

Making the “Invisible” visible

Labour exploitation and mobility trajectories - a study on
Sub-Saharan African migrants in the Italian agricultural sector

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5 August 2022



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Date: 5 August 2022

Cover photo: In the middle of nowhere, just outside of Borgo Mezzanone.
The largest informal settlement of Foggia.
Photo taken by Milou Rientjes



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Abstract

Many African migrants travel to Europe in search for a better life, however, end up living in ghettos and being exploited in their labour. This makes migrants to keep traveling around to seek for better opportunities. However, what aspirations are behind a decision to move or to stay, and how these mobility trajectories look like is still unknown. This study is focusing on Sub-Saharan African migrants working in the Italian agricultural industry. A case study was done in the Southern Italian province of Foggia and a qualitative research design was used. Investigation took place in a period of three months whereby participant observations, 15 participant interviews and 7 expert interviews helped to answer the research question "How do Sub-Saharan African migrants working in the Italian agricultural sector organize their livelihoods and how does this influence their (im)mobility trajectories?". Outcomes reveal that migrants in Italy are stuck in a vicious circle. The most important aspects in one's livelihood are having a residence permit and a stable job, followed by adequate housing. However, for one of these, the other is needed. Circumstances of exploitation have decreased over time, but migrants still seek better life elsewhere. Migrants travel through Italy or Europe in search for a better opportunities. Thus, the conclusion can be drawn that migrants mobility trajectories are considered as a continuous journey rather than a fixed one. Knowing migrants trajectories and their aspirations behind them can contribute in better migration policies for the whole of Europe.

Key words:

Migrant workers, Sub-Saharan African migrants, Labour exploitation, Agriculture, Mobility trajectories, Caporalato, Italy

Acknowledgement

First of all, I want to thank my supervisor Gery Nijenhuis, with whom I held many brainstorm sessions in the beginning of the research, when I was still insecure about the research topic. Thank you Gery, for supporting me in my decision to travel to Italy and for being available for online meetings during the whole research period. I felt supported, but still free to make my own decisions.

I want to thank my parents, who know me the best of all and always push me to follow my dreams to go on a next adventure. Thank you for not being afraid and having the trust that nothing will overcome me. Others saw this as a dangerous journey with the mafia being active in Southern Italy and a sensitive topic like the mine. Still, you encouraged me to grab this opportunity with both hands and make the most out of the experience.

I want to give special thanks to Anouk Theunis; one of my best friends who supported me before, during and after my journey to Italy. The fact that I knew there was always someone to whom I could share my moments of doubts, joy and grief helped me a lot during the whole thesis process, because the journey was not always an easy one.

Emilia Melossi; thank you again for opening your doors for me upon my arrival in Italy and helping me with the first essential information about the research area. Because of you, I knew where to start and my research period could begin.

During the fieldwork period I would have been nowhere without the help of all the organizations that supported me in the search for participants and were willing to answer my questions at any time needed.

I want to thank Alessio Nuzzi, who created my stable base during the research period in Foggia. Without you, I do not know how I could have managed.

Last and foremost, I want to thank all the participants involved in this research who were willing to share their personal stories and opinions with me. Without them, this paper would not have existed. I am grateful for the moments we drank tea together, made music together, laughed together, and for the moments we felt pain together. They made this period an unforgettable one.

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Glossary

- Busta paga: Italian word for paycheck
- Capo: Italian word for "the boss"
- Capo nero: direct translation = the black boss. Referring to the black caporali
- Caporali: gang masters that recruit workers for third parties
- Corporalato: unlawful labour recruitment system and labour exploitation carried out by the caporali
- Permesso di Soggiorno (or in sort: Soggiorno): Italian word for legal permit to stay
- Questura: Italian word for migration office

1. Introduction

Globally, 40.3 million people were victims of modern slavery in 2016. Of those, 24.9 million were trapped in forced labour and 15.4 million in forced marriage (Walk Free, 2018). We speak of modern slavery when: first, there is control of a person over another, second, an involuntary aspect in their relation and third, there is an element of exploitation (Mende, 2018). Essentially, these are all situations of exploitation in which a person cannot refuse or leave an exploitative situation due to threats, violence, coercion, deception or abuse of power (Bryant, David, & Larsen, 2019). The loss of agency is the central explanatory trail of the conduct in question (Cockayne, 2021). 89 million people experienced some form of modern slavery in the past five years, ranging from being enslaved for a few days to a period of five years. The Global Slavery Index 2018 measures the extent of modern slavery country by country and the steps governments are taking to respond to this issue (Walk Free, 2018).

The index found that 3.6 million people were living in modern slavery in Europe and Central Asia in 2016. These are 3.9 for every 1,000 people in this region. Only 9% of these were victims of forced marriage, which is the lowest percentage compared to all other world regions. However, the remaining 91% are victims of forced labour. Nevertheless, European countries are worldwide taking the most action to respond to modern slavery. This stresses that even in countries with strong laws and systems, there are critical gaps in securing vulnerable people such as the homeless, workers in the shadow or gig economy, irregular migrants and certain minorities (Walk Free, 2018).

1.1 Italian context

Also in Italy, migrant workers are frequently subject to some forms of exploitation and abuse. For example, being forced to live in the place where they work, which worsens isolation and segregation that in turn increases vulnerability to human rights abuse. It also increases the risk of being subject to inadequate living conditions. Often they do not have legal employment contracts or health insurance and receive inadequate payment (Tondo, 2016; Human Rights Watch, 2020). Italian labour exploitation is predominantly affecting migrant workers in the agricultural sector as well as the textile production, construction and domestic work (Council of Europe, 2017).

When focusing on the Italian agriculture sector, the 'Made in Italy' label is regarded as a quality guarantee around the world and EU-certified products promote Italian agri-food excellence. Italy, in turn, has the biggest number of European Union-recognized Protected Designation of Origin (PDO) and Protected Geographical Indication (PGI) food goods. Family-run farms offer high-quality fruits and vegetables that are sought after around the world (Scaturro, 2021). Italy's tomato is marketized as 'Red Gold' (Howard & Forin, 2019), however, not everything is gold and glitter. The Italian agricultural industry is heavily dependent on migrant workers, who face exploitative circumstances (Palumbo, 2016; Howard & Forin, 2019; Scaturro, 2021; Giampaolo & Ianni, 2020; Corrado, 2018). For years, the agriculture sector has been known to rely on cheap and exploited migrant labour, particularly in the less developed Southern part of Italy, where the majority of the country's farms are located (Palumbo, 2016). Around 180,000 seasonal and migrant workers are at risk of forced labour (Migrants Refugees, 2021).

"Corporalato" is an Italian term that refers to unlawful labour recruitment and labour exploitation carried out by gangmasters; *"the caporali"*, who recruit workers for third parties (Tondo, 2016). A key feature of this system is the monopoly of gangmasters on transport services. This obliges workers to pay a fee for their transportation to and from their workplace. The greater the distance between the workers and the employer in need of labour and when the arrangement of work in teams is particularly complex, this system of illegal recruiting becomes more frequent (MLPS, 2020). An estimate of 690,000 unauthorized migrants live in Italy (Human Rights Watch, 2020). The caporali employs over 400,000 farmworkers informally. About one-fourth of these (100,000) are thought to be victims of labour exploitation (Scaturro, 2021).

1.2 Justification and knowledge gap

Much of the existing literature is focusing on migrant labour exploitation in the Italian tomato industry (Melossi, 2021; Marshall & Spigno, 2017; Howard & Forin, 2019; Scaturro, 2021; ImpactBuying, 2022; Perrotta, 2016). Yet, the problem is broader than that. Thus, this research is not only focusing on the tomato industry but on agriculture in Italy as a whole.

Besides, Bolay et al., (2020) state that there is a need for a mobility lens in migration studies. According to Schapendonk, (2011) many studies on migration explored the starting and ending points of migration. At the starting point of migration, a profound amount of researchers have concentrated on the question: Why do migrants leave in the first place? As such, the decision-making processes of migrants prior to the actual move are given special attention. (Ahmed et al. 2003; Harris and Todaro 1970; Lee 1966; Piore 1979; Sassen 1988; Stark and Bloom 1985).

At the endpoint of migration, many studies focused on patterns of immigration, assimilation processes, and the socioeconomic contributions of migrants to destination and sending nations. The integration debate is the main issue, important questions in this debate are; *What are the social, cultural, and economic costs and advantages of migration?* As well as; *What steps must be taken to successfully integrate immigrants into host societies?* (Borjas 1989; Engbersen et al. 1999; Entzinger 2009; Fitzgerald 2006; Piore 1979).

However, when can a place be understood as the end point of migration? A person might consider moving again in a later stage of life. As stated by Bolay et al., (2020): *People's individual aspirations can change over time and movements are not necessarily from A to B; there will be moments of mobility and immobility.* This study will therefore elaborate more on the problem as described in chapter 1.1, while using a mobility lens.

What is known in literature is that many agricultural day labourers move across Italy from one rural area to another for different seasonal harvests. For twelve months a year, about 200,000 Africans travel through Italy to work in the agricultural industry. According to Ploeg (2020) and Melossi (2021) in winter they pick citrus fruit in Calabria, in spring strawberries in Campania and in summer tomatoes in Puglia and travel to Northern Italy when the apple and peach season arises. However, it is still unknown what aspirations and strategies are behind these movements. Because they are constantly on the move it increases migrants invisibility and are therefore called "the invisibles" (Ploeg, 2020; Melossi, 2021). Besides, whether or not these migrants move outside of Italy has not been investigated yet. Therefore, to make these migrants visible and to understand what strategies, choices and aspirations are behind these mobilities their trajectories need to be identified.

Furthermore, the study is conducted in the Southern Italian province of Foggia. Here, a case study has been done, while the trajectories bring the study to a broader level; including Italy as a whole as well as other European countries. Much existing literature focus on Southern Italy (Perrotta, 2015; Domsodi, 2019; Melossi, 2021), while recent literature revealed that the problem is also happening in Northern Italy (Scaturro, 2021; MLPS, 2020; Giampaolo & Ianni, 2020). Thus, by evaluating migrants trajectories this study will also add to the literature concerning Northern Italy and beyond.

The population focused on in this research are Sub-Saharan African migrants because they are the largest non-European migrant group working in agriculture in the province of Foggia (Mita, Anolf-Cisl, Foggia, 2022). It is not self-evident that this group receives a residence permit and undocumented migrants are most vulnerable to exploitation (Bryant, David, & Larsen, 2019; ImpactBuying, 2022). Besides, the caporalato labour contracting system particularly impacts this migrant group (Melossi, 2021). Therefore, their voices should be heard.

1.3 Significance and Development relevance

Through the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), set in 2015, all 193 UN Member States committed to address global concerns to achieve a better and more sustainable future for all. By 2030,

SDG 8.7 aspires to eliminate modern slavery, human trafficking, forced labour and the most heinous forms of child labour. Alliance 8.7 is a multi-stakeholder alliance dedicated to reaching Target 8.7 by coordinating efforts, increasing research and sharing data and expertise (Bryant, David, & Larsen, 2019). Yet development sector voices are frequently absent on these issues (Cockayne, 2021). Therefore, as a researcher from the development sector, this research can add to the debate and help reaching target SDG 8.7.

Migration is also addressed by the SDGs, most notably under SDG 10.7, which aims to encourage orderly, safe and responsible migration and mobility, particularly through the implementation of well-managed migration policies. Furthermore, the Global Compact for Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration aspires to be the first UN-sponsored intergovernmental agreement on international migration (Bryant, David, & Larsen, 2019). By investigating migrants trajectories, this report can also contribute to these policies.

Lastly, labour exploitation is a personal crime and an abuse of human rights. This profitable criminal industry is largely invisible, in part because it disproportionately affects the most vulnerable. This is why investigating and identifying this problem is crucial in overcoming it (Walk Free, 2018). The availability of accurate, reliable data to better understand the problem and its responses is critical to effectively respond to labour exploitation (Bryant, David, & Larsen, 2019). NGOs like Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International are reporting on the human rights violations of migrants (Amnesty International, 2021; Human Rights Watch, 2020). Because they are, the agency of migrants, or differently said; their ability to act independently and exercise their free will is increasing. This report can contribute to this. Giving migrants a voice can contribute to more fundamental freedoms amongst this vulnerable group. Putting more emphasis on forced labour can create more understanding of this topic and the more people are acknowledged about these hidden issues, the more likely change will occur.

1.4 Research objectives and questions

The aim of this research is twofold. Migrants livelihoods in the province of Foggia are sought to be understood and their (im)mobility trajectories are intended to be explained. When creating more understanding of migrants livelihood strategies, their aspirations for mobility will be better analysable. Therefore, this research aims to answer the following research questions:

“How do Sub-Saharan African migrants working in the Italian agricultural sector organize their livelihoods and how does this influence their (im)mobility trajectories?”

The main research question is answered through the following sub-questions:

- *How do Sub-Saharan African migrants working in the agricultural sector organize their livelihoods in the province of Foggia?*
- *How do the livelihoods of Sub-Saharan migrants relate to (im)mobility trajectories?*
- *Which factors drive changes in the livelihoods of Sub-Saharan African migrants and what are their future perspectives?*

The research questions will be answered through a qualitative research design. For this, fifteen semi-structured interviews are held with Sub-Saharan African migrants and seven expert interviews are done to understand the research problem to the fullest. This will be further elaborated on in the methodology chapter (chapter 4).

1.5 Outline of this report

The following chapter will provide a literature review and explanation of the theoretical concepts used. Thereafter, a regional framework is given focusing on Italy and Foggia specifically. Thirdly, the

methodology can be found in chapter 4. After the methodology chapter, three results chapters will follow, each answering one of the sub-questions in the same chronological order as provided above. In chapter 8 a discussion is given on the theories and literature used (chapter 2) in combination with the research findings of this report (chapter 5, 6 and 7). Lastly, the conclusion in chapter 9 aims to answer the main research question.

2. Literature & Theory

After introducing the main topics of this research in chapter 1, this chapter will elaborate further on the already existing literature and relevant theoretical concepts. In this chapter, the literature on the topic is mixed with the major theories and concepts that will guide this research.

2.1 Exploitation

A report of the EU Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA) focused on migrant workers from third countries as well as EU nationals. The research was held in eight EU Member States, namely: Portugal, the Netherlands, Belgium, Italy, Germany, France, Poland and the United Kingdom. Results showed that across the European Union (EU), migrant workers are being severely exploited for their labour (FRA, 2019).

The EU tries to prevent labour exploitation by acting on recruitment and employment agencies due to *“Article 5 (1) of the Directive on Temporary Agency Work (2008/104/EC) establishes the principle of equal treatment and equal pay between agency workers and the regular workforce. Article 6 (3) prohibits charging workers fees in exchange for arranging recruitment or for concluding a contract of employment”* (FRA, 2019). Besides this, the ILO Convention No. 181 is regulating private employment agencies. This regulation dates back to 1997 and has been approved by 13 EU Member States. It establishes the general criteria for regulating the recruitment, placement and employment of workers by private employment agencies. It prohibits the charging of a fee to workers and ensures the protection of fundamental workplace rights. These can be understood as freedom of association, collective bargaining as well as equal opportunity and treatment for migrant workers recruited or placed in host countries. Even though these principles are established, there is still a lack of effective regulation of employment and recruitment agencies. Companies involved range from those that knowingly profit from poor labour practices to criminal organisations involved in human trafficking and other serious human rights abuses (FRA, 2019).

According to the research of FRA (2019), the main recruitment channels used by migrants are personal networks such as friends, family members, acquaintances and former employers (more than 50%). About 17% made use of recruitment agencies, labour market intermediaries or so-called gangmasters. Furthermore, 10% found work through their own initiative such as by distributing their curriculum vitae 6% through internet searches and 4% by being present at pick-up spots for recruitment of daily labour. The remaining 10% found work through other means (FRA, 2019).

When employment is obtained through recruitment agencies, gangmasters and labour market intermediaries the probability of labour exploitation rises. *Workers may be deceived* by these recruiters (FRA, 2019). Besides, migrants are most vulnerable in labour situations which are either hard to access, unseen, or not covered by existing legal protections. For example work in private homes as domestic workers or work at sea (Bryant, David, & Larsen, 2019; ImpactBuying, 2022).

2.1.1 Brokers

Recruitment channels as described above can be identified as brokers. According to Faist (2014, p39) *“brokers are not simply nodes in a network which bridge two yet unconnected nodes by just passing on information, but are parts of social patterns of (in)equalities”*. Examples of brokers can be; multinational corporations, NGOs, transporters such as taxi drivers, labour intermediaries and student recruitment offices, but also visa brokers, smugglers or human traffickers (Schapendonk, 2021; Faist, 2014). Brokerage often occurs at the interstices of formal and informal practices through all stages of the migration process. Brokerage is a technique for account for unequal outcomes. The services of a smuggler, a trafficker, or a labour recruiter may be costly, but so are the consequences of not doing so. These missed opportunities can be possibilities for a better life. The relevance of brokerage is emphasized because brokerage reduces transaction costs, or the costs required to

overcome barriers. Such barriers are for example; obtaining a visa to cross national borders, crossing without the necessary documents and adapting to the new country upon arrival such as finding a house or a job (Faist, 2014).

In the case of migrant workers in Italy, the caporali can be considered as a broker to arrange work. As described in the introduction, the caporali recruits workers for third parties (Tondo, 2016). The gangmasters organise shifts, plan and agree on the costs and timing of harvest and control the volumes of product collected in the case of piece payment (Corrado, 2018; Marshall & Spigno, 2017). Thus, the caporali exerts tight control over and management of workers' everyday lives, including recruiting, transportation, lodging, meals, social contacts, payroll requirements, working hours and remuneration. They keep a share of this logistical work of intermediation or coordination for themselves (Corrado, 2018; Marshall & Spigno, 2017). Many people looking for work are forced to pay high sums of money to the caporali to be recruited and secure employment. Once a job is found, they may be compelled to work long hours and live in deplorable conditions until their "debt" is paid off (Marshall & Spigno, 2017). Besides having to pay the caporali an amount of the wage received, workers also earn very little (Marshall & Spigno, 2017). For example, in Sicily workers were paid 15 Euros per day in the agriculture sector in 2016, meaning that they received less than 2 Euros an hour (Palumbo, 2016). The use of caporali was made illegal in Italy in 2011 but still persists widely today (Marshall & Spigno, 2017). This unlawful recruiting and the presence of organized crime in the agricultural supply chain create an illegal economy worth more than five billion euros (MLPS, 2020).

2.1.2. Finding the right terminology

Due to the power dynamic between the broker and the migrant, it can be discussed whether or not migrants in the caporalato recruitment system can be situated in modern slavery or forced labour. As mentioned in the introduction, men speak of modern slavery when: first, there is control of a person over another, second, an involuntary aspect in their relation and third, there is an element of exploitation (Mende, 2018). In essence, these are all cases of exploitation in which a person cannot refuse or leave an exploitative situation due to threats, coercion, violence, deception or abuse of power (Bryant, David, & Larsen, 2019). Modern slavery can arise in a wide range of industries, such as in domestic servitude, fisheries and aquaculture, sex work, hospitality, construction, agriculture, manufacturing and more (Cockayne, 2021). Some authors suggest that the unlawful practices of the caporalato system can be considered as modern slavery (Scaturro, 2021; Howard & Forin, 2019; Salvia, 2019). However, whether or not this is the case is debatable.

Howard & Forin (2019) state that migrants in Italy live in a complex and contradictory situation. It depicts living and working conditions that are bad, but better than the alternative; having no work at all. Workers who are exploited do understand themselves as consenting to their exploitation (Howard & Forin, 2019). Therefore, it can be argued that they have some freedom of choice. But according to Domsodi (2019), they are susceptible to non-economic forms of constraint and coercion that control the labour process and relations. Brass (2011) states that free market globalization includes the transformation of the unfree labour regime into "not just an option but in some situations a requirement" (Bass, 2011).

Connecting this information to modern slavery it is doubtful whether or not migrants in Italy are caught by modern slavery. One part of modern slavery is the involuntary aspect in the relation between the exploiter and the person being exploited (Mende, 2018). Undocumented migrants do not have a legal status, nor a work contract (Melossi, 2021). Therefore, it can be discussed if migrants voluntarily choose to work in these conditions or if they are forced because of their positionality in society. Besides, modern slavery are situations of exploitation in which a person cannot refuse or leave an exploitative situation (Bryant, David, & Larsen, 2019). The ability of a migrant in Italy to refuse these situations is there; they can decide themselves whether or not they will work for the caporali (Melossi, 2021). But again, to what extent can they refuse this work when the other options are worst (Howard & Forin, 2019)?

Also, Mende (2018) states that slavery can be characterized either succinctly or controversially, depending on one's point of view. Since 1815, more than 300 international treaties on slavery have been ratified, yet they rarely utilize the same terminology. Therefore, Mende (2018) points out that modern slavery definitions run the risk of concealing structural violence, power dynamics and economic and social disparities. They can, however, resolve these concerns when analytically and normatively integrated and contextualized. This way, definitions of modern slavery and its opponents can learn from one another (Mende, 2018). Modern slavery is thus better understood as an umbrella term covering the various forms of coercion prohibited in international instruments on human rights and labour standards (Domsodi, 2019; LeBaron, Rioux, & Verovsek, 2020).

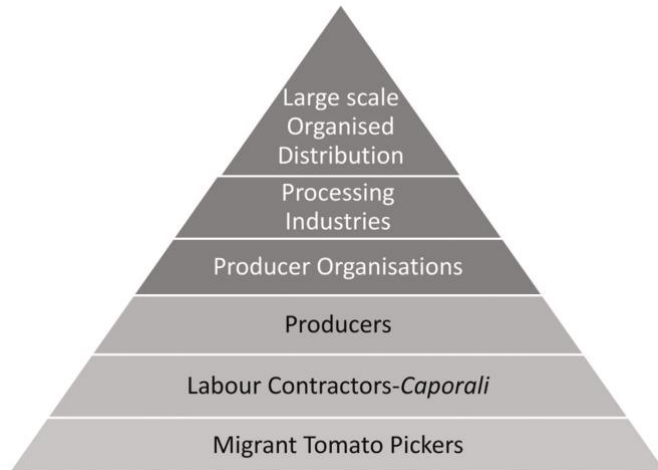
Many authors therefore suggest that exploited labour or forced labour is a better term to use in the Italian caporalato case (Amnesty International, 2012; Corrado, 2018; Palumbo, 2016; MLPS, 2020; ImpactBuying, 2022). Forced labour is more specifically defined than the umbrella term of modern slavery. According to The International Labour Organisation (ILO), someone is a victim of forced labour when workers have to pay for: recruitment, accommodation, transportation or meal costs (Scaturro, 2021). Caporali compel migrant workers to rely on them for all of their basic needs: 5 euros for truck travel to the fields, 1.5 euros for a bottle of drinkable water, 3.5 euros for a sandwich and numerous additional for other essential necessities (Scaturro, 2021; Melossi, 2021). Thus, this situation can be considered as forced labour.

2.1.3 Globalization and Neo-liberalization

According to Dwyer et al (2015) situations such as forced labour are caused by a dialectical interaction between globalization and neo-liberalization. Globalization and neo-liberalization are inextricably linked as a complex process of capitalist and market transnationalization in which capital has developed an unprecedented and decisive level of mobility. Both, countries in the Global North are now dependent on the labour-power of low-paid workers from across the world and as well as the necessity and the desire for people to migrate across international borders in search of work. There is a continuous interplay between increasingly deregulated labour markets, characterized by employers' needs for low-cost, flexible labour (Dwyer et al., 2015).

These statements by Dwyer et al. (2015) can be applied to the Italian context. Even though the caporalic recruitment system is made illegal, the Italian agricultural sector is still dependent on the labourers. Without migrant workers occupying these positions, producers would be unable to supply the market with the agreed-upon product at the agreed-upon rate and time (Melossi, 2021). Thus, even though migrants are placed at the bottom of the supply chain (see figure 1) the whole chain is dependent on them. The dependency of the workers is also visible in the following act: because of the spread of the COVID-19 pandemic, it became impossible to attract Eastern European seasonal workers who normally help in the Italian countryside because of the closure of national borders. The Italian State and agricultural enterprises thus strongly needed to recruit workers living in Italy. The Ministry of Agriculture, therefore, proposed a regularization of migrants that would cover the 'vacancies'. Irregular migrants already living in Italy can apply for a six-month temporary residence permit (Giampaolo & Ianni, 2020).

Figure 1: Tomato industry hierarchy chain: distribution chain at the top, production chain at the bottom



Source: Melossi (2021)

Lastly, due to globalization and neo-liberalization, there are restricted immigration and asylum rules which, especially for migrants, structure, undermine, or remove basic rights to residency, labour and welfare in various ways. This causes the risk of migrant labour exploitation (Dwyer et al., 2015).

2.1.4 Rights

Additionally, rights have become an integral part of development. Especially the right of migrants leads to an increased importance of the rights discourse. The conviction that state-led systems have failed to provide individual well-being and empowerment has sparked one of the major shifts in thinking about human rights as a core aspect of the development process. The rights theory helps to characterize individual injustice and to frame advocacy actions as urgent and legitimate claims in the short term. It aims to address the various forms of exclusion that marginalized groups such as the poor, women and migrants face (Piper, 2020). The rights-based approach focuses on discrimination and disempowerment, with the belief that people who are disempowered as a result of poverty or other types of disadvantage should be able to comprehend their experiences of desire, fear and human rights exclusion (Piper, 2020).

Nussbaum (2004) however has an important addition to the rights-based approach. She bases her work on Amartya Sen's capability approach, which focuses on increasing people's capacities and by that their livelihoods. Sen's approach presumes that people have basic economic agency, such as the ability to leave a job they dislike or control their consumption, savings and investment decisions. However, that presupposition is shattered by labour exploitation (Cockayne, 2021). Nussbaum (2004) is however of opinion that the expansion of capabilities should be linked to global economic and political powers and therefore her response to the capability approach is as follows: *"Only because a right exists on paper does not mean that people really have this right. They only have it if there are effective measures to make people truly capable of political exercise"* (Nussbaum, 2004).

On top of that Kuper (2005) discusses the "responsibility approach" to human rights and builds on the distinction between rights on paper and rights in practice. He argues for a shift in perspective on rights from a recipient-centric to an agent-centric approach. This focuses on the ability to deliver on rights and the responsibility to do so (Kuper, 2005). The debate on rights was divided into two categories: citizenship and human rights. Rights were conferred through citizenship since this is seen as a legal and social status, collective identity and political membership. However, as people's movement across international borders grows, the concept of national citizenship is called into doubt. Giving rights to non-citizens, especially those who have entered "illegally," is still seen as counter-hegemonic. This links to the discussion on migrant workers' rights and centres on whether the rights of migrants working in the country should be considered separate from the rights of vulnerable migrants such as children, refugees and victims of human trafficking (Piper, 2020).

2.2 Mobility

To identify migrants mobilities, two major theories are used; the aspiration-ability model and the approach to analyse (im)mobility trajectories. These theories are explained underneath.

2.2.1 Aspiration-Ability model

Carling & Schewel (2018) state that migration is the combined result of two factors: the aspiration to migrate and the ability to migrate. Due to their model they attempt to explain the prevalence of 'involuntary immobility' the aspiration to migrate but the inability to do so. The model consists of three types of people: *voluntary non-migrants* are people who stay because of a belief that not migrating is preferable to migration. *Involuntary non-migrants* are those who have aspirations to migrate but do not have the ability to do so and *migrants* are those who have the aspirations to move and also the ability to make this happen. It is important to understand that immobility could result from either a preference to stay or an inability to migrate. Also, aspirations to migrate may or may not result in an actual move (Carling & Schewel, 2017).

Separating aspiration and ability is the foundational element of the aspiration-ability model. The two however blur and interact. The relationship between aspiration and ability involves interaction between structure and agency. For example, agency involved in expressing a wish to stay, however, depends on whether it is a deliberate stance. But it can also be led by following other people's agency and so do what the bigger group is doing; move. The notion of leaving as an option, which individuals can have opinions on, is socially constructed and thus involves structures. Therefore, aspiration to migrate emerges within a specific emigration environment with its own social, economic and political context; the interaction of individual characteristics with this external environment determine the patterns of the wish to stay or leave. The ability to move or stay is determined by the opportunities and barriers that are present within a certain context or society. This can be referred to as the immigration interface and reflects the variation in personal ability to stay or leave. Migration aspirations can also be determined as a comparison between places. The aspiration to move can emerge when a place is considered better than the place one lives (Carling & Schewel, 2017).

The aspirations and ability model is relevant to observe the patterns of migrant workers moving through Italy or crossing Italian borders in search for better opportunities. A lack of opportunities in one area can cause migrants in Italy to look for opportunities elsewhere. Following the aspirations and ability model, there are three options. It can be that migrants in Italy do not have the aspiration to move since they have e.g. established a livelihood in a certain area (voluntary non-migrants). It can also be that migrants in Italy have the aspiration to move to another area where e.g. more labour opportunities are in place. However, these people might lack the ability to make the actual move happen (Involuntary non-migrants). Lastly, there might be a group that has the aspirations and ability to migrate and execute the actual move (migrants).

The notion of ability resonates with an influential concept in the development literature, namely the capability approach by Amartya Sen (1999). Capability and ability are principally synonyms and they are often used interchangeably in migration research. However, the capabilities approach suggests that the capability to migrate is a valuable freedom in its own right, regardless of people's preferences for staying or leaving. The aspiration-ability model however considers the 'ability' to migrate only among people who aspire to migrate. The 'capability' to migrate is therefore equally relevant to all (Carling & Schewel, 2017).

2.2.2 (Im)mobility trajectories

When we want to understand why people are (im)mobile, we need to take into account that mobility is more dynamic than people might think. People's individual aspirations can change over time and movements are not necessarily from A to B; there will be moments of mobility and immobility. Migrants can change their goals or individual aspirations. Also, social networks change and

influence once trajectory. Because of that, many are often for a long time immobile. Using a trajectory approach can help to record these circumstances (Bolay, Dahinden, & Schapendonk, 2020).

To analyse the dynamics of trajectories, two strong related dimensions are used. First of all, the (im)mobility dynamics of the trajectories have to be understood. Such as the onward movements, re-orientations, periods of rest and the intermediate forms of settlement. By analysing this, it becomes clear how mobility and immobility are entwined with each other. The concept of (im)mobility trajectories represent the idea that mobility and immobility are inextricably linked and do not differ from other people's, capital, rules and information trajectories (Bolay et al., 2020). Migrant workers in Italy can move to one place and be immobile for a certain amount of time. Another moment they can change their aspirations and become mobile again, to move to another place in Italy, for example on a search for new labour opportunities.

Secondly, there is a focus on “network work”. In the trajectory approach, networks are considered as a social accomplishment rather than a social given; it is meaningful when migrants can use these networks to realise their aspirations. The activities required to mobilize social networks are referred to as ‘network-work’. The concept of network work can be considered as the efforts that are needed to mobilize social networks. The networks are extremely dynamic entities that are robust to change: they can act as brokers, patrons and mediators, but they are not bound and can thus be suspended or abandoned at any time. People's imagined spaces and areas to manoeuvre expand and shrink over time as a result of the 'network work' involved (Bolay et al., 2020). Migrant workers in Italy use their network (e.g. connecting to the caporali or other migrants) as well to achieve their aspirations of finding work. The interconnectedness of (im)mobility and the network work assist in understanding the various ways (im)mobility trajectories evolve through time and space (Bolay et al., 2020).

2.3 Livelihoods

For understanding migrants' ability and aspirations to migrate, a focus will be put on migrants' livelihoods. The general understanding of the lives of underprivileged people as promoted by Gordon Conway and Robert Chambers in an IDS discussion paper in 1992 served as the intellectual foundation for modern livelihood studies. In their interpretation, *a livelihood is the means of making a living, which includes livelihood capacities, material possessions such as stocks and resources, as well as intangible assets including claims and access* (Haan & Zoomers, 2005). Livelihoods are diversely investigated in previous literature (Scoones, 2009; Massanjala, 2007; Ahmed, Elasha, & Elhassan, 2005; Kumar & Woyesa, 2021).

A well-known method is the Sustainable Livelihood Approach (SLA) of Amartya Sen which is focused on five so-called ‘capital assets’; Human Capital, Natural Capital, Financial Capital, Physical Capital & Social Capital. The SLA establishes a link between individuals and the environment that influences the outcomes of livelihood strategies. It draws emphasis on the intrinsic potential of individuals in terms of their knowledge, social connections, availability of material and financial resources, and capacity to influence fundamental institutions. This common interpretation of Sen emphasizes a focus on people’s livelihoods and agency (micro-level) rather than macro-structural factors influencing society (Serrat, 2017). Instead of using Sen’s five capital assets, this study uses Employment, Residence permits and Housing as three components in analyzing migrants' livelihoods. Why these three components are seen as key elements for migrants' livelihoods will be described underneath. How these three key elements will be used in this research will be explained and operationalized in the methodology (chapter 4.3).

2.3.1 Employment

Conway and Chambers interpreted a livelihood as “*the means of making a living*” (Haan & Zoomers, 2005). Employment is an essential element in making a living and thus in someone's livelihood. For example, a study on the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on livelihoods in India

revealed that the loss in employment due to lockdown measures quickly translated into food and livelihood insecurity. The study measured that nearly 80% of households reduced their food intake, more than 60% did not have enough money for a week's worth of necessities, and a third started a loan to cover expenses (Abraham, Basole, Kesar, Lahoti, & Nath, 2021).

Employment is a very important aspect of migrants' livelihoods as well since most migrants relocate from comparatively poorer to comparatively wealthier or more economically active locations, and many, if not most, do so in search of employment, better pay, and better opportunities. Many theoretical explanations of migration refer to labour market dynamics in one way or another, whether in terms of wage disparities, labour supply and demand, uneven economic development, or exploitation. Most migrations, including many refugee flows, have some economic component (Mavroudi & Caroline, 2016; Siddiqui, 2010).

2.3.2 Residence permit

Conway and Chambers acknowledged that livelihoods include “*assets such as claims and access*” (Haan & Zoomers, 2005). However, to have access to a claim, migrants need a legal permit to stay. Migrants, but especially undocumented migrants, are vulnerable to abuse and exploitation (Dwyer, Hodgkinson, Lewis, & Waite, 2015; Piper, 2020) because they often do not have access to legitimate forms of employment, health care, legal status or social protection. They often can also not assert other rights, such as the right to justice (Jacobsen, 2006). The risk of abuse and exploitation increases when migrants move or work through irregular channels. Because of their irregular status, they are completely vulnerable to opportunists who may seek to profit from their circumstances. Migrants can be confined to work sites by private employers or agencies who have extensive control over their visa status, working and living circumstances and mobility (Bryant, David, & Larsen, 2019; ImpactBuying, 2022).

Also in Italy, being undocumented brings its risks: approximately 517,000 undocumented migrants residing in Italy are in danger of being trafficked. Furthermore, authorities predicted that up to 30% of the 31,000 asylum seekers in 2019 were at risk of sex trafficking or forced labour while awaiting a final decision on their petitions (Migrants Refugees, 2021). This information shows that owning a legal permit to stay is essential for migrants in establishing safe and stable livelihoods.

2.3.3 Housing

Lastly, as Conway and Chambers stated “*livelihoods include material possessions*” (Haan & Zoomers, 2005) such as a house to live in. Appropriate shelter is a basic human need. Maslow's hierarchy of needs provides a theoretical basis for this statement. Maslow created a psychological theory to explain five human needs. These are arranged in a hierarchy and are positioned in a pyramid with five requirements. The bottom of the pyramid represents basic requirements such as housing. According to Maslow, once one need is met, it inspires a person to meet the next level, and so on, until they reach the most complex need at the top of the pyramid. Since housing is placed on the lowest level of the pyramid, this is considered one of the most desirable basic need in a human life (Holland, 2018). When migration is taking place, one needs to establish a new home in a different location as well. Due to this, many migration studies often included housing as their main focus of investigation (Kim & Smets, 2020; Jones, Leishman, & Watkins, 2004; Potepan, 1994).

To make the search for a house more feasible for migrants, the Italian Ministry of Labour and Social Policies (MLPS) put one of their policy priorities on the need to plan housing services for migrants. Their priority lies with “the establishment of an integrated worker housing system; and the definition of a local governance system between national institutions, local authorities and other actors” (MLPS, 2020).

3. Regional framework

This chapter is specifically focusing on the Italian context. It provides information on migrants in the country as a whole, migrants working in agriculture as well as a focus on the province of Foggia as the case study area.

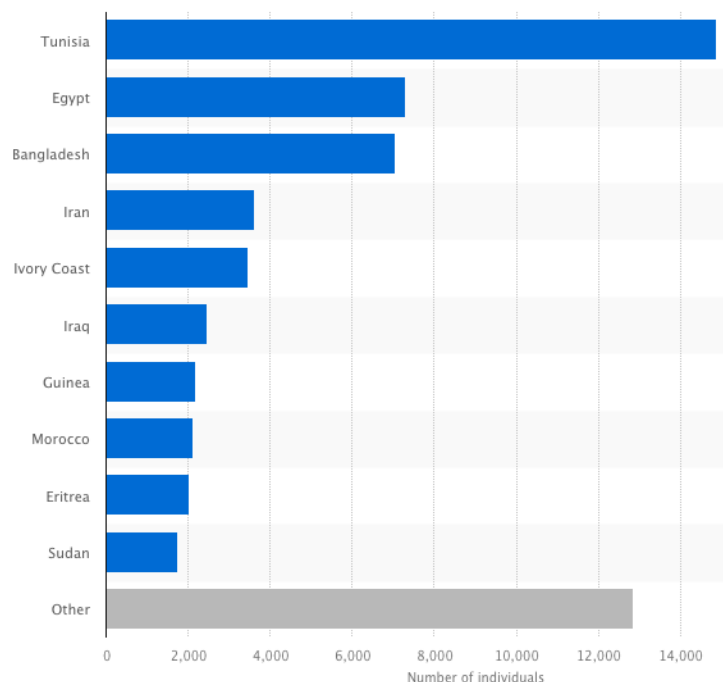
3.1 Migrants in Italy

3.1.1 Migrant arrival

At the beginning of 2021, it was estimated that about 5 million regular foreign residents were living in Italy, of whom around 3,4 million were from non-European countries. When including irregular migration the estimations increased to 6,4 million foreigners living in Italy. This amount makes up about 10% of the population. Of those, people mainly originated from Romania 16%, Albania 7.6%, Morocco 7.1%, Ukraine 4% and China 3.7%. Nevertheless, these are old flows and have decreased in recent years (Migrants Refugees, 2021).

The largest migrant group arriving in Italy in 2021 were from Tunisia with 14,9 thousand people (25% of all arrivals that year), followed by 7,3 thousand from Egypt (12%) and 7 thousand from Bangladesh (12%). Besides that, many unaccompanied adolescents have arrived on the Italian shores in recent years. In 2021, 7.2 thousand youngsters entered the nation without their parents. In figure 2 a visualization of nationalities in Italy is shown for the year 2021 (Varrella, 2021a).

Figure 2: Most frequent immigrants' nationalities declared upon arrival in Italy between January and November 2021



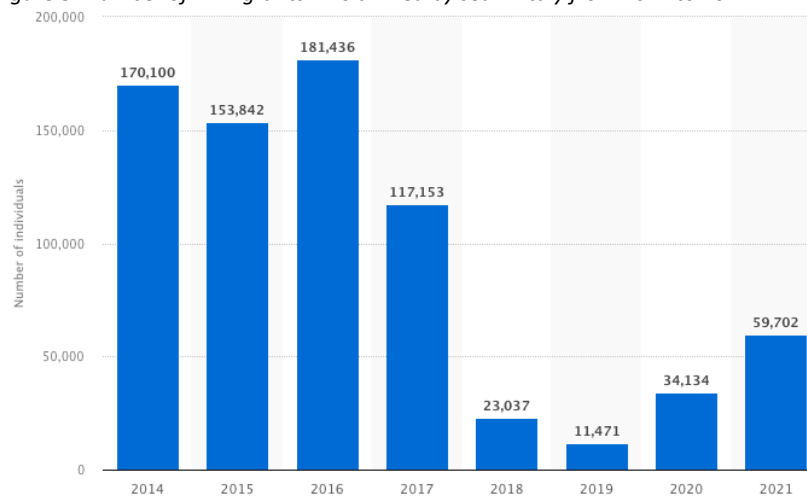
Source: (Varrella, 2021a)

3.1.2 The Central Mediterranean Route

In comparison, Greece was the European country with the highest number of migrant arrivals in 2020. The vast majority of migrants landed in Greece by sea, with over 1.5 million arriving by land. The second country of first arrivals in Europe was Italy, which was followed by Spain. In recent years, the overall number of migrants who arrived on Italian shores decreased in the last years. In the year 2021, the number of migrants arriving by sea in Italy was 59.7 thousand, comparing this to 2016 when

this number was 181.4 thousand a huge decline is acknowledged (Varrella, 2021b). The numbers of migrants arriving by sea for the period 2014 to 2021 are visualized in figure 3.

Figure 3: Number of immigrants who arrived by sea in Italy from 2014 to 2021



Source: (Varrella, 2021b)

Trying to enter Italy by sea is not without any risks. As a migration route, the Mediterranean Sea had the highest number of deaths and missing migrant cases in the world. The Central Mediterranean Route is leading to Italy, compared to other Mediterranean routes, this route has the highest number of fatalities. It comprises both the voyage from North Africa to Italy as well as to Malta. Libya is the main departure country, followed by Tunisia, Egypt, and East Algeria (Varrella, 2021b).

3.1.3 Dublin and documents

Since many migrants enter European sources in Italy first, the country has to deal with asylum applications according to the Dublin Regulation. The Dublin Regulation is an agreement between the EU countries, Switzerland, Iceland, Norway and Liechtenstein. Each applicant for asylum may only have their claim reviewed in *one* of the cooperating nations. Which nation must evaluate a request for protection is determined by the Dublin Regulation. Only one of the Dublin member states may evaluate an asylum seeker's application. The primary rule is that the first Dublin nation the asylum applicant enters will process the claim. When an asylum seeker applies for protection in another country that signed the Dublin regulations, this person will be directed back to the country that has already considered his/her application (Davis, 2020).

Italy issued around 106,500 residence permits in 2020. The majority of these were given to migrants from Asia (32.2%), Africa (28.1%), and Central and Eastern Europe (22.5%). Albania accounted for 12.4%, Morocco 9.6%, Pakistan 7.4%, and Bangladesh represented 6.1% of the total. The majority of them were male (51.4%) about 35.7% of newcomers were less than 18 years old. Long-term permits, allowing people to stay for 2 years account for 63% of all permits. These are given primarily to family-related reasons (48.6%), followed by employment permits (41.6%) (Migrants Refugees, 2021).

3.2 The Italian agricultural industry

In 2018, the number of people employed in agriculture in Italy as a whole was predicted to be 872,000 (3.7% of overall employment). Compared to 2017, there was a 2.5% increase in wage employees and a 0.2% reduction in own-account workers. The agricultural industry increased its value added by 0.9% in the same year, bringing the total value of agricultural production to 59.3 billion euros. The sector contributed 2.1% of the Italian economy's total value added. According to estimates,

agriculture's informality reached 16.9% of value added in 2017. This is far higher than the broader economy's 12.3%, but less than half the rate reported in the "other personal services" sector (36.9%). This figure is also lower than the informality rates found in the trade (24%) and construction (22.1%) sectors. According to data from the National Social Security Institute (INPS), Puglia (16.8%), Sicily (14.1%), Calabria (9.9%), Emilia-Romagna (9.5%) and Campania (6.4%) were the regions with the largest percentage of agricultural employees in 2018 (MLPS, 2020).

Agricultural employment among Italian men and women has fallen in recent decades, while the number of immigrant workers (both from the European Union and from third countries) has increased. Landowners and farmers benefit year after year from a steady supply of foreign workers. Estimates show that in 2018 foreign workers account for approximately one-fourth of the total workforce in agriculture (IDOS, 2019). Official figures only reflect a portion of the progressive increase in foreign workers employed in agriculture, as they exclude people who are in the country irregularly, informal workers (those without a residence permit or without employment contracts) and people who work both formally and informally (i.e. grey work) (MLPS, 2020).

As can be observed from figure 4, the amount of total agricultural workers remains contestant over the past years. Nevertheless, when looking at the numbers of non-EU migrants a steep increase can be observed (Corrado, 2018). Note, that the Italian Ministry of Labour and Social Policies (MLPS) already stated that these numbers do only reflect a portion of the workers since official figures exclude irregularly, informal workers (MLPS, 2020). In 2018, over 7,000 inspections revealed that 54.8% of workers were employed informally, with over 5,000 workers affected by infractions. Over 28 thousand people are employed irregularly, according to inspections carried out to combat the scourge of bogus cooperatives. In the same year, 1,474 workers were involved in inspections aimed at illegal recruiting and labour exploitation, with 46% of them being informally employed. Around 74% of informal employees worked in agriculture and more than half of them were foreign nationals. Despite the fact that these data are not statistically representative, they demonstrate the scope of the problem and the need to improve preventative and enforcement efforts (MLPS, 2020).

Figure 4: Immigrant agricultural workers in Italy

YEAR	MIGRANT WORKERS IN AGRICULTURE			TOTAL AGRICULTURAL WORKERS
	NON-EU MIGRANT WORKERS	MIGRANT WORKERS OF THE A8 COUNTRIES THAT JOINED THE EU IN 2004	TOTAL IMMIGRANT WORKERS	
2007	73,091	111,077	184,168	1,032,308
2008	82,085	120,409	202,494	1,037,116
2009	93,042	129,056	222,098	1,023,871
2010	103,688	148,195	251,883	1,032,666
2011	113,304	154,531	267,835	1,021,020
2012	120,391	154,024	274,415	1,018,262
2013	124,077	154,271	278,348	1,015,556
2014	127,979	155,738	283,717	1,009,083
2015	132,577	155,899	288,476	1,034,525
2016	135,234	151,706	286,940	1,035,654

Source: Corrado (2018)

3.3 Government actions

In order to effectively combat agricultural labour exploitation and organize existing legal measures, the congress implemented Law No.199 in 2016, which intends to combat informal employment, labour exploitation and salary realignment in agriculture. Anyone who exploits another

person by forcing him or her to work, have sex, or engage in illicit activities under exploitative conditions is punished under Article 600 of the Criminal Code (MLPS, 2020; Marshall & Spigno, 2017).

Because of this legal framework, around 355 caporali have been either reported or arrested in more than 80 different locations, with a total of 163 cases throughout the country (Scaturro, 2021). Nevertheless, the problem is not solved with that. Thus, the MLPS set out a three-year Plan for 2020 to 2022 to tackle labour exploitation and unlawful recruitment in agriculture. The Inter-institutional Committee on labour exploitation is established in December 2018 and is the national coordination body responsible for the planning and implementation monitoring of the policy interventions set forth in this Three-Year Plan (MLPS, 2020).

The MLPS is, together with the Inter-institutional Committee, promoting measures for the prevention, protection and assistance of foreign victims of labour exploitation. The policy approach of the MLPS for tackling labour exploitation is aimed at:

- strengthening employment services and fair recruitment practices, labour and social inclusion and the quality of agricultural supply chains;
- promoting cooperation and collaboration among institutions responsible to prevent and pursue unlawful practices;
- strengthening the Network of Quality Work in Agriculture.

The policy priorities to tackle labour exploitation focus on six main areas of intervention, namely:

1. inspection and enforcement activities,
2. quality of the agricultural supply chain,
3. labour recruitment and employment services,
4. strengthening of the Network of Quality Work in Agriculture,
5. transport,
6. housing,

(MLPS, 2020).

3.4 Internal migrations for seasonal agricultural harvest in Italy

The use of seasonal labour in the Italian agricultural sector is an old and structural phenomenon in national agriculture. Besides, the transfer of a significant number of workers from one area of Italy to another dates back to the early twentieth century. As early as 1905, a study conducted by the then Labour Office of the Ministry of Agriculture, Industry and Trade estimated the number of people moving between the various Italian provinces to work in agriculture at about 860,000. At that time, it was the rice crop in the north and wheat in the south that attracted workers from all around Italy. In the 1950s the progressive mechanization of agriculture and the industrialization process turned small farmers and workers into assembly line workers in the regions of north-western Italy. Due to this the number of seasonal workers in the Italian agricultural system nearly halved. In central and Southern Italy, the inter-regional movements of seasonal workers remained, as it is today, linked to the harvesting of all perennial crops that require a lot of seasonal work (FLAI-CGIL, 2022).

Ploeg (2020) and Melossi (2021) agree that these movements are still happening in the Southern part of Italy. What is known is that in the tomato area of Foggia, the numbers of the informal resident population vary from winter to summer and fluctuates (Melossi, 2021) and that many agricultural day labourers move across Italy from one rural area to another for different seasonal harvests. For twelve months a year, about 200,000 Africans travel through Italy to earn money in the agricultural sector (Ploeg, 2020; Melossi, 2021).

Labour union FLAY-CGIL published a report in 2013 in which internal migration due to seasonality is shown. Four maps were included which visualize the location where migrants are located in winter, spring, summer and autumn. Exact numbers of migrants are unfortunately not given. Groups of people are identified by nationality. The information gathered from these maps is similar to what is described above; internal migration due to seasonality is especially happening in Southern Italy. The four maps can be seen in appendix 5 (FLAI-CGIL, 2013).

3.5 Case study Foggia

The largest province in the region of Puglia and the second largest in the whole of Italy is Foggia. The case study of this report is conducted here. Foggia is Puglia's most northern province, bordering Campania to the east and Molise to the south (Understanding Italy, 2010). The capital city of the province is also called Foggia and has a population of 146.379 people. This makes it the biggest city in the region (Citypopulation, 2022). The province of Foggia can be divided into two sections: Tavoliere, which is located inland and includes Foggia city as its capital, and Gargano, which is the smaller region that forms the spur of Italy's "boot". Tavoliere is named after the Italian word for plate, "tavolo" because it is a flat land which causes the area to be an agriculturally productive region (Understanding Italy, 2010). Foggia is famous for its tomatoes and the agricultural sector is the backbone of the region's economy (Italy world club, 2016).

Map 1: Map of Italy identifying the province of Foggia



Source: (Hpkins, n.d.)

Table 1 and Table 2 show the numbers of working people in agriculture by age, sex and nationality in the province of Foggia in 2021. The numbers of working people in agriculture are also calculated in percentage to give a clearer picture of the different ethnic groups of the working population in this sector. The data is elaborated through the INPS personal lists by Diego de Mita from Anolf- Cisl of Foggia.

What can be observed from the tables is that the largest sub-group working in agriculture in this province are the males originally from Sub-Saharan Africa with 8,51%. Nevertheless, the female population originally from Sub-Saharan Africa makes up only 0,36% of the whole. Together, they reflect 8,87% of the working people in agriculture in the province of Foggia. Placing males and females together it is observable that the Romanians are the largest migrant group working in agriculture as they represent 10,18% of the population; 5,89% being male and 4,29% being female. Still, Sub-Saharan Africans are the largest *non-European* migrant group working in agriculture in the province of Foggia (Mita, Anolf- Cisl, Foggia, 2022).

Table 1: Working people in agriculture by age, sex and nationality in the province of Foggia in 2021

Nationality	Sex	Age 17-30	Age 31-45	Age 45-65	Age 65 +	Total
Italian	Male	4,713	4,606	6950	495	16,764
	Female	2,109	3,638	4,600	84	10,431
Romanian	Male	688	1,116	662	4	2,470
	Female	444	886	463	3	1,796
Albanian	Male	128	245	280	8	661
	Female	87	158	107	3	335
Bulgarian	Male	482	279	280	8	1,249
	Female	334	381	280	2	997
Eastern EU	Male	70	132	163	8	1,249
	Female	31	281	227	5	544
Northern Africa	Male	300	829	383	13	1,525
	Female	146	299	97	1	543
Sub-Saharan Africa	Male	1,755	1,536	273	2	3,566
	Female	52	74	26	0	152
Other	Male	126	235	81	1	443
	Female	8	22	10	1	41
Total		11,473	14,917	14,882	638	41,910

Source: de Mita, Anolf- Cisl, Foggia, (2022)

Table 2: Percentage of working people in agriculture by age, sex and nationality in the province of Foggia in 2021

Nationality	Sex	Age 17-30	Age 31-45	Age 45-65	Age 65 +	Total
Italian	Male	11.25%	10.99%	16,58%	1,18%	40,00%
	Female	5.03%	8,68%	10,98%	0,20%	24,89%
Romanian	Male	1,64%	2,66%	1,58%	0,01%	5,89%
	Female	1,06%	2,11%	1,10%	0,01%	4,29%
Albanian	Male	0,31%	0,58%	0,67%	0,02%	1,58%
	Female	0,21%	0,38%	0,26%	0,01%	0,85%
Bulgarian	Male	1,15%	1,14%	0,67%	0,02%	2,98%
	Female	0,08%	0,91%	0,67%	0,00%	2,38%
Eastern EU	Male	0,17%	0,31%	0,39%	0,02%	0,89%
	Female	0,07%	0,67%	0,54%	0,01%	1,30%
Northern Africa	Male	0,72%	1,98%	0,91%	0,03%	3,64%
	Female	0,35%	0,71%	0,23%	0,00%	1,30%
Sub-Saharan Africa	Male	4,19%	3,66%	0,65%	0,00%	8,51%
	Female	0,12%	0,18%	0,06%	0,00%	0,36%
Other	Male	0,30%	0,56%	0,19%	0,00%	1,06%
	Female	0,02%	0,05%	0,02%	0,00%	0,10%
Total		27,38%	35,59%	35,51%	1,52%	100%

Source: de Mita, Anolf- Cisl, Foggia, (2022)

4. Methodology

Following on the theoretical and local framework, and based on the research questions and objectives, this chapter answers how the data was collected and analysed.

4.1 Research design

Because of the sensitivity of the topic of this study, this research follows a *qualitative research* design. A qualitative research approach seeks to identify the why and how of the phenomenon in question. Research conducted in social sciences is vulnerable to bias since the researcher is always linked and engaged with the subjects of the investigation. Thus, there can be no objective or neutral social science (Reiter, 2017). Qualitative research values subjectivity, personal experiences and perceptions (Skovdal & Cornish, 2015). This study's qualitative methodology thus allows for the exploration of participants' individual experiences, meanings and practices.

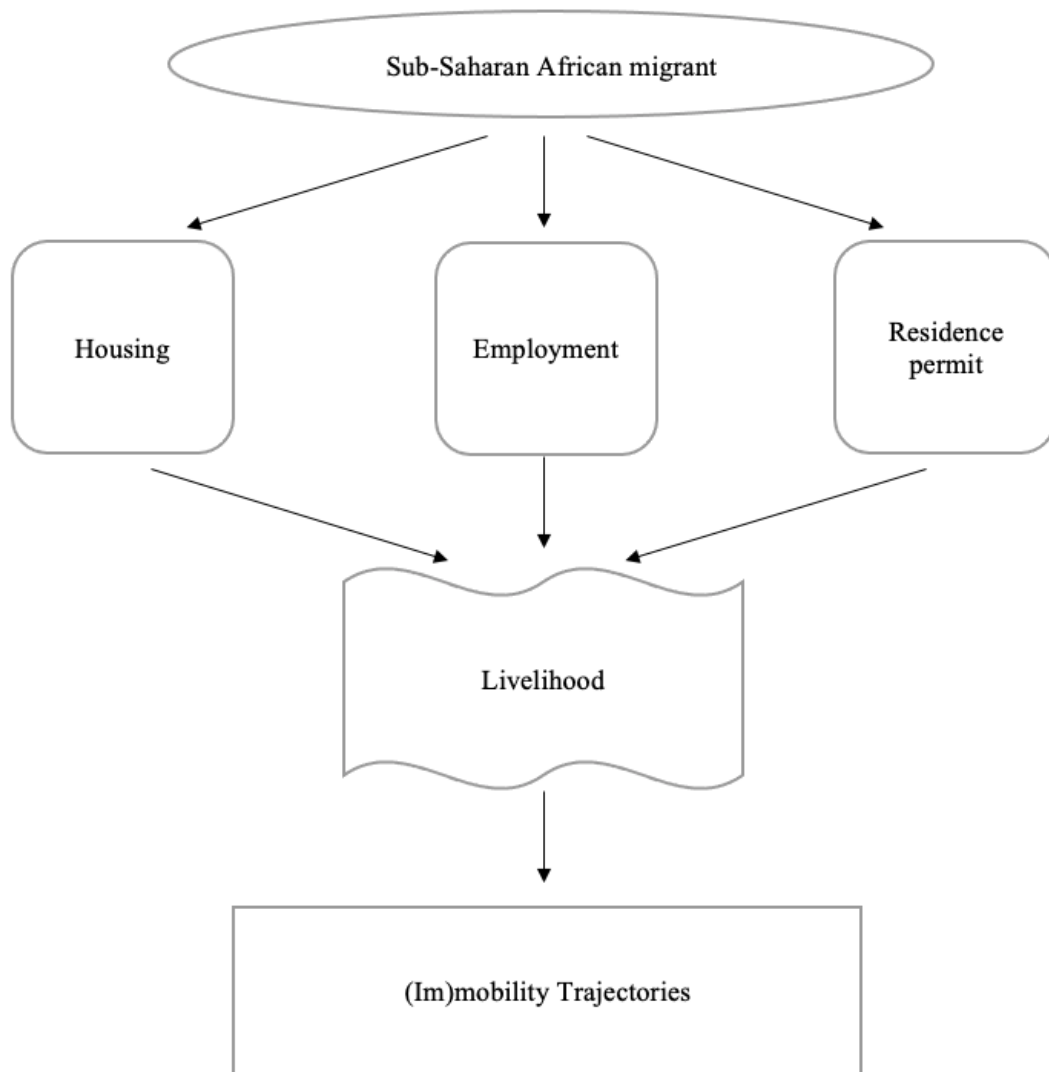
A *mobility lens* is used while conducting this study. This lens assists in gaining distance from the nation-normativity states while also addressing concerns of power, representation and politics. This lens is used to move away from the traditional simplistic view of migration as the movement from place A to place B (Bolay et al., 2020). Schapendonk (2021) established a new approach to following once trajectory: from roots to routes. This study, however, starts following once trajectory after arrival in Europe. The focus is put on regional trajectories as well as on international ones.

Additionally, the study used *triangulation* because this can help the researcher to increase reliability and reduce the impact of potential biases (Bowen, 2009). A combination of previously published literature is used together with qualitative research techniques including semi-structured interviews and participant observation. First of all, a literature review was conducted as, according to Bowen (2009), this can help the researcher to develop an understanding of the research problem and context. Nevertheless, being present in the research area, was essential to understand the research context and case study area as a whole. Furthermore, interviews were a fundamental contribution to the research topic and were essential in giving answers to the research questions (Skovdal & Cornish, 2015).

4.2 Conceptual model

Figure 5 shows the conceptual model used in this study. The model is based on the theoretical elements and background information on the topic as described in previous chapters. The starting point of the model is the Sub-Saharan African migrants working in agriculture in the province of Foggia. Employment, housing and whether migrants are in possession of a residence permit affect migrants' livelihoods. This in turn has consequences on migrants' moments of mobility or immobility. Therefore, following the structure as shown in the conceptual model will allow to give answers to the research question. How the different components in the conceptual model are operationalised is described in sup chapter 4.3.

Figure 5: Conceptual model



4.3 Operationalization

In order to understand the concepts used in this research, an operationalization is given. The objective of the operationalization is to convert the concepts identified for this research into variables that can be linked with measurable indicators. The concepts are operationalized based on commonly used definitions in the existing literature and the research context. A brief explanation is provided underneath.

4.3.1 Sub-Saharan African migrant

While there is no formal legal definition of an international migrant, most experts agree that an international migrant is someone who changes his or her country of usual residence, irrespective of the reason for migration or legal status (United Nations, n.d.). Thus, a Sub-Saharan African migrant is someone who is originally from Sub-Saharan Africa but has crossed borders. This study looks at people with the purpose of staying in a new place for a long-term period and have the intention to settle in a different nation than their native one.

4.3.2 Livelihoods

A livelihood is the means of making a living, which includes livelihood capacities, material possessions such as stocks and resources, as well as intangible assets including claims and access (Haan & Zoomers, 2005). In this research, the concept of livelihood is conceptualised into three categories: housing, residence permit and employment. What elements are taken into account when assessing these three categories is identified underneath.

Employment: An activity in which someone invests their mental or physical effort in order to receive compensation.

Sector: which sector migrants work in. This can be in agriculture but also in others, such as construction, factory work, domestic work, etc.

Working conditions:

- Type of payment: how someone is paid. In cash, through the bank or payment in kind.
- Amount of payment: the amount one receives per hour or per day.
- Volume: how many days one works in one week or how many hours one works in one day.

Legality of the work:

- Legal work: the migrant has a contract and in this contract is stated correctly how much someone works and is paid. Besides, the payments will be through the bank and the days of work will be declared to the government accordingly.
- Unlawful work: a person is working without a contract and is being paid in cash.
- Gray work: a person is working with a contract in which the number of days or hours worked is not mentioned correctly. Besides, the person is partly paid in cash and partly through the bank.

Establishment of the work: how migrants have found their work. Either by their own initiatives or through a middle man, such as a friend, family member, an organisation or gangmaster such as the caporali.

Flexibility/stability: how many times one switches between jobs, e.g. due to seasonality. A job is considered stable when one has the same job at the same workplace for a duration of one year.

Housing: A place of shelter, where someone can sleep with a roof above his/her head. The location and type of house are most important in this research. Elements that are taken into account are:

Informal settlement: areas where groups of housing units have been built on property that the residents do not lawfully own or are occupying illegally (OECD, 2001). All of the various informal settlement in the province of Foggia are taken into account in this research.

Rental house: a house located in a city such as Foggia or surrounding villages

House of an employer: a place where migrants are invited to live which is owned by the person they work for.

House of NGO: a place where migrants can live under the supervision of an NGO, where migrants have to live according to the rules of this NGO.

House of a friend, family or acquaintance: a place where migrants are invited to live, owned by a person they are acquainted with.

Residence permit: It is measured whether or not migrants are in possession of a residence permit. A permit in Italy can be valid for one year or two years due to a work permit or five years because of political asylum. When these expire, migrants have to renew their permits. Therefore, this study identified:

Possession: whether a migrant has a residence permit or not.

Validity of the permit: how long this permit is valid.

Renewal period: when someone does not own a residence permit it is identified if they are in a renewal process.

4.3.3. (Im)mobility trajectories

Migrants goals and aspirations can change over time and they will experience moments of mobility and immobility (Bolay et al., 2020). In this study, a mobility trajectory is seen as a route undertaken to different places in different moments of time. This research looked at the routes undertaken by Sub-Saharan African migrants after their arrival in Europe. Thus, their routes from country of origin to entering Europe are not taken into account. Factors that are considered are:

Moments of mobility: when someone is moving from one place to another.

Direction: the location where someone moved to. Movement from place A to place B to place C, etc.

Distance: one can move within Italy or outside of Italy, but a movement is only included in ones trajectory when someone moved out of the province of Foggia. Therefore, movements such as commuting are not taken into account when analyzing once trajectory.

Frequency: it is identified how many times someone has been mobile after their arrival in Europe.

Reason for movement: this can e.g. be due to seasonality, a visit to family members or a search for better opportunities in another place.

Following the aspiration-mobility model, people who are mobile are considered as migrants (Bolay et al., 2020).

Moments of immobility: when someone is not moving

Time: duration someone stayed in one location. Someone is immobile when one is staying in the same place for a period longer than one month.

Reason not to move: Reasons to stay could be the same as reasons of movement, better opportunities in this location than another location (this might be due to seasonality). Following the aspiration-ability model, this can be considered as voluntary immobility, when someone believes that staying is preferable to moving. But immobility can also be involuntary, when someone wants to move but does not have the potential to do so (Bolay et al., 2020)..

4.4 Methods & techniques used for data collection and analysis

4.4.1 Literature review

First of all, a literature review is conducted which served as the foundation of this research and can be found in chapter 2. The literature was mainly conducted through social science articles and books and was mostly based on the Italian context. For the creation of the theoretical framework was looked at literature from development scholars with a special focus on migration studies. The search for these articles took mainly place on Google Scholar as well as on the database of Utrecht University.

4.4.2 Seeking participants

After the literature review, scholars were approached through online means and online meetings were held with the ones open for it. After these online meetings, the *snowball effect* was applied. The snowball effect is a method in which someone recommends speaking with another person who can provide rich information on your research topic (Skovdal & Cornish, 2015). These recommended people were either reached out to online, as well as after arrival in Foggia. Once there, meetings with third parties such as labour unions and organisations working with migrants were planned. Afterwards, these third parties connected me to migrants of whom some became interview participants. All can be considered as *the snowball effect* (Skovdal & Cornish, 2015).

Besides snowballing, migrants were approached on the streets in the centre of Foggia. Due to that, many informal conversations were held. Rapport was built (Bailey, Hennink, & Hutter, 2020) and because of that some of these people became interview participants later on.

Furthermore, I became a volunteer at the migration department of the Christian charity organization Caritas. The strategy of becoming a volunteer made me understand the research context

a lot better and I became acquainted with many potential participants. Also here, rapport was built (Bailey, Hennink, & Hutter, 2020).

Using the Snowball effect from migrant to migrant was a strategy I wanted to undertake however did not have the expected outcome. Migrants mostly did not want to connect me to other migrants. Most claimed that 'migrants do not like interviews' and thus they did not want to put a friend in an unwanted position. Therefore, snowballing through organizations was the most effective strategy.

4.4.3 Semi-structured interviews

In both the interviews with third parties and migrants, a semi-structured interview approach was used. The interviews with third parties are considered as expert interviews. After the first expert interviews, some interviews were held with migrants. Nevertheless, after these first interviews, I came to the conclusion that I needed more background information. The interviews did not reach the in-depth understanding as preferred and so the questions had to be restructured. In order to do this, more background information was needed. Therefore, more expert interviews were planned and more participant observations were done. Because of this, knowledge was gained and better interview questions were formulated for conducting interviews with migrants. Besides, better relationships with third parties were established and so the snowballing approach became easier.

Semi-structured interviews allow for reciprocity between the interviewer and the participant, allowing flexibility for improvising and follow-up questions depending on the interviewee's responses (Kallio et al., 2016). I gave the interviewees room to express their opinions on broad subjects, and in doing so, I also learned about subjects that I had not previously thought about but that were significant to my participants. For example, beforehand I only focused my questions on labour and mobility. However, after a certain time, I came to the conclusion that the location where migrants live is essential for understanding the context of the answers they give. The same counts for being in possession of a residence permit or not, and so on. In this way, the value of semi-structured interviews in creating space for both interviewer and interviewee was effectively used. Most interviews were recorded with the respondent's approval. When a recording was not approved notes were made during the interviews and information given was summarized afterwards.

4.4.4 Participant observations

As described, I performed participant observations. In this way, I witnessed nonverbal expressions such as emotions and understood the way in which participants communicated with each other and third parties better. Capturing these elements contributed to better research questions and a broader understanding of the research topic and case study area. In some cases, I became friends with participants after the interviews. Because stronger rapport was developed, it was observed that questions raised in the interviews were addressed during informal conversations in greater detail.

4.4.5 Methods and techniques used for analysis

After the interviews, the recordings were transcribed and coded. Both inductive and deductive methods were used and also in vivo codes were included. This combination was valuable because it gave space to explore topics from literature as well as topics revealed during field research. From these codes, different code categories were established (Bailey, Hennink, & Hutter, 2020). Due to this, the empirical data is structured in a way that made answering the research questions easier.

The analysis of migrants' trajectories started after migrants had finalized their camps because after this period their decision-making within Europe started. An analysis of the trajectories from Africa toward Europe is not taken into account since this did not fit in the scope of this research.

4.5 Choices for case studies

The province of Foggia was often mentioned in previous literature as an exploitation-rich area. On top of that, in online meetings with experts, while still being in the Netherlands, this province was mentioned too. One of those experts gave me such detailed information about Foggia that I knew where to start. Furthermore, Rosarno in Calabria is considered as a similar hub for migrants working in agriculture. However, other experts informed me that this region is more rural than Foggia and would be impossible to investigate without a car, which I do not possess. Thus, the decision was made to investigate Foggia.

As can be seen in table 2 in chapter 3.4, the Romanians make up the largest migrant group working in agriculture in the province of Foggia when combining males and females. However, when taking gender separately, the male Sub-Saharan African group is the largest. Besides, since Romania is part of the EU, migrants from Romania have more rights and thus less vulnerable for exploitation. Due to this, I chose to put a specific focus on Sub-Saharan African migrants. Table 1 shows that 3,566 Sub-Saharan African males compared to 152 females work in agriculture in the province of Foggia in 2021. Therefore, females only represent 4,26% of the research population. Due to this low percentage and because of cultural reasons (less open for interviews) females were more difficult to approach. This resulted in a participant group of only males.

Fifteen interviews were held with migrants. The most important characteristics of the participants are shown in figure 3. Of all participants, 86,66% are originally from West Africa, although Jackson is from Madagascar (East Africa) and Joseph from Cameroon (Central Africa). The average age of the research population is 34, whereby the youngest is 25 years old and the oldest 57.

Most arrived in Italy in the years between 2012 and 2017. However, this does not mean they have spent all these years in Italy, which will be further explained in chapter 6. During the period of being in Italy, they either have worked in or are still working in the agricultural industry. Furthermore, Table 3 shows whether or not the research population has a legal permit to stay. 20% of the population had a legal permit at the moment of the interview, but most are in the process to renew their documents (33,33%) and 20% are in the process to receive their first permit. This means that 80% of the population did not have a legal permit to stay at the moment of the interviews. How these processes work will be explained in chapter 5.2. Furthermore, the table underneath shows that many are living in informal settlements or have NGO support for their housing. Only two (13,33%) live in their own rental house. Why this is such a small percentage will be explained in chapter 5.3.

Besides, seven expert interviews were conducted. The list of experts interviewed is shown in appendix 4. Different interview guides for experts and for migrants were created. Also these are included in the appendix (see appendix 1 and 2).

Table 3: Participants information

Pseud. name	Nationality	Sex	Age	House	Arrived in Italy	In position of legal permit to stay? Yes/ No / renewal process	Date of interview	Number of interview
Chaa	Mali	M	28	Informal settlement	2012	Renewal process	07-04-22	1
Jackson	Madagascar	M	57	Dormitory	2007	No	07-04-22	2
Jhon	Senegal	M	38	Dormitory	2017	?	07-04-22	3
Ousmane	Senegal	M	50	Own house	2015	Yes	09-04-22	4
Herve	Senegal	M	27	Informal settlement	2014	?	11-04-22	5
Joseph	Cameroon	M	32	Informal settlement	2021	No. But in process to get one	11-04-22	6
Kumba	Sierra Leone	M	35	Own house	2013	Yes	15-04-22	7
Osagie	Gambia	M	?	NGO	?	No	06-05-22	8
Baboucarr	Senegal	M	33	NGO	2015	Renewal process	09-05-22	9
Martince	Ghana	M	27	NGO	2016	No. But in process to get one	09-05-22	10
Issaya	Gambia	M	32	Informal settlement	2015	No. But in process to get one	17-05-22	11
Amir	Gambia	M	40	NGO	2014	Renewal process	18-05-22	12
Ali	Nigeria	M	25	NGO	2016	Renewal process	18-05-22	13
Mbaye	Gambia	M	32	NGO	2016	Yes	18-05-22	14
Karimu	Gambia	M	27	Informal settlement	2014	Renewal process	26-05-22	15

4.6 Reflection on positionality as a researcher

Being in the field made me realise that my positionality had positive outcomes on gathering data. What I mean by this is; I am a young woman from another nationality than Italy and my target group were mainly young men, also from another nationality than Italy. The fact that we were from the opposite gender made it to be that they were more open to interviews. Since my target group is in their daily life mainly surrounded by their own group - men from Africa – they were happy to talk to a female. Besides, when saying hello to an African on the streets in Foggia, they looked very surprised at me and started asking me questions “where are you from, why are you here?”. They were not used to Italians saying hello to them and thus they directly knew I was not from Italy. Because they asked me those questions I could easily ask the same back to them, making it a friendly informal conversation, while directly talking about the subjects of my research. Besides, the Italians in Foggia looked strange to me as well since I am different to them. Because of this, topics such as discrimination were easily talked about.

In some cases, I became friends with migrants I met through such informal conversations on the street or during my volunteering work at Caritas. Due to this, I was able to visit Borgo Mezzanone, the largest informal settlement of Foggia, as a friend instead of with an organisation. Because of this, the people living in these informal settlements saw me as a friend as well and were more open to me than if I would have visited with an organisation. I returned to Borgo Mezzanone many times over and people were willing to share their point of views.

In comparison, I visited the second largest informal settlement (Rignano) as part of Caritas. At that moment migrants looked at me in a very different way, a more distanced one. I was not able to have conversations such as the ones I had in Borgo Mezzanone where I was seen as a friend. Visiting Rignano by myself was impossible because the location is even more inaccessible than Borgo Mezzanone. Besides, experts advised me not to conduct interviews in Rignano because this would be too dangerous. Therefore, people living in this area are not included in this research.

Furthermore, women were not included in the participant group. Females make up only 4,26% of the research population and thus were harder to access.

Lastly, one on one interviews were taken with migrants who spoke English. For the ones who did not I used a translator. However, because the translator was in between, much data was lost due to which follow-up questions were more difficult to ask. This can be seen as another bias.

In the chapters five, six and seven the main research findings from the fieldwork in Foggia, Italy will be described and analysed. When data from other sources are used, the source will be placed behind the sentence, just as is done in previous chapters. In chapters five, six and seven, some Italian words are used to quote the exact words used by the participants. Translations can be found in the glossary (page 6).

5. Migrants livelihood in the province of Foggia

The following vignette reflects observations made during the field research period.

Vignet: visit ghetto Borgo Mezzanone

It is Wednesday, 10 a clock in the morning. It is not that hot yet in Foggia, but I feel it will become warmer during the day. I texted Issaya that I am waiting for the bus, bus 24. He promised to pick me up at the end stop, a village called Mezzanone. I am tired. The evening before I told my Italian friend about my plans of going to the ghetto. He told me I was crazy and should not do it. Because of him, I did not sleep that well and I feel a bit anxious while waiting for the bus. I look around; only African men waiting on this side of the station. They must think 'what is she doing here?'. When the old yellow city bus arrives, I step into the back of the bus. Nobody has to pay for the bus ride yet to come. It is not busy and there is enough space to sit. Still, a man comes to sit next to me. He is focused on his phone and does not pay attention to me at all. I put earplugs in and put on the song "Lovely Day" from Bill Withers. After a few minutes we leave. I look through the windows and see the city streets changing into grain fields. We are driving through nature. The roads are bumpy so our bodies go up and down, up and down. We stop in the middle of nowhere. Apparently there is a bus stop here because an old, big, African lady with two shopping bags steps into the bus. She greets an old African man with a big smile. They chat a little bit while the bus continues. It makes me happy. It reminds me of the time when I was in Tanzania. Stepping onto this bus created a transition from being in Italy to being in Africa. I am loving it. I am loving this bus ride.

After twenty minutes the bus arrives in Mezzanone. The village is as small as one main street. There are some houses, a church, but that's all. Through the windows, I see a big crowd of African men running with the bus. They want to get in. Everyone who is on the bus with me is getting out. I am searching for Issaya. There he is. He takes my hand to save me from the crowd. I feel safe with him. He asks me if we should take a taxi from the bus stop to Borgo or if we should walk. "The taxi from here to Borgo is only one euro, the walk is twenty minutes". We decide to walk. From there we take a shortcut through the grain fields. It is getting warmer. When I put my hands through the grains Issaya tells me "Italians can't cook. They can only make pasta". We laugh. A man with dreadlocks passes by on a bike, he stops and greets Issaya first. After he greets me in Italian. When I start speaking English to him and tell him I am not Italian he is happily surprised. He says a couple of times I am very welcome in Borgo and continues his journey home. With the mountains in the background, I see the self-made houses popping up through the grains. We are almost there.

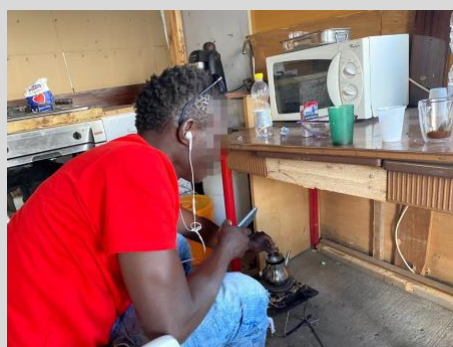


Picture 1: Borgo Mezzanone

When Issaya and I arrive in Borgo he shows me his house. The house is made of wooden plates. There are two beds inside, there is no space for anything else. Next to his home, he has a little shop where he can sell tea, coffee and iced water because he has a fridge!



Picture 2: Issaya in front of his house



Picture 3: Issaya making tea in his shop

His neighbour is called Ausosa, a Gambian lady with a restaurant where we drink coffee. An old television is standing outside for her customers to look at while eating. The television is still working but has a bad signal. A friend of Issaya comes to sit with us. Some dogs and cats are passing by. It really feels like I am in Africa. It is quiet around. Much more quiet than I expected it to be. Issaya explains that people are now at work and will come back at two o'clock.

When we finish our coffee we take Ausosa's dog for a walk around Borgo. Many houses are made of wood, others are made of bricks. There is one big road where most of the houses are built around. Issaya explains that it's an old landing strip for aeroplanes since the Americans used this spot during the Second World War. There are many cars. Broken ones but also many that are still working. There are shops and restaurants everywhere, a bicycle, car or motor repair, shoes for sale, fridges for sale, barbershops, clubs to dance in the night, you name it! The electricity cables are hanging above the houses. Everything is created by the people living here. Only the big blue tanks are brought by the government which get filled with water every morning.



Picture 4: broken and working cars, electricity cables



Picture 5: water tanks

People are greeting me friendly, it feels like a little village. The toilets and showers are placed at the edge of the village; four sticks in the ground and a plastic cloth around them for the privacy. Goats are grazing. It is little Africa. But I am shocked by what I see when we go to the outskirts of the town. This village is like a garbage belt. The whole street is covered with trash. The smell is really bad, I am getting a headache. Two white dogs are passing by, they look very dirty. They probably also found their shelters here because they do not have a home, just like the people living here. When returning to Issaya's home I see a big black cloud of smoke coming from a distance. Issaya says they are probably burning some stolen cars that they aren't able to sell. A car passes by with a handsome, friendly man driving the vehicle. "That's my capo nero," Issaya says, and they wave to each other.



Picture 6: garbage belt next to the road



Picture 7: dirty dogs

We eat lunch at Ausosa's restaurant. It is getting busier in Borgo, people are returning from work. Big cars are filled with people that on the bumpy road go up and down, up and down. At three o'clock I want to return to Foggia. We are waiting in the middle of Borgo, where the two main roads are crossing. It is the taxi spot. When the car arrives I get in with another young man. Issaya tells me it is just five euros to Foggia. "See you next time Issaya, and thanks again for all!"

When the taxi driver asks me if I like Borgo I say truthfully that I do, because I like Africa too. The young man sitting behind me in the car interrupts me "the life in Borgo is not easy", and I understand. I have a huge headache from just being in this village for 4 hours. Probably caused by the chemicals in the air, created by garbage and the burnings. The fellow passenger tells me he has lived here for 5 years. I can't imagine how that must be. I open the window and fresh air is blowing in my face. The further we drive away from the ghetto, the more my headache disappears.



Picture 8: fire burns



Picture 9: Borgo Mezzanone from above

The Vignet above described one of the places where migrants settle. At the moment of research, this settlement was the biggest in Foggia, but not the only one. Moses and his colleagues from labour union Anolf make weekly visits to these settlements to talk about workers' rights and help people with information about arranging their permits to stay. Moses explains how many other informal settlements there are and how many people are living in them.

Moses – Anolf: More than 20 years there are these informal settlements. The first is born the end of 1900, Rignano Gargano. It was the first one of the migrant workers in agriculture. After that there are different settlements. Like Borgo Mezzanone. For example in Rignano in this moment are 1500 people. But in Borgo I think 2500 people, some say 3000. In Cerignola maybe 300, 400. And there are other small places, for example in Stornarella with maybe 100 people. There is another one with 300 people. All in the province of Foggia.

Many migrants describe their houses in these settlements as worse than their houses in Africa and say they have never seen something like this. So, despite the fact that migrants do not prefer the living situations in these settlements, some still choose to live in them because the ability to find work is higher. Especially for the two biggest ones, Rignano and Borgo Mezzanone, this is the case. In an expert interview, Sarah from Caritas San Severo mentioned that some people prefer to stay in Rignano because they are working in the surrounding fields. The interviews with migrants highlight that some strategically move to Borgo Mezzanone in order to find work. Why this is the case will be explained in the following chapter, together with other ways in which migrants organize their livelihoods. Doing this answers the following sub-question.

How do Sub-Saharan African migrants working in the agricultural sector organize their livelihoods in the province of Foggia?

5.1 Employment

Amadu – AIIMS: *“I don’t blame the caporali, I blame the system”.*

5.1.1 Capo nero

As described in chapter 2, the caporali are gangmasters that recruit workers for third parties (Tondo, 2016). In the interviews, the term capo nero was more often used. Capo nero are caporali who are of African origin but exercise the same recruitment work. They often live in informal settlements as well and determine most of the work. The capo nero is the middle man between the farmer and the workers. He has a car and can properly speak Italian. Because of his good command of the Italian language, he can drive around farmhouses to ask the farmer if he/she needs workers. If this is the case, they make a deal: how many workers are needed and how much the farmer will pay per hour. Now, it is the duty of the capo nero to find the number of workers the farmer is asking for. Some farmers ask for only four people, but this can also increase to 30. The capo nero is not only the recruiter but is in charge of the transport as well. He asks €5,- for the drive back and forth. This €5,- is said to be a contribution to the fuel cost. However, according to Kumba, there is a strategy behind this contribution.

Kumba: This capo nero, this is their own mission. So they have an opportunity because some they have two or three cars. Every day someone will pay 5 euros. Every day. And then one person in a month [30 days] is 150 euro, and then times 30 [people] that is a lot of money.

Due to this contribution, the capo nero is demanding the workers to drive with them. If someone does not want to make use of the transport service, they will lose their jobs and have to find work in a different way. However, finding work without the capo nero is difficult because they are the ones in contact with the farmer and are controlling most of the work, but it is not impossible. The elimination of the capo nero in someone’s search for work has especially to do with their transportation: if someone owns a car or a bike, they can travel to the farms themselves to ask for work. Nevertheless, this is not always that easy;

Baboucarr: yes you can do if you have the bicycle, but it will take time because you will have to search. Because the capo nero is having the work.

Still, some people are highly positive about their recruiters, others not so much. The two quotes underneath show different experiences and opinions.

Karimu: My capo nero, he is my friend for really. When I met him he said, you want to work? I said of course. He said okay tomorrow lets go. So I came here [Borgo Mezzanone], the following day I go to work. He is good because he made everything right. He made a contract and he is paying me 6 euros per hour.

*Ali: one time I have to fight with a guy, capo nero. After the first and second months he paid me, in the 3rd month he didn’t pay me! I used to go to his house every day “Bro where is the money?” “noooo the owner of the farm has not paid yet”. And one night I was too sad and I just go there, “where is the money” “the owner of the farm .. *makes slapping movement* we started fighting because I worked for it. This is my sweat, I worked for it with my energy and everything. I said okay lets go to the owner of the farm, and ask for my money. He was like no I can’t take you there. After the fight, he paid me the next day. He just wanted the fight. That’s why I can’t live there [Borgo Mezzanone]. It’s stressing.*

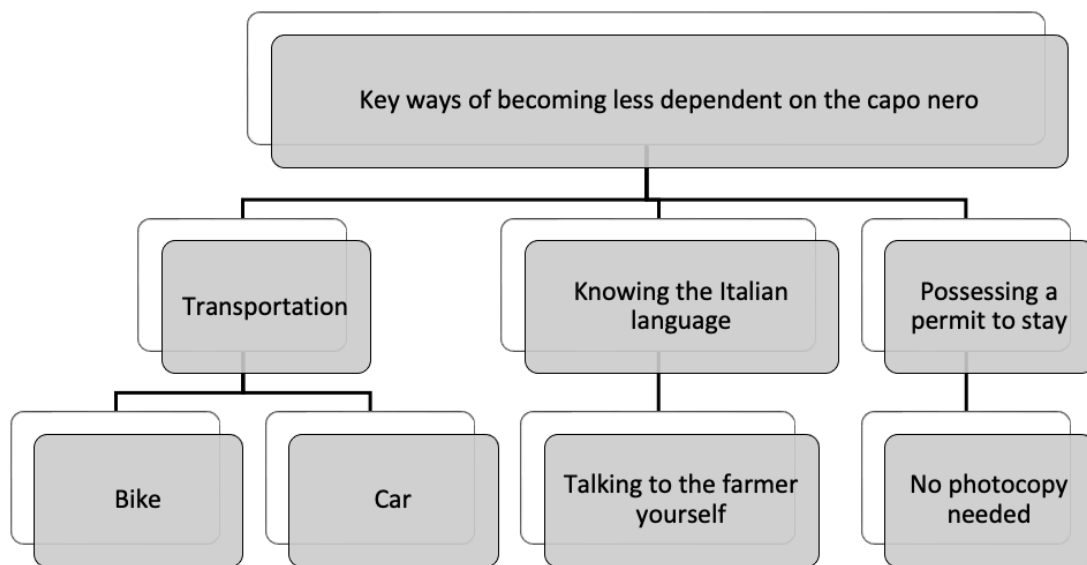
In the last quote, it becomes clear that the caporali is sometimes part of the exploitation. The farmer probably already had paid, but because the capo nero was in the middle Ali had not received his salary yet. Nevertheless, the quote of Karimu shows his capo nero is “good” and “made everything right”. So the amount of exploitation depends on which capo nero is used. However, in moments of dissatisfaction with a capo nero, workers are free to decide to leave their recruiter and find another one who might treat them better. Because of that, people similar to Ali switch often between recruiters. Furthermore, Kumba is explaining another reason why migrants make use of the capo nero.

Kumba: most of people use caporali not because they like it but because they don't have any Permesso di Soggiorno. Without a document you cannot work. If you here without a document you have to look for someone that you can photocopy the document and use it.

What Kumba means by “photocopy the document and use it” is the following: when migrants do not have a permit to stay they will ask a friend if they can copy theirs. This copy will be given to the capo nero which in turn presents this to the farmer who will register the friend his name as an employee. The capo nero is aware that the person listed on the document is not the one who will be hired, but the farmer is unaware of this because he has never met the new employee before.

Figure 6 shows how workers can become less dependent on the capo nero.

Figure 6: Key ways to become less dependent on the capo nero



Source: author

5.1.2 Contracts

Some farmers make a contract for their workers with the documents they deliver, but not all do. Most migrants who found work for the first time are happy to work undeclared because at least they have some income. However, after a certain time, they realize that working with a contract and their working days to be declared would be better for their livelihoods. When a farmer does not want to provide for a contract, some decide to leave. Others stay since they need their salaries.

Even though someone has a legal contract, this does not mean everything is arranged according to the law. Many migrants work with a “grey” contract. What is meant by this is explained by Consiglia from intercultural centre Baobab.

Consiglia - Baobab: *In Italy, we say laboro-nero, is a job without contract (black work). But there is also laboro-gray. So gray contract. So you have a kind of contract but the landlord does not give what he is supposed to do. They have a job contract but for example, if they work for about 30 days they have been paid just for 10 or 15. So It is regular but not so regular because the landlord have the power. People who don't know their rights, who don't speak in Italian language cannot do anything against these things.*

This quote shows that not only the capo nero is exploiting migrants and are exercising power over them, but farmers do too. On top of that, the working contracts migrants receive are extremely flexible. They can be for two weeks, one month or two months, depending on the season and the crop the farmer is producing. Allesandro from labour union FLAY-CGIL explains the following:

Allesandro – FLAY-CGIL: *If one farmer has only tomato you get work one contract one month two month, only for tomato.*

Workers are lucky when a farmer has several crops in their fields. In this case, workers can stay for several months a year. If the farmer is only producing one crop, workers have to search for another farm again when the season of this crop has finished. Therefore, seasonality is affecting migrants' ability to work and working in agriculture is very unstable. Thus, migrants working in agriculture are in a constant search for work. Nevertheless, once someone has been in the country for a longer time, a network might have been established, making the search for work much easier. Such as in the case of Mbaye.

Mbaye: *I have lot of farmers people number here. I work for them. I normally call them. Even right now the people call me for farming, I say me I am working, let me contact one of my friend so that he can come and do this work. That is like, you work for this boss, and the work goes through, he will give your number to his friends. When they also need they will call you.*

In comparison to Chaa, their situation looks totally different. Chaa had just been in Foggia for 2 months. He does not have a stable boss (farmer) where he works and does not have a capo nero either. The quote underneath shows a typical “call on demand” situation. When, probably, someone from the fixed group is not able to work or when the farmer demands more workers, Chaa receives a call from one of his acquaintances. In those cases, he has a job for the day.

Chaa: *here in Italy I don't have work, why? I don't know. My colleagues, they tell me come here so we can work together. But I won't have work every day. For example today, till 3 days ago I did not have work.*

As can be observed from the quote of Mbaye, it is not always necessary to have the capo nero in the middle. Many people who just arrived in Foggia start finding work through the capo nero. However, after some time most conclude that they want to find their work differently. Nevertheless, the alternative might not bring a better option. In the expert interview with Baobab, Consiglia explains her point of view and does not think the amount of exploitation will decrease when leaving out the middle man.

Consiglia - Baobab: *The impression is that there is no difference because the person is exploited. There can be a third person between the two but there is no difference.*

From the interviews taken, the impression of Gorgia is correct. The payments of working directly with the farmer or with the capo nero in between are the same. It often ranges from 30 to 50 euros a day for 8 hours of work. They might still be paid in cash, maybe farmers do not give a contract

at all or work with a gray contract. The difference however is that farmers often ask the worker to live on their farms.

Nevertheless, these issues do not only occur in the agricultural industry but wherever migrants work in the province of Foggia they are at risk of exploitation. For example, Ousmane is experiencing high amounts of exploitation even though he is working in a restaurant. Ousmane is a 50 years old Senegalese man. He is small and skinny. He had worked in agriculture before but now is happy to have found a job in a different sector. Nevertheless, this did not increase his salary nor delivered him a better work contract. He is working 7 hours a day and receives 20 euros for this work. Even though he has residence permit he has a grey contract: his contract shows that he is only working 2 hours a week while in reality he works 40 to 50 hours a week. Why these grey contracts are a big problem for migrants will be explained in the following subchapter.

5.2 Residence permit

Issaya: before anything, the document is the king. Maybe I collect the document first, after that I may know what to do.

When migrants arrive in Italy, they can apply for asylum and are placed in asylum centres. Most migrants have to wait two years until they know whether their applications are approved or not. When their asylum is approved they receive political asylum which is valid for five years. Besides political asylum, migrants can receive an asylum for “special protection” and is valid for two years. This applies to people who have been in danger during their travels towards Europe (e.g. in Libya).

When their application is rejected they have to leave the camp and stay an undocumented migrant. However, they can apply for a work permit. For this, people need a proper contract with which they can show they are working regularly. A grey contract will not be enough. Work permits are valid either for one or two years. The amount of years a migrant receives for their work permits depends also on the stability of their work contract. When they can show they have a stable contract the likelihood of receiving a two years permit is higher. After their permits are expired they have to be renewed. Renewal is also needed once people received political residence. For these renewal processes migrants need to show the following:

- A permanent or fixed-term employment contract;
- A yearly income that is equal to the minimum social income. For the year 2021, that was €5,983.64;
- Prove of a house residence. Living in someone else’s home is allowed. Nevertheless, in that case, they need proof of the owner or person who is renting this house. A statement saying that the migrant is living in their house is needed (ItaliaHello, 2020).

Furthermore, since 8 January 2007, migrants are entitled to apply for a permanent residence card only if they have been legally and continuously resident in Italy for five years (Polizia di Stato, 2010).

Since the working contracts are so irregular, migrants have to do proper bookkeeping on all the materials needed.

*Martince: Even me I have no document. But Anna [social worker] tell me now I will have document because I work for 3 years, and this is what shows I work there for 3 years *shows big pile of paper for proof*. So maybe from this moment I can have my document. Even now I am in process.*

Another issue that makes the renewal process a difficult one is that migrants have to show their yearly income. Nevertheless, many are often (partially) paid in cash. In those cases, migrants are not able to show how much they have actually earned.

Thus, migrants are obliged to search for a farmer that will provide them with a regular contract and will pay them through the bank. Since finding a job is not always easy, some will stay working even when the farmer does not want to give them a contract or pays them in cash, others decide to leave the farmer and search for a better opportunity to make the renewal process a greater chance of success.

*Ali: now I am renewing it again. I don't know how many years it is gone come this time. I hope it is gone be 2... yeah because 1 year is just like one month *starts laughing*. It's stressful.*

The renewal processes are very stressful in general. Amir mentioned that he started his renewal process in December 2021. At the moment of the interview – 18 May 2022 – this process was still running. Meaning that the process was already taking 5 months while the end was still not in sight. In the moments of these processes, migrants are again subjected to 'the life without a document' and so have to use their old strategies.

Amir: My document was finished last December. I am going to migration office for the purpose of document. I am working with the document of a friend. I have contract but it is not my own name because I use someone else's document so that I can work. When I don't do that there is no work.

Nevertheless, living in these moments of renewal, thus moments without documents, migrants are more vulnerable to exploitation. This is shown by the following quote:

Jackson (translated): he has a colleague who works with him and this person has a contract because his documents are not expired. So he gets 5 euros an hour, so he earns 35 euros a day, while Jackson gets 20 euros a day without a contract.

Thus, the longer the migration office is working on migrants' renewal process, the longer migrants are vulnerable to exploitation or abuse.

5.3 Housing

Amadu - AIIMS: When you leave people together in one place for a long time, it becomes a consent to that area. Because the more people cumulated in one area, the more poverty you create, the more exploitation is created. When you talk about work exploitation, here is the bank of the work exploitation. Because, people go to work, some of them die. You cannot even get a house in this country. No, lets not say the country lets say this town.

As Amadu from Immigrant Association for Integration and Social Motivation (AIIMS) is stating; obtaining a rental house is hard for migrants. Only 2 of the 15 participants (13,3%) in this research are living in a renting house. The difficult search for houses has to do with 3 main factors. First of all, there are not many houses for rent in Foggia in general. This is also a difficulty for Italians. Secondly, for migrants it becomes even harder since they also have to deal with racism from landlords or real estate agencies. The moment it becomes known the person who is searching for a house is from another nationality the deal is over, just as Katy from the Christian charity organization Caritas is explaining by her own experience.

Katy – Caritas: Real estate agencies here in Foggia don't rent houses to black people. I phoned a real estate agency to ask for a house for an African boy. The person from the agency tells me that it is available for rent. I did not specify the nationality of the person, I just said that he was

in good standing. She even told me that the visit could be done in the afternoon. At the end of the conversation, the person from the agency asks me "I have a fundamental question, where does this gentleman come from?" And I tell her that he is an African guy. And she said, "I'm sorry, I had forgotten that the house was already reserved for another person". It's sad because there are workers who now have the money to emancipate themselves from the ghettos and who want to get to Foggia and they are forced by this system to stay there.

Thirdly, even when landlords or real estate agencies would want to rent their dwelling to a migrant, they want to be sure their new tenant can afford the cost of the rent. For this, people need a work contract and they have to show their income per month. Nevertheless, as explained above, not all migrants receive a work contract from their employers and even if they do many are still paid (partly) in cash. In this way, they are unable to show their accurate income and so it becomes very hard to obtain a rental house. Kumba illustrates this with examples in the following quote:

Kumba: If you are working for example €1.200 for a month. But in the busta paga [paycheck] it only shows €200, they say you have to pay €350 [a month for rent]. But you have the money cash but in the busta paga [paycheck] it shows only €200. Do you think that owner of that house will give you that house if you only have €200? I don't blame the owner of the house, I blame our boss and the government.

Because of these issues, it becomes very hard to be able to leave the informal settlements. And due to this, it also becomes hard for migrants to maintain their permits. As stated in subchapter 5.2, migrants need to show proof of a house residence. When living in an informal settlement, this is not possible.

Nevertheless, also for this problem ways are found to be solved. Migrants can buy a fake residence from a civilian. This person can buy a piece of paper on which it states they live at a legal address. With this fake residence contract, migrants try to renew their residence permits at the migration office. However, this strategy does not always work. When interviewing Mbaye, Baboucarr was also present. They together talk about their experiences and opinions on this phenomenon.

Mbaye: Me also I am looking house to have residence. But Italian people are disturbing us. They will tell you okay now if you want to enter the house you must pay €700,-. So I take house from Foggia here, but that man he fucks everybody. He put 27 peoples, 1 residence. The quostura [migration center] they know that man the things he do is not rule.

Baboucarr: is a mafia

Mbaye: them [migration center] they know, the man he put all the residence contract. I sue everything to them but they don't come and collect the man and come and ask him the correction. Yeah. They will tell you that they don't care anything. If you want to go somewhere just go. Quostura [migration center] will tell you that.

Interviewer: you think it is because of the mafia?

Baboucarr: yeah they are connected. Because where he did the residence, it's a government side. So a residence should not be 27 people in the residence. They all know that. So why are they allowing 27 people in one residence.

Mbaye: Even quostura [migration center], because for me if I am doing anything I have the proof. For that man I told them [migration center] that this one I pay him hand to hand, this one is not rule and you know that, I know that, but I need house. Him to go and make contract for me.

In the case of Mbaye, the migration centre found out that he bought a fake residence since 27 people were registered at the same address. Because of that, he lost his money and could not renew his residence permit. Besides, from this conversation it becomes clear that Mbaye does not want to

perform things illegally; he normally 'always has the proof'. But in this case, he is forced to due to the system. Furthermore, it can be stated that more people than just the caporali or the farmers make money by misusing the position of the migrants.

5.4 Analysis and conclusion

From this first results chapter, it can be concluded that migrants are stuck in a vicious loop whereby everything is connected.

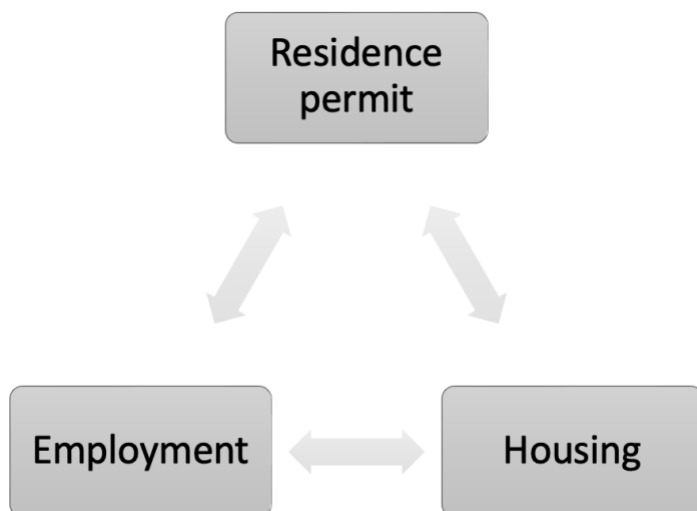
When migrants leave their camps with or without residence permit, the first thing they will search for is work to sustain themselves. Especially without a residence permit, the search for work is difficult. Therefore, people make happily use of the capo nero: someone who helps them to find a job. They are fine with being paid in cash and working without a contract. However, after a certain time, they come to realize that this is not their best option. Some will try to find work in a different way than through a capo nero until they find the right employer. Someone who provides them with a decent salary and where they receive a proper contract. One they can use to renew their permits with. Therefore, the start is the most difficult. But once a network is realized, it becomes easier to flow with the system.

Osagie: "if you can't fight the system, go with the system"

Nevertheless, "the system" is a difficult one: to have a legal job migrants need a residence permit, and to obtain a residence permit, migrants need to work and have a house. But to have a house, migrants need a residence permit as well as a work contract. Besides, once they have it all, they can lose it again as well. For example, someone can lose their job after which (s)he can lose his/her house because (s)he does not have money to pay for the rent, after which (s)he loses his/her residence permit in his/her renewal process because (s)he cannot show his/her work or house contract. Therefore, this chapter will end with the first quote used in this chapter by Amadu from AIIMS.

Amadu – AIIMS: "I don't blame the caporali, I blame the system".

Figure 7: A vicious loop of the Italian integration system



Source: author

6. A continuous journey

In this chapter, the trajectories of the research participants will be visualized in maps followed by a description and analysis of these routes. First, a table with an overview of the routes of all participants is shown after which is zoomed in on four participant narratives telling about their trajectories. By this, the strategies and decisions that caused these routes will be better understood. The four narratives are selected because they are all very different and so bring all one piece to the puzzle. Together these four narratives can give a complete clarification of the trajectories of other participants. By this, the following sub-question will be answered:

How do the livelihoods of Sub-Saharan African migrants relate to (im)mobility trajectories?

6.1 (Im)mobility trajectories

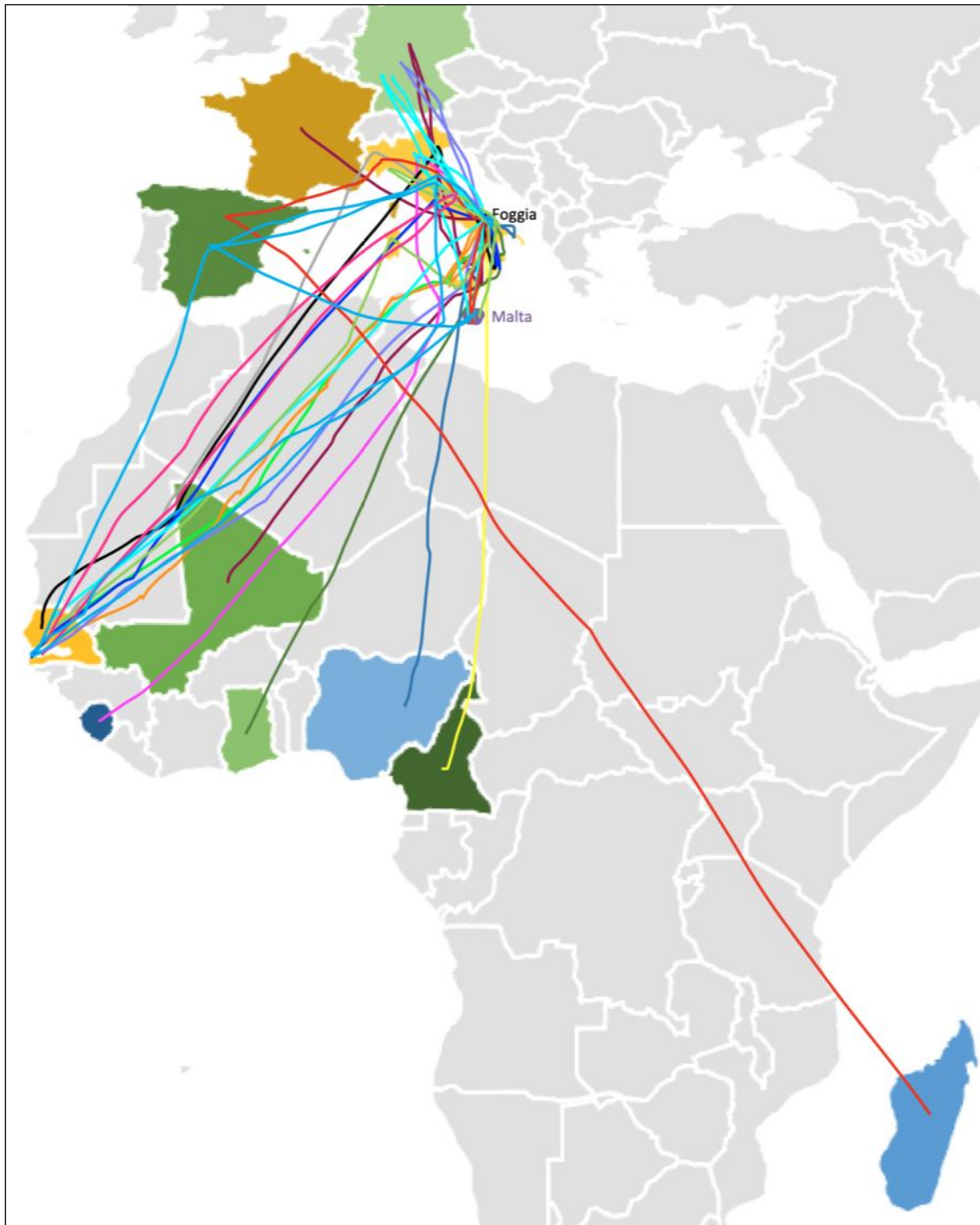
Table 4 shows similar information as shown in Table 3. However, the trajectory routes that the participants have undertaken are added. The first location mentioned in the table is the location migrants first applied for asylum (so not the place where they entered Europe). After their periods in the asylum centres, their trajectories are followed. Furthermore, 'collar line' is also included. This represents the collars of the trajectories visualized in the map 2. In this map, the lines start from the country migrants are originally from and the second point of the line is the location migrants first applied for asylum.

What can be observed is that the majority of the trajectories are made up of numerous lines that run back and forth and some trajectories have a zig-zag nature. At one glance can be observed that migration routes are complex processes. However, the lines on the map are still just visual representations of migratory paths. The reasons behind their mobilities are not given and periods of immobility can also not be understood from those maps. Therefore, to better understand these lines, the trajectories of Kuma, Issaya, Amir and Karimu are more specifically defined in chapter 6.2.

Table 4: Participants mobility trajectories

Participant	Pseud. name	Nationality	Age	Arrived in Italy	In position of legal permit to stay?	Trajectory routes	Collar line
1	Chaa	Mali	28	2012	Renewal process	Catania – Germany – Catania – Foggia – France	Burgundy
2	Jackson	Madagascar	57	2007	No	Paris - Milan – Foggia – Malta – Foggia	Red
3	Jhon	Senegal	38	2017	?	Trapani – Potenza - Foggia	Green
4	Ousmane	Senegal	50	2015	Yes	Germany - Foggia – Germany – Malta – Foggia – Bologna – Foggia – Germany	Bright light blue
5	Herve	Senegal	27	2014	?	Palermo – Foggia – Palermo – Foggia	Orange
6	Joseph	Cameroon	32	2021	No. But in process to get one	Foggia	Yellow
7	Kumba	Sierra Leone	35	2013	Yes	Ravenna– Bologna – Foggia	Pink
8	Osagie	Gambia	?	?	No	Turin – Foggia	Gray
9	Baboucarr	Senegal	33	2015	Renewal process	Treviso – Foggia – Rosarno – Foggia	Black
10	Martince	Ghana	27	2016	No. But in process to get one	Catania – Crotone - Foggia	Dark green
11	Issaya	Gambia	32	2015	No But in process to get one	Foggia – Germany – Foggia	Light purple
12	Amir	Gambia	40	2014	Renewal process	Rome – all around Italy because worked in circus – Rome – Foggia – Calabria – Foggia – Calabria – Foggia	Dark bleu
13	Ali	Nigeria	25	2016	Renewal process	Sicily – Foggia – Bari – Foggia	Bleu
14	Mbaye	Gambia	32	2016	Yes	Sardinia – Sicilia – Napoli – Foggia – Malta – Foggia – Genova - Foggia	Green
15	Karimu	Gambia	27	2014	Renewal process	Chieti – Fossacesia – Spain – Malta – Gambia – Spain – Pescara – Foggia	Light bleu

Map 2: Trajectories of all participants

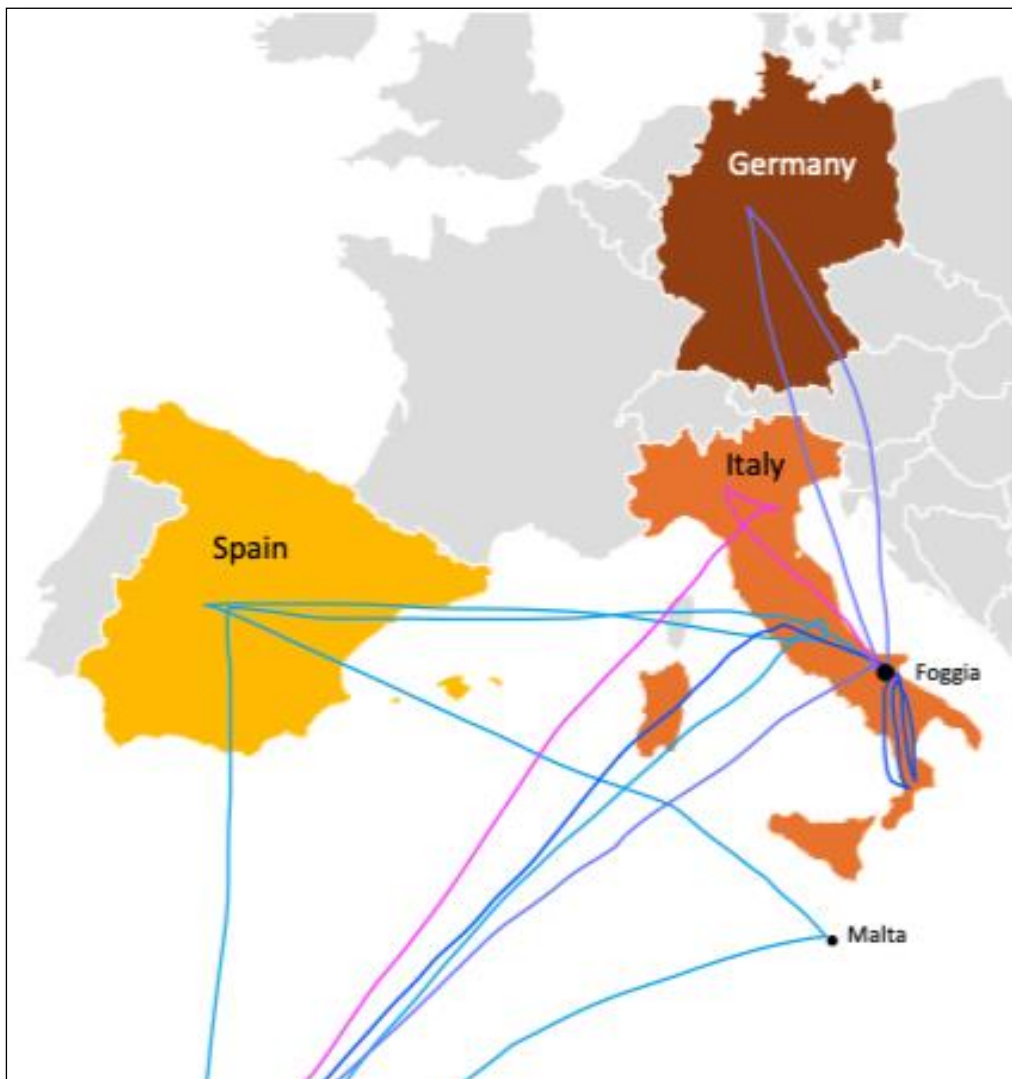


Source: authors creation

6.2 Participant narrative



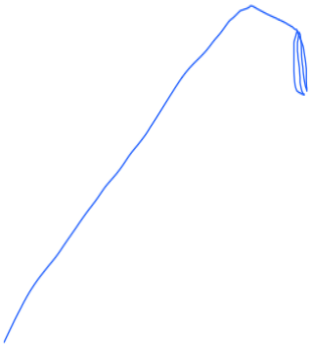

In this sub-chapter is zoomed in on the narratives of Kumba, Issaya, Amir and Karimu to tell the stories behind the lines. In this chapter, the lines are called route signatures since everyone has their personal route. Map 3 shows a visualisation of the trajectories of these four participants followed by a table showing the route signature and information belonging to the signature. Hereafter, the stories behind the signature are told using the words of the participants themselves.

Map 3: Four selected trajectories



Source: authors creation

Table 5: Route signatures

Participant	Route	Route signature
<p>Name: Kumba Nationality: Sierra Leone Age: 35 Arrived in Italy: 2013 Residence permit: in position of. House: own rental house</p>	<p>Sierra Leone – Ravenna – Bologna - Foggia</p>	
<p>Name: Issaya Nationality: Gambia Age: 32 Arrived in Italy: 2015 Residence permit : In process of receiving his first legal permit to stay House: Informal settlement</p>	<p>Gambia – Foggia – Germany – Foggia</p>	
<p>Name: Amir Nationality: Gambia Age: 40 Arrived in Italy: 2014 Residence permit : in renewal process House: at NGO</p>	<p>Gambia - Rome – all around Italy because worked in circus – Rome – Foggia – Calabria – Foggia – Calabria – Foggia</p>	
<p>Name: Karimu Nationality: Gambia Age: 27 Arrived in Italy: 2014 Residence permit : in renewal process House: Informal settlement</p>	<p>Gambia - Chieti – Fossacesia – Spain – Malta – Gambia – Spain – Pescara – Foggia</p>	

Kumba



"I came in 2013, 8 august. I got transferred to Ravenna, I was there for 2 years. I got my 2-year document. Then I went to Bologna for 2 years and then I went to Foggia. I was in Bologna not working and I was just sitting there doing nothing. I prefer to come here because, during that period, my friend was working in agriculture in Foggia, we have communication and he said why are you waiting your time there. It would be better if you were here so you can work. So I decided to come to Foggia. That was 2016. I was in getto, Ringano. When I arrived there, the first person I worked with, Senegalese, he is a caporali. When I was working for the caporali I thought that they were cheating on me because I am not working with a contract, I am working with less payment, I said no I need a good life so I leave the caporali. I went to Apricena to look for work. It is like one hour from Foggia. I found work. But even the caporali is better than there. I worked for them 1 year 6 months, they pay me 3 euro. I said impossible I cannot do it. He said impossible, you can leave you can go anywhere you want to work but me this is the way I work. So I left that place. That was in July 2018. I left them, I came to Foggia. I started wandering around. After 3 months, I asked Allesandro. I was stressed, a lot of stress. He asked do you need money? I said no, the problem is I am 31 years. How can I be at this age, I can't afford anything unless people give it to me. I want to work. Where can I have a work? It is stressing me. He said okay I will call my friend, lets see if he has an opportunity to work there. That was this place I am working now. I was in a very bad situation and Allesandro saved me from it. God creating us as two two, but if you want to fight for your dream, respect yourself and fight for your dream. Fight for your future. At the end of the day you will win. Most of people when they have their Soggiorno [residence permit] they will go outside of Italy. I always advise people, if you are in Italy, be patient. Work. After, if you have 10 years document, or you have forever, you can go anywhere in Europe and work. People think I am stupid. They go and work there for a year and if they are done they come back and want to renew it here. People who come back to Italy they only have 1 or 2 months for their Soggiorno to expire. So if you come to Italy, how do you expect in 3 months to have a job, a place you are not experienced, a place you don't know anything about. It's a stupid idea".*

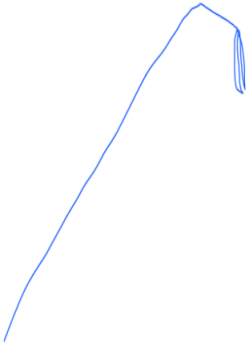
* Allesandro is the head of labour union FLAY-CGIL in Foggia and became Kumba's best friend.

Issaya



"In 2015 I come here you know. I was in the camp here, so I did not know what to do first but I don't know the farm works so I used to go to the city to come and pick some clothes and sell them here [Ghetto Borgo Mezzanone]. So with that, I had some small money that is the time that I had my small shop here. But in 2018 there was the big fire in my shop. I lived here for 3, 4 years. 2018 I get out from here I go to Germany. Because for me if I have the shop I can have little money to eat you know. So by the time the shop get burn I don't know what to do so I thought lets go to Germany. So I come back you know this month in 2022. I come back here to get my document. That's the process I was doing now. Because I left everything to the lawyer, the time I left for Germany. Germany is for me somehow better than here because they give you good house to live, they give you everything you know. So it's better, you cannot sleep in the street you know. Here, when they give you document, or even if they don't give you document, after some time they say your camp is finish. So they just take you out from the camp, they say your camp is finish you will not take food from the camp now everything is with you. That is the differents, in Germany the camp will be there forever. But the time the lawyer called me is the time that I come to take the document. My lawyer called me and say Issaya it is out. So I come back and I do my fingerprint and now I am waiting for my document to come out. When the document is out I can look for good contract. If I don't have it I want to move from here. I want to go inside. Like, if I have the document I really want to go but if I find a good contract I will stay for a while because I have to renew. There are 2 countries. Sweden, if I don't go to Holland I go to Sweden or Finland. Because I have people there, my brother's friends. They invite me. Maybe I go to Gambia, to see my family. If I work I have small money. 1.500 I go man. 500 will be the ticket, 1.000 I keep it I give it to people. It's been like 6, 7 years now. I really really miss my family you know".

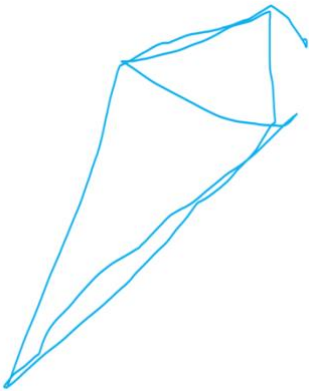
Amir



*“Since December 2014 I am in Italy. I spend 2 years and 5 months near Roma. After I was in the camp I have one job but with that job we used to go around Italy many places because it is circus work**. I worked with them 7 months. After I stopped the job. I left 2018 January. After I went back to the city near Roma there. I stay with one of my friends for just 2 or 3 months but to find a job there is a problem. Because without no document you cannot find good work. Then I came to Foggia here, because maybe only in here I can get a job. That was end of March. I just came to find the work. Agricultural work. I was there I think around 10 months. When the tomato finish I was sitting down cool there, so then in November I went to Calabria. Because I was having a friend near my house in Borgo. A Pakistani. He is at Calabria, he is a caporali. After my friend Pakistani he told me I am going to Calabria. So he said when there is work there I will call you people to come and work. When he went there, after he call us, after for us we prepare our things we went there. That Pakistani, he use to have one house after we pay every day 2 euro. We were many inside the house. After that work is finished I come back to Foggia again because at that time there is no work there so before I am sitting down like that I thought lets come here to do this tomato work again. Maybe around November again I go back there. I used to do it like that. Maybe I need to work in electricity or maybe restaurant like that maybe outside of Foggia, maybe Milano or Torino like that. Because one my brother he told me he does electricity work. One man took people for the electricity work. I went there, I did the interview all, after he said he will find a house for us but still now he said he cannot get a house. That’s why I am here. But I want to stay in Italy because this 2 years document you stay here you work maybe around another 5 years again because maybe 2 years finish you must have a good contract to change it again and a house. That’s why I need to stay here”.*

** : The trajectory of the circus work is not included in the ‘route signature’ because Amir was not able to identify the places the circus went to.

Karimu



“When I came here November 2014 I was in Chieti. That’s where I did my camp for 2 years before I had my document and I was given 5 years. I couldn’t have a job where I was staying. So I had to leave that place and go out and search for something else. In Italy, by then I did not have anybody to go to so I had to leave this place at all and went to my brother in Spain. That was in 2018. So I left to Spain and during the course of that time, there was this season that was going on there. Orange season exactly. After the season I stayed for like 5 months but I couldn’t have work so I moved from there and go to Malta. Malta was coool. I loved it there. I made a lot of friends in Malta. And I was working regular, it was good. I worked in a printing company and we made a lot of things. Textile, printing and billboards. I was there for 4 years and my document was about to finish. I was like okay, since I work and get some money I need to go back home and see my parents. So I went back to Gambia, so when I came it was just 2 or 3 months before my documents got finished so I had to go back. But I didn’t came here directly, I passed by Spain to see my brother. Then I had to go back here to change my document. I came here like, I came to one of my friends in Pescara. We knew each other, I went there, I stayed there for like 2 weeks then I came here. Because in Pescara. My document was about to finish, I couldn’t sign a contract to work. And here, [Borgo Mezzanone] you can stay here, you can apply for you documents, you can work, you can survive. You don’t have to pay rent, it’s kind of free, its more cheaper than trying to stay there, looking for work, paying for rent. It’s the life. This is my first time, it is not really easy when you are not used to this agriculture work. I am doing it because, I have to work you know and survive until my documents come out so I can go out and find a job where I can sign a contract. I made a contract in 2017 but I left for like 4 years and somehow that’s an issue. I have a document but I left this place without working. Your document is not paying tax or something like that. They will be like ‘yo it’s useless that we gave you document’. After this document process I want to stay here, because I think it is more advantage to stay here when you have your document. But I don’t have a specific plan yet”.

6.3 Analyzing trajectories

In this analysis, the trajectory approach of Bolay et al., (2020) and the aspiration mobility model of Carling & Schewel (2018) will be used to analyse migrants trajectories. The narratives above give a personal story. However, they can be connected to the stories told by the other participants as well. Therefore, in this analysis not only the information from these four narratives will be taken into account, but also the other information gathered during the field research. Still, the four narratives will be used to refer back to and take examples from.

What can be observed from the narratives and the other interviews is that most come to Foggia for work. Many state that it is very hard to find work in other regions, especially without a document. Such as Kumba, who was searching for work for 2 years in Bologna, while even though he was at that moment in position of a residence permit. And as Karimu who mentioned he could not sign a contract for work in Pescara due to his renewal process and so came to Foggia to work in agriculture. And as Amir, who did not find a job near Rome and decided the same.

Some choose to remain in Foggia to develop their lives here. An example is the story of Kumba, who found a stable job in Foggia for the whole year around and therefore decides to stay. Nevertheless, some people travel around Italy for better opportunities because they are not in a stable position. This can be a new season in agriculture in another place, but this can also be in another industry such as construction work. In the case of Amir, he travelled up and down between Calabria and Foggia to work in different agricultural seasons. For most who travel due to seasonality, their connections are very important. Many people move because they received a call from someone saying “*the work is here*”. When this person can assure them of a house as well, most will decide to depart. But also for people such as Karimu, their network is important. In the beginning, he did not know anyone in Italy so he decided to move to his brother in Spain. Travelling outside Italy is made easier when people obtain a permit in Italy. With this, people can legally cross borders. Because of that, Karimu was able to go to Spain, Malta and visit his family in the Gambia.

For Issaya visiting his family in the Gambia is still not a possibility, even after seven years of waiting for his document process. He however did travel outside of Italy. He crossed borders ‘illegally’ to Germany to find a better life, and in his eyes he did. Germany provided him with a better house compared to the ghettos of Italy. Now, being back he returned to the same ghetto he came from. This happens to many who travel outside of Italy. In the case of Issaya, he came back to receive his first permit, but others have to return to Italy to renew their documents. In this moment of returning, most will not have a place to stay and so end up in informal settlements. Similar to what happened to Karimu; he travelled to Spain and Malta where he had a decent job and earned enough money to travel to the Gambia, but being back in Italy made him to live in a ghetto. Because of Karimu’s travels, he might face difficulties in renewing his document. As written in chapter 5.2 people have to show where they have lived and worked in Italy in the year(s) they possessed a permit. Therefore, renewing documents becomes harder for people who travelled outside of Italy as they cannot show any of the information asked for since they were in another country. This is the reason why Kumba decides to stay. Because he stayed, Kumba was able to develop his life in Foggia. He is now having regular work with a legal contract and is living in a rental house in the centre of Foggia. Because of this, his document will be renewed until he obtained permanent residency. As stated in chapter 5.2, after five years of being legally and continuously resident in Italy people can apply for a permanent residence card (Polizia di Stato, 2010). As Kumba stated:

Kumba: I always advice people, if you are in Italy, be patient. Work. After, if you have 10 years document, or you have forever, you can go anywhere in Europe and work.

Amir is thinking the same way as Kumba, and after Karimu's travels, he thinks staying in Italy might be more profitable. Therefore he will probably decide to stay. Issaya is still undecided about his next step after receiving his permit. He wants to move 'inside', to other European countries. However, when he finds a job in Italy with a good contract he will remain as he is also aware of the renewal processes. What is for sure is that he will make a journey to the Gambia to see his family.

Following the aspiration ability model, all could be considered as *migrants* in the moments they moved to another place. Kumba is a *voluntary non-migrant* because he prefers to stay in Italy. However, some can also be considered as *Involuntary non-migrants*. Such as Issaya who cannot travel to the Gambia. Or as observed from informal conversations:

Lamin and Hadija are a couple from Nigeria. They have a two years old son and have the aspiration to travel to the Netherlands but are stuck in Foggia because they lack the financial resources to pay for their transport. Besides, they are in the middle of their process of residency which is taking place in Foggia. If they would leave now, this process would be wasted. Furthermore, Frederic from the Gambia is stuck in Borgo Mezzanone. Here, he has waited seven years to obtain a legal status. After seven years without a permit he decided to leave to Germany by train. Nevertheless, on the border of Italy and Switzerland authorities stopped him for control.

In a voice message through WhatsApp at 2:45 a.m.

Frederic: "*áh Milou, I have control, they control me you know*"

In the background, conductor: "*Hai documenti?*"

Because he could not show any documents he was sent back to Foggia. Therefore, he involuntarily returned to his home in the ghetto of Borgo Mezzanone.

6.4 Conclusion

What can be concluded from these stories is that the document process and the search for work are the two key factors influencing someone's (im)mobility trajectory. In the beginning stage, people mainly search for work in and outside of Italy. Many people decide to be mobile. However, after a certain time, their document process becomes more important and people decide to become immobile. Still, when people decide to stay in Italy due to their document processes, they might be mobile within Italy.

On top of the two key factors influencing (im)mobility trajectories, there are other factors as well. Such as someone's network and the season of agricultural work which makes migrants' jobs very unstable. Thirdly, when wanting to move to a new place, people do not want to sleep on the street for the first days of their arrival. Therefore, whether or not there is a house available in this new place is another important aspect in once decision to move.

Besides, when someone received a permit in Italy and decided to move to another country, they always have to return to Italy to renew their documents. Likewise, most will go back to Foggia. Since they are in their renewal process they do not have a document to work with. Therefore in other areas, they will not be able to find work. In Foggia, they can use the strategies as explained in chapter 5. Nevertheless, this loop is not necessary when people decide to stay. When staying in Italy, people can build their lives; search for a stable job, a house and eventually have a permanent residency.

7. Modifications and future perspectives

Amadu - AIIMS: You can't change the heat of the sea when the sea comes down. You have to resist the waves when the sea is beating hard. To resist the tight of the sea it's hard if you don't have a big stick to hold on and also to push the water away. So that is it. You have to be informed. You have to get ready to accept the information. So these are the things what the immigrant can do is to get informed and inform.

The two earlier results chapters will meld together in this final results chapter. Here, changes over time, improvements in people's livelihoods and perspectives on the future are given. These changes and future perspectives have impacts on people's mobilities as well. Therefore, the following sub-question will be answered:

Which factors drive changes in the livelihoods of Sub-Saharan African migrants and what are their future perspectives?

7.1 Modifications

7.1.1 Payments in agriculture

At the moment of research, spring 2022, most people working in agriculture earned €5,- per hour and worked 8 hours a day. Meaning that, when workers paid for their transport they earned €35,- per day. However, this was not always the case. As can be written from the following quote, the payments per hour increased year by year.

Baboucarr: Some work was about 2 euro, 2,50. That one is 2014, 2015. After 2016 things start to change to 3 euro, 3,50, 4 euro. Every year people start changing. Because they have more experience now. Because the old people used to tell them the situation. They used to say "you people should be paid like this".

With 'the old people' Baboucarr means migrants who arrived earlier in Foggia. These are migrants from other nationalities who have been exploited before the flow of Africans. These earlier flows have lived in informal settlements as well and give the 'new' migrants advice how to deal with their situation. Consiglia from intercultural center Baobab is translating Emmanuello's observations from the past. Emmanuello is the president of the organization.

Translation from Emmanuello – Baobab: 30 years ago, when he was 20 he was a volunteer at Borgo where already seasonal workers were there. So when he first went there as a volunteer there were Albanian people, then after 5 years there were Romanian people that arrived than after Sub-Saharan people that arrived. So it is a kind of cycle.

Therefore, after the Sub-Saharan African migrants were better informed they started to stand up for their rights against their capo nero's and the farmers. Their strategies could be identified as going on strikes. Migrants who thought to be paid too little stopped going to work. Strikes are a perfect strategy in the agricultural sector since in this sector timing is very important. Crops have to be cultivated at the exact right time, when this does not happen the whole harvest can be lost. Therefore, going on strikes created changes in migrants payments.

Mbaye: when the capo nero go to the boss, they say I don't have people. Because all the people say I need to get paid 4 euro. The boss said okay no problem. That's the time when the price change.

Nevertheless, there is also another factor that influenced the price earned per hour. As observed from table 2, Romanians are still the largest migrant group working in agriculture (male and female combined). However, according to the participants and expert interviews this group was bigger in the past. They stated that the Romanians have returned to their nation due to the COVID-19 pandemic and because Romania became a member state of the European Union in 2007 (European Union, n.d.). Because of this, there are less workers available in the agricultural sector. Thus, the supply for workers decreased while the demand stayed the same. The decrease in supply of workers made it easier for the African migrants staying in Foggia to demand higher wages.

Furthermore, according to Ali, Romanians were also employed in other parts of Italy. Because of their return to Romania their positions in other regions became free as well. This caused a mobility flow of African migrants staying in Foggia to other parts of Italy.

Ali: Yes many people are working. Because many companies they needed people for work. Around Milano and Torino like that. Because the Romanians, many people went back home. Because they became part of Europe so many people went home. That's why after, now many places need workers.

On top of that, African migrants did not only move elsewhere in Italy but as Baboucarr is pointing out have also moved to other European countries.

Baboucarr: I think they lost many workers. Because this last year and this year Italy need more workers. Because many living here they left to Germany, to Spain, France, even Holland some of them are going there. Some are going to Switzerland.

Thus, it can be argued that one's mobility has an impact on the livelihoods of those being immobile.

7.1.2 Capo nero

Not only the salary of workers increase but also the way they are treated is different. In previous years the capo nero kept a part of the salary of the workers. In interviews, when migrants were speaking about the past they explained that the capo nero kept €1,- for every hour worked. But, as participants say, this is not happening anymore. Now, the capo nero is only asking for the contribution of €5,- for the transport to work. Besides, in the past the capo nero was the only one speaking to the farmer, while nowadays migrants are able to talk with their boss without the capo nero being in between. Sometimes they talk to their boss together as a group in order to improve their working conditions.

Amir: now it is all different. Because now maybe if someone have a car he took you, you just pay the fair. Because he used to buy fuel you know. 5 euro. Now it is only that. But before, they used to take maybe like 40 euro or 45 euro from the farmer and they come and pay us 25 euro like that. 8 hours. That's what's the problem before. But now things changed you know. Because they will talk with you in front of the farmer how the payment will go. Now all of you will stand for the farmer and you will talk.

The fact that the capo nero system has changed is because migrants fight against it themselves by demonstrating against them.

Amir: They just banned this capo nero. Many people came out ghetto you know to come in Foggia here come and fight that, stop that capo nero work. They just sayd 'no capo nero, no capo nero'. Like demonstration. That's why things are changed now.

Maybe these demonstrations also created an understanding about migrants working conditions since also the farmers are treating migrants in a more humane way. An example is given by Baboucarr.

Baboucarr: But now here things are getting easy. For this year you see many many changes. The price start changing, the work system also start changing. Before many of them can work 10 hours without no relax. They say just continue working. But now they are leaving you. Maybe during work you can stop, relax for a minute and then you continue.

7.1.3 Police controls

Besides, as explained in chapter 3.3 the government had implemented law No.199 in 2016 and the MLPS set out a three-year Plan for 2020 to 2022. These two implementations intend to combat informal employment, labour exploitation and salary realignment in agriculture (MLPS, 2020; Marshall & Spigno, 2017). From the interviews is observed that these actions did have an effect because more police controls created changes. Baboucarr describes his observations underneath.

Baboucarr: yes that man, 30 people work there so he paid them I don't know 4 euro. So the police go and control there, many of them does not have the document. Many of them does not have a contract. So the police come there to control and find them. So they stopped the work for almost 1 month. Then he made it to 6 or 7 euro. So these small farm land they also changed everybody afraid for control too. Because if the police control you it will cost you more money. So many now they are doing contract and many of them are paid 5 euro, 6 euro. It's just last year that happened.

Because of these controls, farmers increase salaries and are obliged to give workers a legal contract. As explained in chapter 5 migrants can apply or renew their documents when they have those contracts. Farmers now are too afraid for controls and thus will arrange everything according to the law. Nonetheless, the controls are not as effective as they could be. With the words of Osagie "In Italy 99% is mafia". What he meant with that is explained by Baboucarr.

Baboucarr: For what I see in Italy here, every farmer, if his son is not a police, his brother or another family member be in the police. So they will call him 'papa, control irregular'. Today there will be a control. So he will call the workers 'today no work' or he will tell the workers, if you see the car of the police coming 'everybody go'. So, many people will leave because they don't know the law correctly. They are afraid of police. So when you see the police car coming so everybody run. You don't have document so you are afraid of yourself.

However, the police controls can also bring opportunities for migrants when they do not run. Karimu is living in Borgo Mezzanone and explains a situation of one of his friends. The police controlled him but he did not run. He explained the police that he is contributing to the Italian economy for years already and should thus be given a document. With success.

Karimu: He stayed here for like 4/5 years without documents. And he is working. He said a lot of things that made him get a document, because the police was conscious, he knew what the guy was saying is true. Like you know that most of the benefits that the Italians get from this agriculture, the migrants that are working here is a lot. Only that should give people documents so that people can work regularly. Because they know like, yo it's good that those people are staying here and working at the same time. And they know the condition that is here [Borgo]. One day they will be realising that they are benefiting from this sight too [Borgo]. So they will have to take action and try to operate this place for example. So that, people can live better and keep working here. Because they are part of Italy you know. They are already part of Italy. But they are staying here [Borgo].

As Karimu is saying, migrants are contributing to the economy of Italy, however still they are forced to live in places segregated from society, as described in the vignette in chapter 5. In the three-years plan (chapter 3.3), one of the 6 aims was to focus on housing as well. Still, nothing has happened.

Moses - Anolf: Now there is a new plan with European funds, there is possibility to resolve the problem of the ghetto's for the whole of Italy, they put 2.000 million euro. Maybe people can once leave from the ghetto.

However, funds to resolve the housing problems are given before, but where that money is invested in has not become clear in this research.

7.2 Future perspectives

This chapter will be finalised with migrants future perspectives. For this, the future goals of Mbaye, Ali and Baboucarr are described. Just as the trajectories in chapter 6 each future perspective is different. They cannot all be added here, but the three perspectives described underneath give a clear picture of the possibilities and thus can be examples of others as well. One wants to remain in Italy to create a livelihood, others desire to move to build a live elsewhere. Mbaye is sure he wants to stay in Italy.

Mbaye: I will continue to work. Agriculture, construction, agriculture, construction. I don't ask to much but I ask for house. If I have house, my life will be completely different. Right now I am working, but now my headache is house. If I have house I come and bring my wife. We sit down. That is my life. In two months I will marry, because I want children before I die. I will put two baby insight. She is in Gambia. She is in university. Even if she is not here I will stay here. Here is my second country.

Mbaye can be considered as a *voluntary non-migrant*. He is fine to work in agriculture and construction and wants to stay in Italy. However, others are not satisfied with this lifestyle. Ali has a lot of ambition! With the age of 25 he is the youngest of the participant group. Ali is originally from Nigeria and has been in Italy for 5 years. While in Italy, he has done a course in organizing weddings. However he could not find a profession in this job and so ended up working in agriculture in Foggia. Still, his future goals are put on something else.

Ali: This agricultural work is just seasonal work, it's not permanent. I just needed them to sustain the living. I needed the money, not the work. I need something to be professional at, permanent work. That's why I did the course of the wedding. I want to stay in Foggia for some time, but also, there isn't enough work here. Not more opportunity here. There are more opportunity in the North. Like Milano, Rome. So that's why I want to leave. I wanne also continue search for my wedding work. I want to put my heart in something that I would be doing for like life or something. Like you don't have season. I need a permanent work. For now, a little Idea. Firstly I have to stay with a friend there [in the north of Italy], and then look for a job and when I have a job I can look for a house of my own. Yeah it's not easy you know. If it doesn't work out I think I have plan to go to Sweden. Because I really love the country and I think there are more opportunities to become someone you really want to be. I am having hope there. I want to settle there. I have my friends there. I just want to go and see things for myself. You know. Uhm. Try to figure out somethings. And if it really works out I am gonne settle down there and figure out the live. But if it doesn't... I hope it does tho!! Because we are always trying. It's always been trying. Trying, trying, falling, standing again. Keep trying. You know.. I hope I don't get old with this life, it is stressing.

Ali wants to leave to Northern Italy or to Sweden, thus he will become a *migrant* in the future. But, “*if it doesn’t work*”, he will become an *Involuntary non-migrant* because he wants to migrate but does not have the ability to do so.

Also Baboucarr wants to leave the country. He explains that traveling to Holland is his future plan. He has been living in Italy for 7 years but still did not receive a permit to stay. In Senegal he had a wife and 2 children, a girl and a boy. His wife divorced from him because he has been away for 7 years. Without a document people cannot travel, and so not visit their loved once.

Baboucarr: right now I am waiting for the next month for the 16th. Then I have my results if it is positive or negative. If it is positive I will wait until I have the document in the hand. Than traveling will be little bit easy. When it is negative, I will see that no other solution because 7 years in Italy and still no document, I have to try in another place. Than I can transfer to the Netherlands because I have one friend their he is there for 3 years.

Interviewer: so if you have a positive you want to travel to the Netherlands legally. If you have a negative you also want to go to the Netherlands to get a document there?

Baboucarr: yes hahaha. But I do my fingerprints here. That’s why I don’t want to leave before I see the solution. Because if I do the fingerprint there they will see I did fingerprint here. Maybe in 6 or 8 month they will tell me to go back to Italy. So that’s why I said I want to wait until I see positive, okay I have the document.

What Baboucarr means with his fingerprint has to do with the Dublin Regulations, as explained in chapter 3.1.3. He has been an *Involuntary non-migrant* for the past years. He was not able to visit his family in Senegal and unable to apply for asylum in other EU countries due to the Dublin Regulations. He hopes to become a *migrant* soon and travel to the Netherlands. Seven years of being in Europe without a document seems hopeless, with a divorce as the consequence. Still, returning to ones country of origin is no possibility. Many have made their way to Europe with the financial help of their families. Now, they are the ones who have to help their families back home. When they do not succeed in Europe, their families will not accept them anymore in their communities when they return.

Amadu – AIIMS: People who have a family, maybe he is the only hope for the family. He comes here, nothing works for him. No document. A lot of pressure.

Baboucarr: So when I go back I don’t have nothing that is another disaster for me. Maybe everybody will abandon me. Even your family they don’t care you again you are stupid you don’t have anything? You go to Europe you come back with nothing? How? That’s big problem.

7.3 Conclusion

This chapter concludes that many things have changed over the past in a positive way. Migrants working conditions are improved due to their own initiatives and police controls. Migrants informing each other has been a fundamental aspect in these changes and government actions achieved some of their goals. However, the government has not (yet) succeeded in improving migrants' living conditions. Besides, even though positive changes have occurred, most migrants still see their future in another nation .

8. Discussion

This chapter will give a comprehensive overview of the empirical findings stated in chapter 5, 6 and 7 in relation to the theories and current academic literature described in chapter 2. First a focus will be on exploitation followed by a focus on mobility. Furthermore, attention is given to how biases have (potentially) influenced the results of this study. Lastly, a critical reflection on the results of this research in relation to the field of Development Studies is provided.

8.1 Exploitation

When looking at the empirical findings of this research, there is an overlap with the findings of FRA (2019) in which migrants in the EU are investigated. In both studies, migrants mostly use recruitment channels such as friends, family, acquaintances, former employers or gangmasters in order to find work. All can be considered as brokers. However, as Faist (2014) describes “brokerage is a technique for account for unequal outcomes”. This is the case when the capo nero is involved. In the words of the participants “the capo nero is having the work” and when someone does not want to travel to work by using the transport of the capo nero, the worker will be unemployed. So indeed, there is an exertion of power. However, workers are still free to leave a capo nero when they are unsatisfied with the situation. Thus, following on the discussion about modern slavery and labour exploitation; “modern slavery are situations of exploitation in which a person cannot refuse or leave an exploitative situation due to threats, violence, coercion, deception or abuse of power” (Bryant, David, & Larsen, 2019). Therefore, in the case of the capo nero, this cannot be categorised as modern slavery since people can refuse or leave a situation they dislike. Furthermore, as understood from the interviews, when someone is working directly to the farm, and even when someone is living on that farm, people are still able to leave their situation if they wish to. Besides, literature states that living at the place of employment can increase the risk of being subject to inadequate living conditions and worsens isolation and segregation which can increase vulnerability to human rights abuse (Tondo, 2016; Human Rights Watch, 2020). Nevertheless an observation made from the interviews is that migrants often preferred to live on the farm than in the informal settlements. The informal settlements are often located in unseen areas, where migrants are highly isolated which causes segregation as well. Besides, their housing conditions on the farms might be better and in this way they do not have to pay for any transportation cost. However, the degree of exploitation does not decrease nor increase. Therefore, this report agrees with Howard & Forin (2019); “migrants working and living conditions are not good, but it is better than having no work at all. Workers know they are being exploited and are consenting to it” (Howard & Forin, 2019). However, when they are not consenting, they stand up for their rights or search for a better opportunity. As described, someone is victim of forced labour when workers have to pay for: recruitment, accommodation, transportation or meal costs (Scaturro, 2021). Since people who make use of the capo nero still have to pay for transportation costs, their situation can still be considered as forced labour. However, previous literature stated that migrants also had to pay for their recruitment (Corrado, 2018; Marshall & Spigno, 2017). Participants in this research mentioned that this was the case in the past, though things have changed. According to them, caporali do not keep a part of their salaries anymore. Still, whether this is true has not been controlled since interviews with the farmer are not conducted. Only when knowing the agreements between the farmer and the capo nero this could be stated as the truth. However, participants mentioned that now all workers can speak together with the farmer instead of the capo nero on its own. Thus, it is likely that indeed the capo nero is paying the workers the fair amount. Still, this might be depending on which capo nero is used. What can be concluded is that the capo nero still exercise some power, but is not exploiting migrants as much anymore as is stated in previous literature (Corrado, 2018; Marshall & Spigno, 2017). Yet, the Italian government is trying to combat the unlawful recruitment in agriculture. As stated in chapter 3.3 the Italian government has

implemented policy priorities to tackle labour exploitation focusing on six main areas of intervention (MLPS, 2020). Especially the 'inspections and enforcement activities' caused many changes in migrants lives as can be read in chapter 7. Consequences were an increase in salary and better work contracts and thus more potential to receive a residence permit. Also for the Italian economy this means positive outcomes. The MLPS states that the illegal economy in the agricultural supply chain is worth more than five billion euros (MLPS, 2020). Since this is an "illegal economy" the amount of five billion euros does not have a contribution to Italy's development. This has to do with two factors. First of all, many farmers do not declare the right amount of days worked by the migrants due to their gray contracts (*if they have a contract at all*). They pay half in cash, half through the bank and thus pay less taxation. Besides, amongst the participants of this study only three people were having a legal status at the moment of interview. Thus, only three participants were able to contribute to the Italian economy by paying tax over their wage (*if they received payments in a legal way*). Many participants were in the renewal process of their permits. Due to this, migrants are not able to contribute any taxation, even if they wanted to. Thus, when undocumented migrants would be given a permit, and when the renewal processes would take shorter, migrants contribution to the Italian economy could increase.

8.2 Mobility

The aspiration-ability model of Carling & Schewel (2018) is explained in the theoretical framework (chapter 2). They state that *migration is the combined result of two factors: the aspiration to migrate and the ability to migrate*. The model includes three types of people; *Migrants, Voluntary non-migrants* and *Involuntary non-migrants*. These three types of people are all identified in this research. As shown in chapter 6, many of the participants have moved voluntarily within and without Italy and thus, following the aspiration-ability model, they are considered as '*migrants*'. Most aspirations to move are due to better work opportunities elsewhere. Within Italy it is observed that many move to Foggia in order to find work in agriculture. Migrants can also move because of seasonality. The reason for migrating is because of a lack of work in one place, and better opportunities elsewhere. Also when peoples aspiration is to work in another sector people often move to other areas in or outside of Italy and thus become a migrant. Thus, just as Carling & Schewel (2017) explain; *migration often happens when a place is considered better than the place one lives*. The ability to migrate has often to do with their network. Especially when people migrate due to seasonality, this helps people to know what the right moment for migrating is and it becomes easier to obtain work and a house in another area. Thus, this report agrees with Bolay et al., (2020): *People's areas to manoeuvre expand and shrink over time as a result of the network involved*. Furthermore, migrants can migrate within Italy when they have the financial resources for it. However, the ability to travel outside of Italy is only (legally) possible for those who possess a residence permit. Nevertheless, some people also become an outbound migrant without a permit and cross borders illegally.

Next to people who migrate, there are people who voluntarily stay in Foggia, or Italy in general. These people are considered as voluntary non-migrants. People decide to stay in Foggia because they are satisfied with the livelihoods they have established. Others decide to stay in Italy because they consider Italy as their second home and do not have the aspiration to move to another nation. Still, it is often the case that people are voluntary non-migrants because they think staying in Italy is better for their permit renewal process. They want to stay in Italy until they receive a permanent residency. After this, they might aspire to migrate to another country. Therefore, if those people are truly voluntary non-migrants is debatable and can be linked to the debate between structure and agency (Wittington, 2015). Do people really have the agency to stay, or are they forced by the structure they are in? Most decide to stay in Italy because of the political structure they are in, not because they aspire to live or work in Italy. Therefore, the author of this research would consider these people as *strategically non-migrants*: people who have the aspiration to migrate but stay strategically until they receive a permanent residency.

Furthermore, there are people who have the desire to move out of Italy but are not able to do so. These people are considered as *Involuntary non-migrants*. Many undocumented migrants have the aspiration to visit their families in Africa but are not able to because of their residential status. Also, migrating to other EU nations becomes a lot more difficult. When people try, they might be controlled and send back to Italy. Furthermore, there is another factor that limits undocumented people to migrate. Due to the Dublin Regulations, when someone already applied for asylum in Italy and tries again in another EU nation, they will be send back to Italy as well (Davis, 2020) (see chapter 3.1.3). Therefore, some people do not try to cross borders but decide (involuntary) to stay immobile. Besides, many are also involuntary immobile when their documents are in their renewal process, which often take several months. In those months people are unable to migrate outside of Italy as well. Lastly, people might have the aspiration to migrate but do not possess the financial resources to do so. These people are also considered as *Involuntary non-migrants*.

Nevertheless, as can be understood from the findings, in different moments of time people can be placed in different categories of the aspiration-ability model. People might be considered as migrant for a certain time, but become voluntary non-migrant in a later stage. First, people might be considered as “migrants” because they travel to other nations due to better (work) opportunities, but later on their aspirations can change and start to value their Italian residence permit more than working in another nation. Thus, this study agrees with Bolay et al., (2020) who state that *people’s individual aspirations can change over time and movements are not necessarily from A to B; there will be moments of mobility and immobility*. This study therefore argues that the aspiration mobility model is strongly related to the trajectory approach of (Bolay et al., 2020).

However, different from the aspiration-ability model, there is a focus on “network-work” in the trajectory approach. The concept of network-work can be considered as the efforts that are needed to mobilize social networks. Bolay et al., (2020) state that networks are extremely dynamic and are robust to change. People in those networks can act as brokers and mediators, but can be suspended or abandoned at any time (Bolay et al., 2020). This is the case when people make use of the capo nero, they are very important in migrants life, but can be abandoned when unsatisfied. Also friends and family are important in once trajectory. Thus, according to Bolay et al., (2020) these networks influence once trajectory; *Because of peoples network, many are often for a long time immobile* (Bolay et al., 2020). When focusing on the case study of this research, the writer of this report wants to add to this; periods of immobility are also caused by the renewal processes of migrants residential permits and for some, moments of mobility is caused by seasonality.

Another important finding the researcher wants to add to the discussion is that the mobility of one group has an impact on the livelihoods of those who are immobile. In the case study, many migrants moved out of Foggia, this created a better supply and demand in the labour force in the agricultural sector. In turn, this created better working conditions for the once staying.

8.3 Reflection

8.3.1 Reflection on biases and omissions

In the methodology chapter some biases and omissions are described. Two biases have potentially influenced the findings of this research. First of all, no interviews are conducted in one of the main informal settlements due to safety reasons. Nevertheless, local Italians and articles show that living and working conditions in the area are worst then other informal settlements in Foggia. Thus, when stories of people living here were heard as well, outcomes of this research might have been more dramatic.

Furthermore, women are not included. Females make up only 4,26% of the research population but might have a very different story and perspective than males. Therefore, when women would be included and the number of participants would be large enough to make a comparison to male participants this could bring very interesting outcomes.

A last bias might have occurred because most migrants were selected by snowballing through NGOs. Because of this, people who travel through Italy due to seasonality might have been selected less because the people who are known amongst those NGOs are situated stably in Foggia. This might have led to different outcomes in analyzing peoples trajectories.

8.3.2 Reflection on results in relation to Development Studies

SDG 8.7 aspires to eliminate modern slavery, human trafficking, forced labour and child labour by 2030 (Bryant, David, & Larsen, 2019) however, on these concerns, voices of the development sector are frequently absent (Cockayne, 2021). Therefore, this research has contributed to more insights on labour exploitation amongst migrants and has pointed out aspects that can change migrants exploitation and the ability of migrants themselves to create improvements. Besides, this report shows more accurate information; many changes have occurred in the last years. Accurate data is essential to respond effectively on the matter and investigating and identifying exploitation is crucial in overcoming it (Walk Free, 2018).

Furthermore, investigating migrants trajectories contributed in such a way that policy makers now can better understand migration routes and migrants strategies behind these routes. Migration flows in the whole of Europe could in this way better be managed with this information. Living in Italy is often not their first choice, but because of the Dublin Regulations and other political rules migrants are stuck in Italy for years until they receive a permanent residency and can reach the countries they desire to go to. *“When migrants are cumulated in one area, this becomes a consent to that area”*(Amadu, AIIMS) and thus can put pressure on the Italian integration system. Nevertheless, this study revealed that migrants will keep traveling through Europe for better opportunities with or without documents and will work (ir)regular depending on their legal status. When policy makers want irregular migrants to contribute to their economy as well, they should provide them with a work permit so migrants can work regularly. When migration policies want to spread migrants through Europe equally and when SDG 8.7 and SDG 10.7 are ought to be reached, those policies should be changed.

Lastly, this research had a bottom up approach; the aspirations of migrants were heard, while migration policies are often made with a top down vision. Therefore, knowing the aspiration of the people in question can be useful to change migration policies within and without Italy.

9. Conclusion

This final chapter will give answer to the main research question *“How do Sub-Saharan African migrants working in the Italian agricultural sector organize their livelihoods and how does this influence their (im)mobility trajectories?”*

It can be concluded that migrants are caught in a vicious cycle in which everything is interconnected. When Sub-Saharan African migrants arrive in Italy they first spend about two years in asylum centers, waiting for their asylum procedure to be finalized. When this procedure is finished, migrants either obtained a residence permit or leave the centers as an undocumented migrant. When migrants leave the asylum center without a residence permit they can apply for a work permit. To receive this migrants need to show a work and house contract. A residence permit has to be renewed once expired. For this, a work and house contract have to be shown as well. Nevertheless, many employers do not provide these contracts and finding a house seems impossible. Because of this, many end up living in informal settlements and work illegally. Therefore it becomes hard to obtain a work permit or to sustain the ones migrants already have. Even after someone has everything, they could lose it all again. They can lose their job, their house and thus their permit and people are back to where they were in the beginning stage.

Furthermore, the conclusion can be drawn that migrants documents and employment are most important in migrants livelihoods. Because many do not know their legal rights they receive payments below the minimum wage. In the past, migrants received payments such as 2 or 3 euro per hour. Because migrants were acknowledge about their rights due to other migrants or migrant organizations, they started standing up for their rights. They began strikes and demonstrations, together with more government actions salaries increased to 5 or 6 euro per hour. The caporali exercise less power and contracts improved as well. Thus, this research revealed that the capo nero is not an area of concern anymore in migrants lives. They are just people trying to cope with their situation as well. The area of concern in migrants livelihoods is the Italian integration system and employers who are not acting according to the law. The housing situation is still a fundamental problem. If this would be solved caporali would probably be banned as well.

Thus, migrants livelihoods depend on many different factors. It depends on the capo nero used or the farmer worked at and how migrants are treated by them. It depends on the location they live and it depends if they have a residence permit or not. Migrants are treated differently by different farmers and different capo nero's. One arranges everything according to the law, other are exploiting migrants. When someone has a residence permit they have more rights, when someone does not have a permit their search for work becomes more difficult and they might get exploited worst. The location migrants live in is crucial as well. Living in informal settlements means living in appalling conditions. But in informal settlements it is easier to find work through capo nero's, and thus some in need of work strategically decide to move to these locations. Lastly, due to seasonality, work contracts are very unstable and thus migrants are in a constant search for work. However, once a network is realized this search becomes easier. Therefore the start is the most difficult but once a network is established and rights are known migrants can improve their livelihoods.

Due to this constant search for work, migrants travel through Italy in search of better opportunities. Migrants especially move to the South in order to work in agriculture when the right season arises there. In other southern parts of Italy the situations are similar to Foggia. It is possible to find work without a residence permit and the work and living situations are the same. When migrants have a residence permit, they can try as well in the Northern part of Italy, but succeeding is not guaranteed. Also here having a network is very important. For finding work and a house in a different location, a network seems crucial.

When migrants are unsatisfied in Italy, or have connections elsewhere, they travel to other nations and search for work there. However, when people have an Italian residency, they always have to return to Italy in order to renew them. When someone has applied for asylum in Italy and is trying

again in another EU nation, the likelihood is high that these people will be send back to Italy again due to the Dublin Regulations. Thus, the document process and the search for work are the two key factors influencing someone's (im)mobility trajectory.

When returning to Italy to renew ones residency, developing their livelihoods will start all over again. They do not have a house, nor work, and will not have a residency either in the period of renewal. Because of that, old strategies, such as working with the capo nero and living in informal settlements have to be used. Thus, traveling outside of Italy is not always seen as the smartest option. Some people strategically decide to stay in Italy until they receive an permanent residency. However, after that, most want to leave Italy forever and develop their lives elsewhere in Europe. Therefore this study wants to conclude that aspirations change over time and mobilities are not necessarily from one place to another, but rather an ongoing journey.

9.2 Beyond the case study

In this final sub-chapter, a reflection on the findings beyond the case study is given. The case study is conducted in Foggia, however, the outcomes can be related to other areas of Italy. Especially in Calabria and Sicily similarities occur. Also here, many migrants work in agriculture, the capo nero is still active and migrants live in informal settlements like the ones in Foggia. Exploitation is happening and migrants without a document can find a job. People migrate in and out these areas following the right agricultural season. In Norther Italy it is harder to find a job for (undocumented) migrants. Because of that, they travel to Southern Italy where they can work with a capo nero in between, on someone else's document.

Furthermore, exploitation in Italy is not only happening in the agricultural sector but is happening in all areas migrants can find work in. Also here, they receive little payments, work long hours and receive grey contracts. The difference is that the caporali practices are not as common in other sectors compared to the agricultural one.

Besides, also in other European countries migrants are working without a residence permit and migrants are exploited. Still, participants often considered other nations as better than Italy. In other nations migrants did not have to sleep in ghetto's, payments were better and less discrimination was felt. This however still depends where people go, because not everywhere migrants experienced positive circumstances.

Lastly, in this study is focused on Sub-Saharan African migrants. However, outcomes of trajectories can be relatable to other migrant groups as well. Peoples trajectories are not fixed, aspirations change and thus peoples movements are not from place A to place B. For undocumented migrants it becomes more difficult to travel within Europe but also to go back to their country of origin. This is the same for African migrants as well as for people from other continents. For all migrants counts; when traveling legally, the journey becomes a lot easier. Besides, other nationalities are, just like Sub-Saharan Africans, exploited in Italy and also for them it is difficult to find a house. However, European people who seek for work in Italy have the advantage that they are automatically legal in the country. This gives them more rights and are more excepted by the host society.

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Appendix

Appendix 1: Interview guide migrants

Introduction:

1. What is your age?
2. Where are you from?

Foggia:

1. What year did you arrive in Italy?
2. Where did you arrive in Italy?
3. From there, where did you go to and why?
4. When did you arrive in Foggia?
5. Why did you go to Foggia?

Permit:

1. Do you have a residence permit?
2. What kind of permit do you have (how long is it valid)?
3. When do you need to renew this document?

Work:

1. What work do you do?
2. How did you arrange access to this work?
3. How are the working conditions at this work place?
 - a. What kind of work do you need to do?
 - b. How many hours do you work in a day?
 - c. How is the payment?
 - d. How many days do you work in a week?
 - e. Do you have a contract?
 - f. Is it a stable job?
 - g. Do you use a capo nero to find this work?
4. How do you perceive your work?
 - a. Do you like it?
 - b. Is it hard work?
 - c. Is the payment good enough?
 - d. Do you want to keep doing this?
5. Did you have other jobs before this one?
➔ Same questions about earlier jobs

Seasonality:

1. Is some seasonal work 'better' than others?
 - a. Better payment
 - b. Better working hours
 - c. Better working conditions
2. Do you use different capo nero's for different seasons?
3. How do you survive when there is no work? (e.g. in the winter)

Trajectories:

1. Did you travel through Italy due to seasonality?
 - a. If yes, where to?

- b. If no, why not?
2. Did you travel out of Italy?
 - a. If yes, where to?
 - b. If yes, why did you move?
 - c. If no, why not?
3. When travelled,
 - a. How did you find a job elsewhere?
 - b. Where you sure to find a job in the other place before traveling?

Housing:

1. Where do you live?
2. How did you arrange this place?
3. How do you perceive your living (house/room) conditions?
4. Do you want to stay here or find another place to live?

Changing situation:

1. Do you want to continue the work you are doing now?
2. Did you try to improve your situation in a certain way?
 - a. If yes, how?
 - b. If no, why not?
3. In general, did you see any changes over the years (in Foggia)?
 - a. If yes, what kind of changes did you see?
4. Do you want to stay in Italy or move to another country?
 - a. Why?

End:

1. Do you have any other things you want to share with me?
2. Are there other things I need to know?
3. Do you want to ask me anything / know anything from me?

Appendix 2: Interview guide experts

Introduction:

1. What is your name?
2. What is your position in *name organization*?
3. Can you tell me what *name organization* is working on?
4. In what way do you support migrants?
5. For what reason do migrants come to *name organization*?

Labor exploitation:

1. Can you tell me what kind of migrants there are in this region?
 - Nationality
 - Mainly man/women/families?
 - Reason for being in this area
 - Are they here the whole year around?
 - Do you have an idea how many migrants there are (per period)?
2. Can you tell me what kind of labour the migrants do in the agricultural sector?
 - Can you tell me about the circumstances they face?
3. Do they have labor opportunities other than in the agricultural sector?
4. Are there any differences concerning labor in agricultural between EU migrants and non-EU migrants?
 - Can you explain this to me?
5. What different kind of residence permit can African migrants receive?
 - and what effect does that have on their employment?

Mechanism:

1. What mechanisms do migrants use to organize work in the agricultural system?
 - a. In what ways do they arrange labor access? / what different brokers do they use?
 - b. How do they know where they can find work?
 - c. Again; is this different for EU migrants and non-EU migrants?
2. In literature I read a lot about the caporali. Can you explain to me how this works?
3. Is the caporali really the problem...?

Seasonality & trajectories:

1. Foggia is known for the tomato picking, but where do migrants find work when it is not the tomato season?
 - Are you able to point out to me (on the map) where migrants travel to?
 - When do they travel where?
 - What period do they travel there
 - What season?
 - How do migrants know where they should be?
 - what kind of mechanisms/borkers do they use for this information?
 - How do migrants organize their travel?
 - Individually?
 - In groups?
 - Organized by the caporali?
 - How does this work?

Changing situation:

1. In what way is your organization supporting migrants?
2. When did your organization start with this support?

3. What improvements are made throughout the years?
4. Is *name organization* also focusing on changing the exploitative labor situation amongst migrants in agriculture?
 - If yes:
 - What have you been doing?
 - What have you achieved thus far?
 - If not: Why not?
5. Can *name organization* do more to improve the exploitative stations of migrants working in agriculture?
6. In your eyes, what could the migrant do themselves to improve their situation?
 - In groups
 - Individual
7. What should, in general, be changed in Italy to improve migrants exploitative situation?

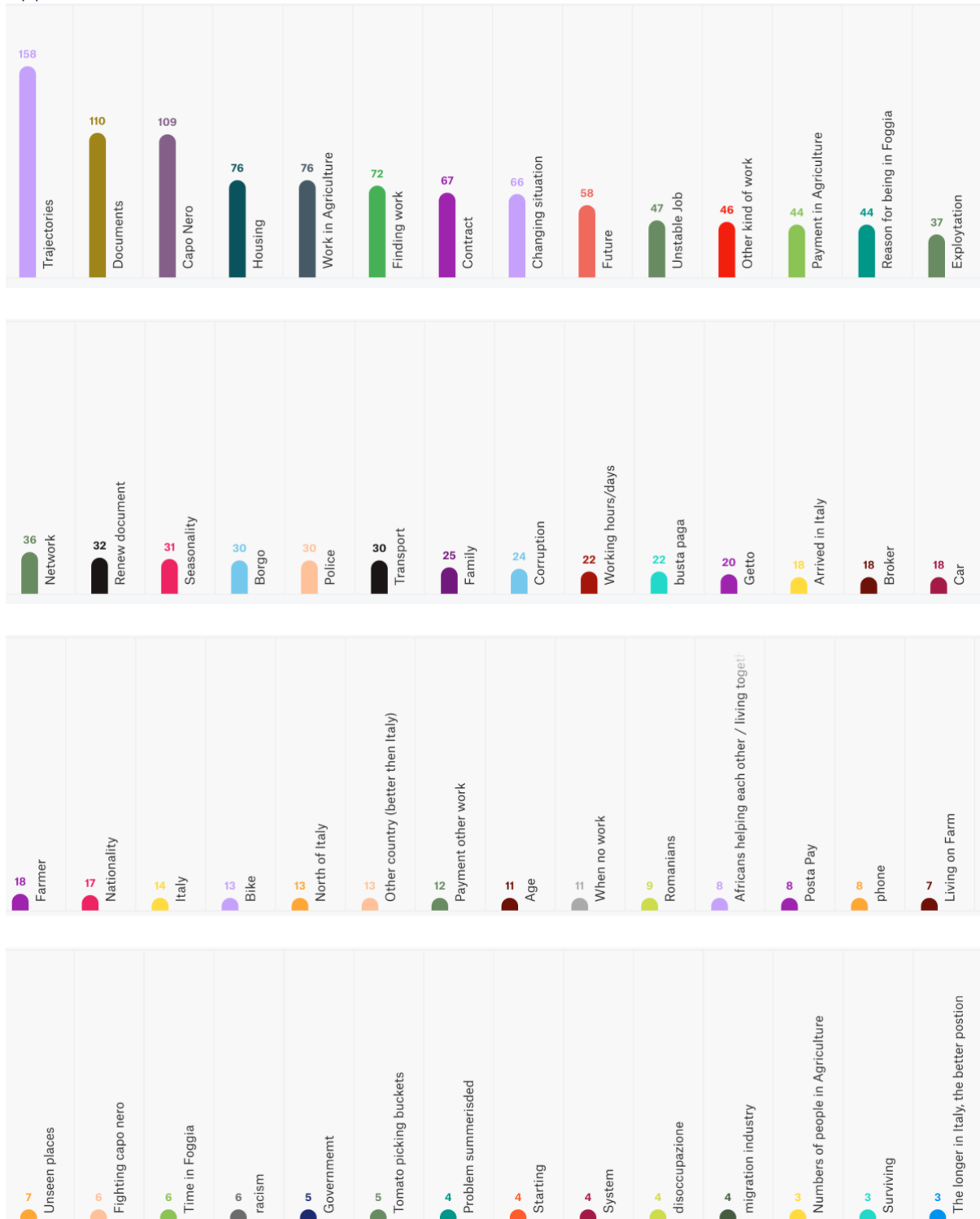
End:

1. Do you have any other things you want to share with me?
2. Are there other things I need to know?
3. Do you want to ask me anything / know anything from me?

Appendix 3: Code structure

The coding tool Atlas.ti was used. It was not possible to create a code three. Still codes and code groups were created. A screenshot of these are provided below.

Appendix 3.1: Codes



Appendix 3.2: Code groups

Transportation

Work

Exploitation

Housing

Demographics

Trajectories

Statistics

Surviving

Future / Changing situation

Broker

Documents

Politics

Only option

Italy (opinion & compared)

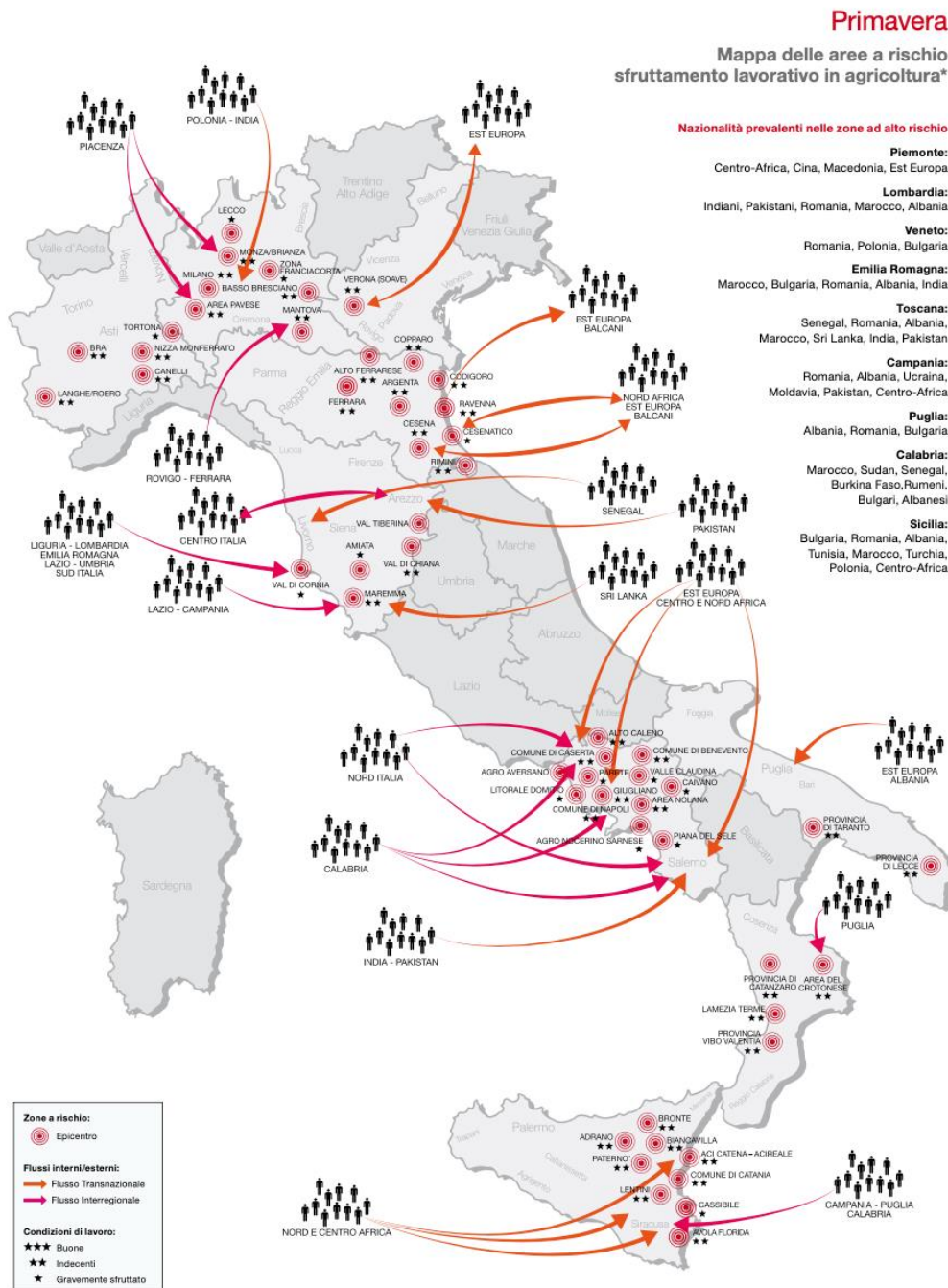
Appendix 4: List of experts interviewed

Deleted because of personal information.

Appendix 5: migrants routes within Italy by season

The maps underneath are obtained through Labour Union FLAI-CGIL (FLAI-CGIL, 2013). The pink arrows show the internal migration within Italy, the orange arrows show migration moving in and out Italy.

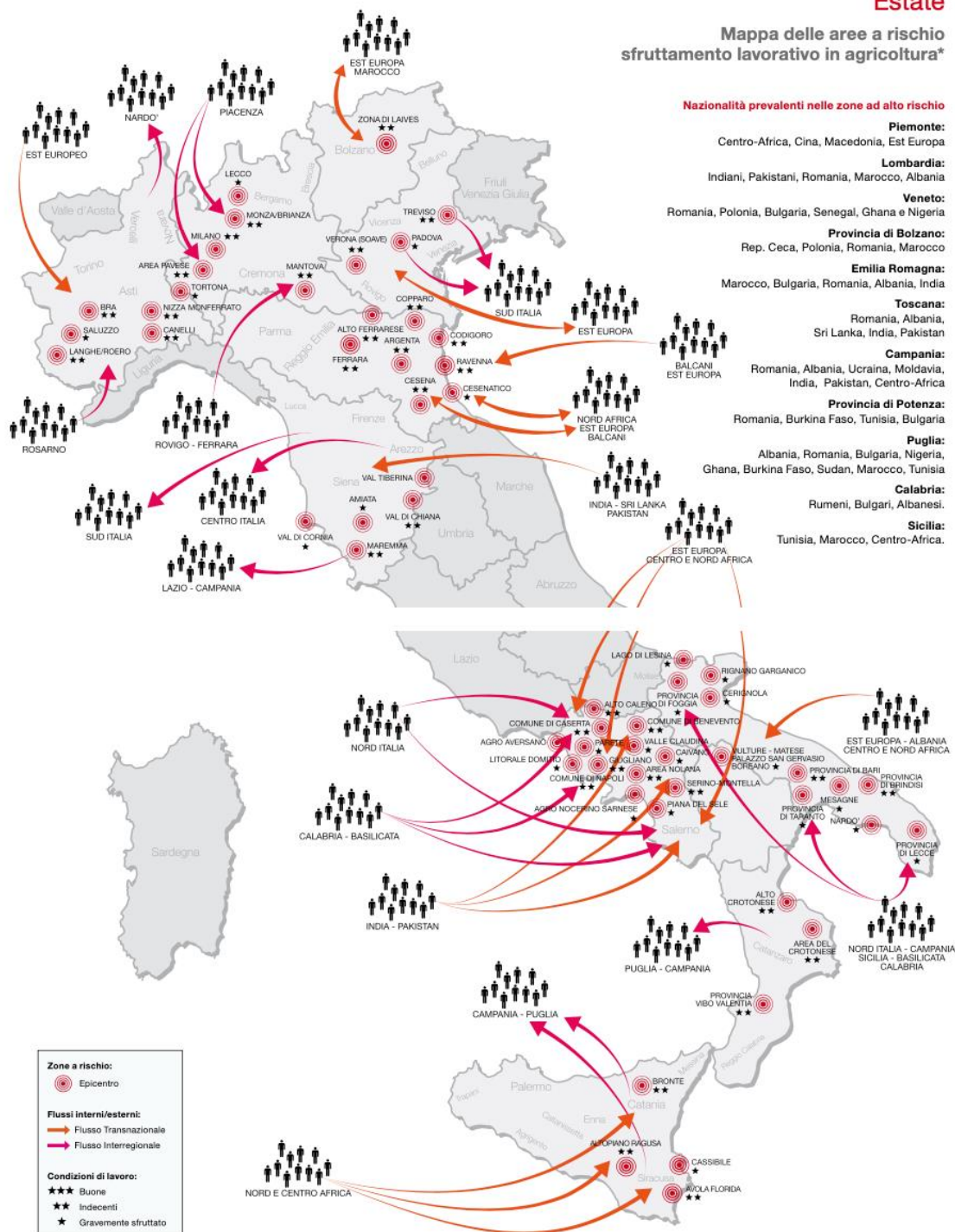
Spring



Source: FLAI-CGIL (2013)

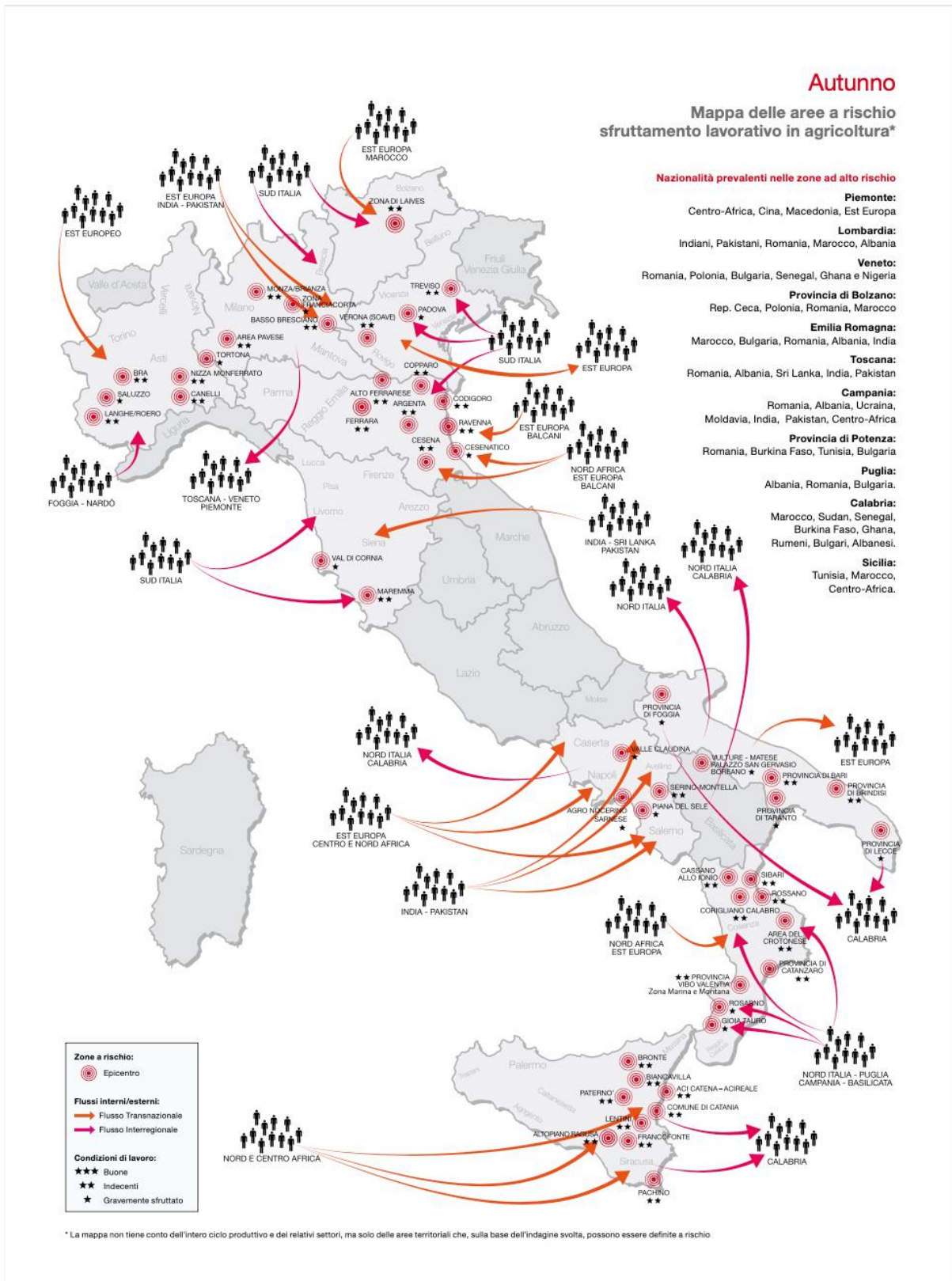
Estate

Mappa delle aree a rischio sfruttamento lavorativo in agricoltura*



* La mappa non tiene conto dell'intero ciclo produttivo e dei relativi settori, ma solo delle aree territoriali che, sulla base dell'indagine svolta, possono essere definite a rischio

Source: FLAI-CGIL (2013)



Source: FLAI-CGIL (2013)

Winter

Inverno

Mappa delle aree a rischio sfruttamento lavorativo in agricoltura*

Nazionalità prevalenti nelle zone ad alto rischio

Piemonte:
Centro-Africa, Cina, Macedonia, Est Europa

Lombardia:
Indiani, Pakistani, Romania, Albania

Emilia Romagna:
Marocco, Bulgaria, Romania, Albania

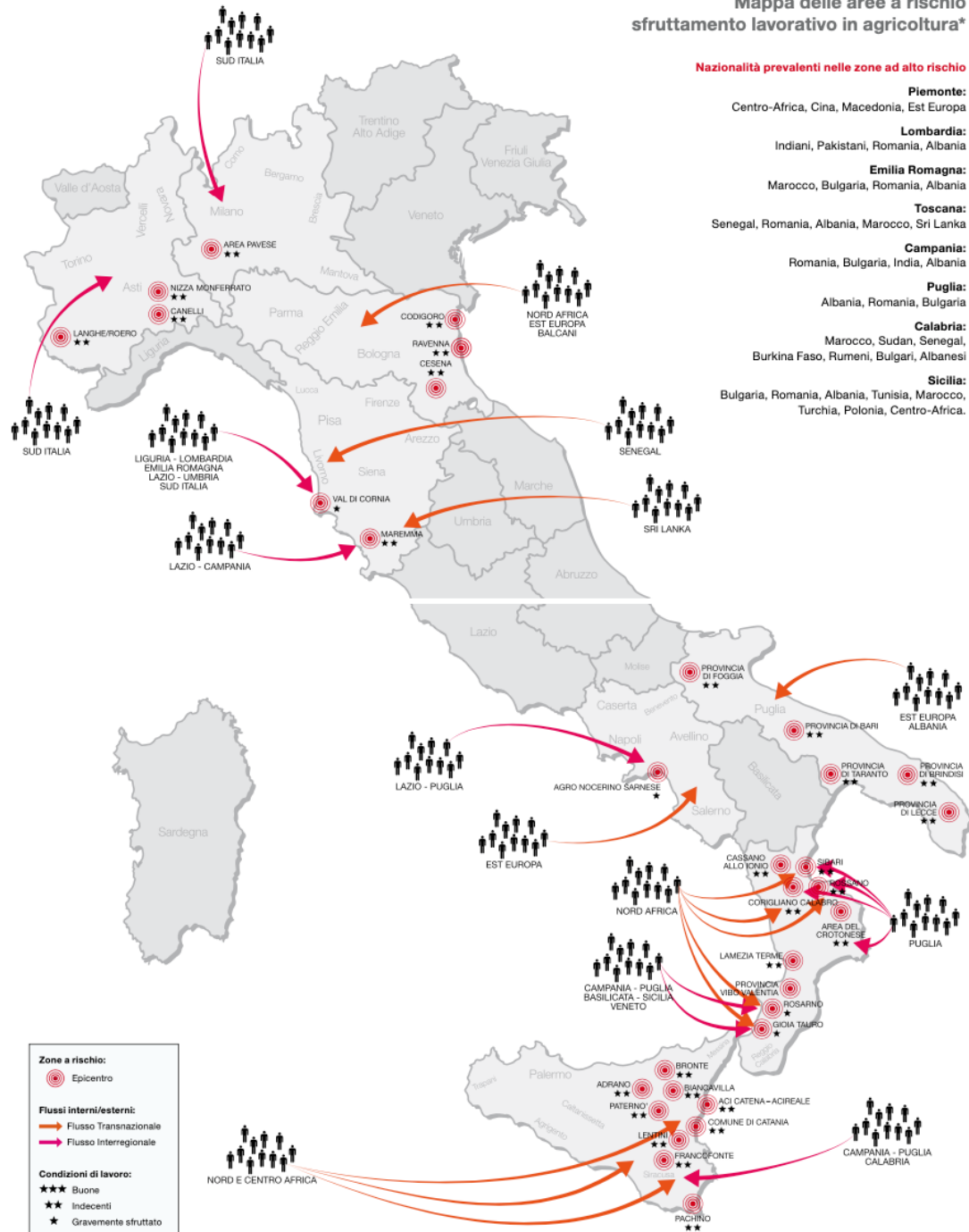
Toscana:
Senegal, Romania, Albania, Marocco, Sri Lanka

Campania:
Romania, Bulgaria, India, Albania

Puglia:
Albania, Romania, Bulgaria

Calabria:
Marocco, Sudan, Senegal,
Burkina Faso, Rumeni, Bulgari, Albanesi

Sicilia:
Bulgaria, Romania, Albania, Tunisia, Marocco,
Turchia, Polonia, Centro-Africa.



* La mappa non tiene conto dell'intero ciclo produttivo e dei relativi settori, ma solo delle aree territoriali che, sulla base dell'indagine svolta, possono essere definite a rischio

Source: FLAI-CGIL (2013)

The information in the 4 maps provided above is summarized in the following table.

Nationalities per region and season

Season	Region	Migrants country of origin
Spring	Piemonte	Central Africa, China, Macedonia, Eastern Europe
Summer		Central Africa, China, Macedonia, Eastern Europe
Autumn		Central Africa, China, Macedonia, Eastern Europe
Winter		Central Africa, China, Macedonia, Eastern Europe
Spring	Lombardy	Indians, Pakistanis, Romania, Morocco, Albania
Summer		Indians, Pakistanis, Romania, Morocco, Albania
Autumn		Indians, Pakistanis, Romania, Morocco, Albania
Winter		Indians, Pakistanis, Romania, Albania
Spring	Veneto	Romania, Poland, Bulgaria
Summer		Romania, Poland, Bulgaria, Senegal, Ghana and Nigeria
Autumn		Romania, Poland, Bulgaria, Senegal, Ghana and Nigeria
Winter		Missing
Spring	Province of Bolzano	Missing
Summer		Czech Republic, Poland, Romania, Morocco
Autumn		Czech Republic, Poland, Romania, Morocco
Winter		Missing
Spring	Emilia Romagna	Morocco, Bulgaria, Romania, Albania, India
Summer		Morocco, Bulgaria, Romania, Albania, India
Autumn		Morocco, Bulgaria, Romania, Albania, India
Winter		Morocco, Bulgaria, Romania, Albania
Spring	Tuscany	Senegal, Romania, Albania, Morocco, Sri Lanka, India, Pakistan
Summer		Romania, Albania, Sri Lanka, India, Pakistan
Autumn		Romania, Albania, Sri Lanka, India, Pakistan
Winter		Senegal, Romania, Albania, Morocco, Sri Lanka
Spring	Campania	Romania, Albania, Ukraine, Moldavia, Pakistan, Central Africa
Summer		Romania, Albania, Ukraine, Moldavia, India, Pakistan, Central Africa
Autumn		Romania, Albania, Ukraine, Moldavia, India, Pakistan, Central Africa
Winter		Romania, Bulgaria, India, Albania
Spring	Province of Potenza	Missing
Summer		Romania, Burkina Faso, Tunisia, Bulgaria
Autumn		Romania, Burkina Faso, Tunisia, Bulgaria
Winter		Missing
Spring	Puglia	Albania, Romania, Bulgaria
Summer		Albania, Romania, Bulgaria, Nigeria, Ghana, Burkina Faso, Sudan, Morocco, Tunisia
Autumn		Albania, Romania, Bulgaria.
Winter		Albania, Romania, Bulgaria
Spring	Calabria	Morocco, Sudan, Senegal, Burkina Faso, Romanians, Bulgarians, Albanians
Summer		Romanians, Bulgarians, Albanians.
Autumn		Morocco, Sudan, Senegal, Burkina Faso, Ghana, Romanians, Bulgarians, Albanians.

Winter		Morocco, Sudan, Senegal, Burkina Faso, Romanians, Bulgarians, Albanians
Spring	Sicily	Bulgaria, Romania, Albania, Tunisia, Morocco, Turkey, Poland, Central Africa
Summer		Tunisia, Morocco, Central Africa.
Autumn		Tunisia, Morocco, Central Africa.
Winter		Bulgaria, Romania, Albania, Tunisia, Morocco, Turkey, Poland, Central Africa.

Source: FLAI-CGIL (2013)