



Interdialogue and Migration.
A cultural interpretation through an overview
on welcoming practices and work activities in Italy and Calabria

University of Calabria, Italy

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Section I. The Interdialogue in front of migrations

1. The Interdialogue in front of migrations **5**

- 1.1 The Exodus as bridge between Freedom and Border*
- 1.2. The Human Migration into an interdialogue approach*

Section II. The territorial welcoming in Italy

2. The instruments of Welcoming in Italy: Sprar, Siproimi, Sai **12**

3. Differences in Sprar and Siproimi: from 2018 to March 2021 **15**

- 3.1. The decrease of Municipalities involved in Reception with Siproimi System in 2019*
- 3.2. The decrease of welcoming by geographical area in Italy since 2019*
- 3.3. The available places of the first reception's centers since 2019*
- 3.4. The Closed Centers between 2018 and 2019*
- 3.5. Cost reduction for single guest*

4. Last consideration about the new SAI 2021 **20**

5. Two emblematic case-studies of First Welcoming in Italy: positive alternative solutions **22**

- a. The MAD project in Val Susa*
- b. The IN.RE.TE Consortium in the Canavese*

6. The CAS between SPRAR, SIPROIMI and SAI: what future for the first reception system? **24**

- 6.1. Good practices shaped by the welcoming laboratories*

Section Three. Welcoming and Work Practices in Italy: an overview on the agriculture sector in Calabria

7. The presence of immigrants in the labor market in Italy **28**

- a. The presence of foreign workers in the agricultural sector*
- b. The origin of foreign workers and location by geographical area*
- c. Types of work in Italy: a closer look at the agricultural sector*
- d. The areas of origin for agricultural workers and their location by group*
- e. The Duration of Work in Agriculture*

8. The ripartition of migrants for activities after 2017 **34**

- 8.1. The characteristics of agricultural work, with a special look at Southern Italy*
- 8.2. Foreign labor in agriculture*

9. A look in Calabria: migrants and workers in agriculture **37**

- a. Numbers of migrants in 2017-2020*
- b. Foreign Workers for Provinces in 2017-2020*
- 9.1. Migrants in agriculture of Calabria*
 - a. Declared units of agricultural workers in 2017 and 2020*
 - b. Days of (declared) seasonal work in 2017 and 2020*
 - c. Migrants' provenience and types of works*
 - d. Logistic conditions*
- 9.2 Good signs: towards the regularization of the labor market and new foreign enterprises?*

10. Guidelines to Improve Better Social Conditions	40
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Bibliography	42
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Introduction

This Report by Unical is partially grounded on the Unical Research led by Alessandra Corrado, Maria Francesca D'Agostino and Gilda Catalano in the last two years. The last five months of this Research have received the research support from Alf. The research is not finished yet: we need more time to check comparative results and to have many more interviews.

The final results are still open.

Nevertheless, it is possible to add some certain points, derived from this research in the period february-july 2021, linked to period of ALF's Grant.

1. There is the attempt to use a new cultural Framework of Research, based on the concept of Inter-dialogue, rather than the strong category of Identity (see: pages 5-10).

2. The necessity to understand the Italian complexity of Welcoming System that has changed several times in last six-seven years. At the moment the new System, called SAI, seems to be a return to the SPRAR system and a detachment from SIPROIMI - although it is too early to confirm it (see: pages 12-21). It was also possible to shape a list of good recommendations by case studies and interviewees (see: pages 22-26). In the Final Report of all articles, the paper by D'Agostino and the comment on this paper by Gilda Catalano move towards this direction.

3. The urgency to find some specific issues, specifically focusing on the integration of migrants within social system where decent works have an important role. That is why an enlargement of Corrado research when we talk about agricultural system and its innovative practices. Agriculture sector is the context of exploitation, but it can become a new path when cooperation among actors is improved. Here, it was possible to find some good results and recommendations, too (see: pages 28-41).

4. In this Report, a fourth issue is concerned with the link of this Research granted by Anna Lindh Foundation to the climate transformations, as specific driver for migration, especially in Euro-Med Region. For two reasons:

A. In this case, the stories of interviews told of unfertile lands, scarcity of waters, fragile resources, high temperatures: all this is linked to environmental changes where the climate is the syntetical indicator at a global scale. B. Besides, we add that it is difficult to find a sharp distinction between economic, political or social drivers, above all because these issues are embedded with the environment. Environment is the whole where we are immersed, as just to sink into the sea.

Gilda Catalano

SECTION I

The Interdialogue in front of Migrations



1. The Interdialogue in front of Migrations

Migration has a mirror effect, capable of focusing on dynamics of the daily social existence. It puts specifically in reference to the relational world connected to the question of identity and, consequently, of the “Otherness”.

In these pages we ask about the question of identities in this last phase of globalization, analyzing causes and consequences of the identity’s closures that are spreading in all over the world, specifically paying a special attention to the migratory process.

About this process is necessary a look of wisdom and serenity on such delicate matters. A sort of cultural wisdom, as a narrow path between two extreme concepts or viewpoints. In matters of immigration, we can formalise two positions in order to simplify. From one hand, there is an extreme conception considering the host country like a blank page where everyone could write what they like, without changing anything to their gestures or habits. From the other extreme concept, it considers the host country like a page already written and printed, like a land whose laws, values, beliefs, cultural characteristics would already be been fixed once and for all, and to which migrants should add nothing else.

Here, we would like highlight the misunderstanding of the apparent impermeability of identity’s differences, which makes the statement appear of one's own identity in opposition to the other identity. *We do not think about the law of assimilating or being assimilated, as unique possible ways.* Our main question is about the misunderstanding underlying this immutable view of identity (Catalano and D’Agostino 2020). We assume that social identities are a cultural progress in continuous changing and it is a constant "being drafted".

Nowadays, the centuries-long process of human mobility profoundly highlights how the crisis of identity’s concepts are a sign of a wider relational crisis. In the so-called era of the social media, the encounter and the dialogue with the “Otherness” seem becoming increasingly problematic in all social areas.

Therefore, the process of migration allows us to grasp this relational crisis and the need for authentic relationships among migrants and natives. Dialogue is not simply a means of reaching an end. It is much more. As Hannah Arendt recalls “the dialogue is a reality which makes life authentically human, attesting the fullness of the daily sense within the whole social experience” (Arendt 2017).

Actually, in the general representations, a new and diverse conception of being is making its way: it is the idea of a “unity in diversity”. A dialogic unity does not exist if this unity is achieved in spite of differences: a interrelational dialogue needs to constantly keep the diversities.

Certain philosophical currents mark how diversity is the *reality of the being*. If something exists it is precisely because it is different from the other: otherwise if everything were equal to everything, nothing would exist. The social diversity is something which we daily deal with and it exists in the name of a peaceful coexistence.

In the common life, diversity is not usually considered as a substantial reality but as an occasional accident, in a platonically view. According to this usual representation, equality is what unites whilst the diversity divides. Consequently, the estimate for the former tends to prevail, whilst the second is viewed with suspicion. For instance, let us just think about the relational dynamics, where the applause usually goes to the elements in common, while the diversity of opinion is perceived as annoying, and it often creates distrust. Besides, at a larger social scale, equality would be the element considered as the glue, while diversity would be the disintegrating factor.

Today, the use of the term *identity* easily evokes a mindset, not often capable to grasp the positivity of the other's diversity. According to that *forma mentis*, the person is considered to be the first being in himself and, only later, he enters into a relationship with others, whose other's diversity is considered a factor of disturbance in relation to the one's presumed identity. But every person is always shaped in relation to someelse. It is not a "monad", to recall Leibniz (Tettamanti 2021, traduction of *Monadology*).

In the current social frame, the dialogue is too simplified as a mere means for the achievement of a unity, reached by overcoming diversities. This way tends to generate interpersonal and social relationships, violating the uniqueness and diversity of each person in his/her context.

In the phenomenological analysis - that is our approach- the human being is in front of another active subject, he does not stand in front of an object. In front of the "otherness", a person cannot be objectified and, formally, he/she tests the experience of being inevitably questioned and called by his/her name. To call and to give a name to the otherness: it is the starting point of the social interaction. In other words: the meeting with the other calls for human actions, in terms of linguistic conscience and awareness. Therefore *we assume that the dialogue can be seen as the center of the personal being and the place of human being.*

As Levinas wrote: "*The gaze of the other is a critical appeal of mine, and at the same time it is the possibility of awakening from a dehumanizing self-centeredness to a sensible and human life*" (Ponzio 2020, ed. for Levinas).

The other relativizes the self, it questions his way of seeing his habits, up to that point considered as obvious (*selbstverständlich*). The meeting has a deep dimension with the diversity, recalled by the “Otherness”: the other person simultaneously frightens and threatens, triggering that fear of losing oneself. Schmitz considers the cause “of the different defense strategies, such as denial of peculiarity, its devaluation, withdrawal and escape from his own world. Escaping from the experience of dialogical diversity means fleeing from the experience of freedom and humanity” (Bartolomei 2005, ed. for Schmitz). Shirking a such dialogical experience and refusing to recognize the diversity of the other, it can be a social loss of humanity and vitality. The encounter with the otherness, to be lived as a fundamental experience, gives meaning to the entire human existence.

1.1 The Exodus as bridge between Freedom and Border

Migration is a form of Exodus. The open dialogue is a sort of migration from a language with its certainties. It requires an exodus from oneself: from an own little world to a world seen from the perspective of the otherness. It's significant how the German term *Aufbruch* (exodus) shows this passage not only in terms of pain, but also as a break (*Bruch*) from being focused on themselves. The encounter with the other diversity can often be painful. In opposition to the abstract conceptions connecting social happiness to the absence of pain, the phenomenological analysis of the encounter highlights the link between pain and fullness of life where the dialogic opening towards the other: it is the new, the foreign, the increased knowledge: every increasing perception cannot be fluid. The new and/or the stranger is the person which opens another door in everyone within the encounter: the room becomes wider.

Besides, this encounter cannot be a programmable dialogic fact, starting from own tastes and decisions, but it is an event to be often reached in an unpredictable and surprising way, a meeting where someone should be called to respond. In the dialogical opening towards the otherness - whose diversity can also be a hurtful freedom - it is possible to identify *the living-with*. It opens up, in turn, the possibility of coexistence between diverse identities, who welcome each other without assimilating. The meeting with the other is simultaneously - paradoxically at a first glance - an experience of borders and freedom: of one's own and others' freedom in front of the absolute request of reciprocal freedom.

The self runs into another person who is always different from the “I” and it goes towards an “You” that questions him/her by name and, therefore, confines him/her bringing out the own contours, towards a diverse frame.

In relation to migration as a matter of diverse culture, we face with a decisive reversal: the experience of the “frame” - due to the encounter with the diversity and freedom of the other - it is not to be considered as an obstacle and limitation of existence human but, on the contrary, as a condition of possibility for someone to exist. The boundary given by the encounter with “the otherness” is a fundamental dimension of human existence reducing the existence of the egos. Without borders (although permeable) there is nothing (Simmel 1997): in order to exist everyone needs a frame, both distinct and permeable border.

In this dynamic of confinement, the “I” is not threatened in its existence but, on the contrary, it is properly constituted in the encounter with the “You”. All this confines it, not before and not after: only to the point that the *“I” does not exist without this mutual confinement*. To create a social reality, the relationships need to possess form (Simmel, 1997): a contour, that is say, a permeable boundary. This border is, however, always the boundary of at least two points. There is no border only in a boundless infinity where we do not socially live. The person meets himself /herself (as *Selbst*) only in the encounter with another self. It becomes crucial the observation how the experience of the encounter with the You - as otherness - confines the self: it is simultaneously experience and awareness of one's own freedom and that of others. In front of the other's presence, the “I” is reached by the absolute request to humanly act, not in terms of a categorical imperative, but as doxological evidence, awaking him/her to respond to the others' freedom. Everybody is also a “You”.

Therefore, freedom does not coincide with the absence of borders and frames, which would be equivalent to an abstract and desembedded concept of freedom. Out from the interpersonal encounter, freedom would be nothing: *“a freedom without boundaries and indeterminate it is not freedom”*. An a-relational and mono-logical conception of freedom is inevitably connected to a negative view of the “otherness”. Freedom is not such if it is boundless: it exists as confined by the diversity, by the constant presence of an encountered person.

If, on the one hand, there cannot be an indeterminate freedom, without borders, regardless of the encounter with the “otherness”; on the other hand, it is also true that the freedom can be experienced as an action of sense, specifically when blooming on the reciprocal border.

Freedom and frame - that is - freedom and diversity reciprocally shape an inseparable pair enjoying a relationship of mutual interpenetration, determining a dialogic reality of the meeting with.

Diversity is therefore recognized in its fundamental goodness, and not as a dividing element to be overcome in view of an unity empty of differences, an alleged a-relational self-realization. The revealed border cannot be as a negation of the “I” or of the “You” but only as a negation of “a

boundlessness of the I and of the You”: the self is not the other whilst the other is not the self because we are simultaneously both “the other and the me”.

Thus, in our opinion, we come to a crucial topic which we are dealing with. Such an analysis - without ignoring how the differences can cause disagreement and conflict - recognizes that “diversity is, above all, a precondition for dialogue”: diversity is the meaning of human being where "the coming together of selves and the being different of selves take place, although remaining different" (Levinas 2020).

There is a difference between the term *Einigkeit* (unity) and the word *Einung* (union): in one of the two terms the diversity is abstractly conceived as a transitory element to disappear.

Fundamental is to keep how the phenomenological analysis leads to the recognition that diversity, while distinguishing (confining), at the same time it unites (at the border) - and therefore refers to an original mutual belonging. As it always belongs to at least two people, the boundary not only distinguishes but simultaneously unites. Like a bridge. Membership in itself tells about unity and diversity at the same time. Without diversity, there would be no belonging, but only unifying unity. Dialogic difference is therefore not only a formal possibility of the single self, but above all it opens the space to a positive being together. A space of freedom that awakens the “I” and the “You” towards to an original space of unity in diversity.

In this regard, the literal meaning of the German word *Ge-heim-nis* (mystery) highlights this concept. It is composed of *Heim* (house) but not in the sense of *Haus* (building), but rather a space for meditation: a place where I am gathered a home and where I live. The concept of unknown (unfamiliar) is thus removed from the common meaning of inaccessible reality - from which one feels threateningly excluded -. The unknown is recognized as *Ge-heim-nis*, that is, as the social reality in which we are already at home, which envelops all of us.

Thus, the vision is reversed: it would be tantamount to pouring the whole sea into a hole. Whilst our existence is rather a matter of becoming aware how we are already immersed into the social sea, awakened by the encounter with the other.

If awakened by the self-centered curvature of the self by its habits and representations of the world, the daily unknown of the interpersonal relationship can be a receptive opening towards the disclosing presence of the otherness, just like an experience of meaning and of value.

This is proved by the example of the human time (finitude): evident characteristics of the social finiteness which is, in fact, more than a characteristic of *being-in-becoming*.

1.2. The Human Migration into an interdialogue approach

Starting from the anthropological outlining that the human being starts from a dialogue, it can be easily understood how an impermeable closure in the face of the otherness actually acts as a boomerang when we absolutize an identity by refusing the encounter with diversity. We expose ourselves into a process of dehumanization, at the expense of the same personal and cultural identity, destined to lose vitality.

In the contemporary society, all the people living on the border between different cultures find himself /herself immersed in the experience to escape from the absolutization of a culture, recognizing the different cultures for what they are: neither more nor less than means of communication.

The troubled story of migrants and refugees contributes to highlight an universal belonging and to revisit identity in a more profound and authentic way, going beyond the external identities linked to culture, nationality, religion, discovering the uniqueness and unrepeatability of each person.

The process of uprooting, of clash-meeting between people of diverse nationalities, cultures, mentalities which the phenomenon of migration triggers - it is a not painless process, but it contains a creative force capable to seek many ways of coexistence: more authentic and dialogic manners. The person becomes himself/herself when he/she does experience of freedom - not in spite of - but thanks to neighboring diversity of the other that he meets.

Flusser (Bosso, 2007), in recalling Heidegger's Philosophy, compares the suffering affair of migration, not as an agony leading to nonsense of death, *but like an important event of a birth whose pangs indicate something is being born.*

The migratory experience can lead to highlighting the fact that this affair reveals the intrinsic link between freedom, identity and dialogue whilst it pushing us to revisit our pre-understanding identity, migrant or non-migrant. The migrant is a person painfully freed from ties of the land of origin, but not a single, self-sufficient individual and without relationships, but opened to the conscious choice of relationship with the others. Therefore to conclude, we think that the *"geographical homeland is the search for the other and the homeland of the without homeland is the otherness "*.

Thus, precisely those who have found themselves having to leave their home contributes to bringing to light "what" gives meaning to the life of every man: the social relations in terms of reciprocity.

SECTION II

The territorial welcoming in Italy



2. The instruments of Welcoming in Italy: Sprar, Siproimi, Sai

Over the years, the legislation governing the reception of asylum seekers, refugees and migrants has changed several times in Italy¹.

In December 2020, the Decree Law n. 130 approved two months earlier by the Second Government of Giuseppe Conte was converted into law: it contains "*Urgent provisions on immigration, international and complementary protection*". It partially reforms the so-called Security Decree, approved about two years earlier by the first government of Conte. This d.l. 130/2020, like the previous "Safety Decree", mainly refers to the dl. lgs. 142/2015.

In this last decree, we can distinguish diverse phases of welcoming.

a. The first one is called: first aid and identification. Foreign citizens, rescued at sea or irregularly entered the national territory are taken to government centers near the areas of disembarkation or the main entries into the country for initial health assistance, photo-signaling and pre-identification. This type of centers have the so-called *hotspot approach*, implemented in 2015 because of the commitments made by the Italian Government together with the European Commission. In these centers there is also the first exchange of information on asylum procedures: here the *asylum seekers* differ from so-called economic migrants, who will be sent to the detention *Centers for Repatriation* (CPR) or left in the territory, often in condition of irregular stay (see: *Reports of the Parliamentary Inquiry Commission on the Reception Systems*).

Those people who apply for asylum in Italy are transferred to the *First Reception Centers* (CPA), having a first level of reception facilities: here a certain time is required to carry out the identification operations and to start of the procedure for examining the asylum requests. In these centers, the health conditions of the guests must also be ascertained, in order to verify any vulnerable situations before entering the second phase of reception. People who have not expressed to seek for asylums are instead transferred to the CPR, throughout the executive order of expulsion from the country.

b. There is a second reception. This step consists of the *Reception and Integration System* (SAI). The program, introduced with the 2020 Reform, replaces the *Protection System for holders of International Protection and for Unaccompanied Foreign Minors* (Siproimi), established with the

¹ This paragraph is also present in the Appendix by Gilda Catalano: *Welcoming of Migrants in Calabria among SPRAR, SIPROIMI, SAI (2015-2021)*. It is inside the final Report of Research, **ALF/CFP/2020/IRP/24**, collecting all the papers from Research Group.

Security Decree in 2018: Siproimi - lasted only two years (2018-2020) - replaced the *Protection System for Asylum Seekers and Refugees (Sprar*, which stayed in force from 2002 to 2018). Actually, with the updated SAI, Italy returns to the originary principles that had inspired the Sprar. SAI consists of a type of reception, considered as more concerned with an integration approach, above all in relation to Siproimi. Both asylum seekers and protection holders - that is, those who have already received the asylum request and recognized the right to international protection - can access this system.

b1. The newest SAI is developed on two levels of services: the first level is for asylum seekers, and it is based on material, legal, health and linguistic assistance; the second-level services are reserved for protection holders and also have functions of integration and career guidance. Unlike the first reception, managed centrally, SAI is coordinated by the Central Service of the State, whose management is assigned by the Ministry of the Interior to the National Association of Italian Municipalities (ANCI), together with the operational support of the *Cittalia Foundation*. The responsible ownership of the projects is assigned to local authorities, which voluntarily activate and implement reception and integration projects.

c. Support for integration paths after the second reception. The Legislative Decree 130/2020 introduces *for the first time* further social integration paths after the second reception. At the end of the SAI period, in fact, local administrations can launch other initiatives with the aim of favoring the individual autonomy of citizens already beneficiaries of the SAI, with a particular regard to: a better language training, career guidelines, essential public services and, also the knowledge of the basic rights and duties in the Italian Constitution.

d. The extraordinary reception system. If the available places in the first and second reception systems are exhausted, the prefectures can provide for the establishment of Extraordinary Reception Centers (CAS): they can entrust to private entities through the procedures for awarding public contracts. Within these centers, asylum seekers are welcomed, limited to the time necessary for transfer to the SAI facilities. Despite being an extraordinary system, the use of CAS (established by Legislative Decree 142/2015) has become the majority of percentage over the years. In fact, in spite of the 2020's Reform, the transfer from the first reception to the SAI is influenced by the availability of places: the "Security Decree" had already provided for the obligatory passage of asylum seekers in the CAS.

There are some considerations to be expressed about the above mentioned points from "a" to "d".

The 2020 Reform designs a reception system, with characteristics much more similar to issues had until 2018 (Siproimi System), and before the approval of the Security Decrees wanted by the Minister

of the Interior Matteo Salvini. The actual return of the previous system means: to have the chance of accessing to the second reception for asylum seekers, not only for the already holders of protection but as well as the opportunity of the asylum seeker to pass from the extraordinary system to the SAI. This chance tests the measure of the change of political address, in comparison to the past. Furthermore, the old Security Decree had made the CAS as a compulsory passage for asylum seekers: a moment that was abolished by the new reform. At any rate, the division of SAI into two levels precludes asylum seekers from certain integration services.

At the moment, the second reception, although oriented towards a greater integration and inclusion of people, continues to be largely underutilized by local administrations, and underpowered in relation to migrants' needs. With the two levels, asylum seekers who are welcomed in CAS - because there are no places available in SAI - may not enjoy the same services as those seekers welcomed in SAI.

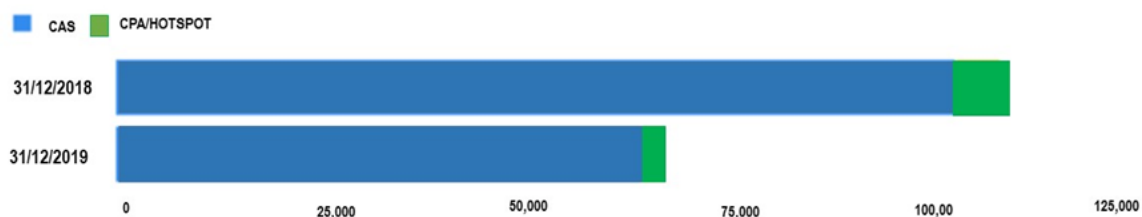
It would be necessary to better understand how the last specifications in law will be structured, specifically showing the assignments for the management of the centers. In fact, on January 2021, the application of the new system reform which was also approved on November 2020 is still not completely clear for local municipalities.

3. Differences in Sprar and Siproimi: from 2018 to March 2021

We know that, in the period 2018-2020, the number of guests in the CAS has decreased. Unfortunately we cannot have the certainty of final numbers of migrants in the centers of first welcoming in 2021 SAI System, because the year has not finished yet. Anyway, we can elaborate a comparison about the last two years and half.

At 31 December 2018, in the Italian municipalities where there was at least one center whose meaning is: an average of 1 guest for every 376 residents (0.27% of incidence) and on 31 December 2019, 1 guest for every 508 (0.20% of incidence).

This 0.20% in 2019 is the average share of asylum seekers accepted in relation to the resident population, within the municipalities where there are the centers in 2019.



Graphic 1. Guests in extraordinary reception centers (Cas) and first reception centers (Cpa/ Hotspot) in 2018 and 2019, Italy. Source: our re-elaboration of data from the Ministry of the Interior.

There is a reduction, albeit slight, in the concentration of guests both in the municipalities affected by prefectural hospitality and within the centers (Graphic 1). At the end of 2018, in the municipalities hosting CAS or government centers (CPA/Hotspot) there were, on average, about 40 guests. At the end of 2019 this percentage fell by 8.5%. In the same period, the average presence of the centers also decreased, passing from 13.2 to 12.2 presences per center (-7.6%).

It should be remembered that the variation is not uniform throughout the national territory: besides, we mark that the reduction on average of people in the centers was not the result of an explicit political choice. This is also due to a decrease of arrivals in Italy, especially as a result of the Italy-Libya memorandum signed in 2017 and renewed in 2020; but also with the elimination of humanitarian protection, sanctioned by the “Security Decree”, which involved the expulsion of many people from the centers. The drop is around -38%.

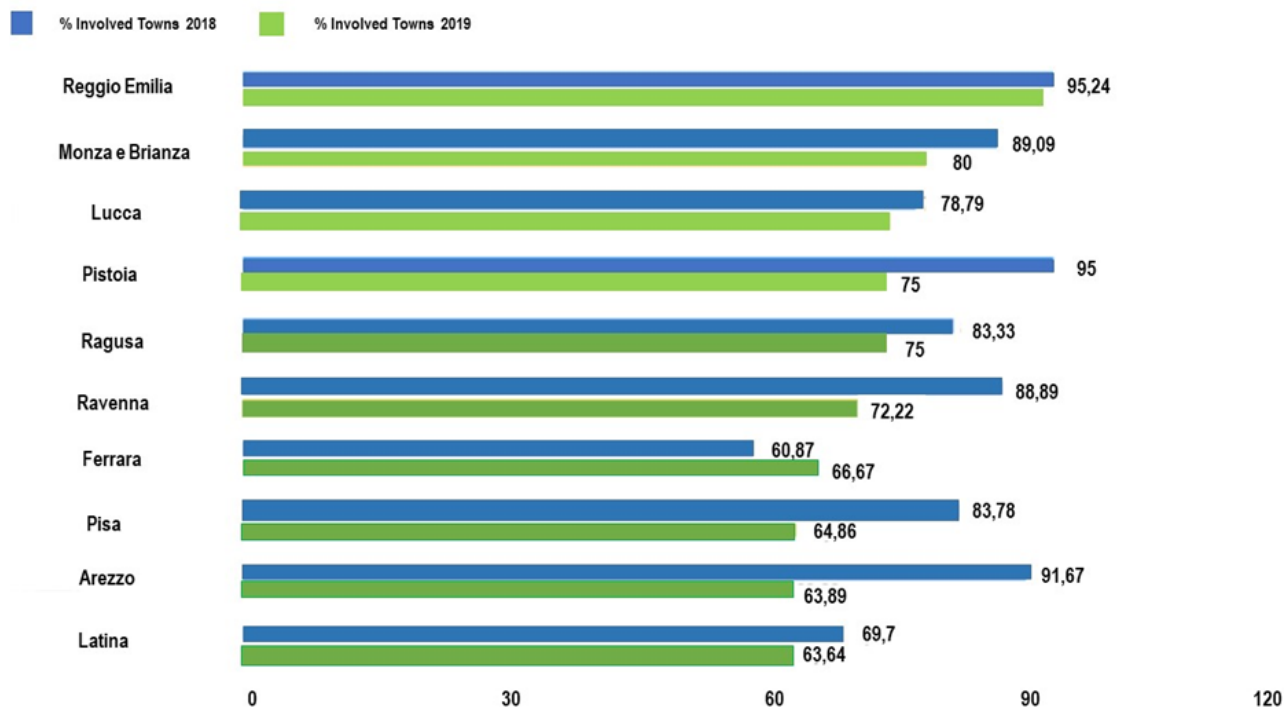
3.1. The decrease of Municipalities involved in Reception with Siproimi System, 2019

The municipalities affected by the reception have decreased from 2,691 (33.8% of Italian municipalities) in 2018 to 1,822 (23%) the following year, with a decrease of 32.3%.

In 2018, the Italian provinces with municipalities involved in reception were 30 out of 107 (28% of the total). In 2019 this percentage dropped to 18 (16.8%). In both years, the province by a greater distribution in the welcoming municipalities is Reggio Emilia, where 95.2% (in 2018) and 92.9% (in 2019). In 2019, the Emilian province was the only one to exceed the 90% threshold. In the same year, the 257 centers in this area hosted an average of 4.95 people per center, demonstrating that the involvement of a greater number of municipalities by a widespread acceptance. Of the 257 centers, in fact, only 10 exceeded 10 places and only one reached 20, the maximum capacity for the province.

Extending the analysis to geographical macro-areas, it emerges that almost half of the municipalities in the north-east (49.9%) and in the center (48%) hosted at least one extraordinary reception center. The following year, however, the share of municipalities affected in the two areas drops, registering

respectively 33.9% and 35.2%: this confirms that the negative impact of Siproimi System on widespread reception has been relevant in areas where this model was established, such as in the north-eastern regions (Graphic 2).



Graphic 2. Municipalities involved in applying for asylum. Reworking of data from the Ministry of the Interior.

In both 2018 and 2019, the greatest concentration of reception presences was found in the 4 most populous provinces: Turin (3,924 people hosted in 2018 and 3,346 in 2019), Milan (3,873 and 2,205), Rome (3,619 and 2,249) and Naples (3,450 and 2,190). There are respectively 14,866 people in 2018 and 9,990 in 2019. Between the two years the percentage weight of presences in these provinces has increased, passing from around 13.8% to 15% of the total asylum seekers in Italy.

3.2. The decrease of welcoming by geographical area in Italy since 2019

Observing the change of presences in the centers of every province between 2018 and 2019, it can be seen that only Reggio Calabria (66.6%) and Bari (11.9%) have recorded a positive increase. In the first case, we are talking about modest numbers (it went from 69 to 115 presences). In the Apulian province, on the other hand, the increase occurred exclusively within the CPA of Bari Palese (which

changed from 553 to 655 presences) whilst the only CAS in this province - which housed 32 people in 2018 - was closed the following year.

If we look at the remaining of the provinces, all with a negative percentage change between the two years: those recording the greatest decline in attendance are Foggia (-82.98%), Macerata (-75.7%) and Lecce (-74%). Catania is the only Italian province where no governmental or extraordinary centers was activated in 2019. Emblematic is the case of Foggia where the presences have been reduced from 329 to 56 presences, essentially due to the closure of all the CAS in the overall province, and to the downsizing of the first reception center of Borgo Mezzanone, in the municipality of Manfredonia (which dropped from 219 to 56 presences).

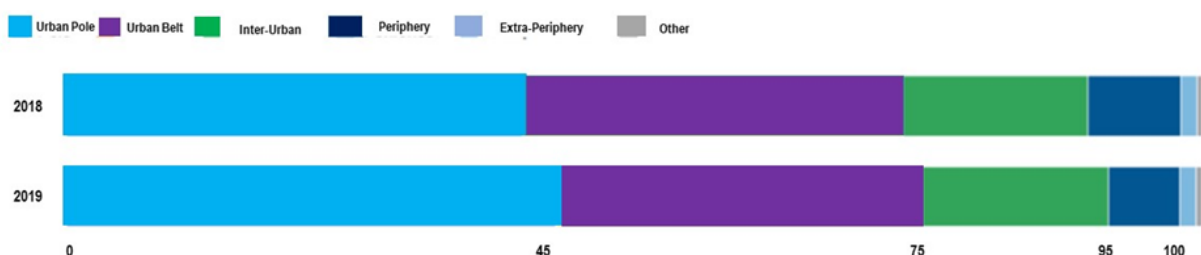
It appears a greater presence of asylum seekers and refugees in larger urban areas: in quantitative terms, we are talking about a negligible situation, considering that a large part of asylum seekers live in the first 4 metropolitan areas of the country.

Between 2018 and 2019, reception places in medium municipal centers or inter-municipal centers increased by 3 points, which in 2019 were 37,617, equal to 43.1% of the total (Graphic 3).

With regard to inland and rural areas (municipalities classified as intermediate, peripheral and ultraperipheral), in 2019 the reception places were 21,000, about a quarter of the total (24.1%), a slight decrease compared to the previous year (25.9 %, equal to 34,000 places). The peripheral and outermost municipalities - those furthest from essential services - accounted for 9.6% of the total in 2018 and 7.8% the following year.

In absolute terms, in 2018 the reception places were 11,005 in peripheral municipalities and 1,844 in the outermost ones. In 2019, there were 5,577 places in peripheral municipalities and 1,196 in outermost municipalities, respectively.

The presence of reception centers in peripheral municipalities can also represent a positive element, which among other things contributes to the repopulation of some areas of the country. This, however, have provided that the reception projects could envisage concrete opportunities for integration, oriented towards the development of the territory and local economies, as well as better public transportations to allow guests of the centers to reach the municipal centers to access services.

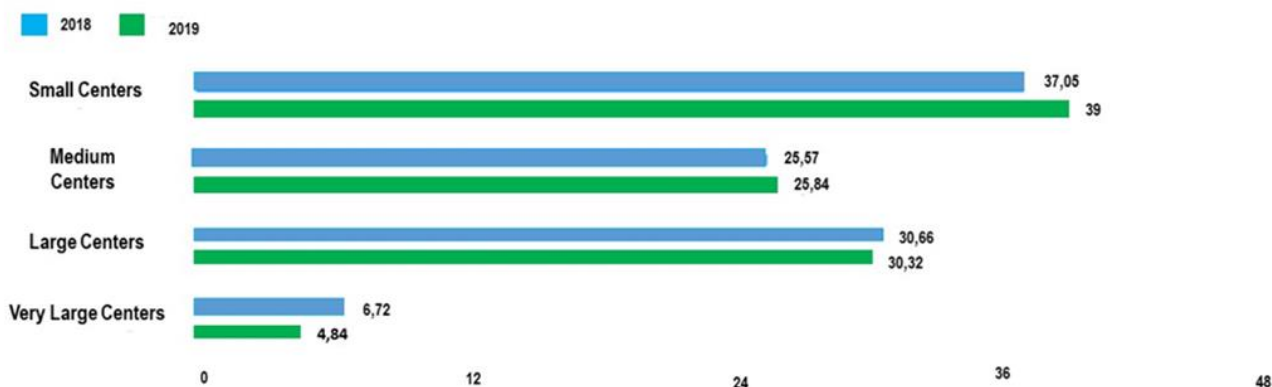


Graphic 3: Distribution in relation to the types of urban areas

3.3. The available places of the first reception's centers since 2019

It is also useful to refer to the carrying capacity of the centers. In 2018, the center with the highest number of reception places was *Cara di Mineo*, in the province of Catania (2,400 places), followed by four centers of first reception(Cpa): Isola di Capo Rizzuto, in the province of Crotone (1,216 places), Bari Palese (774), Castelnuovo di Porto, near Rome (650) and Borgo Mezzanone, in the province of Foggia (636).

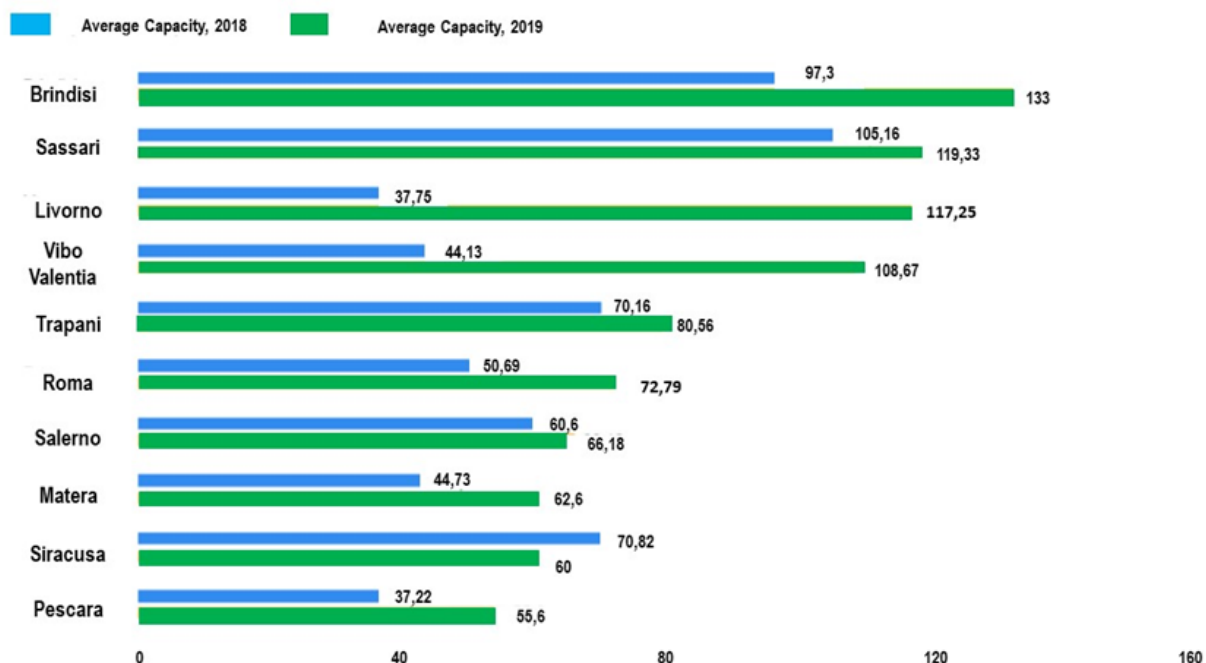
In 2019, two megacities failed in first reception: first the Cara of Castelnuovo di Porto, whose closure caused a lot of discussion, and then the Cara of Mineo, gradually emptied in July. In these two years mentioned, the places in each center were, on average, 16.4 in 2018 and 15.9 in 2019. However, even in this case, it is an average which does not capture the different local realities (Graphic 4). In fact, in the majority of the Italian provinces (65) the average capacity of the centers has officially increased in 2021 (EASO 2021).



Graphic 4: lost of centers of first reception for area

If we analyze only the Cas, in 2018 Sassari was the province with the largest centers on average: 105.2 places per center, for a total of 25 centers whose the smallest had a capacity of 30 places and the largest of 248 (Graphic 5). The Sardinian province was followed by 8 Provinces from the South (Catanzaro, Brindisi, Bari, Syracuse, Trapani, Foggia, Campobasso and Salerno).

Among the top 30 provinces for the average capacity of the centers, only one was in the north, Bolzano, where there were 29 centers with capacities ranging from 12 to 190 places.



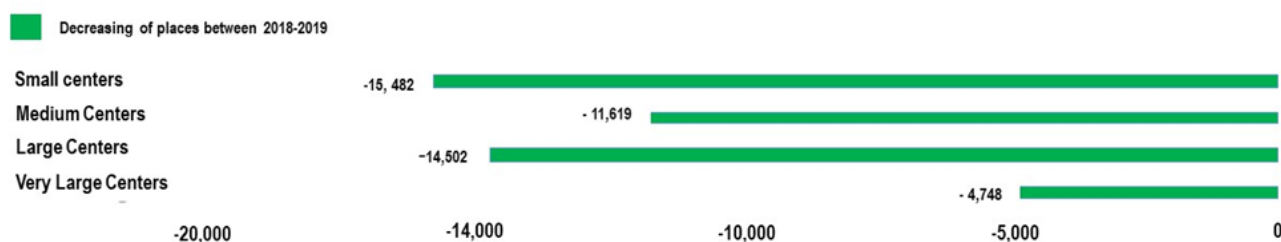
Graphic 5. Average capacity of CAS for Provinces

An imbalance between north and south. In 2019, however, the provinces rose to 4 with, on average, more than 100 places for reception in each center: Brindisi (133), Sassari (119.3), Livorno (117.2) and Vibo Valentia (108.7). In the Brindisi area, the average was the result of only 3 centers, whose the carrying capacity is respectively of 50, 99 and 250 places.

3.4. The Closed Centers between 2018 and 2019

In recent years, the reduction in the number of places within the reception system (which went from 133,552 in 2018 to 87,201 in 2019) has also led to a considerable decrease in the number of active centers, which have passed from 8,145 to 5,482.

Looking at the situation at the national level, the closure of many centers did not lead to a considerable variation in the distribution of places in structures of different sizes (graphic 6). The share of places in structures, capable of accommodating up to 300 people dropped slightly, from 6.7% to 4.8% of the total. For small centers, on the other hand, increased slightly, from 37% to 39%. Even remaining on a national scale analysis, however, it is important to note that, in absolute values, it is precisely the small towns that have lost the most places. These, in fact, went from 49,487 to 34,005.



Graphic 6: Reduced Places 2018-2019

3.5. Cost reduction for single guest

Another problem is the reduction in the daily price for each guest. In the Cas for adults, it goes from 35 to 27.2 euros (-22.1%). If it is distinguished by the size of the center, it is evident that it is the small centers that have suffered the greatest cuts (-22.7%, from 35 to 27 euros). In medium centers (-20.4%, from 34.8 to 27.7 euros) and even more in large ones (-16.0%, from 34.8 to 29.3 euros) the reduction is substantial, but lower compared to what happens for small towns.

Many people think that this cut makes the management of large centers more sustainable. On one side, it can express the possibility of maximizing profits throughout large numbers and achieving economies of scale, by ensuring a lower cost in the administration of the structure.

On the contrary side - although the cutting costs on integration projects may appear to be a saving - it can mean a net cost that does not produce positive effects in the medium and long term.

4. Last considerations about the new Sai 2021

In relation to long attendance in the reception system, the share of people received in the extraordinary reception centers (CAS) has increased to the detriment of the ordinary centers, such as the Sprar and the Siproimi system. In the period 2019-2019 both Sprar and Siproimi have always been used in a minor part in relation to CAS and other Hotspots (Graphic 7). The year when the percentage of attendance in the ordinary system is higher is 2020 (31.9% of the total attendance), the year when it was lower is 2017 (13.4%). The Sprar system has become Siproimi in October 2018. With the transition from Sprar to Siproimi, asylum seekers were destined to remain only in the CAS until the outcome of the asylum application. Over the years, not only the CAS, but there are other “government’s centers” for initial reception, including those with a hotspot approach: Cara, Cda, Cpsa, Cpa. Total attendance in terms of official data is to be understood as it is on 31 December of

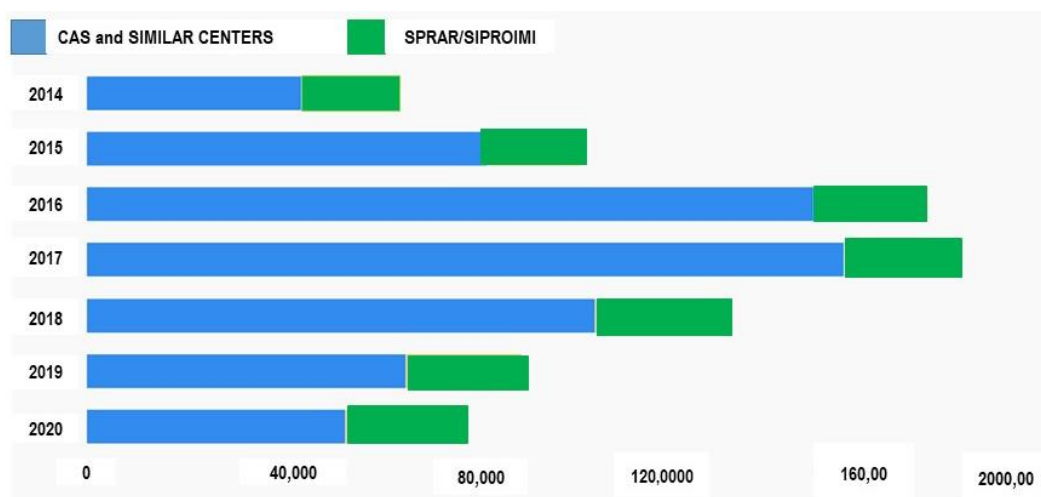
each year. About Sai, entered in force on March 2021 in terms of Law, the infos we can communicate are by the Minister of the Interior in table 1.

Immigrants in Welcoming Centers

Region	In Hot spots	In CAS	In SAI	Total waiting for welcoming
Totale complessivo	1.411	49.577	25.756	76.744
Lombardia		7.648	2.131	9.779
Emilia-Romagna		5.622	2.193	7.815
Sicilia	1.194	2.428	3.768	7.390
Lazio		5.091	1.893	6.984
Piemonte		4.956	1.863	6.819
Campania		3.301	2.132	5.433
Toscana		3.372	1.338	4.710
Puglia	217	1.683	2.674	4.574
Veneto		3.575	594	4.169
Calabria		1.417	2.564	3.981
Liguria		2.384	833	3.217
Friuli-Venezia Giulia		2.506	304	2.810
Marche		1.176	830	2.006
Abruzzo		891	543	1.434
Basilicata		705	565	1.270
Umbria		863	347	1.210
Trentino-Alto Adige		983	187	1.170
Molise		217	770	987
Sardegna		717	205	922
Valle d'Aosta		42	22	64

Date on 15 June 2021, Ministry of the Interior

Tab 1: Hosted People for Centers



Graphic 7: Differences of Hosts in SprarSiproimi and CAS 2014-2020

5. Two emblematic case-studies of First Welcoming in Italy: positive alternative solutions

The *Val Susa* and the *Canavese* are two case studies illustrating how the set of public and private actors have locally learned to manage the first reception, throughout a process to be defined as experiential learning and inclusive innovation.

a. The MAD project in Val Susa

In the context of the first widespread reception, MAD in Val Susa means Micro-Widespread Reception: this is a project started at the beginning of 2016, thanks to an agreement between the Prefecture of Turin, the Municipalities of Lower Susa Valley, the town of Avigliana as leader. With that act, the Municipalities have voluntarily accepted around 100 distributed asylum seekers in the various municipalities with small numbers (from 4 to 12). Formally it is a CAS, but the MAD project foresees, according to the logic of widespread reception, the distribution of presences within private homes identified on the territory. The direction and coordination role is carried out by the Municipality of Avigliana, while an Association takes care of the direct management of the *Welcome Temporary Purpose* (ATS was cooperative, committed on the front of integration policies and social policies). The project includes targeted interventions to foster a path of autonomy and integration into surrounding society through language learning, the positive management of free time, internships in the group, health and psychological assistance.

In short words, migrants housed in apartments and distributed in various municipalities have as a reference the service center of the project where they meet a multi-professional team, which directly provides some activities aimed at inserting and directing them towards other services in the area. Hospitality for children municipalities and daily interaction would favor, according to the *Area Manager Migrants of the Cooperative*, overcoming prejudices and the possibility for migrants. Their slogan was "To be known as people over time" according to a logic recalling the hypothesis of overcoming the injury through the interaction. The example of this *Lower Valley of Susa* was taken up by the Upper Valley with a second project, launched in July 2017. Aligned itself with the project MAD. In this case the involvement of the Con.I.S.A. "Susa Valley" was provided, thanks to the help of the *Inter-Municipal Social Assistance Consortium* of the Val Susa. The Con.I.S.A. did not limit itself to the publication of the infos: it had an operational role from the preparation phase of the territory to reception project; it also has a coordination and accompaniment function, in addition to being the actor directly interfacing with the Prefecture and the mayors of the municipalities involved in the project. Obviously, the Con.I.S.A. has entrusted the management of the reception to a cooperative to improve the social results.

b. The IN.RE.TE Consortium in the Canavese

In this area, the widespread reception was born on a social mobilization and attention to the territories of the Prefecture of Turin. This was a consequence to the settlement in the territory of some medium-sized CAS, managed without direct involvement of local authorities. It was signed an agreement between the Prefecture and the IN.RE.TE Consortium, whilst the publication of the call for the management of reception was in July 2017.

Even in the Canavese, as in Val Susa, the local public actor (represented here by the IN.RE.TE Consortium) has played a role of coordinating and of accompaniment. The Consortium has an active involvement: from the preparation of the reception project, to a constant work of accompaniment, support and dialogue with institutions managers, the Municipalities and the Prefecture.

Some organizations participated to the widespread reception, as they were already involved in the management of medium-sized Cas previously settled in the area; on the contrary, other managing bodies have excluded themselves, probably because too distant from the new standards of reception established from the new call.

It was chosen about these characteristics of new reception: a number maximum of guests per facility (6 guests in lodgings, 30 guests in more than one facility large), a distribution on the territory in proportion to the number of residents, inclusion paths for a social welcome going beyond the mere distribution of room and board, and the final goal of accompanying people towards autonomy.

Today the municipalities involved around the area are 16 whilst the authorized places are 330: it is a good increase compared to the launch period when there were 10 municipalities involved and 282 places. The migrants are currently hosted in 3 structures and 48 lodgings (no more than one accommodation per condominium) whilst the managing bodies are 7. The Canavese represents the widest experience of widespread reception in terms of number of presences within the Metropolitan City of Turin.

The experience of the CAS in the Canavese area is interesting because it represents a case of transition between two modes of governance: from the first reception involved with moving guests by a medium-sized CAS (previously settled in the area) to a widespread reception system implemented after July 2017. It has been therefore a question of transforming the system where the migrants have been already inserted, changing the rules and the approach. The implementation of this new system seems to have favored the growth of new managing bodies, showing how a quality welcome has positive repercussions in the relationship between operators, guests and the surrounding society.

It is possible to summarise how, in consequence of the structuring reception, the two case-studies are Cas and Sprar systems; they have begun over the years (roughly from 2016 to 2018) to form one reception chain, where asylum seekers have often passed through reception extraordinary and then move on to the protection system - once they become permit holders (Giovannetti 2019).

The Valsusino and Canavese cases are examples of a welcome aimed at the inclusion of asylum seekers from the first phase of settlement in territory, so that in the second phase the paths can be completed started.

6. The CAS between SPRAR, SIPROIMI and SAI: what future for the first reception system?

In the period 2018-2020, the case-studies mentioned have worked in a difficult consolidation of a reception model Law 132/2018 (converting the "Security Decree I"). This law has allocated permit's holders to the second reception and it has included those who have not them in the extraordinary reception, awaiting a response.

In this phase 2018-2020, however, the Sprar, transformed in Siproimi (i.e. Protection system for holders of international protection and for unaccompanied foreign minors) is already weakened: this new system completely excludes asylum seekers, holders of certain types of permits (for special cases and for special protection) and it was primarily aimed at people who obtained *refugee status*, to unaccompanied foreign minors, to victims of trafficking and violence and to people affected by medical problems. In addition, the law have deleted the humanitarian protection permit whose application has been accepted over the passed years.

In addition, in 2019 the cuts provided by the *Budget Law* towards the funds intended for reception extraordinary (to the famous 35 euros per day CAS) entail the reduction of the possibility of starting paths aimed at inclusion during the first reception.

The combined effect of the squeeze on permits and heavy economic cuts seems to jeopardize the laboriously constructed hospitality chain over time at the local level, and the same sense of interinstitutional cooperation.

In fact, the new calls issued by the *Prefectures for the Cas* will not allow activities of support in the *Territorial Commissions*, professional training courses and positive leisure time management programs as happened in the last years. Indeed, as a consequence of the cuts in *per diem* per capita funding, disappears from Cas the figure of the psychologist, the hours of the social worker drastically

decrease, as well as the cultural mediators, and even the doctor with the consequent risk of abandonment of the most vulnerable.

Eliminating the activities aimed at assistance and integration, extraordinary hospitality (which corresponds to the first phase of reception) risks becoming mere supply of room and board, mortifying the efforts made in many territories to manage a sustainable and qualitative welcome.

Certainly in recent years, on the hospitality supply chain and on inclusion paths, the high rate of denials has been broken down (from 39% in 2014 to 58% in 2015, up to almost 67% in 2018).

Siproimi System, together with Covid-19, has not promoted more inclusive social practices. In the recent passage to Sai system, the paths for inclusion seem to be improved.

From the whole of overall data, we try synthetize some suggestions in the below table (table 2)

a. It would be necessary, from on the one hand, to allow a greater share of entries for work and on the other to regularize the position of asylum seekers who have started inclusion paths.
b. It is important to counteract the <i>refugee gap</i> , or the disadvantage of refugees and asylum seekers in the labor market, caused by the weakness of functional networks for job inclusion, in addition to language difficulties and other vulnerable conditions.
c. To encourage the start phases of settlement of migrants is highly recommendable. It is important to defend a reception system, capable of connecting first and second reception: in 2018-2020, the combined effect between Law 132/2018 and the economic cuts seems to differentiate between the first reception and the second reception, as well as to separate the two systems, not to create a single hospitality chain.
d. To test the human rights function. The expulsion of people, receiving a negative response for asylum, can give rise to a critical situation. On the basis of the data, the denials of asylum applications can increase the irregular presence. Restrictive policies tend to expand the irregular migrants, making more difficult positive paths of inclusion in terms of equity, social cohesion and security.
e. A future research question concerns precisely the contribution of additional resources - public and non - intended for integration of migrants, especially in the phases following reception.

Tab.2. Suggestions for inclusion paths. Our elaboration 2021

6.1. Good practices shaped by the welcoming laboratories

Over the years, the welcome was an innovation laboratory in many territories. In the field of services of the public and third sector, it is socially innovative, far from being a mere relationship of delegation. The same relationships among the no profit organizations have involved new modalities of coordination among diverse actors. In the following table (table 3), we summarize some benefits received thanks to the cooperation among different players.

- Participatory governance
- Co-production of services
- Construction of enlarged networks
- Informal dialogue and collaboration between managing bodies and hosts about the sense of hospitality
- Increasing of voluntary associations and civil society active on specific issues (from legal protection to reception of LGBT people).
- The importance of networking where public and Third Sector actors, collaborate together, for European funds (such as the request for FAMI funds) or participate in calls for foundations banking.

Tab.3. Benefits from the cooperation among diverse actors. Our elaboration 2021

The latest calls for special hospitality are likely to represent a return to the past of a wider hospitality (Villa *et al.* 2018).

A fear for future in the frame of good practices is the risk (directly or indirectly) of speculation, with the reduction of resources: it could promote a selection mechanism in favor of organizations capable of making economies of scale, more likely to embrace a more business approach. If the reception conditions in the first phase are not quite saved and the costs too, the question is about which kind of quality to be undertaken? A dilemma, which recalls the risk of a “mission drift” experienced by the Third Sector, also in other areas of welfare affected by cost reduction.

In fact, the non-profit organizations, associations and cooperatives have often matured an advocacy function, happened in the past on the policy front integration. These organizations, who have frequently contributed to the design of services, risk to lose the experience gained. Such an approach is not only harmful to the human rights but ineffective in the long run, and therefore to be completely rethought.

It will be necessary to look towards those good practices, which locally laid the foundations for one structured and participatory response for the governance of reception.

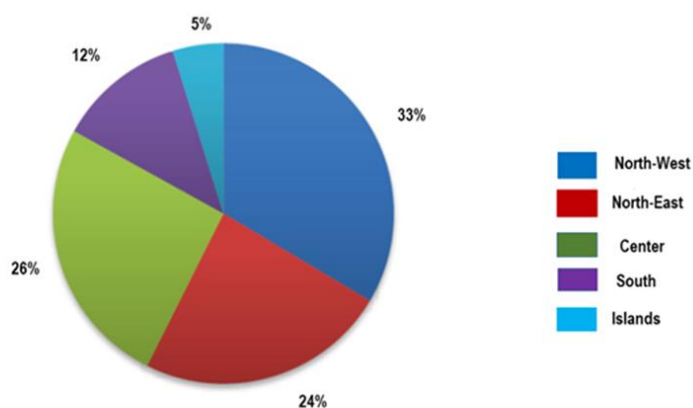
Section Three

Welcoming and Work Practices in Italy: an overview on the agriculture sector in Calabria



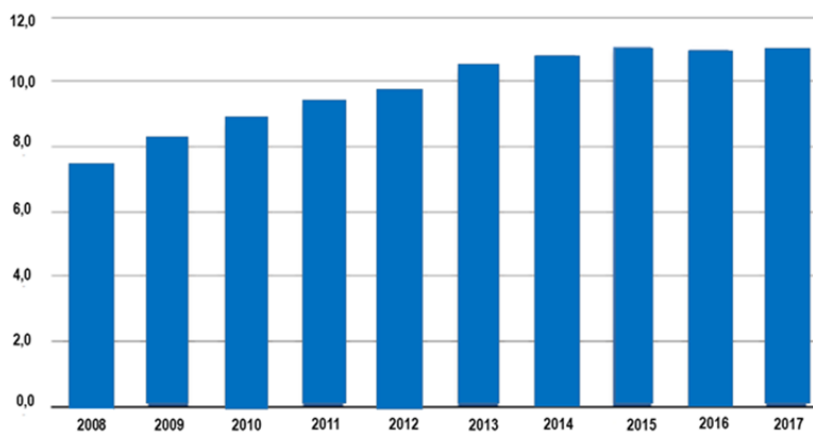
7. The presence of immigrants in the labor market in Italy

Since the last census, the total resident population in Italy is 60 million 484 thousand people, decreasing despite the positive migratory balance. Resident foreigners are 5 million 144 thousand and represent 8.5% of the total population (graphic 1).



Graphic 1: Population for geographical areas. Source: Istat 2018

In relation to migrants' flows, the participation of foreign citizens in the labor market is growing: they are about 11% of the total workforce (graphic 2). The number of foreign workers has increased: in 2017, the 10.5% of total employment amounted to 2.4 million people. Even in times of economic recession, from 2008 to 2013, the employment of foreigners does not stop growing even in the crisis years (graph 2).

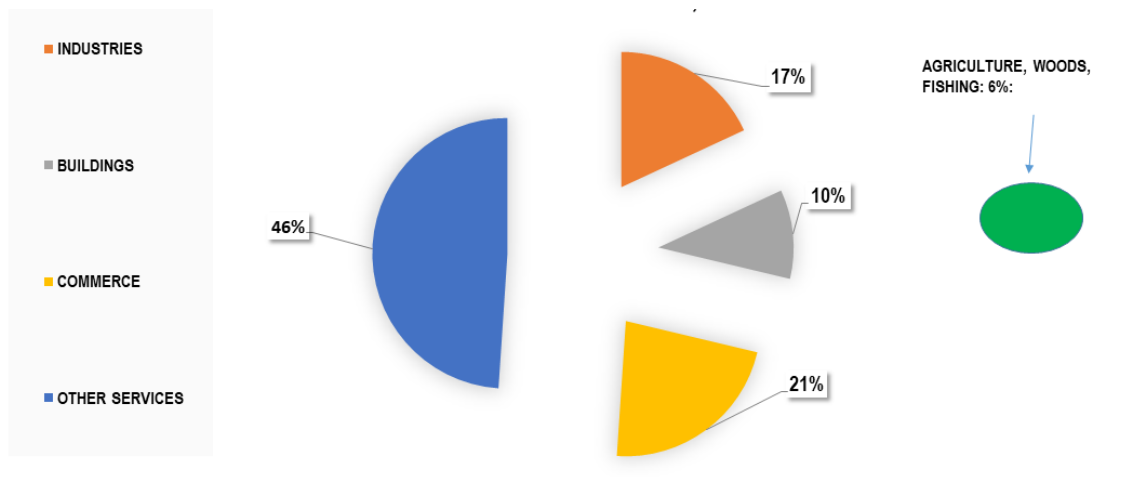


Graphic 2: Percentage of foreign workers. Source: ISTAT, 2018

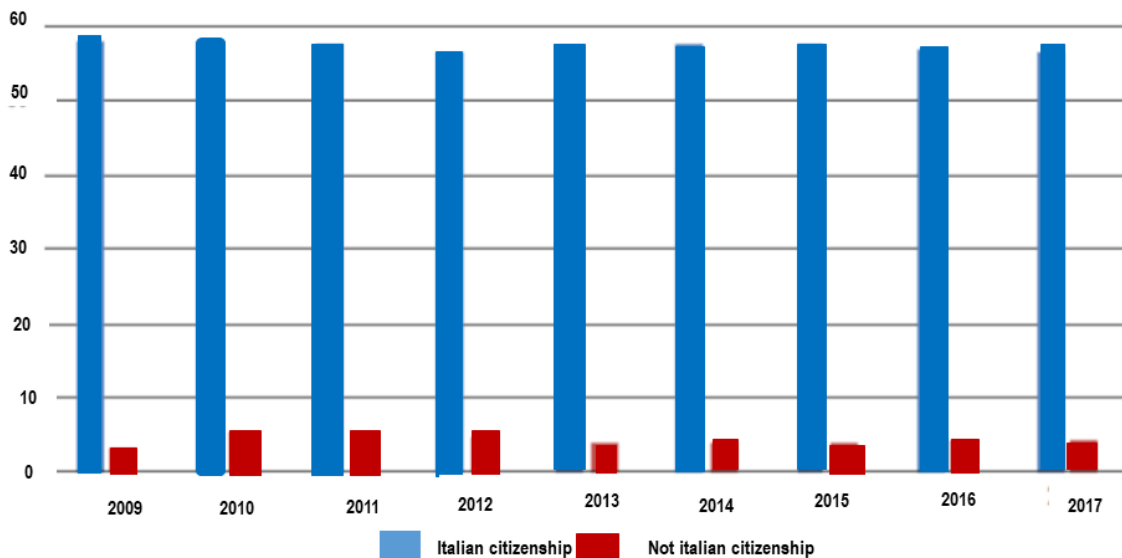
a. The presence of foreign workers in the agricultural sector

As for as the employment in agriculture of foreign citizens, it is substantially subordinated, unlike the Italians works: for them, although reduced, the incidence of the independent component prevails.

In 2008, according to ISTAT, the foreign workers in agriculture was officially around the 3% whilst the industries showed around the 23%, the commercial and building activities were respectively 18% and 16% (others services - such as assistance, domestic jobs - were 40%). The recent data by ISTAT show as the presence of migrant workers in agriculture has increased: it arrives at 6 % (graphics 3 and 4).



GRAPHIC 3: FOREIGN WORKERS. SOURCE, ISTAT, 2018



GRAPHIC 4: PERCENTAGE OF WORK IN AGRICULTURE BY CITIZENSHIP

Analyzing the composition of non-EU citizens by age group, the emerging picture from the comparison of the last ten years sees the foreign community becoming older.

In 2016, the 47% of foreign people were under 40, while the 7% of them were over sixty; ten years earlier, the 62% of young people up to 39 and only just over 2% over sixty (table 1).

YEAR	UNTILL 39 YEARS OLD	40-59 YEARS OLD	UP TO 60 YEARS OLD	TOTAL
2007	62,0%	35,9%	2,1%	100%
2008	60,4%	37,0%	2,6%	100%
2009	60,0%	37,2%	2,8%	100%
2010	57,6%	39,0%	3,3%	100%
2011	56,1%	40,1%	3,8%	100%
2012	55,0%	40,8%	4,2%	100%
2013	52,6%	42,5%	4,9%	100%
2014	50,7%	43,7%	5,6%	100%
2015	49,0%	44,7%	6,3%	100%
2016	47,2%	45,7%	7,0%	100%

TAB. 1: FOREIGN WORKERS FOR AGE. SOURCE: INPS, INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SECURITY, 2017

The composition of non-EU citizens by work condition (Table 2) has changed in the last ten years: in 2007 the 97% of non-EU citizens worked while only the 1.3% were beneficiaries of unemployment benefits and 1.8% were retired. From 2014 onwards, the share of non-EU citizens who (officially) work has decreased: the share of non-EU citizens who find themselves in the prevailing condition of unemployed persons increased to 5.4% in 2014 and stood at 5% in 2016. The share of non-EU citizens with conditions prevalence of retirees increased and reached 4.1% in 2016.

YEAR	WORKER	% PEOPLE HAVING SUPPORT FOR UNEMPLOYMENT	RETIRED PEOPLE	TOTAL
2007	97,0%	1,3%	1,8%	100%
2008	96,4%	1,5%	2,1%	100%
2009	94,9%	3,0%	2,1%	100%
2010	94,3%	3,3%	2,4%	100%
2011	94,1%	3,3%	2,6%	100%
2012	93,0%	4,2%	2,8%	100%
2013	91,7%	5,0%	3,2%	100%
2014	91,1%	5,4%	3,5%	100%
2015	90,9%	5,3%	3,8%	100%
2016	90,9%	5,0%	4,1%	100%

TAB 2: PERCENTAGE OF WORKING IMMIGRANTS; SOURCE INPS, NATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR SOCIAL SECURITY, 2017

b. The origin of foreign workers and location by geographical area

On the origin of foreign workers in Italy, more than a third of non-EU citizens in 2016 (table 3) come from Albania (13%), Morocco (11.7%) and China (9.5%).

At the territorial level, non-EU citizens work mainly in Northern Italy (63.5%), in particular non-agricultural employees (70.6%) and artisans (71.3%) work in the North. A little quantity, less than 13% of non-EU immigrants, work in the South with peaks of 34.7% for agricultural workers and 29.9% for traders. The variation of non-EU citizens who work in 2016 compared to 2007 was increased at + 27.3%.

As for as the gender is concerned: almost 95% of immigrants from Egypt and Bangladesh are male. Non-EU immigrants from India (85.5%) and Morocco (74.6%) are predominantly male. On the contrary, Ukraine (83.3%) and Moldova (69.8%) are the countries from which mainly women come.

In the last ten years the migratory flow from Asia has greatly increased: compared to 2007, non-EU immigrants from India and Bangladesh have more than doubled, those from China have increased by 90.6%.

Finally, with reference to the last decade, the regions in which non-EU citizens have the highest rate of change compared to 2007 are Campania (+ 72.6%), Lazio (+ 60.7%), Tuscany (+ 53.9%) and Sicily (51.5%).

ORIGIN COUNTRY	PEOPLE	% ON THE TOTAL	MALE %	% CHANGE FROM 2007 TO 2017
ALBANIA	282.522	13,0%	63,3%	25,8%
MOROCCO	254.588	11,7%	74,6%	18,8%
CHINA	205.971	9,5%	53,2%	90,6%
UKRAINE	164.234	7,6%	16,7%	31,9%
PHILIPPINES	114.785	5,3%	40,6%	42,0%
MOLDAVIA	103.626	4,8%	30,2%	60,1%
INDIA	90.879	4,2%	85,5%	103,1%
BLANGADESH	83.515	3,8%	94,6%	113,7%
PERU'	71.146	3,3%	38,6%	36,2%
EGYPT	68.152	3,1%	94,9%	67,7%
OTHER COUNTRIES	734.461	33,8%	62,8%	20,9%
TOTAL	2.173.879	100%	59,5%	35,8%

TAB. 3: ORIGIN COUNTRY. SOURCE: INPS, INSTITUTE FOR SOCIAL SECURITY, 2017

c. Types of work in Italy: a closer look at the agricultural sector

Among the different categories, it can be noted that traders have more than doubled (+ 120.9%), agricultural workers have increased by 85%, artisans by 37.6%. All this contrary to the trend of parasubordinates (-25%) - mainly due to the numerous regulatory interventions that have limited their dissemination, in particular for collaboration relationships in single project -.

JOB	NUMBER	% ON THE TOTAL	MALE %	FEMALE %	CHANGE % FROM 2007 TO 2016
WORKERS IN AGRICULTURE	135.234	8,3%	81,2%	18,8%	85,0%
WORKERS NOT IN AGRICULT.	977.138	59,7%	71,8%	28,2%	15,6%
STAGERS	37.839	2,3%	67,4%	32,6%	-39,0%
EMPLOYEES	94.270	5,8%	35,3%	64,7%	70,5%
HIGH EMPLOYEES	2.365	0,1%	67,0%	33,0%	74,5%
MANAGERS	931	0,1%	79,5%	20,5%	4,3%
DOMESTIC ASSISTANCE	151.476	9,2%	9,3%	90,7%	111,7%
COLVES	238.401	14,6%	22,1%	77,9%	-0,1%
TOTAL	1.637.654	100%	57,4%	42,6%	21,4%

TAB. 4: WORKERS FROM EXTRAUE, SOURCE: INPS, 2016

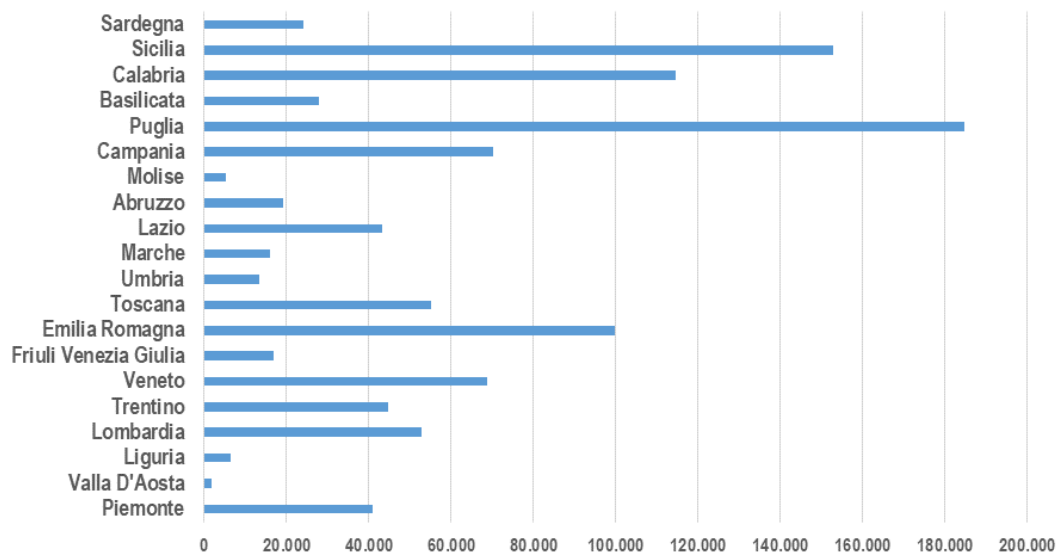
In Italy in 2017, agricultural employees with regular permanent or fixed-term contracts were 1,059,998. In the last ten years, this value has changed over time: in 2008 the number of workers was 2.2% lower than in 2017. It has decreased up to 2014 when the value was 5% lower than in 2017.

From 2015 to 2017, however, there was an increase in workers enrolled in the INPS. Focusing on the territorial level, we can see in the graphic 5 figure that the regions with the highest number of agricultural workers in 2017 are Puglia (17.4%), Sicily (14.4%), Calabria (10.8%), followed by Emilia Romagna (9.4%) and Campania (6.6%).

In absolute terms, in 2017, however Piemonte, Veneto and Lazio show a growth of workers employed in agriculture: respectively of 32%, 31.8% and 27.15%.

In 2017, Campania, Calabria and Valle d'Aosta have registered a decrease in employment in the last decade: respectively -22%, -15.28% and -14.88.

To sum up, it is possible to state that: from 2008 to 2017 the number of agricultural workers remained almost unchanged at the national level (there was an increase of 2%). But observing the phenomenon at a regional level, some regions have a considerable increase in the number of agricultural workers registered with the INPS, while in others (Campania, Calabria, Valle d'Aosta) there has been a decrease.



Graphic 5: WORKERS IN AGRICULTURE, OUR ELABORATION. SOURCE: INPS, 2019

Over the last decade, the prevailing type of contract has always been the fixed-term one, with values around the 89-90% of the total. This type has grown over the years, while the permanent one is decreasing: since 2014 there has been a reversal of the trend, with a significant increase in fixed-term employment contracts (Tab 5).

COUNTRY	2008	2013	2017	2008-2017
ITALY	768.843	675.782	695.613	-9,5%
RUMANIA	85.345	117.554	110.525	+29,50
MOROCCO	20.503	26.792	33.142	+61,64
INDIA	14.863	28.524	32.512	+118,7
ALBANIA	21.532	25.798	30.981	+43,88
POLLAND	25.755	20.010	13.563	-47,33
TUNISIA	9.358	12.573	13.080	+39,77
BULGARIA	8.617	13.478	12.462	+44,62
SENEGAL	4.279	6.022	11.306	+164,22
CHINA	162	2.427	2.069	+1177,16

TAB 5: WORKERS REGISTERED BY INPS IN 2008, 2013, 2017 AND DIFFERENCE 2008-2017. SOURCE: INPS, 2018

d. The areas of origin for agricultural workers and their location by group

In 2017, the most representative areas of origin - corresponding to the 99% of all agricultural workers - are six: West and North Africa, South Asia, South, West and East Europe. Agricultural workers with citizenship in countries of South Asia work mainly in the regions of northern and central Italy, while workers with citizenship of Western and Southern Europe work mainly in the regions of the South and the Islands.

With a more specific look about agricultural workers on the basis of their citizenship (table 6), we can have this ripartition, based on the nationality of origin:

- the Bulgarian citizens work mainly in the South;

- the Indian workers are concentrated in the regions of Northern and Central Italy, and also the Macedonians and Pakistanis;
- the citizens of Poland and the Slovak Republic work in the north- eastern regions;
- the citizens of Tunisia work mainly in the Islands;
- the Chinese people in the North.

In 2017, the 62.5% of agricultural workers with Indian citizenship worked in Lazio, Lombardia and Emilia-Romagna; the 86.8% of Chinese citizens employed in agriculture work in Piemonte, Veneto and Emilia-Romagna, while the 74.3% of agricultural workers with German citizenship work in the south in Sicily, Puglia and Calabria.

COUNTRY	2008		2013		2017		2008-2017 in %	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
ITALY	424.714	344.129	405.008	270.774	437.613	258.000	3,0	-25,0
RUMANIA	55.329	30.016	75.682	41.872	70.285	40.240	27,0	34,1
INDIA	13.403	1.460	26.726	1.798	29.909	2.603	123,2	78,3
MOROCCO	16.893	3.610	22.805	3.987	28.274	4.868	67,4	34,8
ALBANIA	15.224	6.308	17.901	7.897	20.806	10.175	36,7	61,3
TUNISIA	8.458	900	11.666	907	11.908	1.172	40,8	30,2
SENEGAL	3.928	351	5.632	390	10.721	585	172,9	66,7
MACEDONIA	6.079	1.368	8.455	2.020	8.484	2.151	39,6	57,2
PAKHISTAN	1.888	28	4.426	52	8.454	77	347,8	175,0
POLLAND	14.455	11.300	11.569	8.441	7.629	5.934	-47,2	-47,5
BULGARIA	4.750	3.867	7.631	5.847	6.899	5.563	45,2	43,9
REP. SLOVAKIA	5.640	1.812	7.328	1.663	4.487	1.177	-20,4	-35,0
GERMANY	3.106	4.204	3.228	3.566	3.437	3.425	10,7	-18,5

TAB. 6: WORKERS FOR COUNTRIES AND GENDER, INPS, 2018

e. The Duration of Work in Agriculture

The largest number of agricultural workers are employed in agriculture from 101 to 150 days per year. This number has been stable over the last decade; in 2008 almost 20% of agricultural employees worked from 51 to 100 days, while in 2017 the number of workers belonging to this range fell to 3.4%.

8. The repartition of migrants for activities after 2017

The data used so far belong to Istat and INPS. They usual differ from time to time: according to the offices of research and according to the specific indicators used.

So, here, we can add other data for a better comparaison.

In 2017, for ISTAT, the entry flows of non-EU workers in Italy both for work reasons of seasonal period (autonomous and non-seasonal subordinate) and for conversions of residence permits (held for

other reasons) in residence permits for subordinate and self-employed work were established at 30,850 units.

From these units:

- 13,850 people (out of the total envisaged by the “Salvini Decree”) are intended for conversion into permits of staying for subordinate or self-employed work, especially for who are already on the national territory with residence permits for other reasons (seasonal work, study, internship and/ or training professional, long-term residents from another member state of the European Union).
- 17,000 units are reserved for entrances for seasonal work (in the agricultural and tourism sectors) of citizens of Other Countries who have signed agreements with Italy readmission; moreover, within the 17,000 units, 2,000 people are reserved for non-EU workers who have entered Italy to perform seasonal subordinate work for at least once in the previous five years and for which the employer submits a request for a multi-year permit for work seasonal subordinate.
- 13,000 seasonal employees from different countries. Regardless of citizenship, workers who have already been here in past years may also arrive. In addition, 1,500 of the 13,000 are reserved for workers who in the past have already entered Italy for at least two consecutive years and for whom a multi-year entry permit can be requested.

8.1. *The characteristics of agricultural work, with a special look at Southern Italy*

The characteristics of the agricultural sector influence a particular exposure of the workforce to the risk of exploitation. Agriculture is traditionally characterized by high informality of the labor market, starting from unofficial ways of meeting supply and demand.

Usually, employers communicate the actual working days ex post (within three months of hiring) to the social security institution.

The sector is characterized by high seasonality and high demand for low-skilled work and is inserted within production chains, pushing for a strong compression of the economic value of the product and labor costs. In addition, workers often carry out their work in conditions of isolation: in particular, the employees of livestock farms.

In the Center-South, there are evident infiltrations of organized crime. Whilst there are strong pushes to outsource the activities, especially in the North, throughout the use of spurious cooperatives and brokerage agencies linked to employers with procurement or administration contracts. These agencies deal with the recruitment, transport, housing and control of the workforce; sometimes they also take care of immigration procedures from the country of origin.

The outsourcing process complicates the reconstruction of the exploitation chain and the identification of the responsibility of the final users (i.e. agricultural enterprises.)

Although labor exploitation does not exclusively concern foreign people, their condition is characterized by peculiar factors of vulnerability.

From the interviews carried out (Corrado, 2021), the following elements of vulnerability emerge:

a. the subordination of the residence permit to the employment contract, which pushes migrants to accept all conditions and determines their blackmail;
b. the perception of "normality" of exploitation and distrust of the authorities, also influenced by the experience of the countries of origin and transit;
c. poor linguistic understanding and information on labor law;
d. the functioning of the labor market and the rules on health and safety in the workplace in Italy;
e. the debt to which workers may have exposed themselves to support the cost of migration;
f. racial discrimination suffered in work and in access to market goods and services, including housing;

g.the exposure of workers and especially female workers to the risk of sexual abuse and exploitation.

Scheme 1: Vulnerability Elements of Migrant in Agricultural Field. Source: our elaboration 2021

Applicants and holders of international protection enjoy a residence permit for long periods, and from this point of view they seem to be less blackmailable than other categories of foreign workers. However, other elements of vulnerability are highlighted: the most disadvantage is produced both by the individual characteristics of the migrants and by elements concerning the reception path.

From the interviews (Corrado 2021; D’Agostino 2021), the vulnerability elements of holders of international protection can be summarised as follows:

- | |
|---|
| a. specific factors of fragility hinder the labor integration of refugees, causing the so called <i>refugee gap</i> with other categories of migrants, such as: socio-health precariousness due to traumas suffered during the migration path, lower levels of education and lower professional skills to the so-called economic migrants. |
| b. territorial dispersion and heterodirect placement in different areas of the national territory, which prevent refugees from benefiting of that social capital, characterising the "migratory chains" by economic migrants, which represent an important resource for job placement; |
| c. the prolonged uncertainty of their legal status and the risk of denial for international protection tend to discourage regular employment by employers; |
| d. the accompanying work services offered by the <i>Extraordinary Reception Centers (CAS)</i> are not always efficient, and the quality of the services is often very variable; |
| e. a further fragility factor is due to the fact that an important portion of refugees (employed in agriculture) hold a residence permit for humanitarian reasons. Following the entry into force of the Decree-Law no. 113/2018 (converted by Law no. 132/2018, the so-called "Security Decree"), this type of permit is renewable only in particular circumstances. So, migrants have the alternative of requesting the permit conversion into a work permit; as it is not easily accessible because of the bureaucratic complexity, the refugees are exposed to the blackmail highlighted above for economic migrants. |

Scheme 2: Vulnerability Elements of Refugees in Agricultural Field- Source: our elaboration 2021

8.2. Foreign labor in agriculture

The Italian agricultural sector has been characterized, in the last decade, by an almost stationary trend of the workforce, with a constant growth of the foreign presence, especially non-EU ones.

Between 2009 and 2018 the workforce remained just over one million units, but non-EU agricultural workers went from about 107,000 (10.5%) to about 196,000 (18% of the total). Foreign EU workers have also increased, but to a lesser extent: in 2017 the Romanian nationality, the traditionally prevalent one, represented 10.4% of agricultural work compared to 8.2% in 2008.

Furthermore, if over the decade the distribution of Italian employees in the various economic sectors has remained stable, the foreign labor has changed: in 2008, 3% of foreign citizens worked in the primary sector against 4% of Italians; in 2017 the share of foreigners doubled, reaching 6%, while that of Italian employed remained unchanged.

Agriculture has therefore absorbed part of the foreign labor expelled from manufacturing in the North, due to the economic crisis at the end of the first decade of the century.

In 2017 there was an average of 104 days worked per capita, with differences related to citizenship: Italian, Tunisian and Indian workers worked for longer periods, while the majority of agricultural workers from West Africa, from East Europe and from Pakistan worked no more than 50 days a year.

The data is relevant because work periods of less than 51 days during the year do not allow access to welfare measures for agricultural workers, in particular unemployment benefits, resulting in a particularly fragile economic condition for the people involved.

There are about 320,000 workers employed for less than 50 days, with an increase of more than 10% in the decade 2008-2017. It is presumable that the major irregularities are in this basin.

Alongside the workers completely without a contract, there is a wide range of "gray work" where the worker is regularly hired, but the employer tend to report to the social security institution a lower number of days worked, quite lower than those actually performed. The Ministry of Labor estimates that in 2018 there were approximately 164,000 agricultural workers who worked in irregular conditions.

The *Union Workers Sources* report much higher estimates: in 2017 there would be at least 400,000 farm workers with informal contracts or wages below the official values, whose over 130,000 in conditions of strong social vulnerability and occupational suffering. Irregular foreigners, in particular, would be about 160,000, that is almost 40% of the total foreign workforce.

9. A look in Calabria: migrants and workers in agriculture

Calabrian agriculture is mostly made up of small farms. The 67.8% of the Calabrian salable production includes above all four products: olive (13.3%), citrus (15.7%), vegetables (26.2%) and livestock (12.7%).

In the last three years, salable production has undergone a significant decline compared to 2015 (-12.4%), especially in the field of olives products (-56.7%), cereals (-15%), livestock products (-4, 3%). Besides, the strong dependence of agricultural products on large-scale distribution does not facilitate the recovery of the sector, above all characterized by the sharp decline in olive growing and oil production. Fortunately, in the last ten years, an increasing weight has been occupied by social agriculture and the direct sale of biological products which is beginning to occupy young people under the age of forty years old.

a. Numbers of migrants in 2017-2020

In relation to migrants in Calabria, according to Istat in 2017, there were 49,267 residents, whose 20,942 were women and 28,325 were males. There is still a prevalence of men in all provinces, with the exception of the province of Cosenza where women - especially from Eastern Europe - slightly outnumber the males: 5,982 against 5,778. Differently, the province of Crotona shows the greatest difference in favor of the immigrant population by gender because men are 4,923 against 1,517 women.

b. Foreign Workers for Provinces in 2017-2020

Actually, the greatest presence of foreign workers, both EU and non-EU, is in the provinces of Cosenza, respectively of 8,421 and 3,490 units, and in Reggio Calabria, respectively 3,628 and 4,191. In 2017, EU foreign workers prevail over non-EU workers in all Calabrian provinces, with the exception of Reggio where the incidence of non-EU citizens is around 42%. In fact the province of Reggio Calabria detects the greatest presence of non-EU citizens, 16,858 units, whilst Cosenza has a second position, 11,760 units. The provinces of Catanzaro, Crotona and Vibo Valentia follow respectively: 10,863, 6,440 and 3,346 units (table 7).

Compared to 2016, in 2020, there was a decrease of 1,258 units in the provinces of Cosenza (-356 units), Crotona and Reggio (-1,000 in both) while they increased in the provinces of Catanzaro and Vibo Valentia (respectively by 582 and 524 units).

PROVINCES, 2017	FEMALE	MALE	TOTAL
CATANZARO	5.034	5.829	10.863
COSENZA	5.982	5.778	11.760
CROTONE	1.517	4.923	6.440
REGGIO CALABRIA	7.092	9.766	16.858
VIBO VALENTIA	1.317	2.099	3.346
CALABRIA	20.942	28.325	49.267

Tab. 7: Immigrants in Calabria, our Elaboration. Source: Minister of the Interior, 2019

9.1. Migrants in agriculture of Calabria

From the total number of foreign workers, in Calabria the employed in agricultural work are 23%: the 14% comes from European Community and 9% arrives from the non-EU countries.

a. Declared units of agricultural workers in 2017 and 2020

In 2017, the flow of entry for seasonal work calculated a number of 520 units whose units are divided as follows by province: Catanzaro 30; Cosenza 170; Crotona 5; Reggio c. 300 and Vibo Valentia 15. In 2020, it seems to be a light increase in workers from non-EU zones, compared to EU citizens. Recently the use of many foreign refugees was registered, above all in the plain of Lamezia: they are people welcomed in extraordinary assistance centers.

b. Days of (declared) seasonal work in 2017 and 2020

Each worker is (officially) employed on average for 84 days of work.

Italians for 90 days while EU citizens and non-EU citizens respectively for 67 and 58 days.

The province of Vibo Valentia has the higher average of non-EU citizens employees for year: 71 days for year, four days exceeding EU citizens.

In 2020, the working days of Italian workers are slightly decreased in relation to EU and non-EU citizens.

Only the 10% of Calabria enterprises declares to engage workers around 200 days.

We can affirm that the incidence of employment in agriculture is higher in Crotona, compared to the other provinces. The lowest percentage is in Vibo Valentia.

The official residence time of foreigners in Calabria is less than three months. At the end of their activity, immigrants from Eastern Europe return to their country of origin, unlike African immigrants work moving from one region to another - despite the fact that in the last year we have witnessed a stable presence on the territory in other sectors (in construction and tourism sectors).

c. Migrants' provenience and types of works

Looking at data from Istat and to Minister of the Interior, the number of foreign workers in the Calabrian agricultural sector seem to arrive about 34,700 units, whose 70% are EU.

The activities carried out by irregular immigrants in the Calabrian farms (their working hours, the contributions in seasonal activities and so on) are very high.

In the last five years, the presence of foreign workers in regional agriculture is slightly increasing especially in the Fields of Sibari and Gioia Tauro, the two most important citrus-growing areas.

In the Rosarno Area there is a strong presence of African citizens during the orange harvest: the official period of employment is on average 13 days where each day includes 8 hours of work in winter and 12 in summer.

The crisis of Calabrian agriculture is overcome by lowering labor costs of migrants (illegal immigrants, regular and those present in reception centers, etc.).

A diverse situation in the livestock sector whose activities consist of keeping the stable and pastoralism: work is registered for almost the entire year (102 working days per year). The presence of Asian citizens is mainly engaged in these activities.

The activities in agritourism farms and in the processing of products are carried out by Eastern Europe Immigrants, often with regular contracts.

It is possible to add that in agriculture sector, the contractual and salary conditions are mostly informal: wages of 20 euros equal to 50% of the union wage. In spite some workers have a contract, the working days declared are often less than those really worked.

d. Logistic conditions

Migrants live in tents. For instance, they live in the tent city of San Ferdinando where a new tent city with more services has recently been installed. The previous one has been dismantled but it is still used by illegal migrants, along with other makeshift housing with serious lack of sanitation.

The precarious housing, even the institutional like the tent city in Rosarno, are lacking in essential services (electricity, drinking water, toilets, etc.) and people have to cope with a number of people far greater than those can be accommodated. The work of the volunteers compensates for the severe discomfort where non-EU citizens are subjected. Even if with a non-increasing trend, seasonal immigrants still arrive in the areas of Rosarno and Sibari.

9.2. Good signs: towards the regularization of the labor market and new foreign enterprises?

In 2017, INPS registered a total of 110,543 workers in line with those registered in the previous year, whose 77% are Italian, 9% non-EU and 14% EU.

In 2020 a light decrease: about Italian workers (-1%) and a more marked decrease in EU workers (-7%) in favor of non-EU workers, increased by 1,500 units.

About compensation and recruitment the state is trying a more supervised attitude. In fact, in 2016 the law n. 199 of contrasting illegal hiring provides for more severe penalties for corporals and the entrepreneurs who use them.

However, the employment of immigrants in agriculture continues to be unclear.

In relation to the law to combat illegal hiring (Law No. 199/2016), which provides a strengthening of the network of quality agricultural work, there are additional interventions for the reception of seasonal workers, additional compensation for victims of slavery and a increased penalties for those who make irregular contracts.

In the province of Reggio Calabria, a memorandum of understanding has been signed involving the institutions, trade unions, agricultural professional organizations. But at present it is difficult to make a concrete impact assessment of the protocol.

About some positive signs, in recent years the number of businesses run by foreigners highlights a positive trend: in 2016 there were 13,591 with an increase of 3% if compared to the previous year; in 2018, foreign companies are 14,753 with an increase compared to 2016 of 1,162 units (+ 9%). It appears a stagnation in the period 2019-2020.

In absolute value, the provinces of Reggio Calabria and Cosenza host the largest share of foreign entrepreneurs, respectively 33% and 31%, followed by Catanzaro with 25%.

The economic sector with the most foreign companies is in the commerce (75%), followed by the construction sector (6%). The agricultural enterprises have the lowest incidence (553 units) and also the lowest variation over the years (+ 10%) compared to other economic sectors (tab.8).

Foreign entrepreneurs come from Morocco with 5,852 companies, the 40% of total foreign enterprises. In the other positions: Germany (6.7%), India (5.2%), Pakistan (4.9%), China (4.8%), Switzerland (4.6%), Senegal (4.4%), Romania (3.2%), Bangladesh (2.8%) and France (1.9%).

PROVINCES, 2018	NUMBER	FOREIGN ENTERPRISES	IMPACT %
COSENZA	67.914	4.526	6,7
REGGIO CALABRIA	52.419	4.796	9,1
CATANZARO	34.028	3.699	10,9
CROTONE	17.666	1.003	5,7
VIBO VALENTIA	13.447	729	5,4
CALABRIA	185.474	14.753	8,0
ITALIA	6.070.191	590.385	9,7

Tab. 8: Foreign Enterprises, Our Elaboration; Source: Corriere della Sera, 2019

10. Guidelines for Improve Better Social Conditions

Although over the last few years the condition of seasonal laborers, including vulnerable ones, has been addressed with broader responses, some new solutions could respond to further improvements and to the critical issues:

a. The search for reception solutions planned in the medium to long term to respond to a phenomenon - seasonal agricultural work - which no longer has the characteristics of an emergency and requires structural responses. The search for accommodation should be consistent with the lengthening of the agricultural season, with the trend of the harvest and with the changes that have occurred in recent years in productive choices of businesses, which affect their demand for work.
b. The strengthening of community and widespread forms of reception, with the involvement of a greater number of Municipalities and companies. The widespread reception allows workers to be brought closer to the workplace, reducing transport costs and the risks of illicit recruitment, as well as those for the safety of workers who usually travel by bicycle on state roads.
c. The offer of safe forms of transport from home to work places.
d. The prevention of the creation of informal gatherings, where workers are more exposed to the risk of illegal hiring and exploitation, by increasing the supply of decent reception places, even temporary ones.
e. The improvement of the quality of reception, through a wider range of services and the enhancement of qualified professionals (cultural mediators, social workers, labor service operators, etc.)
f. The offer of targeted services to workers with particular social, legal and health vulnerabilities.
g. The search for solutions with local institutions (Municipalities, Police Headquarters, etc.) for the regular registration and the renewal and conversion of residence permits, with the aim of preventing irregularities and abuses and allowing seasonal workers to access to local services, especially social and health services.

h. Supporting the employability of seasonal agricultural workers, through the recognition of their previous skills, including informal ones, and the strengthening of those related to specialized agricultural work, also in order to guarantee more skilled labor for farms.
i. Strengthening employment services with greater skills and professionalism capable of promoting the employability of this particular target of workers.
j. The emergence of forms of illicit or informal intermediation between labor supply and demand, making sure that the meeting takes place through regular channels, with the aid of telematic and efficient meeting tools.
k. The construction of a supra-regional network of collaboration that allows the creation of conditions of reciprocity and exchange in the placement of seasonal labor, considering the mobility of foreign workers between different areas of the national territory.
l. Supervision of the correct application of national and territorial labor contracts and adequate information for workers about their rights.
m. The promotion of greater guarantees of employment and wage continuity for workers, with support for the use of the network contract and forms of community social agriculture.
n. The enhancement of ethical, social and quality agricultural production, through the recognition and encouragement of the behavior of socially responsible companies.
o. The promotion of a supply chain agreement, which recognizes a fair price for agricultural producers and a salary for workers in line with employment contracts.
p. Community animation activities that increase the degree of integration between seasonal workers and local communities, prevent the risk of racial discrimination and foster a climate of less social tension.

Scheme 3: Critical issues to overcome. Our elaboration, 2021

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