.

	Μ	len	Wo	Women	
	n	(%)	n	(%)	
Gender	152	(47)	169	(53)	
Age (years)					
18–30	20	(13)	26	(15)	
31–50	104	(68)	124	(73)	
>50 years	28	(18)	19	(11)	
Education					
Up to high school	31	(21)	27	(16)	
University degree (Bachelor's, Master's, or equivalent)	84	(55)	88	(52)	
Research doctorate	37	(24)	54	(32)	
Region of residence in Norway					
North	14	(9)	7	(4)	
Centre	14	(9)	21	(12)	
West	26	(17)	19	(11)	
Oslo/Akershus	84	(55)	107	(63)	
Other eastern regions	11	(7)	15	(9)	
South	3	(2)	0	(0)	
Working condition					
Unemployed	6	(4)	8	(5)	
Student	1	(1)	11	(6)	
Irregular jobs	6	(4)	1	(1)	
Freelance	7	(5)	10	(6)	
Temporary contract	28	(18)	42	(25)	
Permanent contract	101	(66)	90	(53)	
Other	3	(2)	7	(4)	
Years of residence in Norway					
0–1	13	(9)	19	(11)	
2–4	41	(27)	46	(27)	
5–9	47	(31)	58	(34)	
≥10	51	(34)	46	(27)	
Knowledge of Norwegian					
Very poor	24	(16)	13	(8)	
Quite poor	27	(18)	30	(18)	
Intermediate	47	(31)	43	(25)	
Very good	29	(19)	51	(30)	
Fluent	25	(16)	32	(19)	

Note:

Region of residence: North = Finnmark, Troms, Nordland; Centre = North Trøndelag, Sør Trøndelag, Møre og Romsdal; West = Sogn og Fjordane, Hordaland, Rogaland; Other eastern regions = Telemark, Buskerud, Vestfold, Østfold, Oppland, Hedmark; South = Vest Agder, A. Agder.

General health and relationship with the health system

Evaluation of personal health

In our survey, we asked the respondents to evaluate their own health (Figure 2). Although simple and subjected to personal interpretations, this type of measure (also known as *self-rated health*) has been shown to be a valuable indicator of health in population studies. For example, a meta-analysis study showed that people with 'bad' self-rated health had a twice-higher mortality risk compared with people with 'very good' self-rated health.¹¹ Our survey reveals that respondents perceived having quite good general health: 79% responded that they had 'good' or 'very good' general health, 16% selected the option 'neither good nor bad' and 5% (a relatively small but yet somewhat worrying) reported 'bad' health. Nobody selected the 'very bad' option.

We also asked the respondents to estimate how satisfied they were with their life (on a 1–10 scale). Such type of measurements have been found to be valuable indicators of a person's wellbeing, which is in turn associated with positive life outcomes such as enjoying good health.¹² The answers revealed that a large majority appeared to be satisfied: 74% reported a value \geq 7. On the other hand, a not negligible percentage reported a low level of satisfaction (i.e. 8% reported a value \leq 4).



Figure 2 Left: self-perceived health. Right: life satisfaction.

Health: better in Italy or Norway?

To understand whether moving to Norway was perceived as an event influencing the respondents' health, we asked a set of questions inquiring to imagine how their health would have been if they had remained in Italy. Our findings show that the perception of the influence of moving varies considerably depending on different health's aspects. As shown in Figure 3, with regard to general health, moving does not seem to be seen as an event with a relevant impact. Most of respondents (61%) thought that their health would have been the same in Italy as in Norway, while 24% of respondents reported that their health is probably better in Norway than how it would have been in Italy and 15% the opposite.

Moving to Norway is perceived in a positive way with regard to physical activity: more than half the respondents (54%) seems to think that their physical activity levels has improved. On the contrary, moving to Norway appear to be seen as an event that had a negative impact on the social life, as reported by 66% of the respondents. With regard to food habits, moving to Norway also seems to have had quite a negative impact: 43% declared that their diet would have been healthier in Italy than in Norway.



Figure 3 Perceived impact of moving to Norway on different health domains: general health, physical activity, food and nutrition, and social life.

This diversity of evaluations of the impact on health of moving to Norway also emerged in the interviews. Among the aspects that mostly contributed to the evaluation of moving as a positive factor for health, we found the greater simplicity of life, and the lower level of stress and number of worries. This is explained well in the following quotes:

There is a simplicity of life in every aspect. Everything is simplified. Starting from bureaucracy to private transactions. This leaves a lot of free time. Free from stress. (Man, 38 years)

Life in Norway is a safe life, peaceful and stress free. Life has a different rhythm. There aren't the problems that there are in Italy, economic problems. (Woman, 49 years)

Among the negative aspects, several respondents talked about the impact that moving had on mental health, because of the difficulties establishing a significant social network. For example, an informant said:

After early enthusiasm, problems arrived. Isolation was the most difficult thing overall, due to the language ... language was a big obstacle. You feel you are not autonomous anymore, when you look for information, when you try to understand how the system works, it takes not a little effort. (Woman, 49 years)

From the interviews, it emerges that this difficulty in establishing meaningful relationships is mentioned also by those who have lived in Norway for many years, so it cannot be seen as simple or a temporary phenomenon linked to the early phase of migration. As told by a man that lived in Norway for more than ten years:

I'm physically fine ... I'm not overweight, I train a bit ... psychologically is a different matter. (Man, 35 years)

Trust in the health system

The survey included also some questions about the level of trust in the Norwegian health system, including doctors and healthcare personnel (Figure 4). The findings suggest that the level of trust varies considerably among the respondents. For example, on a scale of 1-10 (where 10 represents the highest level of trust), almost one-third (27%) of the respondents reported a value <5 and an additional 34% reported values slightly higher (5 or 6). On the other hand, 38% of respondents reported fairly high levels of trust (7 or above). The questionnaire also asked whether the respondent attended medical examinations (to the general practitioner or a specialist) in Norway or Italy in the past 12 months. The data show that, among those who attended examinations by the general practitioner, 12% did it in Italy. Among those who did it in Italy is even larger (25%).

In the questionnaire, we also asked the respondents to evaluate how easy or difficult it was to actively participate in communications with medical staff, asking questions and following up on issues relative to one's own health (Figure 4). The results show a clear divide within the sample, with about half the respondents (53%) reporting that the communication as difficult or extremely difficult, whereas the other half (47%) perceived it as easy or very easy.



Figure 4 Left: general trust in the Norwegian health system, including doctors and healthcare staff. Right: active participate in the communication with medical staff, asking questions and following up on issues relative to one's own health.

The relationship with the healthcare system has been developed in detail in the qualitative interviews. Almost all the respondents had had contact with the healthcare system in Norway, with both general practitioners and specialists. Experiences and opinions were quite variable: they included a perception that medical personnel may lack of experience of more complex health problems, given the low number of cases in Norway. Others missed the 'Italian family doctor', who was viewed as having a more personal relationship with her/his patients.

Maybe because I'm Italian, but here the pap test is done by the general practitioner and you can't see a gynaecologist. Therefore, if there is any problem and I want a specialist examination I go to Italy. For the specialist examination there is a waiting list anyway and, rather than going privately here, I go in Italy. (Woman, 49 years)

Nutrition and food culture

Food habits have a very important impact on our health. Indeed, it is considered that many illnesses could be prevented with a healthy diet. Despite food habits all over the world being greatly different, there is a consensus about nutritional recommendations worldwide: these include having a varied diet, eating at least five portions of fruit and vegetables a day, eating more fish and reducing meat consumption, choosing whole-wheat products rather than refined ones, reducing consumption of salt and sugar, and preferring 'healthy' fats (such as olive oil).¹³ The 'Mediterranean diet' is considered by many experts to be an excellent example of a healthy diet, as it tends to be largely in line with the principles mentioned above.

So, how were the food habits among our respondents?

Table 2 shows the frequency of consumption of some selected foods and beverages, whereas Figure 5 shows the percentage of respondents who eat food and drink beverages according to the Norwegian Directorate of Health's recommendations.¹⁴

Based on our data, it is possible to assert that the respondents' nutritional habits are in general quite healthy, particularly with regard to the low consumption of processed food, sugary drinks, snacks and red meat. Consumption of cured meats, such as ham and dry sausages, is relatively low (15% eat them more than three times a week), whereas consumption of sweets seems to be somewhat high (24% eat sweets every day). About 80% of the respondents declared to eat fish once or more a week. Respondents seem instead to have difficulties following the recommendations about fruit and vegetable consumption. In fact, 42% and 37%, respectively, eat an inadequate quantity of fruit and vegetables (i.e., they do not eat fruit and vegetables *every day*, one or more times a day). This is in contrast with the habits of Italians living in Italy, as shown by an European survey, showing a much higher consumption of fruit and vegetables: 85% eat fruit and 80% eat vegetables daily.¹⁵ However, these percentages are very similar to the national Norwegian average (46% and 45%, respectively, do not eat fruit and vegetables every day).¹⁶

With regard to alcohol consumption (wine, beer and other alcoholic drinks), based on the available data, it is difficult to estimate whether or not consumption is in line with the Norwegian recommendations. In fact, the recommendations allow, within certain limits, a daily consumption of <10 g for women and <20 g for men (as an example, a glass of red wine contains about 12 g of alcohol). In general, however, it seems that, in the sample, alcohol consumption was limited, with the great majority not drink alcohol every day.

Foods and drinks	Never or rarely (%)	1–3 times a month (%)	1–3 times a week (%)	4–6 times a week (%)	Once a day (%)	Twice a day (%)	3+ times a day (%)
Vegetables	1	3	15	18	25	33	5
Fruit	1	7	20	14	27	24	8
Pasta, bread, etc.	2	3	21	18	27	22	7
Fish	6	13	66	13	3	1	0
Sweets	8	16	38	15	17	6	1
Salted snacks	24	41	31	3	1	0	0
Cured meats	18	32	34	10	5	0	0
Red meat	16	33	46	5	1	0	0
Ready-made food	47	36	15	1	1	0	0
Supplements	36	10	10	8	33	3	1
Juices	29	28	20	9	13	1	0
Sugary drinks	60	28	10	1	0	0	0
Sugar-free drinks	72	16	8	2	2	1	0
Wine	25	40	30	3	3	0	0
Beer	26	40	30	4	1	0	0
Other alcoholic drinks	61	31	8	0	0	0	0

Table 2 Consumption of food and drink

Note: frequency of consumption of food and drink considered as not meeting the recommendations outlined by the Norwegian Directorate of Health are highlighted in yellow.



Figure 5 Percentage of respondents consuming certain foods and drinks in line and not in line with the Norwegian Directorate of Health's recommendations.

The interviews provide several useful elements to understand the food habits of Italians in Norway. The low consumption of fruit and vegetables can be partly explained by a perception of higher prices and lower variety and quantity available in shops, as mentioned by many of those interviewed. With regard to daily consumption of sweets, it is important to underline how, for many, breakfast remains (as typical in Italy) a sweet meal, with consumption of bread and jam or biscuits. Consumption of ham and Italian sausages, although within the recommended limits, is an element emerging in almost all the qualitative interviews. This can be explained by the fact that ham and salami are often part of the 'luggage' of Italians coming back to Norway after staying in Italy:

We travel down with matryoshka bags. One is then filled with food. There are always sausages, bought at the butcher and kept in a vacuum. Mortadella, ham, salami. Salami for sure. (Woman, 49 years)

It emerges from the qualitative interviews that respondents tend to combine the two food traditions: making a larger use of fish and whole-wheat products is something that has become more common after moving to Norway, although Italian habits such as not eating ready-made food and using olive oil are still common. An element of acculturation of the diet appears to be evident from the tendency of simplifying meals, mainly switching to the Norwegian a 'one-course meal' ("il piatto unico").

We switched to a one-course meal. We do not eat first course, second course and side dish. It's not like in Italian culture. Everything is in a main dish, maybe with two or three sides. But it is all placed together. (Woman, 45 years)

When asked whether following a healthy diet is easier in Italy or Norway, some of those interviewed emphasized that better quality Italian food makes a healthy diet easier, as explained in this quote:

In Italy ... you have a wider choice, more attention to food so I think it's easier ... also taste is important, like tomatoes: when they are tasty, you don't need to flavour them with too many sauces, it's easier. (Woman, 39 years)

It is, however, interesting to point out that some indicated that a healthy diet is actually easier in Norway due to the lack of 'temptations'. There are no 'sliced pizzas' or other tasty treats as in Italian shops:

In Norway you chose what you find; there are far fewer temptations here. Especially, for stuff like mozzarella, ham. They are so expensive that you think: forget it. (Man, 32 years)

The interviews indicated also that there is some criticism and scepticism, especially concerning children's diets. The lack of a meal at school and being forced to feed them every day with 'matpakke' (the 'lunch box') are seen by most of the informants as a limitation to a healthy and balanced diet. In addition, the habit of letting kids having free access to sweets during the weekend or the uncontrolled consumption of sweets on the occasions of special events such as birthdays or parties is viewed negatively. From this point of view, the Italians interviewed seem to value more positively having a 'moderate freedom', eating more

frequently but in smaller amounts sweet treats and, for adults, a glass of wine during the week.

For example, what I find absurd is that they are sugar phobic. When there are instead so many products with a lot of sugar inside. Like their beloved 'leverpostei'. I think that in Italy we eat too much, but healthier, not ready-made food. I think about lunch, the 'pålegg'. So many have a lunch based on 'pålegg', which is full of preservatives. (Woman, 49 years)^{II}

I find this thing of the school cafeteria and, particularly, the very small time spent for lunch break very limiting. I find it extremely limiting. (Woman, 45 years)

[&]quot; 'Leverpostai' is a paste based on leaver, often used as a spread on bread; 'Pålegg' is a general term referring to any food used as spread or anyway eaten on top of a slice of bread (e.g., chees, cured meat, fish in can, etc.).

Physical activity and outdoor recreations

From the point of view of health promotion, the expression *physical activity* refers not only to situations of structured physical exercise (for example, when we exercise at the gym or play a sport), but also to any bodily movement that leads, for at least 10 consecutive minutes, to an increase in energy expenditure. To simplify, we can say that this condition is characterized by faster breathing, slightly accelerated heart rate and/or a warm sensation, and includes, for example, walking or doing house-chores. According to the recommendations of the World Health Organization (WHO), in order to improve and/or maintain good psycho-physical health, adults and elderly should engage in physical activity of light- or moderate-intensity for at least 150 minutes a week (the overall amount can be less with increasing intensity of physical activity, such as running). It should be noted that this cut-off refers to aerobic physical activity, i.e. walking, cycling, playing, etc. Besides this, the WHO recommends to perform regularly exercise aimed at increasing muscular strength and flexibility. At the same time, it is recommended to avoid, as much as possible, spending extended periods of time in inactivity or sedentary behaviours, for example sitting to work or study or watching TV.¹⁷

In this perspective, the respondents in our survey seem to be rather active, with most of them (62%) meeting the WHO's recommendations for aerobic physical activity (Figure 6). However, compared with the WHO's figures, the physical activity levels in our sample look somewhat lower than the Norwegian national average (69% of Norwegian adults record adequate physical activity levels), yet slightly higher than the Italian national average (59% of Italian adults record adequate physical activity levels). The results on sedentary time in our sample are more alarming: 70% declare sitting for 6 hours or more per day (Figure 6). These findings also show higher (although slightly) sedentary ratings of our sample compared with the Norwegian average.¹⁸



Figure 6 Left: amount of weekly physical activity in relation to the WHO's recommendations. Right: time spent sitting during a regular day.

Looking at the specific forms of physical activity performed by our respondents (Figure 7), we see that so-called *active transport* (for example, walking or biking to get to a destination) was the most popular activity. This was closely followed by physical activity in natural environments (for example, walking or jogging in a park or forest), an activity also known as *green exercise*.¹⁹ Exercising at the gym came in the third place. This distribution somehow differs from the statistics for the Norwegian population, for whom green exercise is in first place, followed (at a certain distance) by exercise at the gym and active transport.²⁰ For what concerns skiing, a typical Norwegian activity, 37% of respondents seem to practise it sometimes or with a certain regularity (Figure 8). This percentage is in line with the Norwegian national average³. It is interesting to see how both skiing and green exercise are practised by the participants somewhat more at the time of responding to the survey than in their childhood. This suggests that living in Norway may have positively influenced the practice of these activities positively (Figure 8).



Figure 7. Type of physical activity, expressed in relation to the total weekly amount. Note: people who declared not engaging in any physical activity during a regular week (see Figure 6) are included within the option 'None'.

Note: *Active transport* = getting to a destination through non-motorized means of transportation. *Green exercise* = any physical activity in presence of nature. *Gym-based* = exercising in gyms of fitness centres. *Occupational* = physical activity related to work occupations. *Organized sports* = playing team or individual sports such as football, volleyball, athletics etc.



Figure 8 Skiing (above) and green exercise (below) at the time of the survey compared with childhood.

Green exercise is very popular in Norway: a 2012 survey showed that about 60% of the adult population engaged in this activity during a regular week.²¹ This aspect was studied in depth during the interviews. Many have underlined how being close to nature is a positive experience:

Here the nature is so close that it is impossible not to feel it. You just need to step out the door and you are in the middle of nature. [Would you say this contributes to your health?] Yes a lot, I would say a lot, I speak for myself, very much to me it contributes a lot. The view of this beautiful nature relaxes me, it helps my well-being a lot. (Woman, 49 years)

The relationship with nature is, anyway, filtered through Italian eyes, as explained in these quotes:

We try to spend as much time as possible outdoors, with the limit of my 'italianness' ... Sleeping in a tent in winter, I wouldn't do it. Especially if it's super cold – like around -15 [!!] – you can forget it (Woman, 39 years)

I like cross-country skiing and going in the wood, but my wife has had an overdose of nature and mountains. I have the impression that here things are done because they *must* be done. On Sundays, you *must* go skiing. I like to go for a walk but it must not be too much. It has to be for the pleasure of doing it and not because someone impose you to do it. (Man, 39 years)

Identity and social networks

Social contacts

The frequency and quality of interpersonal relationships are very important for maintaining a good psycho-physical health. Not only can a good social network give psychological support, but it can also provide practical support in situations linked to health. In our survey, there were some questions focused on aspects related to the respondents' social life, in particular with respect to composition of their family nucleus and frequency of contacts with family and friends.

As shown in Figure 9, most of respondents (57%) declared that they moved to Norway on their own and 27% with their partner, whereas 12% joined a relative or partner. The large majority (81%) live with someone; 69% live with the partner (with or without children), whereas 37% live with children. The percentage of those living alone is 19%.

Contacts with native Italian families seem to be quite frequent: 88% declared having some contact at least once a week (Figure 10). Less frequent were the contacts with people considered to be 'good friends', with whom only about half (54%) of respondents declared having weekly contacts.



Figure 9 Left: people with whom the respondent moved to Norway. Right: people with whom the respondent lives. Note: respondents could select more than one option.



How often do you have contacts with...

Figure 10 Frequency of contact with family and friends.

Social relationships emerge as a paramount topic during qualitative interviews. Also, among those who have lived in Norway for many years, social relationships are considered problematic. Some of the people who live outside Oslo or other big cities declared that they live an isolated life and do not have many contacts outside their working environment:

You can't build a relationship outside at evening/night, after work. The ones I worked with always had something to do, never available ... if you want to do something you must send them a stamped request, take an official appointment. (Man, 39 years)

Others showed the difficulty in interpreting social codes of the new country of residence:

At the beginning, I tried to take initiatives with school class parents, inviting them for dinner. But maybe because I ended up in quite a snobbish environment ... I still haven't learned how to make a Norwegian friend. (Woman, 50 years)

For some, on the other hand, relationships with Norwegian are not so important in themselves. This is mostly the case for people integrated in an international community, who work and spend free time with people of several nationalities.

Relationships with other Italians in Norway

Many of the respondents appear to have friends of Italian origin (Figure 11): 27% declared having only or mainly friends of Italian origin and the percentage reaches 47% if we count those who declare that half their friends are Italian.



Figure 11 Friendships with other Italians living in Norway.

In the interviews, we delved deeper into the topic of networks within the Italian community in Norway. The notion of an 'Italian community' appears to be interpreted in quite a broad way by the informants: some included organized groups such as the COMITES, Italian Institute of Culture or catholic community, whereas others refer more generally to other Italians who live in Norway. From the interviews the existence of different networks of relatively stable relationships among Italians emerges. In some cases, the 'Italian community' is seen as an important resource, mostly at the beginning of one's life in Norway:

Italian community represented a great landmark; Italians I met and I made friends with in the first times were a big help ... feeling that the other has lived with the same difficulties makes you feel less lonely. (Woman, 39 years)

In other cases, there is a certain ambivalence about wanting to create relationships with other Italians:

I never felt the need ... I was even invited ... but I never felt the need. I also have the impression that Italians ... there are exceptions of course ... tend to complain of being forced here and after a while I didn't want to be in a listening group of complaints. (Man, 50 years)

Working life

A remarkably large part of the sample (89%) declared being satisfied with their working situation (Figure 12). However, there is still a considerable percentage (11%) of respondents who declared being under-occupied, perceiving their working position as inadequate than what would be normally expected compared with their level of education or professional training.

Extremely good Adequate Inadequate Good, even if it doesn't match my educational background

Satisfaction with working situation

Figure 12 Satisfaction with the work situation.

From the interviews it emerged that among the positive aspects of the work situation, in addition to a good salary, a more 'easy-going' relationships with employers and greater possibilities for balancing work and family life are perceived as important elements:

Work is much quieter here than in Italy, even the relationship with the employer is easier. It is not a relationship with 'the boss' – there are many positive aspects, like the working hours, the salary is surely better than in Italy. The jobs I did in Italy: there is more stress and they pay much less. I wouldn't go back working in Italy. (Man, 50 years)

However, also some negative reflections emerged, as exemplified in the following case:

Anyway, in Norway, you feel you are a 'second class' worker. The Norwegian system is in theory very fair about dismissal, but then I wonder why when some organization restructuring occurs, the foreigners are the ones being cut-out. Even if you know the language it is always more difficult. You can learn Norwegian, learn to eat at 11am, going to the 'Hytte' [cabin], but at the end they always put a wall between you and them. (Man, 58 years)

Immigrant, Italian resident in Norway, or citizen of the world?

The results of the survey reveal, generally, a diffused sense of 'Italianness'. As shown in Figure 13 (left), a very substantial percentage of the sample declared feeling 'always' or 'mainly' Italian (87% in total). Only 2% declared feeling both Italian and Norwegian equally, although less than 1% declared feeling 'mainly Norwegian'. On the other hand, some of the respondents commented to this question, explaining that neither 'Italian' nor 'Norwegian' well expressed their identity, while they rather identified with their *region* of origin in Italy or felt more like "citizen of the world".



Figure 13 Left: national identity. Right: seeing oneself as an 'immigrant'.

This topic of identity also emerges from the interviews, presenting quite a complex picture of how identity is transformed over the years:

I lived 25 years in Italy and 25 years in Norway. Let's say half and half. Anyway I feel more Norwegian than Italian. I have changed a lot and moreover many years have passed. (Man, 50 years)

An interviewee referred to the fact that she tended to 'act' as a Norwegian when she was in Italy and as an Italian when she was in Norway:

In Norway I tend to be more Italian and more Norwegian in Italy [What do you mean?] That my identity is strictly linked to Italy and so I try to be more Italian than what I would be. So I invite friends for dinner and prepare an Italian supper. Or watching the movies ... some stuff that I wouldn't be interested in if I lived in Italy. It's a part of me and I would like it to be evident, to play a bit with it. The same in Italy [What do you do as a Norwegian?] I play the mystic ... like being more sporty, always wearing sporty clothes ... never a lot of make-up. Being a bit of a mountaineer. (Woman, 39 years)

This duality is well exemplified also by the reflections of this participant:

Here in Norway I don't feel Norwegian, because I am not, even if I like living here. Here I feel I am an Italian but I don't like Italy. And when I go to Italy I realize I am different. (Man, 62 years)

As shown in Figure 13 (right), a large part of the sample (87%) declared an identification, complete or at least partial, with the word 'immigrant'. The interviews allowed to go into greater depth with this definition and the extent to which interviewees related to it. While a few referred to themselves as immigrants, some tended to give a negative meaning to the word 'immigrant', associating it with a person who *needed* to move and not as a person that *chose* to move, as explained in the following quote:

In my opinion, the word immigrant is a bad word, it makes me think of someone who has to move from a country because of a war. I didn't move from a country because of a war and neither did I come here for the need to find a job. They just sent me here, that's it But I'm a foreigner, I'm not a Norwegian. (Man, 39 years)

How do you see the future?

With regard to future plans about where to live (Figure 14), the relative majority (32%) selected the option 'move back to Italy in elder age', while the remaining sample seemed to split relatively homogeneously across the options 'stay in Norway for the rest of my life' (22%), 'moving to another country' (20%), and 'I have no idea' (21%). The only option that was little represented (5%) was 'getting back to Italy relatively soon'.



Figure 14. Where one sees one's own future.

These different options also emerged in the interviews. In some cases, it was clear how a vision of the future could be influenced by several aspects of personal life, such as work or children:

I didn't buy a house in Norway, so I don't' really feel not having a relationship, not having a family, I don't know if something will change; I cannot exclude it, but in this current situation I would like to get closer to my nephews, I have different priorities, but at the moment I'm fine here, I like it. (Woman, 34 years)

Conclusions

The aim of this project was to conduct a pilot investigation among Italians living in Norway to gain more knowledge about their health and health-related lifestyles. The research was conducted through an electronic survey and a set of qualitative interviews.

It is important to note that this study has a number of limitations, especially the fact that the sample does not fully reflect the Italian population in Norway. The proportion of women and people with a high level of education in our sample is, for instance, larger than what is reported by official sources (i.e., AIRE and Statistics Norway). This is important to take into account when interpreting the results, because previous studies indicate that women and people with a high level of education tend to have healthier lifestyles compared with men and people with lower educational levels. The proportion of age and place of residence within our sample was also not fully representative of the reference population. Nevertheless, the findings of this survey can provide a first insight into this under-researched topic.

On the basis of our study's results, it emerges that the self-perceived health of Italians in Norway is generally good, compared with both the health of Norwegians and that of other immigrant groups. The Italians in Norway appear to be quite physically active. Interestingly, it seems that the participants in our study perceive that Norway offers better opportunities for exercising outdoors as well as engaging in active forms of transportation (e.g., walking or cycling). The results also show that the Italians have fairly healthy nutritional habits. However, with respect to this topic, we did observe some challenges, mainly concerning the consumption of the recommended amounts of fruit and vegetables. It also emerges that the quality and frequency of interpersonal relationships is often judged as unsatisfactory. For many people, moving to Norway meant a worsening of their social life, for example, almost half part of the respondents do not have weekly contact with good friends. Moreover, the Italians' relationship with the health system is worthy of further attention, more specifically with regard to the fact that a large portion of the respondents reported a low level of trust in the Norwegian health system, as well as difficulties in communicating with medical personnel in Norway.

This is the first study to shed light on the health of Italians living in Norway and, to the best of our knowledge, other nations in Europe. The present study is important for several reasons: the results provide a starting point for better understanding of this phenomenon and they lay the foundation for planning future, more comprehensive and systematic, studies. A further aspect is the additional knowledge on the phenomenon of Italian migration, which seems to have been overlooked in the Norwegian context. Last, the results of the present study could inspire initiatives that aim at tackling some of the challenges encountered by the Italian community in Norway. In this regard, we especially encourage initiatives that can help Italians to understand and navigate the Norwegian health system, as well as initiatives that encourage aggregation and sociality.

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