Italy

National report on the labour market position of vulnerable groups

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National report on the labour market position of vulnerable groups in Italy


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The views expressed in this report are the sole responsibility of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the views of European Commission.

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Introduction

This report is dedicated to the analysis of the impact of the crisis (2007-2008) on the Italian labour market. Given the peculiarities of the Italian labour market we included in the analysis - besides the four main categories of vulnerable groups suggested in the research design – women and their working status (employed, unemployed,...). The structural and deeply rooted gender inequalities in the Italian labour market make this a necessary perspective to be considered. Our analysis is based on Eurostat data and specific relevant data of the Italian National Institute of Statistics (ISTAT).

Considering that the Italian context is characterized by strong dualism between insiders and outsiders and by wide territorial differences in socio-economic conditions and policy implementation, we also included a territorialized view of the trends reported.

National data is complemented by a first analysis of 21 interviews with relevant stakeholders (experts, decision makers, vulnerable groups representatives) from the main metropolitan areas of North, Centre and South (Milan, Rome, Naples) and from other regional contexts (Toscana and Marche regions). These interviews guided our analysis and interpretation of the statistical data.

The economic downturn hit the Italian context substantially worsening an already unbalanced, divided and fragmented labour market. All the vulnerable groups show negative trends in almost all indicators. National and local active and passive labour market policies seem to be effective only partially and in a very scattered pattern, depending on the local contexts.

A short discussion about the opportunity to focus on social resilience as a resource for the resolution of labour market shocks and transformations is provided as additional food for thoughts.
1. The Italian context: a synthetic view

1.1 Political structure

Italy is a parliamentary democratic republic, established in 1946 and among the founding members of EU, having signed in 1952 the first European agreements (EDC, ECSC). In the Italian Constitution, labour has a central place starting from the article n. 1 that says “Italy is a Democratic Republic founded on work” and the article n. 4 that says: “The Republic recognizes the right of all citizens to work and promotes those conditions which render this right effective. Every citizen has the duty, according to personal potential and individual choice, to perform an activity or a function that contributes to the material or spiritual progress of society”\(^1\). Labour market regulation have been centralized by the State with national laws and a national network of hiring offices that provided job offers to which employers where obliged to rely on by law 264 of 1949. The Law 230 of 1962 introduced a general frame for temporary contracts and in 1969 where abolished the norms that permitted to have different costs of labour depending on territorial zones (“gabbie salariali). During a season of social conflicts on labour and social rights, Italy issued the “Statuto dei Lavoratori”, law 300/1970, a regulation that guaranteed a wide range of universal and egalitarian rights and Trade Union representation to workers still within the State centred model. During the ‘90 The convergence criteria of Maastricht and the implementation of Economic and Monetary Union has inspired a turn in the labour market organization fostering pacts between the government and the social partners, aimed at making the country fit for the single currency target. One important effect of the Pact signed in Italy in 1993 (Accordo sul costo del lavoro – Cost of Labour Agreement) was an increased co-operation in the fight against inflation and the public deficit. Co-operation increased not only between the unions and the employers’ organizations, but also among the three major national unions (CGIL, CISL, UIL) that had ideological roots in the main political ideologies of the XX century (communism, liberalism, social-democracy). In Italy the level of co-ordination of the labour market was increased (Boeri et al. 2000). One form of co-ordination consists in the so-called “Social Pacts”, which are agreements, usually tripartite, establishing norms to control and moderate the wage policy. In 1997 the first important package of reforms (Law 196/97 “Pacchetto Treu”) was introduced in order to increase the flexibility of labour market. After few years with the reform of the Chapter V of the Constitution in 2001 (LC 03/2001), important governmental powers have been transferred to Regions and local governments that can promulgate regional laws and rule on a wide range of domains including welfare and labour market regulation and also the employment and hiring legislation went under reform. Active labour policies and private intermediation where introduced while local employment offices started to implement job offer and request matching policies with new partnerships with private employers (Sestito 2006). Since then the deep conflicts within the national political system had a regional and local translation that generated institutional tensions among territorial levels. This conflictive relationship between levels of government has important effects in term of

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1 http://wwwext.comune.fi.it/costituzione/inglese.pdf
institutional performances as it generates an high number of legal disputes between local powers and national institutions, lack of coordination, fragmentation of welfare provision on territorial bases (Kazepov, Barberis 2013) and high public spending with low efficiency in services provided (Cotta, Verzicchelli 2008).

The Italian political system has been described throughout the 20th century as a formal democracy ruled by major political parties with origins in the two main ideological blocks of the century, the former Cristian Democratic Party and the Communist Party that from different political principles shared a model of labour relationships based on the national State (Pasquino 2002). At the turn of the 20th century, while a major corruption scandal (so called “Tangentopoli”) changed the balance of powers, the political system changed to a negotiated bi-polarism (Vardaro 1998) with the addition of new separatist, populist and post-communist parties and labour relationships changed toward a neoliberal vision of labour market that put under scrutiny the egalitarian and universalistic principles of the “Statuto dei Lavoratori” and promoted a more market oriented vision. In the ’90 the Italian labour representation moved toward a scheme of coordination and negotiation of interests between employers, the State and the most representative trade unions called “neo-concertazione” (Capo 1998, Regalia 1997, Trigilia 1980, 2009) Today the Italian political relationships are still characterized by a high level of conflict and by a growing degree of corruption that recently raised serious concerns in the Home Affairs division of European Commission2. The public debate on labour is dominated by the discussion on the controversial effects of neoliberal labour reforms on the employment rates, wage levels and job quality in the context of the financial crisis.

1.2 Population size

The actual Italian population is 59.901.141. According to the National Institute of Statistics (ISTAT 2013) the North has the largest share of population: 27.382.585 (45,9%), the South has 20.611.144 (34,5%) while the Centre just 11.681.498 (19,6%). Amongst them between 2011 and 2012 the 30,1% of families were formed by singles and the trend is increasing. Couples with children are the 53,8% while couples without children are 30,8% and single parents with children are 15,3%, couples with children are decreasing. In 2013 foreign citizens in Italy where 4.370.317, i.e. 7,4 % of the whole population with important differences between regions, metropolitan and rural areas. According to the National Institute of Statistics immigration in the country is slowing down and a growing number of national and foreign individuals in working age are emigrating abroad. In 2012, 351,000 people immigrated to Italy, compared to 386,000 people who immigrated in 2011. The decline in immigration is mainly due to the decrease of foreign immigrants (from 354,000 in 2011 to 321,000 in 2012). During 2012, 106,000 emigrants left Italy, a number higher than the one of the previous year, when 82,000 people emigrated. The fall in immigration and the rise of emigration drove a decrease in net migration (+245,000 in 2012, compared to +303,000 in the previous year). The increase in emigration is mainly due to the rise in the number of

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national emigrants (from 50,000 in 2011 to 68,000 in 2012). In the same year, also the number of foreign emigrants shows an increase from 32,000 to 38,000. Germany, Switzerland, United Kingdom and France were the top countries for emigration of Italian nationals in 2012. According to ISTAT more than 25% of the over 24 years old nationals who emigrated (53,000) were graduated\(^3\). The internal migrations both of nationals and foreign citizens follow the historically established trend from south to the north of the Italian peninsula except for specialized segments of labour force and for specific local labour market dynamics (Bonifazi et al. 2012). The indigenous population, as in the rest of Europe, is rapidly ageing, thus putting a growing pressure on the welfare and labour market demands. In 2012 according to ISTAT there were 12,3 million Italians over 65 years old, with an ageing rate\(^4\) of 147,2 , second only to Germany (152) and over the EU27 average of 112. From 2002 to 2012 the improvement has been relevant by 15,8 points. According to recent available data of OECD, life expectancy in Italy was in 2011 – still one of the highest of the EU, with an average value of 79.1 years just after Sweden and Malta (OECD 2014)\(^5\).

1.3 Welfare system

According to Esping-Andersen (1990) Italy should be considered a corporatist regime characterized by a relevant share of social rights allocated on the basis of contributory records. This implies a divide between insiders and outsiders of the labour market and a segmented landscape of rights that produces specific gender relations. Critics to Esping-Andersen's regime typology put the Italian Welfare System within the wider frame of the Southern European Welfare Regime (Ferrera, 1996; Andreotti et al. 2001; Leibfried 1992; Gallie, Paugam 2000) characterized by a specific role of the family and a very unbalanced social expenditure (e.g. high share of pensions, rudimental last safety net, very low family allowances etc.). As Kazepov and Barberis (2013) maintain, this model has been transformed in a multilevel and territorially fragmented model, that after the financial crisis has been suffering growing budgetary constraints and deficit spending that in the present are undermining its already partial effectiveness and weak universality. The financial crisis had a concrete impact on the national social context that is visible in the rising rates of social distress and inequality. In this respect Immervoll and Richardson (2013) also showed how the economic downturn of 2007/8 had an impact on labour income distribution on the more weak households in Italy. Income distribution has to be summed to other crucial social stress indicators: Italy has a high GINI\(^6\) (0,34 in 2012) and material deprivation rates rising with a strong geographical divide that shows a general worsening of the quality of life in the country as a whole, with a dramatic rise of all indicators of socio-economic stress in the southern regions as will be shown in section 2.

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4 The ageing rate is calculated with a fraction between the over 65 percent of the population and the under 15. Source ISTAT 2013 calculated on 2011 data collection.
5 Report available online at http://goo.gl/KfQ4LS
6 OECD Factbook 2012. Available at http://www.oecd-ilibrary.org

1.4 The structural imbalances of the Italian Labour market

The Italian labour market unlike most European labour markets is characterized by a series of structural imbalances that enhance the vulnerability of the categories described in this report.

a) Gender imbalance
   According to ISTAT female’s unemployment rate (12,8% in second half 2013) is higher than males’ rate (11,5%). Considering the activation rates, the gender difference becomes even clearer: the total activation rate for population aged 15-64 for the same period is 63.4%, but it results from a rate of 73.4 % for men and 53.6% for women (ISTAT RFL 2014). The traditional family model with male breadwinner and care giver housewife did not totally disappear, but changed substantially in the last forty years because of a growing participation of women to the labour market even though access to the labour market results particularly difficult for young and elderly women (Samek Lodovici et al. 2013).

b) High youth unemployment
   In 2013 Youth unemployment rate (15-24 years) has been worsening since 2007 when it was 19,4 to 2012 when it reached 38,3% with a rise of 18,9 (OECD 2014). Italy shares with Spain, Greece and Croatia the highest unemployment rates for young people since the eighties, which further increased after 2008. This picture is made even more dramatic by the fact that NEETs present in Italy (2012) the highest figures (23,9%) in Europe after Bulgaria (24,7%) and Greece (27,4%) peaking close to one out of four not in employment, education or training. The trend is worrying and goes upwards (+4,6% since 2008) (Eurostat, 2014).

c) Strong territorial inequalities
   Italy is characterized by a strong territorial differentiation: low employment, high unemployment and a high share of young defined as “Neet” are mainly concentrated in the Southern regions. This is an historical gap never addressed with efficient and effective policies (Kazepov 2009).

d) High segmentation and precarization
   According to many researches, the mix of different regimes of employment protection and the liberalization of atypical and temporary contracts has increased a strong segmentation of the labour market (Boeri, Garibaldi 2007; Contini, Trivellato 2005; Lucidi, Raitano 2009) that is allocating the worst jobs to the most vulnerable categories, especially young and women, creating widespread effects of scarring and precarization (Samek Lodovici 2013, Fumagalli 2013).

In 2012 the European Commission recommended Italy to “Adopt the labour market reform as a priority to tackle the segmentation of the labour market and establish an integrated unemployment benefit scheme” (European
Commission, 2012). During the financial crisis started in 2008 the Italian labour market – as in all the EU15 countries – had a strong loss of workplaces in the industrial sector. Form our analysis and also from many of the interviews, appears how the economic downturn had a two-step slowdown: the first step was characterized by a strong restructuring in the more developed sectors of the economy\(^8\). The second step was characterized by a strong recession and fall of households’ purchasing power and a new fall of Gross Domestic Product (Fig.1.1.). Reyneri and Pintaldi with an analysis on official datasets (2013: 84) estimate that from 2008 to 2013 Italy lost the 8% of employment in industry. Other sectors which suffered strong losses are construction, Public Administration and high skilled services such as education and added value services. At the same time, even if the final balance has been negative, the Italian labour market saw job creation in low-skilled jobs such as personal and family services, low skilled services in healthcare and commerce, mostly in the private sector. Reyneri and Pintaldi show also how the unstable jobs stock is not growing but is growing the turn-over within this limited stock, which means an increased turnover on fewer jobs and smaller earnings for each worker (2013:85). That can partly explain the social perception of an increased precariousness of jobs and the relatively low rate of official total unemployment (Fig 1.2.). In fact a large stock of workers is still reported outside of the official unemployment rate because of short term contract and of several passive welfare measures that will gradually expire as we'll see below.

\(^8\) Interview A1_1, A1_3
Fig. 1.1. The temporality of economic downturn in Italy 2002-2012

Source: Own calculations on Eurostat 2014:422.

Legend:
1) Labour Productivity
2) Real GDP
3) Total Employment

Fig. 1.2. Italy: material deprivation index 2004 – 2012 by geographical macro areas

Source: Own calculation on ISTAT 2014 http://goo.gl/QQplz0 Accessed: 01/04/2014

Legend:
1) North 2) Center 3) South 4) Italy
2. Overall view of the position of vulnerable groups in Italy (2000-2013)

In Italy the economic downturn caused by the financial crisis of 2008 hit more the northern and central regions where the majority of intensive industrial production where located. Southern regions suffered also from a loss of jobs but at less, also due to the smaller share of population employed in the formal economy. The southern regions saw instead a new increase of poverty rates that is widening the already existing gap. Data shows an increase of unemployment for every vulnerable category on the Italian labour market from 2008 to present days with an inversion of the positive trends characterizing the period from 2000 to 2007. Data show that also from 2011 onwards the Italian labour market for vulnerable groups experienced a second shock and downturn showing a peak in job losses due to a second recessive phase of the crisis that has been especially severe in southern European countries (Fig.2.2) and a sustained growth of long term unemployment (Fig.2.4). This phase has been characterized by economic recession, lowest purchase power and consumption in large social groups, and the lack of effective labour market and fiscal reforms as well as by the sustained fall of GDP (Fig. 2.1). This second job loss phase is particularly true for young from 15 to 35 and over 50 and disabled (Fig. 2.2). The quality of employment also is worsening with temporary and part-time jobs as the almost only option for young workers and women (Fig. 2.6) and, as noted before, activity rates of young workers are not improving while older workers (55-64) remain on the labour market for longer due to limited turnover and later retirement schemes introduced in the past ten years mainly for fiscal consolidation reasons (Figg. 2.3, 2.5).
Fig. 2.1. Italy: Social impact of economic crisis 2006-2012

![Graph showing social impact of economic crisis 2006-2012]


Legend:
1) Very low work intensity households (18-59)
2) In-work at-risk-of poverty rate (% of persons employed)
3) Severe Material Deprivation (% of Children population)
4) Unemployment rate (% labour force)
5) Real GDP

Fig. 2.2. Italy: Unemployment data for vulnerable groups from 2000 to 2013.

![Graph showing unemployment data for vulnerable groups from 2000 to 2013]


Legend:
1) Italy_15-24  2) Italy_Foreigners  3) Italy_Females  4) Italy_55-64
Fig. 2.3. Italy: Employment rate


Legend:
1) Eu27_Total_15-64 2) Italy_15-64 3) Italy_Females 4) Italy_55-64 5) Italy_15-24

Fig. 2.4. Italy: Long-term unemployment


Legend:
1) Italy_Females 2) Italy_55-64 3) Italy_Total_15-64 4) Italy_15-24 5) Eu27_Total__15-64 6) Italy_Foreigners
Fig. 2.5. Italy: Inactivity rate


Legend:
1) Italy_55-64  2) Italy_15-24  3) Italy_Females  4) Italy_Total_15-64  5) Eu27_Total__15-64

Fig. 2.6. Italy: Temporary employment

Fig. 2.7. Italy: part-time employment


Legend:
1) Italy_Females
2) Eu27_Total_15-64
3 Italy_Foreigners
4) Italy_15-24
5) Italy_Total_15-64
6) Italy_55-64
2.1. Social impact of labour market shocks

The Italian government with the “Direzione Generale per le Politiche dei Servizi per il Lavoro” (DG Labour Policy) releases every three months a report on the number of labour contracts opened and closed in Italy. This dataset is crucial to understand the real dynamics of the labour market. The view through standard unemployment data can be partly misleading. The report of III trimester 2013 states that 70% of contracts registered has been fixed-term (1.685.498 units), the 15,4% open-end contracts (367.707 units) and 6,4% project based contracts (152.651 units). Apprenticeship contracts have been 57.843 (2,4%). In the same period 1.867.917 workers have been hired with an average of 1,28 contract each that means that many workers have been hired and dismissed more times in the same trimester (Ministero del Lavoro 2013). That means that jobs are decreasing in absolute numbers and are distributed in a very fragmented way to an even decreasing number of people. The labour market scenario in Italy needs to be completed by data on the risk of poverty and exclusion and its rata are more significant of labour market conditions if considered among the working population (Fig. 2.8). According to the Employment and Social Developments in Europe report (2013: 478) the situation of the population in working age was the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tab. 2.8. Risk of poverty and working poor in Italy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>At-risk-of-poverty or exclusion (% of Working age population)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At-risk-of-poverty (% of Working age population)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Severe Material Deprivation (% of Working age population)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very low work intensity (18-59)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In-work at-risk-of poverty rate (% of persons employed)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impact of social transfers (excl. pensions) in reducing Poverty rate (18-64) (%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.2. Categories overview

In this section we present a series of graphics presenting the main result of the analysis of Eurostat data (lfsa_urgan series from 2000 to 2013, when data are available) to explain the labour market position of the selected vulnerable groups in the national context. As we argument more in detail in section n. 3 we decided to add women as a fifth vulnerable group in the Italian labour market. For each set of data we present also the Eu27 Total average data in order to have a benchmark value for the comparison. Each image will be followed by a short description and analysis.

**Fig. 2.9. Youth (15-24) unemployment from 2000 to 2013**


Legend:
1) Italy_15-24
2) Eu27_15-24
3) Italy_Total
4) Eu27_Total

Unemployment for young people saw a positive trend at the beginning of 2000s also because of liberalization of labour contracts that opened a strong flexibility in labour market entrance. The rising numbers of unemployment just after the 2008 crisis suggest that because of fixed term jobs, young workers where amongs the first to be left out in order to reduce management costs by cutting on labour.
After a positive trend the female unemployment started to rise again at the end of 2007 and saw a second peak in 2011, when we identify a second shock for the Italian labour market, following the same trend of the total unemployment rates. The Italian women score, from the 2000 remained worse than the European average and lower that the men score for the same groups of age as we’ll see in the following section 3.
Fig. 2.11. Foreigners unemployed from 2005 to 2013


Legend:
1) Eu27_Foreign country
2) Italy_Foreign country
3) Italy_total
4) Eu27_total

Eurostat data series for the citizens of foreign origins are available only from 2005, nevertheless we can notice that as for other vulnerable groups the unemployment rates are growing after 2007 and after 2011. They remain much higher than the Italian average but under the European one, reflecting that migrant workers in Italy are in a lower social condition compared with the Italian colleagues within the labour market but still are an important segment of the total workforce.
Unemployment rate for elderly workers have been affected by the economic crisis and registered a sensible rise after 2008. It still remains lowest that the Eu27 average. The relevance of this data in order to assess the labour market position of elderly workers has to be evaluated with other data as other shock absorbers and passive measures that still limit the official unemployment for this segment of the labour market. According to our analysis and to the interviews reported, if the economic trend will continue to be negative, a larger share of elderly workers risk to be expelled by the labour market.
Data on disabled workers are not available on Eurostat and in the Italian statistic services (ISTAT, INPS, ISFOL) are not harmonized in a single database. Anyway from the available data the main characteristic of labour market position of disabled workers is the very low employment rate compared to the general population. Already in 2005 (ISTAT 2009: 102), the rate of employment of disabled workers was of 18% against the 54% of general employees. However the main data confirmed by interviews is that unemployment is on the rise and that the crisis of 2008 had negative effects on an already very fragmented and complex labour market position.
2.3 Other relevant national and sub-national indicators

The Italian National Statistic Office issued together with the standard indicators, the BES (Benessere Equo e Sostenibile) that stands for “sustainable and fair well-being”, based on a selection of data, aimed at providing evidence of well-being, equity and sustainability indicators. Even though available data don’t cover the whole 2000-2013 period, they can give a picture of the effects of financial crisis on the labour market in Italy. The following data shows the percentage of labour forces in working age who are considered inactive because have stopped to perform a research action for a job in the previous month. That share of population results unaccountable for standard employment statistics but accounts for a widespread difficulty in finding and maintaining a standard employment. We can notice how the territorial divide influences the effects of crisis starting from 2008, the outcomes are negative for all the territorial segments that are marked by a strong gap notwithstanding a slight recovery occurred in 2005-2006. The outstanding bad performance of the labour market in the South of Italy account for the wider role of informal economy in supporting the household income. Informal economy acts as a substitute or a complement of formal labour income in a complex context where a large share of the shadow economy is controlled by criminal organizations with negative effects for economic growth and income distribution (Pinotti 2012).

**Fig. 2.14. Potential labour forces (unemployed + inactive)**


Legend:
1) North
2) Center
3) South
4) Italy

3.1. The disabled in the labour market: a blurred picture

Describing the national situation of disabled workers in the period 2000-2013 is a difficult task that cannot rely on a single harmonized database. Eurostat data are not available for disabled workers in Italy. National data are based on ISFOL and ISTAT data. Assessing the position of disabled on the labour market is complex because disability itself is not a simple concept and its statistical description is multifactorial. Integrated data on disability and work exist in Italy only from 2005 onwards. According to WHO Global Report on Disability (2011), “disability is complex, dynamic, multidimensional, and contested”. Facing such complexity, WHO adopted the recent International Classification of Functioning, Disability and Health (ICF) in defining, understanding and measuring disability, emphasizing environmental factors in creating disability, instead of the previous International Classification of Impairments, Disabilities, and Handicaps (ICIDH). As far as the labour market relations are considered, we find a definition of disability in the Convention No. 159 of the International Labour Organization (1983, art. 1.1): “the term ‘disabled person’ means an individual whose prospects of securing, retaining and advancing in suitable employment are substantially reduced as a result of a duly recognized physical or mental impairment”.

The labour market position of disabled workers in Italy from 2000 to 2007 was mainly regulated by the law 68 of 1999 that defined rules for hiring disabled workers both in public administration and private firms and according to different sectors and to the size of each enterprise. The law regulates and promotes employment of persons with disabilities and it’s based on the concept of “targeted employment”, so that the work integration of disabled people is based on quotas of compulsory hiring, but also on a careful assessment of their residual ability, on providing, where necessary, training courses, internship and business mentoring, and on special three sided employment contracts. Access to work can occur in three main ways:
1)Within the public sector, with dedicated hiring mostly in service jobs in national and local institutions,
2)Within a private enterprise with a subsidized job (by the State or local government) foreseeing fiscal discounts or social provisions to cover part or the whole salary,
3) Within a social cooperative, that have to hire at least the 30% of the workforce among vulnerable groups of workers.


The implementation of framework law 68/1999 was quite slow and fragmented both

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9 Cfr the information project on disability of ISTAT: www.disabilitaincifre.it
in the strategies put in place and in the expected outcomes. This is partly due to the fact that implementation was delegated to Regions and local governments. The law was linked also to the reform process of the Italian labour market, which has been occurring since 1997. One of its purposes was to delegate to the Regions the management of the labour market. The main consequence of this has been the transfer to the Provinces of public employment services (the current employment offices) and training so that both the definition and the implementation of measures to promote the integration of people with disabilities in the labour market are run by regional and provincial administrations. According to ISTAT in 2002 disabled activity rates were in Italy 19,3%, while the overall activity rate 55,8%. Unemployment was 9,9% against the 8,7% of people without disabilities. Within this landscape, the labour conditions of disabled people were very different amongst regions, following the north-south divide that affects all categories of workers.

**Fig. 3.1. Workers with disabilities inscribed to the Public Employment Service (2002-2011, data for main geogr. areas and Women)**

Source: INPS 2012 [http://goo.gl/za0jFY](http://goo.gl/za0jFY)

**Legend:**
1) Total  
2) South  
3) Centre  
4) North  
5) Women

**3.2. Migrants in the labour market, between segregation and resourcefulness**

The workers from foreign background, with different migratory status, are a structural feature of Italian labour market. Migration and its role in capitalist labour market resources allocation are well explored and documented (Mezzadra, Ricciardi 2013). The foreign-born population in EU15 grew by ten million people between 1991 and
2006. 57% of those immigrants lived in three states: Spain, Italy, Greece and Portugal, which only account for just over 32% of the total EU15 population. Until the 2008 crisis, the risk of unemployment for immigrants was only slightly greater than that (fast declining) for native-born workers. Migrant labour have been readily absorbed by a demand for cheap labour – initially irregular and then regular – geared largely to very low-skilled occupations, demanded by the main employers of migrant labour: low-tech sectors and families for care work. However, many immigrant are highly educated, are subject to severe professional and social downgrading. (Heath and Cheung 2007, Reyneri, Fullin 2009). Their positions are very different according to the diversity of the Italian socio-economic organization. Although migrants have important resources that can make this category more resilient in terms of employment rates (Italia Lavoro 2011) as geographical mobility and adaptability, they are nevertheless a vulnerable group, especially when they face racial and economic discrimination because of national origins and cultural background (Allasino et al. 2004). The Italian national law on immigration based on the repressive reform “Bossi-Fini” of 2002 and the following norms of “Pacchetto Sicurezza” (literally “security package”) of 2008 established a strong link between permit to stay (“permesso di soggiorno”) and labour contract. The main effect of this legal device has been the widening of areas of informal and illegal labour for migrants and an increased vulnerability of immigrant workers (Staid 2011). Caritas yearly report (2011) underlines how migrant labour is mainly confined in a “secondary” and strongly ethnicized market (Curcio 2011). Moreover migrant labour is widely employed in the black and grey labour market that overall in Italy accounts – according to CENSIS (2011) – for the 12,3% of the whole labour force, with a share of 37,1% in agriculture and fishery (Pelos 2013). Migrants employed in this sectors as well as in construction work (Perrotta 2011, Staid 2011, Rizzo 2011) are highly vulnerable and exposed a potentially very high level of vulnerable to exploitation practices that often become forms of modern slavery in the case of workers employed in agriculture in southern Italy (Avallone 2012).
Fig. 3.2. Migrant workers temporary employees as percentage of the total number of employees

Source: Eurostat 2014  (Data for Foreign country available in Italy only from 2005)

Legend:
1) Italy_Foreigners  2) Eu27_Foreigners  3) Italy_Total_15-64  4) Eu27_Total__15-64

Fig. 3.3. Foreigner workers and total employment rates (%), 2000-2013

Source Eurostat 2014 Access: 20/04/2014

Legend:
1) Italy_Foreigners  2) Eu27_Foreigners  3) Italy_Total_15-64  4) Eu27_Total__15-64
3.3 The youth: a generation at risk.

Youth in Italy can be defined a vulnerable group because of its bad labour market indicators. Its definition as a specific age cohort have been extended up to 29 according to various researchers and official institutions because of the peculiar socio-economic structure of the Italian family and the role that young and young adults play in it (Ministero del Lavoro e delle Politiche Sociali 2011, Villa 2011). In fact Italian society is characterized by the important role played by the family as an informal welfare provider even if Italian family composition has changed toward more individual and single parent family (De Luigi, Rizza, Santangelo, 2012). Relevant from this point of view is the percentage of young people, from 15 to 29 years of age, still living with the family and classified as NEET10. This high rate is due to the fact that the family represents the last – and in many cases only – source of welfare able to provide basic living conditions to young people below the age of 30. They are underemployed and never found a full-time job to get economic independence. Young people’s access to the labour market has been widened by reforms aiming at flexibilization, but their position has remained fragile and precarious as no social security and/or job development active policies do accompany this process. The I.Stat national data collection considers amongst young workers people from 15 up to 34 years old. Youth unemployment rates always are considered more sensitive to the economic cycle and can be considered as a proxy of labour market resilience because in phases of economic downturn young workers have more difficulties in getting a job and they tend to lose it before older workers because of the higher share of temporary contracts. That is described also by employment rates for young people that started to rise at the beginning of 2000 also because of the flexibilization of the labour market and then fell down after 2008 (Fig. 3.6, Fig. 3.7). As an area director from Banca d’Italia states: “Before crisis in Italy there has been an effort of labour market reforms with the introduction of flexibility especially with measures on the edges: atypical contracts and short time contracts. That brought to a rise in employment but had the side effect, also because of the very nature of these measures, a rise in precarization and a rise of the dual character of the market between those who had precarious and short term contracts and those who still had the old contracts”11. That description is confirmed by major data trends that show how activity rates and employment of young had an improvement in absolute number of contracts with the introduction of flexibility measures until 2007 when the economic downturn exposed the precarity of youth employment schemes.

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10 In 2012, 6.818.152 families in Italy counted among them at least one young person between 15 and 29 that can be described as NEET. The percentage of young classified as NEET between age of 15 and 29 was the 23,9% in 2012. (ISTAT 2014)

11 Interview A1_3
Fig. 3.4. Youth employment (15-24) in Italy


Legend
1) Italy_15-24
2) Eu27_15-24
3) Italy_Total_15-64
4) Eu27_Total__15-64

Fig. 3.5 Temporary young (15-24) employees as a percentage of the total number


Legend:
1) Italy_15-24
2) Eu27_15-24
3) Italy_Total_15-64
4) Eu27_Total__15-64
3.4 The position of elderly workers: not only insiders

According to official statistics, unemployment and activity rates where positive for over 55 until 2007, where the trend started to worsen and vulnerability to increase. Nevertheless according to older workers organizations because of re-structuring policies of labour market started by transnational firms, age barrier and age discriminations have been growing together with the precarization of labour market even from the end of '90. The existing Italian Law Decree 216/2003 is the translation of the EU directive 2000/78/CE that forbids discrimination on access to work, retribution and condition of work according to age. But older workers organizations claim that because of re-structuring of labour market started by transnational firms, an age barrier and age discrimination have been growing together with the precarization of labour market. From 2003 started to emerge in Italy, associations of workers over 40 that in the first phase come out from white collar jobs especially in the highly industrialized cities of Milan and Turin. In 2003 in Milan was founded ATDAL during a congress with an explicit title “too young for pension and too old for work”, other associations and growing social concern for the elderly workers grew. Until the economic crisis of 2007, the early retirement of workers from labour market with pre-pensioning schemes was seen as an option. The first assessments of the risk concerning this category on the labour market where made by research by the Senate of the Republic (Senato 2005) and other researches mostly based on the industrial post-fordist transition in northern Italy (Brivio, Quarta 2008). Then especially after 2008 crisis and financial austerity measures welfare reforms pointed more to the extension of labour age and limitations to the access to pensions for workers under 65. In Italy the Fornero reform (Law 92/2012) put more restriction on early pensions together with fiscal incentives for hiring over 50 and women.

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12 The most representative association that advocate for the rights of workers over 40 that have been dropped out of the labour market in Italy are ATDAL, ALP Over 40, Lavoro Over 40.
Fig. 3.6. Long term unemployment rate for 55-64 elderly workers in Italy and Eu27


Legend
1) Italy_55-64
2) Eu27_55-64
3. 5 Women: gender gap and interrupted positive trends

As the effects of the financial crisis become more evident in the social fabric of European countries also the concept of vulnerability must be reconsidered. We have chosen to include women among the vulnerable categories because of the serious differences that characterize them compared to other women in most European countries. While overall employment and activity rates have been on the rise since the 1970s a first vulnerability indicator are lower salaries and the higher share of involuntary part-time jobs. In 2011 the wage gap had been growing from the 4,4% of 2006 to 5,8% in the last data available. In the private sector this difference was up to 16,7% while in the public sector 3,8%. In the cohort 35-44 we find the higher gap of 16,7% in 2011(SSN 2013:13). In the European Union, between 2000 and 2013, even with the effects of financial crisis women have increased their activity and employment rates. According to the Labour Market Development Report (2013: 34), the related reduction of the employment gap may partly prove a temporary phenomenon of substitution of male work by precarious female work in one-income households. Nevertheless the gap between male and female employment is more than 15 points. Job quality is worsening for women as well, and social pressure of male unemployment brings women in the market as “substitutes”. But in Italy where women have been historically a minority in the labour market here we still find the lowest rate of activity below 40% in the southern Italy. In Italy, women’s activity rate – after thirty years of continuous improvement – had a stop in 2004. From 2008 the rate of involuntary part-time contracts for women raised (Reyneri, Pintaldi 2013). Women are also accounted to be more vulnerable in relation to informal employment (ILO 2010). Due to the crisis it is again on the rise in Italy, with an estimated average 2,4 million workers, accounting for the 10,5% of the total employment (Pelos 2013). This increase of informal employment takes place also outside the Southern regions where it is historically located. However, the vulnerability of woman on the labour market in Italy has to be evaluated also against their peculiar cultural role. According to feminist analysis of the labour market this role has been characterised by the “double presence” in the household and in the labour market (Balbo et al. 1978). The 2008 financial crisis has had a double impact on women’s employment both directly on the workplaces and indirectly with the effects of the austerity cuts in welfare spending. According to a feminist activist and expert of women labour market: “between 2008 and 2012, with the economic measures taken by the government, the familist model of welfare has been transformed in a national policy through the cut of 78,7% of the funding of social policies [...], in particular the fund for the disabled, the family policies fund, the youth policies fund, the social inclusion fund, those funds have been cut by the 80%. So these cuts have given back to families the responsibility for welfare [...] in the first two years of the crisis, 2008-2010, men lost job more than women, because the crisis hit first the manufacturing sector typically employing men, but later the crisis begun to hit hard also women. In the meanwhile, however, basic social services have been cut.”13 The Italian National Fund for Social Politics, distributed between central and local authorities have been cut from the overall 1.420,60 millions of euro of 2009

13 Interview B1_2
to the 343,8 of 2013 according to official data\(^4\). From this point of view the impact of the financial crisis on women must be assessed analysing the labour market in a wider social perspective. An expert academic in the field states: “The gender gap reduced because male’s status worsened more than female’s one, not because the situation improved. Worsening socio-economic conditions, and the internal demand, will have effects on demand for services. So it is possible that the negative effects would strike female employment in the long run as well. Indeed, decreasing incomes and austerity measures based on social spending for services and public sector where female employment is concentrated will decrease. So while at the beginning of the crisis men employed in industry, construction, financial services have been more penalized now it comes to women”\(^5\). Then confirms the critical analysis raised by interview B1_2: “For women, vulnerability has always been there. With the crisis that hit especially men, the risk is that policies in favour of female employment will be abandoned. Women’s position risks to be weakened even more by cuts in public budget and public services that bring back on women shoulder’s the care work inside the family”\(^6\). An especially fragile and vulnerable condition is visible at the crossroads of multiple vulnerable identities. As stated in the EU Commission Report Starting fragile: gender differences in the youth labour market (EU DG JUSTICE 2013:44): “In all Member States young women are more likely to be NEET – inactive. In addition, when they have a job, they are more likely to hold a part-time and/or temporary position. This brings about lower wages than their male counterpart. There are, however, large country differences, with the labour market position of young women particularly negative in southern and eastern European countries, suggesting the importance of the national regulatory and policy regime, besides the overall economic conditions, in affecting labour market risks and gender differences since the early stages of labour market participation”. Women from immigrant background are central in many migratory strategies but often suffer double discrimination although their activity rate is growing and is higher than those of the local ones also because of their younger average age (Zanfrini 2004, DG JUSTICE 2013:42). Italian and immigrant women jobs are often linked to family care work that is almost completely delegated to immigrant women. As Parente (2012:7) maintains: “we can say that if participation of Italian women to the labour market has created demand for labour of foreign women, on the other side it has become strongly dependent on it. The domestic waged labour of immigrant women, permits as is known (Banca d’Italia 2010) a rise in female employment”. In the context of the economic crisis the position of migrants on the labour market can be resumed by two aspects underlined by Carbone, Catarci and Fiorucci (2013:60): first immigrant employees earn 23% less than Italian ones for the same job (28% less in the case of women), second material deprivation of migrant households is dramatic with 23.4% in relative poverty status (against the 8.3% of Italian households)\(^7\). Finally if immigrant labour has been resilient to the crisis even improving employment numbers in some sectors as family care work, that happened at cost of a general worsening of labour quality and valour.

\(^4\) Source: own calculation on Ministry of Welfare and Labour – Italy. Available at http://goo.gl/V6ytk
\(^5\)Interview A2_2
\(^6\) Interview A2_2
\(^7\) Data from Caritas – Fondazione Zancan (2011:211)
Women in Italian labour market in 2000 experimented growing employment and activity rates according to official statistics, even if the divide between regions remained very high and the differences with other European countries were relevant. The vulnerability of women in the Italian labour market has been usually described as an “employment gap”: “Italy's employment gap vis-à-vis the euro area is largely driven by women with only six out of ten of them in work, Italy is the worst EU performer after Malta. Again, this is first and foremost the result of extremely low participation, especially among low-skilled women (a larger category in Italy than on average in the Euro area): fewer than one in two of them are at work or are seeking a job. Parenthood also reduces the proportion of women in employment, the more the higher the number of children (and the lower their age). Interestingly, however, in Italy the employment rate among childless women of prime working age is by itself already low compared to that for the euro area average.” (Bardone L. 2010) As shown in the following graphic, employment rates of young women in Europe have seen a rise from 2003 that was more intense than those of males, also taking into account big territorial differences and gaps. That trend is clearly interrupted in 2008, when we can see a vertical fall of young people employment, even if the loss of jobs for young women is slower than those of males because they are usually employed in different sectors. On women we can see the superposition of several indicators of vulnerability, as in the case of young, migrant and Italian, women living in the southern regions of Italy (Plantenga, Remery, Samek Lodovici 2013)

**Fig. 3.7. Unemployment rates by gender in Italy and Eu 27 (19-35)**
Fig. 3.8. Gender gap and social impacts 2006-2012

Source: Own calculations on Eurostat 2014 Access 26/04/2014

Legend:
1) At-risk-of-poverty or exclusion (% of male population)
2) At-risk-of-poverty or exclusion (% of female population)
3) NEET (% of males aged 15-24)
4) NEET (% of females aged 15-24)

4.1 The impact of the financial crisis in Italy

The financial crisis that started in 2007 with the sub-prime loans crisis in the USA has affected European countries in various ways, kicking off a number of economic and fiscal policies. In particular, the Central European Bank (CEB) and the European Commission imposed to various European countries national fiscal consolidation policies. Private banks that have been risking a major breakdown because of the financial speculation and trade-offs, have received important recovery sums of public money by national states and by the EU. This expenditure has boosted the necessity of fiscal consolidation and – as a direct consequence have led to severe downsizing of national and European budgets. The downsizing of welfare state and the decline of economic growth have brought to macroeconomic recession that influenced in different ways the labour market both at local, national and European level (Planta 2010, 2013). The Italian economy experienced a general productivity slowdown. The main institutional reaction has been the implementation of austerity measures that have resulted in growing cuts to social spending and deterioration of almost all social indicators (Sbilanciamoci 2014). In Italy the first political measure was the decree 155 of 9th of October 2008 with which the State covered the financial losses of private banks with cuts to current State spending. With the constitutional law N.1 of April 20th 2012, a balanced budget amendment has been introduced in the National Constitution in line with the so called “Fiscal Compact” supported by the Central European Bank in the so called Fiscal Stability Treaty18. The resulting reduction of State capacity of intervention toward the more vulnerable segments of the labour market is having an impact on their current condition and on its level of resilience (Bigos et al. 2013).

4.2 Productivity slowdown

Travaglini and Saltari (2009) explain how the slowdown in labour productivity is at the root of the slowdown of the European economic growth in the decade 1995-2004. Using a simple labour market dynamic model, they show that the poor performance of the European economies can only be explained by the combination of two shocks: a) negative supply shock on the labour demand due to the deceleration of technological progress and b) a positive supply shock resulting from labour market reforms. With a critical stance toward the neoliberal agenda in the EU labour market, flexibilization and lower wages are seen as negative inputs for labour market productivity and resilience. This approach assumes that resilient labour market also have a link with structural policies, the Italian labour market shows that the low capacity of recovering from

18 More precisely the “Treaty on Stability, Coordination and Governance in the Economic and Monetary Union”, also referred to as TSCG. Available at http://goo.gl/UiwNpa
shocks can be interpreted in its structural limits. As OECD stated in 2012: “A first insight […] is that structural policies and institutions matter for labour market resilience. Not only do they moderate the labour market impact of economic shocks, they also mitigate the impact of changes in labour earnings on household disposable income.” (Bassanini, Vourc’h 2012:54). From the end of the ’90 to present, the Italian labour market, have been characterized by a process of precarization. This was due to the flexibilization of contracts, in particular for those in access the labour market. Law n. 196/1997 (the so called “Pacchetto Treu” following the minister’s name) was the first organic labour contracts reform, followed by Law n. 30/2003 (Legge Biagi) who designed a system characterized by a strong flexibility in accessing the labour market. In 2012, the main trade union CGIL described up to 46 types of contract available for hiring new workers, most of them temporary.19 Also the last reform defined by the Law n. 92/2012 (Riforma Fornero) did not succeed in creating any important recovery effect. The structure of the labour market, according to recent analysis, is still characterized by a strong dualism (Reyneri, Pintaldi 2013, Pelos 2013) and relevant differences between those that are still considered as “insiders”, with fordist labour contracts and welfare provisions and the “outsiders” that are distributes mostly among the vulnerable groups that have precarious, short term contracts with no or weak welfare protection (Madama, Jessoula, Graziano 2009) Balance of forces between insiders and outsiders is not clear although “deregulation in the use of fixed term contracts in dependent employment and the introduction of new forms of flexible work (temporary agency contracts, collaborations occasional work, etc.) have changed the Italian landscape of labour contracts and increased the incidence of atypical work.” (Murgia et al. 2012). More critical researches that don’t agree with the dualist approach, extend the category of precarity and the characteristics of the “outsiders” to almost all labour market forces (Fumagalli 2013). The argument is that precarity has curtailed in general the resources for social resilience: “Resilience has been hampered even though the economic dynamic was less negative than in the past. We noticed an overall down drift: those who had relatively stable contracts and entered a precarization because of restructuring and delocalization of those processes. Who had temporary or atypical contracts become unemployed or accepted informal black jobs. In a context in which the access to passive welfare measures or savings is very reduced the social situation of men and women caught in this process is worsening. Their capacity of reaction is lower now.”20

4.3 Exception becomes the rule: passive measures for the unemployed

Due to the lack of universal welfare the provisions for unemployment after the 2008 crisis were mainly passive measures directly supported by the State. Those measures keep workers formally in the labour market even though they don’t go to work. The State pays reduced salaries with financial transfers that are (at least potentially) in theory aimed to support enterprises for managing temporary crisis events. Under request of the trade unions and employers organization, the Ministry of Labour and Social Policies can activate the measure of “Cassa Integrazione Guadagni” (CIG in

19 http://goo.gl/knuqaO
20 Interview B1_3
Italian acronym). It is redundancy scheme aimed at prioritizing redundant workers when enterprises recover from temporary crises) and, the wage guarantee fund for temporary layoffs. Workers receive an average 80% of their salary in the form of compensation, but the amount paid is capped to 1,150 € max 21. Together with the standard CIG measure, there are also the CIGS (extraordinary measure) and CIGD (derogated) that are activated in case of prolonged crisis. After the expiration of CIG the last shock absorber is the so called “Mobility Insurance”, a benefit for collectively dismissed workers, waiting to be placed in other jobs (In Italian “Indennità di mobilità”). Then Solidarity Contracts are a second system to maintain jobs in small businesses and the craft sectors that do not have access to the CIG system. In this case bilateral bodies (Enti Bilaterali), which are managed jointly by the social partners (Employers representatives and Trade Unions), pay specific subsidies that can be integrated with unemployment benefit by workers in the event of a reduction or suspension in their working hours, with the contribution of the Employment Fund managed by the Italian Ministry of Labour and Social Policies. The use of this passive measure has been massive after 2008. Formally exceptional welfare instruments have become the main social shock absorbers of the Italian welfare system (Salvatore 2010). According to INPS data from 2005 to 2013 the use of passive welfare in the various form (CIG, CIGS, CIGD) and the unemployment benefit (Mini-ASPI, ASPI22) has increased sharply as shown in the following graphic.

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21The National Institute for Welfare (INPS) has set a limit of 1150 euro/month for this provision even for workers with salaries over 2000 euro. The majority of CIG paid to workers worth about 900 euro/month. CIG and its different versions, negotiated by every enterprise with the Ministry of Work, can be extended up to 4 years.

22ASPI means “Assicurazione Sociale per l’Impiego” Social Insurance for the Employment and have been introduced from the 1st of January 2013 as substitute for the older unemployment benefit for the majority of labour contracts.
4.4 Youth unemployment: the main social concern

Data on youth unemployment in Italy are rising growing concerns both in the political and among labour market researchers. To this, we have to add data about an emerging category of analysis that is the NEET. NEETs are young people Not in Education, Employment or Training. In 2013, in Italy the NEET from 15 to 29 years where about 2,1 million, 938 thousands males (24,4%), and 1,17 million females (27,7%). The 38% is between 20 and 24 years old and 14% has a foreign nationality. 46% did not reach high school examinations and grade 34% are unemployed while 30% are inactive and discouraged23. In the northern Italian regions, young NEET are 660 thousands (247.000 males and 362.000 females) while in the south they number rises to 1,2 million (564.000 males and 635.000 females) (Reyneri and Pintaldi 2013:33)

NEET classification has gained high visibility on media and scientific debate especially for this reason must be used with a critical stance: considering the high level of informal and black economy in Italy, many of these young people not formally employed nor in training, can be considered as working poor with precarious informal labour engagements or early school leavers with informal family work activities (Morlicchio and Morniroli, 2013). So the NEET classification risks to drive a misleading

23 Source Eurostat 2014 edat_lfse22
representation of young people as “lost” class that does not match with reality, as an expert researcher states: “So in Italy there is a lack of investments for the creation of jobs and instead of questioning about the existence of NEET you have to ask why the NEET exist. To this question you can answer with a racist judgement or with an economic analysis, it’s your choice.”24 And also activists from an autonomous social center engaged with young unemployed organization say: “the NEET is an indicator of the worsening labour market conditions in Europe in the past years. Behind the institutional description that shows the young “lazy and choosy” we think that this situation have been created by long periods without job opportunities that in the end undermine trust and motivation toward legal labour and pushes young people toward underground economy.”25 Shadow economy and black labour are in fact especially in the southern regions, a strategic resource of income especially for vulnerable groups. According to Schneider (2013) Europe's shadow economies that employ part of black labour (another part is employed by formal business) can be estimated with a turnover of more than 2,000 billion Euro (18.5% of European GDP)26.

4.4 Disabled in the labour market: lost years for a transition

The national Observatory on the Condition of People with Disabilities has been created by the law 18/2009 and started working also on data gathering and reporting on labour market conditions of this specific category of workers. In 2013 has presented the Biennial National Action Program for the promotion of rights and integration of people with disabilities. The program counts 140 action plans ranging from health, instruction, access to public services personal autonomy and labour and aims to create an improved national historical database. According to the VI Parliamentary Report on Law 68/99 in 2008, where registered 28.306 new contracts that fell down to 22.023 in 2011 (-22.2%) showing clearly the impact of crisis on disabled workers access to labour market. In Italy the labour market position of disabled workers is conditioned by an advanced legal frame that suffers the high levels of territorial fragmentation with very different levels of implementation. Because of financial crisis, employers can now suspend the application of specific law provision for the inclusion of disabled in the labour market as an expert says: “We can find a turn in 1999. Before that date to all disabled was applied the same welfare frame of intervention, after the law 68 of 1999 started an new form of labour insertion. But today we are in 2014 and we are still at the starting point we did not reached the expected results. Labour market has to do with this but to a certain extent, there is a fixed quota of hiring, but now that there is the crisis the enterprises are exempted from hiring the disabled workers. [...] So at the beginning even if the economic trend was not negative was not well known, and the application was slow, and we lost years. Then the hard crisis come but the situation did

24 Interview A2_1
25 Interview B1_8
26 This estimate is lower than those of others who, contrary to Schneider report an increase just because of the crisis, despite the attempts of governments to contrast the tax evasion. Schneider estimates that the shadow economy accounts for 21% of the Italian GDP.
In October 2009 the European Court of Justice, sent reasoned opinions to Italy based on Directive 2000/78/EC that is establishing a general framework for equal treatment in employment, occupation and vocational training ("Employment Equality Directive") on the base of this opinions and of the public debate and disabled workers advocacy, Italian government released new norms against discrimination of disabled workers within the Law 99/2013. After 2008 we registered a decrease in all kind of stages and in enterprises under 15 employees that are not subject to law 99/2013. Between 2008 and 2009 there has been a fall in the registered labour contracts of 22,6%. Amongst the contracts that are in place there is a strong increase of part-time and fixed-term contracts instead of permanent contracts.

<table>
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<th>Year</th>
<th>Fixed term contract</th>
<th>Permanent contracts</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
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<td>2006</td>
<td>48,5</td>
<td>40,4</td>
<td>11,1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>50,8</td>
<td>42,0</td>
<td>7,2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>54,6</td>
<td>41,6</td>
<td>3,8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>47,5</td>
<td>48,5</td>
<td>4,0</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Source: ISTAT 2009:10

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Working condition</th>
<th>People with disabilities</th>
<th>Total population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>Employed</td>
<td>28,0</td>
<td>56,8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>5,3</td>
<td>5,4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retired from work</td>
<td>43,1</td>
<td>6,7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other inactive</td>
<td>23,5</td>
<td>31,2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100,0</td>
<td>100,0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: ISTAT 2009:11

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27 Interview B1_5
4.5 Growing inequalities for migrants in the labour market

The last ISMU (2012) report shows a sharp decrease of new immigrants arrivals in Italy (-86% from 2009) parallel to the settlement of older waves of migration (335,000 new residents in 2011). Dell’Aringa (2012) in an analysis a based on the 2009 Italian Labour Force Survey (LFS) described the sharp earnings differentials between immigrants and natives and the “glass ceiling effect” for accessing high paying occupations, that accounts for a partial segregation of migrants in the Italian labour market. Average monthly earnings are much lower for immigrants (-20%) as compared to Italians. Immigrants are younger (5 years), have resided in Italy on average for 10 years and their work experience, while being on average at lower qualifications, is equally split between Italy and their country of origin. Moreover, immigrants tend to be less educated (approximately 1.5 years) and more frequently hired with “non-standard” contracts (15%) versus 10% of Italian workers. Finally, immigrants are mainly located in Northern regions, as compared to Italians (68 versus 48 percent), while they are under-represented in the South (11% versus 36%). As noted before, the Italian labour market for migrants is highly segmented and racialized (Curcio 2011). So we can find sectors and segments of migrant labour that are increasing their employment as the domestic care sector and others that have sharply fallen as in the case of medium and small manufacturing factories in the North of Italy. The CNEL (National Council for Economy and Labour) and the Ministry of Labour developed a national index of integration that combines socio-economic data with labour market indicators for migrants resident in Italy (CNEL, 2012). Data show how the territorial divide had an impact on the labour market situation of migrants living in different contexts (Tab 4.4. and Tab 4.5) showing the highly geographically fragmented nature of this segment of the labour market.
Tab. 4.4. Index of migrant workers integration in 2009

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Macro-regions</th>
<th>Index</th>
<th>Range</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Center</td>
<td>74,3</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North West</td>
<td>66,7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North East</td>
<td>61,1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Islands</td>
<td>37,0</td>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South</td>
<td>22,6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: CNEL 2012: 69

In the first phase of the crisis, those areas where the integration in the economic fabric was higher have also been the first one to suffer the impact of job losses and they saw a lowering in the integration capacity.

Tab. 4.5. Indicator of labour integration capacity according to geographical macro-regions (2009)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Foreign born hired during the year</th>
<th>Foreign born dismissed during the year</th>
<th>Hired/Dismissed d*100</th>
<th>Transformed value</th>
<th>Intensity range</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Islands</td>
<td>62.6</td>
<td>61.31</td>
<td>102,1</td>
<td>100,0</td>
<td>Maximum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South</td>
<td>173.14</td>
<td>173.59</td>
<td>99,7</td>
<td>68,3</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Centre</td>
<td>280.82</td>
<td>282.86</td>
<td>99,3</td>
<td>62,0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North East</td>
<td>356.16</td>
<td>371.71</td>
<td>95,8</td>
<td>15,4</td>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North West</td>
<td>341.49</td>
<td>360.44</td>
<td>94,7</td>
<td>1,0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>1.356.301</td>
<td>1.342.205</td>
<td>101,1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Tab. 4.6. Duration of unemployment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Foreigners</th>
<th>Italians</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>13,2 months</td>
<td>21,8 months</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Fondazione Leone Moressa on ISTAT RFL data 2012

Nevertheless migrants have higher activity rates than Italians. This explains why the overall unemployment rates are lower for immigrants than for Italians. Also the average duration of unemployment is almost half for migrants according to ISTAT data of Fig. 4.5. The analysis of ISTAT data of 2012 show that foreign workers have improved their employment (+170.199) against the fall of Italian employment (-9,4%). Inside the number of foreign workers the large share is given by female employment (+10,4%) employed mostly in care and low skilled service sector that is also characterized by a little improvement of Italian female employment (+0,2%)\textsuperscript{28}. That is the result of the relative resilience of female employment due to a higher rate of activity of women because of the crisis and a fall of male employment (-95.273). An insight in migrant labour condition shows that the majority of these jobs are

\textsuperscript{28} More data on http://www.fondazioneleonemoressa.org/
precarious and of bad quality. Finally another indicator of vulnerability is that migrant households from 2008 to 2013 have worsened their quality of life indicators and a part of foreign workers are working-poor (Caritas 2013). One evident outcome of the crisis in Italy has been the rising precarity and exploitation of migrant labour as shown by the most recent Eurostat data.

Fig. 4.7. Population at risk of poverty or social exclusion


Legend:
1) Foreign citizens in European Union (27 countries)
2) Foreign in Italy
3) European Union Citizens (27 countries)
4) Italian citizens
4.6 Youth in the crisis: social cohesion at risk

Recent studies are analysing the actual position of youth in the labour market as a long term phenomena in Italian economy that has been worsened by the 2008 financial crisis (De Luigi, Rizza, Santangelo2012). Young workers have exchanged the entry in the labour market with long periods of precarity, low wages and low perspectives of career development (Rapporto IRPET Giovani 2012). The fixed-term contracts have resulted in a faster raise of the precarious employment that is concentrated more in the young cohorts from 15-24 and 25-35. An officer from Bank of Italy explains how simply because of the crisis youth employment had a shock: “In the crisis of 2008 the first ones to lose the job have been the young that had increased the numbers of precarious employment in the years before. Because they were temporary employed their job have been easily cut off, stopping those fluxes that where normal even more than before in the market”29. Italia Lavoro research on youth employment of (2011) assumed the NEET definition and showed the wide dimensions of this phenomena. According to Eurostat, young workers are those in the age range of 15-24 years, but in Italy – due to the long transition between school and work and to the tendency for longer higher education careers – research on youth labour market takes into consideration also those aged 25-30. In this age window, labour market conditions are even worse than for the younger cohorts. A recent research on this age cohorts (De Luigi et. al. 2013:77) evaluated the sum of traditional unemployed data with the new data from ISTAT on under-employed and found out that: “the young adult age group with the adoption of the new indicator see the greater percent of improvement of unemployed: from 2007 and 2011 that shifts from a 3,4 rise according to standard indicator to 5,0 points taking into account also potential work-force”. As reported before, dimensions of unemployment are structurally different according to territorial differences because of the great divide between Northern and Southern regions. So it is crucial to visualize such divide for macro-areas. In the following figure data on unemployment for young people of 2011 are grouped for three macro-areas to show how the unemployment rate is dramatically high in the southern regions (Fig. 4.7). Also in the traditionally richer regions of the north and centre (Piedmont and Tuscany) unemployment has reached 25%. The unemployment rates amongst youngsters in southern Italy are dramatic but as Reyneri and Pintaldi (2013) underline, the most socially dangerous data is the one about unemployment and inactivity in the 25-34 range, where social cohesion is more at risk and the risk of poverty is higher because young adults have to support new households. According to their evaluations, in this age range the sum of unemployed, inactive and student accounts for the dramatic percentages of more than 20% in Northern regions and over 50% in the South (see Tab 4.8).

29 Interview A1_3
Tab. 4.8. Unemployed young (15-24) in Italian regions (2011)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Unemployment rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>North</td>
<td>Valle d'Aosta/Vallée d'Aoste</td>
<td>9,4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Provincia Autonoma di Bolzano/Bozen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Provincia Autonoma di Trento</td>
<td>14,5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Veneto</td>
<td>19,9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lombardy</td>
<td>20,7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Friuli-Venezia Giulia</td>
<td>20,9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Liguria</td>
<td>23,8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Piedmont</td>
<td>25,1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Emilia-Romagna</td>
<td>21,8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Umbria</td>
<td>22,8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Marche</td>
<td>23,8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Center</td>
<td>Tuscany</td>
<td>24,9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Abruzzi</td>
<td>25,6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Molise</td>
<td>28,6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lazio</td>
<td>33,7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Puglia</td>
<td>37,1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Basilicata</td>
<td>39,6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Calabria</td>
<td>40,4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sardinia</td>
<td>42,4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sicily</td>
<td>42,8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Campania</td>
<td>44,4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Eurostat Regional Year Book 2013

4.7. The position of elderly workers from privilege to precariousness

The position of elderly workers, after the crisis of 2008 has shifted from a social perception of privilege of the “insiders” to a perception of growing precarity and vulnerability. OECD in its 2013 report on employment estimates that substitution between older workers and younger ones is not a realistic nor viable scenario and that there is no evidence that higher employment of older workers reduces job opportunities for youth (OECD 2013:50). Nevertheless this rhetoric extensively circulated and inspired the pension reform processes of 2012 according to older workers representatives\(^{30}\). According to the group of activist interviewed the problems and opportunities are rather linked to:

1) excessively dual labour market (protected vs not protected);
2) effective job sharing between generations\(^{31}\);

\(^{30}\) Interview B1_2

\(^{31}\) “In Italy, a program is in place since 2007 that promotes solidarity agreements between generations (L. 296 del 27/12/2006 – Legge finanziaria, 2007). The program aims at promoting hires of unemployed youth aged 25 to 29, while maintaining older workers in employment. The solidarity agreement promotes work sharing by facilitating and encouraging the transformation of full-time contracts of workers over 55 into part-time jobs, while generating at the same time part-time jobs for unemployed
3) effective active job policies.

The vulnerability of older workers is increasing in the Italian labour market where the rate of creation of new jobs is very low and where professional and spatial mobility of older workers is very low. The passive welfare measures for redundant workers (e.g. CIG and Mobility benefit for the over 50) are the only real measure that limit the social impact of massive loss of jobs occurred after 2008, but often for the over 50 don’t lead to a new labour contract. According to recent INPS data of 2012 (SSN 2013:57) the longitudinal data analysis of two cohorts of beneficiaries of “mobility subsides” in 2000 and 2005 has quite different outcomes (Fig. 4.8). The generation of 2005 is more likely to have suffered the effects of financial crisis on the labour market, but compared with the previous generation, has higher activity rates and slower access to pensions. At the same time the low rates of activity compared with the “younger” cohort brings evidences to the description made by the older workers advocacy organization: for older workers is not easy to come back to the job but pension is not a very good option because would mean a substantial cut in average incomes. Moreover according to older worker advocacy association ATDAL the age of vulnerability, after the shock of 2008 has become lower: “At the beginning the range was 50-55, but then, not only because of the crisis but the crisis worsened everything, age as begun to lower more and more, if you go to read the job offers, for 65% they have an age limit, this limit has begun to lower each time more, now we are under 40 as a limit for hiring someone.”32

The situation of older workers and their growing vulnerability has to be followed with great attention considering that Italian households with one or more young unemployed still depend strongly on parent’s incomes because employment and income numbers have still a negative trend for 19 to 34 years and that the age class from 45 to 54 has seen from 2007 to 2012 the sharper decrease of relative income rate and increase of poverty risk (Banca d'Italia 2012:12).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age group and first year of mobility insurance application</th>
<th>2000 – up to 49 years</th>
<th>2005 - up to 49</th>
<th>2000 – over 50</th>
<th>2005 over 50</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Source: SSN 2013 Tab I,3.

---

32 Interview B1_2
4.8 The position of women between improvements and ambiguities

Women’s position on the labour market is influenced by the general stress on population caused by the combination of economic recession and austerity measures. Women have reacted to the loss of jobs in traditionally male oriented sectors with a stronger effort and engagement in the labour market. According to Eurofound (2013:10): “The recession intensified the catch-up process of women in the labour market, both in terms of employment numbers and access to the higher layers of the employment structure. Women have increased their employment share, particularly in ‘mid-paid’ and ‘good’ jobs (those in the higher quintiles). In part, this has been because women are over-represented in certain growing sectors such as health and under-represented in declining sectors such as construction”. That analysis has been confirmed by our interviews with women in various positions and is confirmed by several recent researches. Women’s activity rate despite the crisis is increasing, following its historical trend but the quality of women’s jobs compared with those of men tend to be worst and the average income for the same job is lower (Kalleberg et. Al 2000, Bettio and Verashchagina 2009, Rubery and Rafferty 2013). The women interviewed confirm the trend of substitution or support to household from the women that were inactive before the crisis and the risk that women enter and remain in worst jobs with lowest retributions also because they enter in competition for low skilled jobs with migrant women already segregated in low-pay jobs:

Interview B1_5: “We can feel the crisis because our “art of fending” is not enough, we don't have money. Who spent for an housemaid twice a week, now can pay only half-day and in this way the housemaid becomes unemployed. Also the foreign women don't work, is not true that they do and Italians don't, here everybody is looking for a job, also the Italian women want to work as housemaid but they don't find, crisis is also here, in Naples”

Interview A2_2: “the gender gap has been reduced because male employment has worsened, but the worsening of socio-economic conditions will have effects on internal demand and also on female employment [...] those effects on female employment can be over the longer period depending on service and public sector spending review.”

Interview C1_1: “one of the main effects of this crisis is a decrease in the level of rights of all the women working, but now I refer to family care services, those provided mainly by migrant women. The salary has remained the same but the labour performances demanded by the employer now are harder. [...] some families now ask to the worker to be on the job seven days a week, twelve months, Saturday and Sunday.”

As Karamessini and Rubery show in a recent collection of research on this topic (2013:29), the economic crisis and the austerity measures that followed must be considered in the largest frame of gender regimes and household models and the effects on women position in the labour market must be considered in mid and long
terms. In Italy the main vulnerability is caused by the high share of inactive women (46.2% between 15-64 years against the 26.7% of males\textsuperscript{33}) and the low employment rate of women (46.5%) compared to the EU average (58.8%)\textsuperscript{34}, the high inactivity rate and the difficulty, dramatic in the South and Islands, for young women with secondary education or not born in Italy to get a job. Those aspects are deeply rooted in the Italian labour and gender regime and austerity measures and economic downturn seem to undermine future developments.

Fig. 4.10. Part-time employment of women as percentage of the total employment

![Part-time employment of women as percentage of the total employment](image)

**Legend:**
1) Italy_Females
2) Eu27_Females
3) Italy_Total_15-64
4) Eu27_Total__15-64

\textsuperscript{33} Source I.Stat RFL 2014
\textsuperscript{34} Source Eurostat- lfsa_ergaed data 2014
Fig. 4.11. Inactive population of women as a percentage of the total population

Legend:
1) Italy_Females
2) Eu27_Females
3) Italy_Total_15-64
4) Eu27_Total_15-64

5. Factors affecting the vulnerable groups

The analysis carried out in this report shows that in Italy the most vulnerable categories seem to be women and young people followed by migrants. For them the sum of poor performance in the selected indicators lead to a higher risk of poverty and social exclusion. For these categories there is often also the risk of intersectional effects i.e. the cumulation – in the same person – of multiple vulnerabilities. Examples are young migrant women or – as shown before – young woman living in the southern regions of Italy (Samek Lodovici et. al. 2013). Older workers seem to have average employment values even though the largest share of long term unemployment rate shows that the main risk for this category is the impossibility to return to on the labour market with all the negative social effects that this can bring.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vulnerable Group</th>
<th>Employment rate</th>
<th>Unemployment rate</th>
<th>Long-term unemployment rate</th>
<th>Temporary employment rate</th>
<th>Part-time employment rate</th>
<th>Risk of poverty or social exclusion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>General population</td>
<td>56,8</td>
<td>10,8</td>
<td>53,3</td>
<td>13,8</td>
<td>16,8</td>
<td>29,9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disabled</td>
<td>16,6</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>N.A</td>
<td>N.A</td>
<td>N.A</td>
<td>N.A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Migrant</td>
<td>60,6</td>
<td>14,1</td>
<td>43,0</td>
<td>15,9</td>
<td>25,5</td>
<td>43,8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young people</td>
<td>18,6</td>
<td>35,3</td>
<td>49,7</td>
<td>52,9</td>
<td>27,5</td>
<td>36,4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Older workers</td>
<td>40,4</td>
<td>5,3</td>
<td>58,4</td>
<td>6,4</td>
<td>13,2</td>
<td>26,6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>47,1</td>
<td>12,2</td>
<td>54,6</td>
<td>14,9</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>30,1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Table 5.1. provides an overview of the vulnerability conditions explored in the report. Data shows that in Italy – because of the prolonged impact of the economic crisis on an already fragile labour market context – social cohesion may be at risk. Within this frame, the impact of widespread vulnerability on labour market performances should also be assessed, but it falls outside the scope of this report.

5.1 Social resilience: resource for recovery?

We would like to conclude this report with some reflections on the social dimensions of labour market resilience. The outputs of “labour market resilience” are linked – as we have seen – to the economic performance of capitalist market economy and its interaction with national states and multilateral governance actors (European Union, Central European Bank, International Monetary Fund, etc.).

Performances of national labour markets are linked to the complex relationship between active and passive labour market policies as well as to the social organization of work and within the capitalist governance of production and consumption. The
resilience of labour inside this complex equation is driven by the way its social relationships are also culturally and physically reproduced. Vulnerability is not a fixed attribute of specific social groups but it is caused by specific power relations connected with the labour market position of individuals and with other relevant power relationships such as gender, age and race. Deep changes in the economic and labour organization mostly caused by neoliberal globalization (Saunders 2003) have augmented the vulnerability of workers in western developed countries.

According to ILO (2010) the financial crisis of 2008 has generated fast changes in work organization, management and wages that worsened the working conditions of millions of workers and increased their social vulnerability. For this reason it is necessary to point out the meaning of social resilience as it has been described so far. Exploring the position of vulnerable groups on the labour market, it is useful to extend the concept of “resilience” to the social position of subjects and to their relationships with the context in which labour is embedded.

A neoliberal view of society puts a strong accent on individual and rational cost-benefits calculation missing cultural differences and resources and the central importance of power relationships in shaping the social position of individuals and groups. According the social resilience approach of Hall and Lamont (2009, 2013) that is: “the capacity of groups of people bound together in an organization, class, racial group, community, or nation to sustain and advance their well-being in the face of challenges to it.” (Hall, Lamont 2013:23). This vision takes into account the cultural myths and collective imaginaries that can be defined as a cultural frameworks in action.

Hall and Lamont state that: “social resilience is the characteristic of successful societies, seen as ones that perform well on indicators for population health, social inclusion and social justice. In such societies, many groups have at their disposal the cultural and institutional resources needed to respond to successive challenges” (ibid)

The key concept of “successful societies” was developed in the previous work (Hall, Lamont 2009) and provided to the resilience discourse a socially understandable point of reference.

This vision emerged also in a key literature review on resilience: “humans and ecosystems have endogenous ways to cope with adversity and to self-organize to increase resilience (they have some adaptive capacity ). Poorly designed institutions, even well-meaning ones, can often erode this” (Breen, Anderies 2011:21). This concept is central to improve the qualitative and quantitative indicators of the labour market resilience approach proposed within the INSPIRES project. Furthermore, the impact of cultural and social systems on labour market organization and outcomes has been extensively studied and it is in our opinion crucial to understand the causes of the crisis of late capitalism and why and how social resilience is or not maintained (Schoon 2006, Viviana 2010).

The human social system is the only one capable of reflexivity and ethical judgment and for this reason cultural and political meanings must be taken into account
(Bourdieu 1998). Neoliberal labour market policies, based on individualization of labour relationships, flexibility of labour contracts matched with budget cuts in social-democratic welfare models have been introduced in the European Union during a twenty years long historical process that has encountered adhesion, resistances and/or adaptations (Jessop 2003).

Today a wide debate confronts the austerity measures with the defence of the European Social Model (Schaefer, Streek 2013). Nevertheless, social resilience in labour market relationships can be described also in negative terms. The effects of the introduction of neoliberal policies (flexibility and individualization of labour contracts, wages compression, cuts to welfare budget) within the Italian production system – underlining the damages, sufferings and risks for workers – might undermine severely social cohesion (Gallino 2007, Mole 2011, Murgia, Armano 2012, Romagnoli 2013).

Several research approaches are moving in this direction, e.g. studying the psychological aspects of solidarity (Magrin 2008) and of resistance to precarity at the workplace (AA.VV. 2013) or studying a new generation of locally based social and cooperative enterprises that stress the importance of “social capabilities” (Giunta, Marino 2014). The connection between political economy, labour market performances and social resilience cannot be widely explored in this report yet but will probably be a crucial topic for the next steps of research.
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Appendix 1: Map of relevant stakeholders in the country

The following table shows the number and category of experts and workers interviewed who have participated in the INSPIRES project.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of expert to be interviewed</th>
<th>Proposed Sample</th>
<th>Institution-organization</th>
<th>Total Sample</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Representatives of regional and/or national government and other political parties with competences in labour policies</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Marche Region</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Italian Parliament</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Bank of Italy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Internationally or nationally recognized academics in the field of labour policies and vulnerable groups.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>University of Rome</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>University of Milano</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Representatives of employer organizations, employee organizations and national labour unions with depth knowledge of the situation of vulnerable groups.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>COOSS Marche</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>FILLEA - CGIL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>CNA</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Representatives of national associations or NGOs defending the rights of vulnerable groups (disabled people, young people, migrants, older workers)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Basic Income Nework</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ATDAL – over 45</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Gender rights</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>San Precario</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><a href="http://www.jobdisabili.it">www.jobdisabili.it</a></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Precari Bros- Naples</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Collective of Social Services employees - Naples</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Labour rights political activist - Naples</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Autonomous Social Center - Rome</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>TOTAL INTERVIEWEES (minimum)</td>
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Appendix 2: Interviews

This report is based on the analysis of 21 interviews conducted in Milan, Rome, Florence, Ancona and Naples between February and April 2014 (see Tab. A.1 for details). Interviews have been anonymized according to the Italian privacy law. Interviews have been selected, conducted and transcribed by research staff of Inspires Project at University of Urbino: Vittorio Sergi, Francesco Fratto, Leonardo Catena, Ruggero Cefalo. We thank Ivana Fellini from University of Milano – Bicocca for her support.

Tab. A.1.2 Interviews by type and area

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<th>Code</th>
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<th>Organization</th>
<th>Position</th>
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<td>2</td>
<td>A1_2</td>
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<td>Labour</td>
<td>Italian Parliament</td>
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<td>Professor</td>
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<td>Sociology of labour</td>
<td>University of Milano</td>
<td>Professor</td>
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<td>Social services</td>
<td>COOSS Marche</td>
<td>Director</td>
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<td>Basic Income Network</td>
<td>Member</td>
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