

ITALY AND THE UNSPEAKABLE ALTERNATIVE:  
THE INFLUENCE OF ATTITUDES AND RHETORIC ON  
IMMIGRATION INVOLVEMENT IN ORGANIZED CRIME

By

ASHLEY SCHMELTZER

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Approved by:



Dr. Wayne Decker  
Director of International Studies and External Affairs

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## **Abstract**

Immigration and organized crime should not aim to correlate immigration and the act of committing a crime. Stereotyping to this level and not understanding limitations presented to immigrants, as well as the motivation or rationale behind criminal involvement by immigrants, is impractical and misleading. The focus of this paper is to establish the underlying driving forces that inadvertently influence immigrants to look towards organized crime as a means of survival. Immigration patterns and economic opportunities reveal the possibility of organized crime and an underground economy. Using Italy as a case study I seek to establish that the root of the problem of immigration and organized crime exists among the context of a failure to integrate resulting from isolation of ethnic groups. This divide forces immigrants to take advantage of the only alternate possibilities. This has been initiated deep in the infrastructure and rhetoric of politics, economics, and social drivers that have been created by the government and their ideological influence on the law making process and media representation of immigrants that leads to discriminatory sentiments and more segregation. In the end, the Mafia provides the sense of security and stability that immigrants were never allowed to gain from original circumstances.

“An immigrant who lands in France or Britain knows he’ll have to abide by the law, but he also knows he’ll have real and tangible rights. That’s not how it is in Italy, where bureaucracy and corruption make it seem as if the only guarantees are prohibitions and mafia rule, under which rights are nonexistent.”

Roberto Saviano<sup>1</sup>

## 1. Preface

The atmosphere of this topic revolves around two significant dates of two congruent situations; September 18, 2008 and January 7, 2010. Two regions are important: Puglia and Calabria. Two cities are vital: Castel Volturno and Rosarno. Two names are crucial: The Camorra and ‘Ndrangheta.

### Documents 1 and 2 Newspaper Snapshots



New York Times (Left)<sup>2</sup>

BBC News (Right)<sup>3</sup>

September 2008 and January 2010 events indicate the pressing concern about what it means to have immigration tied to organized crime and the outcomes that follow. The first incident involves African immigrants and a riot. The unrest began with a killing of six immigrants from Ghana, Liberia and Togo. Authorities link the murder to a dispute between a branch of the Italian

<sup>1</sup> Saviano, Roberto. "Italy's African Heroes." *New York Times* 24 Jan. 2010, New York ed., A17 sec. *The New York Times*. 24 Jan. 2010.

<sup>2</sup> Saviano. Most details of the incident described come from this article.

<sup>3</sup> "Riots After Africans Shot in Italy." *BBC News*. 19 Sept. 2008

<<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/7626099.stm>>.

The story is told from this article throughout the section.

mafia, the Camorra, and African immigrants involved in drug trafficking.<sup>4</sup> Although the media described it as a singular event, the real connection between the immigrants and the mafia group is the underground economic activity that they share. The immigrants have been partaking in drug trafficking, which is also an industry controlled by the Camorra (along with prostitution).<sup>5</sup>

The second incident is again involving African immigrants in the town of Rosarno, where authorities associate the attacks with a dispute between the immigrants and the “Ndrangheta,” the mafia representation in Calabria<sup>6</sup>. Given that the immigrants are residing in an area that is controlled by the mafia, the relationship between the two is seemingly apparent.

These two instances underline the foundation for the proposed argument: the tie is immigrant interaction with the Mafia. The Albanian group happens to be associated as being involved in the same market as the Mafia organization in the area<sup>7</sup>. The second instance is where the immigrant group is residing in an area under Mafia control. Both situations establish a link between immigration and participation in organized crime. Other noticeable factors are that both events occurred in the South, an indicator of the regional disparity that exists in Italy between the North and the South. The Southern region acts as the entryway for immigrant arrivals. Even more, the South receives less attention from regulative authorities and surveillance due to its struggling economy and Mafia subjugated terrain<sup>8</sup>. These economic, social, and political weaknesses are apparent. These weaknesses foster Mafia rule. These weaknesses appeal to the vulnerability of the suffering immigrant.

It is due to these two scenarios that Italy was chosen as a case study for this analysis.

Immigration is present. It is a perceived threat by the native population and the government as a problem. It needs attention but has not been addressed appropriately or effectively. Political parties and strong ideologies have enhanced the problem. The media followed through its

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<sup>4</sup> "Strage Di Camorra, Immigrati in Rivolta." *LaStampa.it*. La Stampa, 19 Sept. 2008. An Italian newspaper highlighting the immigrant population activities and Mafia activities related here.

<sup>5</sup> Owen, Richard. "Mafia Killing of Immigrants Sparks Riots Near Naples." *Times Online*. The Times, 20 Jan. 2008

<sup>6</sup> Roberto Saviano. *Italy's African Heroes*.

<sup>7</sup> Riots. BBC News.

<sup>8</sup> "Camorra, Arrivano 500 Soldati Stretta Sull'immigrazione." *Repubblica.it*. La Repubblica, 23 Sept. 2008. The article validates and expresses the reaction of the government to organized crime prevalence and immigration.

portrayal of immigrant groups and its governmental influence (monetary and social). Discrimination occurs; segregation follows. Integration is not an option at this point. In such a context the immigrant is doomed and confined to a downward spiral of dismay.

## **2. Introduction**

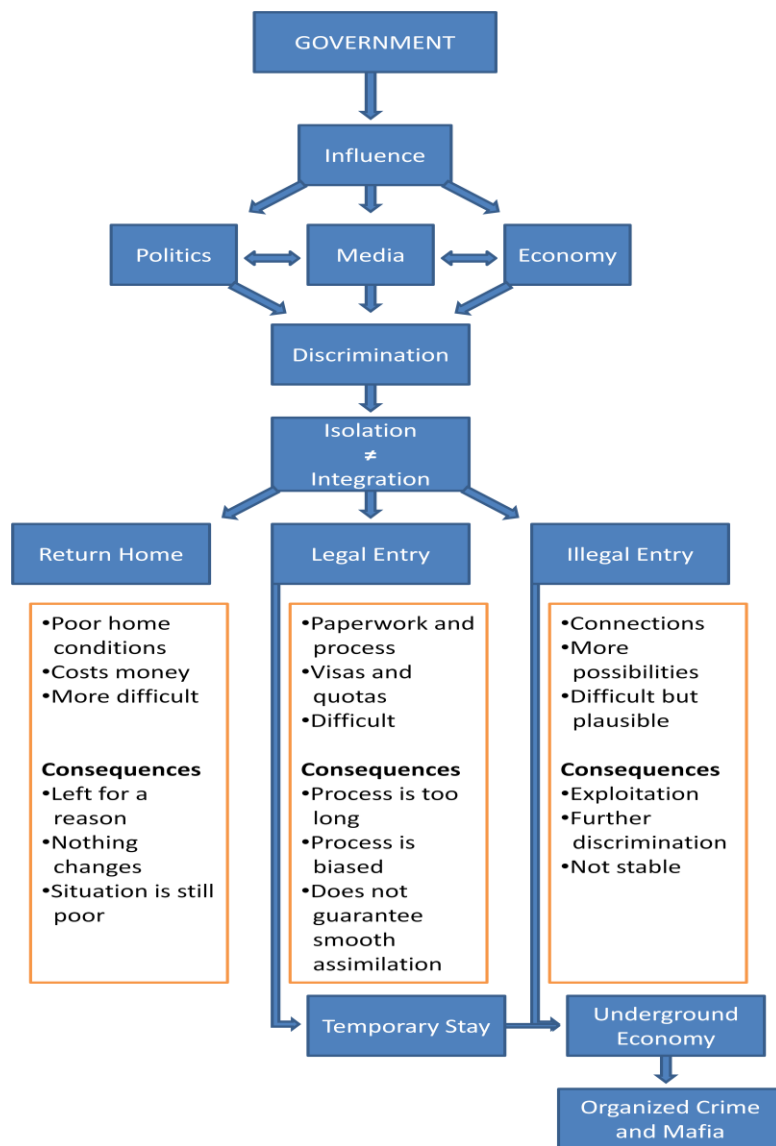
The complexities that exist among immigration and integration pervade far deeper than the surface assumptions that can be extrapolated from the media or derived from personal experience. Countries struggle with immigration in substantial terms of illegality and the noticeable effects it may or may not have on the economy and society. The question remains as an ongoing battle of how to best handle the influxes of foreigners and what the optimal approach towards policy making would be. The reality is that there is no simple answer, but what fails to be examined is how the minor details that people often do not acknowledge actually reflect in how immigration plays out in society. Sequentially, it is at times more appropriate to assess what is not currently working with a system and to work towards adjusting such ailments. Is building a wall along your Southern border going to solve your problems of immigration control? Is creating a quota system the optimal way to limit foreign entry? Sometimes what may seem solid and practical is really counterproductive and produces worse results based on such rhetoric and implied attitudes.

This paper seeks to fulfill the quest in identifying how the government influences immigration attitudes and policies by analyzing its impact on integration which led to isolation by discrimination. The response of the immigrant can be evaluated through their possible reactions to the situation: returning home, legally entering, or illegally entering. All three possible actions tend to result in a temporary status and thus further instigate improper settlement and a need to seek other sources of stability and acceptance. Through a case study of Italy and its specific diverse case with immigration I set out to suggest that the negative rhetoric and restrictive policies represented through the government and the media combined with certain economic constraints and conditions appear to further instigate immigration in a manner that prompts more interaction into the underground economy which has strong correlation into the organized crime that is strongly embedded in Italy. By doing this I hope to establish certain inhibiting factors that

influence involvement so that it may be used as a framework in analyzing attitudes and reactions in other global immigration situations.

The following model represents how the paper will examine immigration, organized crime, and the influences that create the pattern.

### Model 1: The Immigration and Organized Crime Connection<sup>9</sup>



<sup>9</sup> The model was created to establish the theme of the paper based off of all the literature and media sources reviewed. It is a personal extraction of the immigration case represented by Italy.



To achieve this model, the Italian situation is to be thoroughly examined. First, the history of immigration in Italy and its basic economic conditions are the foundation to why immigration even occurs in Italy and why it has become a problem. Therefore, it is imperative to dissect the situation of Italy and analyze it to observe opportunities and constraints that exist naturally. Then, this paper will emphasize the inspiration behind the connections of immigration and organized crime in special regards to Italy. Following the diagram, the government is the main player in the argument. It is already implied how a government operates, and this paper is not concerned with the type of government and its processes. Therefore, the focus will be on how the government influences the three main factors effecting immigration; the economy, political policies and positions, and finally media representation/social discrimination. The possible reactions of immigrants are assessed and it is indicated that all lead to temporary status and what it means to be “temporary”. Temporary status is being associated with leading to the informal economy. Jobs that are often created in the informal economy are seasonal (having to do with agriculture or construction) or non-consistent (such as those jobs that are illegal and not stable for an immigrant that is on the bottom rung).The informal/underground economy is important and will thus be given adequate attention as to its operations and appeal. It is also necessary to acknowledge the history of organized crime and how the Mafia has successfully gained power and respect with its role in the official economic sector. The Mafia and informal/underground economy connection is important whilst accruing information towards the informal economy and connecting it to organized crime, offering explanation towards what it has to offer for immigrants. It also begins to derive links on how immigration is and has been tied to organized crime. These links lead into how previous engagements will provide an analysis of how this relationship functions and exists in context. After all these steps are completed a final analysis will be provided to indicate that with Italy it is logical to postulate that negative approaches and limiting policies are less successful in mitigating the problems resulting from immigration and could potentially lead to making immigrants turn towards other, less respectful opportunities.

This case study looks at the role environment and regulations regarding immigration inhibit assimilation and restrict opportunities for participation in legal activities, thus leading immigrants to turn to informal organization. This study in no way looks to statistically correlate immigration practices with crime rates or activity. In doing so, the study hopes to avoid the

stereotyping of immigrants in unlawful activities. While this paper recognizes that different ethnic groups have different experiences with immigration, for the purpose of this analysis the entire immigrating population, regardless of ethnicity, will from now on be considered as a single immigrant group.

### **3. Methodology**

This paper relies heavily on literary reviews, media analysis, facts accumulation, and interpretations of prior analysis. The goal is to acquire as much information on individual areas of Italy and their immigration situation as possible in order to compile evidence towards links and associations useful in exploring mafia and immigrant interactions.

The first section of the paper deals with distinct facts about Italy and why the phenomenon of immigration is diverse and abundant. This includes immigrant facts and a partial literary review on motivational aspects of migration for various ethnic groups.

The second section focuses on literary analysis and interpretation of Italian law and media representation to determine the two driving factors that incentivize immigrant involvement in organized crime. The purpose is to discern areas that give off negative connotations that isolate immigrants. The intention is to demonstrate that the isolation of immigrants is a leading factor towards non-assimilation and the search for another outlet of livable means. A brief analysis on the value of integration and what constitutes as a road block in this specific case is also included.

The final section is primarily concerned with another literature review and database search of information regarding the informal economy, organized crime, and the Mafia in Italy. This section will provide insight to how the underground economy has a stronghold and how it manipulates society and government to offer opportunities that could apply to immigrants.

Once complete, an overall analysis will be conducted to make observations regarding the impact of political influence and media/social stereotyping on immigrants. This analysis will highlight how organized crime is the only option that provides security and strength for the life of the struggling immigrant.

An additional portion included will be a literary and media search to distinguish parallel situations where government policies have reflected poor attitudes that could impact integration or organized crime has appealed to immigration or both. This will give applicability to the original study and demonstrate the global impact.

#### **4. Italy and Immigration**

Italy had been a country with a long history of emigration in search of economic sanctities. Now the tides have changed and Italy finds itself in the opposing position as a country receiving foreigners for various reasons. The real turn came about in the 1970s as the rest of Europe, specifically Germany, France, and the UK closed their borders.<sup>10</sup> As a result, Italy became a top destination. The first law to curb immigration concerns came out in 1986, and was only utilized as an immediate response to a seemingly temporary situation.<sup>11</sup> To explain immigration in Italy also requires acknowledging the transition of becoming an established developed country and an easily accessed one on the coast on the Mediterranean Sea with wide coastlines. With approximations from five to seven percent of the current population being foreign, and the declining Italian birth rate, immigration has become a pressing issue with new regularization programs and policies regulating the flows of immigrants<sup>12</sup>. Critics argue that Italy needs to foreign labor to stimulate the country.<sup>13</sup> The public is noted to still detest foreign “invasion” and hold strong to their national pride where culture is embraced.<sup>14</sup>

Geographic location is among the greatest concerns for Italy and immigration. The location provides an entry into Italy and is a gateway to the rest of the European Union. With the induction of Italy into the European Union came the free movement of people along borders. The movement of people across country borders is always going to be a debate and now the free movement of member states has seemed to impact Italy heavily and has become cumbersome to

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<sup>10</sup> Zincone, Giovanna. *Italian Immigrants and Immigration Policy-making: Structures, Actors and Practices*. 2

<sup>11</sup> Nascimbene, Bruno. "The Regularisation of Clandestine Immigrants in Italy." *European Journal of Migration and Law* 2 (2001) 337

<sup>12</sup> *Immigrazione*. Rep. no. 14. Caritas, 2009. 1

<sup>13</sup> Al-Azar, Rima. "Italian Immigration Policies: The Metaphor of Water." *Bologna Center Journal of International Affairs* 13 (2010). *Bologna Center*. 1

<sup>14</sup> Faris, Stephan. "In Italy, Racial Tensions Explode into Violence." *Time*. CNN, 12 Jan. 2010. A paragraph in the article describes some Italian customs, indicating distinguishing cultural practices.

its habits. Even disregarding the free movement of people it is estimated that 50,000 immigrants a year cross from Italy into other countries of the EU, creating a European issue instead of just a centralized one<sup>15</sup>. The higher trafficking across these borders leads to a lessened ability to monitor and maintain consistencies in who travels and where they are travelling to, regardless of how structured border patrol should be.

The economy is the most enticing factor next to location for two main reasons; what Italy has to offer and what the immigrants' home countries lack. Most immigration is coming from Eastern Europe and Northern Africa (Table 1), where job opportunities are scarce and political restraints instigate the need for betterment and improvement of their own personal economic situations<sup>16</sup>. As an example, the Albania case study is referenced to amplify how certain groups were in flight to seek opportunity, and the problems that Albania caused for Italy. To date, Albanians are the second largest immigration group in Italy. Albania experienced two waves of emigration. The first occurred after the totalitarian regime collapsed in 1991. The second wave happened in 1997 when the financial pyramid schemes collapsed and the country experienced social unrest. In reference to their relocation to Italy, Albanians tend to rely on the construction and agriculture sector.<sup>17</sup> Entrance into Italy is less complicated. The Southern shores and small islands of Apuglia and Lampadusa are easily accessible<sup>18</sup>. It may be risky, it may cost some money, but the potential benefits often triumph. Italy is close and familiar. It seems only logical that if something was not working in your own country that you would be motivated to find something new that could work. This motivation is a driving factor explaining the migration of people; the need to see and experience what else is out there, and the will to survive. In studying Albanian populations in Italy, it emerges that Albanians are rejected by the Italian work force and lean towards organized crime as a means of survival.

Other ethnic groups purely lack economic opportunities, could fare better on wages that are considered poor to Italian citizens, and have different portals and methods of entry. The Polish tend to immigrate in search of a better standard of living through Italian wages and often rely on

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<sup>15</sup> Kasic, Ankica, and Anna Triandafyllidou. "Albanian and Polish Migration to Italy: The Micro-Processes of Policy, Implementation and Immigrant Survival Strategies." *International Migration Review* 38.4 (2004) 1419

<sup>16</sup> *Immigrazione*. 6

<sup>17</sup> Kasic. 1417-1419

<sup>18</sup> "Rough Cut: Italy: One-Way Ticket to Europe." *PBS Frontline*. PBS. Web

prior contacts or an easily obtained visa to gain entry into the domestic labor force<sup>19</sup>. As one journal interpreted, the Polish population “rarely attracted negative media attention”<sup>20</sup>. This lack of a negative media attention led to a smoother transition of assimilation and represents the demanding problem that hard-line, anti-immigration measures create against a particular group.

Addressing each country of origin independently does gain more specific insights but this method would ignore patterns and tendencies that one may find using a broader scope. The main point to be taken is that a good portion of immigrants that find themselves in the organized crime scenario are coming to Italy seeking amnesty, either from political restrictions back home or from limiting economic backgrounds<sup>21</sup>. The Italian economy is full of problems but it does offer a situation that is appealing for people with no other alternative.

**Table 1: Immigrant Population by Country of Origin<sup>22</sup>**

| Country of Origin | % Total Foreign Population |
|-------------------|----------------------------|
| Romania           | 20.5                       |
| Albania           | 11.3                       |
| Morocco           | 10.4                       |
| China             | 4.4                        |
| Ukraine           | 4                          |
| Philippines       | 2.9                        |
| Tunisia           | 2.6                        |
| Poland            | 2.6                        |
| India             | 2.6                        |
| Moldavia          | 2.4                        |

Representation of foreign population in Italy based on country of origin. Each ethnic minority represents a different case in motivation for immigrating.

#### **4. Government, Law, and Influence**

“If amnesty is not adopted, the first step toward the integration process is precluded. If amnesty is granted often and to large numbers, a devastating and uncontrollable mechanism of attraction is triggered. Therefore, amnesties hardly ever achieve their objective.”

Giovanna Zincone<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Kasic. 1417-1418

<sup>20</sup> Kasic. 1421

<sup>21</sup> Kasic. 1420

<sup>22</sup> Compiled from Dossier Statistics 2009 *Immigrazione* Report 14

<sup>23</sup> Zincone *A Model*. 962

How to best handle immigration is an ongoing struggle of limitations, regulations, and freedoms and finding the right combination that adjusts to the specific needs of all parties involved. The native population is the ultimate barrier between immigrants and integration. If an immigrant cannot win over the native population to its presence, then the immigrant journey is going to be a tale of constant defeat. The government plays a larger role in how the immigrants are perceived. With control over the politics that guide the country, relative control over the economy that sustains the people, and management of the media that engages and reflects, the governmental influence is going to either be detrimental due to their behavior and how it reacts or it will be supplemental and auxiliary. This determines how an immigrant will fare in the country. The government's power in respect to public opinion ultimately leads the immigrant to its path.

The Zincone quote states that the amnesty dilemma was at the center of the 1970s immigration debate and concern. The good thing about amnesty is that it acknowledges that immigrants are in search of sanctuary. The difficulty arises on how effective amnesty programs actually are<sup>24</sup>. The issue of amnesty stems off of an even larger question of finding that best approach towards legalization. It is apparent that illegal entry should be avoided. Illegal entry creates hostility towards all parties involved and generally complicates the system from social to economic concerns<sup>25</sup>. The problem with regularization programs is that while they focus on legalizing status, the entire amnesty system unfortunately acts as a quick fix to an issue that should be addressed through better measures allowing for more accessible, legal avenues.<sup>26</sup> How these decrees and laws regarding immigration have come about directly relate to the government in power at the time and their attitudes that influence the policies being created.

The government walks a thin line when it comes to public opinion, illegal immigration, and natural human rights. A government could give the wrong impression if too many rights are guaranteed through the law in support of something *illegal*. Yet absolute rejection of rights makes it so that seclusion is a primary result. Public opinion often associates freedoms to illegal immigrants as rewards, which increases their disgruntlement and gives the public vindication for

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<sup>24</sup> Zincone *A Model*. 961-962

<sup>25</sup> Al-Azar. 3

<sup>26</sup> Kosic. 1436

their discriminatory sentiments.<sup>27</sup> The term illegal did not initially resonate well with people and their perceptions and thus translates into how they may treat a foreigner based on these stipulations. Given general assumptions and fears about illegal migrants, the best course of action is this for an immigrant to legalize their status.

“Legal immigrants have, besides the security of their legal status, the possibility of holding a regular job, full social rights, minimum income guarantees, maternity benefits, and full equality with Italian citizens with regard to the public health service, including care for common illnesses”

Giovanna Zincone<sup>28</sup>

If legalization provides all these benefits, then a trickle-down effect would apply in integration levels and public attitudes toward immigrants. Therefore, the overarching goal of the government should be to legalize all immigration. The primary problem still resides in the government and how they intend on dealing with immigration, especially with large influxes.

The government has taken several approaches towards immigration and policymaking and each has produced various outcomes. These outcomes are reflections of the political party and their ideology in office at each given time period. The result is usually an ineffective measure that further implements beliefs and attitudes into the public to further instigate the animosity that exists between the native population and the foreign. It is an enabling cycle influenced and enforced by the government. While the government may obtain a fraction of its attitudes from public opinion, in reality it is ultimately helping to foster the negative opinions on immigration through unconstructive means. The affect that I am postulating is that a strong centre-right government that promotes strong anti-immigrant ideologies will produce strong anti-immigration laws. These laws are influential in the thought processes of the public and fuel segregation, as well as inhibit an effective legal entry avenue that could be more beneficial and better utilized. As illustrated in **diagram 1**, politics and the media (social influences) connect to each other. The government and social devices are influencing each other, as well as the immigrants.

#### 4.1 Political Representatives and Party Ideologies

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<sup>27</sup> Zincone *A Model*. 959

<sup>28</sup> Zincone *A Model*. 963

One can separate the positions on immigration into a bipartisan grouping on centre-left and centre-right, synonymous to what one may associate with being on the left (more liberal) spectrum of ideologies and what one may attribute to the right (more conservative).<sup>29</sup> The left tends to be more open-minded in policy making. This does not mean that leftist proponents advocate immigration. Rather, the leftist policies are more defined as less restrictive and may call upon third parties to assist in the process of integrating immigration and to curbing the effects that may occur from their entry.<sup>30</sup> The centre-right group is more hard-lined anti-immigration and perceives immigration as a threat to national stability and security on many levels.<sup>31</sup> No group was categorized by centre-right labeling until 1994.<sup>32</sup> **Table 2** represents a list of political leaders from the time that immigration began affecting Italy. It shows the prime ministers, the time they started office, and the political influences that comprised their government. This established how they would approach issues of immigration based on their part make-up.

**Table 2: Political Leaders that Affected Immigration Policy and Party Compositions<sup>33</sup>**

| Prime Minister | Date Started     | Composition of Government |
|----------------|------------------|---------------------------|
| Forlani        | October 18, 1980 | DC, PSI, PSDI, PRI        |
| Spadolini I    | June 28, 1981    | DC, PSI, PSDI, PRI, PLI   |
| Spadolini II   | August 23, 1982  | DC, PSI, PSDI, PRI, PLI   |
| Fanfani V      | December 1, 1982 | DC, PSI, PSDI, PLI        |
| Craxi I        | August 4, 1983   | DC, PSI, PSDI, PRI, PLI   |
| Craxi II       | August 1, 1986   | DC, PSI, PSDI, PRI, PLI   |
| Fanfani VI     | April 17, 1987   | DC, independents          |

<sup>29</sup> Geddes, Andrew. "Il Rombo Dei Cannoni? Immigration and the Centre-right in Italy." *Journal of European Public Policy* 15.3 (2008). The theme is pronounced throughout the reading of the separation between left and right ideologies.

<sup>30</sup> Zincone, Giovanna. *Italian Immigrants and Immigration Policy-making: Structures, Actors and Practices*. Working paper. 40. The centre-right and centre-left differences are indicated through her evaluation of the laws that prevail.

<sup>31</sup> Geddes. 349-350

<sup>32</sup> Geddes. 352

<sup>33</sup> "I Governi Della Repubblica Italiana." *One Italia*. 2010. <http://cronologia.leonardo.it/governi2.htm>



|                |                   |  |
|----------------|-------------------|--|
| Goria          | July 28, 1987     | DC, PSI, PSDI, PRI, PLI  |
| De Mita        | April 13, 1988    | DC, PSI, PSDI, PRI, PLI  |
| Andreotti VI   | July 22, 1989     | DC, PSI, PSDI, PRI, PLI  |
| Andreotti VII  | April 12, 1991    | DC, PSI, PSDI, PLI   |
| Amato I        | June 28, 1992     | DC, PSI, PSDI, PLI   |
| Ciampi         | April 28, 1993    | DC, PSI, PSDI, PLI   |
| Berlusconi I   | May 10, 1994      | FI, LN, AN, CCD, UdC   |
| Dini           | January 17, 1995  | Independents   |
| Prodi I        | May 18, 1996      | PDS, PPI, Dini List, UD, Greens                                |
| D'Alema I      | October 27, 1998  | Ulivo, PdCI, UDEUR   |
| D'Alema II     | December 22, 1999 | DS, PPI, Democrats, UDEUR, PdCI, Greens, RI                    |
| Amato II       | April 25, 2000    | DS, PPI, Democrats, UDEUR, SDI, PdCI, Greens, RI, independents |
| Berlusconi II  | June 12, 2001     | FI, AN, LN, CCD-CDU, independents                              |
| Prodi II       | May 16, 2006      | DS, UDEUR, It.d.V.-Verdi                                       |
| Berlusconi III | May 8, 2008       | Popolo della Liberta, Lega, Movim.                             |

There were five main regularization programs and arguably four main pieces of legislation regarding immigration. The significant laws were instituted in 1986, 1992, 1998, and 2002.<sup>34</sup> During these times, only the 1998 law was passed during a centre-left government.<sup>35</sup> The implications of the obvious political divide on immigration policy will be discussed in further detail later on in this section.

Within these broad categories there are smaller party affiliations that hold even stronger ideologies and are well known for their opinions. Generally the centre-right (most notably those groups combined from 2001-2006) have developed strong anti-immigration rhetoric and

<sup>34</sup> Triandafyllidou, Anna, and Ruby Gropas. "Italy." *European Immigration: a Sourcebook*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007.

<sup>35</sup> Zincone. *Italian Immigrants*. 41

introduced “apparently highly restrictive immigration legislation”.<sup>36</sup> The centre-right is typically associated with threatening military action against immigrants and is comprised by the Forza Italia (FI), Alleanza Nazionale (AN), Lega Nord, and the Centro Cristiano Democartico/Centro Democratico Unito (Ccd-Cdu).<sup>37</sup> The Lega Nord group is strongly against immigration in most respects, and is often seen as the “hostile party”.<sup>38</sup> The Lega Nord is even known for “playing on the threat of the ‘hard working North’ from what they called *Roma Ladrona* (Rome the big thief) and from the late 1990s immigrants.”<sup>39</sup> The Lega Nord and AN are strongly anti-immigration while the Ccd-Cdu mixed into the group orient themselves as moderate with wider public appeal. The FI group is more marketed as appealing to the masses while maintaining some of the strictest legislation as its ideology. The FI’s main concern was to keep security an issue but also found it necessary to offer guest worker programs to gain control.<sup>40</sup>

The centre-right based its immigration policy around three main factors it argues immigration poses: national identity, employment, and public order.<sup>41</sup> These factors fall into the categories of politics, media, and the economy and dictate the opportunities that immigrants have and how they affect one another. The centre-right’s politics play on the emotions of national identity to instill fear. This fear translates into employment and the common theme of job scarcity due to immigrant infiltration which is not a valid argument.<sup>42</sup> This passes into public order and their view towards the disruption of their daily lives and security.

Throughout the course of immigration law construction, two political leaders stand out by their emphasis on the importance of government rhetoric and political stance on issues and their effect on immigration. Silvio Berlusconi and Romano Prodi are well known Italian political figures representing vastly different ideals of the centre-right and centre-left approaches. Describing the policies constructed from these governments is not to claim that the centre-left, with a more

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<sup>36</sup> Geddes. 350

<sup>37</sup> Geddes. 350-351

<sup>38</sup> Triandafyllidou. 186

<sup>39</sup> Geddes. 354

<sup>40</sup> Geddes. 355

<sup>41</sup> Geddes. 352-356. Geddes explains the composition of the centre-right, FI and Lega Nord, and Berlusconi in great detail.

<sup>42</sup> Al-Azar. In the *Economic Aspects of Immigration* section, it describes how economic fears are unwarranted, especially since it is proven that immigrants only reduced wages with other immigrant competing groups (usually low paid) by 1 to 2 percent.

liberal agenda, was successful in altering immigrant perception. It is also not meant as policy advising. These political figures are solely representatives of political persuasion on public opinion.

Berlusconi is an infamous character for political corruption and altering laws to be personally favorable and his period in office also brought on a new outlook for immigrants.<sup>43</sup> Dissecting his behavior does nothing in relation to this portion of the argument, as it would only set forth the difficult issue of trust and the government. Factoring in Berlusconi's behavior does, however, indicate that there is a strong correlation between the public and their political figures. Even after negative feedback from the world<sup>44</sup> he continues to be re-elected. Berlusconi's approach to politics is winning votes by any means necessary, even if this means instilling fear and hatred towards criminal invasions.

After his takeover in 2002, Berlusconi's attitude towards immigration allowed for "tighter management of flows, limit[at]ions on] the scope of integration to legal migrants only, and ma[king] the procedures involved in obtaining or renewing legal status even more bureaucratic and cumbersome".<sup>45</sup> A recent article<sup>46</sup> from BBC news demonstrates the hard-lined stance Berlusconi has conveyed. The article reveals that Berlusconi has put into effect new measures that enforce immigrants to pay a fine of 10,000 Euro for illegality, and even places a burden on people aiding illegal immigrants with jail time of up to three years. Also, to keep "police order", unarmed citizen patrol units are permitted to patrol the streets, thus allowing citizens to help monitor the illegal situation. The main concern critics have here is that this policy promotes the idea of "criminalizing the violation".

In the past you were in violation of the law. That doesn't mean you were a criminal. This law means if you break the law, now you are considered a criminal. That's a big deal.

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<sup>43</sup> Stewart, Phil. "Italy's Berlusconi Wins Immunity from Prosecution." *Reuters*. 22 July 2008 and "Profile: Silvio Berlusconi." *BBC News*. 13 Dec. 2009.

<sup>44</sup> "Fit to Run Italy?" *The Economist* 26 Apr. 2001. *The Economist*. 26 Apr. 2001

<sup>45</sup> Triandafyllidou.186 The year 2000 was crucial because of the loss of the centre-left government and the attitudes now expressed: Italian President Adopts Firm Stance Against Illegal Immigration." *ANSA [Rome]* 5 Dec. 2000

<sup>46</sup> "Italy's Immigrants Despair At New Laws." *BBC News*. 27 July 2009

Saskia Sassen, European Immigration expert<sup>47</sup>

Translating to the public opinion sphere, this policy has exuded an atmosphere of criminality towards immigrants, all due to the measures inspired by the centre-right government of Berlusconi.

In 1996 the government shifted to that of Romano Prodi.<sup>48</sup> The centre-left was viewed by the right as having a “lax approach” towards illegal immigration.<sup>49</sup> A noticeable change in immigration policy came about when a law was seen as assisting integration procedures that work on legalizing immigrants (1998). This was established through this accredited centre-left government of Prodi. Under Prodi, steps towards integration were being taken and it continued this way until Prodi was outnumbered by the centre-right coalition and Silvio Berlusconi was re-elected into office for his second term in 2001.<sup>50</sup> While slightly more inviting to the general public based on its less obvious segregating immigration policies, the Prodi administration still had its flaws in influencing public opinion.

## **4.2 Italian Laws and Regularization Programs**

As mentioned, there were four main laws that receive attention for their impact on immigration. This section will analyze each law based on their intent.

### **4.2A Law 943/1986<sup>51</sup>**

Immigration was a new concept and was thus not approached effectively in its first attempt. This is not to condone the first government that chose to deal with immigration, but it does set the tone for how immigration law would continue and conform to certain ideals. In 1986 an emergency decree was instituted to counteract the experienced influx. There were two main themes to this law: employment and regularization.

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<sup>47</sup> *Italy's Immigrants*. BBC News.

<sup>48</sup> Bull, Martin J., and James L. Newell. *Italian Politics Adjustment Under Duress*. Oxford: Polity. 2008. 77

<sup>49</sup> Geddes. 358

<sup>50</sup> Nascimbene. *1998 to present* section.

<sup>51</sup> Compiled from the following sources: Triandafyllidou, Zincone *A Model*, Zincone *Italian Immigrants*, Al-Azar, Nascimbene, and Levinson, Amanda. *Regularisation Programmes in Italy*. Rep. Centre on Migration Policy and Society, 2005. Many repeat the same concepts and provide relatively similar statistics, only interpretation changes.

This law was written with a pre-established fear of the impact immigration would have from an economic sector perspective. To focus on employment meant that there were concerns of how immigration would impact the economy and the native population. The standard argument that foreigners take away jobs from the naturalized population could have occupied was thoroughly thought out. Included in this law was the idea that Italians and EU residents had first rights to employment.

The passage of this law shows an important shift in that immigration was treated as a temporary situation that needed a remedy for right then and now. The law included the formation of a regularization program, as well as guaranteeing access to social and health services, education, and housing. The tone of this law shows that immigration was feared but tolerated to a certain degree. The law was also influential in trying to establish regularization without punishment as it allowed for employers and employees to come forth solely to regularize. The fact that there was no retribution, granted the government processed such information lightly and without bias, was a fair incentive to aid the current situation without creating too much ruckus. At the time of its creation, only 118,000 immigrants took advantage of this program.<sup>52</sup> On the other hand, the regularization was partially ineffective due to the language used. While it did allow for illegals to regularize and for employers to have their workers without negative consequences, the law also focused on regularization through “registered employee”.<sup>53</sup> This meant that a large population of foreigners residing in the country, especially those that were working the underground and informal sectors and were still skeptical about what registering and legalizing might entail in such a confounded and complex government of inefficient processes, were left out.

An important aspect of this law is that immigrants were perceived as workers. The law was guided towards provisions on non-EU workers in regards to treatment and placement. This concept is crucial in evaluating the stance that was to be taken in the next law. Although Law 943/1986 was created by a centre-right government, which tended to focus on the negatives of the immigrant population, this law’s central idea was to treat illegal immigrants as workers, thereby allowing them to be identified in a respectable context. Although trepidation still existed

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<sup>52</sup> Nascimbene. 338

<sup>53</sup> Zincone *Italian Immigrants*. 20

within the economic sectors and their sustainability with such influxes, after the passage of this law; Law 943/1986 also allowed for immigrants to be less discriminated against when later immigration was combined with illegality and criminality.

Another significant word is expressed in regards to the 1986 law, and that is the idea of temporary. Since the immigration influx was seen as something that occurring in response to the situation at that time, the law had no long term policies to anticipate further problems. A foreigner could arrive, find or have already found their employment, and either return home or take advantage of the regularization program to ensure their status. The problem that exists within this context is the idea of being temporary. As **diagram 1** represents, this establishes certain options to the immigrant that Italy has fostered. A temporary status gives immigrants temporary access and opportunities that further guide them towards their illegal positions and the need to join organizations that will offer some form of protection and stability.

The concentration of this law in terms of its influence on public opinion and immigrant assimilation is its focus on the ideas of workers, regularization, and temporary. This translates into a fear of outsiders taking economic opportunities away, which this worry was unjustified<sup>54</sup>, and of illegality having an adverse affect on the country. Segregation ideals were also indirectly pushed due to priority given to Italians and European Union citizens. While it may have been necessary to settle the concerns of Italians, the favoring of a community that neglected neighboring regions established guidelines that not only were there foreigners, but outsiders that needed to be addressed. This law tried to minimize the influence of immigration on the country in such a new context, and while it did not segregate foreigners completely from stipulations, it did set a poor opinion for how immigration was not meant to be a permanent addition to the culture of Italy.

A following conclusion to this law was that the regularization program was not fully utilized and actually inspired efforts to keep immigrants illegal. Employers recognized the complexity of the procedures and were thus deterred by the idea of the process and the finances that would ensure to keep their foreign, undocumented worker and make them legal.

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<sup>54</sup> Discussed earlier with Al-Azar and wage differences.

#### 4.2B Law 39/1990 Martelli Law<sup>55</sup>

The next attempt to curb immigration recognized that immigration was a longer lasting phenomenon that would not be easily remedied. A plan was therefore necessary in accounting for natural and consistent flows of immigrants that could provide an appropriate transition into Italy. This law focused again on employment, but also established a plan for the entry of foreign migratory flows by means of permits based on reason of entry such as study or tourism. Regularization of illegals was included to try to account, once again, for the rapid transition that occurred and the failure of the first law to capitalize on the mass influxes or the skepticism that was invoked towards the first novice/inexperienced program.

The main concepts in this law derived from one portion indicating that “legal planned immigration” is ideal.<sup>56</sup> The creation of this law assumes that immigration could be curbed and stifled if necessary. This supposes that immigration is not based off of necessity by the foreigner and that other alternatives should not be of issue, especially with the inclusion of another regularization program. The twist to this regularization is that it suggested the aspect of criminality linkage to immigrants, excluding from regularization those immigrants that had been convicted of a crime.<sup>57</sup> Another key term used in this law that differentiates it is the idea of conditionality. Now the aim was to allow some things, and deter others or prohibit them altogether. The passage of this law started to curve how the selection process was to be carried out and further dug at the illegal and temporary workers.

The positive aspect of the Martelli Law is that it guaranteed equal access to social rights and benefits, an extenuation and more defined addition to the previous law. The problem with the law was that the national budget did not have the necessary funds.<sup>58</sup> Combined with increased agitation in public opinion of immigrants and defining them to criminals created an atmosphere that was detrimental towards immigrant acceptance and assimilation procedures. In response to these social rights and accommodating for them, “temporary accommodation programs” were

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<sup>55</sup> Compiled from the following sources: Triandafyllidou, Zincone *A Model*, Zincone *Italian Immigrants*, Al-Azar, Nascimbene, and Levinson. Duplicate information and some varying viewpoints.

<sup>56</sup> Zincone *Italian Immigrants*. 21

<sup>57</sup> Nascimbene. 345

<sup>58</sup> Zincone *Italian Immigrants*. 21

constructed to gather and distribute such resources.<sup>59</sup> It was a more permanent approach to the problem, but the law was still tainted with the idea of temporality. Temporary access to social rights and benefits meant that there would be a supply shortage of resources set aside for immigrants and that immigration problems would persist. It also instigates discontent and unhappiness among immigrants which transfers as well to the native population.

The other failure of this law arose in the functioning of the government as a governing body and its need to allocate the responsibility of immigration to other bodies. The structure of the system was by no means efficient even before including other organizations, but now the Martelli law extended control over several organizations. Automatically this creates tensions among the groups in leadership and how to tackle the issue, as well as in general being too many organizations to organize. The ultimate result was that the Martelli law hurt the immigrant population because there was a lack of efficiency in their representation.

In conclusion, the effectiveness of the law and the language it used that promoted further influence in the isolation of foreigners. The Martelli Law addresses the idea that immigration was a phenomenon with long lasting consequences that would not subside in a reasonable time frame that would benefit the immigrant. The only quality piece of legislation in this law for immigrants was that it defined certain social benefits and rights. Those terms alone suggest that immigrants are people that deserve fundamental rights of a human being. However, the law stopped government support of immigration and employment when it introduced the idea of limitations and conditions. These constraints were created to control immigration and only served in further categorizing certain immigrants by portioning access to rights and services to particular groups. Criminality was introduced and immigrants were set up to receive more rejection. Regularization was included with strong influence from the Left.<sup>60</sup>

#### **4.2D Law 40/1998 Turco-Napolitano/Testo Unico<sup>61</sup>**

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<sup>59</sup> Zincone *Italian Immigrants*. 21

<sup>60</sup> Zincone *Italian Immigrants*. 25 and Nascimbene. 345

<sup>61</sup> Compiled from the following sources: Triandafyllidou, Zincone *A Model*, Zincone *Italian Immigrants*, Al-Azar, Nascimbene, and Levinson. Heavily influenced by the Zincone articles.



The Turco-Napolitano law is probably the most influential and complex law to address immigration. It consisted of measures that ranged from being open and inviting to being repressive and constrictive. This is due to the party coalitions and international attitudes converging at this time.

In 1998 the direction of immigration approaches was to be decided by a centre-left government.<sup>62</sup> This does not mean that the centre-left government had much control over the matter and was constantly in a struggle to appease other parties. The Lega-Nord could be very loud and forceful and rarely ignored completely. The other block came about from international pressure. With Italy becoming a member of the Schengen area and adopting Schengen Information System<sup>63</sup> policies, it was necessary that it follow certain protocols and focused attention of areas of concern for the EU, especially those residing in border control fears. The Schengen Agreement established the creation of a European zone where passport control was not necessary for the participating countries.<sup>64</sup> The left party coalition found it necessary to adopt some restrictive measures in order to persuade acceptance of other, seemingly liberal, measures included in the law.

The centre-left government made a transition in setting up the framework for immigrants to finally be perceived as “individuals and potential citizens” and not just “workers”.<sup>65</sup> This change is reflected in the provisions included on access to public health and integration structures. As a result of the Dini decree, undocumented workers were allowed to use “most” public health services. This included “walk-in or emergency hospital services and even ongoing health treatment if essential”, which was a big step for the government to support in terms of clandestines. To be allowed the use of such services, illegal immigrants were given identity cards and a code number.<sup>66</sup> The trust the immigrant population had in this system is questionable, but at least the government was attempting to treat immigrants as human beings that required some level of health support. The law was also successful in opening up public education which

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<sup>62</sup> The following argument is made by Zincone *Italian Immigrants* and relates to the section *1998 and the general reforms of the Italian political system*.

<sup>63</sup> Zincone *Italian Immigrants*. 25

<sup>64</sup> Kasic. 1428

<sup>65</sup> Zincone *Italian Immigrants*. 25

<sup>66</sup> Zincone *A Model*. 963

combined were all crucial in social integration and gave immigrants basic support on improving their social and economic positions.<sup>67</sup>

The law also gave the impression that it was serious in attempting to deal with immigration and that it would be able to do so by creating National Fund for Migratory Policies. The National Fund insured that the access to public resources and integration procedures could be adequately funded. By doing so, the centre-left government was attempting to thwart the idea that this was a temporary measure and instead provide long-term aid to the situation.

One aspect of the law seemed to promote a more “open door” attitude with the creation of the job-residence permit.<sup>68</sup> This provision permitted immigrants residing in Italy prior to March 27, 1998 to gain a residence permit through legal processes. The law used the word “condition”, which associates the negative connotation that the extent of the law is limited. When there are limitations, groups will be excluded and illegal immigration will have to find another means of survival. The conditions applied in this law were that residence permits were only allotted for seasonal employment and employment that had been offered to the immigrant as well as quota limitations and a sponsorship issue, which will be discussed in further detail below. A one year issuance was given to the permit on basis of work (Sourcebook). In implementing this law, such restrictions on the legitimization procedure were not as helpful as they had had originally been intended to be in eliminating illegal immigration.

The law continues with a series of very restrictive policies or concepts that enabled exclusion which had a direct, inverse affect on the entry of immigrants. The restrictive measures resulted in greater segregation of immigrants and made it easier for immigrants to be associated with illegality. This repression is felt with the adoption of “temporary detention centers”. Under this law undocumented workers had the possibility of being detained for up to thirty days, after which they were either identified and released or repatriated. Detainment became the first measure that took a more forceful approach towards returning immigrants back to the country of origin. The law did use the word temporary (which previously has been noted to allow for more

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<sup>67</sup> Zincone *Italian Immigrants*. 25

<sup>68</sup> Zincone *Italian Immigrants* Referring to law 1998

illegal occupancies), but in its usage here, the word was not preceded by accepted connotations. In this use, its purpose was to seek out clandestine individuals and to remove them. Even the idea of a detention center automatically places a label on the foreigners that they did something wrong and influences the public that they needed to be segregated from the general population.

Planned migration was another topic that gained attention in the Turco-Napolitano law. Planned migration arranged for a triennial planning document that would assess the situation of migration and set guidelines for current and future inflows.<sup>69</sup> The three year program laid out a quota for each annual period. The quotas are based on the estimations of how much foreign labor will be needed by the local and regional labour offices of the Ministry and employers' associations. The problem with a quota is that they are, by nature, set measures. They are not meant to change and adapt to fluxes in immigration and migration flows. The quotas fail to understand as that the economy is never certain or that the foreign labor market is necessary for a good economy and for Italy. The 1998 quota was established at 58,000. If in 1991, one million inhabitants of Albania fled their country as a result of the regime collapse, then that number would not be sufficient enough to accommodate large influxes in later years.<sup>70</sup> The accuracy of the estimates will always be in question, especially when taking into consideration the different job categories and how many persons were allowed entry for each category. The comparison of the early quotas to more quotas of recent years, like 2006, demonstrates just how inefficient the quotas were in regulating immigrant population. During 2006, a 170,000 persons quota was allowed.<sup>71</sup> Housekeepers and private carers category alone were given a quota of 45,000. In reaching the quota nationality was also considered, with 500 persons restricted to those of Italian origin.<sup>72</sup> With other restrictions and persons running low, it makes sense that the ethnic groups more subjected to the informal economy initially would fall into patterns of illegalization and alternate methods of finance.

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<sup>69</sup> Nascimbene. 342

<sup>70</sup> Kotic. 1419

<sup>71</sup> Zincone *Italian Immigrants*. 35

<sup>72</sup> Triandafyllidou. 188

The last issue in the 1998 law is with the word “sponsor”.<sup>73</sup> The sponsor is a complicated issue that was meant as a method by which to establish liability and legal status. The problem occurs when it is realized that the difficult sponsorship procedure is a burden placed on another individual and that often acts as a disincentive the process. The centre-left’s defense of the sponsorship issue is that it is offering opportunity as it allow for a foreigner to reside in the country while searching for work. This is achievable by placing full responsibility of the foreigner on a third party as the third party must agree to support the immigrant while they find a job. The sponsor must “guarantee lodging, maintenance, the payment of health insurance, and re-entry to the country of origin if work is not found”. The main point here is money. The third party has to take on too much responsibility and put a lot of trust in their immigrant’s success in obtaining legal employment with their finances as stake considering that the immigrant usually does not have the funds necessary to reply to the former concerns.

The message here is simple: “the gap between the planned legal quotas, the demand for foreign labour, and the immigration pressure from non-EU countries, continuously produce large numbers of undocumented immigrants”. Undocumented immigrants that are isolated as a result of the rhetoric and implications from the law lead to a need to find an alternative plan. The notion that immigrants are traveling to Italy to seek opportunity supports the claim that there needs to be something done to better acclimate the inflows into the community and account for the transition to ensure that the appeal of organized crime is not there since the inflows will continue.

#### **4.2E Law 189/2002 Bossi-Fini<sup>74</sup>**

Complications arise upon analysis of government parties and their particular verbiage when the Bossi-Fini law from 2002 is considered. The law is a compilation of two major actors, both on the centre-right side, with particular attention to the Bossi party being comprised of Berlusconi and a leader of the Lega-Nord band. The 2002 law initially created some of the most repressive measures that Italy had seen in regards to immigration but subsided from opposition of the left.

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<sup>73</sup> Zincone *Italian Immigrants*. 38

<sup>74</sup> Compiled from the following sources: Triandafyllidou, Zincone *A Model*, Zincone *Italian Immigrants*, Al-Azar, Nascimbene, and Levinson. The attitudes expressed are also represented through the a BBC article; Smith, Tasmin. "Bossi Focuses Immgration Fears." *BBC News*. 10 May 2001

Initially the law began to reconsider how to view immigrants and decided to take away the respect given to them by the 1998 law by referring to them as “guest workers” and the automatically connotation this has to temporary status.<sup>75</sup> **Table 3** gives a thorough explanation of the classification of the foreigners and their presence in Italy with labels of worker and employee. By this the immigrant is not seen as a citizen with tangible rights but rather as a “guest” with the expectation to leave the country at some point. The length of the legal residency is unsure but regulations were placed on this as well. The “guest” idea is carried on throughout the laws and their intended audience as demonstrated through **Table 3**.

**Table 3 Regularizations of foreigners in Italy 1985-2006**<sup>76</sup>

| Year | Applications (in thousands) | Categories of applicants |
|------|-----------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1986 | 119                         | Employees                |
| 1990 | 235                         | All                      |
| 1995 | 259                         | Employees and dependents |
| 1998 | 251                         | All workers              |

The applicants consistently had to be employees and workers, with one being open to all. The ideas shared here are: temporary and exclusionary. Most of the time immigrants were seen as workers and not as individual people. With immigrants never gaining respect as part of the population that deserves more of a title than guest workers, the chances of establishment are reduced. Guest is equitable to temporary. Temporary results in exclusion.

To emphasize the temporary label theory, the social integration measures of the law that were more clearly defined were restricted to legal immigrants only. The National Fund created by the 1998 law was merged within a larger context and the total value of the fund was reduced.<sup>77</sup> This led to the belief that immigration was not to be supported by the government and that outsiders were not welcome, a perfect example of how immigration laws are created to influence public opinion. If the public sees that funds are being cut and integration measures limited, then these acts gives more credibility to the notion of excluding foreigners.

<sup>75</sup> Zincone *Italian Immigrants*. 1998 Bossi-Fini Law

<sup>76</sup> Raymer, James, and Frans Willekens, eds. *International Migration in Europe: Data, Models and Estimates*. Chichester, England: Wiley, 2008. 105. Compiled from a larger table.

<sup>77</sup> Zincone *Italian Immigrants*. 32

The idea of temporary is again introduced with other provisions that were given to work permits and their validity. “Conditions” were again applied, leading to the exclusion and expulsion of people that did not match up with certain criteria such as with reasoning of entry being identified and the idea of employment gaining stronger emphasis again. Limitations were set on permits such as: nine months for seasonal workers, one year for temporary workers, and no more than two years for all other types of workers. After a contract expired the immigrant had only six months to obtain a new job or were forced to be repatriated, which changed from the twelve months that had previously accompanied workers permits.<sup>78</sup>

Permits, which were introduced here, were also essential in the response analysis between the government and the public. It was now law that employers had to advertise the job opening for 12 days to try to fill the position with Italians and legal citizens<sup>79</sup>. The fear of unemployment and foreign occupation was explicit in this provision and persuades the public to latch onto the anxiety that immigrants will bring down their prosperity in the job market. Counter intuitively this only incites anger amongst the public that immigrants are taking their jobs, even though it is only supporting the point that this isolation makes it easier for immigrants of certain origin to find themselves in the informal economy and organized crime connection.

### **4.3 Government Analysis and Conclusions**

A very important side note in considering the role of government in immigration is the notion of integrity and responsibility. Italy is well known for its government corruption, where such cases are endless and prevalent. A very significant aspect of the corruption is that it allows for illegality to prosper. A failure to have trust in the government along with a lack of and/or dishonest enforcement, constructs a situation where being illegal is just easier. When there are stringent rules but little enforcement, why would an immigrant take the difficult, legal avenue to establish something that will become temporary when it is much quicker and easier to obtain immediate profit by illegal means?<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>78</sup> Triandafyllidou. 187 and Zincone *Italian Immigrants*. 33

<sup>79</sup> Kotic. In reference to the Albanian and Polish immigration process.

<sup>80</sup> Kotic, Ankica, and Anna Triandafyllidou. "Albanian and Polish Migration to Italy: The Micro-Processes of Policy, Implementation and Immigrant Survival Strategies." The theme is prevalent throughout the talk of Albanian immigration.

Berlusconi is the most controversial figure in portraying the distrust that can stem from the government and their integrity towards law upholding. He frequently bent the law to cater to him, such as when he passed a law that exempted him from being prosecuted.<sup>81</sup> If the government cannot even be trusted, then how can immigrants be sure that their rights will be granted accurately and that the government procedures will benefit them? The immigration laws could just be a ploy in order to detain them and expel them, which would not be a far stretch.

There is an argument that states that the recent laws are aimed towards providing solutions to immigration by means of promoting legalization and regularization. This may have worked for the short term, allowing access to resources in the steps towards naturalization, but the methods fail to validate themselves based on some statistics and on logistical standpoints. A noticeable contradiction in fighting for legal, and against illegal, immigration is that people who are there illegally retain fewer options. Visas are rarely given to immigrants in the country. Demand for work permits is still high. Thus, “illegal immigrants who have no visa are unable to get a job; those without a job are unable to get a visa”.<sup>82</sup> There is no hope for an illegal immigrant to become legal if there is no opportunity for legalization at some point; which means that the only thing for an immigrant to do is stay illegal and hope for the best.

The economy makes it difficult in planning quotas and permits. An article written by Frederika Randall about the recent riots from African immigrants in Rosarno alludes to the scenario that some seasonal immigrant workers had been turned out of their well-paying factory jobs by the economic crisis.<sup>83</sup> Permits and quotas were meant to regulate inflows but failed to acknowledge the real life circumstances that could arise. If employment failed and they needed to find something else and were unable to do so in six months, then why not stay illegal and work for less in these less appealing jobs that were Mafia supported?

## 5. Social Drivers and Public Opinion

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<sup>81</sup> Stewart, Phil. "Italy's Berlusconi Wins Immunity from Prosecution." *Reuters*

<sup>82</sup> "Italy's Immigrants Despair At New Laws." *BBC News*. 27 July 2009

<sup>83</sup> Randall, Frederika. "Rebellion in Rosarno." *The Nation* [Rome].

A recent BBC News article alluded to Chinese immigration to Italy presenting difficulties.<sup>84</sup> The main concern here is that Italians were losing jobs in the textile and manufacturing markets because the Chinese are able to work better and quicker for less pay. Job security and Italian identity are at stake in the town of Prato where over fifteen percent of the city's population is Chinese. This immigration situation does not factor into the model of this case study, as there is no affiliation between the employed Chinese population with organized crime and the underground economy. However, it is important to note that in indicating attitudes towards various immigrant populations, especially when approximately a third of the Chinese population in Italy is clandestine, usually overstaying their visa by the Chinese is allowed. The message here is that Italians are very concerned with national identity, and having "Made in Italy by the Chinese" products is subpar to a prideful country.

A major disadvantage of the immigrants is the media's largely biased interpretation of representing immigrants as criminals<sup>85</sup> that lead to destruction of Italian culture. While it may be just a speculation, this popular media opinion could be largely due to the fact that the three largest television broadcasts are owned by Silvio Berlusconi, the center-right administration aimed against immigration.<sup>86</sup> The media often reports and blames immigrant groups for societal mishaps. During the legislative proposal of 2002 regarding immigration, the political leader Fini was known to perpetuate this anti-immigration opinion by stating that "immigration could destroy social order while also creating a new lumpenproletariat of immigrant voters ready to support the left".<sup>87</sup> One situation validated vigilante attacks of gypsy camps by accusing gypsy woman accused of child abduction.<sup>88</sup> There is constant hostility and violence against immigrants and Roma settlements are frequently raided. European Parliament member Victoria Mohacsi reported that the gypsy camps have the worst conditions of all the gypsy camps throughout the EU. The mainstream media is how the majority of people receive information. The mainstream

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<sup>84</sup> Goldsmith, Rosie. "Made in Italy?" *BBC News*. Radio 4. Pertains to the entire China illustration.

<sup>85</sup> Zincone *A Model*. 962

<sup>86</sup> "Profile: Silvio Berlusconi." *BBC News*. 13 Dec. 2009

<sup>87</sup> Geddes. 358

<sup>88</sup> "Rome v Roma." *The Economist*. 22 May 2008. Web.

<[http://www.economist.com/displayStory.cfm?story\\_id=11412932](http://www.economist.com/displayStory.cfm?story_id=11412932)>. The whole section on Roma pertains to this article, including Victoria Mohacsi.



media is responsible for the depiction of these immigrant situations. Other articles<sup>89</sup> have used words such as *hunt, clandestine, raids, crack down, racial tensions*, etc. It was even noted in a media review that the top words used in regards to immigration are: “*Albanians, immigrant, arrested, public force, clandestine, extracomunitari, drugs, Moroccan, and refugee*”.<sup>90</sup>

Immigrants continue to be blamed for several acts of indecency on people. What follows are feelings of trepidation that have transformed into hatred and distrust:

The Northern League has influenced public opinion recently by even advocating the separation of people in train carriages. This was recent news that spurred forth in 2009<sup>91</sup>. This segregation was Mr. Salvini’s way to “fight crime and boost safety”. This event provides more evidence of the government influence on public opinion and what rhetoric the public is being fed by the media. If the government depicts that they are concerned with about safety and foreigners then it plants a seed in the public that they should be, too.

With the media against them and the label as criminals following them through proper wordage and illustrations, immigrants do not stand a chance. Integration is not even accepted at this point and fear keeps them at a distance. Integration and discrimination need to be addressed though to curb the need to find alternate methods of survival.

## **6. Integration and Isolation and Discrimination**

It is a typical for immigration to be perceived as a threat. To justify the need to maintain cultural identity and social security (such as with standard of living and peaceful habitation concerns), often times discriminatory practices are implemented. This separates ethnic and racial groups, usually “manifested through labor market discrimination, laws, and policies restricting residence and business opportunities, limits on political participation, restrictions on access to public services such as education, and others”.<sup>92</sup> Integration is a key element in assimilating various cultures and cohabitating in a relatively peaceful manner. However, Gradstein continues to

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<sup>89</sup> Articles included: Burleigh, Nina. "African Immigrants in Italy: Slave Labor for the Mafia." *Time*. CNN; Faris, Stephan. "In Italy, Racial Tensions Explode into Violence." *Time*. CNN; "Italian Navy to Hunt Illegal Immigrants." *BBC News*.

<sup>90</sup> Triandafyllidou. 194.

<sup>91</sup> Duff, Mark. "Milan Train Segregation Idea Row." *BBC News*. 9 May 2009

<sup>92</sup> Gradstein, Mark, and Maurice Schiff. “[The Political Economy of Social Exclusion, With Implications for Immigration Policy](#)” *Journal of Population Economics* 19.2 (2006):

discern that the separation of ethnic and racial groups leads to discriminatory practices that unequally distribute resources. This biased distribution hinders immigrant assimilation into society and ultimately the economy. With immigration to Italy focusing largely on immigrants seeking opportunity and fortune it is fair to infer that immigrants need the economy to thrive and desire integration to advance from previous circumstances. If the economy that the immigrants have traveled to is unreachable, and the government and people are against them, but the geography and informal economy are luring them with open arms, then immigration to a lucrative underground economy is most likely to occur.

As seen with the law in 1998, Italy has not entirely ignored integration procedures throughout its history with immigration. The actual policies of the integration procedures will be examined in detail in the government section. The difficulty comes to the foreground in analyzing the proper balance will placate the native population and assist the immigrant population concurrently. In Italy the integration policies succeeded at allowing immigrants to be considered human beings through permitting access to basic health and education, but the policies have also failed at granting immigrants easy legal access to the economy. The economy is their life force. This suggests that, while integration policies do exist, Italy has failed to accommodate foreigners in a fair and practical way into the sector that is crucial for their success. Opportunities only become available in the areas that are deemed either unworthy to Italians, which creates friction between them and foreigners, or in areas that are designated for the desperate. Integration, discrimination, and organized crime involving immigrants generate a perpetual cycle that is fueled by the government and native population discourse. The discrimination is a result of the lack of resources that the immigrant needs to integrate properly. Resources are allocated by the government. The public witnesses immigrants on the streets or in run down camps and associates the immigrant with filth and crime. Unfortunately, the native population do not recognize the struggle of an immigrant and the circumstances which led them to this devastating and deceiving route.

## **7. The Economy**

The Italian economy is complex and full of underlying systems. As an outsider referring to the common statistics and current global crisis it would seem that Italy is not a prime candidate of

for immigration. Public debt exceeds 100% of GDP and unemployment is as high as 15% (although the regional disparities must be acknowledged between the industrialized North and the lesser developed South).<sup>93</sup> Between 2001 and 2008 economic growth slowed to an average of 0.8%.<sup>94</sup> These figures alone would detract even the most ignorant of people. These statistics actually reveal more about immigration and can be successfully used in assessing what other operations are occurring when examined further.

The general economy is made up of three main areas: agriculture, industry, and services.<sup>95</sup> Economic differences are related to the industries and economic make up of the regions. The North is industrialized and heavily embedded in the service industry and private companies in precision machinery, motor vehicles, chemicals, pharmaceuticals, electric goods and fashion and clothing. The South suffers from nostalgia of the agriculture that it used to be based on and is still supported by. Much of the Southern lands are not arable due to mountainous geography in Italy, but the South is still utilized heavily to produce much of the country's fruits, vegetables, olive oil, wine, and durum wheat.<sup>96</sup> The composition of the economy by the sectors for Italy as a whole is as follows: agriculture (2.1%), industry (25%) and services (72.9%). The labor force participation by occupation of the sectors is as follows: agriculture (4.2%), industry (30.7%), and services (65.1%).<sup>97</sup> The most striking factor in all of this is that while the agricultural sector is the smallest contributor to economic activity, it also employs 1.4 million people.<sup>98</sup>

The established economic system gives perspective to the main point involving immigration and the relation to either ally with organized crime or working in the informal economy, as well as maintaining an illegal status. There is a need to employ workers in the agricultural south and to the disparity and disconnect between the South and the North it is easy to employ undocumented workers, who require less pay and are under little to no regulation. The informal economy is implemented well within the extents of the agricultural sector.<sup>99</sup> Extortion and corruption are

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<sup>93</sup> Thorne, David. "Italy." *U.S. Department of State*. Web. <http://www.state.gov/p/eur/ci/it/> and "Italy." *The World Factbook*. CIA.

<sup>94</sup> Thorne, David. "Italy." *U.S. Department of State*. Web. <<http://www.state.gov/p/eur/ci/it/>>.

<sup>95</sup> "Italy." *The World Factbook*. CIA.

<sup>96</sup> Thorne, David

<sup>97</sup> "Italy." *The World Factbook*. CIA.

<sup>98</sup> Thorne, David. "Italy." *U.S. Department of State*. Web. <<http://www.state.gov/p/eur/ci/it/>>.

<sup>99</sup> "Informal Economy." *International Labour Organization*.

terms often associated with immigration and the labor force. Unemployment may be high but there are still opportunities in the labor force in areas where cheap labor may not provide enough incentive for the Italian population to take advantage of when a higher standard of living is more appealing.

The industry sector is connected to the part of the informal economy in regards to the exploitation and manipulation of undocumented. The exploitation occurs primarily as a means of cheap labor. The other part of this is that Italian regulation creates a protocol allowing smaller firms to avoid certain regulations and avoids taxation procedures<sup>100</sup>. These loopholes encouraged Italian firms to stay small to claim rights to this category, and around the 1980s approximately 90% of firms listed themselves below the income threshold necessary to be considered a small enough firm to avoid more regulation. The government has a hold on the economy and how it operates, stifling immigrant success in the labor market and allowing for exploitation to occur with legal options being obsolete.

The informal economy picked up speed after the construction boom ended in the 1970s and the situation of immigration combined with economic opportunities fostered its development.<sup>101</sup> A main factor keeping organized crime and the informal economy engraved in the Italian system is the fact that overall GDP benefits from its services. Estimates even range from the informal economy contributing to 20-30 of GDP.<sup>102</sup> The informal system is known to employ at least four million workers.<sup>103</sup> In a country suffering from high unemployment rates, this makes organized crime a large employer that would appear to be the sector for an illegal immigrant to lean towards.

If unemployment is high and the economy is already troubled, the unskilled labor markets that attract foreigners who lack a set level of skills would also appeal to an employer.<sup>104</sup> The

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<sup>100</sup> Bull and Newell; *Post-War Economy* section and *Governing the Economy II* section. The main paragraph is based on this section.

<sup>101</sup> Bull and Newell. *Post-War Economy and Governing the Economy II*. Includes the statistics on the informal economy and employment.

<sup>102</sup> Thorne, David. "Italy." *U.S. Department of State*. Web. <<http://www.state.gov/p/eur/ci/it/>>. The higher estimate of the informal economy contributing 27% of GDP.

<sup>103</sup> Bull and Newell. *Governing the Economy II*.

<sup>104</sup> Varese. Central theme of Mafia and control.

employer is also struggling, so an unskilled worker that is short of rights is a perfect match for their needs. The employer can get away with paying less for the work, there is less rebuttal, and there is little anyone can do about it, especially with a government and officials that obey the law selectively (Prime minister Berlusconi being a prime example through his law that passed by which he exempted himself from being punishable by the law as noted previously). Immigrants come to Italy looking for a job. They enter through the South, attach themselves to the informal economy of agriculture, and remain at this level because of the repercussions that would ensue of not obtaining employment.<sup>105</sup>

“Immigrants are trapped in the informal economy because of the scarce availability of legal jobs (and quota places) that could act as a lever for their regularization and/or maintenance of legal stay status.”

Kosic and Triandafyllidou<sup>106</sup>

The fact of the matter is that foreign labor is in demand. Immigrants are wanted for work, but are not always welcome in terms of their social impacts.<sup>107</sup>

An indicator that regularization is not a simple solution by the government is that regional disparities exist in how each sector and industry operates, as well as how immigration takes place. According to Geddes, the majority of Italy’s legally resident population in the North-West is equal to 36.6% and 27.4% in the North-East.<sup>108</sup> This indicates that the problems of legalizing run deeper for the Southern population. The South is already fragmented and torn apart by economic differences and experiences with illegal immigration due to its large borders and lack on efficient controls. The South is more subject to Mafia rule because of its long history there and the Mafia’s origins in the South of Sicily, which makes it harder to overturn and even more, limits viable resource for immigrants.<sup>109</sup>

It is worth acknowledging as well that a lot of the efforts that were introduced by the government to control migration flows actually had negative side effects. An article written in 1997 regarding

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<sup>105</sup> Kosic. Explored Throughout the case of Albanian migration patterns and trends and their motivation for leaving.

<sup>106</sup> Kosic. 1415

<sup>107</sup> Geddes. Explored throughout on the social impacts of immigration and political parties.

<sup>108</sup> Geddes. 357

<sup>109</sup> Bull and Newell. *Mafia* and Varese.

the Albanian increase after the pyramid investment schemes deteriorating acknowledges that the emergency decrees implemented to curb illegal entry made it so that the only option was to turn towards the underground economy. This was possible when the immigrants came over by sea, (an estimated 16,000 at this increment) sought refuge, were refused, and then “disappeared”. (BBC Guerin) The threat of being in detainment camps or being repatriated was enough to force immigrants into submissiveness towards the only option left.

## 8. Options

The economy enables underground activity. The government has transcribed a setting of exclusionary policies and outlooks that lead to temporary status held by the immigrant. Now that they are tagged as criminals, and the legal status process too complex and selective, they only have a few options to consider. The immigrant can return home. This is unlikely due to the fact that they left their country for a reason and are seeking amnesty and security elsewhere. The immigrant can try to apply for legalization. This has proven too cumbersome and exhausting, as well as defeating. The immigrant can enter illegally and anticipate the best. This is the understandable option. The informal economy is waiting to be filled. The jobs are ones that are not desired by ordinary Italians. The wages are too low and they are not fulfilling in any aspect. A desperate immigrant takes advantage of this prospect. There is now a viable sector. The only thing missing is a voice and an enforcer: the mafia.

## 9. The Mafia

“Mafias emerge in modernizing societies that are undergoing economic expansion but lack a legal structure that reliably protects property rights or settles business disputes.”

Federico Varese<sup>110</sup>

The Mafia needs someone to extort to keep operations functioning. Immigrants need protection and work. The set-up is perfect. Italy is fragmented and suffers from regionally disparities and weak government authority<sup>111</sup>. An introduction of the two in the setting of Southern Italy is a match made in heaven given the desperateness of immigrants to survive and fit in from their discrimination and the desire of the Mafia to support its system. The Mafia systems are complex

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<sup>110</sup> Varese, Federico. "How Mafias Migrate: The Case of the 'Ndrangheta in Northern Italy." *Law & Society Review* 40.2 (2006)

<sup>111</sup> Varese. 412

and could be analyzed extensively and still provide no clear patterns or conclusions. The significance of the Mafia in this context thus is to explain why the Mafia is in Italy, what it provides, and why this is enticing to immigrants.

“Organized crime” is the phrase most commonly used to describe Mafia activities. This is because the activities involved are of criminal intent and are achieved through thorough planning and intricate systems.<sup>112</sup> “The underlying principle of Mafia rule is that it protects the community from all other strong men in return for regularized tribute”.<sup>113</sup> In an area that lacks organization and strong government rule, the Mafia provides an alternative. Many have accepted the presence of the organizations and have also been silenced if disapproval or objections are raised.<sup>114</sup>

The Italian Mafia is well pronounced and vastly replicated. The stereotypes are known and imitated. The most famous Italian Mafia clan resides in the Southern tip of Italy, known as the Sicilian Mafia. Among others are the Ndrangheta of Calabria, the Camorra of Campania, and the La Sacra Corona of Puglia. Their major activities include drug trafficking, murder, political corruption, smuggling, racketeering, money laundering, and so forth.<sup>115</sup>

The Mafia did not need to do much to gain control. It originated in Southern Italy and developed as a form of “private power, offering protection of persons and property” where there was a lack of state control or interest.<sup>116</sup> The Mafia used this initial foothold to extort other interests and gain more power. Now, the Mafia can lobby and manipulate through legal methods in the form of clientelism. Political parties saw many opportunities for advancement by securing votes for the Mafia. The Mafia has displayed high levels of power and was known for its violent repercussions of disobedience. Favors from parliament were part of the scheme providing that parliament helped the Mafia in return. It was all about votes and security in return for security and submissiveness. The Mafia not only aids politicians in securing seats, but also participates in

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<sup>112</sup> Anderson, Robert T. "From Mafia to Cosa Nostra." *The American Journal of Sociology* 71.3 (1965). 303. Comment on the Mafia bureaucratizing.

<sup>113</sup> Anderson. 303

<sup>114</sup> Anderson and Varese. Both sources highlight the theme that violence is used to assure order.

<sup>115</sup> "Federal Bureau of Investigation - Organized Crime - Italian Organized Crime - Overview." *FBI ? Federal Bureau of Investigation Homepage*. Web.

<sup>116</sup> Bull and Newell. 106 *Mafia*. Significant for the entire paragraph on Mafia rule and procedure.

local elections if given the opportunity.<sup>117</sup> It is a reciprocal relationship that is well sustained by both parties and implemented into the Italian system.

The news constantly reports on allegations of political/social involvement in Mafia business. A February 24, 2010 news piece<sup>118</sup> unveiled a recent accusation against an Italian billionaire, Silvio Scaglia, and his scam involving telecommunication and money laundering. The connection was that some money was being sent to the 'Ndrangheta. Even more, "One businessman with 'Ndrangheta connections who allegedly received funds from the scheme met with an Italian senator, Nicola Di Girolamo, and helped the politician line up votes" (Wall Street Journal). These schemes typically run deep and are rooted well within the infrastructure of Italian life.

The economy is most important in sustaining Mafia organizations and is vital in establishing a link to immigrants, not just immigration in general. The Mafia has ordinarily been involved in smuggling operations, but the scope of this paper is to determine the involvement of immigrant populations in the organized crime world. The Mafia first capitalized on the construction boom that came to an end in the 1970s<sup>119</sup>. After that the Mafia took interest in two new lucrative markets: International drug trafficking and public work contracts. In 1980 the Sicilian Mafia was producing 30% of the heroin in the American market.<sup>120</sup>

The construction boom is a prime example of how organized crime engaged in activities involving the employer and the immigrant. Given this situation, Italy was challenged with a new market and a lack of labor to fulfill the demand.<sup>121</sup> The Mafia fulfilled this new demand by becoming acting as facilitator. Immigrants who had failed to land a stable job needed this new market. Employers need quick and cheap labor. As illegals, the immigrants had no higher authority to appeal to and could not unionize against the poor work conditions. Therefore, Mafia

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<sup>117</sup> Anderson and Varese establish that the Mafia takes part in politics for power. Also noteworthy is the BBC News article sources, "Berlusconi Accused of Mafia Links." *BBC News*. 8 Jan. 2003 and Willan, Philip. "Mafia Supergrass Fingers Berlusconi." *The Observer*. The Guardian, 12 Jan. 2003, that shows how well known politicians are caught in scandals and use the Mafia in a reciprocal relationship.

<sup>118</sup> Meichtry, Stacy, and Sabrina Cohen. "Billionaire Is Sought in Sweeping Fraud Probe." *Wall Street Journal* [New York] 24 Feb. 2010, Eastern ed., B.1 sec.

<sup>119</sup> Varese, Federico. "How Mafias Migrate: The Case of the 'Ndrangheta in Northern Italy." *Law & Society Review* 40.2 (2006)

<sup>120</sup> Bull and Newell. *106 Mafia*.

<sup>121</sup> Varese. See prior "construction boom" reference in the Economy section of this paper.



involvement was appealing. The Mafia could offer protection given the conditional constraints and provide employers with the labor they were seeking in an efficient manner.<sup>122</sup>

What would an organized crime group have to offer to an immigrant? One answer is that the Mafia “specialize[s] in providing criminal protection to both the underworld and the upper world and in several ways their actions parallel state action”.<sup>123</sup> An immigrant who has been shunned from societal norms needs an outlet. As Roberto Saviano puts it, “The mafias let the African immigrants live and work in their territories because they make a profit off them. The mafias exploit the immigrants, but also granted them living space in abandoned areas outside of town, and kept the police from running too many checks or repatriating them”.<sup>124</sup> The whole idea of illegality maintains this system as a viable option, and really the only option after being ostracized and isolated. An immigrant cannot have faith in a corrupt government that only exudes negative attitudes and beliefs towards their expulsion, but they can have trust in an organization that provides them a means to an end and offers at least some sort of protection. They know the Mafia is not aiming to send them home. The Mafia is just looking for an exchange and to profit. Therefore, why would an immigrant who cannot find a legal avenue reject the Mafia alternative?

The Italian economy has progressed over the years and has even come to a point that tempts involvement in the underground and informal economy. Even more intriguing is the fact that immigration has been a useful labor source for the Mafia. The question here is how immigration, in regards to ethnic differences of origin, tends to fall towards these patterns of labor markets that lean towards the informal economy. One theory suggests that “ethnic division of labor influences the opportunity structures faced by immigrants”.<sup>125</sup> This is due to economies of scale and transaction costs, all in reference to the immigrants and their own opportunities. Economies of scale suggest that their possibilities are limited because they have not been as long established as other people are in Italy. Transaction costs deal with the employer and how it is more

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<sup>122</sup> Varase. 412; Saviano describes the relationship between African immigrants and the Mafia in establishing jobs for protection against unlawful employers looking to extort their illegal position.

<sup>123</sup> Anderson. 303

<sup>124</sup> Saviano, Roberto. "Italy's African Heroes." *New York Times* 24 Jan. 2010

<sup>125</sup> Friman, Richard. "The Great Escape? Globalization, Immigrant Entrepreneurship and the Criminal Economy." *Review of International Political Economy* 11.1 (2004). 98-99

profitable to exploit the situation of immigrants. Since immigrants lack resources in the new territories, especially in regards to networks and distribution efforts, it is more likely that immigrants will have to turn to the criminal economy to survive.<sup>126</sup>

Why, then, did these situations with immigrants alluding to Mafia association happen in Rosarno and Castel Volturno? An article written by Frederika Randall explains precisely the answer:<sup>127</sup>

“These [Mafias] are the brutal, hugely profitable criminal organizations that, as Italians say, ‘control the territory’ in many parts of southern Italy. Meaning that they, and not the Italian state, have the monopoly of force in these outlaw regions: they dictate the rules, they supply jobs (27 percent of working Calabrians work for the ’Ndrangheta), they even look after families in need. With guns as their rule of law, the mafias exploit and often terrorize their fellow citizens—who are reluctant to help the police fight them, in part because they have been co-opted.”

It is about opportunity. It is about loyalty (*omerta*).<sup>128</sup> It is about taking advantage of lucrative and profitable situations. It is about exploitation and stability. There is incentive; a market that takes in people with nowhere else to turn to, and a market that turns a positive into a negative. The Mafia was given its strength. It held onto it to become more powerful and grew off of the existing government and weak governance. Why else was the Mafia a good alternative? One estimate puts their wealth to be bigger than that of the American Corporation of Exxon, which at the time was listed in Fortune 500.<sup>129</sup> The informal economy, which is connected to the Mafia, has also been known to support, at the highest estimates, 20-30% of Italian GDP<sup>130</sup>. Worldwide their income has been estimated at 1 billion dollars.<sup>131</sup>

## 10. Parallels

The world can be viewed as being comprised of small separate communities. They each face challenges. They each consist of individuals with feelings and attitudes all of their own. What

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<sup>126</sup> Friman. 98-99

<sup>127</sup> Randall, Frederika. "Rebellion in Rosarno." *The Nation* [Rome].

<sup>128</sup> Anderson. 303

<sup>129</sup> Bull and Newell. 107 *Mafia*

<sup>130</sup> Bull and Newell. 204

<sup>131</sup> "Federal Bureau of Investigation - Organized Crime - Italian Organized Crime - Overview." *FBI ? Federal Bureau of Investigation Homepage*. Web.

differentiates these communities is their acceptance of outside influences and how they have been shaped and molded to perceive apparent threats to society and life. They then set themselves apart from their reaction to obstacles and the effectiveness of their resolutions. Each community is a test range on a real world issue. Not all communities forge through equivalent battles down to the tee. They are not replicated models where one can implement a procedure, assess its outcome, classify it as a failure, and move on to the next. Coexisting comes at a price and the goal is a relative level of harmony. Not everyone will be appeased and content, but peaceful coexistence is necessary is sustaining a world comprised of various cultures and ideas. The message here is that we have the possibility to learn from communities experiencing similar discontents. Immigration is not a foreign concept; however, some communities are forced to deal with it more abundantly than their counterparts due to geography. Organized crime is a transnational issue. Not all places have made the connection between immigration and organized crime, but that does not mean they are worry free.

Current events can highlight increasing anxiety and the pressing issues at the front of the line. As a U.S. citizen I have been taught that the United States has long been known as a country of mixed cultures that grew and transformed itself from a country where foreign ancestry was hardly uncommon. The latest current event establishes the xenophobic fear of the melting pot poster child.

From a geographic standpoint, Arizona is one of a few gateways into United States territory from the Southern line. It shares a vast border with Mexico, and over the years has experienced high levels of immigration, most noticeably in the four states that must be trekked through to get to the rest: California, Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas. Given its vastness, it is the only developed country to share a 2,000 mile border with a developing country.<sup>132</sup> In recent news Arizona attracted attention on its position regarding illegal immigration.<sup>133</sup> This relates to a point of what this paper is all about. Immigration is natural and Arizona has made its reaction to it well known. How this will effect immigration and illegality is unknown but demonstrates that rhetoric is powerful and influential, especially on public opinion and assimilation measures.

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<sup>132</sup> Will, George F. "A Law Arizona Can Live With." *The Washington Post*. 28 Apr. 2010. Web. 28 Apr. 2010. <[http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/04/27/AR2010042702741.html?wpisrc=nl\\_pmheadline](http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/04/27/AR2010042702741.html?wpisrc=nl_pmheadline)>.

<sup>133</sup> Pitts Jr./ Mcclatchy Newspapers, Leonard J. "Immigration Law Makes Arizona a Great Place Not to Be." *The Arizona Daily Star* [Tucson] 2 May 2010. Web. 2 May 2010. <[http://azstarnet.com/article\\_04d4fe21-1bd6-5362-b33b-c9e0dc9113a6.html](http://azstarnet.com/article_04d4fe21-1bd6-5362-b33b-c9e0dc9113a6.html)>.

The recent bill SB 1070 that Arizona's governor, Jan Brewer, passed relates to immigration and illegality.<sup>134</sup> The main idea of the bill can be expressed as making it so that "police officers are required to try to make 'a reasonable attempt' to determine the status of a person 'where reasonable suspicion exists' that the person is here illegally".<sup>135</sup> For my purposes, the importance here does not remain in further detail of the bill. It resides in how the bill has been perceived and how the media and native population have interpreted it.

Racial profiling is counterproductive towards integration. It is exactly what I am proposing inhibits immigrants to assimilate into a new country and to be accepted. Without acceptance, isolation follows and the immigrant is usually subjected to lower standards. These lower standards often times lead to illegality and as the main case of Italy and immigration shows, immigrants have to turn to some other source of livable means. Arizona is not a stranger to drug routes.<sup>136</sup> It may not have a well established organized crime organization like the Camorra, but how is one to tell that it does not already exist or that it will not be pushed towards this construction? There is an organization that supports the drug system and if Arizona is not careful it could push immigrants into the same situation as Eastern European and Northern Moroccan immigrants into the organized crime route in Italy.

To make a brief point, the law contorts the situation by creating an image that foreigners are "guests" as well and should not be treated as individuals with a purpose to be in Arizona without questioning. "Immigration law makes Arizona a great place not to be"<sup>137</sup> is the title of a story in the Arizona Daily Star. That is because it discredits everything that America has been known to stand for. Now the foreign population will be subject to, as the population views it, racial profiling.<sup>138</sup>

The new Arizona law is a current example of a situation where there are potential ramifications that cannot be assessed yet. Regions across the world experience immigrant conflicts between the native population and culture diversities. The French case of Northern African immigrants is

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<sup>134</sup> McCombs, Brady. "Experts Go Over SB 1070's Key Points." *The Arizona Daily Star* [Tucson] 2 May 2010. Web. 2 May 2010. <[http://azstarnet.com/article\\_a9006f6b-f9b6-59db-87b4-d54a09b4b786.html](http://azstarnet.com/article_a9006f6b-f9b6-59db-87b4-d54a09b4b786.html)>.

<sup>135</sup> Will, George F. "A Law Arizona Can Live With." *The Washington Post*. 28 Apr. 2010. Web. 28 Apr. 2010. <[http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/04/27/AR2010042702741.html?wpisrc=nl\\_pmheadline](http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/04/27/AR2010042702741.html?wpisrc=nl_pmheadline)>.

<sup>136</sup> Smith, Kim. "Pima's New Border Unit Targets Drug Crime." *Arizona Daily Star*. 28 Dec. 2009. Web. 5 May 2010. <[http://azstarnet.com/news/local/crime/article\\_649bcadf-b4f2-5973-a4d9-e8768e58a013.html](http://azstarnet.com/news/local/crime/article_649bcadf-b4f2-5973-a4d9-e8768e58a013.html)>. The article represents how there are organized groups drawn to drug dealing across borders.

<sup>137</sup> Pitts Jr., Leonard. *Arizona Daily Star*.

<sup>138</sup> McCombs, Brady. "Experts Go Over SB 1070's Key Points." *The Arizona Daily Star*.

a prime example of an ethnic minority in a country with strong national pride that could experience negative impacts if their attitudes and controls reflect poorly towards them.

The interesting parallel that France offers with Italy is that Muslim immigrants in France have similar economic backgrounds of motivation and settlement. In 1919 Algerian migrants went to the factories.<sup>139</sup> In 1997 there was a large population, roughly 3 million, living in France.

Incidents of violence have also ensued due to discriminatory factors which could follow the same process of isolating groups and forcing them to look towards a better alternative. Even more, in addition to these socio-religious issues, the Muslim immigrants in France are facing financial hardships, unemployment and economic disparities". The economic difficulties experienced here with Muslims and France is very similar to the economic despairs of the Albanians and Moroccans in Italy. If a strong organized crime group were to be established, the outcome could be comparable to the case of Italy. The government already demonstrated a lack of tolerance for Muslims and their religion through trying to prohibit religious garments. The intolerance turns immigrants away and presents them with the complex of living and abiding by the law that does not cater to their needs. The outcome is unclear but the rhetoric implies that immigration is not accepted and if this is the case, the model from **Diagram 1** could run its course again.

## 11. Conclusion

Immigrant, illegal, and criminal; three words that resonate with society that are often misunderstood. The natural tendency of people to migrate should not be stifled due to such harsh dispositions. When immigration is concerned it is necessary to consider the underlying forces that influence immigrant behavior and settlement. As illustrated with the case study of Italy, the public sphere determines immigrant assimilation or exclusion based on integration and isolation. Ultimately, fear and uncertainty instilled through government rhetoric and attitudes have negatively influenced the perception of the immigrant. Policies are restrictive and label immigrants into guest or worker categories only, rejecting them as simple individuals. The media controls what society is exposed to and is often filled with illegal immigrant news that tags immigrants in criminal activities. The economy is mandated by the government. All three of these drivers influence each other and are impacted by government control. The immigrant is

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<sup>139</sup> Seljuq, Affan. "Cultural Conflicts: North African Immigrants in France." *The International Journal of Peace Studies* 2.2 (1997). All information regarding the North African case in France is taken from this source. All facts can be found here.

thus driven out of society acceptance and, given the availability and opportunities of the informal economy, choose the only pliable option of remaining illegal and residing in the informal/underground institutions. The informal economy is regulated through certain spheres by organized crime groups of the Mafia. Since the Mafia can offer immigrants some levels of protection from the government and their exploitive employers, and since the Mafia can be highly profitable, it is not questionable as to why immigrants would turn to this alternative. It may not be the life they expected, nor is it one that is reputable, but it is at least a way to survive.

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