

COUNTRY REPORT  
ITALY



# Undocumented Migration

Counting the Uncountable. Data and Trends  
across Europe

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## **CLANDESTINO**

### **Undocumented Migration: Counting the Uncountable**

#### **Data and Trends across Europe**

This interdisciplinary project is a response to the need for supporting policy makers in designing and implementing appropriate policies regarding undocumented migration. The project aims (a) to provide an inventory of data and estimates on undocumented migration (stocks and flows) in selected EU countries, (b) to analyse these data comparatively, (c) to discuss the ethical and methodological issues involved in the collection of data, the elaboration of estimates and their use, (d) to propose a new method for evaluating and classifying data/estimates on undocumented migration in the EU. Twelve selected EU countries (Greece, Italy, France and Spain in southern Europe; Netherlands, UK, Germany and Austria in Western and Central Europe; Poland, Hungary, Slovakia and the Czech Republic in Central Eastern Europe) are under study in this project. Three non EU transit migration countries used as key 'stepping stones' by undocumented migrants en route to the EU, notably Turkey, Ukraine and one Maghreb country, are also analysed. Where relevant, the project considers the factors affecting the shift between legal and undocumented status among migrant populations. The project work programme is complemented by two regional workshops with policy makers and academics, 12 fieldvisits each resulting in a series of meetings with key policy actors, NGOs and journalists working on migration in each of the EU countries studied. The CLANDESTINO database on irregular migration in Europe, the Project reports and Policy Briefs are available at: <http://clandestino.eliamep.gr>

Each country report reviews all relevant data sources on irregular migration (e.g. apprehended aliens at the border or in the inland, expulsion orders, people registered through health or other welfare schemes for undocumented immigrants, municipal registers, statistical estimates from national and European statistical services), assesses the validity of the different estimates given and where appropriate produces a new estimate for the year 2008 for the country studied. The country reports cover the period between 2000 and 2007 and the last year for which data or estimates were available when the study was finalised in 2009, notably in some countries 2007 and in other countries 2008. This quantitative analysis is complemented by a critical review of qualitative studies and by interviews with key informants with a view to exploring the pathways into and out of undocumented status in each country. It is noted that the non-registered nature of irregular migration makes any quantification difficult and always produces estimates rather than hard data.

The Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP) is the coordinating institution of the CLANDESTINO consortium. CLANDESTINO Partners include the International Centre for Migration Policy Development (ICMPD) in Vienna, the Hamburg Institute of Economics (HWWI), the Centre for International Relations (CIR) in Warsaw, the COMPAS research centre at the University of Oxford, and the Platform of International Cooperation on Undocumented Migrants (PICUM) in Brussels.

**CRAM** (<http://www.econ.ucl.ac.uk/cream>) is an independent and interdisciplinary research centre located in the Department of Economics at University College London. CRAM's research focuses on the causes, patterns and consequences of international population mobility and movements affecting UK, Europe and associated global processes. CRAM aims at informing the public debate on migration in the UK and in Europe by providing new insight, helping to steer the current policy debate in a direction that is based on carefully researched evidence without partisan bias. CRAM contributes to the development of new theories and methodological advances in data analysis, ensuring the ability to contribute and inform on a wide range of issues of policy

concern, and establishing a reputation for analysis that is accepted as open, transparent and reliable. Research conducted within the Centre is both theoretical and empirical. Although emphasis is on quantitative research, CReAM explores new and interdisciplinary approaches in analysis of the migration cycle.

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## **Part I: Setting the frame**

**After almost a century of emigration history, Italy has recently become an immigration country<sup>1</sup>.** The timing of this structural change, which occurred in the mid '70s, can be explained both with the closure of several Northern Europe labour markets to the immigrants flows – following the oil prices shocks and the economic recession of the early '70s – and by the strong economic growth experienced by Italy from the early '60s, when the “Italian economic boom” led the Italian average per capita income to levels analogous to those of the most advanced European countries. As (Einaudi 2007) stresses the incoming flows of migrants started in the late 60's, but it took a few more years of economic development for the Italian outflows to almost completely dry out: the net emigration balance became negative for the first time in 1973

It can be debated if the Italian political class suffered more of a lack of preparation to cope with the immigration phenomenon or of a lack of responsibility in dealing with that, but it is undeniable that the institutional framework (legislation, administrative structure, financial support, etc.) was absolutely inadequate to manage the increasing flows of immigrants. The relevance of the irregular flows and stock of immigrants and their deep involvement in the Italian shadow economy, therefore, can be probably better explained as the result of the lack of a reasonable regulation rather than as the deliberate attempt to circumvent it.

### ***1.1 The regular migration framework***

In Italy there are two main sources of information about stocks, flows, geographical distribution, ethnic composition, personal characteristics, etc. of documented migrants: the records of the currently valid permits of residence (issued by the Ministry of Internal Affairs) and the administrative registry of residence (“Anagrafe”). The existing discrepancies between these two measures

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<sup>1</sup> See Del Boca, D. and A. Venturini (2003). Italian Migration. DP No.938, IZA. for an analysis of both emigration and immigration features in Italy.



are mainly due to three types of reasons. First, the obtainment of a residence permits and the residence registration are two different processes: although the first one is a prerequisite for the second (undocumented migrants cannot register at the “Anagrafe”), the registration is not automatic, is a voluntary act and can be made in a different administrative unit with respect to the one where the residence permit was issued<sup>2</sup>. Moreover, minors can be registered as residents but they do not need to have a residence permit: if the minor is accompanied by at least one of the parents, and if the latter one has a regular residence permit, the minor is registered on the parent’s document for residence and is not counted as an additional permit holder. Finally, these records are kept by two different authorities and the processes of revision and update are carried out autonomously and with different timing<sup>3</sup>.

On the 1<sup>st</sup> of January 2007 there were about 2,940 thousand resident migrants in Italy, about half of them were female and around 22% (665 thousands) were minors (see Table 1). Instead, if we look at the number of valid residence permits at the beginning of the same year, we find that there was a stock of around 2,415 thousands of migrants allowed to stay in Italy (Table 2). As we briefly explained above, the difference between these two measures is mainly explained by the absence of minors among the records of the residence permits. Indeed, if we subtract the migrant population under 18 years from the stock of registered resident migrant, we obtain a value of 2,271 adult migrants who were registered at the Anagrafe in 2007. As we should expect, this value is smaller than the stock of valid residence permits for the same year (2,415 thousands): the difference of almost 145 thousand is due to the time lag between the obtainment of the legal documents for residence and the decision to register in the Anagrafe, and to the likely differences in the process of revising and updating their records autonomously carried out by the Anagrafe and the Home Office.

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<sup>2</sup> The registration in the Anagrafe allows the immigrant to access main administrative services and welfare provisions (such as the registration for the National Health Service).

<sup>3</sup> See p. 2, Istat (2005). Gli stranieri in Italia: gli effetti dell'ultima regolarizzazione. Popolazione - Statistiche in breve, Istat.

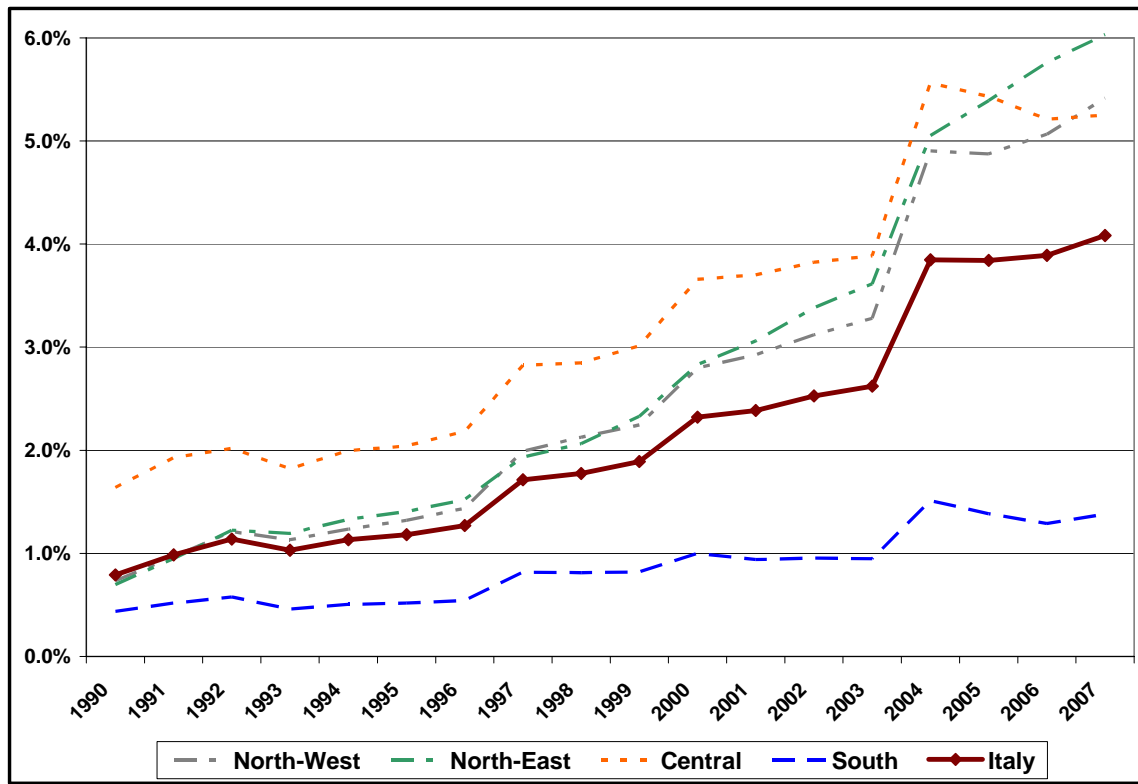
**Documented immigrants currently represent a 5% of the total resident population** (that amounts to around 59 million in 2007 – see Table 3) , they contribute for about 70% of the growth of the population residing in Italy, and their babies born in Italy are about one tenth of the newborns. The possibilities of obtaining the Italian citizenship are severely limited by the existing legislation (whose minimum requirement is a continuous residence of at least 10 years) and this has led to a relative small number of naturalized immigrants (about 215 thousand overall, from the early '80 to 2006), the vast majority of which obtained the citizenship by marrying an Italian citizen (Istat 2007).

Table 4 show the nationality composition of resident migrants in 2005. The largest foreign born communities are represented by citizens of **Albania** (13 percent of the total migrant population), **Morocco** (12%), **Romania** (10%), **China** (4.6%), **Ukraine** (3.9%) **Philippines** (3.5%) and **Tunisia** (3.3%). A comparison with the ranking in 1992 – Morocco (13%), Tunisia (6.4%), Philippines (5.6%), Albania (3.8%), Senegal (3.7%), Egypt (2.8%), China (2.4%) (Istat 2005) – shows both the persistence in the presence of some communities and the recent formation of new ones.

The data on residence permits allow us to follow the evolution of the migrants' presence in Italy since 1990 (see Table 2). Their settlement decisions (Table 5) are characterized by a **clear and progressive increase in their concentration in the Northern regions**. Starting from 40% in 1990, North-West and North-East regions accounted for about 63% of the immigrant population in 2007, while hosting less than 45% of the native population (Table 3). The other macro-areas, instead, have seen a reduction in the relative percentage of migrants residing within their territory: Central-Italy moved from almost 40% of regular migrants in 1990 to 25% in 2007, and the Mezzogiorno has fallen from 20% to 12% in the same period. If compared with the concentration of native population – which does not show any particular trend in the period considered (Table 3) – the increasing concentration of migrants in the Northern regions mirrors their high

propensity to settle where the local environment offers better chances of social and economic integration. The historical divide between the economies of North and South Italy, indeed, is still far from being bridged. When looking at the country as a single labour market, Italy has experienced important improvements in its performance in the last decade: with respect to 1995, participation rate in 2006 had grown by more than 4 percentage points (from 58,4 to 62.7), employment rate by almost 7 points (from 51.8 to 58.4) and unemployment rate had dropped by almost 5 points (from 11.2 to 6.8) (Table 6). This growth in employment has clearly being accompanied by a strong and increasing demand for foreign workers, but the performance of the Southern regions has been less brilliant and the initial gap with respect to the rest of Italy is still wide. Unemployment rate for both male and female workers, for instance, is still three times lower in the North than in the South: it was below 4 percent in Northern regions in 2006, while it was still above 12 percent in the Mezzogiorno.

**Figure 1 - Ratio of migrant population over total population – Years 1980-2007**



Source: Istat and Ministry of Internal Affairs

Figure 1 shows a crucial feature of the Italian migration history which can contribute to explain the widespread adverse attitudes towards immigration existing in this country. More than by the actual stock of immigrants residing in their country, destination countries citizens often seem to be more concerned by the changes and by their pace. Indeed, as Figure 1 proves, Italy experienced a sharp increase in the foreign born population which has taken place in a relatively short period of time. **Although the share of immigrant population over the native population is still well below the values experienced by other European countries<sup>4</sup>, the increase in the foreign born population has been quite steep in the last two decades, with a migrant population that in 2007 was more than five times the level recorded in 1990**, growing from the 0.8% to 4.1% of the native population<sup>5</sup> (see Table 7). In absolute values, the number of migrants holding a regular residence permit has increased from 450 thousands in 1990 to more than 2 million and 400 thousands in 2007 (see Table 2).

Another important feature of Italian migration can be understood by noticing the consistent jumps in the number of migrants regularly residing in Italy occurred between 1990 and 1992, in 1996-1997, in 1999-2000 and in 2003-2004 (Figure 1). These jumps are the result of the conclusion of the legalization procedures – opened in 1990, in 1995, in 1998 and in 2002 – which will be described in the following section. We can argue, therefore, that the stock of migrants has kept gradually growing during the last decade, although the number of the legally resident ones has increased mainly on occasion of the amnesties. This is a first and important hint at the role played by irregular condition in the Italian case that we will discuss in the following section.

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<sup>4</sup> In 2006 the share of immigrants over the total population was almost 9% in Germany, 6.2% in Spain, more than 6% in France and 5.2% in UK.

<sup>5</sup> In the time series reported in Table 7 the stock of migrants is measured by the number of valid residence permits in each year and it therefore excludes minors (see above).

## ***1.2 Irregular migration discourses and policies***

There are three main dimensions of the irregularity of immigrants: entry, residence and employment. We focus on the first two aspects. The distinction between documented and undocumented migrants is based on the legal status of the migrants when entering the destination country (irregular entry) and during their permanence (irregular residence). In Italy – as it generally holds for other Western countries – the unauthorized entry implies a subsequent unauthorized permanence, while a legal entry allows for lawful permanence. Moreover, the status of undocumented with respect to residence prevents the migrant from being in lawful and recorded employment.

A peculiar aspect of irregular immigration in Italy is its **relative dimension when compared with flows and stock of regular migrants**. As far as amnesties of undocumented migrants in Europe are concerned, Italy closely competes with Spain<sup>6</sup> for a double record (Levinson 2005): the highest number of general regularization processes (5 programs since 1986) and the largest number (relatively to the resident migrant population) of immigrants who obtained a legal status through one of these programs. **In the last two decades, Italian governments have approved five different amnesties** – in 1986, 1990, 1995, 1998 and 2002 (IDOS and Caritas/Migrantes 2005), (Carfagna 2002) – **which have jointly legalized almost 1.5 million of irregular migrants which were already residing in the country** (Table 9). It is worth noticing that almost 700 thousands of them were regularized just in the last amnesty in 2002. The most recent analysis have provided evidence that more than half of the documented migrant population currently residing in Italy has obtained her legal status through one of these amnesty processes (Blangiardo and Tanturri 2004).

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<sup>6</sup> Spain has granted legal status to more than 1.2 million of undocumented migrants through six general amnesties granted in the last two decades: in 1985 (23 thousand legalized migrants), 1991 (109 thousand), 1996 (21 thousand), 2000 (153 thousand), 2001 (221 thousand) and 2005 (700 thousand).

### **I.2.1 Main types of irregular migration**

Although Italy is sadly famous for the images of clandestine immigrants shore landing along its Southern shores<sup>7</sup>, recent estimates of the Italian Ministry of Internal Affairs (aa.vv. 2007) pointed out that, in fact, the migrants arrived in that way represent a small fraction of the existing stock of undocumented workers. The majority of them (60-75 percent), indeed, are overstayers, while another significant component entered Italy by avoiding controls at the Northern borders and at international ports and airports (see section II.3.2 Border related flows).

### **I.2.2 Entry routes and final destinations**

In the last two decades, Italy has clearly become a destination country for the international flows of foreign workers – both authorized and unauthorized – who responded to its increasing labour demand and to the opportunities offered by the shadow economy to find a job without having a valid residence permit. At the same time, its geographical position keeps making Italy a fairly accessible intermediate stop along migratory projects which aim at destinations in other European countries. According to a recent survey of undocumented migrants (SIMI survey), almost three quarters of the migrants interviewed considered Italy as the final destination of their migratory project. The other main destinations were Germany (almost 10 percent of the interviewed), Great Britain (about 5 percent) and France (around 4 percent) (Chiuri, Coniglio et al. 2007).

Italy's proximity to unstable and less developed areas, on one side, and to wealthy countries, on the other side, its peninsula conformation and its position in the Mediterranean Sea play (and played) a major role in determining the flows of migrants crossing the Italian border.

As far as the undocumented migrants' routes are concerned, it is fairly easy to identify the critical entry channels. First of all, we have the Italian-Slovenian border which is mainly crossed by Eastern Europe citizens, but also by migrants

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<sup>7</sup> See the movie "Lamerica" (1994) by the Italian director Gianni Amelio.

who come from Central Asia, Middle East, Indian Subcontinent and Eastern Asia. Then, we have the Italian-French border through which migrants coming from Africa arrive after having travelled along the route which crosses the Strait of Gibraltar and goes through Spain and France. Finally, we have the coasts of the Southern regions, where the migrants can land after relatively short trips by boat. These immigrants used to arrive from both the coasts of former Yugoslavia and Albania and from those of Northern Africa, but in recent years the unauthorized inflows from the Balkan area have substantially fallen – following the gradual stabilization of the area – while those from Africa, and from Libya in particular, have sharply increased. These latter flows are composed of migrants coming from Northern Africa (Morocco, Libya, Algeria, Tunisia and Egypt) but also from Sub-Saharan Africa<sup>8</sup> and from the Horn of Africa (see p. 61). The borders with Austria and Switzerland, instead, are generally crossed by outflows of unauthorized immigrants who leaves Italy and try to settle there or in some other European countries such as Germany.

In spite of a widespread rhetoric which claims that unlawfully entering Italy is still an extremely easy task to accomplish, (Caritas/Migrantes 2007) reports some conservative estimates of the number of migrants dead while attempting to reach the Italian shores. According to these estimates<sup>9</sup>, in the last two decades two thousand migrants have died (or went missing) in the area between Sicily, Libya, Tunisia and Malta, and almost 500 hundred drowned in the Adriatic Sea, between Italy, Albania and Montenegro.

### **I.2.3 Main nationalities**

A recent national survey of undocumented migrants (see section II.2.4 Nationality composition) provided a detailed picture of their countries of origin. In 2005 more than half of the undocumented migrants were citizens of some Eastern European

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<sup>8</sup> A detailed description of the route of undocumented migration travelling from Senegal, through Mali, Niger, Libya, and Tunisia, and finally landing in Sicily, has been recently published by an Italian journalist who travelled undercover pretending to be a clandestine migrant (Gatti, F. (2007). *Bilal. Il mio viaggio da infiltrato nel mercato dei nuovi schiavi*. Milano, Rizzoli.)

<sup>9</sup> These estimates are computed by the organization “Fortress Europe” by counting the number of deaths or missing individuals reported in the international press (<http://fortresseurope.blogspot.com/>).

country (in particular, **Albania, Romania, Ukraine** and **Poland**), almost one sixth was originally from Northern-Africa (especially from **Morocco** and **Tunisia**), while Asia and Oceania, Sub-Saharan Africa and Latin America each represented around one tenth of the stock.

A fairly similar picture was drawn by the last amnesty (launched in 2002), and the data from the previous amnesties witnessed the reduction over time of the African component and the sharp increase in the Eastern European one.

The comparison with the main nationalities of the documented migrants currently residing in Italy does not show wide differences in the nationality composition of the two groups (authorized versus unauthorized)

#### **I.2.4 Migration policies, labour demand and underground economy**

We can identify a number of elements and features of the Italian context which can contribute to explain the **crucial role played by unauthorized migration in characterizing the recent Italian migration experience**:

1) Geography: proximity with unstable and low developed areas (former Yugoslavia, Albania, Maghreb) which originated and keep originating important flows of undocumented migrants; length and accessibility of the borders with the Mediterranean Sea due to the Italian peninsula shape; position with respect to other destination countries: gate/transit country for flows of migrant directed towards other European countries.

2) Economy: a large underground economy (Reyneri 2003) and a structural and strong demand for foreign born workers to solve the qualitative and quantitative shortages of workers in the labour market, create an important pull factor for migrants (no matter what their legal status is).

3) Migration policy (interacted with economic factors): there is a widespread consensus among experts and commentators that the lack of adequate possibilities of legally accessing the Italian labour market – *“...the policy of closing the front door of legal entry, while keeping the back door for illegal entry*



*half open*”, (Zincone 1998) – has played a major role in increasing undocumented stocks and flows. The late adoption of a quota system to regulate migrant workers’ entry (see A1. Italian legislation) and the misuse of this latter policy in order to legalize migrants already residing in Italy (see p. 34), have left few possibilities of authorized access to the country for working reasons.

4) Asylum policy: the absence of a law on asylum, the high level of selectiveness in granting the refugee status and the poor benefits offered, are all factors that contribute to explain the low number of applications for asylum received by the Italian government (100 thousands from 1995 to 2004, by far one of the lowest level in Western Europe (Reyneri 2007)). Given this adverse setting, it is therefore likely that a fraction of potential asylum seekers ends up opting for an unauthorized residence.

5) Welfare state: even the structure of the Italian welfare state may play an important role in attracting inflows of unauthorized workers. But the mechanism does not seem to be the one stressed in the literature on “welfare magnets” (Borjas 1999): the undocumented migrants are attracted to Italy not by the generosity of its welfare provisions – from which they are generally excluded (Boeri, Fasani et al. 2004) – but rather by the growing demand for affordable household workers to compensate for the shortcomings of the Italian welfare state. Indeed, “(...) *the Italian migratory system can hardly be understood without taking into account the structural tension between a welfare system largely designed according to a male-breadwinner logic and Italian women’s rising labour participation*” ((Sciortino 2004), p.126)

6) Tourism: the existence of large inflows of tourists which constantly enter in Italy, creates a relatively easy possibility of access to the country for potential migrants which may subsequently decide to over-stay their visas and become undocumented);

Given that the possibility of redefining national borders is generally out of the sphere of influence of XXI century policy-makers – and a more restrictive attitude towards tourism may not be a clever choice for a country where the tourism

industry is a relevant component of the GDP – it is clear that any policy aiming at addressing the issue of migrants irregularity should intervene on all the other points: economy, migration and asylum policy and welfare state design.

In the absence of adequate possibilities of allowing legal inflows of foreign born workers, Italy has actually built up its stock of immigrant by using irregular channels of entry and by then adopting **amnesties** to temporarily legalize the situation of resident migrants. These legalization procedures have been implemented within a short-term and emergency framework rather than as the first step towards the creation of a rationale and effective planning of migratory inflows (Nascimbene 2000). The late adoption of a quota system (1998) and the seemingly excessive prudence in setting the quotas in the following years, have generally failed in maintaining the matching process between demand and offer of immigrant work within a fully legal framework.

The political response to the issue posed by the presence – and by the continuous arrival – of undocumented migrants has been far from clear and straightforward. Being extremely reluctant to open the country to larger inflows of legal migrant workers, Italian governments have usually reacted by adopting short run policies such as the amnesties, in order to *ex post* legalize a situation which could not be further ignored. The concern for irregular immigration has gained increasing relevance in the media and political Italian debate of more recent years. Governments have answered, on the one hand, with the series of amnesties listed above, and, on the other hand, by strengthening the legal framework to face irregular inflows and irregular permanence of immigrants. Following a tendency common to other Western countries, they have chosen to give particular emphasis **to border and interior enforcement** carried out by police officials rather than to labour market controls. The last two legislative interventions especially aimed at increasing the effectiveness of the police enforcement both at the border and within the Italian territory<sup>10</sup>. These legislative

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<sup>10</sup> The Single Act of 1998, for instance, made it possible to detain undocumented migrants in special “centres of temporary permanence” in order to allow the deportation procedure

changes are clearly recognisable in the jumps in the time series of the number of irregular immigrants deported since 1990. The entry, residence and deportation of foreign born citizens in Italy is currently regulated by the “Turco-Napolitano” Consolidation Act (on immigration regulations and legislation on the condition of foreigners) adopted with the Legislative Decree no. 286/1998, which was subsequently modified by the “Bossi-Fini” Law no. 189/2002 (see A1. Italian legislation)

### **I.2.5 Pathways out of the illegal status**

The poor design of Italian migration policy tends to make the chances of becoming a legal resident migrant higher for an undocumented migrant who is already in Italy, than for a potential migrant who is trying to gain a legal access to the Italian labour market from abroad. Indeed, the frequent launch of amnesty programs – and the misuse of the quota system (see p.34) – have created fairly large, although discontinuous, channel of obtaining the legal status for the unauthorized migrants.

It is hardly questionable that the amnesties fail to address the causes of the presence of large undocumented population and, therefore, they can not be considered as promising policies to address the issue in a long-run perspective. Still, one can try to assess if they at least managed to permanently bring to the surface the immigrants who were involved in the process.

In order to assess to what extent these amnesty processes have managed to permanently move the migrants out of the shadows of the irregularity, we should both analyze the characteristics of the applicants and follow their permanence after the obtainment of the legal status. (Carfagna 2002) has studied the first aspect, showing that the vast majority of the migrants legalized with the 1990,

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(identification, judge’s approval, trip organization, etc.) to take place avoiding the flight of the immigrants concerned. Depending on the irregularity committed, the undocumented immigrant could be either apprehended (and subsequently deported) or issued an order to leave the country within 15 days (and subsequently released). The new law of 2002 contains more restrictive provisions, establishing the immediate deportation of any immigrant found without the required documents and introducing also the criminal offence of illegal immigration (for those immigrants that reenter Italy after being deported).

1995 and 1998 amnesties, had never been legal before. Indeed, he estimates that in these three amnesties, the percentage of migrant granted legal status which had been legal before – and which had, therefore, fallen back into irregularity – was fairly small and decreasing over time: 18 percent in 1990, 13 percent in 1995 and 9 percent in 1998. Apart from the amnesties, the phenomenon of lapsing into illegal status has been recently analyzed by (Sciortino 2008) who has used survey data for the Lombardy region to estimate the relevance of this risk for the legal migrants in Italy. His findings – according to which only a negligible percentage of interviewees who were undocumented at the moment of the interview had had a valid residence permit before – seem to support the idea that the movement from legal to illegal status is far less likely to take place than the one going in the opposite direction. Lombardy, though, may not be fully representative of the whole Italian reality. Due to its strong economy, lively labour market and relatively limited underground economy, this region may provide migrants with much better opportunities to maintain their legal status over time – and to successfully continue their path towards economic and social integration – than those offered in other areas of the country<sup>11</sup>. Moreover, migrants who failed to maintain their legal status may decide to return to their home countries rather than facing the risks and uncertainty of an illegal residence: by carrying out surveys in the host countries, one would systematically not observe this group of individuals and would end up underestimating the phenomenon.

In order to provide a definite answer, the relationship between legal status and legal employment seems to be the crucial aspect to understand. If legal status is a prerequisite for being in legal employment, the maintenance of the legal status

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<sup>11</sup> Indeed, as Table 8 shows, there are substantial differentials in both levels and trends of the shadow economy across different Italian areas. During the period 1995-2003, the share of irregular labour units (see footnote 26 for a definition of full-time equivalent labour units) in the South (20-23 percent) is about twice the level estimated in Northern regions (8-11 percent). Moreover, while Northern regions have experienced a sizeable decrease in this share (from around 11 percent in 1995 to 8-9% in 2003), Southern regions showed an increase of about 2 percentage points in the same period (from 21 to almost 23 percent). Central regions have an intermediate share of irregular employment (12-14 percent) and followed the declining trend of the North of Italy.

– i.e. the capability of renewing the residence permits when it expires – is conditional on the permanence in legal employment. Indeed, if legalized migrants do not succeed in finding, or keeping, their legal employment, this will hinder them from successfully obtaining a renewal of their residence documents. (Reyneri 1998) defines this trajectory as an “*underground economy trap*”: analyzing the 1995 amnesty, he shows that a large proportion of the legalized migrants went on taking unregistered jobs and, for this reason, were not able to maintain their legal status over time. Given the magnitude of the shadow economy in Italy, this latter one seems to be an important concern: if migrants lack opportunities of legal employment, this will severely weaken any attempt to permanently “bring them to the surface” through the amnesties.

### **I.2.6 Public discourse on undocumented migrants**

Undocumented migrants have recently been at the very core of the media and political debate. Indeed, during the electoral campaign that preceded the general elections held in April 2008, migration and its management was one of the main issue in the platforms and statements of many parties and politicians. Apparently, the concern for migration among the electorate has significantly contributed to the victory of the right-wing coalition led by Silvio Berlusconi: among its first interventions, the newly elected government has immediately started to work on a new set of norms to fight undocumented migration. In particular, part of the ruling coalition aimed at introducing an important novelty in the current legislation on entry and residence: **classifying the lack of legal status as a criminal offence** (Cottone 21 May, 2008) rather than as a simple administrative irregularity (see p.78). The introduction of this measure has currently been postponed and will have to be approved by the Parliament. But government’s intentions seem to have been mitigated more by feasibility reasons – enforcing such a measure would have implied unbearable costs for both the judicial and the prison system – than by the concern raised among NGOs, trade unions,

Catholic Church, representatives of the opposition, or by the criticism expressed by members of the European Institutions<sup>12</sup>.

Still, the political will to transform all the undocumented migrants in criminal offenders – and the apparent support this measure seemed to have found in the general public – probably stems from the deep-rooted and widespread conviction that there exists a strong connection between undocumented status and propensity to commit crimes.

Indeed, **the debate about crime and undocumented migrants in the media is generally heated and often unfair.** Episodes of (irregular) migrants being responsible of serious crimes always trigger an escalation of anti-immigrant feelings and generally lead to the invocation of a definite closure of the borders and of a mass deportations of all the remaining undocumented migrants. At the end of October 2007 an Italian woman died after being attacked and raped by a Romanian immigrant. After this horrendous crime, the Prodi government immediately approved a Law Decree to ease the deportation of European citizens who could not prove to have adequate means of subsistence to reside in Italy (Sarzanini 2 November 2007). The press called this measure the “anti-Romanians Decree” and, in those days, the whole Italian society freely expressed all its prejudices and xenophobic resentment against the Romanian community and all the immigrants. The Romanian government strongly protested against this patently unfair generalization – where single criminal episodes were used to blame a whole nation – but those events showed how strong is the belief among the Italian society that migrants have a worrying propensity to be involved in criminal activities. And those events also reinforced the stereotype of the migrant – and the undocumented migrant in particular – as a threatening individual who disregards any law and value. Against this stereotype, one of the general director of Istat (Italian National Institute of Statistics) presented the

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<sup>12</sup> The Commissioner for Human Rights of the Council of Europe, Thomas Hammarberg noted that “(...) despite a widespread opposite trend, international law has clearly established the principle that aliens whose only offence is the violation of immigration law should not be treated by transit or host states as criminals or potential criminals” (Hammarberg, T. (2008). Memorandum - Commissioner for Human Rights - Following his visit to Italy on 19-20 Jne 2008 [CommDH\(2008\)18](#). Strasbourg, Council of Europe.; p.15)

results of a recent survey on sexual offences in Italy. According to this survey, Italian women should probably fear more their husbands and partners than Romanian immigrants: almost 70 percent of the rapes in Italy are committed by the partner of the victims and at least 90 percent of all the rapes are attributable to Italian citizens (corriere.it 10 December 2007).

Although the empirical evidence is far from clear, the **association between criminality and migrants – and unauthorized migrants in particular – is widespread and deep-rooted**. Drawing from the results of a survey on Italians' attitudes toward migration, (Valtolina 2006) describes the evolution over time of the concern for migrants' involvement in criminal activities. This concern is fairly high in all years but it shows a clear decreasing trend: if almost half of the interviewees agreed with the sentence "*Up to now immigrants have only brought criminality*" in 1998, the fraction dropped to about 30 percent in 2005. A similar survey carried out in 2007 by Transcrime ([www.transcrime.unitn.it](http://www.transcrime.unitn.it)), shows that the alarm among Italians is still very high: around 60 percent of the sample thinks that "*immigrants increase crime rates*", and this concern is stronger among males than females, it decreases with the level of education and it is particularly high (around 70%) for pensioners and housewives. If these values reflect the real discomfort of Italians towards migrants in general, the level of concern for unauthorized migrants is due to be even higher.

A quick look at the statistics on recorded crime shows that these worries are not sufficiently grounded in fact for documented migrants, while they seem to be more reasonable for the undocumented ones. The 2007 Report on crime in Italy published by the Italian Minister of Interior Affairs concludes that there does not seem to be a particular overrepresentation of regular migrants among the total of individuals accused of any criminal offence: in 2006, 6 percent of the offenders were immigrants, a value only slightly higher than the migrant share over total population in Italy in the same year (5 %) ((aa.vv. 2007) p.359). The same statistics, though, (Istat 2008) show a clear overrepresentation of migrants – and

undocumented migrants – among the individuals charged with committing certain types of crime. In 2006 around 100 thousand migrants have been charged of some criminal offence and the majority of them was undocumented. Depending on the crime, there is a wide variation in the fraction of migrants over the total number of charges – which goes from 3-6 percent for bank robberies to almost 70 percent for pickpocketing – and in the undocumented component among the migrants charged – reaching 80 percent for pickpocketing and burglary. It is important to notice, though, that immigrants are also overrepresented among the victims of crime: in 2006, for instance, non-Italian citizens represented 32 percent of the individuals charged for homicide, but they also represented 21.4 percent of the victims.



## **Part II: Estimates, data and assessment of total size and composition of irregular migrant population**

In this section we survey the existing estimates and the most recent research carried out on the undocumented migrants phenomenon in Italy.

### ***II.1 Most relevant studies***

An increasing body of research and evidence on migration in Italy has been built in recent years and is gradually filling the almost complete vacuum of knowledge and information that characterized the first period of the Italian immigration experience. When dealing with migration phenomena, the process of measurement and collection of precise statistical evidence assumes a crucial political role both by shaping political debate contents and by providing clear elements to judge the results and effects of the policies implemented. The persistent refusal of the Italian political class to recognize the inflows of immigrants as a structural feature of their country's future, and the widespread perception of immigration as a temporary happenstance due to vanish in the early future<sup>13</sup>, have probably played a major role in slowing down the pace of development of the official statistics on migration. The National Institute of Statistics (Istat – [www.istat.it](http://www.istat.it)) started to pay some attention to the immigrant presence only in the '90s and the first comprehensive publication on the characteristics of the foreign born population residing in Italy was published only in 1998 (Bonifazi 2007). After this date, the Istat production of statistical documentation on immigrants has significantly increased in quality, detail and

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<sup>13</sup> See Einaudi, L. (2007). *Le politiche dell'immigrazione in Italia dall'Unità a oggi*. Bari, Laterza. (p.110) and Sciortino, G. and A. Colombo (2004). "The flows and the flood: the public discourse on immigration in Italy, 1969-2001." *Journal of Modern Italian Studies* 9(1): 94-113.(p. 101) for a 1977 quotation of Romano Prodi where the future president of the European Commission and future Italian Prime Minister foresees an economic development for the Italian society which should not rely on the inflows of foreign workforce: "...I believe that, at this point, it would be foolish to take the same rote of other European countries, thus adding to our current problems those of a difficult multi-racial cohabitation...".

frequency, although some delays are still evident<sup>14</sup>. This delay in collecting and diffusing official information on the phenomenon characterized also all the government bodies, and in particular the Home Office and the Ministry of Labour: the “First Report on Immigrants in Italy” was published by the Italian Home Office only in 2007 (Barbaglio 2007).

Given the reluctance showed by the Italian governments and its various bodies in dealing timely and seriously with the issue, the predictable outcome was that private research centres gained – and played – a central role in producing statistical information on the immigrant population.

Indeed, one of the most detailed and comprehensive publication currently available in Italy is the yearly “Dossier on Immigration Statistics” (Caritas/Migrantes 2007) compiled by the research team of the **Caritas-Migrantes** catholic organization based in Rome<sup>15</sup>. Each year, since the early '90, the Dossier collects all the available data on immigration, placing it in its national, regional and local context and discussing its various aspects and issues. The publication contains analysis of the statistical data carried out by major experts in the field and tables summarizing and illustrating the data. The Caritas-Migrantes team produces also publications on specific migration issues and on particular nationalities of immigrants. Of particular interest for this report is the publication “Irregular migration to Italy”<sup>16</sup> realized for the EMN – European Migration Network, an initiative promoted by the European Commission in the Member States (Caritas/Migrantes 2005). This publication focuses on immigration law, issues of data gathering, measures to control immigration, social and welfare issues, existing field research on the characteristics of undocumented migrants, opportunities to interact with the local population, costs and benefits, and finally, possible solutions for escaping irregularity. It also includes a bibliography and numerous statistical tables.

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<sup>14</sup> For instance, only in the last four years migrant workers have finally been included in the Labour Force Survey carried out by Istat.

<sup>15</sup> See <http://www.dossierimmigrazione.it/index.html>

<sup>16</sup> The report is freely available for download at : <http://www.emnitaly.it/pilotstudy2.htm>

Another private centre of research which has given an increasingly important contribution in producing high quality research and information on the migratory phenomena in Italy is the **Fondazione ISMU** (formerly Fondazione Cariplo–ISMU; <http://www.ismu.org/english/>): founded in 1991 and located in Milan, it is an autonomous and independent organization promoting studies, research and projects on multi-ethnic and multi-cultural society, and focusing in particular on the phenomenon of international migrations. Starting from the analysis of the Lombardia context, the research team of Fondazione ISMU – composed by scholars of demography, sociology, statistics and political sciences – has gradually extended its attention to the whole national reality, maintaining, at the same time, a strong regional focus. Since 1995, they have been publishing an annual report on migration in Italy that is now arrived to the 13<sup>th</sup> edition<sup>17</sup>. Apart from collecting existing data and information and commenting on their evolution, the Fondazione ISMU has started in the late '90s to directly carry out detailed surveys on representative samples of immigrants. These surveys are now conducted on a regular basis and provide a extremely valuable source of information about the evolution of migration phenomenon. Moreover, since these surveys are specifically designed to include unauthorized immigrants, they currently represent a crucial input for estimating irregular stocks and for analyzing their characteristics. We will discuss these surveys in more detail in the following section.

The main reference for a thorough analysis of the critical relationship between underground economy and undocumented migration in Italy is the research produced by **Emilio Reyneri**, from the University of Milan ((Reyneri 1998), (Reyneri 2003)). Another important reference are series of volumes on immigrants published by the **Istituto Cattaneo** (<http://www.cattaneo.org>) that collect different contributions of research on migration in Italy and often include

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<sup>17</sup> Some editions of the ISMU Annual Reports are freely downloadable at: <http://www.ismu.org/default.php?url=http%3A/www.ismu.org/index.php%3Fpage%3D82>

broad sections on undocumented migration (Colombo and Sciortino 2002; Barbagli, Colombo et al. 2004). The **CeSPI – Centro Studi Politica Internazionale** ([www.cespi.it](http://www.cespi.it)) has also produced interesting research about irregular migration (Coslovi 2007), deportation of migrants (Coslovi, Pastore et al. 2005) and human smuggling (Pastore, Monzini et al. 2006). The **FIERI – International and European Forum of Immigration Research** ([www.fieri.it](http://www.fieri.it)) includes several academics working on migration in different fields and focuses on the analysis of policies and policy making, on citizenship legislation, interventions for social integration of migrants, etc.

It is also worth mentioning a fairly recent attempt made by Italian economist to contribute with quantitative work to the research on undocumented migration in Italy. This attempt has been made independently by two distinct groups of researchers. One group is based between the Bocconi University (Milan) and the University College of London and works on a unique dataset provided by an Italian NGO – called **Naga** ([www.naga.it](http://www.naga.it)) – which offers free health care to undocumented migrants in Milan. The dataset contains records of each unauthorized immigrants who was visited by one of the Naga doctors. The nature of this data collection shows the two main limitations of this source of information: first, it only concerns immigrants living in Milan and in the surrounding area, and second, the immigrants interviewed are self-selected as they will enter the sample only if they decide to go to the Naga hospital and ask for medical care. On the other hand, at least two aspects make of this dataset a very interesting resource: the size of the sample, and its nature of permanent survey. Indeed, the sample currently contains information on more than 40 thousands undocumented immigrants, interviewed between 2000 and 2007, the largest sample of this kind in Italy (and probably among the largest in the world). Moreover, the interviews are carried out on a daily basis and this allows to follow in great detail the evolution of the phenomenon over time. This dataset has allowed to produce some descriptive evidence ((Devillanova and Frattini 2006)), (Devillanova,

Fasani et al. 2007) ) and also a more specific analysis of the role of networks in influencing undocumented migrants' behaviour (see, (Devillanova forthcoming)). The second group of economists working on the irregularity issue is based in the University of Bari. They designed and ran a field survey in 2003 (**SIMI survey**), interviewing a sample of almost a 1000 undocumented migrants. Their sample is an extremely selected one – as the immigrants were interviewed after they had been arrested for being undocumented and while being detained, pending the decision on their possible deportation – but they produced interesting descriptive material on the results of their research ((Chiuri, Coniglio et al. 2007; Chiuri, De Arcangelis et al. 2007) and investigated some important aspects of the undocumented migrants' behaviour, such as their return intention (Coniglio, De Arcangelis et al. 2006) and their remittance behaviour (Chiuri, Coniglio et al. 2006).

## ***II.2 Estimates, data and expert assessments on stocks***

### **II.2.1 Total stocks**

Different sources of information can be combined and compared to obtain a sufficiently clear and updated picture of the current stock of unauthorized immigrants which is likely to currently reside in Italy. We start by looking at direct estimates of this stock, especially those produced by the **Fondazione ISMU**. Then, we analyze data originated by particular policies – namely, by the amnesties and by (the malfunctioning of) the Italian migration quota system - where undocumented migrants directly report themselves to the authorities. We subsequently consider the existing estimates of the unrecorded immigrants workers: this is a different set from the undocumented migrants, since legal migrants (with respect to their residence) may work in the underground economy, and not all the unauthorized immigrants are actually employed. Finally, we look at the official records regarding the enforcement of the migration control policies within the Italian territory.

### II.2.1.a Estimates and the ISMU surveys

The first set of estimates of the total foreign born population – documented and undocumented – residing in Italy was produced in the **early '80s**, and a detailed survey of all the estimates and of their techniques can be found in Natale and Strozza (1997) and Strozza (2004). Strozza (2004) classifies these estimation attempts in five different classes according to the method used: a) *juxtaposition and comparison of data from different source*: it allows to obtain an estimate which usually corresponds to the difference in the stocks measured by different sources; b) *Indirect methods*: based on the hypothesis that the foreign born population surveyed by official sources is underestimated, since the illegal share is not recorded, whereas events and actions related to undocumented immigrants (births, hospitalizations, convictions, etc.) are well-recorded; c) *Methods based on results of specific legalization procedures*: they provide estimates of the number of illegal foreigners for the years preceding and following the amnesty; d) *Rational estimates*: based on experience and on the author's knowledge of the phenomenon and of its size (Delphi method); e) *Illegality ratio determined from sample surveys*: based on specific questions regarding the legal status of the interviewees.

The results of the application of these different techniques in the period between 1981 and 1998 are presented in Table 10: the estimates provide an assessment of the overall foreign born population and of the ratio of undocumented migrants among it. The evolution over time shows a clear increasing trend in the size of the unauthorized presence of migrants (accompanied by the growth in the total migrant population), but the effect of the amnesties induces consistent variation over time and estimates for the same year appear significantly different one from the other. According to (Bonifazi 2007)), the estimates of the '80s are likely to have overestimated the real scale of the phenomenon while those produced in the first half of the '90 have probably suffered from the opposite drawback.

The recent, and current, panorama of estimates of unauthorized stocks looks definitely less mixed and composite. Expert and commentators seem to have

gradually converged in considering the estimates produced by the **ISMU Foundation** as the most accurate and reliable ones. Indeed, the introduction and implementation of the “*Centre Sampling Technique*” (Baio, Blangiardo et al. 2008) implemented by the research team of the ISMU Foundation, has produced a valuable, detailed and continuous monitoring of the undocumented migrant population in Italy. Survey techniques can hardly be applied to undocumented migrants because the (obvious) absence of information about the population of interest prevents the researcher from extracting a sample which is sufficiently representative of the whole unauthorized population: if representativeness of the sample is not ensured, any conclusion obtained from interviewing a certain group of undocumented migrants may suffer of strong biases due to the selection and self-selection of that specific group of interviewees. The Centre Sample procedure overcomes this obstacle by exploiting the social interactions of the unauthorized population: although undocumented migrants are not recorded anywhere and are hardly identifiable for the researcher, they usually attend a number of “aggregation centres” (institutions, places of worship or entertainment, care centres, meeting points, shops, telephone centres, etc.) which, instead, can be fairly easily mapped by an informed researcher. Once the whole set of these “centres” has been identified, a random sample of “centres” can be chosen among them, and a sample of undocumented migrants can be obtained from their regular attendees. Finally, a weighting procedure ensures representativeness to the sample (for more details, see: A2. Centre Sampling technique)<sup>18</sup>.

Starting from a focus geographically limited to the area of Milan, the scope of the ISMU survey has gradually involved the whole Lombardia region, and, finally, the

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<sup>18</sup> The application of this technique to the Italian case has produced extremely valuable information on the undocumented population residing in this country. As any other method aiming at measuring the undocumented migrants phenomena, its validity can not be tested against the (unknown) reality. Nevertheless, some reasons of concern can be briefly summarized before presenting the empirical evidence obtained through this technique. The method strongly relies on the researcher capability of identifying the whole set of relevant “centres” located in the area of interest: if some of these are systematically ignored, the sample of individuals obtained may be not fully representative of the whole population of interest. Moreover, this method seems to be more suited to be applied to urban contexts than to rural ones, where the “aggregation centres” are probably more sparse and harder to identify. Finally, the common issues in interviewing undocumented migrants arise: they may be less willing to be interviewed, they may misreport their legal status, etc.

whole Italian country. Since 2001, the ISMU foundation has carried out a yearly survey of 8-9 thousand migrants residing in the Lombardia region, managing to always include in the sample a significant fraction of undocumented migrants. In 2005, the Centre Sampling technique was applied to a large fraction of the Italian territory: the survey was conducted on behalf of the Ministry of Labour and Social Policies and interviewed a representative sample of about 30 thousand immigrants<sup>19</sup>.

Figure 2 shows the evolution over time of the stock of undocumented immigrants as it has been estimated by the researchers at the ISMU foundation. The cyclical trend of this stock reflects the repeated regularization processes that were adopted in the last two decades. Indeed, (Blangiardo 2008)) explains this “roller-coaster” trend with two different effects: 1) “amnesty effect”: the reduction in the number of undocumented migrants caused by the regularization process; 2) “recall effect”: the increase in unauthorized inflows in the periods preceding the amnesties, since more potential illegal migrants may be attracted by the opportunity of obtaining legal status through the amnesty.

The estimates for the most recent years value the stock of **undocumented immigrants** to be around **541 thousand in 2005, 650 thousand in 2006 and 349 thousand in 2007**<sup>20</sup> (Table 11). With respect to the total foreign born population living in Italy in those years, these estimates imply that the fraction of undocumented migrants was about 16 percent in 2005, 18 percent in 2006 and 9 percent in 2007.

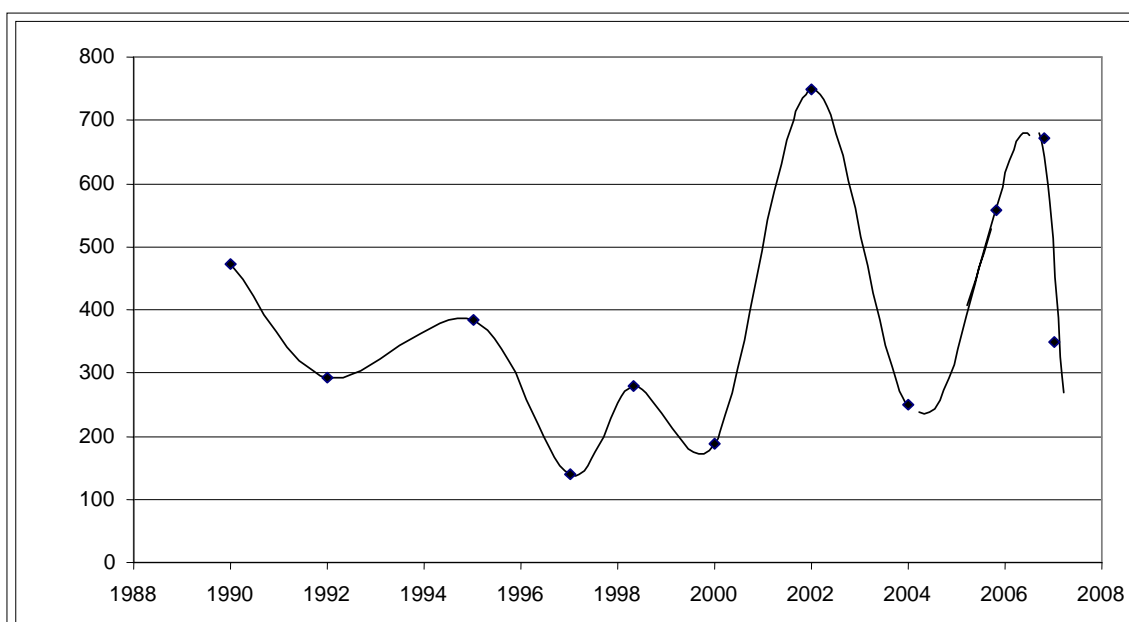
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<sup>19</sup> For materials and statistics from this latter survey see the website: <http://www.ismu.org/integrazionesud>

<sup>20</sup> The estimated drop in the unauthorized presence in 2007 (with respect to 2006) is largely due to the effect of the “quasi- amnesty” occurred in 2006 and discussed in the following section.



**Figure 2 - Estimated undocumented migrants in Italy (thousands). Years: 1990-2007**



Source: (Blangiardo 2008)

The national survey carried out in 2005 – when a sample of 30 thousand immigrant was interviewed in different Italian regions – provides more details underlying these estimates. Table 12 shows that **75 percent of the estimated 540 thousands undocumented migrants were settled in Northern and Central regions of Italy** and the remaining 25 percent was residing in the South: when comparing this distribution with that of authorized migrants – 85 percent of which are leaving in Northern-Central Italy – we can observe that undocumented migrants are relatively more likely to reside in the South than documented ones (although both groups clearly prefer to settle in Northern-Central Italy). Table 12 also shows that there seems to be a *higher concentration of undocumented migrants in the South than in the rest of Italy*: more than a quarter (27%) of the migrants residing in the Southern area are undocumented, while the mean value in Italy is 16 percent (and 14 percent in Northern-Central Italy).

### **II.2.1.b Undocumented migrants reporting themselves: data from amnesties and the quota system**

An important peculiarity of the Italian setting is the availability of data and information on undocumented migrants which have been collected directly by the self-reporting of the immigrants themselves. This has been made possible by the frequent implementation of general legalization procedures and by the peculiar functioning of the Italian quota system.

**Amnesties.** Different methodologies have been developed and applied to various developed countries in order to seize the undocumented population ((Tapinos and Delaunay 1998) and, for a more recent review (Pinkerton, McLaughlan et al. 2004)). Among these techniques, data from regularisation programmes can be used to obtain a fairly detailed and comprehensive picture of the situation. And this is particularly true for the Italian case, where the amnesties have been procedures with a relatively low level of selectivity, which have involved large numbers of migrants and which have been often repeated over time.

Using the number of applicants (or individuals legalized at the end of the process) for an amnesty to measure the stock of undocumented migrants has many strengths: all the applicants are undoubtedly undocumented immigrants; since applications are usually collected by local authorities, geographically detailed data can be obtained and used for research; with repeated amnesties (in reasonably short spans of time), the changes in stocks within single areas can be assessed and some inference about net flows can be made. The number of applications should provide a minimum assessment of the illegals stock existing in the period before the amnesty, given that a portion of the residing illegals may decide not to apply (or may fail to do so, for instance because they do not fulfil the program requirements). According to this reasoning, **the amnesty of 2002 showed that Italy was hosting a stock of more than 700 thousand undocumented migrants (Table 9).**

The process of "selection-into-amnesty" process - i.e. the reasons why an undocumented migrant decides to apply or not - may strongly hinder the representativeness of the data obtained during the amnesties and this potential limitation need to be kept in mind when commenting this type of data<sup>21</sup>.

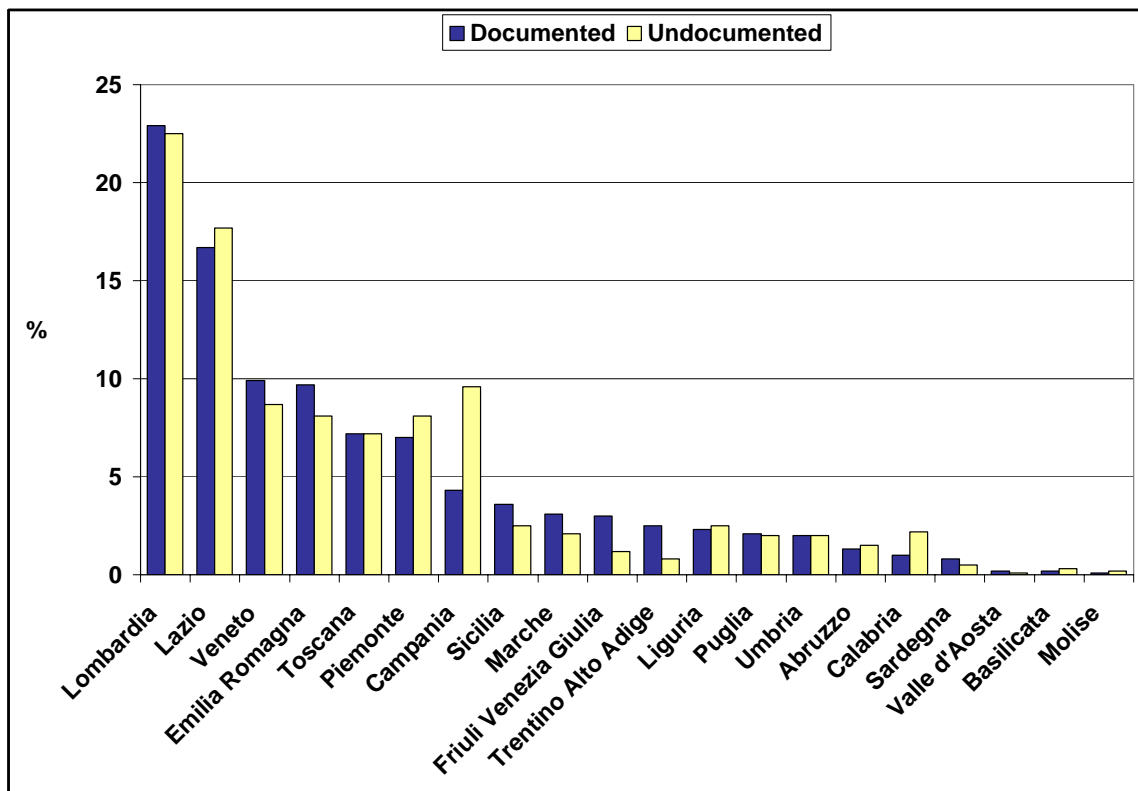
Detailed data are available for the last four amnesties (1990, 1995, 1998 and 2002) launched in Italy. The geographical distribution of the applications for the amnesties shows that the settlement decisions of the irregular migrants tend to mirror those of the regular ones. For instance, in 2002 the distribution by macro area of the documented migrants (32 percent in North-Western regions, 25% in North-East, 29% in Central Italy and 13% in the South and Islands) was almost identical to that of the applicants for legal status (whose values were, respectively, 33%, 19%, 29% and 19%) (Table 13). Figure 3 shows how similar looked the distribution across regions in the same year. This symmetry in the residential choices can be explained with both network-effects arguments and with the fact that irregular migrants are probably attracted by the same elements

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<sup>21</sup> Obtaining the legal status should represent a clear improvement for the migrant: it reduces the uncertainty of her future (i.e. no deportation risk), it allows to legally travel from the destination to the home country and back, and it is likely to improve her employment opportunities and her wage (Kossoudji, S. A. and D. A. Cobb-Clark (2002). "Coming out of the Shadows: Learning about Legal Status and Wages from the Legalized Population." *Journal of Labor Economics* **20**(3): pp. 598-628.). Still, there are migrants who decide – or are forced to decide – not to apply for an amnesty. The process of "selection into amnesty" primarily depends on the minimum legal requirements for the application and on the (real or feared) consequences of a possible rejection. As far as the latter are concerned, migrants may not be willing to self-report themselves to the government authorities if they think that a negative outcome (e.g. a deportation) of the application process is more likely than a positive one. The legal requirements, instead, usually discriminate potential applicants on the basis of previous permanence in the country and on the employment status. In theory this should leave out an important component of the undocumented population (those recently arrived and those unemployed). In practice, there may be migrants who do not fulfil the legal requirements but who nevertheless decide to apply: this can happen if they can rely on forged documents to pass the application assessment and/or if they hope to use the span of time elapsing between the application and the actual assessment to find a job. Moreover, the application can be made even if the likelihood of being granted legal status is low: if the application assessment takes place after a long period of time – in Italy it took up to two years in the 2002 amnesty – and if the status of applicants prevents the authorities from deporting the migrant, there may be a direct gain from being an applicant. On the other hand, there may be immigrants who would fulfil all the requirements but who decide not to apply. This can often happen if being in employment is one of the requirement and if the employer is involved in the process: if the employer is not willing to regularize the position of her employee and if the labour market conditions in the area makes it hard to find any other employment apart from those offered by the underground economy, the incentives to apply may be very weak.

that attract regular ones: stronger labour demand and better employment opportunities in the Northern regions (Table 6) are clearly playing a major role in shaping the settlement decisions of all migrants. Indeed, comparing the data for the five amnesties, it's worth noticing the increase in concentration in the northern regions (from 33% in 1986 to 51% of total irregular migrants in 2002), the constant share of migrants residing in central regions (from 31% in 1986 to 29% in 2002) and the fall in South Italy share (from 34% in 1986 to 19% in 2002). Seven regions were hosting the majority of the immigrants that applied for the last three amnesties: four regions in Northern Italy (Lombardia, Veneto, Piemonte, Emilia Romagna), two in Central Italy (Lazio, Toscana) and only one in the South (Campania).

**Figure 3 - Geographical distribution of documented and undocumented(\*) immigrants across Italian regions. Year 2002**



(\*) Undocumented migrants are measured as the number of applicants for the 2002 amnesty.  
Source: Istat and Italian Minister of Internal Affairs

Finally, Table 13 reports the regional ratio of undocumented migrants over resident legal migrants and allows to appreciate the scale of the unauthorized residence phenomenon: in all the three amnesties, the stock of undocumented migrants (who applied for legal status) represented about 30-50 percent of the foreign born population lawfully residing in Italy, and this ratio varies from fairly low levels (5-15 percent) in Northern regions such as Trentino Alto Adige and Friuli Venezia Giulia) to more than 100 percent (in 2002) in Southern regions (Campania and Calabria).

**Quota system.** Throughout the '90s, Italy has gradually attempted to set up a quota system to manage the legal inflows of migrant workers. This system has finally started to function only in 1998 with the Turco-Napolitano law and has been confirmed in 2002 by the following Bossi-Fini law<sup>22</sup>. According to the design of the system, the government establishes every year – through the so called “Flow decree” – the number of immigrants which will be allowed to enter the country for working reasons. At this stage, potential employers can apply for hiring immigrant workers until the number established by the quota is reached. According to the law, these immigrant workers should not be already residing in the country, and, given the almost absolute absence of legal entry channels for job searching reasons<sup>23</sup>, the match between employers and employees should theoretically occur without any previous meeting between the two parts. Indeed, when applying for an immigrant employee within the quota system, the employer can either request a specific individual or hire the first person in the lists of job-seekers that are compiled by Italian embassies and consulates in the origin countries.

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<sup>22</sup> For a brief summary of the Italian migration policy see the appendix “A1. Italian legislation” (p. 83) and the list of references included there.

<sup>23</sup> The 1998 Turco-Napolitano Law introduced the possibilities of allowing the entry of migrants for job-searching reasons if they were backed by a “sponsor” in Italy. The sponsor could be an institution, an Italian citizen or a legal migrant already settled in Italy and was responsible for the maintenance in Italy and for the possible return of the migrant to her origin country (in case she had not found a job). This possibility was severely limited by the high rate of rejection of the applications and was abolished by the 2002 Bossi-Fini law.

It is obvious that hardly any employer would be willing to hire workers that they have never met before, therefore the legislation provisions are completely at odds with the reality of the labour markets. As it often happens in Italy, economy and society react to inadequate institutions and legislations by devising shortcuts which better fits their needs. In this case, the outcome of this ill-designed system is that the immigrants first enter the Italian labour market without any formal authorization (or with a tourist visa) and then, if they find a job and an employer who wants to legalize their situation and working contract, they wait for the “Flow decree”, apply for a place<sup>24</sup>, and, finally, if the application is accepted, they move back to their origin countries and then return to Italy, entering officially and pretending not to have been in Italy before. Basically, migrants undergo an indeterminate probation period as undocumented ones, and if the working relationship consolidates they may obtain the legal status and emerge from the underground economy. Evidence of this malfunctioning is provided by the 2006 ISMU survey in Lombardia: 34 percent of the undocumented migrants interviewed – and therefore already physically settled in Italy – had applied for the 2006 “Flow decree”, pretending to be still residing in their origin countries (Sciortino 2007).

The bottom line of this procedure is that the difference between an amnesty and the “Flow decree” tends to be more nominal than substantial, although the latter procedure usually establishes a cap to the number of legalized individuals (no matter how many applications were received by the government). Indeed, the quotas set by the government were around 60 thousand workers per year in the period 1998-2000, then the number increased to about 80 thousand from 2001 to 2004, and it reached 100 thousand in 2005 (Table 14). In 2006 the initial decree provided for 170 thousand new immigrant workers, but after receiving more than 500 thousand applications, the government decided to expand the quota to 550 thousand workers: the new quota basically created enough space to potentially

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<sup>24</sup> In recent years applications have to be submitted to any Post Office and with the last Decree (2007) one could apply through internet: the application can be made by the migrants on behalf of their employers.

accept all the applications and it was substantially equivalent to an amnesty (Codini 2007).

The last “Flow decree”, in 2007, set again the quota at 170 thousands, and by the end of February 2008 more than 700 thousands applications were handed over in the Italian post offices. Although a relevant fraction of these applications may concern immigrants which are not already residing in Italy, politicians and commentators seem to take it for granted that the majority of these 700 thousands applicants are undocumented migrants who are already settled and working in Italy. Indeed, the current political debate concerns the possible options – increasing the quota, deporting, etc. – for dealing with the over 500 thousands immigrants that will be left out by the previously established quota.

For our purposes, these applications represent the **most recent and detailed picture of the current stock of undocumented migrants residing and working in Italy**. Nevertheless, a major problem with these data is represented by the difficulty in assessing how large is the component of truly potential new immigrants – with respect to that of undocumented migrants already in Italy – among the pool of applicants. This seriously limits the scope to use them as a precise measure of the overall stock of undocumented migrants – in the absence of specific studies on this issue – but they can still be regarded as a valuable source of information on the characteristics of the undocumented population.

The Italian Home Office has recently published some data on these requests, presenting breakdowns by region and country of origin (Table 15). According to these data, the **geographical distribution** of the undocumented migrants is similar to that observed in the last amnesties<sup>25</sup>, with the Northern regions playing a major role (36 percent in North-West area and 28 percent in North-East) while Central Italy and Southern regions accounted for, respectively, 19 and 16

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<sup>25</sup> As these data on applications include genuine potential immigrants (who are still in their origin countries) the geographical distribution of the applicants may not reflect that of the undocumented population, if the fraction of potential immigrants is systematically higher in certain regions than in others.

percents of the total applications. As usual, Lombardia received the largest number of application (almost 28%).

### **II.2.1.c Estimates of unrecorded migrant workers**

In order to understand Italian migration flows – the undocumented ones in particular – and its migration policy, one needs to recognize the persistent and significant role played by the underground economy in characterizing the economic structure of the Italian setting (Reyneri 1998). The most recent estimates – produced by the Italian National Institute of Statistics (Istat – [www.istat.it](http://www.istat.it)) – show that the shadow economy represented about 17 percent of the GDP in 2004 (Istat 2006). It is worth mentioning that this estimate does appears fairly stable in recent years and that it does not include the illegal and criminal activities. In terms of employment, this implies that about 12% of the full-time equivalent labour units<sup>26</sup> were not regular in 2005, and this correspond to about 2.5 million of workers (out of 24 million employed workers) whose position was not fully regular – or entirely irregular – in the same year (Table 16). Within the category of the irregular labour input, Istat (Istat 2008) estimates allow to distinguish three types of status: 1) residents: individuals who are lawfully resident in Italy (both Italians and immigrants) but are irregularly employed; 2) non-resident migrants: foreign born individuals who are not registered as resident (see p.8) or who are undocumented; 3) multiple activities: mainly self-employed who carry out undeclared and secondary (with respect to their main one) activities.

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<sup>26</sup> According to the OECD/Eurostat definition, full-time equivalent employment – or full-time equivalent labour units – is the number of full-time equivalent jobs, defined as total hours worked divided by average annual hours worked in full-time jobs. The differences between this standardized measure and the number of employed workers arise from the type of employment (employee, self-employed, temporary, permanent, seasonal, etc.) and number of hours worked (full-time, part-time) by each worker employed. For instance, if one country has twice the number of employed workers than the other, but they are all part-time – while in the other they are all full-time workers – the level of full-time equivalent employment is the same in both countries (although the actual level of employment in the first country is twice the level in the second one).



In Table 17, the category of “non resident migrants” – which is likely to include mainly undocumented migrants<sup>27</sup> – show a considerable variation over time, and the timing of these fluctuations mirrors that of the large amnesty granted in 2002. Indeed, in 2001 there were an estimated 720 thousands irregular labour units provided by non resident migrants, and this represented almost 22 percent of the total irregular labour input. Their contribution dropped to 4 percent in 2003-2004 (about 110-120 thousands labour units) in the aftermath of the amnesty program, but it seems to be again “on the rise”, reaching the 9 percent of the irregular labour input in 2005. Istat does not translate these estimates in number of actual immigrant workers, nevertheless we can gain useful insights by noticing that the two measures – labour units and number of employed – have roughly the same magnitude (see Table 16), and by looking at the share on total irregular labour input which shows how overrepresented migrant workers are among the pool of unregistered workers in the Italian labour market.

A closer look at the estimation of migrants employment in Italy is given by (Reyneri 2003). Combining different sources of data (Ministry of Labour, Ministry of Internal Affairs, INPS and Istat) he produces an expert assessment of the stock of employed migrants disaggregated by different types of residence (documented and undocumented) and of employment (declared and undeclared) status. According to his estimates, in 2001 there were about a million and 160 thousands migrants employed in Italy: 25 percent of them (300 thousands) were undocumented migrants (and therefore were doing some unregistered job) while

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<sup>27</sup> The estimates of the irregular employment are obtained by the comparison of different sources of information about employment levels by type of occupation, industry, region, etc. In particular, Istat compares data obtained by surveying workers (e.g. Population Census and Labour Force Surveys) with data from employers' surveys (e.g. firms census, firms surveys, etc.), and with administrative records (e.g. National Insurance registrations, etc.). In absence of any irregularity, these measures should provide a fairly similar picture, while any statistical significant discrepancy can be used to estimate the extent of the shadow employment in a particular industry, region, occupation, etc. A detailed description of the procedure followed by Istat in estimating the irregular labour inputs of non resident migrants can be found in Baldassarini, A. (2001). "Foreign labour and non-regular occupation in the new estimates of Italian national accounts." Studi Emigrazione 141.

almost 14 percent were working in the underground economy despite having a valid residence permit (Table 18).

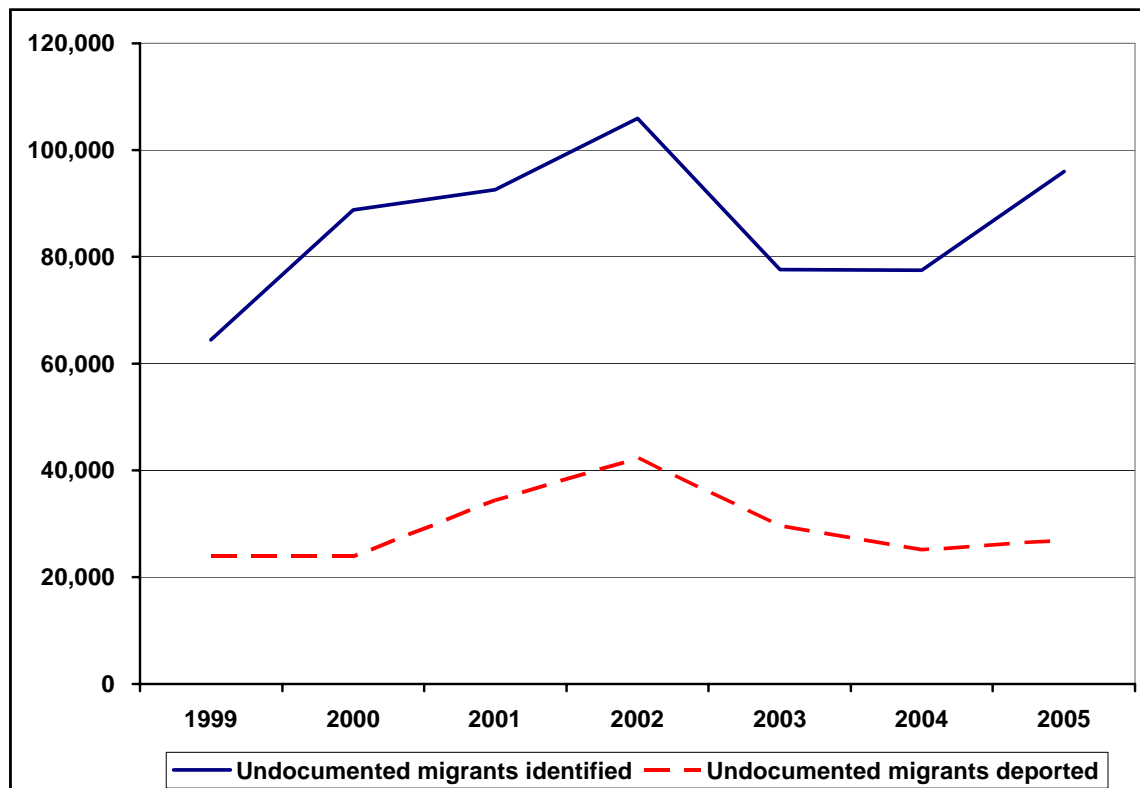
#### **II.2.1.d Records of migration control policies**

The data about the irregular migrants that were apprehended and identified during the controls carried out by the Italian police forces can contribute to draw a picture of the undocumented presence in Italy. When looking at data on undocumented immigrants apprehended, identified, detained, deported, etc. one needs to bear in mind that these numbers are the result of the application of a certain level of enforcement to the unauthorized flows and stocks. This implies two limitations for the interpretation of this type of data. First, there is no clear way of discovering which proportion of the overall flow/stock is represented by the number of migrants who incurred some of the police checks. Second, when looking at the evolution over time of these data, it is hard to establish whether the observed changes from one period to the other were caused by fluctuations in the flows/stocks or rather by changes in the enforcement intensity. And the same issue arises when attempting to make comparisons across different areas of the country. As a matter of fact, there is no reason for considering the level of enforcement as a fairly uniform – across periods and areas – variable: empirical studies on migration control policies (Hanson and Spilimbergo 2001; Fasani 2008) tend to find that the enforcement is highly responsive to political and economical variables.

Table 19 reports the total number of unauthorized migrants who incurred in one of these police controls (excluding those refused entry at the border) during the last decade: in 2006 there were more than 100 thousands undocumented migrants uncovered by the police controls, and a similar number was observed in 2002 (before the last amnesty). We can observe important fluctuations over time which mirror the reduction in the stock of illegals induced by the two amnesties in 1998 and 2002 Figure 4 - Undocumented migrants identified and deported by

Italian police forces from within the Italian territory. Years: 1999-2005 (Figure 4): in the periods immediately following the regularization there are very small or negative changes in the number of migrants involved, although the number rapidly returns to its previous levels. The amnesties produces a short period effect which seems to last no more than two years (aa.vv. 2007).

**Figure 4 - Undocumented migrants identified and deported by Italian police forces from within the Italian territory. Years: 1999-2005**



Source: Italian Ministry of Internal Affairs

**Deportations.** The Italian Minister of Internal Affairs provides yearly data on the number of undocumented migrants who were effectively deported back to their origin countries after being apprehended by the police. The number of immigrants deported increased dramatically in 1999 – with respect to the whole previous decade – as a consequence of the 1998 Turco-Napolitano law which aimed at making the deportation policy really effective. Table 20 reports the total number of individuals deported – and the values disaggregated by macro area –

in the period 1999-2005. The deportations show a significant oscillation over time, starting from almost 24 thousand in 1999, peaking with over 44 thousand in 2002, and decreasing to almost 27 thousand in 2006. The trend seems to follow the one observed for the number of undocumented migrants “identified” (Figure 4), with a clear drop after the amnesty in 2002.

There is significant variation over time in the geographical distribution of deportations. In 2006, 37 percent of them were carried out in North-Western regions, 21.5 percent in the North-East, 21 percent in Central Italy and 20.5 percent in the South.

## **II.2.2 Gender composition**

### a) ISMU estimates

The most recent data on gender composition of undocumented migrants are provided in (Barbagli 2007) drawing from the ISMU regional survey carried out in 2006 in Lombardia. Although these data are not fully representative of the national situation, Lombardia is the region which hosts the largest migrant population – both documented and undocumented – and it can give us a fairly accurate picture of the situation existing in the rest of the country. Moreover, if we assume that a dimension such as gender composition within national group is not very likely to vary across Italian regions, we can look at data from Lombardia with enough confidence in being reasonably close to the national values. Nevertheless, different areas of Italy host different national groups, and each of them is characterized by a peculiar gender ratio: as a result, each area will have a specific gender ratio of its undocumented population and the national value is given by the weighted mean of these regional values.

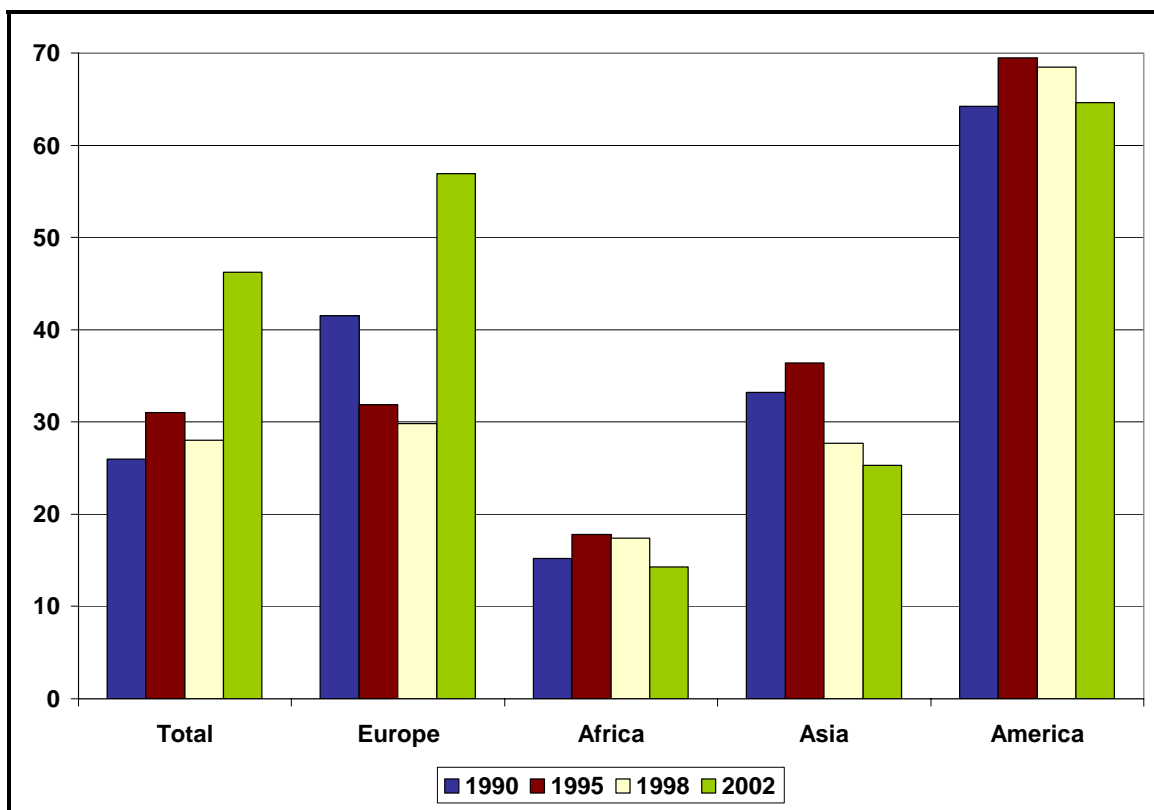
Indeed, the ranking of overall presence of the major national groups (Table 21) is similar but not equal to the national one which has been discussed above, and the same remark applies for the ranking of nationalities among the unauthorized stock (Table 22) which will be discussed in section 2.4. According to Table 22 **male migrants account for slightly more than half (54%) of the**

**undocumented population residing in Lombardia in 2006**, but this mean value hides a **huge variation across different national groups**. The within-group gender composition of unauthorized migrants allows to identify the “traditional men-led migratory systems” from those “women-led” and those more “gender balanced”. In the first group, where the fraction of men is above 60 percent, we find Egypt and Senegal (both at 85 percent of men), Tunisia (72%), Bangladesh (71%), Morocco (68%), Sri Lanka (66%), Pakistan (65%) and Albania (64%). On the opposite side, we find two Eastern European countries with an overwhelming majority of women – Ukraine (85 percent of female) and Moldova (82%) – and a second group of countries where women represent around 60% of the population: Peru and Brazil (both at 60%), Serbia and Montenegro (58%) and Ecuador (57%).

b) Amnesties and quota system

Detailed data are available for the last four amnesties granted in Italy (1990, 1995, 1998 and 2002). Table 23 allows also to briefly analyze the gender composition of the undocumented migrants and its evolution over time. Overall, the percentage **of women has increased by 20 percentage points from 26 percent in 1990 to 46.2 in 2002**, and this increase is mainly explained by the growing fraction of females among the Eastern European group (from 41.5 percent in 1990 to 56.9 in 2002) and by the prominence of these nationalities in the last two amnesties. Indeed, in the other geographical areas gender composition remains fairly constant over time, but it shows **striking differences across origin areas**: women represents only 14.3 percent of the legalized migrants from Africa, 25.3 percent of those from Asia and almost 65 percent of those arriving from Latin America (Figure 5). A closer look at the different nationalities shows the diversity of the migration trajectories of the different countries: in 2002 the female component varied from more than 85 percent among Ukrainians to 0.7 percent of Bangladesh and Pakistan.

**Figure 5 - Percentage of women among the "legalized migrants" in the amnesties of 1990, 1995, 1998 and 2002. By area of origin**



Source: Istat and Italian Home Office

For the 2002 amnesty we can compare gender and civil status of two groups of migrants: those who obtained the legal status with that particular amnesty (“legalized migrants”) and those who were already legal in 2002 (“documented migrants”). Although the “legalized” population is likely to differ to a certain extent from the overall undocumented one – given the process of “selection into amnesty” which has been discussed above – their average characteristics should be closer to those of the undocumented migrants than to those of the migrants who were already legally residing in Italy. Therefore, by looking at the “legalized migrants” we can infer substantial information regarding the undocumented population.

Overall, the **percentage of female is slightly smaller in the “legalized” population (46.2) than in the documented one (49.2)**, while the proportion of

married individuals is much lower (40.2 percent versus 57.4) among the “legalized migrants” (Table 24)<sup>28</sup>.

c) Other sources

Information about gender composition of undocumented migrants can be obtained through the analysis of the data collected by the NGO **Naga** during its activities. As previously discussed, the level of representativeness of these record may be questioned, and they are only informative on the reality of Milan. Still, the picture depicted in Table 25 seems to fully confirm the values presented above. During the period 2000-2006, women constituted 44 – 47 percent of the undocumented migrants recorded by Naga volunteers and this fraction was fairly constant over time.

### **II.2.3 Age composition<sup>29</sup>**

a) ISMU estimates

The regional ISMU survey run in Lombardy in 2006 provides detailed information about the age distribution of the migrants and allows to compare documented and undocumented migrants. With respect to this last point, Figure 6 shows remarkable differences in the age distribution between the two groups: **undocumented migrants are significantly younger than their documented counterpart**. More than half (52 percent) of the irregular immigrants are within the age range 15- 29 years old, 30 percent are in the cohort 30-39 and the remaining 18 percent are older than 40. For the regular migrants, instead, we

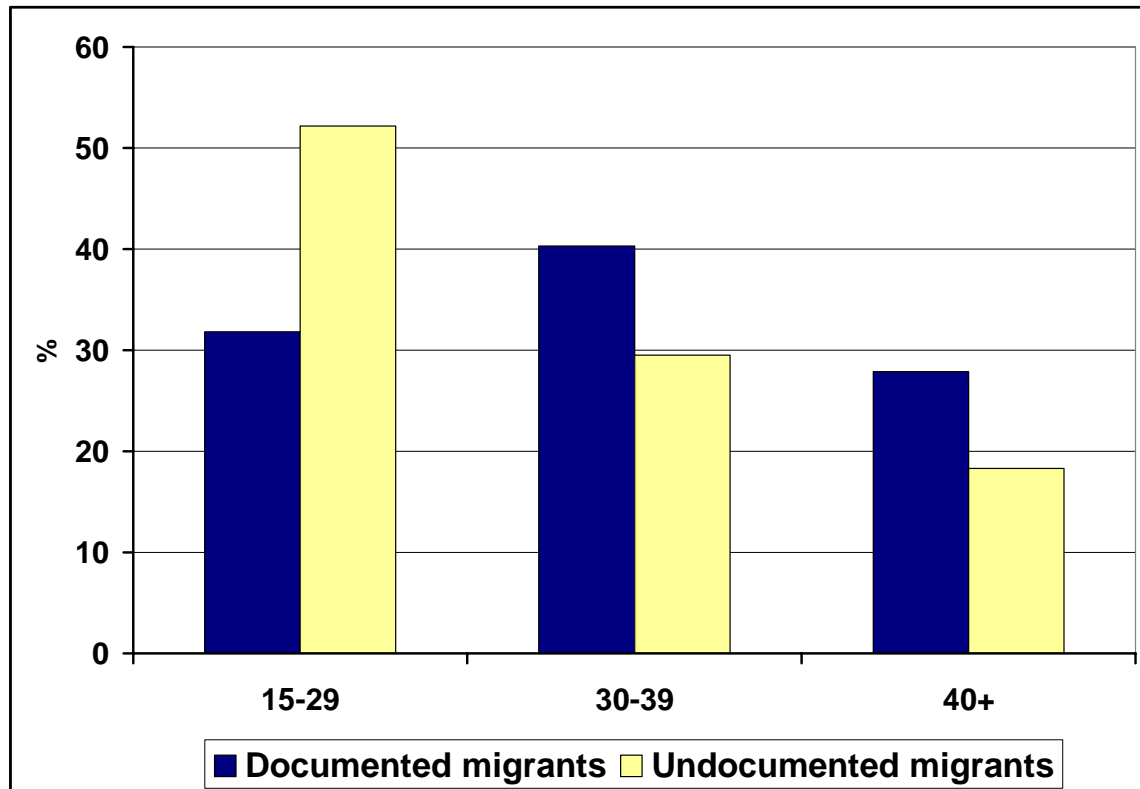
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<sup>28</sup> As the 2002 amnesty was intensively advertised as amnesty for migrants working in the personal care sector – where female workers are prevalent – we may think that the percentage of females in this amnesty was higher than in the total population without residence status (see p. 53).

<sup>29</sup> All the sources of information included in this section generally fail to capture the component of undocumented minors, who are not interviewed and who do not apply for amnesties. The real age structure, therefore, is probably even younger than the one presented below, but there are no estimates of the stock of irregular minors currently residing in Italy.

have less than a third (32 percent) in the younger range, 40 percent in the central one, and 20 percent above 40 (Table 26).

**Figure 6 - ISMU survey: age distribution of immigrants living in Lombardy, by legal status. Year 2006**



Source: author's elaboration from (Barbagli 2007)

The comparison across different areas of origin shows the existence of relevant differences: **undocumented migrants from Eastern Europe and Latin America are substantially older than the rest of the unauthorized population.** If we consider the younger cohort (15-29), for instance, the fraction of migrants within this range varies from 44-45% in Latin America and Eastern Europe, to almost 60 percent in Asia and Oceania, and to more than 65 percent in Northern Africa. Similarly, the fraction of individuals “over 40” in the Eastern European group is more than three times (28 percent), and in the Latin America group more than twice (18 percent), that of migrants coming from Africa (8 percent).



b) Amnesties and quota system

Looking at the records of the applicants for the 2002 amnesty, we can learn something about the age distribution of undocumented migrants in Italy and we can analyze breakdowns by nationality, gender and area of residence.

According to Table 27 the **average age was 32.4**, with male undocumented migrants being 5-6 year younger in average than their female counterpart. Moreover, Table 24 allow to compare the age of legalized and legal migrants: **male undocumented immigrants are younger than their regular counterpart** (average age is 30.9 years versus 35), **while the opposite is true for female migrants** (mean age for undocumented migrants is 36.6 while it s 34.4 for documented ones). Instead, if we compare different areas of residence (Table 27) we discover that undocumented migrants residing in the Northern and Central areas of Italy were slightly younger that those settled in the South: the average age was 32.2 year in the North-Central Italy versus 33.5 in the South.

When looking at the **age distribution**, we can appreciate how young the unauthorized migrants are: almost half of the applicants (46 percent) were within the range 15-29 years, while 41 percent were in the range 30-44 years, and only 13 percent were more than 45 years old. The variation in age distribution across different origin areas and nationalities is consistent, but the average age is clearly centred around 30 and it never exceeds 40. The “oldest” group is clearly composed by Eastern European citizens: with an average age of almost 38 years, they had almost a third (30 percent) of individuals above 45, and 43 percent in the central cohort of age (30-44). On the contrary, Africans and migrants from the Middle East had an average age well below the average (28-29 years) and rather negligible fractions of individuals above 45.

c) Other sources

As for the gender dimension, the evidence on age distribution based on **Naga** records supports the patterns presented in the two previous section. In 2006, indeed, the undocumented migrants registered at Naga had an average age of almost 33 years, and the women were, in average, two years older than the men:

34 years old versus 32 (Devillanova, Fasani et al. 2007). The largest fraction of individual lies in the range 25-34 years - both for women (39 percent) and for men (45 percent) – and the majority of them – 59 percent of the women and 68% of the men – are younger than 35 (Table 28).

#### **II.2.4 Nationality composition**

When reporting the national composition of the estimated stock of irregular migrants we need to bear in mind that the gradual process of **enlargement of the European Union** has caused major transformations to this composition. Indeed, for the nationalities involved by this political change, the distinction between documented and undocumented immigrants lost its significance, as all the migrants gradually became EU citizens. After the accession of their countries of origin to the EU, immigrants could not be considered as illegally residents anymore, nevertheless they could be forbidden to work in the other “old” member countries. Indeed, according to the Accession Treaties<sup>30</sup>, national governments of countries which were already members of the EU could choose to maintain some temporary limitations (“transitional periods”) to the access to their labour markets by citizens of new member states. As the majority of the other EU members, Italy chose to postpone the liberalization of its labour market in both the Enlargement of the 1<sup>st</sup> of May 2004 and in that of the 1<sup>st</sup> of January 2007. In the first case, the Italian government opted for maintaining the transitional period with no access to the Italian labour market – unless the migrant obtained a work permit through the quota system – for eight (Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia, and Slovenia) out of ten new member states. This period expired on the 27<sup>th</sup> of July 2006 and, since then, citizens from the EU8 can freely work in Italy (as in all the other EU25 countries). For the enlargement which involved Romania and Bulgaria, instead, Italy decided to

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<sup>30</sup> The accession Treaties of 16 April 2003 regarding the accession of the Czech Republic, Estonia, Cyprus, Latvia, Lithuania, Hungary, Malta, Poland, Slovenia and Slovakia, and that of 25 April 2005 regarding the accession of Bulgaria and Romania.

liberalize the access only to certain sectors (agriculture, hotel and tourism, domestic work, care services, construction, engineering, managerial and highly skilled work, seasonal work). The first phase of the transitional period will end on the 31<sup>st</sup> of December 2008, and after this date the government has the faculty to reiterate the period or, rather, to allow for the free movement of workers<sup>31</sup>.

a) ISMU estimates

Using the data from the ISMU national survey carried out in 2005, Table 29 reports the breakdown by macro area of origin and area of residence in Italy of the estimated 540 thousands undocumented migrants. Figure 7 shows that, at the national level, the **majority of the unauthorized population is composed by Eastern European citizens** (53 percent). The second largest group are the **North-Africans** (17.1 percent), followed by immigrants from **Asia and Oceania** (12.5 percent), **Sub-Saharan Africa** (8.7 percent) and **Latin America** (8.7 percent). There do not seem to be significant differences in the nationality composition of the unauthorized stock between the two Italian macro-areas (North-Central Italy Vs. South Italy).

Table 30 and Table 31 allow us to look at specific nationalities. Table 30 reports the list of the 20 major nationalities for overall presence (both documented and undocumented) and in the first ten positions we have: **Albania, Romania, Morocco, Ukraine, China, Philippines, Tunisia, Ecuador, Macedonia and Poland**. The percentage of undocumented migrants among each national group varies considerably across nationalities, but it is clearly bounded within the range 10-22 percent, while the national average is 16.1 percent. The communities with the largest shares of unauthorized migrants - around 20 percent - are Ukraine (22.4), Romania (21.6), Poland (21.3), Nigeria (19.6), Moldova (19.1), Macedonia (18.2) and Senegal (18.0).

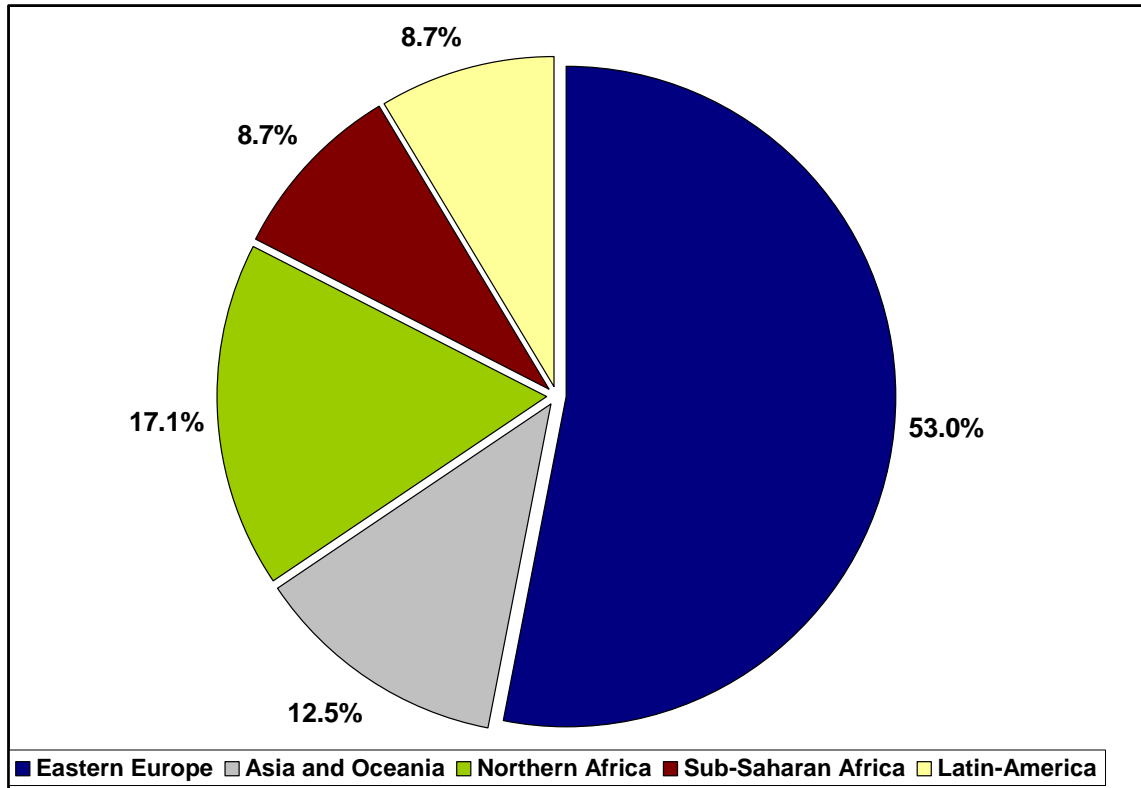
If we consider only the undocumented immigrants (Table 31) the nationality ranking changes slightly, but the largest community are generally also those with

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<sup>31</sup> See [http://ec.europa.eu/employment\\_social/free\\_movement/enlargement\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/employment_social/free_movement/enlargement_en.htm) for more details on other EU countries.

the largest number of unauthorized migrants. Indeed, the ranking for the main nationalities is the following: 95 thousand from Romania (17.4%), 66 thousands from Albania (12.1%), 58 thousand from Morocco (10.7%), 40 thousand from Ukraine (7.4%), 19 thousand from China (3.6%), 18 thousand from Tunisia (3.3%) and 18 thousand from Poland (3.3%).

**Figure 7 - Undocumented migrants by area of origin. 1st July 2005**



Source:(Blangiardo and Tanurri 2006)

b) Amnesties and quota system

Detailed data are available for the last four amnesties granted in Italy (1990, 1995, 1998 and 2002). Table 23 reports the **nationality composition of the undocumented migrants who were granted legal status** in each amnesty. We can immediately notice important changes that occurred over time in the areas of origin of the undocumented population residing in Italy: while immigrants from Europe represented only 12.7 percent in 1990, their proportion kept

increasing in the following processes and they became the majority in 2002 (59.2 percent of the legalized migrants). Within this geographical area it is possible to follow the hump shaped evolution of the irregular presence of Albanian citizens – who represented the main group in both the 1995 and 1998 amnesties – and the sharp increase of Romania and Ukraine, which started from a negligible number in the early '90 and in 2002 they became the two largest national groups, representing, respectively, 20.9 and 15.7 of the legalized population. An opposite trend is recognizable for the African immigrants: while they represented 58.4 percent of the total in 1990, they accounted for only 16.8 percent in 2002. The irregular presence of Asian and South American immigrants, instead, appears more stable: the fraction of Asian citizens declines from 21.6 in 1990 to 13.6 in 2002, while the Latin-Americans slightly increased from 7.1 percent to 10.4 in the same period.

Table 15, instead, reports the number of applications for the **2007 Flow Decree**. The main nationalities forming the pool of 700 thousand applicants are Morocco (17.1%), China (10.2%), Bangladesh (9.9%), India (7%), Ukraine (6.4%), Moldova, Albania and Pakistan (all around 5%).

## **II.2.5 Labour market status and economic sector composition**

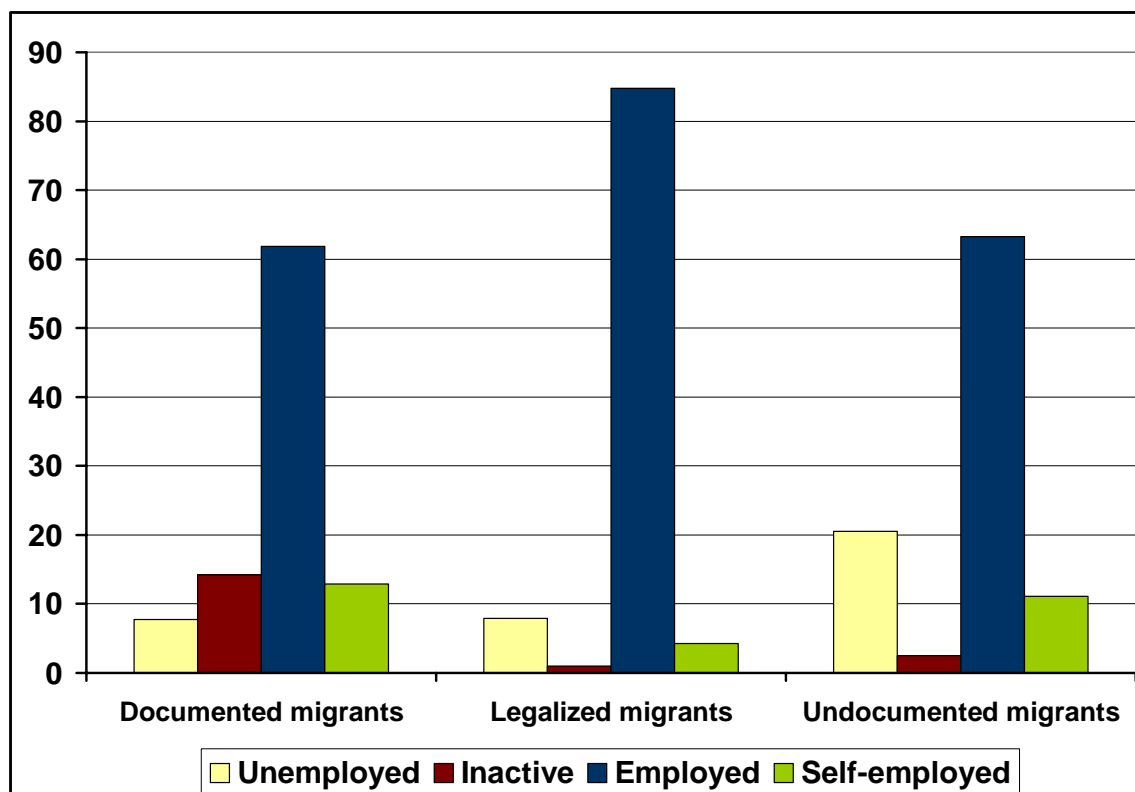
### a) ISMU estimates

The 2005 national ISMU survey provided detailed data on employment status, occupation and monthly wage of the migrants and it makes it possible to compare the labour market performance of different groups of migrants: documented migrants (who were already legal before the 2002 amnesty), legalized migrants (in 2002) and undocumented migrants. This comparison contributes to the understanding of the migrants' trajectory from illegal status towards a regular and more stable integration in the Italian economy and society.

Table 32 reports the **labour market status (employed, unemployed, inactive)** of the three categories of migrants mentioned above. At first glance (Figure 8) the labour market integration of the legalized migrants looks different from both that of the documented migrants and that of the undocumented ones. Indeed, the fraction of **unemployed** individuals is almost 8 percent among the legalized and documented migrants, while it grows to more than **20 percent for the unauthorized immigrants**. On the other hand, the proportion of **inactive immigrants** (students or individuals looking after family/home) is fairly negligible in both undocumented (2.5 percent) and legalized migrants (1 percent), while it is around 14 percent for the legal migrants. This higher value is due to the higher proportion of students (4.1 percent) and to the fact that around one fifth (21.2 percent) of the female documented immigrants take care of the family and of the house as their main occupation.

Table 33 provides more detail. The proportion of working individuals among the documented migrants is around 75 percent, with 13 percent **self-employed** and 62 percent **employed**. Among those employed, 54 percent of the migrants have a recorded job (full-time, part-time or temporary) while almost 8 percent are employed in the underground economy in spite of having a valid residence permit. For the legalized group, instead, the proportion of employed individuals increases up to 85 percent – with 72.2 percent of them working regularly and 10. percent having an unrecorded job – and the fraction of self-employed is around 4 percent. Finally, around **73 percent of the undocumented migrants are working** – 63 percent are employed and 11 percent self-employed - and all of them are working in the underground labour market: the lack of a residence permit prevents them from lawfully holding any job position.

Figure 8 - ISMU data: labour market status of immigrants in Italy, by legal status. Year 2005



Source: author's elaboration from (Bragato 2006)

It is interesting to notice how the traditional **gender gaps** in participation, employment and unemployment rates tend to vanish among the two groups of legalized and undocumented immigrants were almost all individuals – no matter which gender they are – participate in the labour market and face a similar level of risk of remaining unemployed. For the documented migrants, instead, the participation rates follow a more traditional pattern, with 27 percent of the women being inactive versus 2.6 percent of men. Indeed, when the migrants succeed to settle down (fairly) permanently and to bring in Italy their closer relatives through the family reunification, they seem to return to a more conventional organization of the household.

Some insight on migrants' **occupations and industry employment** can be gained by looking at Table 34. The ISMU survey contains detailed questions about the occupations of the migrants interviewed, but, unfortunately, the

classification adopted in the questionnaire does not allow to easily allocate each type of occupation to a particular industry: we will discuss this issue in the following paragraphs. In Table 34 we can analyze the occupations of migrants and the breakdowns by legal status and macro area of residence. In Italy migrant workers are clearly concentrated in low-skilled job, independently from their legal status and their level of education and skills. If we consider the subset of occupations for which we can clearly identify the industry of employment, around half of the sample is employed in the service sector (considering unskilled workers in services, transports, retail trade and services, hotels and restaurant; household staff; care workers and babysitters) while 20-25 percent work in manufacture (unskilled workers in manufacture and construction). The proportion of migrants working in the agriculture and fishing industry shows clear geographical variation: it is quite low in Northern and Central Italy (2-3 percent) while it increases to 12-19 percent (depending on the legal status) in the South, where this industry is larger in terms of employment share.

At this level of detail it is worth noticing that the occupational pattern of the undocumented migrants does not look particularly dissimilar from that shown by the documented and legalized group. One important difference arises if we distinguish the construction sector from the rest of manufacture. Although the overall fraction of employment in the manufacture industry is similar across groups, only 8 percent of the documented migrants work in the construction sector and 13 percent in the manufacture (other from construction), while the values for the undocumented migrants show that 23 percent (26 percent of men) work as builders and less than 2 percent in manufacture (other than construction). A second important difference can be noticed by looking at jobs where the employers are Italian families (household staff, care workers and babysitter): this account for 17 percent of the employment of documented migrants and for more than 32 percent of that of undocumented migrants (and about 30 percent of legalized migrants).



We can finally have a brief look at **monthly wages** of migrants workers (Table 35). Two main conclusions can be quickly drawn. First, the mean level of wages for all categories of migrants is significantly lower in the South than in the rest of Italy: 621 euros (median is 600 euros) versus 930 euros (median is 900 euros). Second, the mean level of wages seems to “increase with legal status”: documented migrants earn in average 965 euros, the legalized ones earn 851 euros and the undocumented ones earn 690 euros. **Undocumented migrants earn in average 30 percent less of the documented migrants:** this difference is likely to be partially explained by different characteristics of the two groups (undocumented migrants are generally shorter permanence in Italy, they have less experience in the Italian labour market, they are probably less fluent in Italian, etc.), but the legal status is probably playing a role in influencing the relative bargaining power of employers and employees when they agree on the wage.

b) Amnesties and quota system

A valuable amount of information about the industry employment of undocumented migrants is provided by the records of the over 700 thousands applications for the 2002 amnesty. These data are likely to over represent the migrants employed by Italian families (as cleaners, care workers, babysitters, etc.) given that the legalization process had initially been conceived – and advertised to the general public – to explicitly address this category of workers, and only subsequently extended to include any type of employee. Nevertheless, bearing this caveat in mind, we can be fairly confident that, apart from that particular industry, the ranking and relative importance of the other industries is representative of the real patterns of employment of undocumented migrants.

We start by looking at national shares of employment in each industry (Table 36). Almost half of the applicants (47 percent) are working for Italian families, providing cleaning and care services. Manufacture comes second, with 27 percent of migrant workers: 17 percent in construction sector and 10 percent in

other types of manufacture. Only 5 percent of the applicants are employed in agriculture, while the remaining 16 percent works in different types of services (retail trade, restaurant and hotel, other). According to these data, therefore, the **service sector employs the vast majority of migrant workers** (63 percent).

The geographical differences in the industry composition of migrants' employment between Northern-Central Italy and Southern Italy mirrors the different industrial specialization of these macro-areas. Indeed, the agriculture sector of the South accounts for 15 percent of the migrants' employment in this area, while it falls to 3 percent in the rest of Italy. The opposite is true for the manufacture share: it is almost 30 percent in Northern-Central Italy and only 14 percent in the South. Finally, the fraction of immigrants providing services to the families is higher in the South (53 percent) than in other areas of the country (46 percent).

The breakdown by geographical area of origin (Table 36) points out the existence of important variation in employment composition across different groups of nationalities. Eastern European and Latin Americans, for instance, seem to be "specialized" in the services for the families, with a fraction of employment that reaches, respectively, 77 and 69 percent. This value, instead, falls to 26 percent for Middle East and to 13 percent for Northern Africa. In agriculture, there are two groups of nationalities – Northern Africa and Middle East – which have relatively large shares of employment (around 12 percent at the national level, but, respectively, up to 38 percent and 20 percent in the South) and areas with shares close to zero (Eastern Asia and Latin America). Migrants from the Balkan area and from Northern Africa have a large fraction of employed (29-30 percent) in construction sector, while citizens from Eastern Asia shows the largest shares of employment in "other manufacture" (38 percent).

Different nationalities, therefore, seems to specialize in different industries of the Italian economy: different characteristics (gender, age, qualifications, skills, etc.) of the national groups of migrants and the role played by network effects in finding a job are likely to play a major role in explaining these disparities.

If there seems to be a certain degree of ethnic specialization in particular industries, a quick glance at Table 37 makes it evident the extent of gender specialization in economic sector employment. In all Italian areas, the female employment is basically confined within the “services to the families” sector: 40-48 percent of women migrants are working as cleaners, and 34-43 percent as care workers for Italian families. These values are much lower for male migrants, who, instead, have large share of employment in the construction sector (30 percent) and in “other manufacture” (16 percent).

c) Other sources

Some interesting insight on the labour market integration of undocumented migrants are provided by (Devillanova, Fasani et al. 2007) drawing from **Naga records**. The **likelihood of being employed seems to increase dramatically with the length of permanence in Italy**: if the percentage of employed among those arrived less than one year before the interview is below 40 percent, the percentage of those working among the migrants with 3-4 years of permanence grows to more than 75% (Table 38). This latter value is really close to the employment rate registered in 2006 for the Italian population in the cohorts 25-34 years (70%) and 35-44 years (77%).

## II.2.6 Education

Naga records make it possible to shed some light on the level of education of the undocumented migrants. In spite of the unfounded political and media discourse on irregular migration in Italy – which tends to depict undocumented migrants as unskilled, marginal and “desperate” individuals – a comparison between the educational levels of the migrants recorded by Naga and that of the Italian population tells a completely different story (Devillanova, Fasani et al. 2007). Leaving aside a number of caveats regarding the full comparability of the data, Table 39 shows that the percentages of undocumented migrants having received a secondary and university education are absolutely similar to those of Italian

citizens in the relevant age cohort (25-34 years), and higher of those of the whole Italian population. Undocumented migrants, though, have also a larger percentage of illiterates (3-4 percent versus 0.4-0.7 percent in the Italian population).

## ***II.3 Estimates, data and expert assessments on flows***

### **II.3.1 Demographic flows**

Almost no studies have used the existing administrative sources which record events independently from the legal status of the migrant (i.e. births, deaths, hospitalizations, incarcerations, etc.). The limitation of these dataset relies in the fact that they generally allow to distinguish only between resident and non-resident migrants: this latter category includes both irregular migrant and immigrants that are fully legal but that have not registered their residence yet (see p. 8). Nevertheless, given that an estimated 90% of the legal migrants are registered as resident migrants, we can look at the non-resident category assuming that a good proportion of them does not have a legal status.

One recent study that has tried to use these datasets to draw some inference on the undocumented population is represented by the analysis of death rates between 1992 and 2002 in (Colombo 2007). He finds a similar age structure of deaths for the two groups, although the distribution for the non-resident migrants is skewed towards younger ages and their mean age at death is smaller. The fact that the non-resident migrants tend to die younger than the resident migrants can be explained with the younger age of this first group – in line with the finding that undocumented migrants tend to be younger than documented ones (see p. 47) – but also with their higher exposure to risks and higher vulnerability.

### II.3.2 Border related flows

The migrants who are irregular from the point of view of the residence may have irregularly entered the country, but they may also have entered legally and then overstayed their visas. Moreover, they may have been fully “regular” in the past, with valid residence documents which failed to renew at a certain stage of their permanence in the host country.

According to official records, the illegal inflows of clandestine immigrants – in spite of the hostile attention they receive from media and from certain political actors in Italy – do not play a major role in creating the stock of undocumented migrants, and they rather represent a limited and marginal component of its growth. Indeed, in 2005 the Italian Ministry of Internal Affairs estimated that **around 70% of the undocumented migrants currently residing in Italy are “overstayers”**. The Italian Home Office (aa.vv. 2007) provides estimates that allow to classify the undocumented population according to their entry in Italy. Table 40 shows that in the period 2000-2006 the vast majority (60-75 percent) of the unauthorized migrants stock was constituted by *overstayers*, that is, by migrants that had lawfully entered Italy with a valid visa and had failed to leave the country after the visa expired. The remaining 25-40 percent, instead, managed to avoid controls at the borders (20-30 percent) or to shore land in the Southern regions (5-15 percent) without being apprehended by the Italian police. This finding is crucial to assess the possible effectiveness of increased border enforcement in arresting, or slowing, the creation of a population of undocumented migrants in Italy: a high level of border controls would probably reduce the unauthorized entries, but it would hardly prevent migrants from entering Italy with a visa and from “over-staying” it once it has expired.

We can get an idea about the **unauthorized inflows**, their magnitude and their trend over time by analyzing the official data on migration control policies implemented by the Italian government.

The Italian Ministry of Internal Affairs regularly provides aggregate statistics concerning two aspects - undocumented migrants that shore landed in Italy and those refused entry at the border – that allows us to assess the level of “pressure” exerted on the Italian borders by unauthorized flows of immigrants. Before describing these data, it is crucial to stress how both these statistic jointly measure the magnitude of undocumented inflows and the level of police enforcement: any change in their values, therefore, may be due to a change in enforcement rather than in flows. Moreover, it is hardly impossible to establish which percentage of the overall incoming flows is represented by those that fail their attempt to illegally enter Italy (and are, therefore, recorded by the Ministry of Internal Affairs).

Table 41 reports the number of **undocumented migrants** who **shore landed** in Southern Italian regions between 1998 and 2006. The inflows during the first two year considered were dramatically altered by the crisis in Kosovo and the subsequent war in 1999: the total number of landings was almost 40 thousand in 1998, and reached a peak of 50 thousand in 1999. In both years, the vast majority of landings – 74% in 1998 and 92% in 1999 – occurred in Puglia, the region that is geographically closer to the Balkan area. In the following years, instead, the situation of the unauthorized landings seems to have fluctuated around a fairly stable level of 20 thousand per year, and shows the increasing importance of the region of Sicily as arrival location (that, from 2003 onwards, received more than 90% of the total landings). Detailed data on the nationality of the landed migrants are not available, but the available information show that, after the relative stabilization of the Balkan area, there has been a significant change in the national composition of the unauthorized inflows that are currently originated from North Africa – Libya in particular – and involve people coming from Africa and Middle East. Official records provide some information on gender and age composition of these unauthorized inflows: in 2006, about 5% of the migrants were female and 6% were minors.

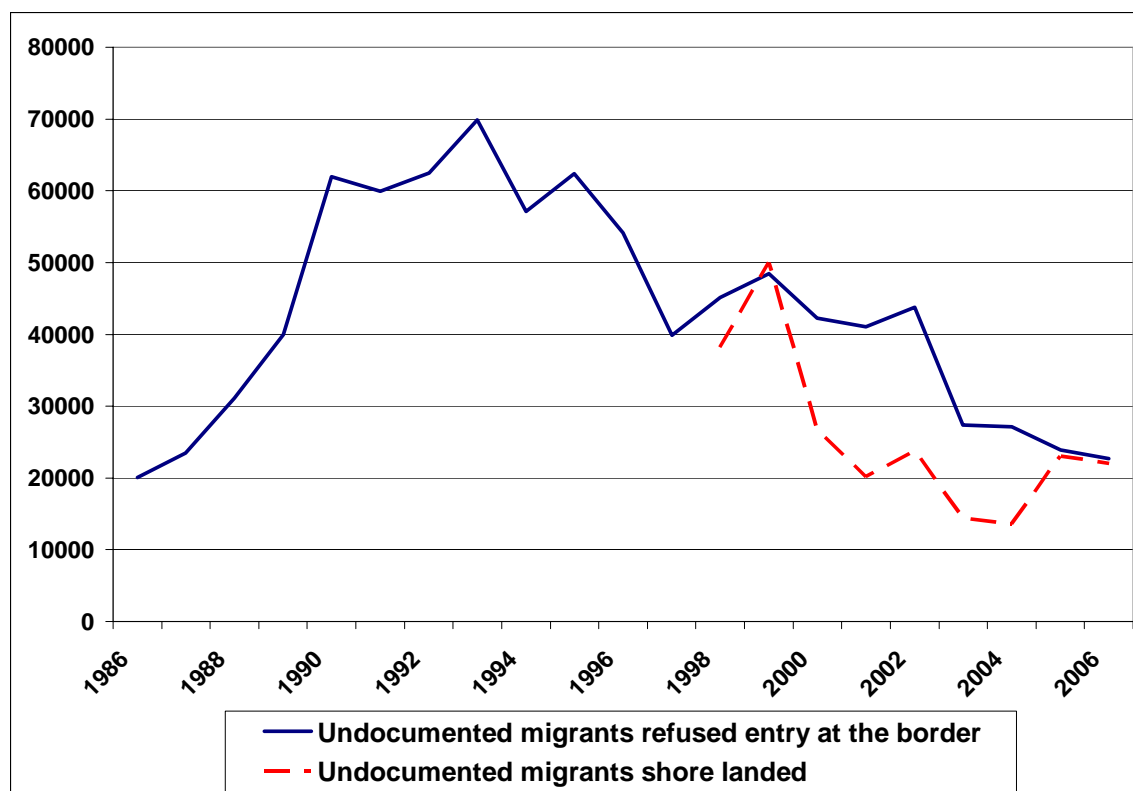
Table 42 reports the annual number of **migrants who were refused entry at the border**. The data show a clear downward trend, after the peaks caused by the

former Yugoslavia war ('92-'95), the two Albanian political crisis ('90 and '97) and the Kosovo war ('99). Indeed, from a peak of about 70 thousands refusals in 1993, recent years have seen the number stabilizing around 25 thousands per year.

Although the last amnesty of 2002 has pointed out a large presence of undocumented migrants, there is not clear evidence of an increase in the illegal crossings of the Italian borders in the last years. If we look at the trend of these two variables (Figure 9) – and we take into account the overall increase in the strictness of the migration control policy that has taken place after the adoption of new legislation in 1998 and in 2002 – we could conclude that there seems to be a considerable reduction of the usage made by immigrants of these types of entry channels. Nevertheless, it is hard to establish whether this trend is due to a higher effectiveness of the Italian government in tackling the flows at their origin (through police cooperation agreements with the origin and transit countries), to an autonomous fall in the inflows, or rather to a change in the preferred ways of entering Italy for potential undocumented migrants.

On the other hand, the reduction in the number of migrants who were refused entry at the border in recent years can be partially explained by the opening of the borders within the Schengen area ((aa.vv. 2007), p 335). Moreover, the fall in the number of migrants detected at the border may also be due to their increased ability to cross the border without being apprehended: the evidence provided by the Ministry of interior ((aa.vv. 2007), p 335) points out an increase in the number of people involved in smuggling migrants into Italy (see (Pastore, Monzini et al. 2006) for an analysis of human smuggling in Italy). Indeed, the number of individuals arrested and charged of smuggling migrants has almost tripled in the period 2002-2007 (33,526 individuals arrested) with respect to the previous five years (12,246 arrested).

**Figure 9. Undocumented immigrants shore landed and refused entry at the border (Years: 1986-2006)**



Source: author's elaboration on Ministry Of Internal Affairs data

The **Italian Ministry of Internal Affairs** ((aa.vv. 2007) p.337) proposes a tentative estimate of the average **yearly inflow of undocumented migrants** – which adds to the existing stock – that is around **175 thousand individuals per year** in the period 1998 – 2002. But this value is simply obtained by dividing the number of applications for the 2002 amnesty (705 thousands) by the number of years passed between the last two amnesties (4 years, between the 1998 amnesty and the 2002 one), under the assumption that the stock after the 1998 amnesty was zero.

### **II.3.3 Status-related flows**

#### a) From legal entry to unauthorized residence



The Italian Ministry of Internal Affairs (aa.vv. 2007) provides estimates that allow to distinguish the undocumented population according to their entry in Italy (Table 40). According to their figures, in the period 2000-2006 the vast majority (60-75 percent) of the unauthorized migrants stock was constituted by *overstayers*, that is, by migrants who had lawfully entered Italy with a valid visa but who failed to leave the country after the visa had expired.

#### b) From legal residence to unauthorized residence

According to the Ismu surveys in Lombardy region, the percentage of individuals who “fall back” to irregularity after having been regular – that is, those who had a valid residence permit but who failed to renew their residence permit – is negligible: in 2006 it was only around 2 percent of the interviewees (Sciortino 2008).

#### c) From illegal residence to legal residence

In Italy the opportunities to shift from unauthorized to fully legal status (as far as residence is concerned) have been far from rare. There are two main channels which allow the undocumented migrants to obtain a legal status: amnesties and the current quota system. As it has already been described, amnesties have been granted in average every four-five years during the last two decades. The quota system, instead, opens a restricted channel of legalization every year: according to Ismu estimates (Sciortino 2007) around a third of the undocumented migrants interviewed during the 2006 regional survey had applied for the 2006 “Flow Decree”.

The existence of these frequent and fairly large channels of *ex-post* legalization of migrants’ status is clearly recognizable in the relation existing between years of permanence and legal status. Indeed, the likelihood of being undocumented decreases with the years of permanence in Italy<sup>32</sup>. Table 43 reports the

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<sup>32</sup> The negative relationship between the probability of being illegal and the length of permanence in Italy is also showed by estimating a probabilistic model in Dustmann, C., F. Fasani, et al. (mimeo). Remittance behaviour of undocumented migrants, CReAM - Centre for Research and Analysis of Migration - University College of London.

composition by legal status of the migrants residing in the Lombardy region in 2007 (drawing from the 2007 regional ISMU survey) and it breaks it down by year of arrival in Italy. We can immediately notice that the percentage of migrants arrived before 2002 – and therefore before the last amnesty – and still undocumented in 2007 is very small, around 5 percent. This fraction jumps up by 20 percentage points for those arrived in 2003 and who, therefore, could not enjoy the opportunity of obtaining the legal status, and then it keeps increasing in the following years, reaching 44% in 2006. The small reduction registered in 2007 is probably explained by the unusually large “Flow Decree” set in 2006 (see 34). In other words, if almost one out of two immigrants, with a permanence in Italy equal or shorter than 1 year, is undocumented, only one out of twenty of those arrived five years before is still undocumented.

#### **II.3.4 Asylum seekers**

Despite a very generous provision contained in the Italian Republican Constitution of 1948<sup>33</sup>, and the ratification of the Geneva Convention (1951) in 1954, Italy is the only EU member state which has not adopted an organic legislation on asylum yet. This is probably one of the main factors which can explain its limited generosity – with respect to other European countries – in receiving and hosting refugees. Table 44 shows that the stock of refugees residing in Italy in 2006 was around 26.8 thousand, which corresponded to 0.4 refugees per 1000 population. These values appear really modest when compared with the EU25 ones (almost 1.4 million refugees; 2.9 refugees per 1000 population) and with those of other European countries such as Germany (600 thousand refugees; 7.3 refugees per 1000 population), United Kingdom (300 thousand; 4.9 refugees per 1000 population) or France (145 thousand; 2.3 refugees per 1000 population). The number of applications received by Italy is also smaller than the average in the EU25, but the gap is far less wide than with

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<sup>33</sup> Art. 10: "A foreigner to whom the practical exercise in her own country of democratic freedoms, guaranteed by the Italian Constitution, is precluded, is entitled to the right of asylum within the territory of the Republic, under conditions laid down by law".

the refugees stock. In 2006, Italy received about 10.3 thousand applications<sup>34</sup>, which correspond to 0.2 applications per 1000 population with respect to an EU25 average of 0.4 (and a total of almost 199 thousands asylum applicants).

The Bossi-Fini law of 2002 contained two articles which aimed at reforming the asylum system in Italy which came into force in 2005. The legislator had two main targets. One was reducing the time required to assess the application and to reach a decision upon the refugees status (according to UNHCR-Italy, 1.5-2 years was the average waiting time to obtain a definite pronouncement). And the second was avoiding the “disappearance” of the asylum seekers after their applications were refused (Table 45 shows that the fraction of applicants becoming “irrecoverable” was oscillating between 20 and 60 percent in the period 2001-2005). In particular, these new legal provisions have decentralized the process of application assessment (creating seven local decision committees to cooperate with the existing national one), have introduced the possibility of holding the applicants while deciding upon their cases, and have opened detention centers for this latter aim. As a consequence, both the average waiting periods and the fraction of asylum seekers “disappearing” during the process have substantially dropped after 2005.

Table 45 reports the number of applications filed and examined between 1990 and 2007, and the different outcomes of this process (refused; refused but granted temporary Humanitarian Protection; granted refugee status; “irrecoverable”). We can look at these data to get an idea of the magnitude of the potential **inflow from the asylum seeker condition into that of irregular migrant**. Given that asylum seekers were not detained before 2005, a large fraction of failed asylum seekers and of those who become “irrecoverable” during the process is likely to have opted for an unauthorized residence in Italy (or in

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<sup>34</sup> In 2006, the vast majority of the application was filed by foreign nationals coming from Africa, but consistent numbers arrived also from Asia and other European countries. In 2006, the first five national groups among the applicants were: Eritrea (20%), Nigeria (8%), Togo (5%), Kosovo (5%) and Ghana (5%).

some other European countries). During the period considered the number of refused application varies enormously both in levels (ranging from less than 1 thousand to almost 20 thousand per year) and as a share of applications examined (from 15 to 95 percent). The number of “irrecoverable” applicants shows substantial variation too (between 2 and 10 thousand per year in the period 2001-2005).

After 2005, instead, the situation seems to have significantly changed. In 2006, almost 70 percent of the over 10 thousand applicants were detained while a decision was made upon their case. Although data on removals of failed asylum seekers are not available<sup>35</sup>, current legislation seems to have made the government sizably more effective in preventing the immigrants from using the asylum seeking path as an entry channel into undocumented permanence.

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<sup>35</sup> According to Caritas/Migrantes (2007). *Immigrazione - Dossier Statistico 2007 - XVII Rapporto*. Roma, Idos., only around 800 failed asylum seekers were repatriated within an “assisted return” scheme during the period 2001-2006.

## **Part III: Discussion and policy implications**

This report has clearly proved the existence of a number of different sources of information about undocumented migration in Italy and the developing of a growing body of interdisciplinary research on this particular issue.

The relevance of unauthorized migration in the Italian migratory experience is a well established fact. What still needs to be understood, instead, is that we know about this phenomenon probably more than one would expect from its very nature of hidden and unrecorded process.

### ***III.1 The existence of various sources of information***

Thanks to the frequent amnesties and the peculiar functioning of the Italian quota system we have a series of pictures of the stock of undocumented migrants, of its geographical distribution, employment conditions, nationality and gender composition, etc. These sources of information have some important drawbacks – which have been extensively discussed throughout the report – stemming from the process of selection-into-amnesty (which may make the set of applicants not fully representative of the entire undocumented population) and from the presence of genuine potential migrants amongst the applicants for the annual Flow Decree. Among the strengths, instead, the fact that these pictures are taken every few years allows to infer the evolution of the stock over time without relying on heroic and hardly testable assumptions on its trend. Indeed, no matter how carefully the number of applicants measures the stock of undocumented, in the period immediately following the amnesty this stock is due to significantly drop, and, after that, it will start growing again until it will reach the level seized up by the number of applicants for the following amnesty. A similar reasoning applies to the undocumented migrants who are granted legal status through the annual “Flow Decree”, although, in this case, the limit posed by the quota on the number of migrants who can be legalized will prevent the process from completely drying out the pool of unauthorized migrants residing in the country.

Moreover, there are plenty of data collected by the different government bodies which are involved in the Italian migration policy and which directly deal with the migrants and the unauthorized migrants in particular. As it often happens with data of this kind, the mere existence of the records does not necessarily ensure that this information will be effectively diffused and made available for research, political debate and media. Italian public sector is still very far from a culture which considers transparency and clear statistical information as a crucial prerequisite to create accountability for its acting. Or, one could argue, given the lack of efficiency characterizing its intervention – leaving aside the frequent wrongdoings, abuses and “opaque” practices– the reticence in providing detailed, systematic and comparable information can be seen more as a deliberate decision to prevent any evidence-based assessment than as one more expression of its general backwardness. As far as the migration management is concerned, the issue of transparency becomes even more problematic: as any official data can create ground for critics in the extremely heated political debate on migration, the option of classifying these data as confidential – for fairly unclear public order and national security reasons - becomes a really attractive one. The recent trend, nevertheless, seems to move towards an increasing disclosure and diffusion of existing official data on migration and towards larger investments in analyzing these data and in attempting to map the phenomenon.

Finally, we have data and estimates produced by official bodies such as the Istat (the Italian National Office for Statistics), by private research centres like the Fondazione ISMU or collected by trade unions, NGOs and volunteer organisations. The information produced by these latter categories of organisations usually tend to suffer from a local bias, as these types of agencies can not generally afford the development of survey studies at the national level. This often implies that it is far from easy to acknowledge the existence of this information for the general public and even for the specialized and motivated researcher. Still, this local focus implies a higher level of detail, which can be

hardly reached by any national-level analysis. These studies clearly complement those with a broader geographical horizon, and could play an important role in improving the general level of knowledge about the undocumented migration phenomenon.

### **III.2 Ignoring the issue or adopting “symbolic” policies?**

The availability of information, nevertheless, does not necessarily nor does it automatically inform and guide the political and media debate and the decision of the Italian governments on their migration policy. As a matter of fact, the availability of numerous, different and complementary sources of information has not been fully used yet in order to obtain a clear picture of a phenomenon which is still debated – at the highest levels of political and media discussion – on the basis of anecdotal evidence, unfounded rumours and subjective perceptions.

As already pointed out in this report, creating and diffusing information on migration phenomena is a political act (Bonifazi 2007) and, for this very reason, it requires clear political will to be produced. And this is even more the case when undocumented migration is concerned. Indeed, as long as there is no consensus on the degree of knowledge regarding the unauthorized presence of migrants, two convenient policy options can still be chosen by the host countries governments.

The first one is simply *ignoring and understating the relevance of the issue*: the absence of official estimates of the undocumented migrants population may allow the government to turn a blind eye on the phenomenon. Indeed, if the government lacks autonomous incentive to take action in tackling irregular migrants – as it would happens if their impact on public finances is estimated to be negligible or non negative<sup>36</sup> – the option of formally condemning but substantially ignoring them can become extremely attractive. The reluctance of

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<sup>36</sup> For a recent survey of estimated net costs caused by unauthorized immigrants for state and local governments in the US, see CBO (2007). The impact of unauthorized immigrants on the budgets of state and local governments. Technical report, Congress of the United States - Congressional Budget Office (CBO).

European governments in financing and producing official estimates of the irregular population residing within their territories seem to go exactly in this direction. The Italian government, for instance, commissioned an official estimate of the undocumented population only in 1998; the UK Home Office provided its first estimate in 2004; France and Germany have never attempted to officially size their illegal population (Pinkerton, McLaughlan et al. 2004). In US, the situation looks much better than in Europe, but, given its magnitude - the last estimate is around 11 million unauthorized migrants - the problem could hardly be ignored: the INS (Immigration and Naturalization Service) released detailed estimates by state of residence and country of origin in 1996 (and an unpublished paper in 1994), and in more recent years (2003, 2005, 2006) several estimates were produced by the U.S. Department of Homeland Security (see (Passel 2007) for a survey of these estimates).

The *second option that the absence of official data leaves open are “symbolic policies”*, policies with a strong impact on public perceptions - at least in the short run – but which are very unlikely to produce any concrete impact on the declared object of the policy. The lack of accurate measures of this object – in our case the undocumented migrants – make it impossible to carry out any serious evaluation of the effectiveness, and efficiency, of the policy in fulfilling its publicly advertised targets. Therefore, if it is hardly possible to establish whether the policy was successful or a complete failure, the government has very few incentives to take action in the direction of making its intervention effective (at least as long as an effective policy is more costly and challenging than a useless one). And the incentives can become even weaker if the political return – in terms of electoral support – is more responsive to the initial declarations than to the delivered results. The case of undocumented migration is emblematic to this respect. Governments – if they can not ignore the existence of the problem any longer – generally declare very harsh intentions to definitely curb unauthorized migration, making often use of the “zero undocumented migration” rhetorical arguments. On the other hand, they are perfectly aware of how difficult it would



be for the electorate to assess whether government intervention induced any real reduction in stock and inflows of unauthorized immigrants. And governments are also fully aware of how expensive are migration control policies which aim at arresting and deporting substantial numbers of immigrants<sup>37</sup>, and how politically costly it would be to directly tackle the employers of unauthorized foreign born workers.

The predictable outcome of this setting is that there will be governments whose intervention will not go much further than their tough declarations. Other governments, instead, will choose to take some real action, basing their decisions more on the short-run political return they may obtain from doing so, rather than on the long-run effectiveness and efficiency of the policy. Therefore, they will embark on large-scale (and well advertised) investments and operations (deploying the army at the borders, building border fences, launching coordinated anti-illegals raids in the cities, etc.). Or they will set performance targets which they can prove to have fulfilled, no matter whether these targets are actually influential in affecting the outcome of interest (stock and inflows of undocumented migrants, in this case). Indeed, increases in the number of undocumented migrants apprehended are generally used by governments to prove their true commitment to tackle the unauthorized population issue ((Davila, Pagan et al. 1999), (Fasani 2008)). It seems that “deportation targets” are also growing popular in recent years: in 2005 former UK prime minister Tony Blair introduced a “tipping point” target (target to remove more failed asylum seekers than the new anticipated unfounded applications) that soon became one of the top priorities of the UK Home Office, while the recently elected French President Nicolas Sarkozy set a quota of 25 thousands illegal migrants to be deported by the end of 2007. Boasting about the number of unauthorized migrants who the government managed to arrest and deport seems to have a strong appeal on the electorate in the short run. But establishing whether – and to which extent – these thousands of repatriated individuals will translate into a significant

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<sup>37</sup> The average cost of deporting one undocumented migrant, for instance, is estimated around 11 thousand pounds in UK, 6 thousand dollar in US and 4-6 thousand euros in Italy.

reduction of inflows and stock of irregular migrant is far from obvious, given the absence of official and systematic assessments of these phenomena. If they are not informed about the magnitude of stock and inflows of irregular migrants in France, how could the French citizens assess if Sarkozy's 25 thousand deportation target was a meaningful one? It did sound tough, this is hardly questionable, but will it really secure French borders from unwanted inflows of foreign workers?

### ***III.3 The role of statistical information***

The crucial role of statistical information in shaping the political debate on undocumented migration has been recently made clear by the current American debate on the policies to deal with the enormous stock of undocumented migrants who are currently residing in the United States. Although populist and inconsistent positions will always be expressed by some fraction of the political class, the decision made by the US government of providing official and systematic estimates of the phenomenon (see above) has significantly forced the debate within the boundaries of realism and rationality. If the consensus on the policy intervention is far from being reached – general amnesty? amnesty with severe fines? targeted deportations? mass deportations? – the terms of the problem are at least sufficiently clear to everyone. There are currently 11-12 million of undocumented migrants in the US – and geographical breakdowns of these estimates are available – and there is an estimated inflow of 500 thousand unauthorized immigrants entering the country every single year. And this inflow takes place in spite of the massive investment of resources – whose amount is publicly declared and reported by the US government – made in border enforcement by the federal government in the last couple of decades<sup>38</sup>. This information makes it possible to ground the debate on facts and to constraint it to

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<sup>38</sup> The Immigration and Naturalization Service and its Border Patrol Unit became the fastest growing federal agency in the '90s: their budgets increased, respectively, threefold and sixfold, and the hours spent patrolling the border have almost tripled Gathman, C. (2004). The effects of enforcement on illegal markets: evidence from migrant smuggling along the southwestern border. Discussion Paper 1004, IZA - Institute for the Study of Labor.

discuss feasible policies, rather than symbolic and populist ones. It even allows attempts to establish which policies could be feasible, and at which price: according to a recent study (Jaeger and Goyle 2005), opting for a mass deportation of 10 million of undocumented migrants within a five years time span would imply an estimated direct cost (excluding administrative costs) of about \$206 billion (\$41.2 billion annually), and it could be as high as \$230 billion or more. This would be equivalent to exceed the current entire budget of the Department of Homeland Security for fiscal year 2006 (\$34.2 billion) or to more than double the annual cost of military operations in Afghanistan (\$16.8 billion). On the basis of these, and of similar figures one can then start the discussion on the feasibility of the policy of mass deportation and on how worth this investment would be for the country. And the existence of these detailed estimates force any politicians incline towards tough proclaim and radical approaches, to either worry about the feasibility and financial coverage of similar policies, or to start looking for some more reasonable alternatives.

#### **III.4 The Italian debate: shadow employment, incoherence and double standards**

Although information is not a sufficient condition for triggering a serious and coherent debate on migration policy, its absence guarantees the chaos and a widespread lack of consistency in the political stances and in the policies adopted. Italy is a clear example of this latter situation.

Among the analysts of the Italian migration policy and of its migratory experience in the last two decades, there seems to be a general consensus on the fact that the widespread presence of undocumented migrants – both today and in the past – has to be explained more by the lack of a coherent and adequate migration policy than by blaming the immigrants for their violations of the existing rules. The main element of incoherence has to be recognized in the sharp contrast between

a formally restrictive migration policy and an economy where the demand for foreign workers is strong and growing, and where there is a widespread tendency to indulge in unrecorded and unregistered practices. Given the relative easiness for an undocumented migrant to find irregular employment in the Italian labour market, any announced toughness against irregular migrants sounds at least hypocritical.

It should be fairly clear to everyone that the most effective way of reducing the number of unauthorized immigrants living and moving to Italy would be for the Italian citizens to stop employing them. As a matter of fact, even in presence of strong wage differential between source countries and Italy, if the chances of finding a job in the shadow economy were very low, the option of migrating to Italy would rapidly lose its attractiveness for the potential unauthorized migrants and for those already settled in Italy. However, this would require a deep social and cultural change. It would also imply the recognition that the past (and current) substantial absence of rules in the migration management partially mirrors the backwardness of the Italian economy and of its society. It is hardly deniable, indeed, that a restrictive migration policy requires a seemingly strict social and economical background, an environment where all the actors are used to abide by existing laws and regulations.

Within the ongoing debate about the possible ways of dealing with the excess number of applications received for the 2007 “Flow Decree” (with respect to the quota set by the government; see p. 49), some declarations of the recently appointed Minister of Internal Affairs Roberto Maroni (Northern League party) reveals the degree of inconsistency of the Italian migration policy and the level of passive acknowledgement and acceptance of its malfunctioning. Indeed, on the one hand, the minister has clearly excluded any possibility of granting an amnesty to the undocumented workers who will exceed the quota, because “*it is not possible to grant legal status to those that unlawfully entered Italy*” (www.corriere.it 18th of May, 2008). But, on the other hand, he has declared that the applications of baby-sitters, care workers and family helpers will receive

some “special attention” from the authorities (Fontana 18 May 2008). The Minister of Internal Affairs has recently denied any intention to launch a specific amnesty for care workers and house cleaners, but, at the same time the Welfare minister and the minister for Equal Opportunities have proposed to legalize only those workers who take care of disabled people or of elderly people over-70 (Sarzanini 25 June 2008). There are at least two interesting elements of this debate internal to the ruling coalition.

First, the government is fully aware of the fact that its quota system is being used in a complete different way with respect to the ideal functioning the policy was conceived for. Rather than allowing new and legal inflows of migrant workers, the Italian quota system is mainly utilised to *ex-post* legalize the situation of undocumented migrants already settled in Italy. The problem is that this awareness does not seem to induce any political will to correct the poor design of the current migration policy. The impression one can get out of the politicians’ declarations is that the only problematic point with the current system is represented by the fact that the number of applications systematically exceeds the quotas set by the governments.

The second interesting point concerns the idea of according a special treatment to particular categories of undocumented workers<sup>39</sup>. From a legal point of view, given that all the applicants who are already resident in Italy have violated in the same way the existing legislation on entry and residence, it is difficult to understand why the subsequent occupation in Italy should determine the strictness of the Italian authorities in enforcing the rule of law. And, from an economic point of view, it is hard to explain why the government should consider the employment of certain categories of workers more important than that of others: why should an (employed) care worker or (employed) babysitter be more valuable to the Italian economy than an (employed) builder, cleaner or waiter? The justifications given by the government for the rationale of such a decision

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<sup>39</sup> The idea of a special treatment for undocumented migrants employed by Italian families as care workers is not new to this coalition. During the decisional process that led to the amnesty in 2002, the previous Berlusconi government (2001-2006) had first decided to grant legal status only to care workers, and only later expanded the procedure to workers of any industry.

point towards the existence of a “social emergency” – in terms of shortages of workers to provide care services to the Italian families – that would explode in absence of the inflow of undocumented workers. Again, we find the explicit recognition of the need and of the demand for undocumented workers – and an implicit legitimization of the illegal practice of hiring irregular migrants<sup>40</sup> - but the argument could be equally applied to any industry where foreign born workers currently represent a relevant fraction of the new hirings. One possible interpretation of this attitude, instead, looks at the fact that the demand – and pressure on the government – for legalizing their employees is likely to be stronger for the families rather than for the firms: employing an undocumented migrant is probably more “disturbing” if she works in the employer’s house rather than in her plant, office, restaurant or hotel.

It is important to emphasise that these type of inconsistencies and double standards are widespread across different parties and opposite coalitions, and they seem to perfectly mirror the perceptions of Italian citizens, at least as they are reported by surveys and media. Italians are clearly worried about migration and even more about undocumented migrants, but the real core of the concern regards the “irregular migrants who are unemployed and who commit crime” and not those “who work and behave well”. Clearly, the lack of legal status *per se* is less of a problem if the migrant is working hard.

### **III.5 The worrying legacy of the migration mismanagement**

The adoption of an inadequate migration policy – and the delays in attempting to adopt one at all – leads to a dramatic “self-fulfilling prophecy”. Restrictive policies are generally chosen to prevent migration from becoming an uncontrolled phenomenon. But, if similar policies are implemented within an inappropriate

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<sup>40</sup> It is worth stressing that, according to the Italian legislation, hiring undocumented migrants is a criminal offence punishable with fines and possibly detention (art. 22, law 286/1998). Therefore, one could expect to hear also some government’s declaration on how they intend to prosecute the thousands of Italian and foreign nationals employers who are currently employing part of the applicants for the last Flow Decree.

setting (as it happened in the Italian case) a perverse system of individual incentives is likely to develop. A system where those who infringe the rules – by ignoring the legislation regulating entry and residence in Italy and by working as unregistered employees – are clearly better off than those who try to follow the regulations – and end up waiting forever the possibility of a legal entry to Italy. Such a system will obviously lead to the diffusion of undocumented migration. This, in turn, will create uneasiness and alarm among the citizens which will imply a call for even more restrictive policies.

By mismanaging migration from the first phase of inflows in the late '70s, Italian politicians have succeeded in creating and consolidating the perception in the electorate that there is not such a thing as a “well managed migration”. And they also convinced a good fraction of the Italian population that the choice is basically between the unsettling *status quo* and a radical curb on migration (both documented and undocumented).

In the recent Italian political elections – which were held in April 2008 and brought back Berlusconi and his right wing coalition into power – the Northern League party chose immigration as one of the major issues of their campaign platform. Their main electoral poster showed the image of a thoughtful native American and the slogan went: “*Hanno subito l’immigrazione, e adesso vivono nelle riserve*” (“*They endured immigration, and now they live on reservations*” (Jones May 2, 2008)). The comparison between Italian citizens and native Americans on the one side, and that between the immigrants currently living in Italy and the English and French colonists of the XVII-XIX centuries on the other side, may sound bizarre and silly, but this did not prevent the Northern League party from getting about eight percent of the votes and becoming a major actor in the current ruling coalition. This event confirmed that the discomfort of Italian voters with immigration is evident, and that the demand for a tougher approach is growing even more popular.

The government response to the electorate mandate for the undocumented migration issue has arrived very soon. Indeed, one month after the elections, the

government declared its intention to classify the lack of legal status as a criminal offence which could be punished with up to 4 years of detention<sup>41</sup> (Cottone 21 May, 2008) (Ludovico and Stasio 21 May 2008). According to the government, this new norm would have sent a clear signal that Italy had finally changed its unclear attitude towards undocumented immigrants and would have deterred the migrants from infringing the legislation on entry and residence.

The possibility of this policy change sparked a lively debate. Apart from the concern for human rights violations expressed by NGOs, trade unions, the catholic church and some representatives of the opposition, issues of feasibility and affordability of such a policy were raised from many different directions, including major figures within the judicial system. In a country where prison population is already (and permanently) above prison capacity, where immigrants already represent about a third of the prison population and almost half of the new entries in prison (in 2007), and where the judicial system is already overwhelmed by the number of trials (whose length is reaching record levels among the developed countries), the idea of criminalizing the irregular status may appear rather questionable. Indeed, such a policy would have implied an automatic transformation of the current stock of undocumented migrants into an enormous pool of hundred of thousands of potential defendants and inmates.

It is worth mentioning that classifying the irregular migration as a criminal offence is not a complete novelty for the Italian legislation: a milder version of it was introduced in 2002 and – this should not be too surprising – it has never been really applied. According to the current legislation, when an undocumented migrant is apprehended, she can be either detained and deported or she can be ordered to leave the country (within a certain period of time) and subsequently released. As the number of immigrants abiding by this order has always been negligible, the law 189/2002 (see A1. Italian legislation) introduced the criminal offence of not respecting the official order to leave the country. Therefore, with respect to the policy currently discussed, not all the undocumented migrants, but

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<sup>41</sup> The fact of being undocumented is currently considered an administrative irregularity: the migrant can not be imprisoned for this, but she is subject to deportation and to a period of detention while the decision on the deportation and its organization takes place.



only those who had been given a formal invitation to leave the country and were still residing in Italy, were to be considered as criminal offenders. The 2007 Annual Report on Crime in Italy produced by the Italian Ministry of Internal Affairs (aa.vv. 2007) allows to draw a telling balance on the enforcement of that piece of legislation. Since 2002, about 230 thousand undocumented migrants have been ordered to leave the country and only 4 percent of them (less than 10 thousands) have actually obeyed to that injunction. The official report interestingly concludes “(...) *This behaviour of the immigrants ordered to leave the country seems to be fully rational, especially if we look at the likelihood they had to be arrested for ignoring the injunction(...)*” (p.354). Indeed, the fraction of migrants arrested among the pool of over 200 hundred thousand offenders has been around 3.5 percent, a value that is hardly likely to deter anyone. The report does not provide any kind of explanation for this lack of effectiveness in enforcing the policy. Was it due to a lack of commitment and resources, or rather to some intrinsic difficulties in dealing with the undocumented migrants through the criminal law?

The internal debate within the ruling coalition led to the approval of a mitigated intervention on undocumented migration within a set of legislative measures (called “Security package”; law no. 125, 24 July 2008) which were approved in July 2008. Instead of classifying the lack of legal status as a criminal offence it has now to be considered as an “aggravating circumstance” when the migrant is under trial for any criminal offence. And the new legislation included also more restrictive measures regarding detention and deportation of undocumented migrants. In the same days, the government declared “state of national emergency” for the allegedly exceptional inflows of undocumented immigrants recorded in the last months (Cottone 25 July 2008). One interesting aspect of this latter decision is that it extended to the whole national territory a “state of emergency” which concerned only some Southern regions and which has been reiterated since 2002 by both Berlusconi’s and Prodi’s governments.

The Italian government attitude towards the management of migration – in particular, its peculiar mix of toughness and emergency-based approach – has been recently strongly criticized by Thomas Hammarberg, the Commissioner for Human Rights of the Council of Europe (Hammarberg 2008) who expressed serious concern for the lack of human rights and humanitarian principles in the legislative measures which the government aims at introducing and implementing. Moreover he stressed how “...*The repeated adoption of emergency measures (...) in order to control migratory movements seems to indicate that the state mechanism is unable to deal effectively with a phenomenon that is not novel and thus should have been dealt with through ordinary legislative or other measures.*” (p. 14).

As far as migration policy is concerned, the Italian scenario appears to be stuck with its ancient vices (if not moving backward): harsh proclaims, continuous legislative interventions, ambiguous enforcement, emergency-based approach, etc. It is hard to predict how lasting will be the reassuring effect on the Italian electorate of this new wave of declared government activism in dealing with undocumented migration. And how long will it take for these policies to reveal their truly “symbolic” nature, that is, to show their inability to improve the situation within the existing framework of an ill-designed migration policy.

Unfortunately, if these kind of policies are generally ineffective in inducing any improvement in the situation they theoretically aim to address, they are effectively causing dramatic and unjustified costs for the migrants who happen to be directly involved. And for all the foreign born workers who would largely benefit from an adequate and responsible legislation.

## **Appendix**

### ***A1. Italian legislation on migration***

The first attempt of defining an extensive framework to regulate migration and to shape Italian migration policy is made only in 1990, after more than a decade of migrants' inflows. A marginal intervention, and the first legalisation process, were decided in 1986, applying an ILO convention (no. 143, 1975) aimed at establishing the principle of equality of treatment between foreign and native workers. The legislation of entrance and residence permits for foreigners, instead, was regulated by the so called "Codice Rocco", a royal decree dated 1931, until the "Law Martelli" (39/1990) established new rules and tried to introduce a "planned number" of new entrants each year. As a matter of fact, this number was never fixed and it remained equal to zero, while the immigrants kept entering the country from the "back door", either by passing the borders irregularly or by overstaying their tourist visas. In 1990 the second amnesty was held.

The following years were dominated by the political crisis of Albania (1990 and 1997) and former Yugoslavia (1995, Bosnian war, and 1997, Kosovo war) that produced huge flows of refugees reaching the near Italian coasts. The government response was that of emergency legislation and "ad hoc" interventions, with a new amnesty process opened in 1995.

In 1998, under the pressure of the commitment to the Schengen Convention, a left-wing government passed the "Turco-Napolitano Law" no. 40/1998 (later confirmed by the Single Act no. 286 of July 25, 1998), in which the Italian migration policy was extensively defined in every single aspect, from the discipline of entry, residence and working conditions, to that of deportations and control of the illegal phenomenon. Apart from a new emphasis on the need to curb undocumented immigration, the main innovation was an effective introduction of a "programmed entries" system of foreign workers via quotas to be established yearly. At the same time the fourth amnesty was approved.

In 2002 the previous legislation was modified by the “Bossi-Fini Law” (no.189/2002). Passed by the current right-wing government coalition, its main declared target was increasing the effectiveness of the irregular immigration contrast. The same intervention opened the fifth, and last, legalisation process.

A detailed description of the Italian migration policy and of its implementation can be found in (Triandafyllidou and Veikou 2001). (Zincone 1998) and (Zincone 2006) present also important insights on the process of decision making which has led to past and current policies in Italy. (Caritas/Migrantes 2005) provides good details on legislation and regularization procedures.

More documents are available in Italian. Among these, (Barbagli 2007) provides a clear summary of the evolution of the recent migration legislation in the first chapter of the report. While a comprehensive description of all the historical phases which have influenced and shaped the Italian migration policy is given by (Einaudi 2007) and, to a minor extent, by (Bonifazi 2007).

## ***A2. Centre Sampling technique***

The main limitation of using survey techniques in studying undocumented migrants is the obvious absence of a list of the population of interest: this prevents the researchers from being able to extract a representative sample of individuals from the population and to contact and interview them. The main idea of the Centre Sampling method (CS) relies on the fact that all (undocumented) migrants residing in one area visit some of the local “centres of aggregation” for migrants which exist in the area. Once a sufficiently wide and heterogeneous set of ‘centres’ is identified, instead of randomly sampling  $n$  individuals from the unknown population of  $N$  (undocumented) migrants, it is possible to select  $m$  centres (among the whole set of  $M$  “gathering centres”) and then to randomly choose the interviews among those that visit the “centre”. Therefore, the preliminary step of this procedure is the identification of all the “centres” regularly attended by migrant population of interest. After having defined the set  $M$  of “centres of aggregation” in the area under study and after drawing a sample  $m$

out of them, the interviews can start. In each of the selected “centres”, a sample of the regular attendees are interviewed and they asked questions about their personal and household characteristics, their labour market performance, their migration project, etc.. They are also asked to list all the “centres” that they usually visit. This latter set of questions is used to construct the individual weights which ensure representativeness to the CS procedure. Indeed, the individual probability of inclusion in the sample depends: 1) positively on the number of selected centres the person usually visits; and 2) negatively on the number of individuals from the population who visit that same “centre”. Therefore each individuals is assigned a weight that reflect her inclusion probability: the more centres each individual visits, the larger the inclusion probability and the lower the weight, on the other hand, the larger and more visited the centre, the smaller the inclusion probability, and the higher the weight.

A formal illustration of the CS technique is provided in (Baio, Blangiardo et al. 2008).

## Tables

**Table 1 - Resident migrants by region. Minors and gender composition. Years: 2003-2007**

| Region                | 2004             |           |           | 2005             |           |           | 2006             |           |           | 2007             |           |           |
|-----------------------|------------------|-----------|-----------|------------------|-----------|-----------|------------------|-----------|-----------|------------------|-----------|-----------|
|                       | Total            | % minors  | % female  | Total            | % minors  | % female  | Total            | % minors  | % female  | Total            | % minors  | % female  |
| Piemonte              | 174,144          | 21        | 50        | 208,538          | 21        | 49        | 231,611          | 23        | 50        | 252,302          | 23        | 50        |
| Valle D'Aosta         | 3,636            | 21        | 51        | 4,258            | 21        | 51        | 4,976            | 21        | 52        | 5,534            | 22        | 52        |
| Lombardia             | 476,690          | 23        | 47        | 594,279          | 22        | 46        | 665,884          | 23        | 47        | 728,647          | 24        | 48        |
| Trentino Alto Adige   | 42,674           | 22        | 49        | 49,608           | 22        | 49        | 55,747           | 23        | 49        | 61,674           | 23        | 50        |
| Veneto                | 240,434          | 22        | 46        | 287,732          | 23        | 46        | 320,793          | 24        | 47        | 350,215          | 25        | 47        |
| Friuli Venezia Giulia | 51,889           | 19        | 49        | 58,915           | 20        | 48        | 65,185           | 21        | 48        | 72,462           | 21        | 49        |
| Liguria               | 53,194           | 18        | 54        | 65,994           | 19        | 53        | 74,416           | 20        | 52        | 80,735           | 21        | 53        |
| Emilia Romagna        | 210,397          | 23        | 48        | 257,161          | 23        | 48        | 288,844          | 23        | 48        | 317,888          | 24        | 49        |
| Toscana               | 164,800          | 20        | 50        | 193,608          | 21        | 50        | 215,490          | 21        | 50        | 234,398          | 22        | 50        |
| Umbria                | 43,151           | 21        | 53        | 53,470           | 21        | 52        | 59,278           | 23        | 52        | 63,861           | 23        | 52        |
| Marche                | 70,557           | 22        | 49        | 81,890           | 23        | 49        | 91,325           | 24        | 50        | 99,285           | 24        | 50        |
| Lazio                 | 204,725          | 18        | 56        | 247,847          | 18        | 55        | 275,065          | 19        | 55        | 330,146          | 20        | 54        |
| Abruzzo               | 32,466           | 20        | 53        | 38,582           | 20        | 53        | 43,849           | 21        | 53        | 48,018           | 21        | 53        |
| Molise                | 3,183            | 18        | 55        | 3,790            | 19        | 55        | 4,250            | 18        | 56        | 4,834            | 18        | 57        |
| Campania              | 65,396           | 14        | 55        | 85,773           | 14        | 56        | 92,619           | 14        | 57        | 98,052           | 15        | 58        |
| Puglia                | 42,985           | 20        | 47        | 47,943           | 21        | 46        | 48,725           | 21        | 48        | 51,242           | 22        | 49        |
| Basilicata            | 5,154            | 17        | 48        | 5,923            | 17        | 51        | 6,407            | 19        | 52        | 6,726            | 19        | 53        |
| Calabria              | 27,413           | 16        | 50        | 31,195           | 16        | 52        | 33,525           | 17        | 53        | 35,216           | 18        | 55        |
| Sicilia               | 62,900           | 20        | 48        | 69,679           | 20        | 48        | 74,595           | 21        | 48        | 78,242           | 22        | 49        |
| Sardegna              | 14,371           | 15        | 50        | 15,972           | 17        | 51        | 17,930           | 17        | 51        | 19,445           | 17        | 52        |
| <b>Total Italy</b>    | <b>1,990,159</b> | <b>21</b> | <b>49</b> | <b>2,402,157</b> | <b>21</b> | <b>49</b> | <b>2,670,514</b> | <b>22</b> | <b>49</b> | <b>2,938,922</b> | <b>23</b> | <b>50</b> |

Source: Istat

**Table 2 - Number of valid residence permits (1st of January), by region (Years; 1990-2007)**

| REGION                | 1990  | 1991  | 1992   | 1993   | 1994   | 1995   | 1996   | 1997   | 1998   |
|-----------------------|-------|-------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| Piemonte              | 31326 | 31160 | 35303  | 33311  | 36589  | 39697  | 44402  | 63169  | 67376  |
| Valle d'Aosta         | 932   | 1276  | 1594   | 1628   | 1664   | 1643   | 1768   | 2222   | 2195   |
| Lombardia             | 63808 | 95756 | 124220 | 116103 | 125515 | 135531 | 146492 | 205952 | 220307 |
| Trentino - Alto Adige | 9199  | 11684 | 14671  | 14957  | 17049  | 18803  | 20000  | 26312  | 22998  |

|                                |               |               |               |               |               |               |               |               |                |
|--------------------------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|----------------|
| <b>Veneto</b>                  | 26688         | 36107         | 43053         | 43066         | 48972         | 51676         | 56988         | 75524         | 83415          |
| <b>Friuli - Venezia Giulia</b> | 13653         | 13660         | 18659         | 21224         | 24761         | 26230         | 26227         | 28603         | 29623          |
| <b>Liguria</b>                 | 15086         | 16684         | 20242         | 18918         | 21272         | 21256         | 23095         | 28134         | 30380          |
| <b>Emilia - Romagna</b>        | 23117         | 36927         | 51253         | 45284         | 48299         | 50348         | 56172         | 72983         | 81527          |
| <b>Toscana</b>                 | 38911         | 38703         | 44034         | 43203         | 48265         | 49931         | 52759         | 71592         | 68760          |
| <b>Umbria</b>                  | 12493         | 11139         | 11690         | 11876         | 13961         | 14457         | 16124         | 17716         | 19354          |
| <b>Marche</b>                  | 7412          | 8997          | 10664         | 11220         | 12672         | 13754         | 15199         | 19668         | 22182          |
| <b>Lazio</b>                   | 121775        | 151533        | 154525        | 133440        | 144415        | 146385        | 156230        | 202691        | 204712         |
| <b>Abruzzo</b>                 | 6068          | 6704          | 7766          | 7885          | 10586         | 10730         | 11164         | 14266         | 14310          |
| <b>Molise</b>                  | 967           | 941           | 1014          | 908           | 946           | 996           | 998           | 1301          | 1439           |
| <b>Campania</b>                | 31801         | 28271         | 31754         | 26236         | 29642         | 30690         | 31949         | 54530         | 54332          |
| <b>Puglia</b>                  | 11500         | 11041         | 16288         | 14760         | 16383         | 17005         | 18286         | 27074         | 25895          |
| <b>Basilicata</b>              | 844           | 1549          | 1581          | 1415          | 1402          | 1454          | 1378          | 2140          | 2145           |
| <b>Calabria</b>                | 5280          | 6707          | 7169          | 6639          | 7289          | 7455          | 8024          | 13706         | 13909          |
| <b>Sicilia</b>                 | 30727         | 44060         | 46202         | 31035         | 31871         | 31871         | 34016         | 47911         | 47333          |
| <b>Sardegna</b>                | 5426          | 7412          | 7253          | 6349          | 7549          | 7879          | 7888          | 10526         | 10704          |
| <b>ITALY: total</b>            | <b>457013</b> | <b>560311</b> | <b>648935</b> | <b>589457</b> | <b>649102</b> | <b>677791</b> | <b>729159</b> | <b>986020</b> | <b>1022896</b> |
| <b>REGION</b>                  | <b>1999</b>   | <b>2000</b>   | <b>2001</b>   | <b>2002</b>   | <b>2003</b>   | <b>2004</b>   | <b>2005</b>   | <b>2006</b>   | <b>2007</b>    |
| <b>Piemonte</b>                | 70054         | 83568         | 91034         | 101178        | 107950        | 171497        | 173841        | 175863        | 191026         |
| <b>Valle d'Aosta</b>           | 2362          | 2531          | 2492          | 2860          | 2870          | 3681          | 4178          | 3891          | 4758           |
| <b>Lombardia</b>               | 235154        | 301291        | 312254        | 331369        | 346768        | 512632        | 518487        | 555226        | 584863         |
| <b>Trentino - Alto Adige</b>   | 26234         | 28683         | 30843         | 36497         | 38092         | 44006         | 48889         | 52634         | 57372          |
| <b>Veneto</b>                  | 97915         | 125920        | 139104        | 143242        | 153524        | 225994        | 244506        | 270157        | 279594         |
| <b>Friuli - Venezia Giulia</b> | 32383         | 38248         | 42947         | 43548         | 49024         | 61522         | 66369         | 66601         | 72513          |
| <b>Liguria</b>                 | 31219         | 36044         | 37743         | 33452         | 35360         | 58336         | 56041         | 52665         | 65909          |
| <b>Emilia - Romagna</b>        | 90129         | 108518        | 114012        | 140269        | 147787        | 218573        | 235024        | 251050        | 266255         |
| <b>Toscana</b>                 | 86394         | 108365        | 111636        | 103666        | 111133        | 174997        | 181875        | 171146        | 205445         |
| <b>Umbria</b>                  | 21150         | 24665         | 25150         | 29022         | 29928         | 44696         | 47097         | 46523         | 47504          |
| <b>Marche</b>                  | 25122         | 31698         | 35681         | 45027         | 47090         | 65419         | 71782         | 75316         | 78680          |
| <b>Lazio</b>                   | 201390        | 242533        | 240599        | 242210        | 238586        | 333533        | 310181        | 296943        | 274504         |
| <b>Abruzzo</b>                 | 15112         | 18513         | 18444         | 19537         | 21212         | 33037         | 35313         | 34564         | 38640          |
| <b>Molise</b>                  | 1520          | 1935          | 1939          | 2172          | 2395          | 3500          | 3619          | 3813          | 4336           |
| <b>Campania</b>                | 55029         | 68336         | 65554         | 61910         | 58038         | 114360        | 99565         | 92276         | 89694          |
| <b>Puglia</b>                  | 27925         | 34553         | 33139         | 30347         | 31168         | 42608         | 39149         | 36854         | 42429          |

|                     |                |                |                |                |                |                |                |                |                |
|---------------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| <b>Basilicata</b>   | 2321           | 3130           | 3021           | 3264           | 3475           | 5649           | 5470           | 5280           | 5868           |
| <b>Calabria</b>     | 12333          | 15530          | 14110          | 14816          | 17475          | 33051          | 28178          | 25411          | 27611          |
| <b>Sicilia</b>      | 46750          | 53927          | 48717          | 52116          | 49706          | 65331          | 59499          | 54463          | 62357          |
| <b>Sardegna</b>     | 10324          | 12667          | 11330          | 11890          | 11705          | 15145          | 16485          | 15348          | 15614          |
| <b>ITALY: total</b> | <b>1090820</b> | <b>1340655</b> | <b>1379749</b> | <b>1448392</b> | <b>1503286</b> | <b>2227567</b> | <b>2245548</b> | <b>2286024</b> | <b>2414972</b> |

Source: Istat

**Table 3 - Total resident population in Italy, by geographical area. Year 1990 and 2007**

| Area of residence          | 1990              |            | 2007              |            |
|----------------------------|-------------------|------------|-------------------|------------|
|                            |                   | %          |                   | %          |
| <b>North-West</b>          | 15,130,854        | 26         | 15,630,959        | 26         |
| <b>North-East</b>          | 10,419,306        | 18         | 11,204,123        | 19         |
| <b>Central</b>             | 11,012,346        | 19         | 11,540,584        | 20         |
| <b>South &amp; Islands</b> | 21,183,657        | 37         | 20,755,621        | 35         |
| <b>Total</b>               | <b>57,746,163</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>59,131,287</b> | <b>100</b> |

Source: Istat

**Table 4 - Resident migrants by geographical area of origin and nationality - Year 2005**

| Geographical area and nationality | Male    | Female  | Total   | %  | Geographical area and nationality | Male           | Female         | Total          | %         |
|-----------------------------------|---------|---------|---------|----|-----------------------------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|-----------|
|                                   |         |         |         |    |                                   |                |                |                |           |
| European Union                    | 71,289  | 135,360 | 206,649 | 9  | <i>Mauritius</i>                  | 4,101          | 4,620          | 8,721          | 0         |
| Europe 15                         | 53,313  | 84,716  | 138,029 | 6  | <i>Somalia</i>                    | 2,390          | 3,704          | 6,094          | 0         |
| NMC                               | 17,976  | 50,644  | 68,620  | 3  | Central-Southern Africa           | 6,492          | 5,849          | 12,341         | 1         |
| <i>of which Poland</i>            | 13,307  | 37,487  | 50,794  | 2  | <b>ASIA</b>                       | <b>222,895</b> | <b>182,132</b> | <b>405,027</b> | <b>17</b> |
| Eastern Europe                    | 441,786 | 461,346 | 903,132 | 38 | Western Asia                      | 12,592         | 7,837          | 20,429         | 1         |
| <i>of which Albania</i>           | 182,145 | 134,514 | 316,659 | 13 | <i>of which: Iran</i>             | 3,820          | 2,730          | 6,550          | 0         |
| <i>Bosnia - Herzegovina</i>       | 12,923  | 9,513   | 22,436  | 1  | <i>Israel</i>                     | 1,300          | 809            | 2,109          | 0         |
| <i>Croatia</i>                    | 10,972  | 9,740   | 20,712  | 1  | Central-Southern Asia             | 111,463        | 62,095         | 173,558        | 7         |
| <i>Macedonia.</i>                 | 35,090  | 23,370  | 58,460  | 2  | <i>of which: Bangladesh</i>       | 25,625         | 10,160         | 35,785         | 1         |



|                              |                |                |                |           |                               |                  |                  |                  |            |
|------------------------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|-----------|-------------------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------|
| <i>Moldova</i>               | 11,759         | 26,212         | 37,971         | 2         | <i>India</i>                  | 34,154           | 20,134           | 54,288           | 2          |
| <i>Romania</i>               | 123,452        | 125,397        | 248,849        | 10        | <i>Pakistan</i>               | 25,487           | 10,022           | 35,509           | 1          |
| <i>Russia,</i>               | 3,316          | 13,872         | 17,188         | 1         | <i>Sri Lanka</i>              | 25,521           | 20,051           | 45,572           | 2          |
| <i>Serbia e Montenegro</i>   | 32,618         | 25,556         | 58,174         | 2         | Eastern Asia                  | 98,840           | 112,200          | 211,040          | 9          |
| <i>Ukraine</i>               | 15,516         | 77,925         | 93,441         | 4         | <i>of which: China</i>        | 59,750           | 51,962           | 111,712          | 5          |
| Other European countries     | 5,647          | 6,848          | 12,495         | 1         | <i>Philippines</i>            | 33,334           | 49,291           | 82,625           | 3          |
| <i>of which: Switzerland</i> | 4,276          | 5,456          | 9,732          | 0         | <i>Japan</i>                  | 2,238            | 3,875            | 6,113            | 0          |
| <b>AFRICA</b>                | <b>403,343</b> | <b>238,412</b> | <b>641,755</b> | <b>27</b> | <b>AMERICA</b>                | <b>80,433</b>    | <b>149,610</b>   | <b>230,043</b>   | <b>10</b>  |
| Northern Africa              | 289,223        | 158,087        | 447,310        | 19        | Northern America              | 7,469            | 9,052            | 16,521           | 1          |
| <i>of which: Algeria</i>     | 13,986         | 4,750          | 18,736         | 1         | <i>of which United States</i> | 6,431            | 7,724            | 14,155           | 1          |
| <i>Egypt</i>                 | 38,659         | 14,206         | 52,865         | 2         | Central-Northern Italy        | 72,964           | 140,558          | 213,522          | 9          |
| <i>Morocco</i>               | 182,630        | 112,315        | 294,945        | 12        | <i>of which: Argentina</i>    | 6,025            | 7,695            | 13,720           | 1          |
| <i>Tunisia</i>               | 52,250         | 25,980         | 78,230         | 3         | <i>Brazil</i>                 | 7,526            | 18,297           | 25,823           | 1          |
| Western Africa               | 95,918         | 55,801         | 151,719        | 6         | <i>Colombia</i>               | 5,006            | 10,837           | 15,843           | 1          |
| <i>of which: Ivory Coast</i> | 7,056          | 6,172          | 13,228         | 1         | <i>Dominicana Rep.</i>        | 4,410            | 10,876           | 15,286           | 1          |
| <i>Ghana</i>                 | 19,031         | 13,723         | 32,754         | 1         | <i>Ecuador</i>                | 19,592           | 33,628           | 53,220           | 2          |
| <i>Nigeria</i>               | 12,994         | 18,653         | 31,647         | 1         | <i>Peru</i>                   | 19,908           | 33,470           | 53,378           | 2          |
| <i>Senegal</i>               | 45,350         | 8,591          | 53,941         | 2         | <b>OCEANIA</b>                | <b>1,005</b>     | <b>1,455</b>     | <b>2,460</b>     | <b>0</b>   |
| Eastern Africa               | 11,710         | 18,675         | 30,385         | 1         | <b>TOTAL</b>                  | <b>1,226,712</b> | <b>1,175,445</b> | <b>2,402,157</b> | <b>100</b> |

Source: Istat

**Table 5 – Distribution of residence permits, by area of residence. Years 1990-2007**

| Area            | 1990 | 1991 | 1992 | 1993 | 1994 | 1995 | 1996 | 1997 | 1998 |
|-----------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| North-West      | 24.3 | 25.9 | 27.9 | 28.8 | 28.5 | 29.2 | 29.6 | 30.4 | 31.3 |
| North-East      | 15.9 | 17.6 | 19.7 | 21.1 | 21.4 | 21.7 | 21.9 | 20.6 | 21.3 |
| Central         | 39.5 | 37.5 | 34.0 | 33.9 | 33.8 | 33.1 | 33.0 | 31.6 | 30.8 |
| South & Islands | 20.3 | 19.0 | 18.3 | 16.2 | 16.3 | 15.9 | 15.6 | 17.4 | 16.6 |
| Italy           | 100  | 100  | 100  | 100  | 100  | 100  | 100  | 100  | 100  |

| Area            | 1999 | 2000 | 2001 | 2002 | 2003 | 2004 | 2005 | 2006 | 2007 |
|-----------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| North-West      | 31.1 | 31.6 | 32.1 | 32.4 | 32.8 | 33.5 | 33.5 | 34.5 | 35.1 |
| North-East      | 22.6 | 22.5 | 23.7 | 25.1 | 25.8 | 24.7 | 26.5 | 28.0 | 28.0 |
| Central         | 30.6 | 30.4 | 29.9 | 29.0 | 28.4 | 27.8 | 27.2 | 25.8 | 25.1 |
| South & Islands | 15.7 | 15.6 | 14.2 | 13.5 | 13.0 | 14.0 | 12.8 | 11.7 | 11.9 |
| Italy           | 100  | 100  | 100  | 100  | 100  | 100  | 100  | 100  | 100  |

Source: Italian Ministry of Internal Affairs and Istat

**Table 6 - Participation, employment and unemployment rates in Italy, by gender and area. Year 1995, 2006**

| Gender and area | 1995               | 2006        | 1995            | 2006        | 1995              | 2006       |
|-----------------|--------------------|-------------|-----------------|-------------|-------------------|------------|
|                 | Participation rate |             | Employment rate |             | Unemployment rate |            |
| <b>Male</b>     | <b>72.6</b>        | <b>74.6</b> | <b>66.2</b>     | <b>70.5</b> | <b>8.6</b>        | <b>5.4</b> |
| North-West      | 73.5               | 77.6        | 68.9            | 75.2        | 6.2               | 3.0        |
| North-East      | 75.9               | 78.8        | 73.0            | 76.8        | 3.8               | 2.4        |
| Central         | 72.5               | 76.3        | 67.7            | 72.9        | 6.5               | 4.5        |
| South & Islands | 70.1               | 69.3        | 59.8            | 62.3        | 14.5              | 9.9        |
| <b>Female</b>   | <b>44.3</b>        | <b>50.8</b> | <b>37.5</b>     | <b>46.3</b> | <b>15.4</b>       | <b>8.8</b> |
| North-West      | 50.1               | 59.0        | 44.8            | 56.0        | 10.4              | 5.1        |
| North-East      | 51.2               | 60.2        | 46.2            | 57.0        | 9.7               | 5.3        |
| Central         | 46.6               | 56.0        | 39.6            | 51.3        | 15.0              | 8.2        |
| South & Islands | 35.5               | 37.3        | 26.6            | 31.1        | 24.9              | 16.5       |
| <b>All</b>      | <b>58.4</b>        | <b>62.7</b> | <b>51.8</b>     | <b>58.4</b> | <b>11.2</b>       | <b>6.8</b> |
| North-West      | 61.9               | 68.3        | 56.9            | 65.7        | 7.9               | 3.9        |
| North-East      | 63.8               | 69.6        | 59.8            | 67.0        | 6.1               | 3.6        |
| Central         | 59.5               | 66.0        | 53.6            | 62.0        | 9.8               | 6.1        |
| South & Islands | 52.5               | 53.2        | 42.9            | 46.6        | 18.1              | 12.2       |

Source: Istat

**Table 7 - Migrants' share\* over total population, by area of residence. Years: 1990-2007**

| Area       | 1990 | 1991 | 1992 | 1993 | 1994 | 1995 | 1996 | 1997 | 1998 |
|------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| North-West | 0.7  | 1.0  | 1.2  | 1.1  | 1.2  | 1.3  | 1.4  | 2.0  | 2.1  |

|                   |             |             |             |             |             |             |             |             |             |
|-------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| <b>North-East</b> | 0.7         | 0.9         | 1.2         | 1.2         | 1.3         | 1.4         | 1.5         | 1.9         | 2.1         |
| <b>Central</b>    | 1.6         | 1.9         | 2.0         | 1.8         | 2.0         | 2.0         | 2.2         | 2.8         | 2.8         |
| <b>South</b>      | 0.4         | 0.5         | 0.6         | 0.5         | 0.5         | 0.5         | 0.5         | 0.8         | 0.8         |
| <b>Italy</b>      | <b>0.8</b>  | <b>1.0</b>  | <b>1.1</b>  | <b>1.0</b>  | <b>1.1</b>  | <b>1.2</b>  | <b>1.3</b>  | <b>1.7</b>  | <b>1.8</b>  |
|                   | <b>1999</b> | <b>2000</b> | <b>2001</b> | <b>2002</b> | <b>2003</b> | <b>2004</b> | <b>2005</b> | <b>2006</b> | <b>2007</b> |
| <b>North-West</b> | 2.2         | 2.8         | 2.9         | 3.1         | 3.3         | 4.9         | 4.9         | 5.1         | 5.4         |
| <b>North-East</b> | 2.3         | 2.8         | 3.1         | 3.4         | 3.6         | 5.1         | 5.4         | 5.8         | 6.0         |
| <b>Central</b>    | 3.0         | 3.7         | 3.7         | 3.8         | 3.9         | 5.6         | 5.4         | 5.2         | 5.3         |
| <b>South</b>      | 0.8         | 1.0         | 0.9         | 1.0         | 0.9         | 1.5         | 1.4         | 1.3         | 1.4         |
| <b>Italy</b>      | <b>1.9</b>  | <b>2.3</b>  | <b>2.4</b>  | <b>2.5</b>  | <b>2.6</b>  | <b>3.8</b>  | <b>3.8</b>  | <b>3.9</b>  | <b>4.1</b>  |

\* The stock of migrants is measured using the number of valid residence permits in each year  
Source: author's calculations using data from Italian Ministry of Internal Affairs and Istat

**Table 8 - Irregularity rate\* of full-time equivalent labour units, by geographical area. Years 1995-2003**

| <b>Area</b>                | <b>1995</b> | <b>1996</b> | <b>1997</b> | <b>1998</b> | <b>1999</b> | <b>2000</b> | <b>2001</b> | <b>2002</b> | <b>2003</b> |
|----------------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| <b>North-West</b>          | 11.3        | 11.3        | 11.2        | 11.0        | 10.8        | 10.8        | 11.0        | 9.5         | 8.3         |
| <b>North-East</b>          | 11.2        | 11.1        | 11.1        | 11.5        | 11.3        | 11.3        | 11.2        | 10.3        | 9.3         |
| <b>Central</b>             | 14.2        | 14.2        | 14.8        | 14.9        | 14.9        | 15.4        | 14.9        | 13.3        | 12.3        |
| <b>South &amp; Islands</b> | 20.7        | 20.9        | 21.6        | 22.5        | 22.3        | 22.4        | 22.8        | 23.1        | 22.8        |
| <b>Italy</b>               | <b>14.5</b> | <b>14.5</b> | <b>14.8</b> | <b>15.1</b> | <b>15.0</b> | <b>15.0</b> | <b>15.1</b> | <b>14.2</b> | <b>13.4</b> |

\* The irregularity rate is the ratio of irregular labour units and total labour units  
Source: Istat

**Table 9 - Amnesties in Italy: total number of migrants granted legal status, by area of residence (1986, 1990, 1995, 1998 and 2002)**

| <b>Area</b>       | <b>Amnesties</b> |    |             |    |             |    |             |    |             |    |
|-------------------|------------------|----|-------------|----|-------------|----|-------------|----|-------------|----|
|                   | <b>1986</b>      |    | <b>1990</b> |    | <b>1995</b> |    | <b>1998</b> |    | <b>2002</b> |    |
| <b>North-West</b> | 24,296           | 23 | 54,969      | 25 | 74,651      | 31 | 80,740      | 37 | 233,943     | 33 |
| <b>North-East</b> | 11,678           | 11 | 31,337      | 14 | 39,959      | 16 | 29,608      | 14 | 132,291     | 19 |
| <b>Central</b>    | 33,056           | 32 | 72,116      | 33 | 73,165      | 30 | 68,281      | 31 | 203,852     | 29 |
| <b>South</b>      | 35,970           | 34 | 59,204      | 27 | 56,717      | 23 | 38,495      | 18 | 132,070     | 19 |

|       |         |     |         |     |         |     |         |     |         |     |
|-------|---------|-----|---------|-----|---------|-----|---------|-----|---------|-----|
| Italy | 105,000 | 100 | 217,626 | 100 | 244,492 | 100 | 217,124 | 100 | 702,156 | 100 |
|-------|---------|-----|---------|-----|---------|-----|---------|-----|---------|-----|

Source: author's calculation on Italian Ministry of Internal Affairs data

**Table 10 - Estimates of total foreign born population (documented and undocumented) in Italy. Years: 1981-1998**

| Year | Authors                   | Categories of Foreigners | Estimates (thousands) |              |                | Year | Authors                       | Categories of Foreigners | Estimates (thousands) |              |                |
|------|---------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|--------------|----------------|------|-------------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|--------------|----------------|
|      | Year of publication       |                          | Total                 | Undocumented | % Undocumented |      | Year of publication           |                          | Total                 | Undocumented | % Undocumented |
| 1981 | Natale [1986]             | Total                    | 361-401               | 28           | 7              | 1990 | De Simoni [1992]              | Extra UE                 | 986-1,283             | 307-604      | 31-47          |
| 1984 | Natale [1986]             | Total                    | 523                   | 97           | 19             | 1990 | Censis [1993]                 | LDCs                     | 886                   | 406          | 46             |
| 1984 | Casacchia [1987]          | Total                    | 480                   | 54           | 11             | 1991 | Censis [1993]                 | LDCs                     | 1                     | 587          | 53             |
| 1984 | Natale [1986]             | Total                    | 725                   | 299          | 41             | 1991 | Blangiardo [1997]             | LDCs                     | 705-770               | 174-239      | 25-31          |
| 1984 | Perali [1986]             | Total                    | 385-805               | 379          | 47             | 1992 | Natale e Strozza [1997]       | Total                    | 961-1,014             | 295-348      | 31-34          |
| 1984 | Casacchia [1987]          | Total                    | 715                   | 289          | 41             | 1992 | Esposito [1996]               | Total                    | 1,505                 | 839          | 56             |
| 1984 | Schoorl et al. [1996]     | Africans                 | 296                   | 254          | 86             | 1992 | Quirino [cfr. Esposito, 1996] | Total                    | 1,478                 | 812          | 55             |
| 1986 | Natale e Strozza [1997]   | Total                    | 720-781               | 294-355      | 41-46          | 1992 | Censis [1993]                 | LDCs                     | 1,180                 | 714          | 61             |
| 1988 | Natale [1990a]            | Total                    | 737                   | 185          | 25             | 1992 | Baldassarini e Freguja [1995] | Extra UE workers         | 977                   | 427          | 44             |
| 1988 | Natale [1990a]            | Total                    | 857                   | 305          | 36             | 1993 | Natale e Strozza [1997]       | Total                    | 1,091-1,167           | 358-434      | 33-37          |
| 1988 | Bartoli e Esposito [1993] | Total                    | 1                     | 461          | 46             | 1993 | ISTAT [1994]                  | Total                    | 1,300-1,500           | 567-767      | 44-51          |
| 1988 | Natale [1990a]            | Total                    | 1                     | 507          | 48             | 1993 | Natale e Strozza [1997]       | Total                    | 1                     | 413          | 36             |
| 1989 | Birindelli [1990]         | Total                    | 824                   | 303          | 37             | 1993 | Censis [1993]                 | LDCs                     | 1                     | 644          | 55             |
| 1989 | ISTAT [1991]              | Total                    | 1                     | 623          | 55             | 1993 | Schoorl et al. [1996]         | Africans                 | 903                   | 694          | 77             |
| 1989 | Censis [1993]             | LDCs                     | 656                   | 364          | 56             | 1994 | Murer [1995]                  | Total                    | 1,100-1,150           | 337-387      | 31-34          |

|      |                       |          |             |         |       |      |                              |       |             |         |       |
|------|-----------------------|----------|-------------|---------|-------|------|------------------------------|-------|-------------|---------|-------|
| 1989 | Schoorl et al. [1996] | Africans | 691         | 582     | 84    | 1994 | Natale e Strozza [1997]      | Total | 1,228-1,327 | 465-564 | 38-43 |
| 1990 | Böhning [1991]        | Total    | 1           | 600     | 47    | 1994 | Natale e Strozza [1997]      | Total | 1,194       | 431     | 36    |
| 1990 | Natale [1990b]        | Total    | 849         | 170     | 20    | 1994 | Blangiardo e Papavero [1997] | LDCs  | 833-912     | 286-365 | 34-40 |
| 1990 | Natale [1990b]        | Total    | 1,016-1,201 | 338-522 | 33-44 | 1998 | Blangiardo [1998]            | LDCs  | 982-1,101   | 176-295 | 18-27 |

Source: (Strozza 2004)

**Table 11 - ISMU estimates of documented and undocumented migrants living in Italy (thousands). Years 2003-2007**

|                                  | 1.1.2003 | 1.1.2004 | 1.1.2005 | 1.1.2006 | 1.1.2007 |
|----------------------------------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|
| <b>Total documented migrants</b> | 1800     | 2570     | 2740     | 3012     | 3633     |
| <b>of which:</b>                 |          |          |          |          |          |
| <b>residents</b>                 | 1549     | 1990     | 2402     | 2671     | 2939     |
| <b>non-resident</b>              | 251      | 580      | 338      | 341      | 694      |
| <b>Total undocumented</b>        | -        | -        | 541      | 650      | 349      |
| <b>% of undocumented</b>         |          |          | 16.1     | 17.7     | 8.8      |
| <b>Total presence</b>            | -        | -        | 3358     | 3662     | 3982     |

Source: (Blangiardo 2006), (Blangiardo 2007) (Blangiardo 2008)

**Table 12 - ISMU estimates of documented and undocumented migrants living in Italy, area of residence. 1st July 2005**

| Area                     | Total migrants | Documented migrants |               | Undocumented migrants | % of Undocumented migrants |
|--------------------------|----------------|---------------------|---------------|-----------------------|----------------------------|
|                          |                | Residents           | Non-residents |                       |                            |
| Thousands                |                |                     |               |                       |                            |
| Northern & Central Italy | 2863           | 2188                | 267           | 408                   | 14.3                       |

|                                     |      |      |                   |      |      |
|-------------------------------------|------|------|-------------------|------|------|
| <b>Southern Italy</b>               | 495  | 311  | 51                | 133  | 26.9 |
| <b>Italy</b>                        | 3358 | 2499 | 318               | 541  | 16.1 |
|                                     |      |      | <b>Percentage</b> |      |      |
| <b>Northern &amp; Central Italy</b> | 85.3 | 87.6 | 84                | 75.4 |      |
| <b>Southern Italy</b>               | 14.7 | 12.4 | 16                | 24.6 |      |
| <b>Italy</b>                        | 100  | 100  | 100               | 100  |      |

Source:(Blangiardo and Tanturri 2006)

**Table 13 - Amnesties in Italy - Documented and undocumented(\*) immigrants by region. Years: 1995, 1998, 2002**

| Region                | 1995                |             |                     |             |                           | 1998                |             |                     |             |                           | 2002                |             |                     |             |                           |
|-----------------------|---------------------|-------------|---------------------|-------------|---------------------------|---------------------|-------------|---------------------|-------------|---------------------------|---------------------|-------------|---------------------|-------------|---------------------------|
|                       | Documented Migrants | %           | Undoc. Migrants (*) | %           | Ratio (Undocum. / Docum.) | Documented Migrants | %           | Undoc. Migrants (*) | %           | Ratio (Undocum. / Docum.) | Documented Migrants | %           | Undoc. Migrants (*) | %           | Ratio (Undocum. / Docum.) |
| Valle d'Aosta         | 1,643               | 0.2         | 302                 | 0.1         | 0.2                       | 2,195               | 0.2         | 274                 | 0.1         | 0.1                       | 2,860               | 0.2         | 672                 | 0.1         | 0.2                       |
| Piemonte              | 39,697              | 5.9         | 17,871              | 7.2         | 0.5                       | 67,376              | 6.6         | 24,410              | 7.4         | 0.4                       | 101,178             | 7.0         | 57,116              | 8.1         | 0.6                       |
| Lombardia             | 135,531             | 20.0        | 51,270              | 20.6        | 0.4                       | 220,307             | 21.5        | 93,378              | 28.2        | 0.4                       | 331,369             | 22.9        | 158,293             | 22.5        | 0.5                       |
| Liguria               | 21,256              | 3.1         | 5,254               | 2.1         | 0.3                       | 30,380              | 3.0         | 6,742               | 2.0         | 0.2                       | 33,452              | 2.3         | 17,862              | 2.5         | 0.5                       |
| <b>North-West</b>     | <b>198,127</b>      | <b>29.2</b> | <b>74,697</b>       | <b>30.1</b> | <b>0.4</b>                | <b>320,258</b>      | <b>31.3</b> | <b>124,804</b>      | <b>37.7</b> | <b>0.4</b>                | <b>468,859</b>      | <b>32.4</b> | <b>233,943</b>      | <b>33.3</b> | <b>0.5</b>                |
| Trentino Alto Adige   | 18,803              | 2.8         | 1,347               | 0.5         | 0.1                       | 22,998              | 2.2         | 1,730               | 0.5         | 0.1                       | 36,497              | 2.5         | 5,565               | 0.8         | 0.2                       |
| Friuli Venezia Giulia | 26,230              | 3.9         | 2,295               | 0.9         | 0.1                       | 29,623              | 2.9         | 1,824               | 0.6         | 0.1                       | 43,548              | 3.0         | 8,249               | 1.2         | 0.2                       |
| Veneto                | 51,676              | 7.6         | 16,639              | 6.7         | 0.3                       | 83,415              | 8.2         | 26,132              | 7.9         | 0.3                       | 143,242             | 9.9         | 61,418              | 8.7         | 0.4                       |
| Emilia Romagna        | 50,348              | 7.4         | 13,555              | 5.5         | 0.3                       | 81,527              | 8.0         | 14,906              | 4.5         | 0.2                       | 140,269             | 9.7         | 57,059              | 8.1         | 0.4                       |
| <b>North-East</b>     | <b>147,057</b>      | <b>21.7</b> | <b>33,836</b>       | <b>13.6</b> | <b>0.2</b>                | <b>217,563</b>      | <b>21.3</b> | <b>44,592</b>       | <b>13.5</b> | <b>0.2</b>                | <b>363,556</b>      | <b>25.1</b> | <b>132,291</b>      | <b>18.8</b> | <b>0.4</b>                |
| Toscana               | 49,931              | 7.4         | 15,668              | 6.3         | 0.3                       | 68,760              | 6.7         | 28,245              | 8.5         | 0.4                       | 103,666             | 7.2         | 50,903              | 7.2         | 0.5                       |
| Umbria                | 14,457              | 2.1         | 2,721               | 1.1         | 0.2                       | 19,354              | 1.9         | 4,488               | 1.4         | 0.2                       | 29,022              | 2.0         | 13,852              | 2.0         | 0.5                       |
| Marche                | 13,754              | 2.0         | 2,908               | 1.2         | 0.2                       | 22,182              | 2.2         | 3,610               | 1.1         | 0.2                       | 45,027              | 3.1         | 14,906              | 2.1         | 0.3                       |
| Lazio                 | 146,385             | 21.6        | 52,675              | 21.2        | 0.4                       | 204,712             | 20.0        | 66,773              | 20.1        | 0.3                       | 242,210             | 16.7        | 124,191             | 17.7        | 0.5                       |
| <b>Central</b>        | <b>224,527</b>      | <b>33.1</b> | <b>73,972</b>       | <b>29.8</b> | <b>0.3</b>                | <b>315,008</b>      | <b>30.8</b> | <b>103,116</b>      | <b>31.1</b> | <b>0.3</b>                | <b>419,925</b>      | <b>29.0</b> | <b>203,852</b>      | <b>29.0</b> | <b>0.5</b>                |
| Abruzzo               | 10,730              | 1.6         | 3,084               | 1.2         | 0.3                       | 14,310              | 1.4         | 3,784               | 1.1         | 0.3                       | 19,537              | 1.3         | 10,301              | 1.5         | 0.5                       |
| Campania              | 30,690              | 4.5         | 29,204              | 11.8        | 1.0                       | 54,332              | 5.3         | 25,347              | 7.6         | 0.5                       | 61,910              | 4.3         | 67,678              | 9.6         | 1.1                       |
| Molise                | 996                 | 0.1         | 254                 | 0.1         | 0.3                       | 1,439               | 0.1         | 332                 | 0.1         | 0.2                       | 2,172               | 0.1         | 1,055               | 0.2         | 0.5                       |
| Basilicata            | 1,454               | 0.2         | 802                 | 0.3         | 0.6                       | 2,145               | 0.2         | 830                 | 0.3         | 0.4                       | 3,264               | 0.2         | 2,400               | 0.3         | 0.7                       |
| Puglia                | 17,005              | 2.5         | 8,216               | 3.3         | 0.5                       | 25,895              | 2.5         | 10,501              | 3.2         | 0.4                       | 30,347              | 2.1         | 14,096              | 2.0         | 0.5                       |

|                |                |              |                |              |            |                  |              |                |              |            |                  |              |                |              |            |
|----------------|----------------|--------------|----------------|--------------|------------|------------------|--------------|----------------|--------------|------------|------------------|--------------|----------------|--------------|------------|
| Calabria       | 7,455          | 1.1          | 5,209          | 2.1          | 0.7        | 13,909           | 1.4          | 4,098          | 1.2          | 0.3        | 14,816           | 1.0          | 15,686         | 2.2          | 1.1        |
| <b>South</b>   | <b>68,330</b>  | <b>10.1</b>  | <b>46,769</b>  | <b>18.8</b>  | <b>0.7</b> | <b>112,030</b>   | <b>11.0</b>  | <b>44,892</b>  | <b>13.5</b>  | <b>0.4</b> | <b>132,046</b>   | <b>9.1</b>   | <b>111,216</b> | <b>15.8</b>  | <b>0.8</b> |
| Sicilia        | 31,871         | 4.7          | 16,749         | 6.7          | 0.5        | 47,333           | 4.6          | 10,901         | 3.3          | 0.2        | 52,116           | 3.6          | 17,689         | 2.5          | 0.3        |
| Sardegna       | 7,879          | 1.2          | 2,478          | 1.0          | 0.3        | 10,704           | 1.0          | 3,119          | 0.9          | 0.3        | 11,890           | 0.8          | 3,165          | 0.5          | 0.3        |
| <b>Islands</b> | <b>39,750</b>  | <b>5.9</b>   | <b>19,227</b>  | <b>7.7</b>   | <b>0.5</b> | <b>58,037</b>    | <b>5.7</b>   | <b>14,020</b>  | <b>4.2</b>   | <b>0.2</b> | <b>64,006</b>    | <b>4.4</b>   | <b>20,854</b>  | <b>3.0</b>   | <b>0.3</b> |
| <b>ITALY</b>   | <b>677,791</b> | <b>100.0</b> | <b>248,501</b> | <b>100.0</b> | <b>0.4</b> | <b>1,022,896</b> | <b>100.0</b> | <b>331,424</b> | <b>100.0</b> | <b>0.3</b> | <b>1,448,392</b> | <b>100.0</b> | <b>702,156</b> | <b>100.0</b> | <b>0.5</b> |

(\*) Undocumented migrants are measured as the number of applicants for the 2002 amnesty.

Source: Istat and Italian Minister of Internal Affairs

**Table 14 - Quotas of foreign born workers allowed by the "Flow Decrees" - Years 1998-2007**

| Year                        | 1998   | 1999   | 2000   | 2001   | 2002   | 2003   | 2004   | 2005   | 2006    | 2007    |
|-----------------------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|---------|---------|
| <b>Foreign born workers</b> | 58,000 | 58,000 | 63,000 | 83,000 | 79,500 | 79,500 | 79,500 | 99,500 | 550,000 | 170,000 |

Source: (Barbaglio 2007) p.82

**Table 15 - Number of applications for the "2007 Decree on migrants workers' flows", by region and nationality - February 2008**

| Region                | Morocco       | China         | Bangladesh    | India         | Ukraine       | Moldova       | Albania       | Pakistan      | Sri Lanka    |
|-----------------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|--------------|
| Liguria               | 2,707         | 1,122         | 1,429         | 289           | 713           | 523           | 2,050         | 187           | 469          |
| Lombardia             | 27,082        | 15,533        | 11,371        | 16,774        | 11,209        | 6,649         | 6,664         | 15,812        | 7,678        |
| Piemonte              | 13,823        | 4,506         | 1,568         | 891           | 1,871         | 2,462         | 3,426         | 475           | 381          |
| Valle d'Aosta         | 395           | 73            | 14            | 42            | 13            | 43            | 56            | 11            | 1            |
| <b>North-West</b>     | <b>44,007</b> | <b>21,234</b> | <b>14,382</b> | <b>17,996</b> | <b>13,806</b> | <b>9,677</b>  | <b>12,196</b> | <b>16,485</b> | <b>8,529</b> |
| Emilia Romagna        | 18,086        | 8,974         | 5,895         | 4,547         | 5,482         | 8,077         | 4,709         | 7,523         | 2,330        |
| Friuli Venezia Giulia | 1,178         | 2,190         | 2,411         | 611           | 594           | 478           | 689           | 182           | 35           |
| Trentino Alto Adige   | 644           | 407           | 131           | 178           | 325           | 674           | 424           | 579           | 34           |
| Veneto                | 17,378        | 13,149        | 11,618        | 5,256         | 2,790         | 9,206         | 2,859         | 1,553         | 3,715        |
| <b>North-East</b>     | <b>37,286</b> | <b>24,720</b> | <b>20,055</b> | <b>10,592</b> | <b>9,191</b>  | <b>18,435</b> | <b>8,681</b>  | <b>9,837</b>  | <b>6,114</b> |
| Lazio                 | 2,354         | 2,442         | 15,128        | 6,959         | 3,890         | 3,496         | 1,945         | 864           | 2,410        |
| Marche                | 4,258         | 3,792         | 3,303         | 1,524         | 924           | 1,330         | 1,473         | 1,861         | 386          |
| Toscana               | 6,956         | 6,205         | 2,980         | 1,551         | 1,851         | 1,353         | 4,983         | 2,356         | 1,675        |
| Umbria                | 2,406         | 868           | 301           | 583           | 771           | 583           | 1,202         | 128           | 86           |
| <b>Central</b>        | <b>15,974</b> | <b>13,307</b> | <b>21,712</b> | <b>10,617</b> | <b>7,436</b>  | <b>6,762</b>  | <b>9,603</b>  | <b>5,209</b>  | <b>4,557</b> |
| Abruzzo               | 2,657         | 2,143         | 993           | 369           | 599           | 173           | 1,070         | 476           | 126          |
| Basilicata            | 758           | 136           | 104           | 344           | 111           | 54            | 132           | 103           | 12           |
| Calabria              | 4,217         | 1,151         | 1,536         | 3,778         | 1,270         | 190           | 330           | 532           | 138          |

|                       |                    |               |               |                |                |               |               |                |               |
|-----------------------|--------------------|---------------|---------------|----------------|----------------|---------------|---------------|----------------|---------------|
| Campania              | 6,544              | 3,382         | 4,656         | 2,871          | 10,690         | 630           | 1,166         | 1,460          | 3,421         |
| Molise                | 323                | 188           | 57            | 280            | 69             | 34            | 64            | 40             | 5             |
| Puglia                | 2,385              | 1,448         | 843           | 1,497          | 580            | 128           | 1,636         | 346            | 541           |
| Sardegna              | 1,130              | 772           | 332           | 122            | 490            | 53            | 51            | 267            | 32            |
| Sicilia               | 4,565              | 2,777         | 4,716         | 816            | 436            | 73            | 989           | 393            | 4,289         |
| <b>South</b>          | <b>22,579</b>      | <b>11,997</b> | <b>13,237</b> | <b>10,077</b>  | <b>14,245</b>  | <b>1,335</b>  | <b>5,438</b>  | <b>3,617</b>   | <b>8,564</b>  |
| <b>Total</b>          | <b>119,846</b>     | <b>71,258</b> | <b>69,386</b> | <b>49,282</b>  | <b>44,678</b>  | <b>36,209</b> | <b>35,918</b> | <b>35,148</b>  | <b>27,764</b> |
| <b>%</b>              | <b>17.1</b>        | <b>10.2</b>   | <b>9.9</b>    | <b>7.0</b>     | <b>6.4</b>     | <b>5.2</b>    | <b>5.1</b>    | <b>5.0</b>     | <b>4.0</b>    |
|                       |                    |               |               |                |                |               |               |                |               |
| <b>Region</b>         | <b>Philippines</b> | <b>Egypt</b>  | <b>Peru</b>   | <b>Tunisia</b> | <b>Senegal</b> | <b>Ghana</b>  | <b>Other</b>  | <b>Total</b>   | <b>%</b>      |
| Liguria               | 265                | 388           | 987           | 359            | 256            | 7             | 3,560         | <b>15,311</b>  | <b>2.2</b>    |
| Lombardia             | 9,220              | 17,538        | 9,809         | 4,121          | 7,927          | 3,810         | 22,734        | <b>193,931</b> | <b>27.6</b>   |
| Piemonte              | 1,134              | 1,925         | 3,284         | 1,038          | 1,206          | 348           | 4,647         | <b>42,985</b>  | <b>6.1</b>    |
| Valle d'Aosta         | 5                  | 10            | 21            | 75             | 7              | 0             | 83            | <b>849</b>     | <b>0.1</b>    |
| <b>North-West</b>     | <b>10,624</b>      | <b>19,861</b> | <b>14,101</b> | <b>5,593</b>   | <b>9,396</b>   | <b>4,165</b>  | <b>31,024</b> | <b>253,076</b> | <b>36.1</b>   |
| Emilia Romagna        | 2,774              | 1,340         | 915           | 4,889          | 2,344          | 3,550         | 9,521         | <b>90,956</b>  | <b>13.0</b>   |
| Friuli Venezia Giulia | 229                | 120           | 40            | 375            | 202            | 1,477         | 3,107         | <b>13,918</b>  | <b>2.0</b>    |
| Trentino Alto Adige   | 40                 | 48            | 56            | 233            | 75             | 26            | 739           | <b>4,613</b>   | <b>0.7</b>    |
| Veneto                | 1,294              | 390           | 363           | 1,441          | 2,458          | 3,901         | 11,724        | <b>89,095</b>  | <b>12.7</b>   |
| <b>North-East</b>     | <b>4,337</b>       | <b>1,898</b>  | <b>1,374</b>  | <b>6,938</b>   | <b>5,079</b>   | <b>8,954</b>  | <b>25,091</b> | <b>198,582</b> | <b>28.4</b>   |
| Lazio                 | 5,799              | 2,172         | 2,711         | 635            | 223            | 41            | 5,786         | <b>56,855</b>  | <b>8.1</b>    |
| Marche                | 312                | 83            | 675           | 1,201          | 883            | 198           | 3,155         | <b>25,358</b>  | <b>3.6</b>    |
| Toscana               | 1,959              | 556           | 2,605         | 944            | 2,526          | 43            | 5,159         | <b>43,702</b>  | <b>6.2</b>    |
| Umbria                | 341                | 57            | 409           | 253            | 22             | 8             | 1,801         | <b>9,819</b>   | <b>1.4</b>    |
| <b>Central</b>        | <b>8,411</b>       | <b>2,868</b>  | <b>6,400</b>  | <b>3,033</b>   | <b>3,654</b>   | <b>290</b>    | <b>15,901</b> | <b>135,734</b> | <b>19.3</b>   |
| Abruzzo               | 114                | 48            | 88            | 101            | 249            | 1             | 1,176         | <b>10,383</b>  | <b>1.5</b>    |
| Basilicata            | 30                 | 37            | 7             | 102            | 4              | 1             | 175           | <b>2,110</b>   | <b>0.3</b>    |
| Calabria              | 576                | 43            | 15            | 143            | 66             | 11            | 1,159         | <b>15,155</b>  | <b>2.2</b>    |
| Campania              | 748                | 160           | 248           | 523            | 241            | 380           | 4,031         | <b>41,151</b>  | <b>5.9</b>    |
| Molise                | 14                 | 13            | 4             | 4              | 9              | 1             | 145           | <b>1,250</b>   | <b>0.2</b>    |
| Puglia                | 372                | 94            | 54            | 287            | 227            | 23            | 1,945         | <b>12,406</b>  | <b>1.8</b>    |
| Sardegna              | 308                | 51            | 35            | 50             | 362            | 1             | 486           | <b>4,542</b>   | <b>0.6</b>    |



|              |               |               |               |               |               |               |               |                |             |
|--------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|----------------|-------------|
| Sicilia      | 952           | 531           | 61            | 4,474         | 227           | 335           | 1,487         | <b>27,121</b>  | <b>3.9</b>  |
| <b>South</b> | <b>3,114</b>  | <b>977</b>    | <b>512</b>    | <b>5,684</b>  | <b>1,385</b>  | <b>753</b>    | <b>10,604</b> | <b>114,118</b> | <b>16.3</b> |
| <b>Total</b> | <b>26,486</b> | <b>25,604</b> | <b>22,387</b> | <b>21,248</b> | <b>19,514</b> | <b>14,162</b> | <b>82,620</b> | <b>701,510</b> | <b>100</b>  |
| <b>%</b>     | <b>3.8</b>    | <b>3.6</b>    | <b>3.2</b>    | <b>3.0</b>    | <b>2.8</b>    | <b>2.0</b>    | <b>11.8</b>   |                |             |

Source: Italian Home Office;

[http://www.interno.it/mininterno/export/sites/default/it/sezioni/sala\\_stampa/notizie/immigrazione/0848\\_APP\\_domande\\_pervenute\\_NON\\_STAGIONALI.html](http://www.interno.it/mininterno/export/sites/default/it/sezioni/sala_stampa/notizie/immigrazione/0848_APP_domande_pervenute_NON_STAGIONALI.html)

**Table 16 – Full-time equivalent labour units: regular and irregular (thousands). Years 2000-2005**

| Year        | Full-time equivalent labour units<br>(thousand) |        |             | Employed workers<br>(thousand) |        |             |
|-------------|---|--------|-------------|--------------------------------|--------|-------------|
|             | Irregular                                       | Total  | % Irregular | Irregular                      | Total  | % Irregular |
| <b>2000</b> | 3,111   | 23,412 | 13.3        | 2,686                          | 22,930 | 11.7        |
| <b>2001</b> | 3,280   | 23,829 | 13.8        | 2,851                          | 23,393 | 12.2        |
| <b>2002</b> | 3,056   | 24,132 | 12.7        | 2,660                          | 23,793 | 11.2        |
| <b>2003</b> | 2,812   | 24,283 | 11.6        | 2,452                          | 24,150 | 10.2        |
| <b>2004</b> | 2,794   | 24,294 | 11.5        | 2,500                          | 24,256 | 10.3        |
| <b>2005</b> | 3,014   | 24,329 | 12.4        | 2,539                          | 24,333 | 10.4        |

Source: (Istat 2008)

**Table 17 - Irregular (full-time equivalent) labour units, by type (thousands). Years: 2000-2005**

| Year        | Irregular labour units, by type (thousand) |      |                       |      |                     |      |       |
|-------------|--|------|-----------------------|------|---------------------|------|-------|
|             | Residents                                  | %    | Non resident migrants | %    | Multiple activities | %    | Total |
| <b>2000</b> | 1,540                                      | 49.5 | 656                   | 21.1 | 915                 | 29.4 | 3,111 |
| <b>2001</b> | 1,626                                      | 49.6 | 721                   | 22.0 | 934                 | 28.5 | 3,280 |
| <b>2002</b> | 1,644                                      | 53.8 | 464                   | 15.2 | 948                 | 31.0 | 3,056 |
| <b>2003</b> | 1,686                                      | 60.0 | 114                   | 4.0  | 1,012               | 36.0 | 2,812 |
| <b>2004</b> | 1,637                                      | 58.6 | 125                   | 4.5  | 1,033               | 37.0 | 2,794 |
| <b>2005</b> | 1,692                                      | 56.1 | 275                   | 9.1  | 1,048               | 34.8 | 3,014 |

Source: (Istat 2008)

**Table 18 - Employed migrants, by residence and employment status. Years: 1994, 1996, 1999, 2001**

| Residence           | Employment        | Total number (thousands) |            |            |            |            |            |             |            |
|---------------------|-------------------|--------------------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|-------------|------------|
|                     |                   | 1994                     |            | 1996       |            | 1999       |            | 2001        |            |
| <i>Authorized</i>   | <i>Registered</i> | 211                      | 31         | 391        | 53         | 585        | 62         | 700         | 60         |
| <i>Authorized</i>   | <i>Undeclared</i> | 138                      | 20         | 166        | 23         | 245        | 26         | 160         | 14         |
| <i>Unauthorized</i> | <i>Undeclared</i> | 341                      | 49         | 182        | 25         | 115        | 12         | 300         | 26         |
| <b>Total</b>        |                   | <b>690</b>               | <b>100</b> | <b>739</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>945</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>1160</b> | <b>100</b> |

Source: (Reyneri 2003)

**Table 19 - Undocumented migrants identified by Italian police forces within the Italian territory. Years 1997-2006**

| Year  | 1997   | 1998   | 1999   | 2000   | 2001   | 2002    | 2003   | 2004   | 2005   | 2006    |
|---|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|---------|--------|--------|--------|---------|
| <b>Total</b>                                  | 57,509 | 61,720 | 64,444 | 88,750 | 92,561 | 105,988 | 77,583 | 77,517 | 96,045 | 101,704 |
| <i>% change with respect to previous year</i> | 44.7   | 7.3    | 4.4    | 37.7   | 4.3    | 14.5    | -26.8  | -0.1   | 23.9   | 5.9     |

Source: Italian Ministry of Internal Affairs (aa.vv. 2007)

**Table 20 - Undocumented migrants deported from within the Italian territory. Years: 1999-2005**

| Area              | 1999          |            | 2000          |            | 2001          |            | 2002          |            | 2003          |            | 2004          |            | 2005          |            |
|-------------------|---------------|------------|---------------|------------|---------------|------------|---------------|------------|---------------|------------|---------------|------------|---------------|------------|
| <b>North-West</b> | 5,452         | 22.8       | 5,662         | 23.8       | 10,990        | 32.0       | 12,680        | 30.0       | 8,888         | 30.0       | 7,423         | 29.5       | 9,986         | 37.0       |
| <b>North-East</b> | 7,180         | 30.0       | 8,158         | 34.2       | 10,557        | 30.7       | 16,233        | 38.4       | 8,314         | 28.1       | 6,775         | 26.9       | 5,813         | 21.5       |
| <b>Central</b>    | 2,494         | 10.4       | 3,232         | 13.6       | 4,274         | 12.4       | 4,900         | 11.6       | 6,547         | 22.1       | 5,241         | 20.8       | 5,656         | 21.0       |
| <b>South</b>      | 8,829         | 36.9       | 6,784         | 28.5       | 8,569         | 24.9       | 8,432         | 20.0       | 5,881         | 19.8       | 5,757         | 22.8       | 5,530         | 20.5       |
| <b>Italy</b>      | <b>23,955</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>23,836</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>34,390</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>42,245</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>29,630</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>25,196</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>26,985</b> | <b>100</b> |

Source: Italian Ministry of Internal Affairs

**Table 21 – ISMU estimates of migrant population living in Lombardy region; by legal status, gender and nationality. Year 2006**

| Nationality    | Females                       |                   | Males                         |                   | Total                         |                   |
|----------------|-------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------|
|                | Total (doc. and undocumented) | % of undocumented | Total (doc. and undocumented) | % of undocumented | Total (doc. and undocumented) | % of undocumented |
| <b>Morocco</b> | 36,945                        | 12                | 61,648                        | 15                | 98,593                        | 14                |
| <b>Albania</b> | 39,490                        | 13                | 54,657                        | 17                | 94,147                        | 16                |
| <b>Romania</b> | 35,817                        | 25                | 38,381                        | 24                | 74,198                        | 24                |
| <b>Egypt</b>   | 13,532                        | 13                | 44,521                        | 22                | 58,054                        | 20                |

|                                |                |           |                |           |                |           |
|--------------------------------|----------------|-----------|----------------|-----------|----------------|-----------|
| <b>Philippines</b>             | 25,885         | 14        | 19,502         | 19        | 45,387         | 16        |
| <b>China</b>                   | 20,214         | 18        | 21,877         | 14        | 42,091         | 16        |
| <b>Ecuador</b>                 | 23,958         | 21        | 16,769         | 23        | 40,727         | 22        |
| <b>Peru</b>                    | 23,604         | 22        | 15,301         | 23        | 38,905         | 23        |
| <b>India</b>                   | 11,691         | 13        | 19,988         | 10        | 31,679         | 11        |
| <b>Senegal</b>                 | 5,408          | 14        | 25,119         | 17        | 30,528         | 16        |
| <b>Ukraine</b>                 | 24,161         | 26        | 5,995          | 18        | 30,155         | 24        |
| <b>Pakistan</b>                | 7,345          | 15        | 17,319         | 12        | 24,664         | 13        |
| <b>Sri Lanka</b>               | 9,620          | 13        | 13,267         | 18        | 22,886         | 16        |
| <b>Tunisia</b>                 | 7,182          | 13        | 15,661         | 15        | 22,843         | 14        |
| <b>Serbia - Montenegro</b>     | 6,140          | 19        | 7,041          | 12        | 13,181         | 16        |
| <b>Ghana</b>                   | 5,594          | 14        | 7,198          | 13        | 12,791         | 14        |
| <b>Brazil</b>                  | 8,101          | 19        | 4,498          | 23        | 12,600         | 21        |
| <b>Bangladesh</b>              | 3,758          | 14        | 8,619          | 15        | 12,377         | 15        |
| <b>Moldova</b>                 | 7,209          | 26        | 2,960          | 14        | 10,169         | 22        |
| <b>Macedonia</b>               | 3,740          | 17        | 4,689          | 15        | 8,429          | 16        |
| <b>Total (all nationality)</b> | <b>396,368</b> | <b>18</b> | <b>463,690</b> | <b>18</b> | <b>860,059</b> | <b>18</b> |

Source: (Barbaglio 2007) p.335

**Table 22 - ISMU estimates of undocumented migrants living in Lombardy region, by gender and nationality. Year 2006**

| Nationality        | Undocumented migrants |    |       |    | Total  |
|--------------------|-----------------------|----|-------|----|--------|
|                    | Females               |    | Males |    |        |
|                    |                       | %  |       | %  |        |
| <b>Romania</b>     | 8,954                 | 49 | 9,211 | 51 | 18,165 |
| <b>Albania</b>     | 5,134                 | 36 | 9,292 | 64 | 14,426 |
| <b>Morocco</b>     | 4,433                 | 32 | 9,247 | 68 | 13,680 |
| <b>Egypt</b>       | 1,759                 | 15 | 9,795 | 85 | 11,554 |
| <b>Ecuador</b>     | 5,031                 | 57 | 3,857 | 43 | 8,888  |
| <b>Peru</b>        | 5,193                 | 60 | 3,519 | 40 | 8,712  |
| <b>Ukraine</b>     | 6,282                 | 85 | 1,079 | 15 | 7,361  |
| <b>Philippines</b> | 3,624                 | 49 | 3,705 | 51 | 7,329  |
| <b>China</b>       | 3,639                 | 54 | 3,063 | 46 | 6,702  |
| <b>Senegal</b>     | 757                   | 15 | 4,270 | 85 | 5,027  |
| <b>Sri Lanka</b>   | 1,251                 | 34 | 2,388 | 66 | 3,639  |
| <b>India</b>       | 1,520                 | 43 | 1,999 | 57 | 3,519  |
| <b>Tunisia</b>     | 934                   | 28 | 2,349 | 72 | 3,283  |

|                                |               |           |               |           |                |
|--------------------------------|---------------|-----------|---------------|-----------|----------------|
| <b>Pakistan</b>                | 1,102         | 35        | 2,078         | 65        | 3,180          |
| <b>Brazil</b>                  | 1,539         | 60        | 1,035         | 40        | 2,574          |
| <b>Moldova</b>                 | 1,874         | 82        | 414           | 18        | 2,288          |
| <b>Serbia - Montenegro</b>     | 1,167         | 58        | 845           | 42        | 2,012          |
| <b>Bangladesh</b>              | 526           | 29        | 1,293         | 71        | 1,819          |
| <b>Ghana</b>                   | 783           | 46        | 936           | 55        | 1,719          |
| <b>Macedonia</b>               | 636           | 48        | 703           | 53        | 1,339          |
| <b>Total (all nationality)</b> | <b>71,346</b> | <b>46</b> | <b>83,464</b> | <b>54</b> | <b>154,810</b> |

Source: author's calculation from (Barbaglio 2007)

**Table 23 - Legalized migrants: gender and nationality. Amnesties: 1990, 1995, 1998, 2002**

| Geographical area and nationality | Law 39/90      |             |             | Law 489/95     |             |             | Law 1998       |             |             | Law 189/02 e 222/02 |             |             |
|-----------------------------------|----------------|-------------|-------------|----------------|-------------|-------------|----------------|-------------|-------------|---------------------|-------------|-------------|
|                                   | MF             | % F         | %           | MF             | % F         | %           | MF             | % F         | %           | MF                  | % F         | %           |
| <b>Total legalized</b>            | <b>217,626</b> | <b>26.0</b> |             | <b>244,492</b> | <b>31.0</b> |             | <b>217,124</b> | <b>28.0</b> |             | <b>646,829</b>      | <b>46.2</b> |             |
| <b>EUROPE</b>                     | <b>27,699</b>  | <b>41.5</b> | <b>12.7</b> | <b>63,128</b>  | <b>31.9</b> | <b>25.8</b> | <b>81,672</b>  | <b>29.8</b> | <b>37.6</b> | <b>383,107</b>      | <b>56.9</b> | <b>59.2</b> |
| Eastern Europe                    | 22,650         | 35.4        | 10.4        | 61,673         | 31.2        | 25.2        | 81,024         | 29.7        | 37.3        | 382,992             | 56.9        | 59.2        |
| of which: - Albania               | 2,471          | 11.7        | 1.1         | 29,724         | 18.4        | 12.2        | 38,996         | 16.9        | 18.0        | 47,763              | 19.3        | 7.4         |
| - Moldova                         | -              | -           | -           | -              | -           | -           | 950            | 69.2        | 0.4         | 29,471              | 71.7        | 4.6         |
| - Poland                          | 5,366          | 51.8        | 2.5         | 7,926          | 66.8        | 3.2         | 5,077          | 72.4        | 2.3         | 30,021              | 78.0        | 4.6         |
| - Romania                         | 760            | 56.2        | 0.3         | 11,099         | 28.8        | 4.5         | 24,098         | 33.4        | 11.1        | 134,909             | 45.2        | 20.9        |
| - Ukraine                         | -              | -           | -           | 295            | 79.0        | 0.1         | 2,050          | 79.0        | 0.9         | 101,651             | 85.3        | 15.7        |
| <b>AFRICA</b>                     | <b>127,027</b> | <b>15.2</b> | <b>58.4</b> | <b>96,926</b>  | <b>17.8</b> | <b>39.6</b> | <b>72,012</b>  | <b>17.4</b> | <b>33.2</b> | <b>108,540</b>      | <b>14.3</b> | <b>16.8</b> |
| of which: - Morocco               | 48,670         | 8.9         | 22.4        | 34,258         | 10.2        | 14.0        | 23,850         | 11.3        | 11.0        | 48,174              | 13.5        | 7.4         |
| - Senegal                         | 15,966         | 2.9         | 7.3         | 9,889          | 2.6         | 4.0         | 10,727         | 5.3         | 4.9         | 12,372              | 9.3         | 1.9         |
| - Tunisia                         | 26,318         | 7.0         | 12.1        | 10,362         | 9.6         | 4.2         | 5,565          | 6.1         | 2.6         | 8,843               | 4.6         | 1.4         |
| <b>ASIA</b>                       | <b>46,973</b>  | <b>33.2</b> | <b>21.6</b> | <b>61,349</b>  | <b>36.4</b> | <b>25.1</b> | <b>47,768</b>  | <b>27.7</b> | <b>22.0</b> | <b>87,949</b>       | <b>25.3</b> | <b>13.6</b> |
| of which: - Bangladesh            | 3,861          | 1.0         | 1.8         | 6,162          | 0.9         | 2.5         | 6,689          | 0.7         | 3.1         | 10,687              | 0.7         | 1.7         |
| - China                           | 8,580          | 37.3        | 3.9         | 14,445         | 41.4        | 5.9         | 16,787         | 39.1        | 7.7         | 33,950              | 37.8        | 5.2         |
| - Philippines                     | 13,684         | 62.3        | 6.3         | 21,406         | 62.7        | 8.8         | 6,696          | 64.7        | 3.1         | 9,821               | 60.1        | 1.5         |
| - India                           | 2,819          | 11.8        | 1.3         | 5,623          | 3.6         | 2.3         | 4,697          | 3.8         | 2.2         | 13,399              | 2.9         | 2.1         |
| - Pakistan                        | 4,510          | 2.1         | 2.1         | 4,499          | 1.4         | 1.8         | 6,592          | 1.1         | 3.0         | 9,649               | 0.7         | 1.5         |
| - Sri Lanka                       | 5,258          | 22.6        | 2.4         | 6,993          | 26.2        | 2.9         | 4,090          | 27.6        | 1.9         | 7,030               | 20.0        | 1.1         |
| <b>AMERICA</b>                    | <b>15,501</b>  | <b>64.2</b> | <b>7.1</b>  | <b>23,021</b>  | <b>69.5</b> | <b>9.4</b>  | <b>15,597</b>  | <b>68.5</b> | <b>7.2</b>  | <b>67,143</b>       | <b>64.6</b> | <b>10.4</b> |

|                                   |              |      |            |             |      |            |             |      |            |             |      |            |
|-----------------------------------|--------------|------|------------|-------------|------|------------|-------------|------|------------|-------------|------|------------|
| - Ecuador                         | 344          | 70.3 | 0.2        | 2,066       | 72.1 | 0.8        | 5,178       | 70.3 | 2.4        | 34,292      | 64.7 | 5.3        |
| - Peru                            | 2,057        | 60.8 | 0.9        | 12,753      | 69.2 | 5.2        | 4,960       | 67.5 | 2.3        | 16,213      | 65.5 | 2.5        |
| <b>% over documented migrants</b> | <b>120.9</b> |      | <b>100</b> | <b>45.9</b> |      | <b>100</b> | <b>24.9</b> |      | <b>100</b> | <b>47.8</b> |      | <b>100</b> |

Source: Istat and Italian Home Office

**Table 24 - Amnesty 2002: legalized and documented migrants**

| Area                   | Country     | Legalized migrants |      |              |                |      | Documented migrants |      |              |                |      |
|------------------------|-------------|--------------------|------|--------------|----------------|------|---------------------|------|--------------|----------------|------|
|                        |             | MF                 | %F   | %<br>Married | avg age<br>F M |      | MF                  | %F   | %<br>Married | avg age<br>F M |      |
| Eastern Europe         | Romania     | 134,909            | 45.2 | 45.8         | 32.8           | 31.7 | 109,468             | 54.7 | 58.1         | 32.6           | 33.4 |
|                        | Ukraine     | 101,651            | 85.3 | 54.3         | 41.8           | 34.4 | 15,510              | 79.5 | 50.5         | 35.0           | 27.5 |
|                        | Albania     | 47,763             | 19.3 | 39.4         | 32.5           | 29.0 | 192,658             | 43.3 | 62.6         | 34.4           | 34.1 |
|                        | Poland      | 30,021             | 78.0 | 38.5         | 38.1           | 33.0 | 34,891              | 72.8 | 48.5         | 35.2           | 36.2 |
|                        | Moldova     | 29,471             | 71.7 | 55.3         | 37.8           | 33.0 | 8,798               | 68.8 | 56.0         | 32.5           | 31.4 |
|                        | Bulgaria    | 8,305              | 52.1 | 49.2         | 38.5           | 34.3 | 8,814               | 59.5 | 48.4         | 34.6           | 34.2 |
|                        | Russia      | 5,868              | 89.2 | 30.1         | 38.4           | 34.8 | 13,119              | 80.5 | 52.5         | 34.8           | 33.8 |
| Asia                   | China       | 33,950             | 37.8 | 40.7         | 31.5           | 31.3 | 71,002              | 47.9 | 58.8         | 32.8           | 33.2 |
|                        | India       | 13,399             | 2.9  | 29.3         | 32.3           | 30.5 | 35,758              | 42.8 | 52.2         | 35.5           | 35.1 |
|                        | Bangladesh  | 10,687             | 0.7  | 28.3         | 28.1           | 26.7 | 23,568              | 25.4 | 62.2         | 28.7           | 31.5 |
|                        | Philippines | 9,821              | 60.1 | 45.3         | 34.1           | 33.6 | 66,278              | 63.8 | 58.1         | 39.3           | 37.9 |
|                        | Pakistan    | 9,649              | 0.7  | 29.7         | 30.5           | 30.6 | 21,958              | 23.4 | 56.2         | 31.0           | 34.2 |
|                        | Sri Lanka   | 7,030              | 20.0 | 43.4         | 35.8           | 32.1 | 36,017              | 45.4 | 69.3         | 36.3           | 36.9 |
| Africa                 | Morocco     | 48,174             | 13.5 | 19.1         | 31.2           | 29.4 | 182,870             | 35.8 | 57.2         | 33.6           | 35.5 |
|                        | Egypt       | 15,470             | 1.0  | 21.5         | 34.1           | 29.6 | 31,624              | 25.0 | 56.6         | 32.9           | 37.1 |
|                        | Senegal     | 12,372             | 9.3  | 30.7         | 32.3           | 31.8 | 37,348              | 11.3 | 64.2         | 32.3           | 38.8 |
|                        | Tunisia     | 8,843              | 4.6  | 18.1         | 32.4           | 29.5 | 53,808              | 27.6 | 56.7         | 32.4           | 35.9 |
|                        | Nigeria     | 5,884              | 55.7 | 14.3         | 26.7           | 30.0 | 20,221              | 60.1 | 43.4         | 31.6           | 34.8 |
| South America          | Ecuador     | 34,292             | 64.7 | 35.1         | 33.5           | 31.9 | 14,010              | 67.3 | 39.1         | 34.5           | 31.5 |
|                        | Peru        | 16,213             | 65.5 | 29.2         | 33.7           | 32.8 | 32,614              | 65.7 | 42.0         | 37.5           | 36.2 |
| Total 20 nationalities |             | 583,772            |      |              |                |      | 1,010,334           |      |              |                |      |
| % of the total         |             | 90                 |      |              |                |      | 64                  |      |              |                |      |

|              |                |             |             |             |             |                  |             |             |             |             |
|--------------|----------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| <b>TOTAL</b> | <b>646,829</b> | <b>46.2</b> | <b>40.2</b> | <b>36.6</b> | <b>30.9</b> | <b>1,580,738</b> | <b>49.2</b> | <b>57.4</b> | <b>34.4</b> | <b>35.0</b> |
|--------------|----------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|

Source: Istat and Italian Minister of Internal Affairs

**Table 25 - Naga records: gender composition of undocumented migrants in Milan. Years 2000-2006**

|                     | 2000  | 2001  | 2002  | 2003  | 2004  | 2005  | 2006  |
|---------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| <b>Women</b>        | 43,1  | 43,5  | 47,4  | 46,5  | 46,2  | 44,4  | 44,6  |
| <b>Men</b>          | 56,9  | 56,5  | 52,6  | 53,5  | 53,8  | 55,6  | 55,4  |
| <b>Observations</b> | 6,571 | 6,487 | 5,993 | 4,472 | 4,710 | 5,119 | 4,830 |

Source: (Devillanova, Fasani et al. 2007)

**Table 26 - ISMU data: age distribution of migrants in Lombardy, by legal status and origin area. Year 2006**

| Area                                   | Age range | Immigrants     |                  |           |
|--|-----------|----------------|------------------|-----------|
|  |           | Documented (%) | Undocumented (%) | Total (%) |
| <b>Eastern Europe<br/>(N=2501)</b>     | 15-29     | 33             | 46               | 36        |
|  | 30-39     | 39             | 27               | 36        |
|  | 40+       | 28             | 28               | 28        |
| <b>Asia and Oceania<br/>(N=2106)</b>   | 15-29     | 34             | 59               | 36        |
|  | 30-39     | 37             | 27               | 36        |
|  | 40+       | 30             | 14               | 28        |
| <b>Northern Africa<br/>(N=2055)</b>    | 15-29     | 30             | 66               | 35        |
|  | 30-39     | 44             | 26               | 42        |
|  | 40+       | 26             | 8                | 24        |
| <b>Sub Saharan Africa<br/>(N=1028)</b> | 15-29     | 30             | 55               | 33        |
|  | 30-39     | 43             | 37               | 43        |
|  | 40+       | 26             | 8                | 25        |
| <b>Latin America<br/>(N=1272)</b>      | 15-29     | 31             | 44               | 33        |
|  | 30-39     | 42             | 38               | 41        |
|  | 40+       | 28             | 18               | 26        |
| <b>Total<br/>(N=8962)</b>              | 15-29     | 32             | 52               | 35        |
|  | 30-39     | 40             | 30               | 39        |
|  | 40+       | 28             | 18               | 27        |

Source: (Barbagli 2007)

Table 27 – Amnesty 2002: age distribution of applicants, by nationality and area of residence

| Area/country of origin    | Italy     |       |     |          | North-Central Italy |       |     |          | Southern Italy |       |     |          |
|---------------------------|-----------|-------|-----|----------|---------------------|-------|-----|----------|----------------|-------|-----|----------|
|                           | Age range |       |     | Mean age | Age range           |       |     | Mean age | Age range      |       |     | Mean age |
|                           | 15-29     | 30-44 | 45+ |          | 15-30               | 30-45 | 45+ |          | 15-31          | 30-46 | 45+ |          |
| <b>Balkan area</b>        | 52        | 39    | 9   | 31       | 51                  | 40    | 9   | 31       | 55             | 36    | 9   | 30       |
| <b>Eastern Europe</b>     | 27        | 43    | 30  | 38       | 26                  | 43    | 31  | 38       | 29             | 43    | 28  | 37       |
| <b>North Africa</b>       | 61        | 37    | 3   | 29       | 61                  | 36    | 3   | 29       | 59             | 38    | 3   | 29       |
| <b>Sub Saharan Africa</b> | 54        | 43    | 3   | 30       | 56                  | 42    | 3   | 30       | 49             | 47    | 4   | 31       |
| <b>Eastern Asia</b>       | 46        | 48    | 5   | 31       | 46                  | 48    | 5   | 31       | 46             | 50    | 5   | 31       |
| <b>Middle East</b>        | 62        | 34    | 4   | 29       | 63                  | 34    | 4   | 29       | 58             | 36    | 6   | 30       |
| <b>Latin America</b>      | 44        | 46    | 10  | 32       | 44                  | 46    | 9   | 32       | 44             | 44    | 12  | 32       |
| <b>Ukraine</b>            | 19        | 46    | 35  | 40       | 45                  | 38    | 14  | 41       | 48             | 30    | 13  | 38       |
| <b>Russia</b>             | 31        | 39    | 30  | 37       | 37                  | 28    | 13  | 36       | 44             | 34    | 13  | 39       |
| <b>Poland</b>             | 40        | 32    | 28  | 36       | 34                  | 30    | 12  | 37       | 28             | 22    | 9   | 34       |
| <b>Bulgaria</b>           | 33        | 47    | 21  | 36       | 47                  | 19    | 11  | 35       | 45             | 28    | 16  | 38       |
| <b>Moldova</b>            | 33        | 48    | 19  | 35       | 48                  | 19    | 10  | 35       | 46             | 18    | 13  | 35       |
| <b>Philippines</b>        | 40        | 50    | 10  | 33       | 50                  | 10    | 8   | 33       | 47             | 13    | 11  | 34       |
| <b>Peru</b>               | 44        | 46    | 10  | 32       | 46                  | 10    | 8   | 32       | 45             | 11    | 9   | 32       |
| <b>Sri Lanka</b>          | 47        | 43    | 10  | 32       | 45                  | 10    | 8   | 32       | 40             | 10    | 7   | 31       |
| <b>Ecuador</b>            | 44        | 47    | 9   | 32       | 47                  | 9     | 6   | 32       | 41             | 11    | 10  | 32       |
| <b>Burkina Faso</b>       | 45        | 51    | 4   | 31       | 41                  | 2     | 2   | 29       | 55             | 5     | 5   | 32       |
| <b>Romania</b>            | 50        | 42    | 9   | 31       | 42                  | 9     | 7   | 31       | 43             | 11    | 9   | 32       |
| <b>Senegal</b>            | 48        | 49    | 3   | 31       | 49                  | 3     | 3   | 31       | 50             | 5     | 5   | 31       |
| <b>Algeria</b>            | 47        | 51    | 2   | 31       | 51                  | 2     | 2   | 31       | 50             | 2     | 2   | 31       |
| <b>China</b>              | 49        | 48    | 4   | 30       | 47                  | 4     | 4   | 30       | 50             | 4     | 4   | 31       |
| <b>Ghana</b>              | 52        | 46    | 2   | 30       | 46                  | 2     | 2   | 30       | 46             | 3     | 2   | 30       |
| <b>Pakistan</b>           | 56        | 39    | 4   | 30       | 39                  | 4     | 4   | 30       | 44             | 6     | 6   | 31       |
| <b>India</b>              | 58        | 38    | 4   | 30       | 38                  | 3     | 3   | 29       | 40             | 5     | 4   | 30       |
| <b>Tunisia</b>            | 61        | 37    | 2   | 29       | 38                  | 2     | 2   | 29       | 35             | 3     | 2   | 29       |
| <b>Egypt</b>              | 64        | 34    | 2   | 29       | 34                  | 2     | 2   | 29       | 31             | 5     | 5   | 30       |
| <b>Albania</b>            | 62        | 32    | 6   | 29       | 32                  | 6     | 5   | 29       | 31             | 6     | 4   | 28       |
| <b>Morocco</b>            | 61        | 36    | 3   | 29       | 36                  | 3     | 2   | 29       | 35             | 3     | 3   | 29       |

|                     |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |
|---------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| Bangladesh          | 85        | 15        | 0         | 26        | 15        | 0         | 0         | 26        | 17        | 1         | 1         | 26        |
| Other nationalities | 51        | 39        | 10        | 31        | 39        | 9         | 7         | 31        | 41        | 11        | 6         | 32        |
| <b>Total</b>        | <b>46</b> | <b>41</b> | <b>13</b> | <b>32</b> | <b>47</b> | <b>41</b> | <b>12</b> | <b>32</b> | <b>42</b> | <b>41</b> | <b>16</b> | <b>34</b> |

Source: (Conti and Strozza 2006)

**Table 28 - Naga records: age distribution of undocumented migrants in Milan; by gender. Years 2003-2006**

| Age range    | Women |      |      |      | Men  |      |      |      | Total |      |      |      |
|--------------|-------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|-------|------|------|------|
|              | 2003  | 2004 | 2005 | 2006 | 2003 | 2004 | 2005 | 2006 | 2003  | 2004 | 2005 | 2006 |
| 15-24        | 24,5  | 22,7 | 22,7 | 19,8 | 21,9 | 19,9 | 22,9 | 22,2 | 23,1  | 21,2 | 22,0 | 21,1 |
| 25-34        | 38,2  | 37,8 | 37,8 | 38,9 | 43,2 | 45,5 | 44,2 | 45,5 | 40,9  | 41,9 | 41,5 | 42,6 |
| 35-44        | 21,9  | 22,4 | 22,4 | 25,0 | 23,2 | 23,0 | 22,7 | 21,6 | 22,6  | 22,7 | 22,7 | 23,1 |
| 45 and more  | 15,4  | 17,1 | 17,1 | 16,4 | 11,7 | 11,7 | 10,3 | 10,7 | 13,4  | 14,2 | 13,8 | 13,2 |
| Observations | 2079  | 2176 | 2176 | 2156 | 2393 | 2534 | 2848 | 2674 | 4472  | 4710 | 5119 | 4830 |

Source: (Devillanova, Fasani et al. 2007)

**Table 29 – ISMU estimates of undocumented migrants living in Italy - by macro area and area of origin (thousands). 1st July 2005**

| Area of origin     | Northern-Central Italy |            | Southern Italy |            | Italy      |            |
|--------------------|------------------------|------------|----------------|------------|------------|------------|
|                    |                        | %          |                | %          |            | %          |
| Eastern Europe     | 71                     | 53         | 215            | 53         | 339        | 53         |
| Asia and Oceania   | 18                     | 13         | 49             | 12         | 80         | 13         |
| Northern Africa    | 26                     | 19         | 65             | 16         | 110        | 17         |
| Sub-Saharan Africa | 11                     | 8          | 36             | 9          | 56         | 9          |
| Latin-America      | 8                      | 6          | 43             | 10         | 56         | 9          |
| <b>Total</b>       | <b>133</b>             | <b>100</b> | <b>408</b>     | <b>100</b> | <b>640</b> | <b>100</b> |

Source:(Blangiardo and Tanturri 2006)

**Table 30 - ISMU estimates of documented and undocumented migrants living in Italy; by nationality (thousands). 1st July 2005**

| Country | Total migrants | Documented migrants | Documented migrants | Undocumented migrants |
|---------|----------------|---------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|
|         |                | Residents           | Non-residents       |                       |
|         | thousands      | %                   | %                   | %                     |
|         |                |                     |                     |                       |



|                                     |             |             |            |             |
|-------------------------------------|-------------|-------------|------------|-------------|
| <b>Albania</b>                      | 459         | 75.0        | 10.7       | 14.3        |
| <b>Romania</b>                      | 437         | 68.4        | 10.1       | 21.6        |
| <b>Morocco</b>                      | 408         | 78.3        | 7.4        | 14.2        |
| <b>Ukraine</b>                      | 180         | 68.1        | 9.4        | 22.4        |
| <b>China</b>                        | 169         | 76.1        | 12.5       | 11.4        |
| <b>Philippines</b>                  | 110         | 80.3        | 9.3        | 10.4        |
| <b>Tunisia</b>                      | 110         | 76.4        | 7.5        | 16.1        |
| <b>Ecuador</b>                      | 89          | 77.4        | 8.4        | 14.2        |
| <b>Macedonia</b>                    | 88          | 71.9        | 9.9        | 18.2        |
| <b>Poland</b>                       | 83          | 68.9        | 9.8        | 21.3        |
| <b>Serbia and Montenegro</b>        | 83          | 76.3        | 9.3        | 14.4        |
| <b>Senegal</b>                      | 82          | 71.1        | 10.8       | 18.0        |
| <b>Peru</b>                         | 78          | 76.4        | 7.8        | 15.8        |
| <b>India</b>                        | 77          | 78.4        | 9.8        | 11.8        |
| <b>Egypt</b>                        | 75          | 81.2        | 6.4        | 12.5        |
| <b>Moldova</b>                      | 68          | 70.8        | 10.1       | 19.1        |
| <b>Sri Lanka</b>                    | 60          | 81.8        | 6.4        | 11.7        |
| <b>Bangladesh</b>                   | 52          | 79.2        | 8.8        | 12.0        |
| <b>Pakistan</b>                     | 51          | 78.8        | 9.4        | 11.7        |
| <b>Nigeria</b>                      | 50          | 70.1        | 10.4       | 19.6        |
| <b>Total 20 major nationalities</b> | <b>2809</b> |             |            |             |
| <b>Total</b>                        | <b>3358</b> | <b>74.4</b> | <b>9.5</b> | <b>16.1</b> |

Source: (Blangiardo 2006)

**Table 31 - ISMU estimates of undocumented migrants living in Italy; by nationality. 1st July 2005**

| Nationality    | Undocumented migrants |      |
|----------------|-----------------------|------|
|                | <i>thousands</i>      | %    |
| <b>Romania</b> | 94.4                  | 17.4 |
| <b>Albania</b> | 65.6                  | 12.1 |
| <b>Morocco</b> | 57.9                  | 10.7 |
| <b>Ukraine</b> | 40.3                  | 7.4  |
| <b>China</b>   | 19.3                  | 3.6  |
| <b>Tunisia</b> | 17.7                  | 3.3  |
| <b>Poland</b>  | 17.7                  | 3.3  |

|                                     |       |      |
|-------------------------------------|-------|------|
| <b>Macedonia</b>                    | 16.0  | 3.0  |
| <b>Senegal</b>                      | 14.8  | 2.7  |
| <b>Moldova</b>                      | 13.0  | 2.4  |
| <b>Ecuador</b>                      | 12.6  | 2.3  |
| <b>Peru</b>                         | 12.3  | 2.3  |
| <b>Serbia and Montenegro</b>        | 12.0  | 2.2  |
| <b>Philippines</b>                  | 11.4  | 2.1  |
| <b>Nigeria</b>                      | 9.8   | 1.8  |
| <b>Egypt</b>                        | 9.4   | 1.7  |
| <b>India</b>                        | 9.1   | 1.7  |
| <b>Sri Lanka</b>                    | 7.0   | 1.3  |
| <b>Bangladesh</b>                   | 6.2   | 1.1  |
| <b>Pakistan</b>                     | 6.0   | 1.1  |
| <b>Total 20 major nationalities</b> | 452.5 | 83.6 |
| <b>Total</b>                        | 541   | 100  |

Source: (Blangiardo 2006)

**Table 32 - ISMU data: : labour market status of migrants in Italy, by legal status (Year 2005)**

| Labour market status   | Documented migrants |            |            | Legalized migrants |            |            | Undocumented migrants |            |            | Total      |            |            |
|------------------------|---------------------|------------|------------|--------------------|------------|------------|-----------------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|
|                        | Men                 | Women      | Total      | Men                | Women      | Total      | Men                   | Women      | Total      | Men        | Women      | Total      |
| <b>Unemployed</b>      | 7.6                 | 7.9        | 7.7        | 7.0                | 9.1        | 7.9        | 20.9                  | 20.1       | 20.5       | 9.0        | 9.5        | 9.2        |
| <b>Inactive</b>        | 2.6                 | 26.9       | 14.2       | 0.3                | 1.9        | 1.0        | 0.0                   | 5.7        | 2.5        | 1.5        | 17.5       | 8.9        |
| <b>Employed</b>        | 68.2                | 54.6       | 61.8       | 84.5               | 85.2       | 84.8       | 60.9                  | 66.6       | 63.3       | 72.5       | 64.5       | 68.8       |
| <b>Self-employed</b>   | 19.1                | 6.2        | 12.9       | 6.2                | 1.8        | 4.3        | 16.0                  | 4.6        | 11.1       | 14.7       | 4.8        | 10.2       |
| <b>Other/no answer</b> | 2.5                 | 4.3        | 3.4        | 2.0                | 1.8        | 2.0        | 2.2                   | 3.0        | 2.6        | 2.3        | 3.5        | 2.9        |
| <b>Total</b>           | <b>100</b>          | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b>         | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b>            | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> |

Source: author's calculations from (Bragato 2006), p.55

**Table 33 - ISMU data: detailed labour market status of migrants in Italy, by legal status. Year 2005.**

| Labour market status      | Documented migrants |            |            | Legalized migrants |            |            | Undocumented migrants |            |            | Total      |            |            |
|---------------------------|---------------------|------------|------------|--------------------|------------|------------|-----------------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|
|                           | Men                 | Women      | Total      | Men                | Women      | Total      | Men                   | Women      | Total      | Men        | Women      | Total      |
| Unemployed                | 8                   | 8          | 8          | 7                  | 9          | 8          | 21                    | 20         | 21         | 9          | 10         | 9          |
| Student                   | 3                   | 6          | 4          | 0                  | 2          | 1          | 0                     | 2          | 1          | 2          | 4          | 3          |
| Looking after family/home | 0                   | 21         | 10         | 0                  | 0          | 0          | 0                     | 4          | 2          | 0          | 13         | 6          |
| Recorded employment:      | 63                  | 45         | 54         | 73                 | 76         | 74         | 0                     | 0          | 0          | 59         | 49         | 54         |
| temporary worker          | 10                  | 5          | 8          | 12                 | 7          | 10         | 0                     | 0          | 0          | 9          | 5          | 8          |
| part time                 | 4                   | 14         | 9          | 7                  | 26         | 15         | 0                     | 0          | 0          | 4          | 16         | 10         |
| full time                 | 49                  | 25         | 37         | 54                 | 43         | 49         | 0                     | 0          | 0          | 45         | 27         | 37         |
| Unrecorded employment:    | 6                   | 10         | 8          | 12                 | 9          | 11         | 61                    | 67         | 63         | 14         | 16         | 15         |
| "stable"                  | 3                   | 5          | 4          | 7                  | 6          | 7          | 32                    | 46         | 38         | 8          | 10         | 9          |
| "unstable"                | 3                   | 5          | 4          | 5                  | 3          | 4          | 29                    | 21         | 26         | 6          | 6          | 6          |
| Self employed: recorded   | 12                  | 3          | 8          | 3                  | 1          | 2          | 0                     | 0          | 0          | 8          | 2          | 5          |
| Self employed: unrecorded | 1                   | 1          | 1          | 2                  | 0          | 1          | 16                    | 5          | 11         | 3          | 1          | 2          |
| Entrepreneur              | 6                   | 2          | 4          | 1                  | 0          | 1          | 0                     | 0          | 0          | 4          | 1          | 3          |
| Other condition           | 2                   | 4          | 3          | 1                  | 2          | 1          | 0                     | 1          | 1          | 2          | 3          | 2          |
| No answer                 | 0                   | 0          | 0          | 1                  | 0          | 1          | 2                     | 2          | 2          | 1          | 1          | 1          |
| <b>Total</b>              | <b>100</b>          | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b>         | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b>            | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> |

Source: (Bragato 2006), p.55

**Table 34 - ISMU data: occupation of migrants, by legal status. Year 2005**

| Occupation                                   | Documented migrants |       |       | Legalized migrants |       |       | Undocumented migrants |       |       |
|--|---------------------|-------|-------|--------------------|-------|-------|-----------------------|-------|-------|
|  | Centr.North         | South | Italy | Centr.North        | South | Italy | Centr.North           | South | Italy |
| Unskilled workers: agriculture               | 2.7                 | 11.3  | 3.5   | 2.2                | 15.1  | 3.5   | 3.3                   | 18.2  | 6.0   |
| Unskilled workers: fishing                   | 0.0                 | 0.8   | 0.1   | 0.0                | 0.3   | 0.1   | 0.0                   | 0.5   | 0.1   |
| Unskilled workers: manufacture               | 14.6                | 2.4   | 13.4  | 9.9                | 2.4   | 9.1   | 1.8                   | 1.1   | 1.7   |
| Unskilled workers: construction              | 8.1                 | 5.8   | 7.9   | 16.4               | 9.6   | 15.7  | 26.4                  | 10.1  | 23.4  |
| Unskilled workers: services                  | 8.2                 | 3.4   | 7.7   | 8.5                | 4.2   | 8.0   | 5.5                   | 2.6   | 5.0   |
| Unskilled workers: transports                | 3.3                 | 0.8   | 3.1   | 1.2                | 1.2   | 1.2   | 0.2                   | 0.1   | 0.2   |
| Unskilled workers: retail trade and services | 4.5                 | 4.6   | 4.5   | 6.1                | 4.3   | 5.9   | 2.5                   | 2.1   | 2.5   |
| Unskilled workers: hotels and restaurants    | 11.1                | 8.4   | 10.8  | 11.7               | 10.4  | 11.6  | 7.6                   | 8.2   | 7.7   |
| Household staff                              | 10.5                | 18.5  | 11.2  | 15.5               | 22.7  | 16.3  | 18.1                  | 12.4  | 17.0  |
| Care workers and babysitters                 | 6.0                 | 9.2   | 6.3   | 13.8               | 16.6  | 14.2  | 14.8                  | 17.5  | 15.2  |
| Owners of commercial activities              | 7.4                 | 24.6  | 9.0   | 2.2                | 6.6   | 2.7   | 11.0                  | 19.7  | 12.6  |

|  |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |
|--|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| <b>Craftsmen</b>                       | 6.3 | 2.9 | 6.0 | 5.0 | 3.1 | 4.8 | 3.0 | 2.8 | 2.9 |
| <b>Skilled workers</b>                 | 5.1 | 0.6 | 4.7 | 2.9 | 0.6 | 2.7 | 0.3 | 0.2 | 0.3 |
| <b>White collar employees / clerks</b> | 3.1 | 0.9 | 2.9 | 1.5 | 0.8 | 1.4 | 1.2 | 0.1 | 1.0 |
| <b>Doctors and nurses</b>              | 1.5 | 0.8 | 1.5 | 0.7 | 0.2 | 0.6 | 0.0 | 0.1 | 0.0 |
| <b>Intellectual jobs</b>               | 5.8 | 3.3 | 5.6 | 1.6 | 0.8 | 1.6 | 0.8 | 0.3 | 0.7 |
| <b>Prostitutes</b>                     | 0.0 | 0.1 | 0.0 | 0.3 | 0.0 | 0.3 | 1.7 | 1.4 | 1.7 |
| <b>Other</b>                           | 1.7 | 1.5 | 1.7 | 0.3 | 1.0 | 0.4 | 1.8 | 2.6 | 1.9 |
| <b>Total</b>                           | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

Source: author's calculations from (Bragato 2006), p.67

**Table 35 - ISMU data: immigrants' monthly wages, by legal status. Year 2005**

| Legal status                 | Centr.-<br>North | South      | Italy      |
|------------------------------|------------------|------------|------------|
| <b>Documented migrants</b>   |                  |            |            |
| Mean                         | 994              | 670        | 965        |
| Median                       | 950              | 600        | 900        |
| <b>Legalized migrants</b>    |                  |            |            |
| Mean                         | 878              | 623        | 851        |
| Median                       | 850              | 600        | 800        |
| <b>Undocumented migrants</b> |                  |            |            |
| Mean                         | 735              | 478        | 690        |
| Median                       | 700              | 500        | 600        |
| <b>Total migrants</b>        |                  |            |            |
| <b>Mean</b>                  | <b>930</b>       | <b>621</b> | <b>898</b> |
| <b>Median</b>                | <b>900</b>       | <b>600</b> | <b>850</b> |

Source: (Bragato 2006), p.74

**Table 36 - Industry of employment of applicants for the 2002 amnesty, by area of origin and area of residence. Year 2002**

| Origin area        | % by industry of employment |              |                      |              |                           |                         |                   |       |       |
|--------------------|-----------------------------|--------------|----------------------|--------------|---------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------|-------|-------|
|                    | Agriculture                 | Construction | Other<br>manufacture | Retail trade | Hotels and<br>restaurants | Services to<br>families | Other<br>services | Other | Total |
| <b>Balkan area</b> | 6.1                         | 29.4         | 10.4                 | 2.9          | 3.3                       | 36.0                    | 7.9               | 4.1   | 100   |

|                                   |             |             |             |            |            |             |            |            |            |
|-----------------------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|------------|------------|-------------|------------|------------|------------|
| <b>East Europe</b>                | 2.4         | 5.2         | 3.4         | 1.7        | 2.5        | 77.3        | 4.1        | 3.3        | 100        |
| <b>North Africa</b>               | 12.1        | 29.7        | 12.0        | 6.0        | 5.0        | 13.3        | 13.3       | 8.6        | 100        |
| <b>Sub Saharan Africa</b>         | 4.1         | 7.4         | 14.4        | 7.8        | 1.6        | 40.7        | 14.6       | 9.5        | 100        |
| <b>Eastern Asia</b>               | 0.9         | 2.2         | 38.2        | 6.8        | 8.1        | 33.5        | 5.9        | 4.4        | 100        |
| <b>Middle East</b>                | 12.4        | 13.2        | 12.3        | 10.4       | 6.5        | 26.3        | 11.4       | 7.5        | 100        |
| <b>Latin America</b>              | 0.8         | 6.4         | 4.1         | 2.2        | 3.1        | 69.0        | 10.5       | 3.9        | 100        |
| <b>Total</b>                      | <b>5.3</b>  | <b>16.6</b> | <b>10.3</b> | <b>3.9</b> | <b>3.7</b> | <b>46.9</b> | <b>8.3</b> | <b>5.0</b> | <b>100</b> |
| <b>Northern and Central Italy</b> |             |             |             |            |            |             |            |            |            |
| <b>Balkan area</b>                | 4.2         | 30.9        | 10.6        | 2.8        | 3.3        | 36.2        | 8.0        | 4.0        | 100        |
| <b>East Europe</b>                | 1.2         | 6.1         | 3.0         | 1.2        | 2.4        | 78.6        | 4.4        | 3.2        | 100        |
| <b>North Africa</b>               | 5.4         | 34.3        | 12.9        | 5.9        | 5.6        | 11.7        | 15.4       | 8.8        | 100        |
| <b>Sub Saharan Africa</b>         | 2.5         | 7.7         | 17.0        | 8.4        | 1.7        | 37.8        | 16.6       | 8.3        | 100        |
| <b>Eastern Asia</b>               | 0.4         | 2.2         | 38.6        | 5.9        | 8.3        | 34.4        | 5.9        | 4.3        | 100        |
| <b>Middle East</b>                | 10.4        | 15.4        | 12.4        | 11.8       | 7.7        | 21.5        | 13.1       | 7.7        | 100        |
| <b>Latin America</b>              | 0.8         | 6.5         | 4.2         | 2.2        | 3.1        | 68.9        | 10.7       | 3.9        | 100        |
| <b>Total</b>                      | <b>3.3</b>  | <b>18.7</b> | <b>10.8</b> | <b>3.8</b> | <b>3.9</b> | <b>45.6</b> | <b>9.0</b> | <b>4.9</b> | <b>100</b> |
| <b>Southern Italy</b>             |             |             |             |            |            |             |            |            |            |
| <b>Balkan area</b>                | 26.0        | 13.1        | 8.1         | 3.6        | 3.1        | 33.9        | 7.0        | 5.1        | 100        |
| <b>East Europe</b>                | 5.0         | 3.3         | 4.4         | 2.8        | 2.7        | 74.5        | 3.6        | 3.7        | 100        |
| <b>North Africa</b>               | 38.2        | 11.8        | 8.4         | 6.1        | 2.8        | 19.5        | 5.1        | 8.1        | 100        |
| <b>Sub Saharan Africa</b>         | 9.8         | 6.3         | 5.4         | 5.5        | 1.3        | 50.6        | 7.7        | 13.5       | 100        |
| <b>Eastern Asia</b>               | 4.4         | 2.1         | 35.4        | 13.4       | 6.4        | 27.4        | 5.8        | 5.1        | 100        |
| <b>Middle East</b>                | 19.7        | 5.0         | 12.1        | 5.4        | 2.3        | 43.7        | 5.0        | 6.8        | 100        |
| <b>Latin America</b>              | 1.9         | 3.1         | 3.8         | 3.2        | 3.8        | 74.5        | 5.3        | 4.2        | 100        |
| <b>Total</b>                      | <b>14.8</b> | <b>6.4</b>  | <b>7.9</b>  | <b>4.4</b> | <b>2.9</b> | <b>53.2</b> | <b>4.9</b> | <b>5.6</b> | <b>100</b> |

Source: (Conti and Strozza 2006) p.72

Table 37 - Industry of employment of applicants for the 2002 amnesty, by area of origin and area of residence. Year 2002

Industry | % of industry employment

|                                     | Italy      | North-West | North-East   | Central    | South      |
|-------------------------------------|------------|------------|--------------|------------|------------|
|                                     |            |            | <b>Total</b> |            |            |
| <b>Agriculture</b>                  | 5.3        | 2.1        | 2.7          | 4.9        | 14.8       |
| <b>Construction</b>                 | 16.6       | 21.2       | 20.7         | 14.7       | 6.4        |
| <b>Other manufacture</b>            | 10.3       | 10.0       | 13.3         | 10.2       | 7.9        |
| <b>Retail trade</b>                 | 3.9        | 3.9        | 3.5          | 3.9        | 4.4        |
| <b>Hotels and restaurants</b>       | 3.8        | 4.3        | 4.0          | 3.5        | 2.9        |
| <b>House cleaners</b>               | 26.9       | 24.9       | 21.5         | 29.0       | 33.0       |
| <b>Personal care and assistance</b> | 20.0       | 15.9       | 21.4         | 23.2       | 20.2       |
| <b>Other services</b>               | 8.3        | 12.2       | 8.7          | 5.8        | 4.9        |
| <b>Other</b>                        | 5.0        | 5.4        | 4.1          | 4.7        | 5.6        |
| <b>Total</b>                        | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b>   | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> |
|                                     |            |            | <b>Women</b> |            |            |
| <b>Agriculture</b>                  | 0.9        | 0.2        | 0.4          | 0.6        | 3.1        |
| <b>Construction</b>                 | 0.1        | 0.2        | 0.2          | 0.1        | 0.1        |
| <b>Other manufacture</b>            | 3.3        | 2.4        | 4.3          | 3.9        | 2.5        |
| <b>Retail trade</b>                 | 1.5        | 1.4        | 1.3          | 1.5        | 1.7        |
| <b>Hotels and restaurants</b>       | 3.0        | 3.2        | 3.7          | 2.7        | 2.4        |
| <b>House cleaners</b>               | 45.8       | 48.7       | 39.2         | 45.4       | 48.6       |
| <b>Personal care and assistance</b> | 37.8       | 34.5       | 43.3         | 39.0       | 35.1       |
| <b>Other services</b>               | 4.1        | 5.9        | 4.5          | 3.2        | 2.5        |
| <b>Other</b>                        | 3.5        | 3.5        | 3.0          | 3.6        | 3.9        |
| <b>Total</b>                        | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b>   | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> |
|                                     |            |            | <b>Men</b>   |            |            |
| <b>Agriculture</b>                  | 9.0        | 3.4        | 4.7          | 9.1        | 25.7       |
| <b>Construction</b>                 | 30.5       | 35.9       | 38.3         | 29.0       | 12.3       |
| <b>Other manufacture</b>            | 16.3       | 15.3       | 21.0         | 16.5       | 12.8       |
| <b>Retail trade</b>                 | 6.0        | 5.6        | 5.3          | 6.3        | 6.8        |
| <b>Hotels and restaurants</b>       | 4.4        | 5.0        | 4.3          | 4.3        | 3.3        |
| <b>House cleaners</b>               | 11.0       | 8.4        | 6.4          | 12.9       | 18.5       |
| <b>Personal care and assistance</b> | 4.9        | 3.1        | 2.9          | 7.7        | 6.3        |
| <b>Other services</b>               | 11.8       | 16.5       | 12.2         | 8.4        | 7.2        |
| <b>Other</b>                        | 6.2        | 6.7        | 5.0          | 5.8        | 7.1        |

|       |     |     |     |     |     |
|-------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
|-------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|

Source: (Conti and Strozza 2006) p.74

**Table 38 - Naga records: labour market status of undocumented migrants in Milan, by years of permanence. Year 2006**

| Labour market status | Years of permanence in Italy |      |      |      |            |
|----------------------|------------------------------|------|------|------|------------|
|                      | y0-1                         | y1-2 | y2-3 | y3-4 | 4 and more |
| Employed             | 38,4                         | 66,6 | 71,9 | 75,9 | 59,0       |
| Unemployed           | 60,1                         | 32,7 | 26,8 | 23,1 | 40,1       |
| Inactive             | 1,6                          | 0,7  | 1,3  | 1,0  | 0,9        |
| Observations         | 1546                         | 978  | 861  | 580  | 644        |

Source: (Devillanova, Fasani et al. 2007)

**Table 39 - Naga records: a comparison of educational levels of undocumented migrants in Milan (2006) and those of the Italian population (2001).**

| Level of education              | Naga records<br>Year 2006 |       |       | Italian population<br>Census 2001 |       |       |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------|-------|-------|-----------------------------------|-------|-------|
|                                 | Total (15-64)             | 25-34 | 35-44 | Total (15-64)                     | 25-34 | 35-44 |
| Illiterate                      | 4                         | 3     | 4     | 1                                 | 0     | 1     |
| Elementary school (age 6-10)    | 10                        | 10    | 10    | 19                                | 5     | 10    |
| "Media" school (age 11-13)      | 32                        | 30    | 30    | 37                                | 37    | 41    |
| Secondary education (age 14-19) | 44                        | 46    | 45    | 35                                | 46    | 37    |
| University                      | 10                        | 11    | 12    | 9                                 | 12    | 11    |
| Total                           | 100                       | 100   | 100   | 100                               | 100   | 100   |

Source: (Devillanova, Fasani et al. 2007)

**Table 40 - Undocumented migrants residing in Italy, by entry channel (percentage). Years 2000-2006**

| Type of entry                              | 2000 | 2001 | 2002 | 2003 | 2004 | 2005 | 2006 |
|--|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Overstayers                                | 59   | 61   | 51   | 75   | 67   | 60   | 64   |
| Migrants that illegally crossed the border | 24   | 27   | 34   | 15   | 29   | 26   | 23   |
| Migrants that shore landed                 | 17   | 12   | 15   | 10   | 4    | 14   | 13   |
| Total                                      | 100  | 100  | 100  | 100  | 100  | 100  | 100  |

Source: Italian Home Office (aa.vv. 2007)

**Table 41. Number of undocumented migrants shore landed in Southern Italian regions (Years 1998-2006)**

| Year | Region of arrival |         |          |          | Total Italy |
|------|-------------------|---------|----------|----------|-------------|
|      | Puglia            | Sicilia | Calabria | Sardegna |             |
| 1998 | 28,458            | 8,828   | 848      | n.a.     | 38,134      |
| 1999 | 46,481            | 1,973   | 1,545    | n.a.     | 49,999      |
| 2000 | 18,990            | 2,782   | 5,045    | n.a.     | 26,817      |
| 2001 | 8,546             | 5,504   | 6,093    | n.a.     | 20,143      |
| 2002 | 3,372             | 18,225  | 2,122    | n.a.     | 23,719      |
| 2003 | 137               | 14,017  | 177      | n.a.     | 14,331      |
| 2004 | 18                | 13,594  | 23       | n.a.     | 13,635      |
| 2005 | 38                | 22,824  | 176      | 16       | 23,038      |
| 2006 | 243               | 21,400  | 282      | 91       | 21,925      |

Source: Italian Ministry of Internal Affairs

**Table 42. Immigrants refused entry at the border (Years: 1986-2006)**

| Year | Immigrants refused entry at the border | Border type: |          |        | Immigrants refused entry by the "Head of Police" | Total immigrants refused entry |
|------|--|--------------|----------|--------|--|--------------------------------|
|      |  | terrestrial  | maritime | aerial |  |                                |
| 1986 | 20,054                                 | n.a.         | n.a.     | n.a.   | -  | 20,054                         |
| 1987 | 23,496                                 | n.a.         | n.a.     | n.a.   | -  | 23,496                         |
| 1988 | 31,120                                 | n.a.         | n.a.     | n.a.   | -  | 31,120                         |
| 1989 | 39,977                                 | n.a.         | n.a.     | n.a.   | -  | 39,977                         |
| 1990 | 62,000                                 | n.a.         | n.a.     | n.a.   | -  | 62,000                         |
| 1991 | 59,908                                 | n.a.         | n.a.     | n.a.   | -  | 59,908                         |
| 1992 | 62,514                                 | n.a.         | n.a.     | n.a.   | -  | 62,514                         |
| 1993 | 69,888                                 | n.a.         | n.a.     | n.a.   | -  | 69,888                         |
| 1994 | 57,132                                 | 44,231       | 8,279    | 4,622  | -  | 57,132                         |
| 1995 | 62,443                                 | 37,036       | 19,130   | 6,276  | -  | 62,443                         |
| 1996 | 54,144                                 | 35,990       | 11,042   | 7,112  | -  | 54,144                         |
| 1997 | 39,888                                 | 23,949       | 8,534    | 7,405  | -  | 39,888                         |
| 1998 | 29,593                                 | n.a.         | n.a.     | n.a.   | 15,564   | 45,157                         |



|             |        |        |        |       |        |               |
|-------------|--------|--------|--------|-------|--------|---------------|
| <b>1999</b> | 36,937 | n.a.   | n.a.   | n.a.  | 11,500 | <b>48,437</b> |
| <b>2000</b> | 30,871 | 10,306 | 14,783 | 5,782 | 11,350 | <b>42,221</b> |
| <b>2001</b> | 30,625 | 13,646 | 11,761 | 5,218 | 10,433 | <b>41,058</b> |
| <b>2002</b> | 37,656 | 23,726 | 7,657  | 6,273 | 6,139  | <b>43,795</b> |
| <b>2003</b> | 24,202 | 15,793 | 3,337  | 5,072 | 3,195  | <b>27,397</b> |
| <b>2004</b> | 24,528 | 15,172 | 2,962  | 6,394 | 2,563  | <b>27,091</b> |
| <b>2005</b> | 19,646 | 10,597 | 1,927  | 7,122 | 4,232  | <b>23,878</b> |
| <b>2006</b> | 20,547 | 10,534 | 1,600  | 8,413 | 2,132  | <b>22,679</b> |

Source: Italian Ministry of Internal Affairs

**Table 43 - ISMU survey 2007: migrants residing in Lombardy, by legal status and year of arrival in Italy**

| Year of arrival in Italy | Documented | Undocumented |
|--------------------------|------------|--------------|
| <b>before 2002</b>       | 95         | 5            |
| <b>2003</b>              | 75         | 25           |
| <b>2004</b>              | 66         | 34           |
| <b>2005</b>              | 65         | 35           |
| <b>2006</b>              | 56         | 44           |
| <b>2007</b>              | 58         | 42           |
| <b>Total</b>             | 88         | 12           |

Source: (Sciortino 2008)

**Table 44 - Stocks of refugees and asylum applications in Europe. Year 2006**

| Country               | Stock of refugees | # of refugees per 1000 population | Applications for asylum | # applications per 1000 population |
|-----------------------|-------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------------------|
| <b>France</b>         | 145,996           | 2.3                               | 30,690                  | 0.5                                |
| <b>Germany</b>        | 605,406           | 7.3                               | 21,030                  | 0.3                                |
| <b>Italy</b>          | 26,875            | 0.4                               | 10,348                  | 0.2                                |
| <b>Spain</b>          | 5,275             | 0.1                               | 5,310                   | 0.1                                |
| <b>United Kingdom</b> | 301,556           | 4.9                               | 27,850                  | 0.5                                |
| <b>EU25</b>           | <b>1,390,271</b>  | <b>2.9</b>                        | <b>198,900</b>          | <b>0.4</b>                         |

Source: Eurostat; UNHCR; National Committee for the Right of Asylum

**Table 45 – Asylum seekers in Italy: number of applications, applications examined and case outcomes. Years 1990-2006**

| Year | Applications for asylum | Applications examined | Case outcomes          |               |                                |               |         |               |               |               |
|------|-------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|---------------|--------------------------------|---------------|---------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
|      |                         |                       | Granted refugee status | % of examined | Refused - Granted temporary HP | % of examined | Refused | % of examined | Unrecoverable | % of examined |
| 1990 | 4827                    | 1386                  | 824                    | 59.5          | -                              | -             | 562     | 40.5          | -             | -             |
| 1991 | 23317                   | 20854                 | 944                    | 4.5           | -                              | -             | 19910   | 95.5          | -             | -             |
| 1992 | 6042                    | 6960                  | 336                    | 4.8           | -                              | -             | 6624    | 95.2          | -             | -             |
| 1993 | 1647                    | 1426                  | 126                    | 8.8           | -                              | -             | 1300    | 91.2          | -             | -             |
| 1994 | 1786                    | 1684                  | 298                    | 17.7          | -                              | -             | 1386    | 82.3          | -             | -             |
| 1995 | 1732                    | 1718                  | 285                    | 16.6          | -                              | -             | 1433    | 83.4          | -             | -             |
| 1996 | 675                     | 694                   | 172                    | 24.8          | -                              | -             | 522     | 75.2          | -             | -             |
| 1997 | 1858                    | 1654                  | 348                    | 21            | -                              | -             | 1306    | 79            | -             | -             |
| 1998 | 11122                   | 3465                  | 1026                   | 29.6          | -                              | -             | 2393    | 69.1          | -             | -             |
| 1999 | 24808                   | 8331                  | 785                    | 9.4           | 853                            | 10.2          | 6579    | 79            | -             | -             |
| 2000 | 18360                   | 24978                 | 1615                   | 6.5           | 1615                           | 6.5           | 21617   | 86.5          | 11            | 0             |
| 2001 | 17402                   | 13148                 | 2052                   | 15.6          | 1312                           | 10            | 6908    | 52.5          | 2838          | 21.6          |
| 2002 | 16123                   | 16890                 | 1235                   | 7.3           | 729                            | 4.3           | 4186    | 24.8          | 10662         | 63.1          |
| 2003 | 13971                   | 11144                 | 720                    | 6.5           | 1829                           | 16.4          | 2658    | 23.9          | 5854          | 52.5          |
| 2004 | 9796                    | 8584                  | 771                    | 9             | 2366                           | 27.6          | 3277    | 38.2          | 2086          | 24.3          |
| 2005 | 9346                    | 11589                 | 961                    | 8.3           | 4084                           | 35.2          | 1701    | 14.7          | 4258          | 36.7          |
| 2006 | 10348                   | 9260                  | 878                    | 9.5           | 4338                           | 46.8          | 3681    | 39.8          | 262           | 2.8           |
| 2007 | 14053                   | 13509                 | 1408                   | 10            | 6318                           | 47            | 4908    | 36            | 400           | 3             |

Source: National Committee for the Right of Asylum

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