The Migration and Integration of Moroccan and Ukrainian migrants in Italy: Policies and Measures

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1. Aim, data and structure of the paper

The aim of the paper is to looks at the integration of Moroccan and Ukrainian migrants living in Italy. Beyond being quantitatively important in the Italian context, these two groups largely differ in terms of demographic characteristics, migration patterns, insertion modalities.

Two different sources of data have been employed here. The first one relies on the *ISMU Sample Survey of 2008-09*, comparing the level of integration of several migrant communities in Italy in four dimensions: cultural, economic, political and social. The second one presents instead the results of the *INTERACT Quantitative Study of 2013-14*, which compared the level of integration of a 'number of migrant communities living in selected EU states' (the so-called 'migrant corridors') in other three dimensions: labour market, education and access to citizenship. Thus, in the latter emphasis is put on an international comparison while the former has a national dimension.

The paper is structured as follows. Section 2 presents trends and main demographic and social characteristics of Moroccan and Ukrainian migration to Italy. Section 3 presents the results of the two quantitative sources. Finally, section 4 concludes summing up findings and proposing a coherent framework of integration levels and determinants with a special focus on origin factors.

2. Immigration trends and characteristics of Moroccan and Ukrainian migrants in Italy

2.1. Short considerations on data sources and stock figures

The profile of Ukrainian and Moroccan migrants is presented through the country of citizenship criterion. According to the 2001 Census, Moroccans and Ukrainians equalled respectively 180 and less than 9 thousands, or 13.5% and 0.6% of the total foreign resident population, respectively. Table 1 compares resident migrants with statistics retrieved from residence permits which identify "regular stayers". At the end of 2001, Moroccans adults holding a valid residence permit in Italy were less than 160 thousands, i.e. 20 thousands less than the corresponding resident population (at all ages). It should be mentioned that in 2001, residence permits' statistics only included people entitled to residence permit, thus excluding the large majority of minor children. This means that in 2001, Moroccan minors' stayers were already a very important component. The contrary applies to Ukrainians. Adults holding a valid residence permits are 11 thousand, i.e. more than all Ukrainian residents as counted by the Census. This probably reflects the fact that Ukrainian people with residence permits that do not reside in the country outnumber minors accompanying their parents (or relatives)who accounted for a small proportion of Ukrainian residents. This pattern is still valid in more recent years.

At the beginning of 2000s, Moroccans and Ukrainians thus largely differed in terms of numbers and profile. Moroccan migration to Italy started in the first-mid 1980s. According to the 1991 Census, there were almost 40 thousand Moroccan residents (and less than 20 thousand not resident migrants). In the 1990s till the mid-2000s, they represented the major migrant group (Paterno *et al.*, 2006). Ukrainian migration to Italy started only at the end of 1990s to boom in the following decade.

Table1 – Stock of Moroccans and Ukrainians living in Italy according to different data sources. Italy, 2001, 2011-2012, thousand values

Year	Moroccans			Ukrainians		
	Adults (18+) with a RP (*)	Total regular stayers	Total residents	Adults with a RP	Total regular stayers	Total residents
2001	157,7	…	180,1	11,0	…	8,6
2011	352,6	506,4	407,1	203,4	223,8	178,5
2012	355,4	513,4	412,7	203,9	224,6	192,3

Notes: (*)RP = residence permit; Total regular stayers = Adults (18+) with a RP plus children (aged 0-17) with a parent with a RP.

Source: data on RP are collected by Ministry of Interior, revised and provided by ISTAT; data on residents are collected by ISTAT from 2001 and 2011 Population Censuses or Population Registers (2012).

Most recent data allow to appreciate such evolving dynamics. According to the 2011 Census, Moroccans more than doubled reaching the peak of 400 thousand persons, or almost 413 thousand according to the last population register's update (in 2012). From 2001 to 2011, their number thus grew by 230 thousand individuals because of a positive balance both in migration and natural terms (births minus deaths). The total number of regular stayers (regardless of their place of residence) with a valid residence permit or included in parents' permits is higher than 510 thousand. People aged less than 18 amount to more than 150 thousand, or around 30%. A significant growth was also observed among Ukrainians. According to the 2011 Census, their number equalled almost 180 thousand people, or more than 190 thousand according to the last population register's update (in 2012).Unlike the Moroccan case, this growth is due for its large majority to positive net migration balance dynamics. Regular stayersare close to 225 thousand people, among whom minors represent a very small percentage (20 thousand, or less than 10%).

In the last decade, Italy witnessed the most significant inflow of foreigners ever registered. The 2001-2011 inter-census migration balance equalled +2.6 million persons, almost entirely attributable to foreign population movements (+2.5 million). The annual net immigration rate stood at 4.5‰, i.e. higher than those registered by European 'traditional' immigration countries in the 1950s and 1960s (Strozza, 2010). Ukrainian and Moroccan migration flows are thus analysed in detail in the sub-paragraph 2.2, while their demographic and territorial characteristics are described in the sub-paragraph 2.3.

2.2. Trends and characteristics of inflows of Moroccan and Ukrainian immigrants

To analyse migration flows we consider the micro-data on registrations and de-registrations in/from Municipal population registers for residence changes from and to abroad.

This dataset has typical disadvantages of all administrative sources. Inflows and outflows are often registered with delay with respect to the actual entry in the country. Outflows tend also to be underestimated because a part of emigrants simply omit declaring his/her departure to abroad (Bonifazi and Strozza, 2006).

In addition, a small part of compiled modules in Italian municipalities is not transmitted to Istat while another small part is not processed because lacks basic required information.So, in the decade 2002-2012,

the total number of foreign migrants registered within population registers on the basis of individual micro-data equalled 3.9 million individuals (column 4, table 2) vs. 4.4 million as registered by aggregate macro-data on the basis of population registers' demographicbalance (column 2, table 2). Thus, the underestimation of micro-data is around 4% for the period 2002-2012, which peaks at 8% in the period 2002-2010 on the basis of inter-census estimates (column 3, table 2). It should be however noted that the absolute and relative gap between the two sources (micro and macro)has been recently diminished. Since 2008, Istat has indeed re-processed individual data according to macro-data results, the latter taken as a benchmark.

Being conscious of such limits, Moroccan and Ukrainian migration flows as retrieved from individual micro-data are here presented given the large amount of info they contain (column 4-6, table 2). In the 11-year period (2002-2012), 278 thousand Moroccans and 226 thousand Ukrainians registered with population registers from abroad (equal to an annual average of 25 and 21 thousand respectively). Higher peaks are observed for both migrant groups in concomitance with regularizations, namely in 2003-2004 and 2008-2010. In fact, as soon as migrants are regularized they immediately obtain a residence permit to later register as residents. This confirms as data retrieved by population registers often do not coincide with the period of actual entry.

Table 2 – Immigration from abroad of foreigners according to registered and estimated macro-data and registered micro-data of registrationswithin Population Registers. Total foreigners, Moroccan and Ukrainian citizens. Italy, 2002-2012. Thousand values and percentages

Years	Macro-data from population (in thousand)		Micro-data (in thousand)			% of total foreign immigrants	
	Post-census update	Inter-census reconstruction	Total	Morocco	Ukraine	Morocco	Ukraine
2002	161.9	185.3	168.7	14.6	3.8	8.7	2.3
2003	424.9	444.9	392.8	32.4	41.3	8.2	10.5
2004	394.8	414.6	373.1	31.0	33.5	8.3	9.0
2005	282.8	293.9	267.6	21.4	15.1	8.0	5.7
2006	254.6	265.7	242.0	19.5	14.1	8.0	5.8
2007	515.2	530.5	490.4	19.7	14.8	4.0	3.0
2008	496.5	505.8	462.3	35.4	22.3	7.7	4.8
2009	406.7	415.1	392.5	30.7	21.9	7.8	5.6
2010	424.5	432.3	419.6	29.6	29.9	7.1	7.1
2011	354.3	…	354.3	23.9	17.9	6.7	5.0
2012	321.3	…	321.3	19.6	11.5	6.1	3.6

Source: *our calculations based on ISTAT data from Population Municipal Registers.*

Interesting results emerge when comparing Moroccan and Ukrainian recent trends. Among the former group, their weight on total foreigners' inflows has gradually diminished over time passing from 9% in 2002 to drop at 6% in 2012. The Ukrainian relative weight is instead particularly high in the 2002-2003 years. It is indeed after the Italian fourth numerically significant regularization that Ukrainian migrants finally emerge from irregularity and became a sizeable portion of Italian immigration. Known as the "great regularisation" (Strozza and Zucchetti, 2006; Bonifazi*et al.*, 2009), it saw more than 705 thousand applications, among whichnearly 647 thousand were accepted (Carfagna*et al.*, 2008). Among the latter, more than 100 and around 50 thousands were granted to Ukrainians and Moroccans, respectively. The two groups have a very different profile. 85% and 84% of Ukrainians regularisations was granted to females and for household services' work activities, respectively. On the contrary, in the Moroccan case, women only represented 13% and household services' workers did not reach 20% (Carfagna*et al.*, 2008).

Looking again at table 2, we already noticed the important peak of Moroccan inflows in the period 2007-2010. This results from the 2006 Quota Decreewhich actually was a *de facto* regularization[1] and, to a less extent, from the 2009 Regularization (Law 102/2009) which only targeted domestic (*colf*) and caregiving (*badanti*) workers employed in Italian households[2].This regularization had a major impact on Ukrainians who, in 2010, reached almost 30 thousand registrations, a much higher number than those registered in contiguous years (i.e + 8 and + 12 thousands than 2009 and 2011 respectively).

However, looking at migration inflows as *proxied* by annual first residence permits, allows for appreciating the evolution of regular inflows according to demographic characteristics and reason to migrate.Accordingly, the major influx of both Moroccans and Ukrainians is observed in 2010: 65 thousand for Moroccans and 49 thousand for Ukrainians (table 3). As above-mentioned, this growth is imputable to the massive 2009 regularization, to which more than 295 thousand foreigners applied (more than 180 and 114 thousand for *colf*and*badanti* respectively). The number of Ukrainian and Moroccan applications equalled more than 37 and 36 thousand, respectively. They were the most numerous groups in terms of applications.

Table 3 – Annual inflows (first RPs) of non-EU citizens of Morocco and Ukraine by sex and age group. Italy, 2007-2012. Thousand values and percentages

Year	Absolute values (in thousand)	% of total annual inflow	% of women	% by age groups				
				< 18	18-29	30-44	45-59	60 +
Morocco								
2007	32.2	12.0	42.9	12.5	45.6	34.2	5.0	2.7
2008	32.9	11.5	47.6	18.6	33.9	28.7	8.9	9.7
2009	37.8	9.6	41.1	12.0	39.8	36.2	6.6	5.4
2010	65.0	10.9	39.3	14.0	31.5	42.2	8.4	4.0
2011	31.0	8.6	42.4	17.8	34.4	35.4	6.6	5.9
2012	21.6	8.2	49.7	20.9	33.7	31.1	6.7	7.6
Ukraine								
2007	24.0	9.0	79.0	7.4	18.7	33.6	37.7	2.6
2008	22.0	7.7	78.6	6.8	19.6	32.5	37.1	3.9
2009	39.4	10.0	83.6	4.0	20.7	31.1	38.5	5.5
2010	48.7	8.1	81.2	6.1	19.1	30.2	37.0	7.6
2011	15.7	4.3	67.1	16.0	26.7	27.8	23.5	6.0
2012	8.7	3.3	67.0	21.2	31.5	26.1	15.3	5.8

Source: *our calculations based on data from the Ministry of Interior revised and provided by ISTAT.*

After 2010, international migration inflows diminished, partly because of the on-going economic recession.This is confirmed when looking at the changes observed in the demographic characteristics and reasons for migration of new arrivals (table 3 and 4).In 2009 and 2010, the differences between Moroccans and Ukrainians are even more marked. The former are more likely being men (60%) and young (3 out of 4 are aged 18-44). Minors are 13% while old people aged 60 and plus are around 5% (table 3). The latter are mostly women (more than 80%) and aged 30 and over. An important quote of them (40%) is aged 45-59. In

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[1] Due to the very large number of applications, largely exceeding the 170 thousand established with the ordinary 2006 quota decree (DPCM 14/3/2006), an additional quota decree (quota decree-bis - DPCM 25/10/2006) was issued. Accordingly, another 350 thousand people were admitted, for a total of 520,000 applications. So, the first 520,000 applications made before 21/7/2006 were accepted (to which one should add other 30 thousand seasonal workers). It can be considered as a *de facto* regularization given that the large majority of migrants were already present in the country. Indeed, among others, the obligation to first apply at the embassy in the country of origin implied long and demanding procedures to be filled.

[2] The procedure for emerging from irregularity took place in September 2009 and involved people who have been irregularly employed for at least 3 months.

2011 and 2012, a less unbalanced gender profile is observed for both groups. In 2012, Moroccan women represent almost 50% while Ukrainian women are still the majority (65%) but less pronounced than in previous years. Aged people are also found in a lower percentage while minors have the highest percentage ever which is even higher than that of Moroccans.

Table 4 – Annual inflows (first RPs) of non-EU citizens of Morocco and Ukraine by reason of issue. Italy, 2007-2012. Percentage values

Years	Morocco				Ukraine			
	Labour	Family	Other	Total	Labour	Family	Other	Total
Absolute values (in thousand)								
2007	18.9	12.6	0.8	32.2	19.2	4.3	0.5	24.0
2008	14.2	17.9	0.9	32.9	18.1	3.5	0.4	22.0
2009	21.7	15.6	0.6	37.8	34.2	4.7	0.5	39.4
2010	38.4	25.1	1.5	65.0	40.3	7.3	1.1	48.7
2011	12.7	16.8	1.6	31.0	8.3	6.2	1.3	15.7
2012	5.9	14.3	1.4	21.6	2.6	4.9	1.3	8.7
% by reason for the issue of residence permit								
2007	58.6	39.0	2.4	100.0	80.1	17.9	2.0	100.0
2008	43.0	54.4	2.6	100.0	82.2	16.1	1.7	100.0
2009	57.4	41.1	1.5	100.0	86.9	11.9	1.2	100.0
2010	59.1	38.7	2.2	100.0	82.8	14.9	2.3	100.0
2011	40.9	54.0	5.1	100.0	52.7	39.2	8.1	100.0
2012	27.3	66.2	6.5	100.0	29.6	55.9	14.5	100.0
% of women								
2007	26.1	68.2	42.3	42.9	84.0	57.8	68.0	79.0
2008	25.1	65.2	50.1	47.6	82.9	57.9	66.7	78.6
2009	22.8	66.6	42.3	41.1	87.4	57.4	65.5	83.6
2010	24.6	61.9	37.6	39.3	86.1	56.5	64.8	81.2
2011	16.2	62.6	38.0	42.4	74.8	56.6	67.4	67.1
2012	21.7	62.2	40.4	49.7	74.1	61.9	71.9	67.0

Source: *our calculations based on data from the Ministry of Interior revised and provided by ISTAT.*

Recently, the number of first residence permits issued for work reasons shows significant variations. In both groups, they are less than 20 thousand in 2007-2008 to reach the peak of around 40 thousand in 2010 and drastically dropped in the last two years of observation (table 4). In 2012, they equalled less than 6 and 3 thousand for Moroccan and Ukrainian migrants, respectively. A similar but less marked pattern affected the amount of first residence permits issued for family reasons. Consequently, in 2011-2012 first residence permits were issued significantly more for family than work reasons to Moroccans. A more marked pattern is observed among Ukrainians. In the period 2007-2010, issued permits for work reasons were the very large majority of all first residence permits (more than 80%) to decrease at 53% in 2011 and drop at 30% in 2012. In the latter year, the majority of (few) new permits was indeed released for family reasons (56%).

Adopting a gender approach is fundamental for capturing differences in the two groups (figure 1). While the majority of Moroccan women was granted a residence permit for family reasons (from 60% to 80%), the very large majority of Ukrainian women obtained it for work reasons (more than 85% in the period 2007-2010). Such differences narrowed within recent years when also Ukrainian women inflows are mostly occurring on a family basis (more than 50% in 2012). A similar pattern applies to men. Till 2010, work reasons were the primary motivation for getting residence permits in both groups while after 2010, family reunification became predominant (figure 1).

Figure 1 – Percentage of annual inflows (first RPs) of non-EU citizens of Morocco and Ukraine by reason for the issue, distinctly by sex. Italy, 2007-2012. Percentage values
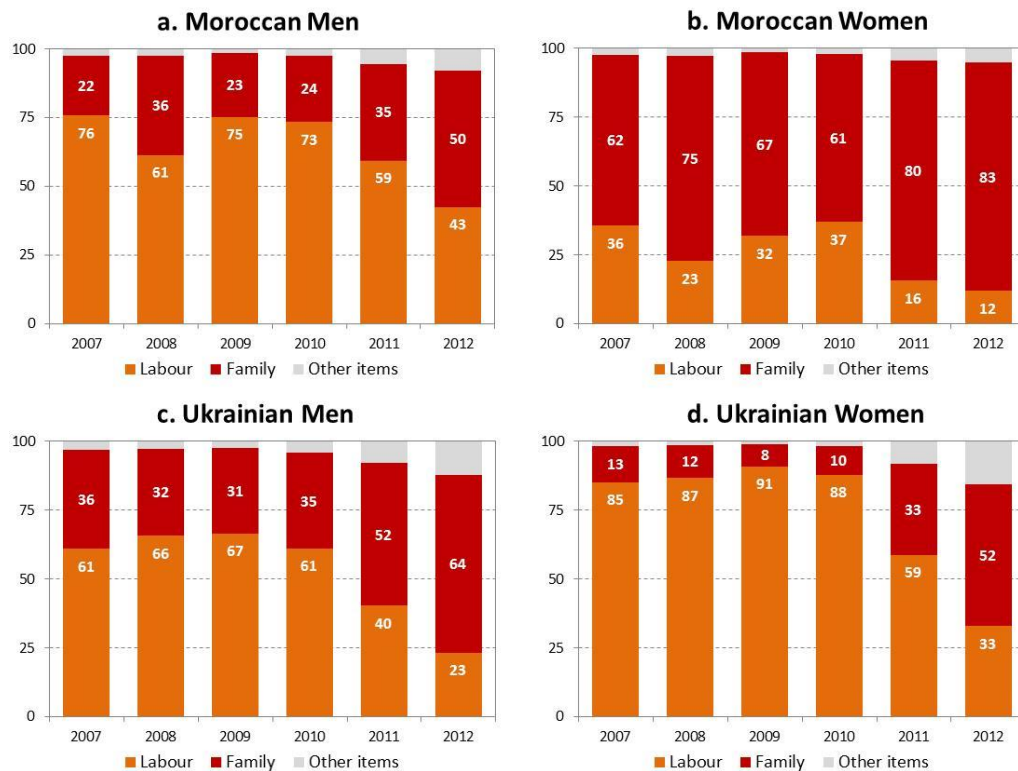
Source: *our calculations based on data from the Ministry of Interior revised and provided by ISTAT.*

Over time, no change is instead observed on different typologies of granted permits by sex: among Moroccans, women are around 20% and more than 60% among permits granted respectively for work and family permits. Among Ukrainians, women prevalence is more marked among work than family permits (table 4). As a matter of fact, the change of the gender composition of first residence permits seem being attributable to the variation in the weight of different residence permits' typologies. As far as the economic recession is concerned, work permits diminished and thus the new arrivals of both Moroccans and Ukrainians are much more linked to family reasons as well as they are less gender unbalanced and include a larger shareof minors (the latter being gender-balanced).

2.3. Demographic and spatial characteristics of Moroccan and Ukrainian populations

By looking at the Ukrainian and Moroccan immigration stock as *proxied* by residence permits statistics allows for appreciating the growing amount of regular stayers. In particular, their numbers tend to peak after all regularizations (figure 2), the most important case concerns the peak of 2003 due to the big regularization of 2002 (ex Bossi-Fini law). It is worth noting as the presence of minors is extremely relevant among Moroccans while is still of minor importance for Ukrainians. The Moroccan presence dates indeed back 30 years ago while Ukrainian entries have been largely characterized (at least until 2010) by entries for work reasons.

More in details, the Moroccan growth registered in the last two years is only due to the arrival of minors through family reunification channels and to Moroccans born in Italy (12,400 and 11,900 in 2011 and 2012 respectively). Also among Ukrainians, the recent growth is more related to arrivals of young people which however do still represent a minor part in the whole Ukrainian population.

Figure 2 – Trends of adult and total Moroccans and Ukrainians holder of residence permits (RPs). Italy, 31st December2001-2012. Absolute values

a. Morocco   **b. Ukraine**
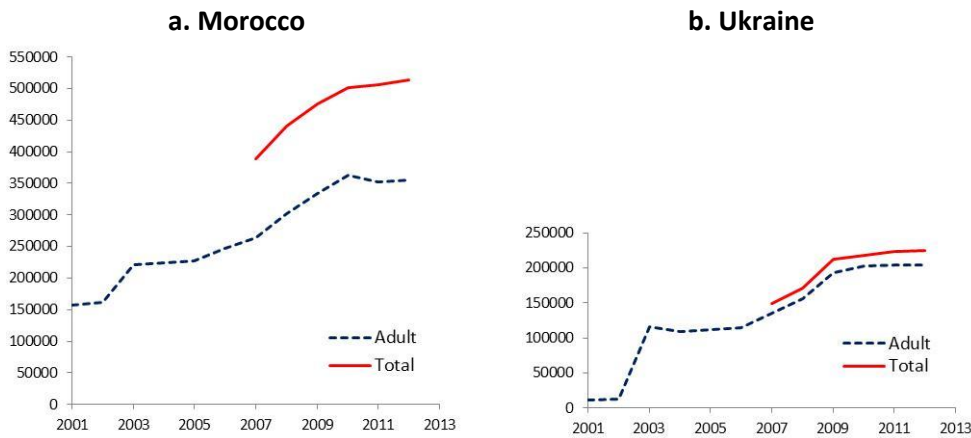
Source: *data of the Ministry of Interior revised and provided by ISTAT.*

Their age pyramids represent a synthetic and analytic way to get an immediate understanding of demographic differences between the two migrant groups (figure 3). The Moroccan pyramid is large at the bottom (depending of both family reunifications and births in Italy) to diminish progressively till 15-19 years of age and increase again till the modal age, that is 30-34 for women and 35-39 for men. There is an evident unbalance in terms of gender among the working age population with a large prevalence of men.

The Ukrainian age pyramid is a case in point. The very large women prevalence is particularly evident starting from 35 years of age to signal the significant presence of middle aged women (with a modal age of 50-54 years of age). The bottom of the pyramid is instead very thin due to the very scarce presence of children, at least those aged less than 20. Indeed, the gender balance in the 20-29 age group seem signalling also here a large number of children arriving with their parents or following their aged mothers.

If the mean age of regular Moroccans does not reach 30 years of ages without significant differences by sex, among Ukrainians, it is higher than 42 with large differences between men (31.5) and women (higher than 45) (table 5). Such gap is due to the scarce weight of Ukrainian underage women (less than 6% vs. 24% among men).

Figure 3 – Population pyramids for Moroccans and Ukrainians who have a residence permit or are inserted into that of a parent. Italy, 31th December 2012. Percentage sex and age distribution

a. Morocco   **b. Ukraine**
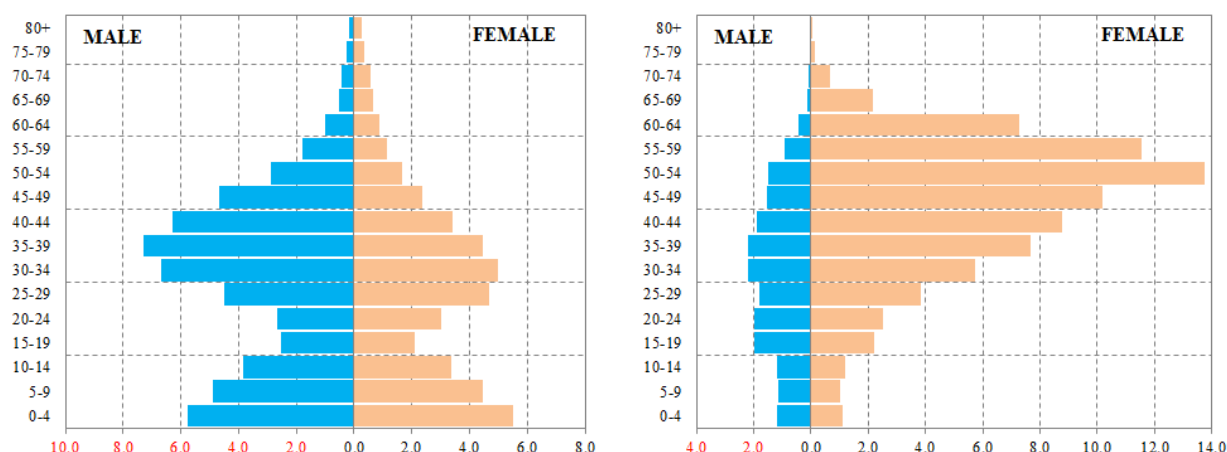
Source: *our calculations based on data from the Ministry of Interior revised and provided by ISTAT.*

Around two out of three regular Moroccan migrants have a permanent residence permit vs. around one out of two among Ukrainians (table 5). Intuitively, migrants with permanent residence permits have peculiar characteristics indicating a more stable presence on the territory together with a high presence of family members.

Table 5 – Demographic characteristics of Moroccans, Ukrainians and other Third Countries Nationals who have a residence permit (RP) or are inserted into that of a parent, separately fortypeofresidence permit. Italy, 31th December 2012

Values and Indices	Morocco			Ukraine			Other Third Countries		
	Tempo-rary RP	Perma-nent RP	Total	Tempo-rary RP	Perma-nent RP	Total	Tempo-rary RP	Perma-nent RP	Total
No. of RPs	184,513	328,861	513,374	114,000	110,588	224,588	1,420,061	1,606,213	3,026,274
% by type of RP	35.9	64.1	100.0	50.8	49.2	100.0	46.9	53.1	100.0
TOTAL									
% female	43.4	44.1	43.9	78.0	81.7	79.8	47.6	48.4	48.0
Mean age	31.4	28.8	29.7	40.8	44.2	42.4	31.6	31.3	31.5
% under 18	20.8	36.4	30.8	9.6	8.8	9.2	17.8	29.7	24.1
% 18-34	39.8	21.7	28.2	25.4	14.1	19.9	43.3	22.9	32.4
% 35-54	30.9	34.2	33.0	44.7	50.2	47.4	31.8	39.0	35.6
% 55 and over	8.6	7.7	8.0	20.3	26.8	23.5	7.1	8.5	7.8
Dependency ratio[a]	29.4	55.3	44.9	11.3	11.1	11.2	21.2	39.8	30.4
Child-woman ratio[b]	35.8	50.9	45.0	6.2	5.0	5.6	19.7	27.7	23.6
MALE									
Mean age	31.3	30.3	30.7	30.8	32.5	31.5	30.6	31.3	31.0
% under 18	19.2	34.1	28.7	22.2	24.3	23.2	17.9	30.3	24.4
% 18-34	40.7	18.0	26.2	39.7	26.6	33.8	46.2	20.9	32.9
% 35-54	34.3	39.5	37.7	31.2	39.9	35.1	30.7	41.2	36.2
% 55 and over	5.8	8.3	7.4	7.0	9.1	7.9	5.2	7.6	6.5
FEMALE									
Mean age	31.4	26.9	28.5	43.6	46.8	45.2	32.7	31.4	32.0
% under 18	22.9	39.2	33.4	6.1	5.4	5.7	17.7	29.1	23.8
% 18-34	38.6	26.4	30.7	21.4	11.3	16.3	40.0	25.0	32.0
% 35-54	26.3	27.5	27.1	48.5	52.5	50.6	33.0	36.6	34.9
% 55 and over	12.1	6.9	8.8	24.0	30.8	27.4	9.3	9.3	9.3

Notes: (a)Population under 15 and over 65 years old per 100 people 15-64 years old. (b) Children under 5 years old per 100 women 15-49 years old.

Source: *our calculations based on data from the Ministry of Interior revised and provided by ISTAT.*

Among Third Country Nationals, the percentage of minors is almost 30% for permanent and less than 18% for temporary residence permit holders. The quote of people aged 35-54 (potential parents) is close to 40% for permanent permit holders while in temporary permit holders, the quote of people aged 18-34 prevails (43%). Both dependency ratio and child-woman ratio are higher among permanent permit holders as well, for which the gender structure is obviously more balanced.

Such differential characteristics between temporary and permanent permit holders are clearly reflected in the Moroccan group. Also the fact that women with permanent permit have a lower mean agethan those withtemporary permits(27 versus31 years of age) is probably in linewith the hypothesis that they often are daughtersandwivesoffirst migrants, usuallymen. The valuesof thedependencyratioofchild-woman ratioof Moroccansare higherthan those recordedfor all other migrant groups.Also, they are especially highamong those holding a permanent RP. The regular Moroccan presence seems thus family oriented and especially for those holding a permanent residence permit. AmongUkrainians, the owners ofpermanent permitsare peoplewith a longer presence in the country than those with a temporary permit. However, it cannot be said whether they have more stable roots in the country. Indeed, they do not only show a more unbalanced gender composition but also the share of minors and of people aged 18-34 is less significant compared to those who hold temporary permits. Without any doubt, the differences between Ukrainians and Moroccans do not depend on the different composition by type of permit but rather on the different migration models and strategies as well on the different length of stay of the two diasporas in Italy. Moroccanimmigrationis today linked to family reunification dynamics and births from Moroccan parents in Italy. Immigrationfrom Ukraine has rather a more individual trait and – given the peculiar role of first-migrants identified by middle aged women, married or with previous marriage experiences – , it can be hypothesize that *de facto*family reunifications will mostly involve adult children for completing studies and/or looking for a job.

On the basis of residence permits' data, it is possible to observe the spatial distribution of the two migrant groups in the Italian territory at a provincial level (NUTS 3), i.e. 103 provinces (table 6). Again, large differences are observed. Moroccans live mainly in the North of Italy (73%) and the first 5 province all belong to this area: Turin (6.4%) in Piedmont, Milan (6.0%), Bergamo (4.9%) and Brescia in Lombardy, Modena (4.2%) in Emilia Romagna. Ukrainians are much more widespread among areas. In both the Center and the South of Italy, their presence is higher than that of Moroccans. They are mainly concentrated in the Campania region (more than 15%) and especially in the provinces of Naples (10.2%) and Salerno (3.5%) (which respectively rank 1st and 4th in terms of Ukrainian presence). An important presence is then found in Milan (9.4%) and Rome (8.9%) (2nd and 3rd).

Both groups are characterized by a high presence in metropolitan provinces (less than 24% for Moroccans and more than 37% for Ukrainians) and between them, Rome and Milan attract respectively 33.5% and 49% of Ukrainians and Moroccans respectively.

The statistical data presented here allow us to track average profiles clearly distinguished between immigrants from Morocco and Ukraine.

The Moroccan immigration in Italy dates back far enough in time (about 30-40 years ago), but continued to be numerically relevant also in recent years. It is characterized by the initial arrival of young males almost always alone and in search of fortune, only after the mid-90s the migration for family reunion has gained great importance, characterized by the female prevalence. With the stabilization of presences the gender structure has gradually rebalanced, so that today there is only a slightly displacement in favour of men. The high percentage of minors confirms the stabilization of Moroccan immigration and the importance of the families, for a community that still continues to have quite high fertility levels, much higher than those of the Italian population. Over time has increased the Moroccans' concentration in the northern regions of the country, where the range of employment opportunities are broader than in the other Italian regions and increased the chances of stabilization and integration.

The Ukrainian immigration to Italy is instead relatively recent. It has origin in the late '90s, assumed quantitative relevance with the big regularization of 2002 and consolidated its importance in the following years. Clear-cut is the demographic characterization. This immigration is composed prevalently by women over forty who often leave in the origin country their husband and grown children, providing financial support through their work abroad. Not infrequently they are women who have experienced the end of a conjugal union and have the need to provide for the maintenance of their children. They found work mainly at the Italian families residing in the metropolitan areas of Naples, Milan and Rome but also in other local municipalities, especially in Campania and Lombardy. They are engaged in family collaboration, treatment and care of the sick and elderly. Only recently, as an effect of the economic crisis that reduced the labour demand, the immigration of minors has assumed some importance but they remain, however, a residual component between the Ukrainians living in Italy. In the last years a part of the attendance of young adults consists of children who have reached their mother in Italy to complete their studies or to find work. If at first time Ukrainian presence could be considered temporary, recently it is increased the probability of staying in the territory also due to mixed marriages.

Table 6 – Geographic distribution, main provinces of presence and indices of geographic dissimilarity of Moroccans, Ukrainians and other Third Countries foreignersholding residence permits(including minors registered within parents' permits). Italy, 31th December 2012

Indices of geographical distribution	Morocco	Ukraine	other Third Countries
% by geographic division			
- North-West	41.7	27.7	36.7
- North-East	31.3	25.2	27.9
- Centre	14.1	20.8	24.8
- South	9.3	24.6	7.4
- Islands	3.5	1.7	3.1
% in metropolitan provinces[a]	23.6	37.4	38.1
% in world provinces[b]	33.5	48.9	58.3
Minimum number of provinces needed to achieve the:			
- 25 per cent of the people	5	3	3
- 50 per cent of the people	15	12	13
- 75 per cent of the people	37	32	33
Top 5 provinces by number of people:			
- 1st province	Turin	Naples	Milan
(% of people)	6.4	10.2	12.7
- 2nd province	Milan	Milan	Rome
(% of people)	6.0	9.4	9.4
- 3rd province	Bergamo	Rome	Brescia
(% of people)	4.9	8.9	4.4
- 4th province	Brescia	Salerno	Florence
(% of people)	4.4	3.5	3.1
- 5th province	Modena	Brescia	Bergamo
(% of people)	4.2	3.4	3.0
Index of dissimilarity (%) with other TCs[c]	27.0	27.6	
Index of dissimilarity (%) with Italians[c]	32.0	28.2	27.2

Notes: *(a) The twelve metropolitan provinces are: those related to the nine areas defined by law 142 (i.e. the provinces of Turin, Genoa, Milan, Venice, Bologna, Florence, Rome, Naples and Bari) were added 3 islands provinces (those of Palermo, Catania and Cagliari). (b) Percentage of residents (or present) in the provinces of Rome and Milan, with respect to the total number of residents (or present) in twelve metropolitan provinces. (c) The relative index of dissimilarity (IRD) is calculated as half the sum of the absolute differences between two distributions for the province. The geographical distribution of the considered foreign community is compared with that of the rest of Third Countries foreigners and that of the Italian residents.*

Source: *our calculations based on data from the Ministry of Interior revised and provided by ISTAT.*

The two groups show significant differences not only inmigratory trends, reasons and strategies, as soon as in demographic characteristics and territorial distribution in Italy,but also in their insertion in the Italian labour market.. While Moroccans are inserted in a wide range of occupations and a significant proportion of them is also self-employed, Ukrainian are strongly characterized by an impressive concentration of workers in household services.

3. Integration trends of Ukrainian and Moroccan migrants in Italy

In order to measure the level of integration of Moroccan and Ukrainian immigrants living in Italy, two set of results are here presented. The first one is based on the *ISMU Sample Survey* of 2008-09 and aims at comparing the degree of integration of migrants in Italy with respect to the cultural, economic, political and social dimensions (sub-paragraph 3.1). The second one is instead based on the *INTERACT Quantitative Study of 2013-14*, aiming at comparing the level of integration of a 'number of migrant communities living in selected EU states' (the so-called 'migrant corridors') in the following dimensions: labour market, education and access to citizenship[3] (sub-paragraph 3.2).

Both studies use composite indicators for measuring integration in different dimensions. In so doing, they allow for comparing and ranking statistical units by integration dimension. The core difference between the two is that they use different statistical units of analysis. ISMU indicators measure and compare the integration between migrant communities living in Italy, i.e. at a national level. INTERACT indicators focus instead on migrant corridors, at an international level. Though they rely on different statistical units, in both cases it is possible to compare the performance of Moroccan migrants with that of Ukrainian ones. Intuitively, their position in the total ranking is instead to be interpreted differently.

Further differences between the two studies are worth mentioning. The ISMU study relies on one *ad hoc* national dataset focusing on migration. Consequently, it contains a large number of migration specific questions useful for detecting integration patterns and determinants. In particular, the survey contains specific questions which are useful for detecting the role played by origin determinants at a micro-level. In particular, we will investigate whether economic, affective and familiar ties are associated, *ceteris paribus*, with the level of integration of Moroccan and Ukrainian migrants in Italy. The *INTERACT Quantitative Survey* relies instead on a wide range of cross-country internationally comparable datasets (e.g. Labour Force Surveys). Other differences are found in the methodology used to build-up composite indicators, population of reference, etc.

3.1 The cultural, economic, political and social integration: results from the ISMU Sample Survey

The *ISMU Sample survey* was conducted within 32 territorial units (municipalities, metropolitan areas and provinces), representative of the five different Italian geographic divisions, and through a structured self-filled questionnaire (PAPI technique).More than 12,000 adult foreign people were interviewed regardless of their legal status (regular and irregular), between the end of 2008 and the beginning of 2009. Among them, there wereabout 1,400 Moroccans and 800 Ukrainians.

The survey itself presents some limitations: it does not consider the autochthonous population and it is not possible to make any comparison between natives and immigrants; it allows cross-sectional studies only and no longitudinal considerations are available for the integration process and its determinants. Nevertheless it permits to evaluate and measure the integration condition of immigrants and its predictors.

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[3] For a detailed review of both studies, please see Cesareo e Blangiardo, 2009 and Di Bartolomeo et al., 2015, respectively.

Cesareo and Blangiardo (2009) compare immigrants' integration by citizenship in the Italian scenarioconsidering the following dimensions and related information:

a) cultural dimension: knowledge and use of the Italian language; access and interest for Italian News; sense of belonging to Italian society; self-perception of well-being in Italy; level of sharing of some ideals;

b) social dimension: friendship relations; participation to group-associations; level of appreciation of the Italian lifestyle; marital and fertility intentions within the Italian context;

c) political dimension: legal status; opinion about the importance to acquire Italian citizenship;

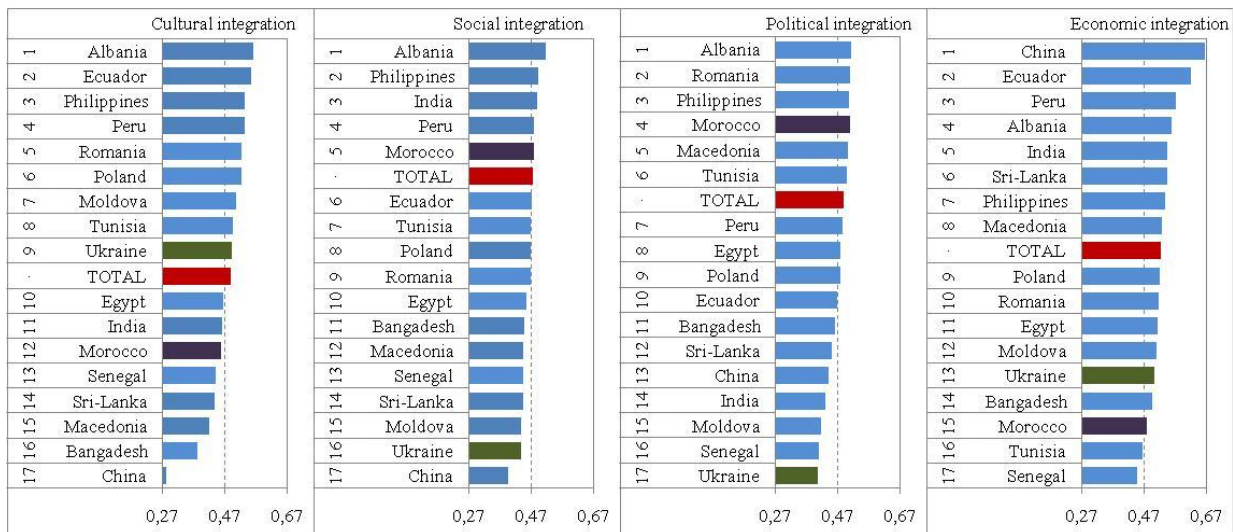d) economic dimension: housing and occupational conditions; saving capacity.

Methodologically, the single modalities of each variable have been ordered according to an increasing level of integration. For each variable, theyassign to each individual the higher score the larger is the quota of people who live in a worst condition of integration or rather the lower score the more numerous are those in an equal or better condition of integration. Scores of all variables have beensummarized by an arithmetic mean within each of the four observed dimensions in order to estimate the relative indexes of integration, respectively: cultural integration, social integration, political integration, economic integration. The values of indexes were normalized between 0 and 1, that correspond absence and maximum integration respectively (for a more detailed description of the method see Cesareo, Blangiardo, 2009). The estimated indexes assume relative values that are comparable among sub-samples of interviewees according to their characteristics (e.g. citizenship, place of residence, education, occupation).

Focusing our attention on Moroccan and Ukrainian groups, figure 4shows the placement on the list of the most representative immigrant groups according to the scores in the four dimensions of integration described above.

Generally speaking, Moroccans are placed in an average position of the list. Compared with Ukrainians, they show a lower performance in the cultural and economic dimension, while they better perform in the social and political ones. Their worst position is observed in the economic dimension, as to their uncertain housing and occupational conditions and to their low saving capacity. Moroccans also achieve a level of integration below the immigrants' mean value into the cultural dimension showing, among the others, a modest knowledge and use of the Italian language. Conversely, they assume high positions in the social and political integrations. Moroccans have stronger network relationships and higher levels of participation to group-associations than the other groups. Moreover, they declare wide spread marital and fertility intentions within the Italian context and positive opinions about the importance to acquire Italian citizenship; in adding they assume high level of appreciation of the Italian lifestyle. This group, one of the most traditional and stable in Italy, is characterized by high levels of regularity. Ukrainians are placed in the last positions of integration. The cultural integration assumes the best performances although with values slightly higher than the immigrants' average. They show a better knowledge and use of the Italian language than Moroccans. Moreover, they have a good sense of belonging to the Italian society. Like Moroccans, Ukrainians have uncertain housing and occupational conditions (thus low economic integration). In respect to Moroccans, they actively participate very little to the Italian society (thus low social integration) and show low interest to acquire Italian citizenship (thus the lowest political integration).

As above mentioned, the *ISMU Sample Survey*is particularly suitable for addressing INTERACT purposes, namely detecting the role played by origin determinants at a micro-level. Specifically, the survey contains a number of questions which investigate about the role played by familiar, economic and affective ties migrants keep with their state of origin. As follows, linear regression models verify their association with all four dimensions of integration for Moroccans and Ukrainians separately (table 8). Results have been controlled for basic demographic (sex, age), migration-related (length of stay), territorial (municipality and macro-area of residence) and human-capital (level of education) variables.

Figure 4 – Average immigrants' level of integration according to four dimensions and selected origin countries. Italy, 2008-09

	Cultural integration		Social integration		Political integration		Economic integration
1	Albania	1	Albania	1	Albania	1	China
2	Ecuador	2	Philippines	2	Romania	2	Ecuador
3	Philippines	3	India	3	Philippines	3	Peru
4	Peru	4	Peru	4	Morocco	4	Albania
5	Romania	5	Morocco	5	Macedonia	5	India
6	Poland	.	TOTAL	6	Tunisia	6	Sri-Lanka
7	Moldova	6	Ecuador	.	TOTAL	7	Philippines
8	Tunisia	7	Tunisia	7	Peru	8	Macedonia
9	Ukraine	8	Poland	8	Egypt	.	TOTAL
.	TOTAL	9	Romania	9	Poland	9	Poland
10	Egypt	10	Egypt	10	Ecuador	10	Romania
11	India	11	Bangadesh	11	Bangadesh	11	Egypt
12	Morocco	12	Macedonia	12	Sri-Lanka	12	Moldova
13	Senegal	13	Senegal	13	China	13	Ukraine
14	Sri-Lanka	14	Sri-Lanka	14	India	14	Bangadesh
15	Macedonia	15	Moldova	15	Moldova	15	Morocco
16	Bangadesh	16	Ukraine	16	Senegal	16	Tunisia
17	China	17	China	17	Ukraine	17	Senegal

0,27   0,47   0,67   0,27   0,47   0,67   0,27   0,47   0,67   0,27   0,47   0,67

Source: our elaborations on ISMU data, 2009.

Interesting results are observed in table 7. Persisting, positive and significant coefficients of the *length of stay* are observed in all models. The *age of respondents* assumes significant and slight negative coefficients in the four aspects of integration with few exceptions (it does not affect social and political integration of Moroccans). The joint discussion of such results can provide policy-makers with a better analysis of time-effect on integration. Generally speaking, immigrants' integration dimensions increase during the stay in the host country; however it is not sufficient time to pass to reach good levels of integration because age moves in an opposite way together with the negative return to scale of the process. For this reason, the integration of immigrants at very young ages is indispensable to reach the goal. *Women* are generally more significantly integrated than men in three out of four indicators; higher levels of *educational attainment*[4] are associated with higher levels of integration. No clear geographical pattern according to the *macro-area of residence*and no unidirectional patterns is observed looking at the *sizes of the residence municipality*[5].

Looking at migrants-origin ties, the first covariate considers the *family ties* of respondents. Both Moroccans and Ukrainians observed significant and negative lower propensityof being integrated in all the four observed dimensions when they present broken-families[6] rather than unified family ties (reference group). Interestingly, the same occurs for singles that assume also negative coefficients even if the effect is much more evident among Ukrainians than Moroccans[7]. The presence of the whole family in Italy somehow induces the immigrants to favour a positive process of integration.

The second aspect attains the *economic ties* and concerns the frequency to send remittances to the origin country. The results show different paths of significance in comparison to the family tie mentioned above even if the meaning of coefficients move in the same direction: the immigrants that send remittances occasionally or never (respectively weak or absent ties) have higher probability to be integrated than the ones that provide remittances regularly (strong tie). Obviously the highestcoefficients' values are observed in the economic integration and subsequently in the political integration while the

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[4]We consider compulsory school as "low" level of education; college or high school as "middle" level of education; university as "high" level of education.
[5] We consider: the metropolitan provincial capitals with at least 250 thousands of citizensas "large" municipalities; the other provincial capitals as "middle" ones; the other municipalities as "small" ones.
[6] Immigrants with broken families have part of all their family left behind in the country of origin.
[7] Moroccan singles are not significantly different from the reference group in the social and cultural integration.

frequency of remittances slightly affects the other two integration' dimensions. In other words, economic ties affect mainly a specific individual dimension of integration.

Table 7 – Immigrants' determinants of integration according to four dimensions. Regression analysis. Italy, 2008-09

Variables	Categories	Cultural integration				Social integration				Political integration				Economic integration			
		Ukraine		Morocco		Ukraine		Morocco		Ukraine		Morocco		Ukraine		Morocco	
		coef.	Sig.	coef.	Sig.	coef.	Sig.	coef.	Sig.	coef.	Sig.	coef.	Sig.	coef.	Sig.	coef.	Sig.
age		-0.001	*	-0.003	***	-0.003	***	0.000		-0.002	***	-0.001		-0.002	***	-0.003	***
lenght of stay		0.014	***	0.022	***	0.017	***	0.016	***	0.023	***	0.023	***	0.014	**	0.019	***
lenght of stay squared		-0.0001		-0.0004	***	-0.0000		-0.0004	***	-0.0001		-0.0004	***	-0.0000		-0.0003	***
Sex	Men	0		0		0		0		0		0		0		0	
	Women	0.072	***	0.054	***	0.037	*	0.047	***	0.054	***	0.052	***	0.032		0.017	
Macro-area of residence	North	0		0		0		0		0		0		0		0	
	Center	0.036	**	-0.007		0.011		0.031	***	-0.002		-0.017		-0.020		-0.021	
	South	0.052	***	-0.006		0.049	***	0.025	**	0.038	**	-0.019		-0.057	***	-0.052	***
Municipalities	Large	0		0		0		0		0		0		0		0	
	Middle	0.000		0.007		0.048	***	0.018	*	0.034	*	0.072	***	0.020		0.065	***
	Small	-0.054	***	-0.040	**	-0.016		-0.024	*	-0.002		0.058	***	-0.012		0.037	*
Education	Low	0		0		0		0		0		0		0		0	
	Middle	0.016		0.092	***	-0.002		0.041	***	-0.025		0.033	***	0.038	**	0.057	***
	High	0.061	***	0.107	***	0.021		0.056	***	-0.032	*	0.029	**	0.057	***	0.054	***
Type of family	Single	-0.037	*	0.009		-0.086	***	0.003		-0.089	***	-0.057	***	-0.112	***	-0.109	***
	Complete	0		0		0		0		0		0		0		0	
	Divided	-0.057	***	-0.055	***	-0.087	***	-0.047	***	-0.078	***	-0.060	***	-0.098	***	-0.087	***
Remittances in the country of origin	Regularly	0		0		0		0		0		0		0		0	
	Occasionally	0.029		0.027	*	-0.011		0.015		0.048	**	0.014		0.064	***	0.151	***
	Never	0.004		0.021	*	0.001		0.017		0.019		0.029	***	0.025		0.070	***
Sense of belonging to the country of origin	Much	0		0		0		0		0		0		0		0	
	Somewhat	0.044	*	0.032	**	0.034	**	0.031	**	0.028		0.009		0.038	**	0.006	
	Few	0.053	**	0.068	***	0.066	***	0.063	***	0.037		0.059	***	0.032		0.011	
	Nothing	0.059		0.101	**	0.003		0.048		0.016		0.000		-0.074		-0.077	
Interested in the country of origin	Much	0		0		0		0		0		0		0		0	
	Somewhat	0.011		0.005		0.043	***	0.024	**	0.045	**	0.022	**	0.043	**	0.004	
	Few	0.094	***	0.009		0.069	***	0.051	**	0.007		0.023		0.098	***	-0.047	
	Nothing	0.167	***	0.064	**	0.160	**	0.090	***	0.036		0.015		-0.071		-0.052	
Constant		0.346	***	0.361	0.000	0.419	***	0.302	***	0.372	***	0.309	***	0.467	***	0.399	***
R squared		0.199		0.295		0.263		0.191		0.251		0.362		0.183		0.233	
Number of cases		774		1,366		774		1,366		774		1,366		774		1,366	

Notes: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Source: our elaborations on ISMU data, 2009.

Finally, *affective ties* regard the two following variables in the model: the sense of belonging to and the involvement to what happens in the country of origin. The loweris the sense of belonging among Ukrainians and Moroccans the higheris the level of cultural and social integrations. The same occurs looking at political and economic integrations but with low levels of significance. Also in this case, the covariate included in the model affect differently the observed integration's dimensions.The latter variable included in the model presents higher coefficients among Ukrainians than Moroccans. As far as sense of belong concerns, a weak or absent involvement to what happen in the country of origin produces ahigher probability to be integrated in the destination country.

As a whole, these findings show that the lower the ties with the origin country the higher the level of integration in the society of destination. This applies with a different extent to all kinds of ties (economic, affective, and familiar) and all dimensions for both Moroccan and Ukrainian migrants. Migrants seem thus less incline to integrate when having stronger ties at the origin end.

3.2 Labour market, education and access to citizenship: results from the INTERACTStudy

The *INTERACT Quantitative Study* built synthetic indexes of integration which allows a comparison of the level of integration of migrants in EU Member States by dimension and by migration corridor. To this end,

Di Bartolomeo et al. (2015) identified a set of basic integration indicators for each dimension[8], drawing on relevant national datasets. Using the Principal Component Analysis technique, a synthetic index that allows the ranking of the immigrant corridors within each dimension was created. Such composite indicators were then normalized by ranking corridors from 0 to 1. The higher the rank, the better the integration. Indexes are computed both with raw indicators and with indicators which take into account the performance of natives in each country of destination, by so neutralizing the effect of the national context. They have been named 'absolute' and 'gap' indexes, respectively.Figure 5 presents the Index of Integration in the Labour Market dimension.

Figure 5– Integration Index of INTERACT migrant corridors, Labour Market, most recent years (c. 2012)
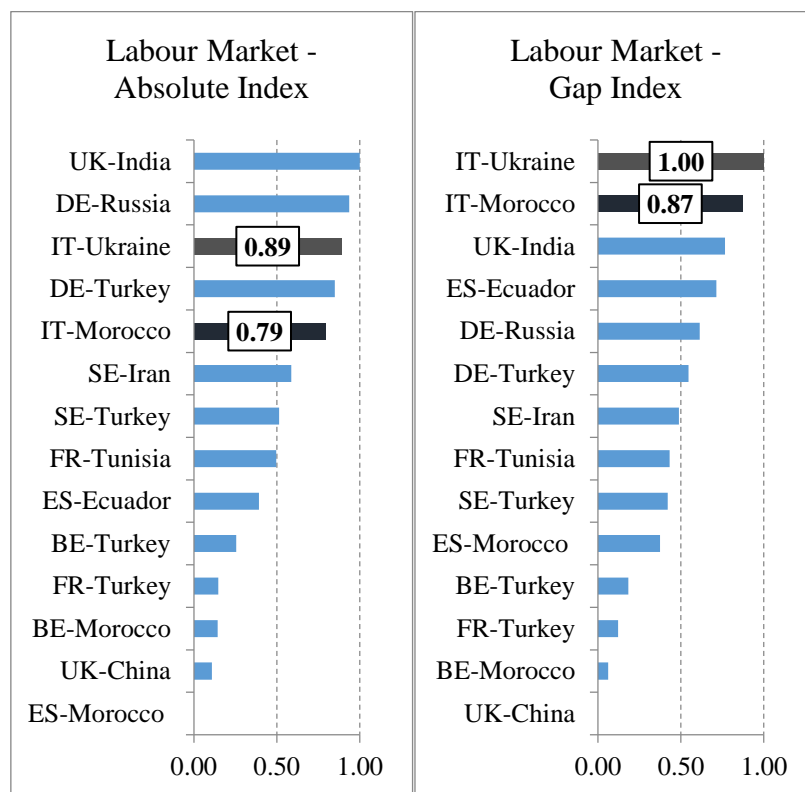
Source: Di Bartolomeo et al., 2015.

Interestingly enough, in the international panorama, these communities are among the best performers in host labour markets according to the indicators here used. In absolute terms, Ukrainian and Moroccan migrants rank 3rd and 5th, respectively.A partial explanation of these outcomes is to be found in destination countries' specificities and migration history. Unlike other EU countries, migration to Italy is still characterized by a high proportion of young working first generation migrants with very high employment and activity rates, even higher than their native counterparts. Unemployment rates instead do not significantly differ while the worst performances are observed with respect to the overqualificationrates, that are very high in both cases (table 8) (Reyneri and Fullin, 2011). Nevertheless, these two communities perform substantially better than other INTERACT migrant corridors also taking into account natives' performances.

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[8] The following indicators were used: employment rate, unemployment rate, activity rate and over-qualification rate (labour market); highest educational attainment, school enrolment rate at age 15-25 and at age 25-35, % of international students at age 20-24 (education); citizenship acquisition rate, % of naturalised citizens of the total born-abroad population (access to citizenship). For more details, see Di Bartolomeo et al., 2015.

Table 8 – Labour market basic indicators of people born in Ukraine, Morocco and Italy, Italy

Country of birth	Employment rate	Unemployment rate	Activity rate	Overqualification rate
Ukraine	67.3	7.6	72.8	81.4
Morocco	62.8	9.8	69.7	68.7
Italy	*58.7*	*7.1*	*63.2*	*13.4*

Source: Di Bartolomeo et al., 2015.

When looking at both education and access to citizenship indexes (figure 6 and 7, respectively), the situation is completely reversed. Here, Moroccan migrants perform significantly worse than all other migrant corridors. On the other hand, Ukrainian migrants rank in an intermediate position with respect to educational performancesand in one of the last positions regarding access to citizenship.

Figure6– Integration Index of INTERACT migrant corridors, Education, most recent years (c. 2012)
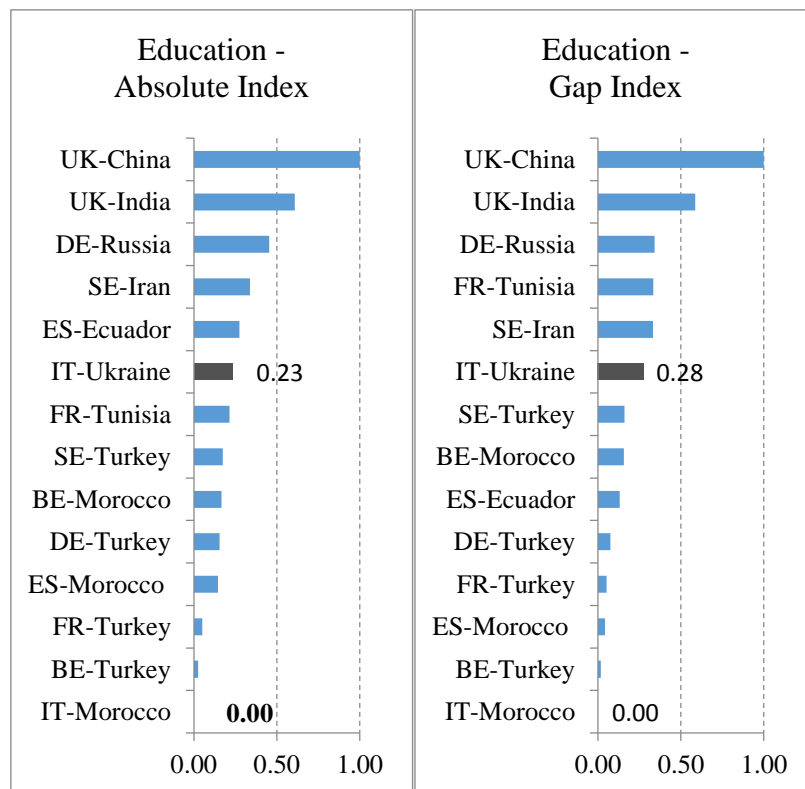
Source: Di Bartolomeo et al., 2015.

As to education, origin seems to have thus a stronger impact. Ukrainian migrants, as other migrants originating in post-Soviet states, show indeed high educational performances which however – as showed by previous results – frequently end in over-qualification jobs. On the contrary, Moroccan migrants living in Italy tend to be less qualified than other migrant corridors. Not only origin, but also destination – again – is important. Indeed, Moroccan migrants living in Italy perform significantly worse than other Moroccans

living in Belgium and Spain or other Maghreb migrants (Tunisians) living in France. It has been already noted as in Italy not only are Arab migrants' educations lower than average, but as the education level decreases over time, from old to young generations (Di Bartolomeo and Fargues, 2015). Here, specific labour market needs have indeed attracted unskilled labour since the 1980s. Small scale Italian industries and manufacturing activities – 33% of GDP, 2000 to 2010 – employed, instead, 49% Maghreb migrants over the same period (Di Bartolomeo and Fargues, 2015).

The degree of integration in the "access to citizenship" dimension (figure 7) is certainly connected to the degree of openness/restrictiveness of host citizenship laws and, accordingly, to the length of presence in the country. Our results confirm that Italy is still one of the countries where getting citizenship is one of the main constraints for migrants for both recent (Ukrainians) and well established communities (Moroccans). Origin seems here, thus, having a very limited importance.

Figure7– Integration Index of INTERACT migrant corridors, Access to citizenship, most recent years (c. 2012)
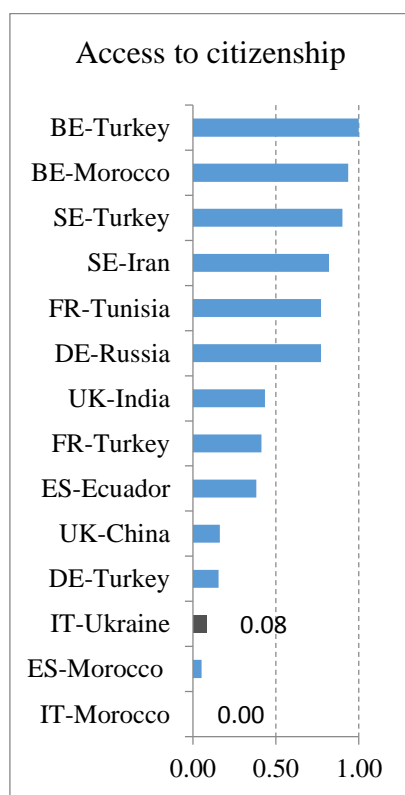
Source: Di Bartolomeo et al., 2015.

To look more in depth where do these patterns derive from, the following paragraph is dedicated to the results of the *INTERACT Qualitative Survey* which focuses on the complex links between institutional actors at destination and origin and their role in determining integration outcomes at destination.

4. Conclusions on integration levels and the role of *origin determinants*

This paper looked at the level of integration of Moroccan and Ukrainian migrants living in Italy in a large number of dimensions. It tried to shed light on its levels and determinants with specific focus on the role played by origin factors. Such factors include the ties between migrants and their country of origin, the characteristics of migrants as coming from specific countries. To this aim, two different sources of data

have been used to quantitatively assess the level of integration in a number of dimensions: the *ISMU Sample Survey* (Cesareo and Blangiardo, 2009) and the *INTERACT Quantitative Study* (Di Bartolomeo et al., 2015).

In the *labour market*, at an international level, both Moroccan and Ukrainian migrants living in Italy show high levels of integration. Few migrant corridors perform better (Indian migrants in United Kingdom; Russian and Turkish migrants in Germany). Once controlled for natives' performances (gap Index), they are even at the top positions of the Labour Market Index.

These extremely positive performances seem due more to destination than origin factors. Indeed, with few exceptions, similar positions are found in all migrant communities living in the same destination country while, on the contrary, different performances are instead showed by the same national group living in different contexts. As mentioned above, Italian labour market specificities and migration history seem largely explain this pattern. Attracted by a huge demand for low qualified workers in certain economic sectors, migration to Italy is still largely composed of first-generation working migrants with very high employment and activity rates, higher than those of natives. The latter factors are certainly driving factors in our results.

Conversely, origin determinants have presumably a lower impact. Specifically, bilateral agreements and preferential quotas assigned to Moroccans do not seem making any difference. Moroccan migrants do not perform significantly different from Ukrainian ones neither in terms of the Labour Market Index nor of basic indicators. On the other hand, the role played by organizations appears relevant in helping migrants finding an employment. Not a good employment, not a well-remunerated employment but *just*an employment. These results refer indeed to the condition of migrants in terms of labour market outcomes but do not look at other aspects of migrants' labour and economic life, namely wages, job conditions, etc., which are instead the focus of the economic dimension of the ISMU survey.

The ISMU survey allows indeed for deepening the *economic* integration of Moroccan and Ukrainian migrants in Italy on additional aspects (other than labour market ones), i.e. housing, saving capacity, etc. However, given its national dimension, nothing can be said on the relative performance of these two communities from an international comparative perspective. In Italy, compared with other migrant communities, Moroccans and Ukrainians suffer from very poor economic outcomes. They are in relative low position showing as origin characteristics represent here a major constraint compared with other nationalities.

In the *education* dimension, thinks do differ. At an international level, Ukrainians living in Italy show good levels of integration also once controlled for natives' performance. Moroccan migrants are instead in the last positions of both absolute and gap indexes. In all other countries of destination but the UK (where selective policies do likely make the difference), migrants' performances largely differ according to country of origin. Origin determinants – in terms of conditions at home – seem thus to prevail, here. Without any exceptions in the absolute index and with only two exceptions in the gap index, migrants from the Southern-Eastern Mediterranean all rank in the low-median part of the ranking whereas the other part is composed of migrants born in the rest of the world. On the other hand, origin policies and NGOs' role is unclear. Much of the efforts put by organizations in helping Moroccans in Italy are devoted to fostering people studying abroad as well as to increasing the degree of diplomas' recognition. Actually, the *INTERACT Quantitative Study* reveals and confirms how these two domains are the most critical in the Moroccan case. It is worth signalling that performances' outcomes are here the great absent both in terms of assessment (they are not inserted in the Education Index) and policy.

As showed by the *ISMU Sample Survey*, *cultural* integration is a main obstacle to Moroccan integration, result which is also probably linked to the clash between Moroccan and Italian integration policies in cultural terms. On the other hand, Ukrainians are found to be in a difficult position with respect to *social*

and *political* integration, too. The former can be partially attributed to the working conditions of a part of them (caregivers who cohabit with their employers and are often deprived of their autonomy and independence), while the latter is likely to be attributable to the fact that massive migration from Ukraine is a quite recent phenomenon. As a matter of fact, their relative position compared to other migrant (oldest) communities tends being weaker. It is worth noting, however, as both dimensions are almost absent from the Italian integration political agenda at a state level.

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