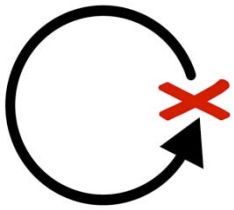

METOIKOS Project

CIRCULAR MIGRATION BETWEEN MOROCCO AND ITALY

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Circular Migration between Morocco and Italy

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The METOIKOS Research Project
Circular migration patterns in Southern and Central Eastern Europe: Challenges and opportunities for migrants and policy makers

The METOIKOS project looks at circular migration patterns in three European regions: southeastern Europe and the Balkans (Greece, Italy and Albania); southwestern Europe and the Maghreb (Spain, Italy and Morocco); and Central Eastern Europe (Poland, Hungary, and Ukraine). More specifically, METOIKOS studies the links between different types of circular migration and processes of integration (in the country of destination) and reintegration (in the source country)**.** It identifies the main challenges and opportunities involved in circular migration for source countries, destination countries and migrants (and their families) and develops new conceptual instruments for the analysis of circular migration and integration. The project will develop policy recommendations (a Guide for Policy Makers, available in 10 European languages) for local, regional and national policy makers as to how to frame circular migration with appropriate (re-)integration policies. It will also organise three Regional Workshops (on Spain, Italy and Morocco; on Greece, Italy and Albania; and on Poland, Hungary and Ukraine). The project will foster online discussion on circular migration with a view to raising awareness about the challenges and advantages of circular mobility in the wider EU Neighbourhood and the Euro-Mediterranean region more generally.

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The METOIKOS project is hosted by the Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies and co-ordinated by Prof. Anna Triandafyllidou (anna.triandafyllidou@eui.eu).

The Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies (RSCAS), directed by Stefano Bartolini since September 2006, is home to a large post-doctoral programme. Created in 1992, it aims to develop inter-disciplinary and comparative research and to promote work on the major issues facing the process of integration and European society. The Centre hosts major research programmes and projects, and a range of working groups and ad hoc initiatives. The research agenda is organised around a set of core themes and is continuously evolving, reflecting the changing agenda of European integration and the expanding membership of the European Union. One of its core themes is Migration .

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Abstract

This study reviews the trends in Moroccan migration to Italy since the early 1990s. It provides detailed demographic information on Moroccan population in Italy and suggests that by 2010 Moroccans have been largely settled, partly as a result of legal status adjustment. The study identifies some of the "new" circular migration programs implemented between Italy and Morocco since the onset of the Global Approach to Migration and suggests some key questions that need to be taken into consideration when inquiring about the potential of these programs to prevent irregular migration and settlement.

Keywords

Morocco, Italy, circular migration, irregular migration, settlement

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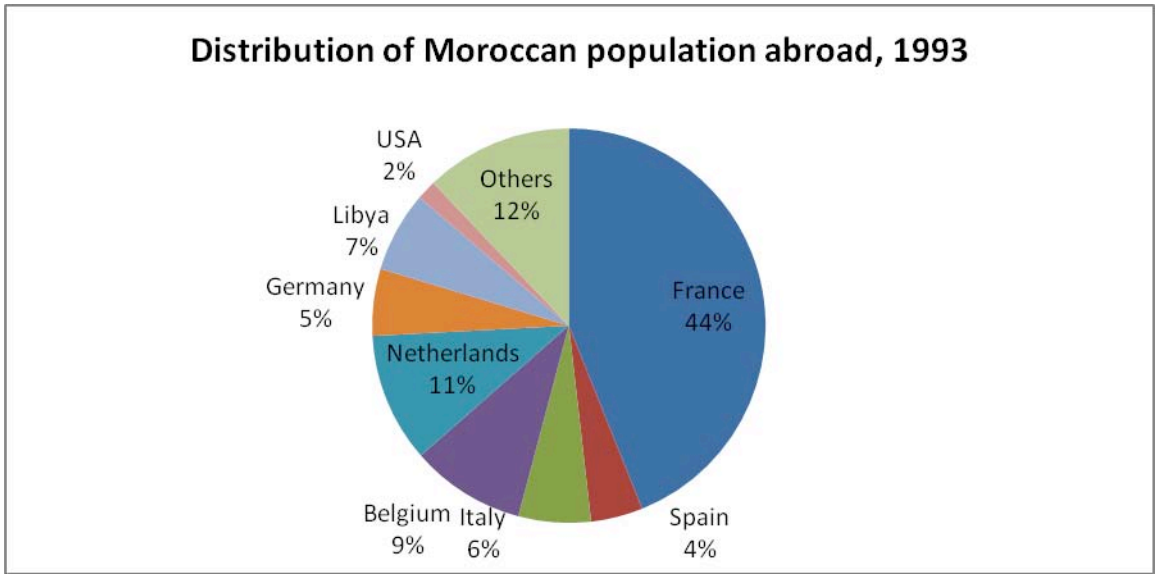
The Global Approach to Migration has been expected to mark the new era in what has been historically referred to as temporary migration and most recently as circular migration. Morocco has had a half century-long experience with temporary migration and will continue to be affected by it as it is one of the primary countries slated to partake in Europe's new circular migration programs.

The first part of this study overviews the outcomes of the "old" admissions of Moroccan workers to Italy during the1990s. It suggests that by the early 2000s Moroccan migration to Italy has demonstrated the symptoms of settlement, much of which was illegal, thereby calling for a new form of admissions to restore the credibility of temporary foreign worker admissions. The second part of this study identifies the first "new" admissions of Moroccan workers to Italy implemented since the early 2000s. It highlights the key methodological issues that need to be taken into account when studying the "new" circular migration between Morocco and Italy. The study is primarily based on the data provided by the National Italian Statistical Office.

1. Circular Migration Between Morocco and Italy during the 1990s

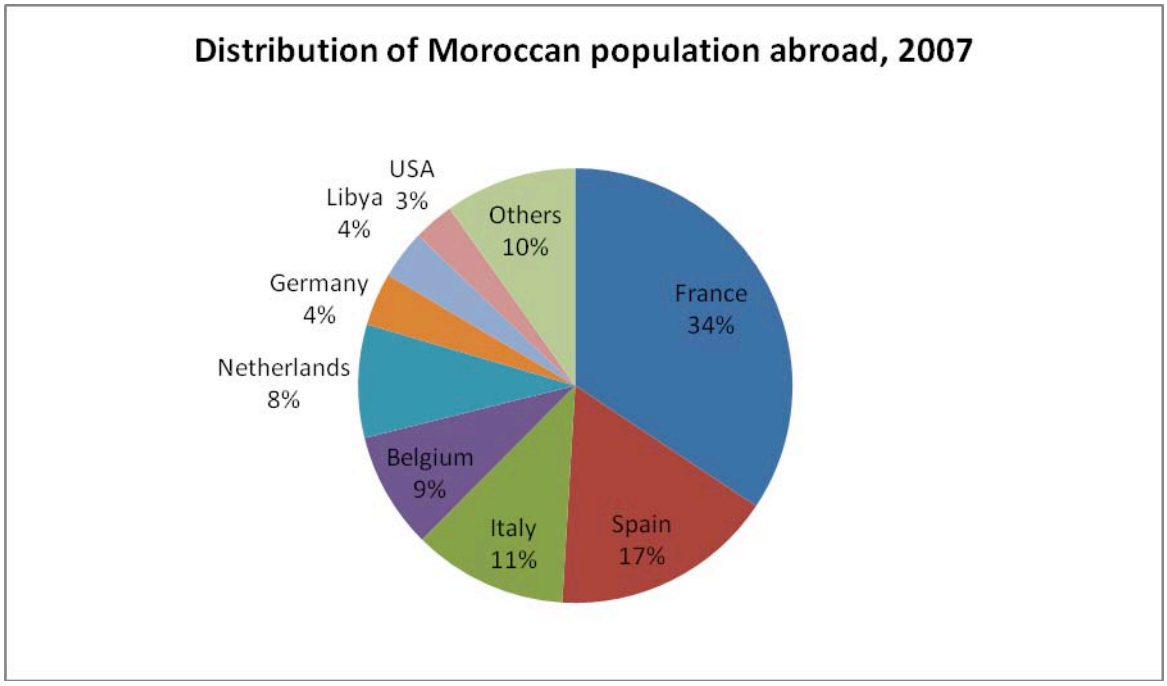
According to the Ministry for Moroccan Community Abroad, by 2007 there were 3 292 386 Moroccans registered in Moroccan consulates abroad, twice as many as in 1993 (1 545 036). In 1993 legal emigrants accounted for six percent of Morocco's population. By 2007 they accounted for ten percent (MCMMRE and IOM, 2009) and were estimated to account for twelve percent in 2009 (IOM, 2010). The rapid increase of Moroccan emigration since the 1990s was precipitated by the liberalization of Morocco's emigration policy and the emergence of new migration destinations in Southern Europe, principally Italy and Spain (figure 1 and 2).

Figure 1



Source: author, based on MCCMRE and IOM, 2009: 10-11

Figure 2



Source: author, based on MCCMRE and IOM, 2009: 10-11

Following the 1974-1989 hiatus, by the early 1990s, the governments of the Northern European countries approached the issue of new foreign worker admissions with prudence. Admitting some 200 000 temporary foreign workers a year Germany became the largest new guestworker importer. Yet to maximize the likelihood of circularity, Germany limited the admissions to Eastern Europeans, with priority given to *Aussiedlers* – those who could claim German ancestry. Much like the Spanish and Portuguese workers in the post-WWII France Polish or Romanian workers in Germany were expected to circulate, and if settled, less likely to lead to social tensions due to their cultural affinity. Also the UK, Belgian and Dutch governments began their post 1990 temporary foreign worker admissions with the recruitment in Central Europe. These decisions came as a disappointment to the Southern Mediterranean countries, such as Morocco, which had hoped that the post-1990 temporary foreign worker programs would atone for the abrupt 1973/1974 migration stops and revivify the flows of remittances which began to decrease as migrants' families joined them abroad.

While the Northern European countries have largely adhered to their Central and Eastern Europe-focused circular migration designs, the Southern European countries were opened to admitting migrants from outside of Europe. With the proliferation of more stable jobs, low geographical labor mobility and generous unemployment benefits many Southern Europeans would make themselves unavailable to work in the 3D (dirty, dull and dangerous) jobs in construction, agriculture, services and to a lesser extent manufacturing. It was not until the 1991 that Italy made Moroccans subject to visas and attempted to limit foreign worker admissions to the annual quotas. Thus until then Moroccan workers found it easy to arrive in Italy and find

work in an underground economy, first shoulder-to-shoulder with Italian workers and, as the working conditions in those jobs began to stagnate, with increasingly more foreign workers.

2. Irregular migration from Morocco to Italy

Given the importance of tourism to Italian economy, even following the implementation of visas, Italy remained susceptible to illegal migration originating as legal flows. The other modes of entry, potentially susceptible to abuse, were associated with asylum, humanitarian and religious training admissions. However, the official data on the residence permits demonstrate that the overwhelming proportion of migrants enter Italy for work. As of April 2010 there was no systematic data indicating what proportion of legally admitted workers overstays their permits. One of the best, yet still fragmentary sources of information on unauthorized migration was the data revealed through Italy's five regularizations.

To reset Italy's irregular migration counter to zero and avoid the high costs and diplomatic embarrassment associated with forced repatriations in 1987, 1990, 1996, 1998 and 2002 Italy authorized five regularizations. Moroccans had been most numerous among regularized foreigners until 1996, but were relegated to the third position in 1998 and 2002 due to the increased inflows of Eastern European citizens. Since 2002 no regularization was authorized and both voluntary and involuntary returns were implemented on an on-going basis. Migrants wishing to leave Italy voluntarily were entitled to counselling, free transportation home, a € 200 pre-departure grant per person and € 1450 post-arrival reintegration grant per case/family (IOM, 2004: 207-208). Migrants participating in the voluntary return program had to renounce the documents linking them to Italy and thus any years of residence that they could have used to adjust their status either through eventual regularization as, based on historical pattern, migrants believed that sooner or later Italy would regularize again.

The first (1987-1988) legalization required migrants to have a work offer from a prospective employer, but applications from job seekers were also accepted. Some 119 000 migrants were legalized, 65 percent of whom did not have a labor contract. Before the results of the 1987-88 regularization were revealed, irregular migration was mostly associated with Senegalese, Chinese and Sri Lankans (OECD, 1990a: 45). The regularization highlighted the importance of Moroccans many of whom emerged to have been employed as ambulant vendors (OECD, 1990a: 82).

The self-employed nature of work could indicate that first Moroccans in Italy were not sure how long they were going to stay in the country. Possibly given the ease of entry and finding a job, Italy, like Spain, appeared a convenient country to start migration and then settle, return or move somewhere elsewhere. According to *Centro Studi Investimenti Sociali* (CENSIS) interviews with 1525 foreigners of 16 nationalities in 15 regions of Italy, by 1989 irregular employment could be estimated at 30 percent of total employment. Thirty five percent of interviewed declared they would stay in Italy for a limited time; thirty percent thought they would settle; twenty percent considered Italy as a transit point before heading to the US or Australia and fifteen percent intended to work on a seasonal basis (OECD, 1990b: 57).

Table 1

The principal nationalities regularized in Italy's regularizations (in thousands)

1987-1988		**1990**		**1995-1996**		**1998**		**2002**	
Morocco	21.7	Morocco	49.9	Morocco	34.3	Albania	39.0	Romania	132.8
Sri Lanka	10.7	Tunisia	25.5	Albania	29.7	Romania	24.1	Ukraine	100.1
Philippines	10.7	Senegal	17.0	Philippines	21.4	Morocco	23.9	Morocco	48.1[1]
Tunisia	10.0	Former Yugoslavia	11.3	China	14.4	China	16.8	Albania	47.1
Senegal	8.4	Philippines	8.7	Peru	12.8	Senegal	10.7	Ecuador	34.0
Former Yugoslavia	7.1	China	8.3	Romania	11.1	Egypt	9.5	China	32.8
Other	50.1	Other	97.1	Other	120.8	Other	93.2	Other	241.0
Total	**118.7**	**Total**	**217.7**	**Total**	**244.5**	**Total**	**217.1**	**Total**	**646.8[2]**

Source: ISTAT, 2007a: 51 and OECD, 2006: 82

To apply for the second (1990) regularization, migrants were required to have lived in Italy before the end of 1989. About 218 000 migrants, i.e. 100 000 more than two years before, were legalized. The two-fold increase in the number of regularized Moroccans was considered as a consequence of reappearance of Moroccans who had been legalized in 1987 and stayed in the country following permit expiry (OECD, 1990a: 45). The regularization was also opened to self-employed. By 1991 some 14 000 non-EU workers applied to pursue self-employment, mostly Iranians (40 percent of all regularized), Chinese (30 percent), Egyptians (15 percent) and Moroccans (5 percent). The self-employed Moroccans were mostly small entrepreneurs (OECD, 1990b: 23). The relatively weak proportion of Moroccans among the self-employed could have indicated that they were beginning to look for more stable jobs, thereby put roots in Italy.

The first two regularizations demonstrated the early importance of Moroccans among Italy's early (irregular) migration flows. Moroccans as well as other developing countries' citizens had been attracted to Italy by the demand for labor in services, agriculture and small enterprises, particularly in the South and Center part of the country. Once regularized, a part of those workers would move to Northern Italy to find work in industry (OECD, 1990 b: 23, Mghari and Fassi Fihri, 2010: 22).

In the fall of 1995 Italian government authorized third regularization. Between November 1995 and 15 January 1997, some 260 000 applications were filed with around 230 000 were deemed pre-approved. To qualify for this program, applicants had to prove that they had worked for at least four within the previous twelve months. Alternatively they could qualify to be regularized on the grounds of family reunification: they had a relative who had lived in Italy for over two years and had sufficient means to support and accommodate them. This

[1] Italian Ministry of Interior figure.

[2] Italian Ministry of Interior figure.

requirement attested to the fact that Italy had recognized that some migrants had settled. Self-employed workers were excluded from the program. Moroccans filed the largest number of applications and they also emerged as the most numerous regularized group. In most cases they had previously held a residence and work permit and overstayed it (OECD, 1998: 127).

In 1998 Italian government authorized fourth regularization. To qualify, foreigners had to: (1) have been in Italy since 27 March, 1998; (2) have a salaried employment contract or prove that they were engaged in a professional activity; and (3) have adequate housing (OECD, 2001: 197). The number of irregular migrants from Morocco dropped by 30 percent as compared with the 1996 regularization. Thus, one possible reason for the drop in the 1996 statistic could have been that Moroccans did not want or could not participate in the 1998 regularization. By 2002 the number of irregular migrants from Morocco doubled as compared to 1996.

The 2002 regularization legalized 646 829 persons. The 2002 procedure was different from the past regularizations in a sense that applications, along with the three months of pending pension contributions, had to be filed at the post offices. The regularization was originally focused on domestic workers, particularly nannies and those caring for the elderly and the disabled and as such pertained more to Romanians and Ukrainians rather than Moroccans. However, it was eventually extended to other undocumented workers whose employers were willing to offer them a contract (OECD, 2004: 212-213). It is with this extension that regularization better addressed the needs of irregular Moroccan population in Italy. Many applicants were undocumented migrants working in the informal sector, and many worked there because their previous permits had expired (OECD, 2003: 217).

Out of 48 174, Moroccans regularized in 2002, 13.5 percent were women (table 3). Eighty percent of those regularized in 2002 were single. The medium age of regularized Moroccans was 31.2 years for women and 29.4 years for men. The Ministry estimated that there were 182 870 legal Moroccan residents living in Italy, 35.8 percent of whom were women. Almost 53 percent were single. The medium age for legal women was 33.6 and for men was 35.5. The proportion of women regularized in 2002 was small compared to the principal European and Latin American countries, but the highest among African countries except for Nigeria. The proportion of women among irregular Moroccan migrants to Italy grew overtime (table 2).

Table 2

Proportion of Moroccan women regularized in 1990, 1996, 1998 and 2002

1990	1996	1998	2002
8.9 %	10.2%	11.3%	13.5%

Source: Author based on ISTAT, 2005a: 6

Table 3

Comparison of Moroccan legal and illegal population based on 2002 regularization data

	Regularized					Legal				
				Medium age					Medium age	
	population	% F	% married	F	M	population	% F	% married	F	M
Morocco	48 174	13.5	19.1	31.2	29.4	182 870	35.8	57.2	33.6	35.5
All	646 829	46. 2	40.2	36.6	30.9	1 580 738	49.2	57.4	34.4	35.0

Source: ISTAT, 2005a: 8

3. Legal migration from Morocco to Italy

In February 1990, Italy approved its first comprehensive immigration legislation, the so called "Martelli Law". Authorized in the eve of Italy's accession to Schengen Agreement, the law aimed to prevent irregular migration and to ameliorate the integration of those migrants who were already residing in Italy. Hence it paved the way for the intensification of border controls on the one hand and for family reunification on the other hand. To support irregular migration control, the law approved quotas.

Developed annually and in consultation with social partners the quotas aimed to adjust the size of third-country migrant worker admissions to the perceived demand by the Italian labor market and to the ability of Italian society to integrate the newcomers. Even though Italian quotas were to be specified before the beginning of the calendar year in which migrants were to be admitted, often quota decrees were not approved until well into the year and were further changed by additional amendments once officially announced. Employers who did not want or could not wait for the decree would admit foreign workers informally (Sciortino, 2009: 4). While the quota admissions were viewed as bureaucratic the employer sanctions were viewed as lax. Foreign workers were generally willing to risk informal admissions given the large demand for their services in the Italian labor market and the weak incentives to work legally (high taxation, lax employer sanctions, relative difficulty of finding legal job and ease of finding a job in an underground economy etc.). Furthermore, the five regularizations which Italy authorized between 1986 and 2002 made it seem as if status adjustment would be always possible. Consequently, until 2000 quotas were underused and illegal migration was growing.

In response to the augmenting illegal migration, since 1998 Italian government reserved a proportion of quotas for the countries of origin which it desired to involve in unauthorized outflows control. The proportion of country-specific sub-quotas varied overtime from as high as 78.9 percent in 2001 to as low as 4.8 percent in 2003 (Sciortino, 2009: 6). With significant

variations between the proportions of country sub-quotas, the countries of origin could never be certain to what extent would Italian authorities reward their efforts to control illegal migration in the following year. In some cases the country-specific sub-quotas would be raised and in some cases they would be lowered. As of 2008 Morocco did not suffer a total quota interruption, the way Algeria, Somalia and Senegal did, but its quota varied between as low as 500 work permits in 2003 and 4500 in 2007 and 2008. Despite the estimated third highest proportion of unauthorized migrants as revealed by the outcomes of 2002 legalization, the quotas conceded to Morocco were not higher than to the countries with lower proportion of irregular workers.

Table 4

Italian Quota Admissions

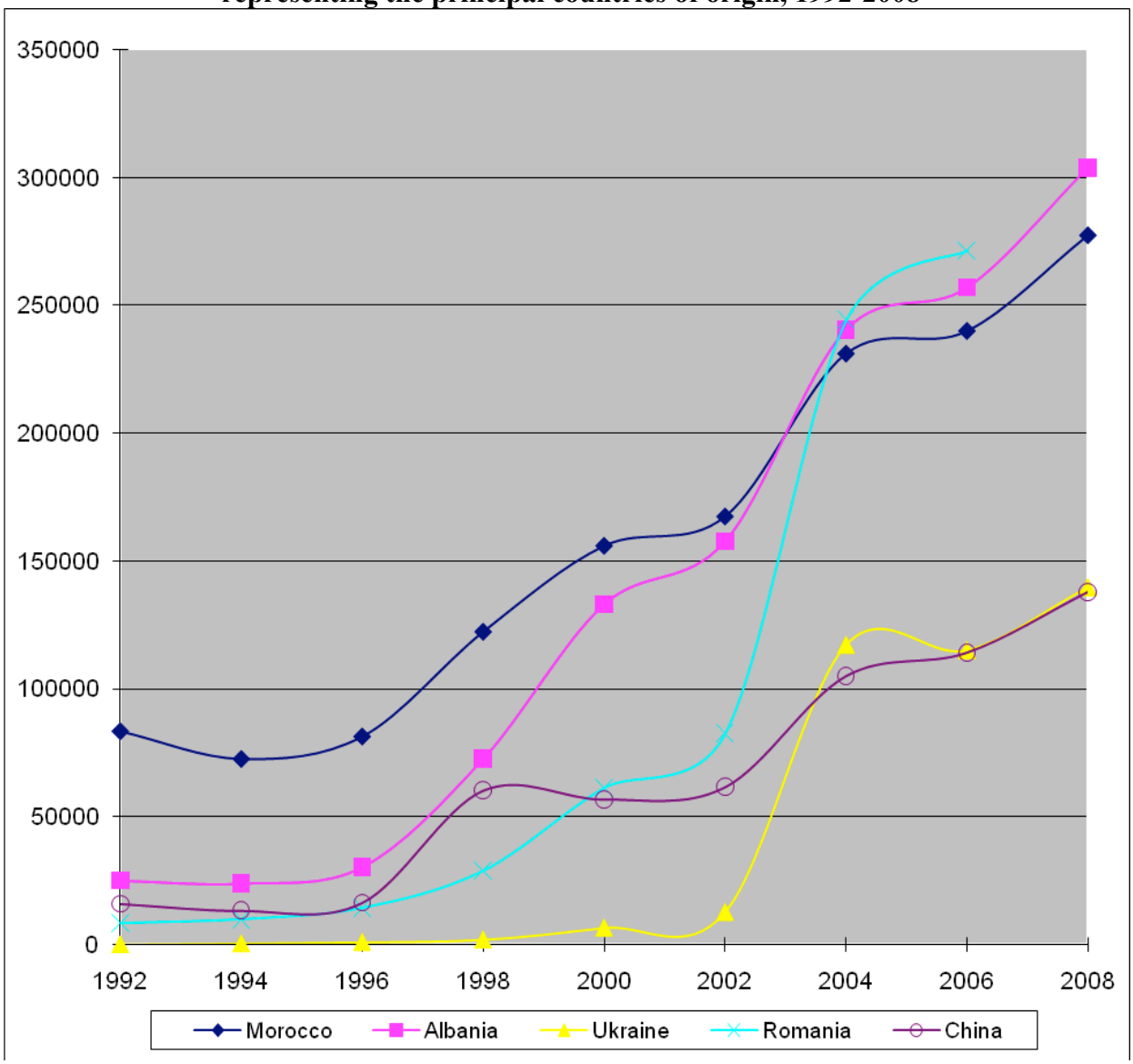
	1998	**1999**	**2000**	**2001**	**2002**	**2003**	**2004**	**2005**	**2006**	**2007**	**2008**
Permits reserved for Morocco	1500	1500	3000	1500	2000	500	2500	2500	4000	4500	4500
Permits reserved for all countries	6000	6000	18 000	15 000	14 000	3800	56400	100500	208500	47600	44600
Total Quota	58000	58000	83000	19000	79500	79500	115500	179000	370000	170000	150000

Source: Sciortino, 2009: 6

By the time quotas were authorized, Moroccans received around 12 percent of all residence permits, i.e. the twice as many as the next most numerous legally residing foreign group in Italy-Tunisians (figure 3, tables 1-17 annex). As migration to Italy accelerated in the 1990s and 2000s, so did migration from Morocco. However, even though the number of permits conceded to Moroccans tripled between 1992 and 2008, thereby allowing Moroccans to maintain roughly the same proportion of residence permits, other nationalities began to assume increasingly more important role. Since 2003, Albanians and Romanians would receive more residence permits than Moroccans.

Figure 3

Evolution of residence permits (*permesso di soggiorno*) conceded to the migrants representing the principal countries of origin, 1992-2008



Source: Author, based on ISTAT 2009b.

Before 1997 Albanians were not among the top five residence permits holders, but in 1997 they increased by 4.1 percent thereby becoming the second largest legally residing migrant group after Moroccans. By 2003 Albanians caught up with Moroccans and raced with them head-to-head. By 2008, Albanians managed to widen the advantage over Moroccans to 1.3 percentage points (or 26.5 thousand permit holders) and since then became the foreign population with the largest proportion of residence permit holders.

Three years after Albanians, also Romanians began to assume importance among the residence permits holders. Since 2004, the proportions of Moroccans, Albanians and Romanians were more or less equal and altogether constituted roughly one third of all foreign residence permit holders in Italy. Chinese and Ukrainians also demonstrated significant growth but were not able to exceed 7 percent share within the permit holder population. The proportion of Chinese grew steadily since 1992 emerging among the top five *permesso di soggiorno* holders in Italy by 1999.

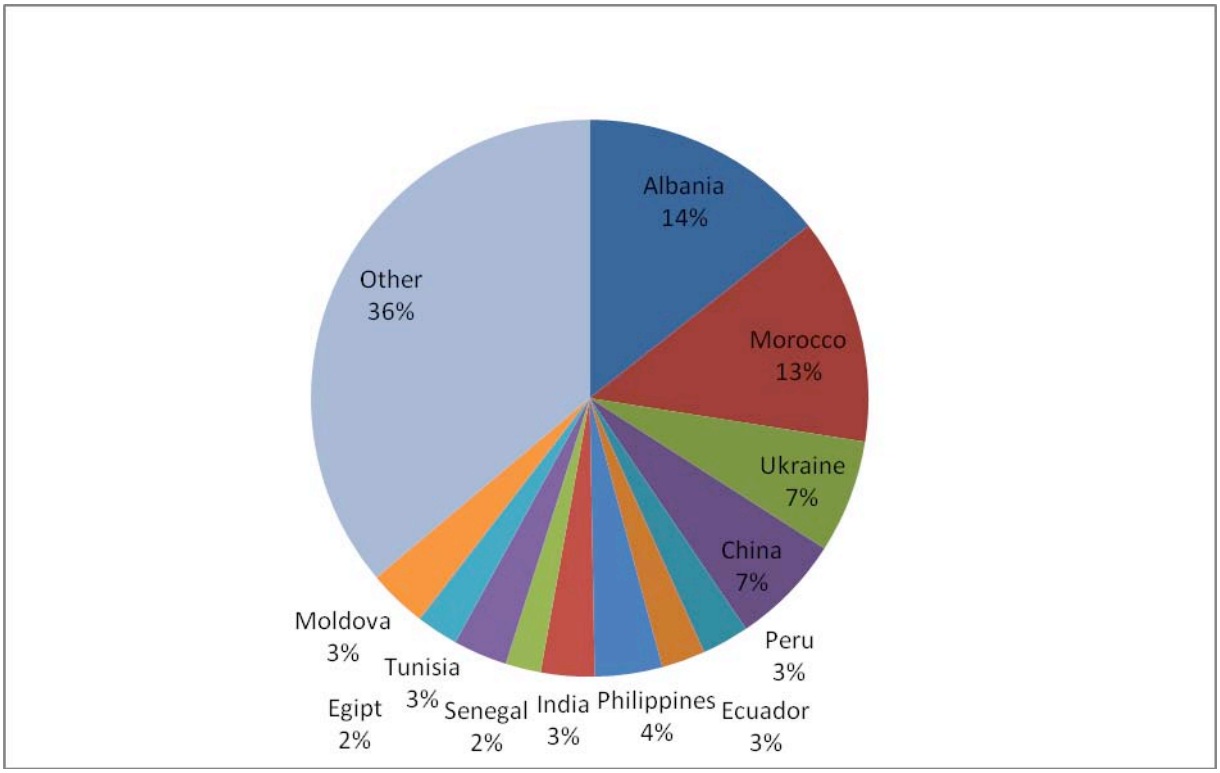
Contrary to Chinese, Ukrainians were insignificant until 2004 when their share among residence permit holders increased from 0.1 to 5.2 percent. The 2004 breakthrough of Ukrainian population constituted the most surprising phenomenon in the history of migration to Italy. As the economic development will slow down recruitment in Romania, Italian employers are likely to reinforce recruitment efforts in Ukraine. Recruitment in Ukraine will be cheaper and administratively easier than in Morocco. Furthermore employers and Italian communities may prefer Ukrainians to Moroccans for cultural reasons. The perceived ease of integration of Ukrainian workers may appease social conflicts between Italian populations and migrants, yet decrease conflicts between migrants themselves. In 2000 and 2001 the Moroccan populations in Andalucía revolted against agricultural employers alleged to replace them with non-Moslem workers (Plewa, 2009a).

By January 2009, Moroccan-born population was the third most numerous legally residing group of foreigners in Italy after Romanians and Albanians (figure 4), but there were twice as few Moroccans as Romanians (table 5).[3] Moroccan women constituted 42 percent of Moroccan population, which more or less corresponded to the proportion of women among Albanian and Chinese populations, but was lower than among Romanian and notably Ukrainian populations.

[3] As of March 30, 2010, the Italian Institute of Statistics (ISTAT) did not yet publish data on residence permits granted to foreigners after January 1, 2008. The only publicly available data for 2008 was the data on "Moroccan population", which was broader than the subset of Moroccans holding permesso di soggiorno.

Figure 4

Redistribution of residence permits in Italy by nationality, 1 January, 2008[4]



Source: Author, based on ISTAT

Table 5

Resident Population in Italy as of January 1, 2009 by gender and citizenship

	Male	**Female**	**Total**
Romania	373255	423222	796477
Albania	241829	199567	441396
Morocco	233708	169884	403592
China	88853	81412	170265
Ukraine	30992	123006	153998
Total:	**1913602**	**1977693**	**3891295**

Source: ISTAT http://demo.istat.it/str2008/index_e.html

Moroccan-born population in Italy has been concentrated in Lombardia, Emilia Romagna, Piemonte and Veneto in the northern part of the country, particularly in the cities of Turin, Milan, Rome, Genoa and Bologna. This said, the southern regions of Campania, Sicilia

[4] ISTAT did not publish data on Romania.

and Calabria remained relatively highly populated by Moroccans who found it easiest to land jobs in southern Italy's agriculture (table 6) (ISTAT, 2009a: 12).

Table 6

Redistribution of Moroccan population in Italy as of January 1, 2009[5]

Region	Moroccan Population	
	thousands	**%**
Lombardia	98.0	24.3
Emilia Romagna	62.7	15.5
Piemonte	58.8	14.6
Veneto	54.1	13.4
Toscana	24.1	6.0
Marche	14.0	3.5
Campania	11.0	2.7
Liguria	10.9	2.7
Sicilia	10.5	2.6
Calabria	9.9	2.5
Lazio	9.8	2.4
Umbria	9.2	2.3
Trentino	7.5	1.9
Puglia	6.1	1.5
Trento	4.5	1.1
Abruzzo	4.5	1.1
Sardegna	3.8	0.9
Friuli	3.6	0.9
Bolzano	2.9	0.7
Valle d'Aosta	2.0	0.5
Basilicata	1.1	0.3
Molise	0.9	0.2
Total	**403 592**	**100**

Source: Author, based on ISTAT, 2009a: 17

The concentration of Moroccans in Italy's northern and urban regions stemmed from the fact that in Italy (to much greater degree than e.g. in Spain) Moroccans were able to find work in services and industry. To some extent this concentration was reinforced by the geographical and labor mobility of Moroccan-migrants, who tended to escape from southern and rural to northern and urban parts of the country, particularly as they were able to adjust their status from illegal to legal and from temporary to permanent.

[5] Latest available data as of March 20, 2010

As of January 1, 2008, some 78 percent of Moroccan workers in Italy worked for an employer, 19 percent worked autonomously and a bit over two percent was registered as searching for a job (table 7). Between 2001 and 2008, the proportion of Moroccans working autonomously and searching for a job decreased and the proportion of Moroccans working for an employer increased. If the jobs that Moroccans accepted were long term jobs, this trend could be indicative of Moroccan settlement. The proportion of Moroccans searching for a job decreased six-fold.

Table 7
Evolution of type of employment of Moroccans holding residence permits in Italy, January 1, 2001-January 1, 2008

Year	Employer-dependent work	Autonomous	In search of a job
2008	78.5	19.1	2.29
2007	76.4	21.1	2.3
2006	77.4	20.0	2.4
2005	79.6	17.5	2.8
2004	78.7	15.9	5.27
2003	75.5	19.2	4.97
2002	74.0	18.3	7.6
2001	71.7	13.3	14.9

Source: ISTAT, 2001c; 2002b; 2003b;, 2004b; 2005c; 2006b; 2007b; 2008e.

As of 2008, 62 percent of Moroccans applied for work permits and 35 percent for family reunification permits (table 8). The proportion of Moroccans applying for work permits decreased since 2001 as compared to those who asked for family reunification permits. The proportion of Moroccans coming to Italy just to reside did not change in that period of time. The proportion of Moroccans coming to Italy to study or for other reasons (asylum, humanitarian reasons, religious purposes, tourism) was gradually increasing. When legal migration channels are restrictive, these "other" categories of migrant admissions could constitute a stepping stone to irregular migration through permit overstay and subsequent leakage to the underground economy. However, as of 2010 it seemed that migrants who could not enter Italy for work-related reasons would be able to do it for family reunification reasons.

Compared to other principal nationalities holding Italian residence permits, as of 2008, only Albanians received more family reunification permits than Moroccans. The proportion for Chinese, Ukrainians and Filipinos was lower (table 9). Relatively many Filipinos demanded residence permits for religious purposes, hence above the average proportion of resident permits conceded to Filipinos for other purposes.

In 2007, 19.4 percent (1142) of all foreign men who married Italian women were Moroccans and as such Moroccans had a higher rate of intermarriage with Italian women than any other foreign men (table 10). The mixed marriage rate among Moroccan men exceeded this among Albanian and Romanian men. Given that in 2007, Albanian men (159 715) were not significantly less numerous than Moroccan men (162 847), Moroccan men had a high mixed-marriage rate. The available data did not indicate the length of stay of Moroccan men who

married Italian women, but it is possible that those men were more settled than Albanian and Romanian men.

Table 8

Residence permits conceded to Moroccan citizens as of January 1, 2001-2008 by reason for concession

(% of all conceded residence permits)

Year	Work	Family	Residence	Studies	Other
2001	71.1	27.9	0.1	0.2	0.5
2002	68.6	30.1	0.1	0.2	0.8
2003	66.6	32.0	0.1	0.2	0.7
2004	71.3	27.4	0.1	0.2	0.8
2005	67.9	30.8	0.1	0.2	0.8
2006	65.8	32.4	0.1	0.5	0.9
2007	63.3	34.7	0.2	0.6	1.0
2008	62.3	35.5	0.1	0.6	1.25

Source: Author, based on ISTAT 2008c; 2007b; 2006a; 2005b; 2004; 2003; 2002; 2001a.

Table 9

Residence permits conceded to four other most numerous nationalities besides Moroccans as of January 1, 2008, by motif of concession

Year	Work	Family	Residence	Studies	Other
Albania	52.0	43.0	0.1	3.1	1.6
Ukraine	78.4	19.3	0.1	0.8	1.2
China	70.9	24.6	0.0	2.9	1.3
Philippines	78.0	16.1	0.6	1.0	4.1

Source: Author, based on ISTAT 2008c

In 2007, 19.4 percent (1142) of all foreign men who married Italian women were Moroccans and as such Moroccans had a higher rate of intermarriage with Italian women than any other foreign men (table 10). The mixed marriage rate among Moroccan men exceeded this among Albanian and Romanian men. Given that in 2007, Albanian men (159 715) were not significantly less numerous than Moroccan men (162 847), Moroccan men had a high mixed-marriage rate. The available data did not indicate the length of stay of Moroccan men who married Italian women, but it is possible that those men were more settled than Albanian and Romanian men.

In the same year 3.8 percent of all women who married Italian men were Moroccans. The mixed marriage rate for Moroccan women was three times as low as for Romanian women, who had the highest rate of intermarriage with Italian men. Nonetheless, the proportion of Moroccan women who married Italian men was higher than of other Moslem women. The

ISTAT data on marriages did not include information whether "Italian" spouses, be it men or women, included naturalized Italians, which could influence intermarriage rate.

Table 10

The proportion of foreigners who married Italians, 2007

Country	Italian husband Foreign wife (%)	Country	Foreign husband Italian wife (%)
Romania	13.0	Morocco	19.4
Ukraine	10.4	Albania	10.1
Brazil	9.8	Tunisia	8.0
Poland	6.6	Egypt	5.8
Russia	6.0	Brazil	4.9
Moldova	4.8	UK	4.6
Albania	4.2	Germany	3.5
Morocco	3.8	US	3.3
Other	41.4	Other	59.8

Source: ISTAT, 2008b

In 2007, 29.3 percent of Moroccans married with other foreigners, mostly Tunisians (34.3 percent) and Egyptians (22.0 percent) (table 12). At least in 2007, Moroccans had higher rate of marriage with other foreigners than other migrants, notably Chinese. Chinese were the most hermetic group when it comes to marriage, despite their two-decade long relatively strong presence in Italy.

Moroccan migrants in the working age tended to be young due to the age pyramid of the Moroccan population and to the specificity of Italian labor demand (mainly low-skilled physically enduring jobs) (Dumont, 2006: 8). In 2001 and 2008, the highest proportion of Moroccan residence permit holders was in the 30-34 age brackets. Between the two periods, the proportion of Moroccans older than forty years increased, while the proportion of Moroccans younger than 40 years old decreased. The increase was strongest for Moroccans between 45 and 49 years old and the decrease was most marked for those between 30 and 34 years old. While small, the proportion of those in the retirement age almost doubled (table 11, figure 5). As Moroccan population increased over time, so did the number of Moroccan children born in Italy (table 13).

Table 11

The evolution of age structure of Moroccan residence permit holders, January 1, 2001-Jan 1, 2008

	<17	18-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-54	55-59	60-64	65<
2008	4.63	14.09	15.30	17.63	16.34	12.93	8.28	4.77	2.51	1.27	2.19
2001	5.33	14.35	16.16	20.84	17.99	11.61	6.32	3.18	1.65	1.30	1.23

Source: ISTAT, 2008d; 2001b

Table 12
The proportion of foreigners who married other foreigners, 2007

Country	**Marriage with other foreigners (%)**
China	0.2
Nigeria	3.0
Peru	10.9
Ecuador	12.0
Brazil	12.4
Moldova	12.8
Senegal	12.9
Romania	15.4
Ghana	20.4
Morocco	29.3
Macedonia	40.0
Albania	40.8

Source: Author, based on ISTAT, 2008a

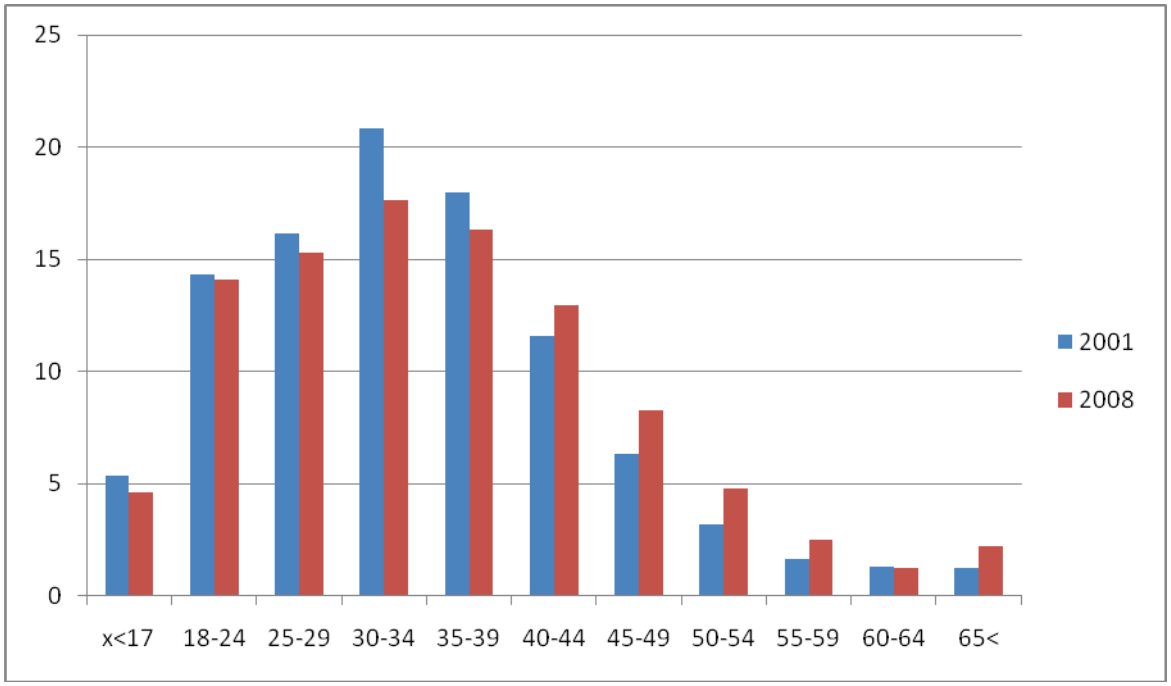
Table 13

The number of children born to Moroccan-born migrants in Italy, 1999-2008

1999	**2000**	**2001**	**2002**	**2003**	**2004**	**2005**	**2006**	**2007**	**2008**
4 480	5 408	5 860	6 354	5 819	8 644	8 823	9 606	10 731	12 242

Source: Author based on ISTAT, 2009c: 2

Figure 5
The evolution of age structure of Moroccan residence permit holders, January 1, 2001-Jan 1, 2008



Source: Author, based on ISTAT 2008d, 2001b data

4. Circular Migration between Morocco and Italy since the early 2000s

The onset of the Global Approach to Migration marked the emergence of what has been referred to as the "new" circular migration. Despite the European Commission's political and financial support, the size and the detailed conditions of circular migration were to be decided upon by the individual EU member states, so as to allow them to adjust foreign worker admissions to their specific economic, social and political objectives. Thus a country characterized by a large illegal migrant population and strong demand for labor, such as Italy, could elaborate a large admission quota both to acquire the necessary manpower as well as to give the countries of origin a stronger incentive to cooperate in irregular migration control. However, as of 2010 Italy continued to formally admit only around 4500 temporary Moroccan workers. In Italy, the principal stakeholders (migrants, employers, labor unions, Moroccan and Italian government) were unable to reach consensus what circular migration should encompass, what goals should it have and how could they be achieved.

One important difference between the "new" circular migration forged by the European Commission and the "old" circular migration designed entirely by the countries of origin and destination was that the "new" circular migration precipitated the proliferation of stakeholders and the strengthening of involvement by the non-state actors. Most of the "new" circular migration schemes implemented by May 2010 were supported by the European Commission's AENEAS fund. This fund was available to any entity, be it sub-national government, NGO or a

research institute. At the same time employers, labor unions and private or semi-private agencies became more involved in the key aspects of foreign worker admissions, such as labor market testing, migrants' selection, pre-departure training and post-return reintegration.

Tables 14 to 22 summarize the nine most widely publicized "new" circular migration programs implemented between Italy and Morocco along with the principal actors involved. However, there may be other programs and actors equally as important to the understanding of the phenomena which have not been well publicized. The first step to the understanding of circular migration between Morocco and Italy should be an inquiry about the likely existence of other programs and actors involved. The European Commission's AENEAS office which has financially contributed to many of the "new" circular migration programs is one of the best sources to track down such programs. The IOM offices in Rome and Rabat; Italian and Moroccan Ministries of Foreign Relations and Labor; Moroccan Foundation Hassan II and Moroccan Employment Office (ANAPEC) should provide further information.

All of the nine programs summarized herein concerned Northern Italy, where Moroccan migrants have more stable jobs, better housing and are likely to enjoy more rights. The tensions in Rosarno clearly demonstrated that southern Italy is as important to the study of circular migration. If it turns out that Southern Italian migration stakeholders did not develop formal circular migration programs with Morocco, it would mean that they are more comfortable with informal rather than formal recruitment. If this is the case, it would be important to inquire about the rationale for informal admissions. Do Italian legislation, social, economic and political contexts favor formal or informal Moroccan admissions? In other words, is formally-organized circular migration from Morocco sustainable in Italy? If not, what should be done so that it would be?

Table 14

Migration and Return: Resources for Development (Migresources)[6]

ACTORS	PROJECT AIMS AND SCOPE
• IOM (Rome and Rabat) • Centro di Ricerca e Documentazione Febraio 74 (CERFE) • Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches Démographiques (CERED) • Hassan II Foundation for Moroccans Residing Abroad • Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (DG Cooperation and Development) • Three Italian NGOs: MLAL, Cooperazione Internazionale (COOPI), ICS	*Mig-resources* aimed to: (1) reduce the mismatch between the relatively high skills of Moroccan migrants and the relatively low level of jobs offered to them in Italy through fine-tuned job matching; (2) foster Morocco's socio-economic development through assisted, targeted investment of migrants' remittances, the improvement of social and technological transfers, and the return of migrants; (3) create favorable conditions in Italy and Morocco for Moroccans to earn money and invest them at home either through temporary or permanent return programs, targeted investments of remittances or through the creation of a trans-national network of firms; migrants' associations and public administrations in both countries; (4) promote labor integration of Moroccan migrants about to depart for Italy or already living there through professional training; (5) promote migrants' real or virtual, temporary or permanent return to their countries of origin.; (6) collect data about geographical redistribution of the Moroccan Diaspora in Italy to facilitate Italo-Moroccan cooperation on their harnessing. *Migresources*: (1) conducted research on best international practices concerning migration and development; (2) selected and trained 30 qualified Moroccan migrants to place them on the job in Italy. The selected migrants received 105 hours of pre-departure training. By the spring of 2008, six Moroccan migrants from Turin area invested in agriculture in Morocco and others participated in internships in Italy. (3) selected 80 qualified, Turin and Rome-residing Moroccans who had planned to return to Morocco to invest in a co-development project. Depending on their interests, migrant entrepreneurs received 67 hours of training in investment, enterprise creation and for-profit cooperation. The representatives of

[6] http://www.migrationretours.org/doc/RAMSLGfr.pdf

	Hassan II foundation assessed the projects of migrants preparing to invest in Morocco. The Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs provided an expert to help the authors of most viable projects secure funding. The IOM prepared the migrants guidelines regarding labor integration in Italy and virtual or real return to Morocco. The project was concluded with an international conference in Morocco which aimed to inform the stakeholders of the opportunities and challenges stemming from the project. According to CERFI database, as of June 2009, real or virtual returners found or created employment in furniture and metal manufacturing, tourism, janitorial services, export-import, grocery stores, auto-mechanics, language teaching, translation, information technology, mining industry. The data base did not specify the proportion of migrants who created jobs for others, the proportion of real vs. virtual returns, nor the degree to which the jobs migrants landed corresponded to their skills.

Table 15

The Moroccan migrant in Italy as development and innovation agent in his/her community of origin: a pilot project in the Northern Province of Morocco

ACTORS	PROJECT AIMS AND SCOPE
• Cooperazione Internazionale (COOPI)	Between May 2003 and April 2005 COOPI examined the ways in which Northern Moroccan migrants could promote the development of their region of origin. The study was based on the consultation with stakeholders in Morocco and Italy. The study resulted in a report and a conference to discuss the results with other regions which may be interested in promoting development through migration in the Meditteranean. Furthermore, pilot training courses workshops were implemented in Italy and Morocco to familiarize migrants with the ways how they could contribute to the development of their region.

Table 16

Women Migration from Morocco to EU: a Warp Yarn for the Development

MAIN ACTORS	PROJECT AIMS AND SCOPE
• Associazione Solterre ONLUS • Istituto di Ricerca Sociale (IRS) • University of Milan (Milan) • University Hassan I (Settat) • National School for Trade and Management (Settat) • Province of Milan • Region Lombardy • Morocco's Ministry for Tourism, Craftsmanship and Social Economy • European Commission (AENEAS Program)	The project started on 1 January 2008 and was slated to finish on 1 January 2010. It aimed to: (1) survey migration trends of Moroccan women to Italy in order to assess how it could contribute to poverty reduction and the development of the local economy in Morocco, especially via remittance transfer; (2) set up cooperation between Lombardy regional and municipal governments and Moroccan migrants living in Lombardy and their families and community in Chaouia-Ourdigha. The cooperation was to enhance the ability of women to conduct effective business in textile and crafts sectors and ideally also foster the growth of medical and educational facilities in Morocco; (3) promote the return of the skilled Moroccan women and departures on circular migration principles. The principal organizer Associazione Solterre expected the program to directly or indirectly benefit up to 7000 Moroccan women.

Table 17

MIDEF: Migration, développent: Femmes en mouvement à Khouribga[7]

MAIN ACTORS	PROJECT AIMS AND SCOPE
• IOM • L'entraide Nationale • Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation • Agenzia di Cooperazione degli Enti Locali (ACEL) • Associazione Nazionale oltre le Frontiere (ANOLF, Piemonte) • Centre Interantionale de Coopération Sud Nord (CICSN) • Chambre de Commerce d'Industrie et de Services (CCIS) • Euro Qualita Soc. Coop • European Union • JMDI	The project consisted of two programs. The first program was launched for 18 months between March 2008 and September 2009. It aimed to promote the development of Khouribga region to reduce incentives for local minors to migrate to Piedmont (IOM, 2008b). The second program was launched on October 1, 2009 and scheduled to be completed on March, 31, 2011. It aimed to improve the social and labor conditions of Moroccan women in Morocco and Italy by promoting cooperation between women and local governments in Piedmont and Khouribga. The Khouribga facilitators aimed to help local women find employment and migrant women invest in the region. Piedmont facilitators aimed to train migrant women how to invest remittances and transfer knowledge. The program aimed to help Moroccan women in Piedmont invest their remittances and money more effectively while preventing Moroccan women in Khouribga from migrating by helping them find employment. The program was expected to benefit 310 women in Khouribga and 38 in Italy and increase investment in Khouribga by 20 percent. By focusing on women the program designers also aimed to promote gender equality.

[7] http://www.migrationretours.org/doc/BrochRAMSfr.pdf, p. 7

Table 18

Pilot project to develop a system facilitating the transfer of remittances of Moroccan immigrants resident in Tuscany [8]

MAIN ACTORS	PROJECT AIMS AND SCOPE
• COSPE (Florence NGO) • Microfinanza SRL (Microfinance Consulting Company) • Association Micro Finance Oued Srou in Morocco (AMOS), Morocco • Monte dei Paschi di Siena • Association of Moroccan immigrants of Province of Livorno and Tuscany region in Italy • Regione Toscana, DG International Relations	The project started on January 1, 2002 and finished on October 1, 2003. It aimed to create a rapid, secure and inexpensive transfer of remittances between Siena and Kenitra for migrants without a bank account.

Table 19

[8] http://www.migration4development.org/content/pilot-project-develop-system-facilitating-transfer-remittances-moroccan-immigrants-resident-0 and http://w3.migration4development.org/handbook/en/pdf/section_3.pdf

Lutte contre l'immigration illégale et la traite des êtres humains à travers la participation des familles victimes de l'émigration clandestine, des associations organisées de la société civile et des institutions locales

MAIN ACTORS	PROJECT AIMS AND SCOPE
• Movimiento Laici America Latina • European Commission (AENEAS Program)	The Project was conducted between March 2007 and February 2010 in Morocco, Italy and Spain. It aimed to promote awareness of the dangers of irregular migration from Chaouia Ouardigha and Tadla Azilal to Italy and Spain. Among others it aimed to improve employment opportunities in the areas of origin and migrants destinations in Veneto, Piedmont and Emilia Romagna regions of Italy.

Table 20
Fit for Europe - Training for a Positive Migration

MAIN ACTORS	PROJECT AIMS AND SCOPE
• Oviedo Chamber of Commerce, Industry and Navigation. • Italian Chamber of Commerce • Agadir Chamber of Commerce and Industry Morocco • European Commission	Initiated on 5 December, 2007 and scheduled to last until 5 December, 2010, the project aimed to foster legal (as opposed to illegal) migration between Morocco and Italy (as well as Senegal and Cape Verde and Spain). Specifically, it aimed to: (1) examine Italian and Moroccan labor markets to better match employers with prospective workers; (2) facilitate workers selection process (3) provide linguistic and vocational training to the selected workers while still at home so that they could be flexibly deployed to work abroad; (4) educate the workers how to save and help them to invest their savings at home (European Commission, 2007c).

Table 21

Sharing learning for a better migration life[9]

MAIN ACTORS	PROJECT AIMS AND SCOPE
• Italian Labor Ministry • Moroccan Ministry of Employment and Vocational Training. • IOM • European Commission (AENEAS)	Conducted between December 2006 and May 2008, the project aimed to improve Moroccan and Italian Ministries of Labor cooperation on the fostering of legal migration, inter alia by identification of labor demand in Italy and adequate workers in Morocco.

Table 22

Entre deux rives [10]

MAIN ACTORS	PROJECT AIMS AND SCOPE
• Euro Qualita Soc. Coop • Centre International de Cooperation Sud Nord (CICSN), Casablanca	Conducted between October 1,2007 and November 1,2008, the project prepared 27 young Casablanca electricity and plumbing students for work in Piedmont. The training was based on the needs of national and European companies. The program designers aimed to help young Moroccans refine their vocational skills, return home with savings and demonstrate to the community that there are legal opportunities for migration between Morocco and Italy.

[9] http://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/what/migration-asylum/documents/aeneas_2004_2006_overview_en.pdf, 23

[10] http://www.migration4development.org/content/marocains-formation-deux-rives

Similarly, like in Italy, also in Morocco, the official circular migration schemes are concentrated in the northern part of the country (principally Chaouia-Ourdigha, Casablanca and Khouribga) allegedly because of the greatest emigration potential to Italy from these areas. What effect does such spatial polarization have on other parts of Morocco? Is there evidence of internal migrations from other parts of the Morocco to Chaouia-Ourdigha Casablanca and Khouribga area to benefit from circular migration to Italy unavailable from other regions? If so, does such internal migration pose excessive pressures on the selection of workers in Chaouia-Ourdigha and Casablanca, thereby rendering it undemocratic or vulnerable to abuse by the merchants of labor? Is geographical concentration of formal circular migration schemes beneficial for the development of Morocco, because it rests on the relatively good pre-conditions for investment of circular migration-induced financial and noetic transfer? Or is it pernicious, because it deprives other regions of the opportunities for development?

When planning interviews, it would be recommendable to start discussions with the Italian-based actors. This should allow the interviewer to identify the most adequate informants in Morocco and gain their trust through personal recommendation of Italian partner; thereby maximizing the interviewees would provide quality answers. Out of nine circular migration programs summarized in this paper, by May 2010 seven, have been completed (tables 14-16, 18-22, and two were on-going (tables 17 and 20).

The two on-going programs may render less complete data than the completed ones, but with Moroccan migrants present in Italy, these two programs lend themselves to very fruitful interviews and direct observation.

The completed programs are likely to have been assessed by program administrators. These assessments should be taken as a starting rather than ending point to the analysis of such programs. Firstly, the program reports may overemphasize achievements over the pitfalls to secure continuous funding. Secondly, it may be too early to objectively assess some of the programmatic effects which tend to take long time to become visible: e.g. the trends in irregular migration and development.

One way to develop a clearer idea on programs' likely effects would be to complement the interviews with the direct observation. Even migrants themselves may overemphasize the positive impact of migration. For instance, as far as co-development is concerned, they may not be aware of the fact that undiversified investment (i.e. overcrowding of migrant-established grocery stores) has a potential of becoming unsustainable in the long term. Direct observation could also offer some insight into the ability of circular migration to prevent irregular migration. If only certain migrants are able to benefit from circular migration, are their investments likely to foster inequality in the areas of origin and thus increase the likelihood for more emigration pressures from those areas? Is recruitment democratic and transparent or does it favor certain categories of migrants over others and lends itself to trade in visas, as was the case as soon as the number of Turkish citizens willing to work in Germany surpassed the number of guestworker visas available to them in the 1960s? Two of the summarized programs (tables 20 and 21) have admitted women only. Would these women have been more likely to emigrate illegally than men if they had not been granted visas? What impact does "gender-empowering" recruitment on the spouses and their children left behind? Do husbands and sons stay at home assuming some of the women chores or they gain in incentives to migrate illegally given their traditional role as bread-winners rather than bead-makers in Moroccan society?

Should circular migration programs be authorized ad hoc or permanently? The program summarized in table 22 aimed to convince Moroccan workers to taking up legal employment in Italy. However, the program involved only 27 Moroccan workers and lasted only one year. It allowed Italian employers to recruit the 27 plumbers and electricians and allowed the workers to save some money. But, what happened to these workers once the program finished in November, 1, 2008? Did they return following program termination? Did they learn and/or save enough while working in Italy to improve their working and living conditions at home? Did they still want to work as plumbers and electricians in Casablanca having experienced better working and living conditions in Italy? Did the program serve as the stepping stone to illegal migration? Is there any evidence that upon program termination both employers and migrants wished to renew their working relationship? Was the labor demand truly temporary or cyclical, therefore facing employers with the problem where to recruit workers once the program finished?

By the time the "new" circular migration programs were authorized in the 2000s, the Moroccans admitted to Italy through the "old" programs of the 1990s were largely settled, illegal migration from Morocco to Italy was on the rise and Morocco was concerned about continuity of remittance flows since the more settled migrants remitted less. The two key questions that need to be asked about the "new" circular migration programs is how are they going to ensure that the "new" admissions would overcome the major challenges of the "old" ones, particularly humanely enforcement of rotation, and how are they going to do it in a way that would be acceptable to all stakeholders involved.

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ANNEX

Table 1
The principal five nationalities of residence permit holders (in thousands), 1992

Country	Number of Residence Permit Holders	
		%
Morocco	83 292	12.8
Tunisia	41 547	6.4
USA	41 523	6.3
Philippines	36 316	5.5
Germany	26 377	4.0
Total	648 935	100

Source: ISTAT 2009b

Table 2
The principal five nationalities of residence permit holders (in thousands), 1993

Country	Number of Residence Permit Holders	
		%
Morocco	66 526	11.2
USA	40 960	6.9
Philippines	30 220	5.1
Tunisia	27 356	4.6
Germany	26 767	4.5
Total	589 457	100

Source: ISTAT 2009b

Table 3
The principal five nationalities of residence permit holders, 1994

Country	Number of Residence Permit Holders	
		%
Morocco	72 464	11.1
USA	42 005	6.4
Serbia and Montenegro	36 782	5.6
Philippines	27 356	4.7
Tunisia	28 856	4.4
Total	649 102	100

Source: ISTAT 2009b

Table 4
The principal five nationalities of residence permit holders (in thousands), 1995

Country	Number of Residence Permit Holders	
		%
Morocco	73 076	10.7
USA	43 449	6.4
Serbia and Montenegro	36 855	5.4
Philippines	32 625	4.8
Germany	29 028	4.2
Total	677 791	100

Source: ISTAT 2009b

Table 5
The principal five nationalities of residence permit holders (in thousands), 1996

Country	Number of Residence Permit Holders	
		%
Morocco	81 247	10.7
USA	44 830	6.4
Philippines	36 007	5.4
Serbia and Montenegro	33 905	4.8
Tunisia	30 666	4.2
Total	729 159	100

Source: ISTAT 2009b

Table 6
The principal five nationalities of residence permit holders (in thousands), 1997

Country	Number of Residence Permit Holders	
		%
Morocco	115 026	11.6
Albania	66 608	6.7
Philippines	56 209	5.7
USA	44 873	4.5
Tunisia	40 002	4.0
Total	986 020	100

Source: ISTAT 2009b

Table 7
The principal five nationalities of residence permit holders, 1998

Country	Number of Residence Permit Holders	
		%
Morocco	122 230	11.9
Albania	72 551	7.0
Philippines	57 312	5.6
USA	44 652	4.3
Tunisia	41 439	4.0
Total	1 022 896	100

Source: ISTAT 2009b

Table 8
The principal five nationalities of residence permit holders, 1999

Country	Number of Residence Permit Holders	
		%
Morocco	128 297	11.7
Albania	87 595	8.0
Philippines	59 074	5.4
USA	45 944	4.2
China	41 237	3.7
Total	1 090 820	100

Source: ISTAT 2009b

Table 9

The principal five nationalities of residence permit holders (in thousands), 2000

Country	Number of Residence Permit Holders	
		%
Morocco	155 864	11.6
Albania	133 018	9.9
Philippines	67 386	5.0
Romania	61 212	4.5
China	56 660	4.2
Total	1 340 655	100

Source: ISTAT 2009b

Table 10

The principal five nationalities of residence permit holders (in thousands), 2001

Country	Number of Residence Permit Holders	
		%
Morocco	162 254	11.7
Albania	146 321	10.6
Romania	69 999	5.0
Philippines	65 073	4.7
China	60 143	4.3
Total	1 379 749	100

Source: ISTAT 2009b

Table 11

The principal five nationalities of residence permit holders (in thousands), 2002

Country	Number of Residence Permit Holders	
		%
Morocco	167 334	11.5
Albania	157 646	10.8
Romania	82 555	5.6
Philippines	67 258	4.6
China	61 452	4.2
Total	1 448 392	100

Source: ISTAT 2009b

Table 12

The principal five nationalities of residence permit holders (in thousands), 2003

Country	Number of Residence Permit Holders	
		%
Albania	171 567	11.4
Morocco	170 746	11.3
Romania	94 818	6.3
Philippines	65 575	4.3
China	64 010	4.2
Total	1 503 286	100

Source: ISTAT 2009b

Table 13
The principal five nationalities of residence permit holders (in thousands), 2004

Country	Number of Residence Permit Holders	
		%
Romania	244 377	10.9
Albania	240 421	10.7
Morocco	231 044	10.3
Ukraine	117 161	5.2
China	104 952	4.7
Total	2 227 567	100

Source: ISTAT 2009b

Table 14
The principal five nationalities of residence permit holders (in thousands), 2005

Country	Number of Residence Permit Holders	
		%
Albania	251 240	11.1
Romania	249 369	11.1
Morocco	235 012	10.4
Ukraine	111 570	4.9
China	106 750	4.7
Total	2 245 548	100

Source: ISTAT 2009b

Table 15
The principal five nationalities of residence permit holders (in thousands), 2006

Country	Number of Residence Permit Holders	
		%
Romania	271 391	11.8
Albania	256 916	11.2
Morocco	239 728	10.4
Ukraine	115 087	5.0
China	114 165	4.9
Total	2 286 024	100

Source: ISTAT 2009b

Table 16
The principal five nationalities of residence permit holders (in thousands), 2007

Country	Number of Residence Permit Holders	
		%
Albania	282 650	11.7
Romania	278 582	11.5
Morocco	258 571	10.7
China	118 524	5.0
Ukraine	122 364	4.9
Total	2 414 972	100

Source: ISTAT 2009b

Table 17
The principal five nationalities of residence permit holders (in thousands), 2008

Country	**Number of Residence Permit Holders**	
		%
Albania	303 818	14.7
Romania	No data	No data
Morocco	277 329	13.4
Ukraine	139 711	6.7
China	137 912	6.6
Total	2 063 127	100

Source: ISTAT 2009b


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