
Italy

Country Report

Work Package 2

Undocumented Worker Transitions

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1. Introduction

1.1 A short history of foreign immigration to Italy

A careful examination of the undocumented component of the migrant population in the Italian labour market cannot fail to consider the history of migration to Italy from the countries of the global South and East. This history has been played out against the backdrop of the current phase of neo-liberal globalisation; while recent in comparison with other European countries,¹ it nonetheless presents paradigmatic and anticipatory features, especially in the field of migration policies and access to work.

Even if the presence of a predominantly female migration goes back to the 1960s, Italy - traditionally a nation of emigrants - did not record a positive migration balance until the early 1970s, at the same time as the introduction of "zero migration" policies by the main European countries of immigration, in response to the crisis of the cycle of post-war development. Until the late 1970s the migrant population in Italy was essentially stable; a slow and constant growth began in the following decade, but it was only in the late 1990s that the number of documented migrants passed the one million mark and it became clear that immigration had become a "mass phenomenon".² Today, with over three million documented immigrants³ - including 20,675 political refugees⁴ - and approximately 760,000 who are undocumented,⁵ Italy

¹ Among them, we cite the United Kingdom, Belgium, Germany and France - historical destinations of migration ever since the 19th century, with substantial migration from Italy as well. Italy has had a positive migration balance only since 1973: the cycle of post-war development was in fact founded for the most part on internal migrations from the regions of the South and North-East towards the so-called "industrial triangle" (Genoa - Turin - Milan).

² "Statistics on foreign nationals residing in Italy have only been available since 1970. At the end of that year the number of foreigners was 143,838, and the figure did not reach 200,000 until 1979. [...] In the course of the 1990s the number of foreign residents doubled, from 649,000 at the end of 1991 to 1,341,000 in 2000" (Caritas/Migrantes, 2005). The number of documented immigrants reached the one million mark for the first time in 1997 (1,023,000 on 31-12-1997).

³ According to the up-dated figures on 31-12-2005 there were 3,035,144 documented migrants in Italy. See Fondazione ISMU (2007); Caritas/Migrantes (2006).

⁴ Figures up-dated to 31-12-2005. The figures on the number of documented migrants from this point in this report includes political refugees: Italy, compared to other European countries, has highly restrictive criteria where asylum is concerned. Refugees in fact make up only 0.35% of the total immigrant population in Italy, as compared, for example, to 4.91% in the United Kingdom and 8.21% in Denmark. See Caritas/Migrantes (2006).

⁵ Figures up-dated to 01-07-2006. See Fondazione ISMU, 2007. Citizens from non-EU countries with no form of residence permit are considered "irregular" [= undocumented] migrants. They constitute only a part of the migrant population that, along with a part of the Italian population, works without authorisation in the sphere of the underground economy. Irregularly employed persons also include: migrant workers with residence permits that do not authorize them to work (such as asylum seekers); migrant workers with no job contract but who do have residence permits that authorize them to work (such as migrant

is fifth in Europe for number of migrants, after Germany, Spain, France and the United Kingdom, and is first, both in absolute and relative terms, where undocumented migrants are concerned.

The migrant population has become a structural component of Italian society in every respect. The very processes of settling in and socio-economic stabilisation have contributed to the generation of profound social transformations, which materially prelude a greater integration and a growing socialisation between the host and the migrant populations, in the workplace and the trade unions, as well as in the schools. Nevertheless, in the dominant discourse migration has consistently been represented by the media, by the entrepreneurial class and by the various national administrations essentially in two ways: as an emergency and as a threat to national security and to the so-called "Fortress Europe" - that culminates in the criminalisation of and the "war" on immigration in itself;⁶ or else as a resource to relaunch the Italian economy internationally or to bolster a weak national demographic growth rate that is incapable of satisfying the pressing demands of the labour market, thus reducing migrants exclusively to their productive and reproductive functions.

These two representations, which are strictly complementary and are often combined with the differentialist approach, aim at the inferiorisation of the migrant populations in order to devalue them in the labour market: this leads to an overall diminution of the cost of labour at the national and the European level and, therefore, sustains competitiveness on the world market. This process of inferiorisation, which owes so much to the history of European colonialism (and neo-colonialism),⁷ is characterised by an incessant production of racial stereotypes that invest and isolate specific populations in turn, on the basis of national origin, of "ethnic" group, of religion, etc. If today, at the institutional and "popular" level, racism aimed at the Chinese and the Muslims appears to prevail, throughout the 1990s the primary targets of specific racist campaigns - also in line with Italian foreign policy - were the

workers with permits for family reunification, or with two jobs but authorisation only for one of them); migrant workers with a job contract and a residence permit that authorizes them to work, but who are employed in an unauthorized manner (such as migrant workers with permits for study reasons, who work more than the 20 hours per week allowed by their residence permits).

⁶ See S. Palidda (2000); S. Palidda (2005).

⁷ See P. Basso (2000); C. Meillassoux (1978).

migrant populations from the Balkans and the Maghreb. In inferiorisation, then, we find a process of hierarchisation strictly connected with the mechanisms of selection and stratification at work in the national and international labour markets, whose ultimate end is division and contraposition - not only on the labour market - between the host and the migrant working populations but between the migrant populations themselves.

These processes of inferiorisation and hierarchisation have then been institutionalised by migration policies themselves⁸.

⁸ See P. Basso (2003).

2. Summary of the immigration and employment legislative system

Coupling the analysis of immigration legislation with an examination of changes in employment legislation is of crucial importance. This combined analysis makes it possible to investigate more exhaustively not only the working and living conditions of undocumented migrants, but also the mechanisms of division, selection, stratification and segregation that concern the entire world of work, whose origin resides also in the differential treatment reserved for migrant workers.

In Italy, for over twenty years special legislation on immigration and deregulation of the labour market have converged in the production and institutionalisation of casualisation as a structural element of the economic system, to respond to the needs of capital to combat the fall in the accumulation rate, following the crisis in the 1970s, by decreasing the direct and indirect costs of labour and globally levelling working conditions downward.⁹ The current processes of casualisation are thus to be understood in a broader sense, concerning not only migrant but, in the proper sense, "precarious" workers. These processes include: the structuralisation of the underground economy in all its forms; the systematic production of "illegality" on the part of migration policies; the feminisation of the labour market subordinate to and as a basic element of its stratification; the increasing recourse to outsourcing and subcontracting; the progressive replacement of collective with company, or even individual, bargaining; the flexibilisation of hiring and firing practices in the labour market, and so forth. All these elements materially level the condition of workers of the countries of the global North downward, progressively and inexorably bringing them closer to the conditions that colonialism, and then neo-colonialism, reserved for the mass of workers of the countries of the global South.¹⁰

⁹ See P. Basso and F. Perocco (eds.) (2003).

¹⁰ Even if, it must be recalled, "for wage labour casualisation is not a recent innovation [and] the condition of casualisation is, for workers, a structural condition [...] since what takes place on the labour market is not only an unequal exchange between capital and labour, but also an exchange that gives workers no guarantee of continuity" (F. Coin, 2006).

2.1 Historical account of immigration policies

2.1.1 The production of illegality^{*}: the salient features of migration policies in Italy

In studies on migration it has generally been recognised that Italian migration policies, explicitly designed to combat "illegality," are in fact an instrument that produces and institutionalises casualisation in its utmost form - which is, precisely, "illegality".¹¹

Some elements that underlie the institutionalised production of illegality were already present in the earliest migration laws. This is the case of Law 943/86,¹² passed in 1986 to enact the ILO convention on the rights of foreign workers (no. 143 of 1975).¹³ This law made provision for recourse to amnesties to regularise situations of previous illegality, which had come about precisely because, until then, Italy did not have legislation to regulate the entry and residence of migrant workers, apart from a few ministerial memorandums.¹⁴ In tandem, then, with Law 943/86, an amnesty was decreed, designed to regularise the status of approximately 105,000 undocumented migrant workers, who had found jobs in the underground economy.

Another fundamental element in the institutionalised production of illegality, which has contributed to rendering recourse to amnesties systemic, is the "governing" of migration movements through flow decrees that annually set an upper limit to the number of entries for the purpose of work for hire. The legislation on flow decrees, introduced for the first time in 1990 by Law 39/90 (Martelli Law), prescribes that it is up to the employer to set in motion the bureaucratic procedures, required by the Interior Ministry, to authorise an entry: hence the migrant worker is excluded a priori from directly and independently requesting a residence permit and is in a position of total subordination to the employer. Furthermore, for many years the flow decrees made provision for very few entries and, in some years, none were issued,

^{*} Clandestinità, translated throughout as "illegality."

¹¹ See P. Basso and F. Perocco (eds.) (2003); F. Coin (ed.) (2004); IRES-CGIL (2006).

¹² The other ILO conventions to which Italy adheres are no. 97/49 and no. 118/62.

¹³ Università Ca' Foscari Venezia - Laboratorio sull'Immigrazione (2003); E. Galossi (2003).

¹⁴ The legislation of reference, up to 1986, had been the "Testo unico delle leggi di pubblica sicurezza" of 1931.

obliging migrants to enter Italy illegally or, more frequently, to fall into illegality as "overstayers." Considering, then, that six amnesties have been decreed to date,¹⁵ it is clear that Italian migration policies, ever since their first construction, have organically combined the structural submergence of undocumented migrant workers into the underground economy, due to the quota restrictions on entries, with their periodic emergence through the instrument of amnesties.

Both the annual setting of entry quotas and the cyclical recourse to amnesties have been fully assimilated and perfected by the most organic pieces of legislation of the past ten years, Law 40/98 (Turco-Napolitano Law) and Law 186/2002 (Bossi-Fini Law).

Law 40/98, passed in 1998, is considered as the first organic law on migration that Italy ever had.¹⁶ It recognised migration as a structural phenomenon of society and, consequently, instituted the delegation of some substantial administrative measures (such as the "residence card," of unlimited duration), to the regional and local Administrations, a measure designed to include and integrate documented migrants in the social fabric.¹⁷ It also introduced equality of access to the national health system for those migrants with residence permits, while guaranteeing undocumented migrants the right, in cases of illness or injury, to urgent, even if ongoing, out-patient and hospital treatment provided by public or accredited services (Progetto Equal "Tante Tinte," 2004), and recognised the right to education for the school-age children of undocumented migrants.

These first positive elements were nonetheless coupled with regulations on residence permits - including a system of guaranteed quotas, the "nominative call" for job contracts, and the sponsor system¹⁸ - that have further

¹⁵ See F. Pittau (2005). In fact the first amnesty dates from 1982: it was enacted at the administrative level by the Ministry of Labour and concerned 5,000 workers. See EMN - European Migration Network (2005).

¹⁶ Law 40/98 "entailed for the Italian state the adjustment of the legislation on foreigners following Italy's entry in the Schengen area" which took place in 1997. (Università Ca' Foscari Venezia - Laboratorio sull'Immigrazione, 2003)

¹⁷ Law 40/98 introduced the possibility of requesting a permanent residence card for non-Italian citizens who have been legally and continuously resident in Italy for more than five years.

¹⁸ Also the system of guaranteed quotas has proved to be a failure, given the small number of entries authorized annually. The sponsor system, by contrast, consists in an Italian or legally resident foreign

subordinated the legal entry of migrant workers to the short-term demands of the labour market. What is more, Law 40/98 also introduced "temporary accommodation centres" - in fact, full-fledged "administrative" detention centres - as a measure to combat illegal entry and fully in line with the security policy now expressed by the legislation of most other European countries.

2.2 Overview of current immigration legal framework

The latest stage of these migration policies, based on casualisation and on the institutional production of illegality, was the adoption, in 2002, of Law 189/2002.¹⁹ The innovations broached by the Bossi-Fini are harsher than previous legislation: the sponsor mechanism was abolished; the maximum terms of validity of residence permits and of unemployment were reduced;²⁰ the maximum terms of detention in the temporary accommodation centres were doubled; the income and residence parameters for family reunification were raised; access to public housing was limited to migrants with documented employment and a residence card, or a residence permit for at least two years; the penal offence of "illegal re-entry" was introduced; the possibility of withdrawing pension contributions paid to the National Social Security Institute (INPS) before the age of 65, for workers who definitively returned to their home countries, was cancelled.

Furthermore this law, by introducing the so-called "residence contract," inexorably linked the right to reside in Italy to the simultaneous satisfaction of three requirements: having a job with a documented contract; having a residence permit; and having a residence (and therefore housing). This legislative measure, which came into force in 2005, decrees that the employer must guarantee the migrant worker's housing and possible repatriation expenses. Hence the "residence contract" on the one hand puts migrant

citizen's guaranteeing the housing and sustenance of a migrant who is seeking work. It is generally held to be a positive measure, albeit one that "effectively legitimated that which practice had always consolidated: namely the (also illegal) entry in Italy to 'explore' the possibility of employment, which was followed by years of illegality while awaiting an amnesty or a hiring through the quota system" (Università Ca' Foscari Venezia - Laboratorio sull'Immigrazione, 2006, *Le politiche migratorie in Italia*).

¹⁹ On Law 189/2002 see: Laboratorio sull'Immigrazione - Università Ca' Foscari (2005); Laboratorio sull'Immigrazione - Università Ca' Foscari (2006a); B. Nascimbene (ed.) (2004); P. Basso and F. Perocco (2003); F. Perocco (2003); IRES-CGIL (2003a); F. Coin (ed.) (2003); Progetto Equal "Tante Tinte" (2004).

²⁰ The residence permits for immigrant workers with *permanent* job contracts were reduced to two years and, in the case of job loss, the immigrant has up to six months to find new documented employment.

workers in a situation of greater weakness with respect to their employers, who can easily threaten them, and discourages their regular hiring; on the other, it "renders the situation even more precarious, linking legal residence and the exercise of normally recognised rights to the validity of the employment contract" (C. Piccirilli, 2003) and exponentially it multiplies the possibilities of falling into illegality, especially for migrant workers with atypical employment contracts.

Legal entry remains anchored to the system of annual entry quotas, which in the last few years have been improperly utilised as "mini-amnesties" to rectify situations of previous irregularity. The quota system, moreover, on the one hand has been structured in a "selective" manner, since a great many of the authorised entries are reserved for migrants from countries with which Italy has stipulated bilateral agreements.²¹ On the other hand, it has increasingly come to be structured in a manner reminiscent of the old *Gastarbeiter* model, clearly encouraging entries for seasonal work rather than for permanent employment. This has been done in response to the demand for hyperflexible labour power in the sectors most subject to "seasonality" (such as agriculture, construction, tourism),²² and to reduce the indirect "costs" to the Italian State that would ensue if these workers gained permanent employment.

2.2.1 The (non-existent) legislation on asylum

Refugee status has been granted to very few migrants in Italy, compared to other nations with a longer tradition of granting asylum.²³ This situation is due to the fact that "Italy continues to be the only Member State of the European Union that has no organic law on the right to asylum" (UNHCR, 2005). The legislation of reference is Law 39/90, which established some forms of assistance in favour of asylum seekers and refugees and withdrew the geographical reserve stipulated in the ratification of the Geneva Convention;²⁴

²¹ The case of the 2007 flow decree is a good example. With 159,000 permits available (79,550 for non-E.U. and 79,550 for newly admitted E.U. nationals), there were approximately 350,000 applications. It is to be noted that most of the applications, which had to be presented before the end of February 2007, have still received no reply (and no reply is in sight, leaving thousands of people in limbo).

²² Seasonal permits have a duration of no more than 9 months. There are similar permit typologies also in France (OMI contracts) and Spain ("type A" permits for temporary workers).

²³ Italy, with only 20,675 refugees, is a far cry indeed from Germany (700,016), the United Kingdom (293,459), France (137, 316) or the Netherlands (118,189). See UNHCR (2006).

²⁴ Italy ratified the Geneva Convention in 1954.

Law 286/98, which instituted a residence permit for humanitarian reasons and for temporary protection; Law 189/2002, currently in force, which decentralised, from the national to the regional and local levels, the procedures for the recognition of refugee status and the institution of accommodation services for asylum seekers and refugees without means of support, and introduced the accommodation of asylum seekers in "identification centres."

We also note that when a permit is granted an asylum seeker at Police Headquarters it is made clear that the person has no right to work until refugee status has been recognised, since it is maintained that "asylum seekers are present in Italy for needs of protection and not for work" (Labouratorio sull'Immigrazione - Università di Venezia, 2005). As a recent study by Medici Senza Frontiere on the conditions of migrant workers in agriculture in Southern Italy has remarked, in this way asylum seekers are inexorably driven to seek and to find work in the underground economy,²⁵ along with the broader undocumented component of the migrant population.

2.3 Employment law framework for migrant workers

The general trends in the evolution of employment legislation in recent years reflect migration policy that results in division, hierarchisation and individualisation of the labour market. Nevertheless, it is not an evolution that mechanically meets and expresses merely the demands of the labour market, but is one that has had to come to terms with a certain resistance by the mass of workers - for example, the strikes and street demonstrations in 2002 against the attempt to modify Article 18,²⁶ in which a significant number of migrant workers took part.

2.3.1 The processes of labour market flexibilisation in Italian legislation

All over the world, recent decades have been characterised by a general levelling downwards of workers' living and working conditions, accompanied

²⁵ See Medici Senza Frontiere - Missione Italia (2005).

²⁶ Article 18 of the Workers' Statute of Rights prevents the dismissal of a worker without just cause and strongly limits flexibility in dismissal practices.

by a marked stratification of the labour market.²⁷ In Italy the forerunners of the institutionalisation of this process in employment policies go back to the early 1980s, to Law 863/84, which broadened the criteria of part-time work and introduced solidarity and job-training contracts. Stratification of the labour market was accompanied by an attack aimed at lowering the direct and indirect costs of labour, which affected money wages²⁸ and deferred wages and led to increasing cuts in the social welfare state. The pension reform enacted by the Dini administration (Law 335/95, also called the Amato Law) was important in this regard: the law introduced separate management for the pensions of "semi-subordinate" employees and, with the transition from the retributive to the contributive model, created different pension conditions on the basis of one's entry date into the labour market, thus dividing the new from the older generations of workers.

Furthermore - and it is no small matter - Law 146/1990 on the limitation of the right to strike posed "a preliminary condition designed to nip in the bud any spontaneous trade union action that does not take place within the parameters of union consultation" (A. Fumagalli, 2003).

These initially fragmentary measures gained a certain systemisation in Law 196/97 (the Treu Packet), designed to flexibilise labour-market hiring mechanisms by introducing employment-agency jobs, extending the use of temporary and part-time contracts, and lengthening the duration of job-training contracts in depressed areas.²⁹

Nevertheless in the field of employment policies the law that, up to now, appears to have gone farthest in integrating the institutional casualisation

²⁷ This process of downward levelling and of labour market stratification has affected all workers and, indeed, has affected immigrant workers first, rather than nationals; women rather than men; the new, rather than the older, generations; the regions of the South, rather than those of the North; and so forth.

²⁸ In 1993 the so-called "scala mobile," which linked money wages to the rate of real inflation, was abolished. Since then money wages have been linked to the rate of programmed inflation, which is always lower than the actual inflation rate.

²⁹ "This process is grafted onto a structurally flexible production fabric characterized by marked decentralisation, founded on enterprises of very small size (less than half the European average), where the trade-union presence is far from pervasive. The result is that in Italy the level of self-employment is more than twice that of Europe or the United States, and that the Workers' Statute of Rights can be applied to less than 30 per cent of the entire labour force. If we consider the 'semi-subordinate' employees (namely the 'co.co.co.' - 'continuative and coordinated collaborators' - an employment formula that exists only in Italy), the 'heterodirected' self-employed, the VATs, etc., etc., the Italian labour market presents itself as the most flexible in Europe and, in terms of rates of mobility, is every bit the equal of the labour market in the US" (A. Fumagalli, 2003).

stemming from the Italian migration policies is Law 30/2003 (the Biagi Law).³⁰ This law's principal measures aim essentially at (de)regulating the labour market through: liberalisation of employment-agency activities, thus extending their range of action to every aspect of access to employment and tolling the death of the public employment bureau;³¹ introduction of "staff leasing," i.e., permanent agency-jobs for entire branches of companies (a measure that has been compared to the legalisation of gang mastery); promotion of the spread of conventions between scholastic structures (secondary schools and universities) and companies to facilitate "measures of employment integration, not constituting employment relationships"; introduction, at the contractual level, of "call jobs" and "job sharing."

The guiding thread that connects the evolution of migration and labour market policies is, on the one hand, the tendency to institutionalise the processes of flexibilisation, hierarchisation, and competition between workers - as single individuals and as "racialised" individuals - already operating in the labour market; and, on the other, the tendency to extend, to the entire body of the working class, the forms of casualisation that have been previewed precisely on the skin of immigrant workers. The combination of these two trends is leading to an extreme individualisation of employment relationships, which is reflected in the current social relations between workers, expressing itself in "specific" forms of discrimination, such as racism, sexism, religious discrimination, and so forth. Objectively, then, this process of casualisation has very precise political results, which consist in undermining the conditions of resistance and the unified struggle of workers. But, is casualisation truly an irreversible process?

³⁰ Law 30/2003 stems from the *Libro Bianco sul mercato del lavoro in Italia. Proposte per una società attiva e un lavoro di qualità* [White Book on the Labour Market in Italy. Proposals for an Active Society and Quality Labour], drafted in 2001 by the Ministry of Labour and of Social Policies, and from the *Patto per l'Italia* [Pact for Italy], signed by only two of the trade-union federations, CISL and UIL. The texts of reference for this section are P. Basso (2004), F. Coin (2004) and A. Fumagalli (2003).

³¹ The employment bureau system had already been privatized and decentralized in 1997 with Law 469/1997.

2.3.2 The response of migrant workers ³²

Immigration in Italy has been, and continues to be, principally the concern of the Catholic Church, the trade unions and the non-profit sector (associations, social cooperatives, NGOs, etc.). While the work done by these subjects has been appreciable, at times it has been excessively protective of migrants, acting paternalistically on their behalf.

The pretension of Italian migration policies to reduce immigrants to pure super-exploited labour power - to a pure hyper-flexible and hyper-casualised production factor exposed to extreme forms of blackmail - has met with various forms of resistance, first of all that of the immigrant workers themselves. This resistance has developed principally through two channels: associations and trade unions.

Associations, of a cultural, religious and national character, have unquestionably been one of the primary forms of self-organisation adopted by migrant populations. At first they were substantially a means of self-defence and mutual support and, at times, a moment of meeting and reciprocal acquaintance with the host population. Migrant associations have had their ups and downs and contradictory moments, even if in a number of cases they have matured, becoming a point of reference for the organisation of struggles for migrant rights, which has often involved the host Italian population as well. Some associations - such as the Immigrants in Italy Committee - have been able to overcome "national barriers," strongly driven from above, and organise themselves as genuinely multinational associations. What is more, while more deeply-rooted in Central and Northern Italy,³³ they have partially covered areas of the country - such as the South - where trade union presence is less pronounced for reasons strictly connected with the production context and where the structural component of the underground economy is greater, or in sectors without unionisation, such as the domestic labour and care- sectors.

³² The texts of reference are P. Basso (2004), F. Coin (2004), IRES-CGIL (2003a), IRES-CGIL (2004), R. Sciortino (2003).

³³ See CNEL (2001). In 2001 the CNEL carried out a nationwide survey of 893 migrant associations. Even then the breadth of the survey was considered excessively narrow, in light of the particular dynamism that characterises the associations (not just of migrants) in Italy.

The other fundamental channel through which migrant self-organisation comes about is, indeed, the trade unions. If at first, in the 1980s, relations between migrants and trade unions were based primarily on assistance, since the mid-1990s we have witnessed the integration of migrant workers into the unions as *workers*. This transformation "was the reflection of their substantially greater numbers, of their greater employment stability, of their increased employment in medium and large firms where there are higher levels of unionisation, and primarily of the more prominent role of immigrant workers in trade-union and social conflicts" (P. Basso, 2004).

Today migrant workers can be seen as a fundamental component of the trade union base, both as members - as the 526,000 members in 2006 demonstrate³⁴ - and as delegates. In fact, with their mass presence and increasing activism, migrant workers are challenging trade unions to become truly multinational organisations and to combat the processes of casualisation in all its forms. Up until now the unions have only partially risen to the challenge: mobilisations against migration policies, for example, have rarely been organised at national level but more often than not have been local and by organised by sector, with little participation of Italian workers. By the same token, the unions have failed to take a genuine and coherent position against neo-liberal and neo-colonial policies, which are the main cause of current international migrations. Taking such a position is all the more necessary in light of the fact that the more active sectors of migrant workers have themselves taken stands on these questions, as their participation in the 2003 anti-war demonstrations shows. Immigration, thus, also in the moments and in the places of its self-organisation, brings to light both the contradictions and the potentialities of associations and of trade unions and is proving to be a powerful factor of social transformation.

³⁴ The immigrant workers who are members of the three main Italian trade-union federations (CGIL, CISL and UIL) represent 9.1% of the total membership (5,776,269). See Caritas/Migrantes (2006).

3. Statistical data on migration

3.1 Migration data from statistical reports³⁵

One of the most important processes to concern Italy in recent years has been the increasing socio-economic stabilisation of migrant populations from the global South and East. The factors that have contributed to making migration a structural component of the Italian economy and Italian society have, at the same time, given rise to the internal structuralisation of migration itself. This process, which can be viewed in various aspects, has as its common denominator the rootedness of migrant populations in the social fabric. Such aspects include: the increased number of migrants and their influence on the total population resident in Italy; a widespread territorial distribution, connected with a growing trend toward residential stability; an increase in the number of women, leading towards numerical gender equality; a rise in the number of births and in the number of minors, through family reunification; a rise in the number of the children of migrants attending Italian primary and secondary schools and, to a lesser extent, universities; diversification of the countries of origin; and, finally, the structural - and in some sectors irreplaceable - role of migrant labour power in the Italian economy.

3.1.1 Number of migrants

In Italy, according to the estimates of the latest Dossier Caritas,³⁶ on 31 December 2005 there were 3,035,144 documented migrants, with an incidence on the population of 5.2 per cent.³⁷ Adding the undocumented migrants, who according to the XXII ISMU Report on 1 July 2006 numbered approximately 760,000,³⁸ the incidence approaches 7 per cent.

³⁵ The data utilized in this section is up-dated to 31-12-2005 and, except where stated, is from the studies by Caritas/Migrantes 2006 and Fondazione ISMU 2007 based on data furnished by the Ministry of the Interior and on ISTAT (the Italian Central Statistics Office) data.

³⁶ The Caritas and ISMU data includes also the citizens of EU countries legally resident in Italy. It also includes minors and newborn children, who have no residence permits of their own but are registered on those of their parents.

³⁷ The overall population of Italy on 31-12-2005 was 58,751,711.

³⁸ This figure was calculated prior to the (ongoing) examination of the applications relative to the flow decree issued in March 2006, for which 485,000 applications were made. By contrast, the XIX Eurispes Report "Italia 2007" sets the figure for undocumented migrants at 800,000.

3.1.2 Settlement

The territorial distribution confirms that migrant populations have settled in all parts of Italy, and that their settlement reflects the country's production "geography." In fact there are far more migrants in the North, which has been the preferred area of settlement since the early 1990s by virtue of the greater employment opportunities it offers. "This trend toward concentration in the North is far from exhausted and in 2005 further growth was reported in the area: the 59 per cent of 2004 has risen to 61 per cent, while the centre, in the same period, saw no increase, but did manage to maintain a substantial stability (26.8 per cent). At the same time we have witnessed a percentage decrease in the South and in the Islands (Sicily, Sardinia), down from 14 per cent in 2004 to 12.2 per cent at the end of 2005" (Caritas/Migrantes, 2006). An interesting phenomenon, over the past fifteen years, has been a "migration within migration," with a growing number of migrant workers migrating from the southern to the northern regions, essentially on account of the persistent dualism in the country's development.³⁹

Nearly half the total number of migrants are concentrated in just three regions (Lombardy, 23.5 per cent; Lazio, 13.1 per cent; Veneto, 11.1 per cent); while, at the provincial level, over one fifth of the total is located in just two provinces, that of Rome (11.4 per cent) and that of Milan (10.9 per cent).

The proportion of the documented migrant population at the macro-area level is 6.6 per cent in the North-West, 7.0 per cent in the North-East, 7.2 per cent in the Centre, 2.1 per cent in the South, 1.7 per cent in the Islands.⁴⁰

3.1.3 The feminisation and family make-up of migration

In recent years there has been a consistent rise in the number of migrant women, both in absolute and in relative terms: from 45.8 per cent of the

³⁹ The emigration of Italian workers from Southern to Northern Italy was on the wane in the early 1990s, but has begun to increase once again in the past 15 years. Along with the traditional motivations, the numerous contingent ones - dismantling of the already much reduced textile industry, dismissals at and closure of state-shareholding enterprises, reduction of personnel in public administration, and so forth - all boil down to a single cause: increasing unemployment. In the third trimester of 2005 the seasonally adjusted unemployment rate was 7.7 per cent nationally, while at the macro-area level it was 4.1 per cent in the North, 6.2 per cent in the Centre and 14.4 per cent in the South. See ISTAT, 2005.

⁴⁰ At the provincial level the highest proportions of the documented migrant population is in Prato (12.6 per cent), Brescia (10.2 per cent), Rome (9.5 per cent), Pordenone (9.4 per cent), Reggio Emilia (9.3 per cent), Treviso (8.9 per cent), Florence (8.7 per cent), Milan (8.7 per cent). See Caritas/Migrantes (2006).

migrant population in 2000 to 49.9 per cent today, with peaks of 57.4 per cent in the Campania region and of 54.6 per cent in Lazio. This process of the feminisation of migration depends both on the specific dynamics of the labour market (for example, the increasing demand from domestic labour and care sectors) and on the greater number of family reunifications, a sign of the growing stabilisation and of phenomenon of the family make up of migration.

A majority of the migrant women in Italy come from within Europe (620,980, or 54.8 per cent of the total), then from Africa (175,341, or 15.5 per cent), from Asia (173,844, or 15.3 per cent) and from the Americas (161,151, or 14.2 per cent).

Along with the number of women, there is also an increased number of minors and newborn children indicating the development of migrant family structures - and, more generally, of stabilisation - is underway. As of 31-12-2005, there were 585,496 migrants, accounting for 21.9 per cent of the total number of documented migrants.⁴¹ Over one half of them (55.6 per cent) were born in Italy.⁴² It is to be noted that, alongside a greater socio-economic rootedness, in the Northern regions we find a larger number of minors and a higher proportion in terms of the total migrant population.

3.1.4 Countries of origin

In the course of the past ten years there has been a very marked growth of populations originating from Eastern Europe, affecting the relative proportions of populations from Africa. "One of the reasons for this dynamic was the introduction, in the second half of the 1990s, at EU level, of restrictive policies regarding migrants from other continents, to favour the entries of migrants from EU candidate countries" (Caritas/Migrantes, 2006).

The composition in terms of national origin is, nonetheless, particularly broad and heterogeneous: there are over 190 different nationalities in the migrant population. In terms of continents the greatest number of immigrants are from

⁴¹ On 31-12-2003 minors made up 15.6% of the total of the documented immigrant population. The increase is also visible in the schools, where 424,683 immigrant pupils are now enrolled, amounting to 4.8% of the total enrolment.

⁴² In the analysis of macro-areas, the incidence of minors among the immigrant populations can be a useful indicator of greater or lesser immigration stabilisation: for example, in the North this incidence is 23.1%, while in the South it is 17.3%.

Europe (48.8 per cent of the total), followed by Africa (23.1 per cent), Asia (17.4 per cent) and the Americas (10.6 Per cent). In terms of countries, the seven largest populations altogether make up about one half of all the documented migrants: Romania (11.9 per cent), Albania (11.3 per cent), Morocco (10.3 per cent), the Ukraine (5.2 per cent), the People's Republic of China (4.9 per cent), the Philippines (3.4 per cent) and Poland (3.2 per cent).

The range of national origins is thus highly fragmented, and also corresponds to a stability hierarchisation, as the figures relative to the possession of residence cards make clear. On 31-12-2005 only 396,470 immigrants (21.8 per cent of the documented migrant residents) held residence cards, out of a total of 1,200,000 who had the number of years of residence required, due to the requirements with regard to job contracts (permanent) and to housing, which often are not met and which support the continuous destabilisation of the migrant populations.

3.1.5 The labour market

The integration of migrants in Italy, as is the case throughout Europe, comes about above all through work.⁴³ This is clear from the data concerning the reasons for residence, which indicate a preponderance of permits for work purposes (62.6 per cent), followed by permits for family reunification (29.3 per cent), which in any event do not prohibit work. This is reaffirmed by the over-representation of migrant workers in the employed population: in 2005 there were 2,078,396 employed persons of foreign origin, representing 11.9 per cent of the entire labour force (17,399,586).⁴⁴ And it is confirmed by the employment rate, which is notably higher among migrants: for men, 84.2 per cent; for women, 51.2 per cent.⁴⁵

As we saw earlier, relative to demography, the territorial distribution of employed migrants reflects the country's production "geography." Of the

⁴³ See A. Sayad (2002).

⁴⁴ "Employed population" is based on data on the working population registered with INAIL [National Institute for Industrial Accident Insurance] - that is, workers with coverage against occupational injuries, which in Italy is provided by the State. ISTAT, by contrast, gave a figure of 23,018,000 for the total labour force in the fourth quarter of 2006.

⁴⁵ The employment rate of the total population is 70.7% for men and 46.1% for women. See ISTAT, 2006. The data on age groups, however, shows that 70% of the immigrants are between 14 and 40 years of age (the same age group in the Italian population has an incidence of 47.5%).

2,078,396 migrant workers registered with the INAIL databank on 31-12-2005, 51.7 per cent were working in the North, 21.7 per cent in the centre, and the remaining 16.4 per cent in the South. One half of all employed migrants work in four regions: Lombardy (19.8 per cent), Lazio (11 per cent), Emilia Romagna (10 per cent) and Veneto (9 per cent).

At the macro-sector level, as of 31 December 2005, 1,004,837 employed migrants from non-EU countries (57.8 per cent of the total number of employed migrants) were working in services (services for companies, 11.9 per cent; work in families, 10.8 per cent; hotels and catering, 9.5 per cent), with 665,902 (37.8 per cent) working in industry (construction, 14.5 per cent; metalworking, 7.6 per cent), and 93,213 (5.3 per cent) working in agriculture.⁴⁶

Furthermore, some sectors record an above average incidence of migrant workers from non-EU countries. This is true in domestic labour (60 per cent), in the metalworking sector (19.3 per cent), in the construction sector (17.5 per cent), in hotels and catering (16.3 per cent), in agriculture (14 per cent), in the tanning industry (13.9 per cent), in the woodworking industry (13.2 per cent) and in the textile industry (13 per cent).

The territorial distribution of employed migrants thus proves to be far more dispersed than is the case in other European countries, such as the UK and France, while the sectoral distribution shows a segregation into specific labour "sub-markets." One can suggest at least four labour sub-markets into which migrant workers can be divided geographically and economically:

- the dominant industrial areas, which include much of Lombardy, of the Triveneto, of Emilia Romagna, of Tuscany and of Umbria, as far as the Abruzzi;
- the area of metropolitan economies, in which migrants find work in low-skilled services (such as domestic labour, the hotel sector and services for companies) and in the construction sector;

⁴⁶ By contrast, workers from the newly-admitted EU member states give preference to agriculture (26.9%), hotels and catering (16.5%) and domestic labour (13%).

- areas with a high incidence of seasonal work exposed to irregularity (such as agriculture, the tourist and construction sectors);
- areas in which seasonal activities are in fact important, but where employment relationships are, for the most part, on a legal footing (such as the tourist sector and agriculture in the North-East, which have extensive recourse to seasonal quotas)⁴⁷ (Ambrosini, 2006).

Most migrant workers are employed in small and medium firms, which are the structural part of an economic context itself characterised by a marked stratification of production units: this, indeed, is one of the fundamental factors that has guaranteed the competitiveness of the "Italian system" on the international markets, permitting a further general lowering of the cost of labour and an increasing stratification of the labour market.

This process of labour-market stratification can be seen also through the data on the incidence of permanent job contracts among legally employed migrants, which, at 85 per cent (31-12-2006), is only slightly lower than the percentage relative to the entire employed population (86.8 per cent).⁴⁸ While these figures, on the one hand, indicate a certain maturity of the process of stabilisation for one section of the migrant population (particularly in the labour market and as workers), on the other it should be kept in mind that "migrants are generally employed as unskilled workers with no real vertical mobility, crushed into the lowest wage and professional brackets."⁴⁹ Discrimination against migrant workers is also seen by way of their long working hours, heavy workloads, accidents at work,⁵⁰ the risks associated with their tasks, and even in their under-representation in the leadership of trade unions. Once again, then, we find the structural function of the institutional casualisation to which immigrants are subjected. The iron bond existing today, between the

⁴⁷ This employment model is asserting itself above all in three regions of the North-East (Emilia Romagna, Trentino Alto Adige and Veneto). On the occasion of the 2006 flow decree these regions, by themselves, absorbed over half of the 50,000 entries for seasonal work (Emilia Romagna, 11,000; Trentino Alto Adige, 8,700; Veneto, 8,000).

⁴⁸ See ISTAT (2006).

⁴⁹ One of the most frequent forms of discrimination against migrant workers is the failure to recognise educational qualifications and professional qualifications obtained outside Italy. See IRES-CGIL (2006a); Laboratorio sull'immigrazione - Università Ca' Foscari (2003; 2006a; 2006b).

⁵⁰ In 2005 there were 110,782 industrial accidents involving migrant workers reported to the authorities, representing 11.8 per cent of the total number of accidents reported. See Caritas Migrantes (2006).

employment contract and the residence permit, in fact constitutes the principal arm with which to intimidate them. This intimidation is sometimes explicit, sometimes implicit, but always and everywhere present" (Laboratorio sull'Immigrazione - Università Ca' Foscari, 2006d).

3.2 Estimates of undocumented migration

With regard to the quantitative aspects of undocumented migration in Italy, there are no primary sources. It is nonetheless possible to produce general estimates on the basis of an analysis of secondary data. To this end we shall make reference to the regularisation data rather than to the refused entry and deportation figures, which refer to a minimally representative dimension of the phenomenon, as we shall see in the next section, and thus partially distorts its reconstruction.

Quantitatively determining the demographical and employment characteristics of the undocumented migrant population is, however, more difficult. The data that is available for limited sectors or geographical areas cannot be considered representative of the whole because undocumented - like documented - migration is a phenomenon of great complexity, due to the fact that it too has become a structural component of Italian society, as well as due to the economic importance and breadth of the underground economy, which simultaneously involves undocumented migrant workers, documented migrant workers, and native Italian workers as well.

3.2.1 The estimates

The growing presence of undocumented migrants - which can be reconstructed indirectly through the data on the regularisations decreed over the past three decades (see Table 1) - presents itself as a dynamic and growing phenomenon. The most recent estimates by the Fondazione ISMU are that, on 1 July 2006, there were 760,000 undocumented migrants in Italy⁵¹ while the Eurispes estimate is 800,000.⁵² A year earlier, in 2005 Fondazione ISMU had suggested that there were 541, 000⁵³ undocumented migrants - suggesting a 25 per cent increase in a single year, and this had changed the

⁵¹ See Fondazione ISMU (2007).

⁵² See Eurispes (2007).

⁵³ See Fondazione ISMU (2006).

estimates of the proportion of undocumented migrants within the total migrant population (16.1 per cent in 2005, compared to 19.4 per cent in 2006). A posteriori confirmation of the 2005 estimate came from the number of applications - 485,000 - presented when the flow decree was issued in early 2006.⁵⁴

Table 1: Legislation on regularisations in Italy

Legislative Acts	Term for entry	Regularisation applications	Applications accepted
Labour Ministry Memorandums 17.12.1979, 8.3.1980, 2.3.1982, 9.9.1982	31.12.1980	5,000	5,000
Law 943/1986 and successive extensions (up to Law 81/1988)	31.12.1986	113,349	105,000
Decree Law 416/1989 turned into Law 39/1990	31.12.1989	234,841	222,000
Decree Law 489/1995, Law 617/1996	19.11.1995	258,761	246,000
Prime Ministerial Decree 16.10.1998 and Decree Law 113/1999	27.3.1998	250,747	217,000
Law 189/2002 and Law 222/2002	10.6.2002	702,156	650,000

Source: EMN – European Migration Network

The Ministry of the Interior reports that the majority of undocumented migrants are overstayers (60 per cent in 2005; 63 per cent for the first quarter of 2006) or persons who entered Italy from other Schengen area countries (25 per cent in 2005; 24 per cent for the first quarter of 2006).⁵⁵ "Illegal" migration against which the State concentrates its repressive measures is thus a minimal part of the total;⁵⁶ in fact, the criminalisation of such migration is aimed against the entire migrant population, and is designed to weaken the positions of the entire world of work.

⁵⁴ It must be kept in mind that not all the undocumented migrants in Italy succeed in applying for regularisation: the application, in theory, must be made by the employers - who, however, are not bound to do so, but can keep their migrant workers in a situation of illegality.

⁵⁵ See S. Camilloni (2006). Also the 2006 Dossier Caritas notes "a great many of the irregular migrants are represented not by those who entered illegally, but by those who entered legally (perhaps in conditions where no visa was required) and then overstayed the legal limit. For this reason students of the phenomenon today give far more importance to regularisation procedures and their results, as well as to the number of applications to obtain authorisation for an entry visa, once the government flow decree has been issued, than they do to measures of control, since the former modalities constitute a sort of (self)denunciation of the irregularity itself" (M. De Marco, 2006).

⁵⁶ "According to the State Audit Court, the management of the CPTs (Temporary Accommodation Centres) cost 34 million euros in 2003 and 30 million in the first nine months of 2004. Furthermore, the total expenses for combating migration - including the funds for the CPTs - amounted to 230 million euros in 2003, versus 102 million spent to promote integration" (M. De Marco, 2006).

4. The impact and experience of undocumented migration

4.1 The underground economy and undocumented migration

In 2004 the underground economy⁵⁷ in Italy produced an added value equal to 17.7 per cent of GDP⁵⁸ with 2,794,000 undocumented units of labour (ULA),⁵⁹ corresponding to a rate of irregularity of 11.5 per cent.⁶⁰

In 2003, at the macro-sector level, 21.8 per cent of the added value produced in services was produced by the underground economy, with 20.5 per cent in agriculture and 10.7 per cent in manufacturing (including the construction sector). The rate of irregularity was 13.5 per cent in services (18.4 per cent in commerce, in hotels, in public commercial concerns, and in transport); 5.7 per cent in manufacturing (3.8 per cent in core manufacturing, 11.2 per cent in the construction sector); and 18.3 per cent in agriculture.⁶¹ As regards the size of the informal sector on a geographical basis, the country's dualistic model of development is reflected: the rate in the South (22.8 per cent) is nearly twice the national average, while the rates in the rest of the peninsula are below the average (8.3 per cent in the North-West; 9.3 per cent in the North-East; 12.3 per cent in the Centre).⁶²

The ISAT historical series covering the period 1994-2004, as against an increase in the percentage of added value produced by the underground economy, shows a decrease in the rate of irregularity.⁶³ The increase in the

⁵⁷ The underground economy "derives from the activity of production of goods and services that, although legal, escapes direct observation since it is connected with tax and contributory fraud" (ISTAT, 2006a).

⁵⁸ In this figure ISTAT does not include the production deriving from the informal economy and from the illegal economy. Other sources (Censis, Eurispes, Bankitalia) give a higher percentage for 2004, close to 29%.

⁵⁹ The ULAs are calculated by transforming the labour positions covered by each person employed in the period of reference into full-time units.

⁶⁰ The rate of irregularity is given by the incidence of the undocumented units of labour on the total number of units of labour. In 2004 the rate of irregularity was 12.8 per cent for employees, and 8.6 per cent for the self-employed. See ISTAT (2006a).

⁶¹ See ISTAT (2005a).

⁶² A crossing of the territorial and sectorial data shows that, in all parts of the country, the highest percentages of irregularity are in agriculture, with 20.8 per cent in the North-West, 25.9 per cent in the North-East, 28.4 per cent in the Centre and 41.1 per cent in the South. See ISTAT (2005a).

⁶³ Added value from the area of the underground economy: 1994, 16.5%; 1997, 17.7%; 2000, 17.0%; 2003, 16.7%. Rate of irregularity: 1994, 14.0%; 1997, 14.8%; 2000, 15.0%; 2003, 13.4%. See ISTAT (2005a).

level of documented employment is the result, on the one hand, of the amnesty decreed by Law 189/2002, which regularised 647,000 migrant workers who "were working in domestic labour without formal contracts (316,000) and businesses (330,000)" (ISTAT, 2005a). On the other hand, as a result of the processes of deregulation of the labour market prescribed by Law 30/2003, which, with the enactment of new contractual forms, in fact institutionalised and contributed to the spread forms of flexible work that are historically characteristic of the underground economy. According to a recent IRES-CGIL study, this makes it possible "to conceal the phenomenon of irregularity in the form of a simulation of contract, for those cases where to a juridical definition of self-employment corresponds in fact to a full and proper form of subordination without, however, the same protections and the same fundamental rights prescribed to workers for hire" (IRES-CGIL, 2006a).

In this picture, the employment of undocumented migrant workers in the underground economy, while widespread in all sectors, tends to concentrate in a few specific spheres. These spheres coincide with what we have seen in the case of the sectoral distribution of documented migration and confirm the close link between the need to lower the (not only monetary) cost of labour and the employment of migrant workers without contracts and/or without permits.⁶⁴

In what follows we present some characteristics only of the sectors for which there is a sufficiently broad literature: domestic labour and the private care sector, the construction sector and agriculture.

- As the data of the 2002 regularisation shows, there is a very large number of undocumented migrant women employed in domestic labour and in the private care sector. According to the most recent estimates by the Ministry of the Interior and by INPS, of the 1,300,000 migrant women

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The prefect A. Pansa, central director of immigration and of the Border Police of the Ministry of the Interior, recently declared that "the national production system often prefers illegals [*clandestini*]: less expensive and more flexible workers. Today we begin to have the first regular immigrants who become unemployed, while the illegals are nearly always employed. Indeed, illegality [*clandestinità*] or the possession of a residence permit for surreptitious work purposes are preferential requisites for access to a world of work that prefers to hire without contracts and without guarantees. [...] An undocumented [*in nero*] worker is an advantage for the entrepreneur." See A. Pansa (2006).

working in this sector only 745,000 have proper employment contracts.⁶⁵ This massive irregularity fully responds to the demand for low-cost, easy-to-intimidate labour power, produced by a combination of such factors as cuts in the social welfare state, the aging of the Italian population, and the feminisation of the Italian workforce.⁶⁶

- Another sector with a great number of undocumented migrant workers is that of construction: in 2005, according to FILLEA-CGIL estimates, the proportion of "irregular workers" was 16 per cent, rising to 25 per cent if so-called "gray work" is included.⁶⁷ The wages of undocumented migrant workers amount to one third of the cost of "documented" labour, with daily pay of 25 euros in Bari and 40 to 45 euros in Rome.⁶⁸
- The working conditions of undocumented migrants in agriculture, in the regions of southern Italy, was the object of a study by the Italian team of Medici Senza Frontiere (Medicins Sans Frontiers), in a report that emphasises the strict correlation between working and living conditions and the incidence of disease. The data collected made it possible to reconstruct how the impact of international competition on Italian agriculture has led to a production model based on the circular migrations of undocumented migrant workers.⁶⁹

4.2 Conclusions

Just as is the case with a portion of the native Italian labour force, a portion of the migrant labour force is also employed within the underground economy (whether with or without residence permits),⁷⁰ a reflection of a structural phenomenon, which to various degree concerns all economic sectors and all

⁶⁵ See Stranierinitalia (2007).

⁶⁶ See G. Chiaretti (2005); B. Ehrenreich (2004); C. Morini (2001).

⁶⁷ See FILLEA-CGIL (2006).

⁶⁸ See IRES-CGIL (2006c).

⁶⁹ These approximately 12,000 undocumented migrants work all year round, moving - in a sort of circular migration - from one region to another on the basis of the harvest times of specific fruit and vegetable products. See Medici Senza Frontiere - Missione Italia (2005) and L. Limoccia, A. Leo and N. Piacente (1997).

⁷⁰ In 2004 workplace inspections carried out by the Inspection Unit of the Carabinieri and by the Department of Labour showed that, of the total number of migrants employed in the firms inspected, "69.8 per cent (17,261 workers) were in a situation of total regularity, 19.7 per cent (4,863) in a regular situation with regard to hiring but not with regard to the treatment of their contributions, and 10.5 per cent in a situation of total irregularity, with regard to both hiring and the treatment of their contributions, being migrants without residence permits" (EMN - European Migration Network, 2005).

the regions of Italy. This phenomenon affects, first of all, "the subjects [made] weaker in the labour market, namely migrants, the unemployed, the young seeking their first jobs" (Minucci, 2007), and women. Reflecting and renewing the same hierarchies of inequality that operate on the world labour market, employment in the underground economy becomes, dialectically, a structural and founding element of the very processes of division and hierarchisation that ultimately lead to an overall devaluation of labour power. Even though, in Italy, the underground economy existed prior to undocumented migration, as a result of this process of hierarchisation the two elements have today become indivisible and together contribute to the structuring and further deepening of the ongoing process of casualisation.

Some responses to this trend come from trade union campaigns aimed at unmasking of informal economy work,⁷¹ which effectively do no more than call for the application of the already-existing legislation. This pales in comparison to the response of the migrant workers themselves who in recent months, in many Italian cities, have demonstrated to obtain an unconditional regularisation for all undocumented migrants; "without conditions" because this is the first step in the direction of putting an end to the economic, social and juridical intimidation on which the exploitation of migrant workers is based.

⁷¹ Such as the CGIL campaign "Il rosso contro il nero" [The Red Against the Black].

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