

Practicing Solidarity: Migrant Reception Services in Salerno, Italy, in a Time of Crisis, Conflicts and Policy Contradictions

By Domenico Maddaloni & Jessica Maglio[±]*

This article aims to discuss some results of the qualitative research we conducted in the province of Salerno, a large area of Southern Italy, during the summer of 2022. Our target group was a selected group of key informants - civil servants and operators of civil society organizations active in reception services for migrants, refugees, and asylum seekers. Our analysis of emerging solidarity practices in this territorial area allows us to shed light on the paths through which the people working in migrant reception services adapt to the increasingly difficult conditions imposed by economic stagnation, an increasingly hostile political climate towards migrants, and the contradictions of Italian immigration policy.

Keywords: *international migration, Italy, migration policy, welfare, qualitative research*

Introduction

In recent years, Italy has become a crossroads for many international migration flows, including waves of migrants, refugees, and asylum seekers from North Africa, sub-Saharan Africa, and West Asia. This new status of Italy as a host country for international mobility flows has produced several consequences both in the domestic political debate and in immigration policies. In this context, what are the problems and perspectives of Italian policies towards migrants and refugees? After a brief description of recent migration flows to Italy and an analysis of the recent evolution of Italian debates and state policies on immigration, we try to highlight the main features assumed by the response provided by public institutions and civil society organizations to recent waves of migration. Relying mainly on in-depth interviews with managers and operators of migrant assistance services in the province of Salerno, we have tried to highlight the contradictions emerging between the scarcity of resources made available by the State, the securitarian impulses widespread in parts of Italian society and politics, and the need to guarantee a dignified life to those fleeing violence or hunger.

Migration Flows Towards Italy: Recent Trends

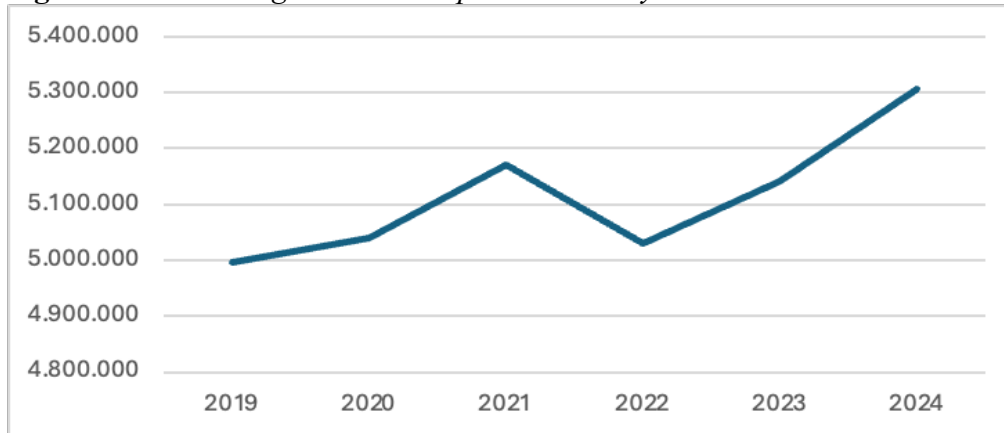
Italy plays a significant role in the current framework of international migration. In a short time, it has gone from being a country of emigration to becoming a relevant

*Professor, University of Salerno, Italy.

[±]Researcher, University of Salerno, Italy.

destination for international migration. In the last five years (see Figure 1) the foreign population in Italy has stabilized at more than 5 million, accounting for 8.7% of the total resident population (ISTAT 2023).

Figure 1. *Total Foreign Resident Population in Italy: Last 5 Years*

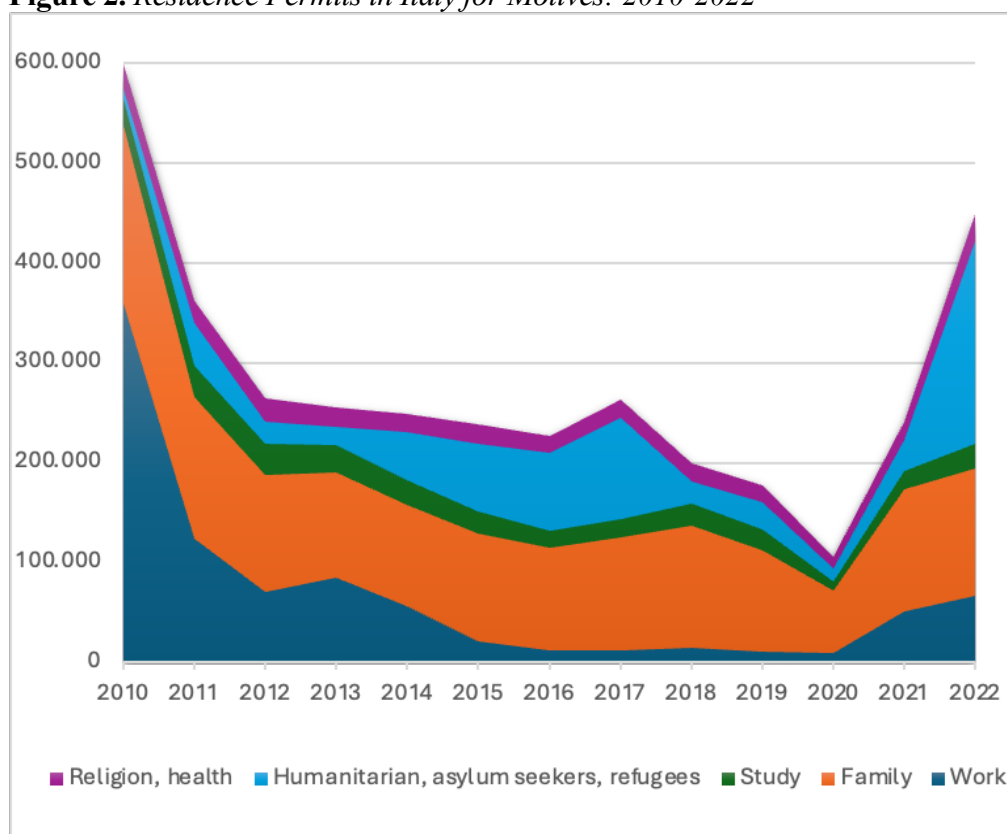


Source: ISTAT, last retrieval: September 18, 2024.

Among these resident foreigners, 3.7 million are non-EU citizens with a regular residence permit, an increase of 4.7 percent compared to the previous year, mainly determined by the activation of Directive 2001/55/EC in favor of Ukrainian citizens (ISTAT 2023). Non-EU citizens' main areas of origin are Asia, Africa, and non-EU Europe. The countries from which most foreign immigrants in Italy come are Morocco (11.5% of total non-EU residents), Albania (11.1%) and China (8.2%). Overall, non-EU immigrants are equally divided between men and women, but significant imbalances are observed when considering the countries of origin. For example, the female immigration component from Georgia and Russia exceeds 80%, while the incidence of residents from Mali and Gambia is less than 5% (Ministero del Lavoro e delle Politiche Sociali 2023).

The migrant population is unevenly distributed across the Italian territory, with strong imbalances between the more developed regions of Northern and Central Italy and the more backward regions of Southern Italy. Differences between urban and rural areas are also notable, except in those territories where policies to counter depopulation have favored the settlement of migrant communities (Brandano et al. 2023).

It is important to note that Italy's total number of residents decreased by 1.4% between 2010 and 2022. This decrease was partly offset by the foreign population, which increased by 31.6% (Ministero del lavoro e delle politiche sociali 2023). Therefore, without the positive demographic contribution provided by migration flows, even more, dramatic replacement deficits would be reached in Italy, with particularly negative effects on the labor market (IDOS Study and Research Centre 2023). The recent growth of residence permits for work reasons (see Figure 2) can illustrate this situation well.

Figure 2. *Residence Permits in Italy for Motives: 2010-2022*

Source: ISTAT, last retrieval: September 18, 2024.

Although, at the time of writing (autumn 2024), a complete overview of data for 2023 is still lacking, there is evidence of an upward trend in migration dynamics in the post-pandemic period. Provisional data, however, indicate that the recent increase in admissions has not led to an ‘invasion’ of migrants, as political and media figures have complained.

Migration to Italy: Political Debates and Policy Responses

Recent research has shown an increase in the levels of racism and xenophobia expressed by specific segments of Italian society over the years. According to OSCAD data, between 2016 and 2021, the number of hate crimes in Italy rose from 736 to 1445 (OSCAD 2022). If only crimes based on racial, ethnic, or religious differences are considered, the number of hate crimes increased from 494 to 1160 over the same period. A research report by Lunaria (2020) examines the issue of racism in Italy over twelve years and underlines the systemic nature of racism and its roots in institutionalized discrimination. There is growing evidence of the connection between discriminatory rhetoric, distorted representations, online hate speech, and physical acts of racism.

Castelli Gattinara (2017) outlines a general interpretative framework of the politics of immigration in Italy. The crisis of legitimacy in contemporary European

politics has led Italy to adopt a logic of exceptionalism. Instead of pursuing the normality that should apply to migration globally, Italy is attempting to curb the influx of migrants and asylum seekers. Institutional and mainstream actors have mirrored public anxieties and security concerns by endorsing narratives of emergency, aggressive policing, and militarized border controls. However, their inability to respond to public concerns has contributed to confusing migration with insecurity. This has created fertile ground for xenophobic reactions.

Research conducted in Italy has shown that migration has become a central topic in the social imagination. Immigration has become a key symbolic resource for the narrative that fuels the political communication of Italian parties. This interpretation shapes a primary cultural framework that creates a climate of moral panic. This, in turn, serves as a context for normalizing the exclusion of migrants (Nicolosi 2019). The migration narrative has been systematically organized on negative campaigns, blaming political opponents in old and new media (Lucchesi and Romania 2022). Moreover, the discourse on migration highlights a subalternity of center-left parties to right-wing parties, apparently intertwined with the great electoral success of these parties in recent national parliamentary elections (Dennison and Geddes 2022).

According to a comparative study on attitudes toward immigrants, Italian society is more prejudiced toward immigrants than Spanish society (Bello 2015). The study also found that extremist individuals increased in both countries during the years of socioeconomic crisis. Perceptions toward immigrants are influenced by several variables such as trust, solidarity, political orientation, age, personal happiness, education, and time spent in front of the TV. The media system in Italy plays a significant role in the polarization of public opinion on immigration issues (Villa 2018), as the media often present immigration-related news in a way that aligns with their political and ideological biases (Musarò and Parmiggiani 2022). Social media platforms are also fertile ground for the spread of misinformation and extremist views. The anonymity and lack of accountability on these platforms can encourage individuals to express extreme and divisive opinions, leading to the spread of hate speech, xenophobia, and racism (Tagliamonte 2019).

There is concern that online environments contribute to the spread of hate speech against immigrants (Lunaria 2020, Anselmi et al. 2022, Colombo and Quassoli 2022). Unfortunately, this wave of polarization and hostility continued to grow even during the COVID-19 pandemic (Openpolis 2022). Hate speech often takes the form of ethnic replacement theory, which was recently defended by a member of the current Italian government (2023). These theories portray immigration as a mechanism to replace Europeans with migrants from Africa and Asia. According to these theories, migration flows are valuable for ruling elites because they produce a more malleable and easily governed population (Pellegrino 2021). Some authors (Petrovich Njegosh 2023) argue that these theories intertwine racism and sexism, naturalize and reproduce them, and generate concrete consequences, including violent actions.

Despite this decadent political climate, Italy has implemented several policies to integrate migrants and refugees. These policies have focused on migration management and integration.

Italy has addressed several issues related to migration management, including illegal immigration, security concerns, crime problems, and the refugee crisis (Nese 2023). According to the Migrant Integration Policy Indicators (MIPEX), the country's approach to integration was rated as “halfway favorable” (Nese 2023). However, the reception system for migrants, refugees, and asylum seekers in Italy has been criticized for neglecting the people it is supposed to accommodate, creating disoriented individuals (Avallone 2021) who may end up in legal and social limbo (Della Puppa and Sanò 2021). Italy has also seen an increase in police checks on migrants and foreign nationals, resulting in the opening of detention centers for illegal migrants (Campesi 2015, Esposito et al. 2019). Italy recognized about 350 asylum claims per million inhabitants per year in 2020, a figure below the EU average of about 900 (Ambrosini 2022). The number of unaccompanied foreign minors has also increased due to the absence of legal channels for labor migration, asylum, and child protection (Ambrosini and Pozzi 2018). It seems that the attitude of the Italian authorities toward immigration responds both to a growing demand for personal security from native Italian citizens and to the anti-migrant rhetoric prevalent in the political arena (Quassoli 2021).

Based on available research, the overall economic, social, and political integration of migrants in Italy today can be assessed as mixed (IDOS Study and Research Centre 2022, Fondazione ISMU 2022).

The current right-wing government in Italy has allowed the entry of 452,000 foreign workers between 2023 and 2025 due to the need for labor by Italian companies and households. However, this does not guarantee full economic integration of migrant workers into the Italian economy. There are several barriers to entry into the Italian labor market, particularly regarding access to nonmanual jobs and career development, further exacerbated by widespread job insecurity (Zanfrini 2021). Moreover, regional imbalances in Italy make labor market integration policies less effective (La Bella 2020). Refugees and undocumented migrants in Italy also face significant challenges in finding legal employment, especially in the first years after their arrival (Ortensi and Ambrosetti 2021).

The issue of immigrant and refugee access to welfare services in Italy is multifaceted, and the territorial diversity of welfare policies plays a significant role. This diversity has led to regional imbalances, resulting in inequalities in access to services for both Italian and foreign citizens (Ibba 2021). The discrimination suffered by poor migrants and refugees, whether due to prejudice, political calculations, or bureaucratic rigidities, further exacerbates their difficulties in dealing with the Italian welfare system (Associazione per gli Studi Giuridici sull'Immigrazione - Centro studi Medi 2023). However, civil society organizations are working diligently to ensure that migrants have access to public services (Storato et al. 2021) and that their basic needs are met (Caritas Italiana and Fondazione Migrantes 2022).

Italian legislation allows only citizens of European Union countries to enjoy political rights, albeit limited to local elections. This limits political participation rights to a merely formal dimension of citizenship (Lo Presti 2016). Recent studies have shown that migrants in Italy are mainly inactive political subjects compared to native Italians (Ortensi and Riniolo 2020). Factors such as being female, having a low educational level, and residing in the southern regions of Italy and the islands

are associated with migrants' political disengagement. However, the impact of European citizenship on improving political participation in Italy is negligible (Ortensi and Riniolo 2020). Migrant groups show low levels of public engagement, confirming their marginality from Italian public discourse (Pilati 2018). Their engagement in civil society organizations is often limited to executive tasks (Moro 2013). However, some migrant groups appear to be active in social movements, particularly those fighting against discrimination and racism and for access to social rights (Lotto 2015, Zamponi 2017, Perrotta 2019, Caciagli 2021).

After analyzing the Italian model of migrant and refugee integration, many scholars conclude that it is a subaltern form of inclusion (Reyneri 2001, see also Maddaloni and Moffa 2019). This approach is based on institutional marginalization in the context of increasing job and life insecurity, as well as the growing prevalence of hate speech and discriminatory practices.

A Research on Migrant Shelter and Welfare Services in a Southern Italian Province

The problem we are discussing concerns the support provided to migrants and refugees. As seen in the previous section, public institutions and nonprofit organizations in this field are facing resource scarcity and increasing hostility from some sectors of the political system. We are interested in understanding (RQ1) how these problems are being addressed and (RQ2) what solidarity practices are used by public agencies and nonprofit organizations in this context. In addition, we are interested in understanding (RQ3) whether these practices succeed in changing the regime of subaltern inclusion of migrants in the labor market and local society. To answer these questions, we researched migrant and refugee support services in the province of Salerno. The latter is a large area in southern Italy, home to 1,057,819 inhabitants as of January 1, 2024; 55,158 (5.2 percent of the total) are foreigners¹. The province of Salerno includes both urban centers and rural lowland and hillside areas and, therefore, has absorbed foreign labor in several sectors of the economy, especially in agriculture and family services. Although not a border area, it has received flows of migrants and asylum seekers from abroad, in compliance with recent state regulations designed to redistribute new arrivals and reception loads throughout the country.

During the summer and fall of 2023, we researched people working in public institutions and agencies involved in the reception and integration of migrants and refugees. To begin with, we collected documents related to the topic. Next, we developed a list of questions related to the broader research problem and created a form to conduct semi-structured interviews. This resulted in the following interview guide:

1. What is your opinion on immigration in this province currently?
2. What are the current reception procedures for the different categories of

¹Source: ISTAT. Last retrieval: June 4, 2024.

- migrants arriving in this province according to the law?
3. How is your facility organized?
 4. What activities are planned in your facility?
 5. What kind of training is provided to staff responsible for reception services? Are training or refresher programs provided? Are language/cultural mediators available?
 6. Are there services or benefits available to migrants at your facility?
 7. What integration activities are planned for migrants? How does exit accompaniment work?
 8. Can you tell me about the relationship between operators and guests at your facility?
 9. In your opinion, what are the weaknesses of the system?
 10. What measures do you think are needed to improve the shelter system in this province?

We interviewed twelve key informants (see Table 1). We selected interviewees from both public institutions and nonprofit organizations to ensure a balanced perspective on the topic. We conducted the interviews using the previous set of questions, transcribed them according to the procedures defined for semi-structured interviews (Silverman 2010, 2015), and analyzed the responses. Through this process, we identified a framework of views shared by key informants about migrant and refugee assistance in Salerno province. In the next section, we will present some findings to help us answer the research questions above.

Table 1. *List of Interviewees*

Name	Gender	Age group*	Sector	Level
Alessia	Female	Central	Nonprofit	Local
Andrea	Male	Senior	Public	Local
Angela	Female	Senior	Nonprofit	Local
Carla	Female	Central	Nonprofit	Local
Francesco	Male	Central	Nonprofit	Local
Gianni	Male	Junior	Nonprofit	Local
Laura	Female	Central	Public	Local
Luca	Male	Senior	Nonprofit	Local
Marta	Female	Junior	Nonprofit	Local
Sandro	Male	Central	Nonprofit	Local
Serena	Female	Central	Nonprofit	Local
Sofia	Female	Junior	Nonprofit	Local

*Age groups: Junior (18-29); Central (30-49); Senior (50 and over)

Research Results: Dealing with Political Hostility and Policy Contradictions in the Province of Salerno

The province of Salerno has been sheltering migrants and refugees for more than 30 years. Migrant support agencies are mainly located in three areas where the majority of the migrant population lives: the Nocerino-Sarnese countryside, the city

of Salerno, and the Sele Plain (ISTAT 2024²). The first and last areas absorb foreign labor mainly in agriculture, while in the urban area of Salerno, migrants find work mainly in the service sector. As in every area of Italy, nonprofit organizations are the leading providers of reception and care services for migrants from the South. The public sector oversees and controls the assistance work done by these organizations, with levels of involvement depending on the service provided. Nonprofit organizations must, therefore, maintain a delicate balance between general policy directives and the practical needs of the migrant population. Working closely with migrants and refugees, nonprofit organizations play a crucial role in identifying their needs as their first task. They are rooted in the local community, which allows them to gather valuable information that can be shared with government agencies (Gualdani 2021). “Third-sector entities are the operational arm of public agencies” (Laura, local politician³).

Although migrant shelter services are an established sector in the Italian welfare system, a coherent and shared framework is still lacking (Accorinti 2015, Peris Cancio and Accorinti 2023). Thus, third-sector entities manage the reception system in an emergency way (Pozzato 2024), deliberately reinforced by government policies (Lunaria 2023).

Third-sector workers usually describe the reception system in Salerno as “confused and distorted”. The local reception system lacks material and non-material resources, which produces sloppy and emergency management of current migration flows to this area. Third-sector agencies try to offer the best protection to migrants, given the resources available to them.

We are not yet ready for reception, in general... There are so many gaps, and so many realities that live on their own and are not coordinated.... That is, each reality organizes itself and there is a lot of confusion (Alessia, third-sector agency coordinator).

There are no active hotspots or first reception facilities in the Salerno area, but two types of second reception centers exist. On one side is the *Sistema Integrato di Accoglienza* (SAI: Integrated Reception System), the central pivot of the entire system, promoted by the Ministry of the Interior and entrusted to ANCI⁴. The SAI network consists of local authorities that choose to join it, accrediting third-sector entities to manage services. SAI shelters are reserved for protection holders (with some minimal exceptions). These centers follow relatively high standards. However, they do not offer adequate beds and facilities for the number of migrants and asylum seekers arriving in this province.

The SAI network involves reception in small numbers, in apartments, and the municipality always being co-manager, whether it's an SAI for minors or adults (Alessia, third-sector agency coordinator).

The second type of facilities are the *Centri di Accoglienza Straordinaria* (CAS:

²Source: ISTAT. Last retrieval: September 18, 2024.

³In order to ensure the anonymity of the respondents, we changed their first names.

⁴*Associazione Nazionale dei Comuni Italiani*, National Association of the Italian Municipalities.

Extraordinary Shelter Centers), reserved for asylum seekers. These facilities are identified by the Prefecture⁵, which entrusts their management to cooperatives or hotel facilities through tenders. The CAS network was created to address the insufficiency of the first network, but to date, it accommodates most immigrants.

The stay in a CAS should not last more than six months (because) the CASs are 'extraordinary'. (...) In reality, we all know that this is not the case, because the assignments go on for a long time. And this deeply corrupts the reception system! (Alessia, third-sector agency coordinator).

Thus, while the work done by the SAI serves as a benchmark paradigm for the entire reception system, the experience of CASs is disappointing and ineffective. CASs are frequently run by private entities and are increasingly oligopolistic regarding ownership (Openpolis-Actionaid 2022). There are cases of CASs housing up to 100 people, run only by a manager and a night worker, so they are often called "dormitories". Due to continued state rate cuts, many local nonprofits are no longer bidding for contracts, leaving room for large private entities that can lower service costs.

I am currently the only operator in charge, while another guy works night shifts. (...) It is all very much in the willingness of those who run these facilities to do a good job. The problem with these centers is that they are affected by historical-political contingencies (Francesco, CAS manager).

When you participate in a tender, you need an amount, a surety bond, and an insurance policy that covers you... We're talking about one or two million. Because when talking about people, they tell you, 'suppose something happens, you must have the money to feed them' (Sandro, CAS manager).

On the contrary, in the SAI centers state guidelines push to ensure a broader range of services "at least on paper" (Serena, SAI center manager). Migrant care centers, while guaranteeing all guests basic needs such as shelter, food, clothing, and health, have sharp contrasts in the services offered. These variations arise from the unique organization of the reception centers or the network of contacts available to caregivers and migrants. There is a significant disparity between SAIs and CASs, with the latter offering a lower level of protection (Openpolis-Actionaid 2022). The emergency approach of CASs often leads to some rights not being respected (Guida 2017). For example, a crucial skill for integration, teaching the Italian language, is not guaranteed in CASs. This, along with the limbo of passive waiting during the asylum application assessment phase, makes it impossible for migrants to secure employment in the legal economy (Ruíz-Estramil 2018).

I think taking away the obligation of CASs to teach Italian language is stunting the people we take in. Language makes them autonomous, it makes them free more than money. I take care of the school enrollment, and then whoever wants to can participate or not because the trip is at their own expenses (Angela, CAS worker).

⁵Peripheral body of the Ministry of the Interior whose main functions include public order and security.

In CASSs, migrants are segregated because of their location, which, for some informants, results from conscious political maneuvers to separate migrants into different spaces from those frequented by native citizens (Biffi 2018). However, these choices foster discrimination against migrants (Declich and Pitzalis 2021). These marginal and isolated places, locally known as “shacks”, are difficult to reach without transportation, which many migrants lack. Finally, migrants may be perceived as distrustful by locals, discouraging their integration into the local economy and society, as they lack the necessary means for independent integration.

The migrant is good at helping us until 4 p.m., but after that, he bothers us because of the bicycles and the smell of food... He should disappear. This, in my opinion, helps us understand how the migrant is perceived here (Angela, CAS worker).

In contrast, educational and vocational training to promote migrant self-determination is generally provided in SAIs. SAI centers are small reception facilities that offer comprehensive support teams and Piani educativi individuali (PEI: Individual educational programs). The goal of the PEI is to promote the person's self-determination (Boccagni 2017). However, due to the overload of providers, the PEI may not be fully elaborated, reducing the migrants' care path to a series of standard steps and neglecting their natural inclinations.

The PEI should be individualized, but honestly, this is not done. Instead, we tend to have a standardized pathway: we send them to school for literacy because we think that's what they need, and then maybe, in reality, the level is higher, and they go through frustrations... Then we send them to work in restaurants because we think that's the quickest and easiest way to learn the language and a trade; instead, maybe they are brought here for something else. But time is short, and there are so many things to do. In this, my community is very lacking. However, there was no PEI at all in the other community I was in (Serena, SAI center manager).

The scarcity of human and economic resources also pushes migrant care centers toward an emergency-oriented mode of operation (Biffi 2018). These increasingly difficult working conditions can weaken the professional identity of third-sector workers (Peris Cancio and Accorinti 2023). Emergency conditions limit the spaces teams should use for discussion and the search for innovative solutions (Peris Cancio and Accorinti 2023), which have become a luxury (Boccagni 2017). This dynamic contributes to professionals' desire for individual training to build recognizable expertise (Gallotti and Tarabusi 2018). From this point of view, many interviewees agree on the growing need for adequate professional training, which is sometimes relatively scarce in Salerno's migrant shelters. Training is also needed for new professional figures because of the increased migration to Italy, namely linguistic-cultural mediators. In Italy, this profession is subject to multiple definitions (Pokorn and Mikolič Južnič 2020) and little regulation. This is especially true regarding the minimum required levels of language skills, education, or training (Ciribuco and Federici 2024). These workers can bridge the cultural gap between migrants and the host society. Therefore, their skills are considered an essential resource by any migrant support authority. However, there are very few of these workers in Salerno

province, and they cannot meet the many needs of the migrant population. For this reason, they are replaced by more experienced migrants based on their cultural proximity to the newcomers or by local people with some language skills (Peris Cancio and Accorinti 2023). However, according to many informants, this practice may highlight cultural differences between Italian service providers and migrants from the Global South.

The language mediation degree has come about recently, just with the increase in immigration. Also, there are cultural mediators. I, for one, am a cultural mediator, but simply because I did my language studies before '90. Imagining that I only speak languages, I would be a cultural mediator for whom? (Carla, cultural mediator).

Guida's (2017) research on CASs suggests a power imbalance in the relationship between migrants and operators. Within this framework, the migrant is often in a passive position, pressured to accept the choices defined by operators. For example, when a migrant's need is not considered primary by operators, its fulfillment is subject to careful assessment by the team (Biffi 2018). On this point, our research provides a different cue: a warm and familiar atmosphere is often created between social workers and migrants in Salerno's reception centers, thanks to the commitment to the work of the local workers interviewed. However, even this feature of the local migration policy system, if not appropriately managed, could complicate the achievement of the goals of the entire system, causing friction within and between teams and confusing migrants about the “real” role of the operators.

There are problems because it is a very personal relationship. And when you are dealing with the personal aspect, it triggers a number of dynamics. Meanwhile, it should be a professional relationship, not one of detachment but of proper detachment from one's temperament, from being perhaps maternal, paternal, affectionate, or rigid. Professionalism lies in that, in trying to understand their personality, in trying to put your own aside a little bit, and remembering that you are there to be an educator. (...) This creates dynamics that produce imbalances and generate new problems. It is a difficult job because it involves you totally. You are dealing with people who are not like you in other services. This leads all the operators to think about leaving at some point because it is totalizing (Serena, SAI center manager).

Civil Servants, Social Workers and Migrants: Practicing Solidarity

When working with migrants, there can be conflicts between what grassroots practitioners want to achieve and what is realistically possible. Bureaucratic difficulties are often the main obstacle for third-sector workers. These obstacles can block migrants' enrollment in schools or training centers. As a result, funds allocated for migrants' self-determination become unusable. This leads social workers to make ethically difficult choices. For example, economic hardship may cause workers to push migrants to accept demanding jobs, even though they know they are promoting labor exploitation.

The world of work in Salerno is one of exploitation. It is mainly made up of irregular labor and underpaid, so it is difficult to put the concept of right to work back into play. As an educator, I have to tell the boy, "There is nothing better than this, so take it", when I know very well that this is not true. It is hard work where you are frequently exploited and underpaid (Gianni, SAI worker).

Due to precarious working conditions, workers are subordinate to their employers (Gallotti and Tarabusi 2018) and may face economic insecurity (Cammelli and Tarabusi 2023). This prompts service workers to seek the most appropriate solution for each situation through strategic approaches, usually "shortcuts" consisting of informal arrangements between social workers working in different agencies or between third-sector workers and local government officials.

On the one hand, you are forced to see the profit of the cooperative, which is also your salary, and on the other hand, to bring home the results for the migrant. It's quite tricky... In some cases, you win; in others, you are forced to give in, but if you are smart, you can cheat the system (Gianni, SAI worker).

Frontline practitioners may experience excessive workloads amid public authorities' neglect of their work (Bellinva 2022). As a result, the relationship between public agencies and their stakeholders sometimes becomes problematic. To address this problem, stakeholders can ask local governments to fulfill their duties through "shared administration" procedures (Gualdani 2021). Practitioners of third-sector organizations try to promote dialogue with public officials to highlight problems and opportunities. However, this practice is not commonly used in the province of Salerno, although it is required by law.

You try to maintain constant communication, but you don't always succeed. There is a law done very well establishing the committee at the prefecture, which was provided where there were, or rather were convened by the prefecture both the police headquarters and all the social partners... And it was a committee where the real problems faced at that time were discussed, so there was an almost six-monthly comparison... But these meetings were not convened again for years (Luca, immigration lawyer).

Not surprisingly, third-sector practitioners have different views than public officials regarding immigrant services. While practitioners emphasize the need for networking and communication among different actors to strengthen the system, civil servants believe that the current situation is already the best possible.

The existing shelter system is very functional. The SAI centers and CASs are well-tracked and well-monitored. They work very well, and we have visited the children several times with the mayor (Laura, local politician).

The flaws in a fragile and complex system create opportunities for alternative and informal support activities. Migrants who have difficulty obtaining regular labor contracts can often resort to undeclared work, fueling forms of "informal welfare" (Pozzato 2024). In some sectors, such as agriculture, many workers are migrants (Caruso et al. 2024). In addition to labor shortages (Corrado et al. 2024), this trend

may be driven by entrepreneurs' preference for easily exploitable and replaceable workers (Caruso et al. 2024). This phenomenon is common in Salerno province, an area with a viable agricultural and livestock background. Many informants confirm that immigrant labor is crucial to local businesses and that the entire local economy would suffer without it. Labor in agriculture and livestock is traditionally handled through *caporalato* (corporalism), an illegal labor system based on intermediaries (*caporali*, literally “corporals”) (Avallone and Niang 2018, Avallone 2023).

What I try to do is a battle against caporalato. And of course, in an agricultural area like our plain, it is the first and the biggest problem that these people face (...) it is not easy, because they rightly need money (Francesco, CAS manager).

However, according to some informants, this type of labor exploitation is no longer so widespread. Instead, we see a new “service corporatism”, in which more experienced migrants offer informal support to their recently immigrated compatriots (Avallone 2023) seeking work and housing. These services are provided for a fee (Molinero Gerbeau 2018) and are often the result of a lack of formal support networks (Avallone and Niang 2018). On this point, interviewees agree that public institutions usually disregard this practice, as it helps them achieve their goals despite limited resources and on-the-job training. The high degree of policy inertia on the issue of migrant labor (Pozzato 2024), particularly in the agricultural sector, creates forms of “differential inclusion”. In particular, migrant agricultural labor does not lead to social and civic inclusion and regularization (Caruso et al. 2024). In the case of the Sele Plain, Avallone (2017) highlights the constant and repeated violation of migrants' rights.

Suppose we call a fellow citizen who knows where to look for work or accompanies people to look for work a corporal. In that case, I have to think of “service corporatism,” as an egregious colleague of mine calls it, because it goes to make up for structural deficiencies in services. It always takes someone deeper than us who knows these dynamics, and this someone is not as legal as the job center or the trade association.... But you see the compatriot with a good heart and will, which is then not the case because the compatriot charges for this service little, but he still charges (Alessia, third sector agency coordinator).

Sometimes, service workers may adopt gimmicks to issue a residence permit, which is the only document that allows the migrant's regular presence on Italian territory. By adopting these stratagems, service workers, while aware of the irregularity of their actions, ensure housing and a minimum of assistance for migrants (Bellinva 2022).

In one case, we had to take a migrant to apply for asylum, which he was not entitled to because he was not from a nation for which asylum could be claimed. It was the only way to put him in the SAI as an asylum seeker and then ask for an adjustment for work, a gimmick. That way, I was able to find him a bed in the area, so he kept his job, his relationships, and most importantly, a place to sleep (Serena, SAI center manager).

Other times, practitioners try to help the migrants or through the network of activists in the area. Migrants are sometimes housed in mosques or temporary facilities that allow them to find shelter. These are makeshift solutions, often blocked by police forces. These initiatives by civil society or NGOs can sometimes be criminalized by public actors (Fontanari and Borri 2017), while in other cases, they are tolerated (Ambrosini 2017). In general, however, the figure of the worker-activist does not enjoy the consideration of local authorities due to the propensity of these workers to protect the rights of foreign workers rather than to adapt their activities to the system of subaltern inclusion of migrants (Bellinvia 2022).

We don't have facilities like dormitories or guest houses. Communities or mosques take over... Then DIGOS⁶ comes and does evictions, it's not a solution (Alessia, third-sector agency coordinator).

The promiscuous conditions in which migrants sometimes live give rise to an increasing demand for long-term health care. Without an adequate care network, local actors develop key solidarity actions to provide immediate health support to migrants.

I mention the case of a boy who had heart surgery. We all mobilized to secure this life-saving surgery for him. We are talking about a 21-year-old boy who was destined for certain death and is now doing well! And so, I say, I save one life and you save another. If everyone does their part, the final product becomes meaningful (Andrea, national health service physician).

In conclusion, the sheltering of migrants in Salerno province is uneven and inadequately planned. Service providers stress the need for a comprehensive review of current mechanisms, starting with eliminating the idea of emergency and providing adequate resources to support the arrival of migrants and refugees in the province. Meanwhile, they develop informal solidarity practices to solve migrants' daily problems. However, these practices do not alter the regime of migrants' subordinate inclusion in the labor market and local society.

Conclusive Remarks

Qualitative research aims to describe current practices among actors engaged in a given field of social action (in this case, migration policies at the local level) and outline the main features of their shared common sense.

In Italy, the issue of immigration has turned into a political crisis, but not because of the growth of migration flows: the foreign population has remained relatively stable over the past decade. Instead, the media and political instrumentalization of immigrants as scapegoats for economic stagnation, the state's fiscal crisis, and cuts to the welfare system have exacerbated the situation, raising serious social concerns.

⁶The acronym stands for *Divisione Investigazioni Generali e Operazioni Speciali* (General Investigations and Special Operations Division). It is a department of the Italian *Polizia di Stato* (State Police).

As we have tried to show above, this hostile political climate generates public policies of outsourcing social services and insufficient collaboration among institutional actors involved in the issue, which sometimes appears as a strategy to contain and limit migrants' rights and demands. In this context, the role of the third sector is crucial in managing much of the reception and care services.

Our research highlighted the strong commitment of service providers to ensuring decent living conditions for migrants and refugees in the province of Salerno. We have seen how they try to move away from the logic of emergency to build concrete pathways of reception and integration. However, the complexity of the context can condition operators' actions.

Their response can take two forms. Many operators react to this condition of marginality with determination, investing in their professional training (Boccagni 2017) and activating a network of assistance, sometimes even informal. These are the so-called operator-activists. Through their experience, operators manage to juggle with ingenuity and determination the complex web of public policies, from regulatory failures to the growing scarcity of human and material resources (Bellinva 2022). This, however, results in a paradox: practitioners are often pushed to operate on the margins of legality to achieve expected results, giving rise to new and even deeper policy contradictions.

In other cases, the contradictions may generate a sense of frustration in operators. Precarious working conditions and excessive workload are behind the continuous turnover of operators in reception centers (Peris Cancio and Accorinti, 2023). In addition, insufficient resources are available for migrant services, and the high denial rate of residence permits discourages operators' efforts (Biffi 2018). This last aspect mainly concerns the reception in CASs, which is considered the main weak point regarding assistance to migrants received in the Salerno area.

The province of Salerno is not ready for an effective immigration policy. The issue of immigration is managed and experienced by the actors involved as a network of informal relationships between operators (and operators and migrants). The resulting solidarity practices are the primary driver of migrant and refugee care pathways in the Salerno area. However, they risk consolidating as merely informal networks of assistance.

Acknowledgments

Research presented in this paper was partly developed in the context of the Horizon TRUEDEM - *Trust in European Democracies* Project funded under the European Union's Horizon research and innovation program (grant agreement No 101095237). Views and opinions expressed are however those of the author(s) only and do not necessarily reflect those of the European Union or Horizon research and innovation program. Neither the European Union nor the granting authority can be held responsible for them.

References

- Accorinti M (2015) Centri di accoglienza: varietà tipologica e dibattito collegato. (Reception centers: typological variety and related debate). *La Rivista delle Politiche Sociali* 11(2–3): 179–200.
- Ambrosini M (2017, April 27) *Chi ha paura delle ONG che aiutano i migranti?* (Who is afraid of NGOs helping migrants?). Available at: <https://lavoce.info/archives/46406/paura-delle-ong-aiutano-migranti/>.
- Ambrosini M (2022) Rifugiati e richiedenti asilo. (Refugees and Asylum Seekers). In Fondazione ISMU, *Ventisettesimo rapporto sull'immigrazione in Italia 2021* (27th Report on Immigration in Italy 2021), 261–273. Milano: Franco Angeli.
- Ambrosini M, Pozzi S (2018) *Italiani ma non troppo? Lo stato dell'arte della ricerca sui figli degli immigrati in Italia*. (Italians but not too much? The state of the art of research on the children of immigrants in Italy). Genova: Centro studi Medi.
- Anselmi G, Maneri M, Quassoli F (2022) The Macerata shooting: digital movements of opinion in the hybrid media system. *Partecipazione e Conflitto* 15(3): 846–864.
- Associazione per gli Studi Giuridici sull'Immigrazione - Centro studi Medi (2023) *Quando discriminano le istituzioni. Uguaglianza, diritti sociali, immigrazione*. (When institutions discriminate: Equality, social rights, immigration). Torino: Associazione per gli Studi Giuridici sull'Immigrazione.
- Avallone G (2017) *Sfruttamento e resistenze. Migrazioni e agricoltura in Europa, Italia, Piana del Sele*. (Exploitation and Resistance. Migration and agriculture in Europe, Italy, Piana del Sele). Verona: Ombre Corte.
- Avallone G (2021) Italy's Reception System for Asylum Seekers and Refugee: A System with Many Shadows and Little Light. In F Della Puppa, G Sanò (eds.), *Stuck and Exploited Refugees and Asylum Seekers in Italy Between Exclusion, Discrimination and Struggles*, 33–48. Venezia: Edizioni Ca' Foscari.
- Avallone G (2023) *La fenomenologia dello sfruttamento dei lavoratori migranti. Ricerca-azione nell'area dell'Agro nocerino-sarnese e del Comune di Campagna*. (The phenomenology of the exploitation of migrant workers. An action-research in the area of the Nocera-Sarno plain and the Municipality of Campagna). Progetto P.I.U.Su.Pr.Eme. Percorsi Individualizzati di Uscita dallo Sfruttamento.
- Avallone G, Niang D (2018) La linea del colore. Agricoltura campana e lavoro migrante. (The color line. Agriculture in Campania and migrant labor). In GC Bruno (ed.), *Lavoratori stranieri in agricoltura in Campania. Una ricerca sui fenomeni discriminatori*, 59–76. Roma: Cnr Edizioni.
- Bellinva T (2022) Operatori-attivisti, burocrazie e migranti. (Operators- activists, bureaucracy and migrants). *Cartografie sociali* (13): 147–162.
- Bello V (2015) La crisi dell'identità sociale tra pregiudizi, xenofobie e razzismi. L'inclusione dell'altro in tempo di crisi in Italia e Spagna. (The crisis of social identity among prejudice, xenophobia and racism. The inclusion of the other in times of crisis in Italy and Spain). *Società Mutamento Politica* 6(11): 197–218.
- Biffi D (2018) Lavorare con richiedenti asilo e rifugiati: l'etnografia di un ricercatore-operatore. (Working with asylum-seekers and refugees: the ethnography of a researcher-practitioner). *Educazione interculturale* 16(1): 1–21.
- Boccagni P (2017) Il lavoro sociale con popolazioni “mobili”, tra bisogni locali e sfide comuni. (Social work with “mobile” populations, between local needs and common challenges). *Welfare oggi* 1: 64–70.
- Brandano MG, Faggian A, Gallina L, Membretti A, Modica M, Urso G (2023) *The migration, environment and climate change nexus: Exploring migrants' contribution in addressing*

- climate change challenges in Italy's mountain areas*. Rome: IOM.
- Caciagli C (2021) Generating Solidarity in Diversity: The Case of Housing Struggles in Rome. *Critical Sociology* 47(2): 249–263.
- Cammelli MG, Tarabusi F (2023) Acrobati sul confine. Il ruolo dell'operatore nelle pratiche di accoglienza. (Acrobats on the Border: The Role of the Operator in Reception Practices). In *Incontrare le migrazioni. Spunti per l'accoglienza e inclusione di migranti, richiedenti asilo e rifugiati*, 157–173. I libri di Emil di Odoia.
- Campesi G (2015) Hindering the Deportation Machine: An Ethnography of Power and Resistance in Immigration Detention. *Punishment and Society* 17(4): 427–453.
- Caritas Italiana - Fondazione Migrantes (2022) *XXXI Rapporto immigrazione 2022. Costruire il futuro con i migranti*. (31st Report on Immigration 2022. Building the future with migrants). Todi: Tau.
- Caruso FS, Corrado A, Macciani C (2024) I lavoratori agricoli stranieri dopo la pandemia: dinamiche di cambiamento nel Sud Italia. (Foreign agricultural workers after the pandemic: dynamics of change in southern Italy). *Sinapsi* 14(1): 104–118.
- Castelli Gattinara P (2017) The 'refugee crisis' in Italy as a crisis of legitimacy. *Contemporary Italian Politics* 9(3): 318–331.
- Centro studi e ricerche IDOS (2022) *Dossier statistico immigrazione*. (Statistical dossier on immigration). Roma: Edizioni IDOS.
- Centro studi e ricerche IDOS (2023) *Dossier statistico immigrazione*. (Statistical dossier on immigration). Roma: Edizioni IDOS.
- Ciribuco A, Federici FM (2024) The experience of intercultural mediators in the Italian COVID-19 vaccination campaign. *Language and Intercultural Communication* 24(3): 180–194.
- Colombo M, Quassoli F (2022) 'Is this terrorism?' The Italian media and the Macerata shooting. *Critical Studies on Terrorism* 15(4): 759–781.
- Corrado A, Pisacane L, Alarcon Ferrari C (2024) The agrifood-migration nexus: migration regimes and the politics of labour shortages in Italy and Sweden. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 50(4): 1252–1276.
- Declich F, Pitzalis F (Eds.) (2021) *Presenza migrante tra spazi urbani e non urbani. Etnografie su processi, dinamiche e modalità di accoglienza*. (Migrant presence between urban and nonurban spaces. Ethnographies on processes, dynamics, and modes of reception). Milano: Meltemi.
- Della Puppa F, Sanò G (2021). Stuck and Exploited: Refugees and Asylum Seekers in Italy Between Exclusion, Discrimination and Struggles. In F Della Puppa, G Sanò (eds.), *Stuck and Exploited Refugees and Asylum Seekers in Italy Between Exclusion, Discrimination and Struggles*, 11–32. Venezia: Edizioni Ca' Foscari.
- Dennison J, Geddes A (2022). The centre no longer holds: the Lega, Matteo Salvini and the remaking of Italian immigration politics. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 48(2): 441–460.
- Esposito F, Ornelas J, Scirocchi S, Arcidiacono C (2019) Voices from the Inside: Lived Experiences of Women Confined in a Detention Center. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 44(2): 403–431.
- Fondazione ISMU (2022) *Ventisettesimo rapporto sull'immigrazione in Italia 2021*. (27th Report on Immigration in Italy 2021). Milano: Franco Angeli.
- Fontanari E, Borri G (2017) Civil Society on the Edge. *Mondi Migranti* 3: 23–51.
- Gallotti C, Tarabusi F (2018) Criticità e potenzialità della formazione e della comunicazione nei campi dell'accoglienza: un'introduzione. (Criticality and potential of training and communication in hospitality fields: an introduction). *Educazione Interculturale* 16(2): 1–8.
- Gualdani A (2021) Il rapporto tra le pubbliche amministrazioni e gli enti del Terzo settore alla luce dei recenti interventi normativi. (The relationship between government and

- third sector entities after recent regulatory interventions). *Federalismi.it* (21): 113–135.
- Guida C (2017) L'accoglienza emergenziale. Pratiche di resistenza dei richiedenti asilo e il ruolo dell'antropologo. (Emergency Reception. Asylum Seekers' Resistance Practices and the Role of the Anthropologist). *Antropologia Pubblica* 3(1): 129–148.
- Ibba M (2021) La programmazione regionale delle politiche per gli immigrati: quale istituzionalizzazione? I casi di Toscana e Veneto (Regional planning of immigrant policies: which institutionalization? The cases of Tuscany and Veneto). *Rivista Italiana di Politiche Pubbliche* 1: 127–158.
- IDOS Study and Research Centre (2020) *L'integrazione dimenticata. Riflessioni per un modello italiano di convivenza partecipata tra immigrati e autoctoni*. (Forgotten integration. Reflections for an Italian model of participatory coexistence between immigrants and natives). Roma: Istituto di studi politici S. Pio V – Centro studi e ricerche IDOS.
- ISTAT (2024) *Cittadini non comunitari in Italia: anni 2022-2023*. (Non-EU Citizens in Italy: years 2022-2023). Roma: ISTAT.
- La Bella M (2020) Accogliere senza integrare: le distorsioni delle politiche sull'immigrazione nel Mezzogiorno d'Italia. (Welcoming without integrating: the distortions of immigration policies in southern Italy). *Società Mutamento Politica*, 11(21): 29–37.
- Lo Presti IM (2016) Partecipazione politica e diritto di voto degli stranieri in Italia: una disciplina work in progress. (Political participation and voting rights of foreigners in Italy: a discipline work in progress). *Revista Europea de Derechos Fundamentales* 1: 381–401.
- Lotto M (2015) La partecipazione politica dei migranti. Dall'esclusione alle diverse forme di partecipazione. (The political participation of migrants. From exclusion to different forms of participation). *Società Mutamento Politica* 6(11): 255–272.
- Lucchesi D, Romania V (2022) I politici e l'immigrazione su Facebook: come si (de)legittima il discorso migratorio durante l'emergenza sanitaria. (Politicians and immigration on Facebook: how we (de)legitimize migration discourse during the health emergency). *Società Mutamento Politica* 13(25): 195–211.
- Lunaria (2020) *Cronache di ordinario razzismo. Quinto libro bianco sul razzismo in Italia*. (Chronicles of Ordinary Racism. Fifth white paper on racism in Italy). Roma: Lunaria.
- Lunaria (2023) *Cronache di ordinario razzismo. Il razzismo nell'anno del ritorno delle destre di potere*. (Chronicles of Ordinary Racism. Racism in the year of the return of right-wingers to power). Roma: Lunaria.
- Maddaloni D, Moffa G (2019) Migration Flows and Migration Crisis in Southern Europe. In C Menjivar, M Ruiz, E Ness (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Migration Crises*, 603–618. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Ministero del Lavoro e delle Politiche Sociali (2023) *XIII rapporto annuale. Gli stranieri nel mercato del lavoro in Italia*. 13th Annual Report. Foreigners in the Italian labor market. Roma: Ministero del Lavoro e delle Politiche Sociali.
- Molinero Gerbeau Y (2018) Ejerciendo agencia en las cadenas agrícolas globales. (Exercising agency in global agricultural chains). *Theomai. Estudios Críticos sobre Sociedad y Desarrollo* 38: 68–90.
- Moro G (2013) La partecipazione civica dei migranti: lo scenario italiano. (Civic participation of migrants: the Italian scenario). *Studi emigrazione* 50(189): 103–123.
- Musarò P, Parmiggiani P (2022) *Ospitalità mediatica. Le migrazioni nel discorso pubblico*. (Mediatic hospitality: Migration in public discourse). Milano: Franco Angeli.
- Nese A (2023) Migrations In Italy and perceptions of ethnic threat. *Journal of International Migration and Integration* 24: 939–968.
- Nicolosi G (2019) La migrazione come risorsa simbolica dello storytelling politico. Immaginario emergenziale, discorsi d'odio e media in Italia. (Migration as a symbolic resource of political storytelling. Emergent imagery, hate speech and the media in Italy).

- Im@go* 8(14): 101–123.
- Openpolis (2022) *Hate speech against migrants and foreigners during the pandemic*. Roma: Fondazione Openpolis.
- Openpolis - Actionaid (2022) *Centri d'Italia: L'emergenza che non c'è*. (Centers of Italy: The emergency that isn't there). Roma: Openpolis-Actionaid.
- Ortensi L, Ambrosetti E (2021) Even worse than the undocumented? Assessing the refugees' integration in the labor market of Lombardy (Italy) in 2001–2014. *International Migration* 60(3): 20–37.
- Ortensi L, Riniolo V (2020) Do Migrants Get Involved In Politics? Levels, Forms and Drivers Of Migrant Political Participation In Italy. *Journal of International Migration and Integration* 21: 133–153.
- Osservatorio per la Sicurezza Contro gli Atti Discriminatori – OSCAD (2022) *Segnalazioni 2010-2021*. (Reports 2010-2021). Roma: Ministero degli interni.
- Pellegrino D (2021) Teorie cospirazioniste demografiche. Narrazioni del complotto basate sul tema della sostituzione etnica. (Demographic conspiracy theories. Conspiracy narratives based on the theme of ethnic substitution). In N Pannofino, D Pellegrino (eds.), *Trame nascoste. Teorie cospirazioniste e miti sul lato in ombra della società*. Milano: Mimesis.
- Peris Cancio LF, Accorinti M (2023) #ioaccolgo. Il ruolo degli operatori nelle pratiche di intervento sociale per richiedenti asilo e rifugiati. (#Iwelcome. The role of practitioners in social intervention practices for asylum seekers and refugees). In *Giornata della Ricerca del Dipartimento di Scienze della Formazione*. Roma: Roma Tre Press.
- Perrotta DC (2019) *Rosarno, la rivolta e dopo. Cosa è successo nelle campagne del Sud*. (Rosarno, the revolt and after. What happened in the southern countryside). Roma: Edizioni dell'Asino.
- Petrovich Njegosh T (2023) La teoria della sostituzione etnica in Italia: una narrazione razzista e sessista. (Ethnic replacement theory in Italy: a racist and sexist narrative). *From the European South* 12: 105–122.
- Pilati K (2018) La costruzione sociale dell'immigrazione come problema: il caso italiano. (The social construction of immigration as a problem: the Italian case). *Società Mutamento Politica* 9(18): 189–204.
- Pokorn NK, Mikolić Južnič T (2020) Community interpreters versus intercultural mediators: Is it really all about ethics? *Translation and Interpreting Studies* 15(1): 80–107.
- Pozzato D (2024). Essenziali, eppure invisibili. Un'analisi della regolarizzazione dei lavoratori nel settore agricolo e domestico. (Essential, yet invisible. An analysis of the regularization of workers in the agricultural and domestic sectors). *Sinapsi* 14(1): 36–52.
- Quassoli F (2021) *Clandestino: il governo delle migrazioni nell'Italia contemporanea*. (Clandestine: the governance of migration in contemporary Italy). Milano: Meltemi.
- Reyneri E (2001) *Migrants' Involvement in Irregular Employment in the Mediterranean Countries of the European Union*. International Migration Papers. Geneva: International Labor Organization.
- Ruiz-Estramil IB (2018) A la espera. Los solicitantes de asilo en el Estado español. (Waiting. Asylum seekers in Spain). *Nómadas. Revista Crítica de Ciencias Sociales y Jurídicas* 55: 45–59.
- Silverman D (2010) *Doing Qualitative Research: A Practical Handbook*. 4th Edition. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Silverman D (2015) *Interpreting Qualitative Data*. 5th Edition. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Storato G, Sanò G, Della Puppa F (2021) Finding New Ways for Refugees and Asylum Seekers' Inclusion: A Reflexive Analysis of Practices Developed by the Third Sector and Civil Society in Trentino. In F Della Puppa, G Sanò (eds.), *Stuck and Exploited: Refugees and Asylum Seekers in Italy Between Exclusion, Discrimination and Struggles*.

Venezia: Edizioni Ca' Foscari.

- Tagliamonte R (2019) Il difficile rapporto tra media e migrazioni sotto la lente delle scienze sociali. (The difficult relationship between media and migration under the lens of the social sciences). *Politica.eu* 5(1): 78–91.
- Villa M (Ed.) (2018) *Migrazioni e comunicazione politica. Le elezioni regionali 2018 tra vecchi e nuovi media*. (Migration and political communication: The 2018 regional elections between old and new media). Milano: Franco Angeli.
- Zamponi L (2017) Practices of Solidarity: Direct Social Action, Politicisation and Refugee Solidarity Activism in Italy. *Mondi migranti* 3: 97–117.
- Zanfrini L (2021) Il lavoro. (The work). In Fondazione ISMU, *Ventisettesimo rapporto sull'immigrazione in Italia 2021*. Milano: Franco Angeli.