

LABOUR MIGRATION IN THE EUROPEAN UNION:  
CURRENT CHALLENGES AND WAYS FORWARD

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# 11. MIGRATIONS, PERCEPTIONS AND SEGREGATIONS IN THE AGRICULTURAL REGIONS OF SOUTHERN ITALY

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SUMMARY: 1. Introduction; – 2. Migration; – 3. Perceptions; – 4. Segregation; – 5. Concluding Remarks.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Making geography on migrants' settlements in the agricultural spaces of Southern Italy implies paying attention both to spatial and social phenomena. The so-called "Mediterranean model of migration", typical of agriculture in Southern Europe, is based in fact on irregular labour demand that attracts foreign migrant workers, whose housing is managed directly by the employer – with a deduction for overcrowded and unfurnished flats – or arranged with nationals, mainly in slums.<sup>1</sup> Employment in agriculture represents one of the main specificities of the Mediterranean model of immigration: even in Countries, like Spain, Italy and Greece, where unemployment rates are very high, migrant workers find growing job opportunities in agriculture, replacing the local workforce, because, on one side, depopulation is affecting these societies, and on the other side the national workers are highly skilled and avoid the so-called "3D" jobs (dirty, dangerous and difficult). However, the price paid by migrant workers is often very high: low wages,

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<sup>1</sup> PUGLIESE (ed.), *Immigrazione e diritti violati. I lavoratori immigrati nell'agricoltura del Mezzogiorno*, Roma, 2013.

CILIBERTO, PALOMBINO (eds.), *Labour Migration in the European Union: Current Challenges and Ways Forward*, CNR Edizioni, 2023, ISBN 978-88-8080-578-6, pp. 261-276.

informality, discrimination, marginalization, and segregation.

On a regional scale, in Southern Italy migrants represent the absolute majority of agricultural workers: in particular, Southern Latium, coastal Campania, Northern Apulia, inner Basilicata, Southern Calabria and East and Southern Sicily share social landscapes, featured by residential concentration and housing discomfort and often explained like exceptions in the migratory scenario, in other words spaces following social and economic rules that are different from the common ones. This paper, on the contrary, will try to read these “spaces of exception” like the normal territorial effects of the agriculture industrialization that occurred in the Mediterranean since the 1970s. The analysis will focus in particular on some forms of widespread illegal brokerage and spatial segregation as respectively socioeconomic and territorial components of the supply chain in a globalized agriculture.

The field of observation will be Campania, which has such a strategic role in the agricultural system of Southern Italy, now managed with a circulation of workers among the mentioned regions – totally informal – because Campania works like a sponge of the incoming irregular flows. Migrants employed in agriculture are in-fact mostly irregular and this was strengthened since 2008, when the global crisis had strong territorial effects in Italy: afterwards, thousands of migrant workers were employed in the factories of the North, due to the job loss, moved to the South, where the usual informal employment in agriculture represented a strong pull factor.<sup>2</sup> The informality is a keyword because the job loss for lots of those migrants meant becoming irregular since the Italian law bordering regular and irregular conditions uses the employment contract as a parameter.<sup>3</sup> Therefore, the informal job market opportunities got stronger the pull factors of the agricultural regions in Southern Italy, in particular where informality is strengthened by the social and economic rooting of organized crime: and Campania is part of these ones due to the wide networks of *camorra*.<sup>4</sup> Who does not lose the job, usually looks for seasonal employment during the summertime. Other members of the labour crews come from the neighbouring regions of Southern Italy and move seasonally from one harvest to another, from one rural periphery to another.

Immigration in Campania is not recent: already in the Seventies, when Italy registered for the first time positive net migration rates as an effect of the 1973 oil

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<sup>2</sup> MATARAZZO, “Flussi migratori e segregazione spaziale nelle regioni agricole del Mezzogiorno d’Italia: il Litorale domitio (Caserta)”, *Geotema*, 2019, p. 66 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Legge 30 luglio 2022, n. 189 (G.U. 26/08/2022), well-known as the “Legge Bossi-Fini”.

<sup>4</sup> The *camorra* is an Italian mafia-type criminal organization and criminal society originating in the region of Campania.



shock, this region was reached by thousands of citizens from Northern African Countries (mostly from Morocco). The more attractive areas were just the agricultural ones, where workers were usually employed in the tomatoes harvest especially in the province of Caserta (Northern Campania),<sup>5</sup> which was one of the first Italian regions involved in immigration, after a long history of emigration.<sup>6</sup>

The migratory scenario of Campania was influenced by the different geographies of international migrations in the last decades of the Twentieth century and the first decades of the new millennium, since we can identify a South/North route, from Africa to Europe, in the Eighties; an East/West route, from Eastern to Western Europe, in the Nineties, and finally a new South/North route, involving not only Northern Africa as emigration land but also the Sub-Saharan Countries.

The role of Campania in a territorial vision of migrations is changed over the years, since till the end of the last century it was a transit land for migrant workers, whose stay was temporary because their destination was in other European Countries (first of all France and Germany) or, if anything, in industrial Northern Italy. On the contrary, in the new millennium, Campania registered more and more permits, family reunifications and humanitarian protections, meaning its increasing role as a settlement destination.

The next section (Section 2) will address the issue of migration in the main agricultural regions of Campania, where the industrialization of the primary sector has transformed the economic and social landscapes, making room for workers exploitation, discrimination, addressed in Section 3, and spatial segregation, addressed in Section 4.

## 2. MIGRATION

Migration is strongly polarised in Campania, like most of the social and economic phenomena, because of the overwhelming role of Naples, where more than half of the non-Italian regional population lives (Tab. 1). But the agricultural workers are concentrated in the provinces of Caserta and Salerno, where the foreign presence is growing continuously up since 2010 and the female presence is shrinking just due to the growing agricultural labour demand.

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<sup>5</sup> The widespread employment in tomatoes harvest gave birth to a visual identification between African agricultural workers and tomatoes themselves, even though nowadays this kind of crop is more typical of Northern Apulia, while in the province of Caserta it has been replaced mainly by tobacco.

<sup>6</sup> AMATO and COPPOLA (eds.), *Da migranti ad abitanti. Gli spazi insediativi degli stranieri nell'area metropolitana di Napoli*, Napoli, 2009.

Province	Non-Italian citizens			Incidence on the regional foreign population		Incidence on the province total population	
	2010	2023	% change	2010	2023	2010	2023
Avellino	10.299	12.909	25,3	7	5,4	2,3	3,2
Benevento	5.496	8.415	53,1	3,7	3,5	1,9	3,2
Caserta	28.889	48.527	68	19,6	20,1	3,2	5,4
Naples	68.863	120.780	75,4	46,8	50,1	2,2	4,1
Salerno	33.510	50.377	50,3	22,8	20,9	3,0	4,8
Campania	147.057	241.008	63,9	100,0	100,0	2,5	4,1

*Tab. 1 – Non-Italian citizens in Campania (2010-2023)*

Source: <[www.demo.istat.it](http://www.demo.istat.it)>

To explain this, we need to mention also another factor involving the two principal agricultural regions of Campania: they are in fact engaged in the industrialization of agriculture, which has transformed wide spaces in agro-industrial landscapes, with the following effects on social local geographies and also on sustainability. Due to the arrival of the large agricultural companies, as Bonduelle in the province of Salerno, wide areas have been converted into the production of the so-called “fourth range” fruits and vegetables, which are all those varieties of fresh fruit and vegetables ready for consumption. The growing demand for ready products has enlarged the pull factors for workers because the productive chain speeds out the operations and needs more and more workforce, which is usually recruited among migrants, most of the time willing to do the 3D jobs, furthermore underpaid.

The industrial transformation of agriculture in Southern Italy is quite evident in some production like the canned tomato. Canned tomatoes to some extent can be regarded as an emblem of made-in-Italy agri-food production and in fact represent somehow “a quintessentially globalized commodity”.<sup>7</sup> Since the early last century, the production of canned tomatoes has been predominantly based in the Campania region, where the traditional variety of San Marzano tomatoes used to grow in small plots in the hills and small plains in the province of Salerno. For several reasons, including the subsidies of the Common Agricultural Policy to canning factories since

<sup>7</sup> PERROTTA and RAEYMAEKERS, “Caporalato capitalism. Labour brokerage and agrarian change in a Mediterranean society”, *The Journal of Peasant Studies*, 2022, p. 1 ff., p. 10.

1979, its production has increasingly become intensified. In the same period, the bulk of agricultural production was delocalized to the Capitanata plain in Apulia as well as to the neighbouring province of Potenza, in Basilicata, located approximately 200 km from Salerno, where most canning factories are still based today. Through this delocalization, the processing industry in the Campania region sought to increase and innovate agricultural production, hoping that growers in Apulia and Basilicata would soon follow suit and start mechanizing the operations of seeding and harvesting. However, while in the same period, the agricultural areas of Northern Italy hosted a complete mechanization of the harvest, in the South this process was prevented – or at least delayed – by the growing presence of the migrant workforce. The availability of such highly flexible stocks of labourers discourages enterprises from investing in large machinery, while, at the same time, the labourers' meagre wages compete with the costs of mechanized labour. Despite being illegal, wages based on piecework in the tomato harvest enable the strongest and fastest labourers to compete for better wages. Each 300 kg box is paid between 3 and 4 euros (depending on various elements, such as the conditions of the field and the tomatoes, and the bargaining process between the *caporale*<sup>8</sup> and the farmer). The fastest workers can harvest up to 30 boxes a day, thus earning 80-100 euros (the *caporale*'s fee and the cost of the transport are deducted from the amount). On the other hand, the weakest and slowest among the workers manage to harvest no more than 5 or 10 boxes a day, thus earning no more than 20-25 euros. This economic coercion has the double function of disciplining and cutting the costs of an already precarious labour force. In the context of rapid delocalization and globalization of local production, *caporalato* as a mode of organizing the labour force retains its fundamental importance because the harvest needs large stocks of workers who can be mobilized and coerced on short notice, in sometimes quite distant and remote fields.<sup>9</sup>

Such an industrial approach to agriculture is not sustainable since it degrades natural resources, depletes human resources, and destroys economic opportunities. Such industrial agriculture is inherently incapable of maintaining its productivity and usefulness to society. It fails every test of sustainability also because it is a significant contributor to the depletion of social energy. Farm workers today are among the lowest-paid workers in Italy while working under dangerous and disagreeable conditions, most without adequate health care or other fringe benefits.

The growing reliance on migrant farm workers also creates cultural and political

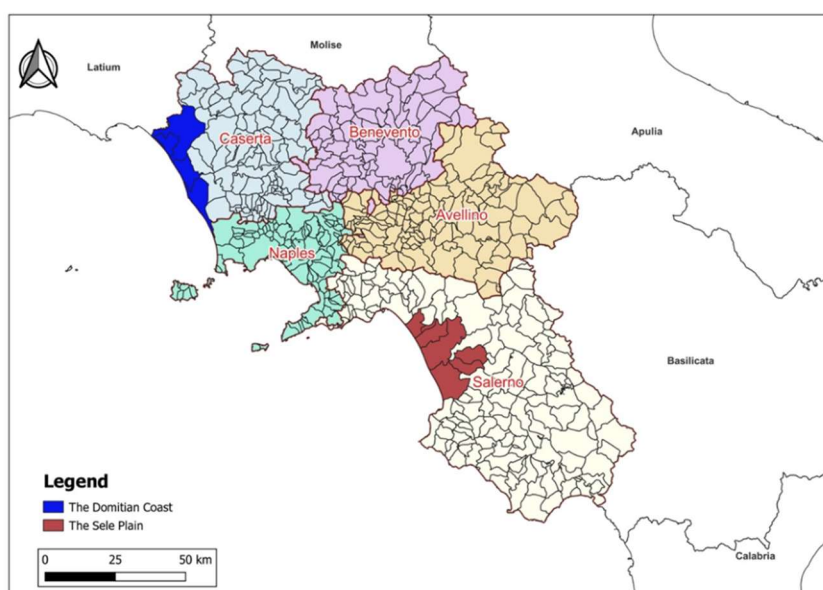
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<sup>8</sup> The analysis will focus on this issue in the following section: *caporalato* means the illegal recruitment of workers, a phenomenon that is widespread in the agricultural regions of Southern Italy and the Mediterranean.

<sup>9</sup> PERROTTA and RAEYMAEKERS, *cit. supra* note 7.

conflicts, particularly where good-paying jobs are few: the two principal agricultural regions of Campania presenting this scenario are the Domitian Coast, in the province of Caserta and the Sele Plain, in the province of Salerno. The economic and social elements that characterize both of them are different: in the former, agriculture is mostly seasonal, the ethnic concentration is strong (the largest groups are the African ones and in fact, Caserta is “the most African” province of Campania), it is well known – also on a national scale – as a land affected by organized crime, a place where the State is absent and so the recruitment of migrant workers in agriculture is widely managed by a sort of gang mastering called “caporalato”; in the latter, agriculture is not seasonal because of the conversion to the fourth range, so land is now covered by huge greenhouses where various types of salad are produced; here the migratory scenario is more diversified than the Domitian Coast one: the foreign presence is more plural and composed both by East-European groups and African ones (mainly from the Northern Countries).<sup>10</sup>

Figure 1 shows how the Domitian Coast is close to the Southern Latium and the Sele Plain to Basilicata: the spatial proximity is the key to realising how the mobility of agricultural workers creates such an interregional route with the common social landscape shaped by racial capitalism, discrimination, unsustainable consumption of natural resources and labour exploitation.



*Figure 1 – The Domitian Coast and the Sele Plain in Campania*

*Source:  
elaboration by  
the author.*

<sup>10</sup> MATARAZZO, “Il disagio abitativo dei migranti in Campania. Evidenze dal caso di Eboli (SA)”, *Studi e Ricerche Socio-Territoriali*, 2017, p. 31 ff.

### 3. PERCEPTION

A research dossier registered the results of complex field work achieved in the agricultural basins of Campania: more than a thousand interviews were done with migrant farm workers about their perception of discrimination.<sup>11</sup>

75% of the interviewed feel discriminated against: because of being a foreigner, black, irregular and also for gender, less for religion. 98% of them declare to have never or just sometimes had an employment contract, 97% to be underpaid and 95% declared that the employer usually holds back part of the salary.

If the declarations about discrimination and exploitation seemed somehow spontaneous, different was the approach to the questions about the perception of coercion: in fact, only 30% admitted to having suffered physical or psychological threats; less than 25% declared to have been threatened with the loss of accommodation or the report to police. 53% answered to have never been threatened. The threat of the loss of accommodation is connected with the topic of segregation because it deals with the settlement conditions.<sup>12</sup>

To deal with the segregation of migrant farm workers, we have to remember again the Mediterranean model of migration:<sup>13</sup> the migrant workers' settlement in Campania is influenced in fact by a segmented real estate market, dominated by the push economic factors of the urban areas and the pull factors of the peripheral and rural ones, where accommodation availability is wide due to the depopulation trends and also to the building speculation following the industrialization policies of the Seventies or natural disasters, as the 1980 earthquake. Combined with the growing trends of immigration, it is easy to guess how concentrated is becoming the migrant settlement in the peripheral and rural areas of the region, first of all the most attractive ones for jobs, that are the agricultural spaces.

It is very difficult to divide the analysis when talking about the perception of discrimination and segregation, because the latter is a practice rooted in the former and, when perceived by the victim, in many cases can induce forms of self-segregation.<sup>14</sup>

We cannot deal with agricultural work and spatial segregation without dealing with *caporalato* brokerage. *Caporalato* is a black box to open to better grasp the fundamental role it plays in both agrarian production and labour reproduction.

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<sup>11</sup> BRUNO (ed.), *Lavoratori stranieri in agricoltura. Una ricerca sui fenomeni discriminatori*, Roma, 2018.

<sup>12</sup> MATARAZZO, *cit. supra* note 10.

<sup>13</sup> See PUGLIESE, *cit. supra* note 1, p. 1.

<sup>14</sup> IHLANFELDT and SCAFIDI, "Black Self-Segregation as a Cause of Housing Segregation: Evidence from the Multi-City Study of Urban Inequality", *Journal of Urban Economics*, 2002, p. 366 ff.

As argued by Perrotta and Raeymaekers, over the last 30 years, *caporalato* has represented a central infrastructure in labour mediation, which simultaneously complements neoliberal State policies while embedding the cost of labour reproduction into migrant networks. Specifically in the context of export-driven plantation economies – like the Italian tomato production one – migrant labour infrastructures like *caporalato* represent the hidden undercurrents of extractive capitalist frontiers. Agricultural firms rely increasingly on such broker networks to guarantee their need for a flexible and disposable labour force while outsourcing the cost of labour reproduction to communities and their social networks, which are deliberately placed outside the realm of “formal” capitalist development.<sup>15</sup>

“In this context, the terminology of migrant labour infrastructures serves to unpack the systematically interlinked institutions, actors, and technologies, that facilitate and condition labour mobility. As socio-technical platforms for labour mobility that are at the same time immanent and relational, they may become at the same time self-perpetuating and self-serving, while also providing an alternative for withering State control over formal labour markets. Besides being conduits for human mobility, these infrastructures are also political, in the sense that they reflect the contested integration of workers into their local living environments, from which they remain formally excluded in terms of labour, accommodation and citizenship rights. Concretely speaking, they perform the role of incorporating informal workers into global supply chains under adverse conditions, or they serve to literally suck vital energy from mobile workers, while segregating their human presence from the societies that benefit from their labour”.<sup>16</sup>

In sum, we could identify *caporalato* not just as an illegal space within the formal labour market that can be dismantled exclusively through judiciary actions: rather this kind of brokerage is a structural component of contemporary agri-food production and reproduction in the sense that it allows for concentrating the means for capital accumulation in formal industrial firms while externalizing the cost of labour reproduction to informal workers who are increasingly caught in the web of illegality. Secondly, inspired by the extensive literature on brokerage in Southern Italy in a context of large-scale land properties, according to Raeymaekers and

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<sup>15</sup> See PERROTTA and RAEYMAEKERS, *cit. supra* note 7, p.1.

<sup>16</sup> *ID.*, p. 2.

Perrotta, an analysis of labour brokerage in the contemporary, globalized agri-food production settings must necessarily involve the systemic relationships between the figure of the broker (*caporale*), the agrarian economy, politics and society and a labour force whose reproduction is contained through combined formal and informal governance. This is what the mentioned scientists call “caporalato capitalism”: understanding it as a mode of production and exploitation that thrives on the historical relation between labour, capital, and public authority in the domain of industrialized agriculture, and which continues to reproduce migrant labour as an adversely incorporated force that produces wealth.<sup>17</sup>

Since the Eighties and Nineties, when the tertiarization brought the replacement of Italian farmworkers by a foreign labour force, *caporalato* has gradually entered as a pivot the working and living conditions of migrant farmworkers in Southern Italy. Academic studies, reports in Italian and European mass media as well as NGOs and trade unions’ complaints have contributed to identify the *caporali* as mafiosi and slavedrivers, human traffickers, and sex work exploiters. Following a long strike in Apulia by African labourers in August 2011, a national law declared this form of mediation a criminal offence, punishable with a prison sentence. In 2016, a new law extended this criminal offence to agricultural and other enterprises that consciously make use of the *caporali*’s services.<sup>18</sup> But even though this new legislation has been the basis for several judiciary investigations from 2016 on, it has not achieved much success in addressing the widespread labour exploitation to which migrant workers continue to be subjected.

The placement of the so-called employment centres in the rural districts explains the persistence of *caporalato* brokerage despite the fact that it has been made illegal because these centres replaced the public employment offices, that were the central nodes of formal mediation in the rural districts. Agricultural firms report the value of labour to the State administration to these centres through formal (mostly digital) statements, while in turn the State reserves the right to verify this value through occasional inspections and bureaucratic oversight. In this context, the *anti-caporalato* legislation may have pushed labour mediation to partially emerge out of the illegal sphere, but it also contributed to what experts now call a rise in “grey labour”: the underreporting of actual labour time to cream off or preclude the payment of social welfare contributions, such as unemployment and pension benefits.<sup>19</sup> Rather than improving migrant labourers’ working and living conditions,

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<sup>17</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>18</sup> Legge 29 ottobre 2016, n. 199 (G.U: 03/11/2016).

<sup>19</sup> AVALLONE, *Sfruttamento e resistenze. Migrazioni e agricoltura in Europa, Italia, Piana del Sele*, Verona, 2017.

legislative reforms have essentially reformulated the question of agricultural labour around border security and humanitarian migration management, with the effect of increasing the latter's continued social and political segregation in Italian society. While some attention has been devoted to the social aspects of legislative reforms, a specific focus on migrant labour mediation and its social effects in the context of Europe's liberalizing agri-food industry today has not yet received much attention in Italy. Hence, the need to define more specifically the dark sides of supply chain capitalism and its spatial forms.

#### 4. SEGREGATION

In order to understand the settlement scenario and the phenomena dealing with segregation needs paying attention to the housing conditions of migrants. The housing poverty in fact is particularly severe for the migrant population as well as ethnic minorities in general. In this case, in addition to economic-financial problems, access to housing is often hampered by forms of discrimination in the housing market that may be more or less accentuated, both on an urban and a rural scale.

Concerning the latter, on which this paper is focusing, a map of the Italian rural ghettos can be useful (Fig. 2):<sup>20</sup> for "rural ghetto" we intend an agricultural territory where the presence of migrant farm workers is highly concentrated, the *caporalato* brokerage manage their recruitment and in sum the Mediterranean model of migration is clearly visible also in the settlement conditions of workers. They live far from the urban centres in a sort of "free zones", where the State is somehow interrupted and the intensification of production is the only rule, to which all the others are subject.

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<sup>20</sup> AVALONE and TORRE, "Dalla città ostile alla città bene comune. I migranti di fronte alla crisi dell'abitare in Italia", *Archivio di Studi Urbani e Regionali*, 2016, p. 51 ff, p. 61.





Figure 2 – The Italian rural ghettos

Source: Avallone and Torre, *cit. supra* note 20.

Except for the one located in the paddy field of the Piemonte Region (North of Italy), the map shows the increasing density of rural ghettos from Rome to the South, which is a marker of the value chain based on the rotation of migrant workers among the agricultural regions of Southern Italy: indeed, the agricultural calendar outlines the trajectories of mobility that are inscribed in the economic geography and society of the regions of Southern Italy such as an element of relevance and a contribution to territorial resignation. The work cycle starts in February in the province of Caserta, when the migrants arrive for tomato planting and stay up until the harvesting phase, then they move to the province of Foggia, where the harvest of the same crop is later; finally, they move towards the plain of Gioia Tauro and Sicily for the orange winter harvest.<sup>21</sup>

Segregation is in some ways an effect of the peripheralization of migrant workers and of their placement in the agricultural spaces, due, as mentioned, to the

<sup>21</sup> See MATARAZZO, *cit. supra* note 10, p. 1.

industrialization of agricultural activities, whose supply chain is today entirely controlled by transnational agribusiness companies, which impose the organization of production in large farms with flexible workforce, to also face market fluctuations. Migrant workers respond to these needs for flexibility, from since the mass irregularity generated by the immigration legislation forces these workers to find black or grey work, often accepting, in addition to the piecework regime, housing conditions that are extremely uncomfortable.

The Domitian Coast and the Sele Plain host these processes and they emerged both as attractors of migrant agricultural workers and as gears of the revolving platform within the migratory system configured in the South based on agriculture.<sup>22</sup>

The following images represent some accommodations in Eboli (Sele Plain), where the ghetto's distance from the urban centre explains why the farm workers' segregation can be somehow "invisible": migrants live near the greenhouses, sometimes in abandoned factories, in slums degenerated following the abandonment of building projects aimed to qualify this coastal zone as a touristic one. Houses do not have roofs, electricity or water. Some of them are accommodations for summer holidays but from October until May they become workers' dormitories, inhabited by five to ten persons, without heating because of their original function.



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<sup>22</sup> *Ibidem.*



*Fig. 2-3 – Accommodations along the coastal road in Eboli (Sele Plain)*

*Source: photos by the author.*

Here it seems there is no social perception of segregation simply because urban residents do not see it. As a matter of fact, the size of municipality space permits to separate the residents' spaces from those of farm workers.

Moving to the second case, the Domitian Coast is crossed throughout part of its length by the Domitiana road, which divides it into two distinct parts: a coastal area with tourist and commercial activities, and the other with an economy linked mainly to farming and breeding of buffalo cows, which is local excellence in the primary sector. The urban structure of the municipalities (Sessa Aurunca, Castelvolturno, Mondragone and Villa Literno) is very fragmented due to the presence of different locations.

The population growth is at a steady pace, but there is also a considerable increase in the percentage of resident immigrants, which in Castel Volturno was just over 9% of the total population in 2006 and reached 17% in 2023. This figure is more than three times the average provincial incidence of the immigrant population in the same period, which is between 5% and 6% of the total population.<sup>23</sup> It is also worth noting how the evolution of the officially registered population cannot consider the illegal immigrant population, which also resides along the Domitian Coast, and is employed

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<sup>23</sup> The data are available at: <<https://demo.istat.it/>>.

mainly in the primary sector, even seasonally. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that the overall incidence of immigrants on the total population is even higher and occupies the proportion of the most poor-quality building stock, in terms both of building quality and urban environments. From the housing characteristics, the quality of housing stock varies significantly from the historic centre to the Coast. In the historical centres, there are old and new buildings, while along the coast, the urban context is mostly residential, but nowadays in poor conditions and occupied illegally by economically disadvantaged families. The remaining part of poor-quality and abandoned buildings are empty. The “patchy” distribution of the population throughout the territory, its varied origins, the considerable mobility, internal and external of the population, the trouble and unsafety with which this appropriation took place, and the problems that triggered this condition has made the Domitian Coast a “difficult” area to study and manage, as various studies have highlighted.<sup>24</sup>

In this territorial context, there are specific socio-economic conditions that over time have induced the local real estate market to be completely avulsed from macroeconomic dynamics. More in detail, the deep-rooted presence of organized crime, waste abandonment, the presence of toxic waste buried underground by organized crime, urban and environmental degradation, the extensive illegal buildings are all features that have encouraged the massive increase of immigrants in the Domitian Coast’s municipalities (regular and irregular).<sup>25</sup> For these reasons, the variable “immigrant population” could be understood somehow as a proxy of local economic and social conditions. This does not mean assuming a relationship between housing prices and immigration, so it is not possible to say whether this correlation depends on the perception that the Italian native population has of the migratory phenomenon, as is the case in the main Italian cities, in accordance with researchers for whom a large immigrant population tends to reduce prices or, conversely, because the less spending power of the immigrant population implies that they focus on urban areas that are less well-liked due to poor location characteristics and more degraded buildings.

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<sup>24</sup> D’ASCENZO, *Antimondi delle migrazioni. L’Africa a Castelvoturno*, Milano, 2014; DE FILIPPO and STROZZA (eds.), *Vivere da immigrati nel Casertano. Profili variabili, condizioni difficili e relazioni in divenire*, Milano, 2012; GAFFURI, “Africani di Castel Volturno, se è permesso”, in PETRARCA (eds.), *Migranti africani di Castel Volturno*, Meridione. Sud e Nord del Mondo, 2016, p. 82 ff.

<sup>25</sup> See MATARAZZO, *cit. supra* note 10, p. 1.

## 5. CONCLUDING REMARKS

The issue investigated by this paper leave room for further insights into future research on the topic, which, as the analysis has shown here, will become increasingly important on both a local and national scale. What we can assume is that in “difficult” territories such as the Domitian Coast, the housing discomfort of migrants adds up to the natives one and it often generates social conflicts. So, discrimination makes room and we know, for example, that in this area 15% of migrants improve their housing condition ten years after their arrival on average.<sup>26</sup> In the Domitian Coast, different from the Sele Plain, hate speech is rooted among the Italian natives, due to the widespread poverty in the whole local communities and also to the concentration of ethnic groups – in these cases the African ones, as said before – which over the years have added their criminal networks to the local ones, in particular, to manage the drug trafficking and prostitution.<sup>27</sup>

It is just from this perspective of territorial conflict that having a look at some social motions that took place in recent years is useful – underlying that everyone has involved migrant farm workers from African Countries: the rebellion of Castelvoturno in 2008, the one of Rosarno in 2010 and the rebellion of San Ferdinando (both in Calabria) in 2018, where violence, exploitation and segregation were reported.<sup>28</sup> We do not know if anything changed thanks to this outing, but after that, the local communities became aware of what the territory they live in hosts; after that solidarity networks among workers have empowered and a reaction to violence and exploitation took place, since – it is useful to remember it – the mentioned rebellions took place after some workers were killed by the local organized crime.

So, what is segregation? To answer, it is useful to borrow the words of the American geographer Michael Samers, who defines segregation as “the result of a social and spatial practice combined with a political and cultural speech”.<sup>29</sup>

The discrimination and segregation landscapes of Southern Italy described in this

<sup>26</sup> See DE FILIPPO and STROZZA, *cit. supra* note 24, p. 10.

<sup>27</sup> See D’ASCENZO, *cit. supra* note 24, p. 10.

<sup>28</sup> Sardo, “Undici anni fa a Castelvoturno la strage dei Ghanesi”, *La Repubblica Napoli*, September 18th 2019, available at: <[https://napoli.repubblica.it/cronaca/2019/09/18/foto/undici\\_anni\\_fa\\_a\\_castel\\_voltuno\\_la\\_strage\\_dei\\_ghanesi-236338447/1/](https://napoli.repubblica.it/cronaca/2019/09/18/foto/undici_anni_fa_a_castel_voltuno_la_strage_dei_ghanesi-236338447/1/)>; “La rivolta nera di Rosarco”, *La Stampa*, January 8th 2010, available at: <<https://www.lastampa.it/cronaca/2010/01/08/news/la-rivolta-nera-di-rosarno-1.37028179/>>; “La tendopoli di San Ferdinando. Un’emergenza che dura da 11 anni”, May 18th 2021, *Rainews*, available at: <<https://www.rainews.it/archivio-rainews/media/La-tendopoli-di-San-Ferdinando-emergenza-che-dura-da-11-anni-migranti-calabria-68b7aa62-6eee-4273-aa55-78ae36d8f020.html#foto-1>>.

<sup>29</sup> SAMERS, *Migrazioni*, Roma, 2012, p. 245.

paper are often read as some exceptions, something extreme and different to rules and practices. We could, on the contrary, read these scenarios as the main point of view from which to read the global and the Italian economies, because it is the only way to understand their real rules and practices and to take over their contradictions.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> See MATARAZZO, *cit. supra* note 10, p. 1.