Article

Migrants workers and processes of social inclusion in Italy: the possibilities offered by social farming

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Abstract: The agricultural sector, even though it has been greatly reduced and is in constant transformation, continues to be of strategic importance. Although it does not represent a quantitatively relevant employment sector, the dynamics are interesting because they reflect the structural, economic and social transformations that are affecting the sector in recent years; there is a growing need for external labour that corresponds to a massive recourse of foreigners to work. Innovative approaches are required to explore the capacity of social farming to create a sustainable and inclusive workplace for migrant. The overall methodological approach of the paper seeks to synthesize fieldwork research and qualitative interviewing to validate the Italian inclusive model [1]. To do this, we have selected four experiences of Italian social agriculture in which migrants are included.

Keywords: social farming; farming for health; inclusive model; migrants inclusion; ethics; innovation; social service; vulnerable people.

1. Introduction

Social farming (SF) is an umbrella term that includes a broad variety of interventions such as social and worker inclusion, therapeutic horticulture, nature-based rehabilitation, animal-assisted intervention [2]. Many research publications show that there is a wide range of activities and practices that have in common the use of natural elements to maintain and promote physical, mental and social well-being [3]. The concept of SF is used also to describe the links between agricultural work and the provision of health and human services [4] and, at the same time, to focus on conducting occupational activities and achieving employment goals at real production farms [5].

The variety of interventions depend also on the territorial specificities (needs and resources) and opportunity, including policies and legislative framework. In Italy, the SF is born such as a possibility to include vulnerable people in agricultural activities addressed into real production farms. For this reason, the Italian model is defined as inclusive [1,6]. The paths of social and working inclusion are realized using different means and policies instruments, such as traineeship and stages.

As for the recipients, Italian SF is aimed at different target groups: people with physical or psychic disabilities, prisoners, drug addicts, young Neither in Employment nor in Education or Training (NEETS), elderly, etc. With the increase of the migration phenomenon, many interventions are aimed also refugees and asylum seekers [7].

Rural Europe faces these significant challenges: one of the 5 objectives of the Europe 2020 strategy is fighting against poverty and marginalization, with a special attention to active inclusion in society and in the labour market of the most vulnerable groups, by overcoming discriminations

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and fostering integration of people with disabilities, ethnical minorities, immigrants and other vulnerable groups [8].

There is a relevant literature that analysed the ways in which migrant labour has fit into the existing socioeconomic and productive systems in rural southern Europe. Some examples include analyses conducted for rural areas in Italy [9], Spain [10,11], Greece [12,13], Sweden [14] and more recently Poland [15].

The literature speaks of a South European model of integration, which differs from the typical model of Central-Northern Europe, where the penalisations of immigrants in terms of the possibility of being employed and the quality of employment are not dissimilar [16]. The integration of immigrants into the Italian labour market is characterised by a *net trade-off*: on the one hand, a relatively low risk of unemployment; on the other hand, the risk of being placed in jobs of poor quality and stability [17].

A multitude of contributions with economic, political, sociological, anthropological or ethical perspective have been written on conditions of immigrants in agricultural sector. The studies focused on to the forms of labour (i.e. regulated and non-regulated, the role of *caporalato* or other forms of intermediation, etc.), contractual rights, protections and exploitation [18–20], cultural and social integration of immigrants [21,22] or role of migrants in rural areas [23].

However, the specific studies on SF addressed to social and working inclusion of immigrants are few, although the presence of significant experiences [24,25].

This article analyses four case studies with the purpose to 1) understand the drivers that facilitate or hinder the social and worker inclusion of immigrants and 2) identify the role of the different involved actors. In the first part, it presents an analytic model of social and working inclusion. Afterwards, the contribute describes the four case studies and shows the main results in relation with the analytic model. As conclusion, the article presents some suggestions in terms of indications for the policy and the implementation of the activities.

2. What characteristics must have social agriculture to be inclusive?

The concept of inclusion is widespread in many fields of study or intervention. Its importance as an issue goes back to policy in the 1990s addressed to reduce social exclusion for disadvantaged or marginalized populations [26,27]. The European Union, especially between the 1970s and the 1990s, promoted the inclusion/exclusion idea through the financing of local projects and research. Exclusion included employment, housing, disability, education, rights of citizenship. The notions, afterworlds, became enshrined in European policies.

Nevertheless, inclusion is a debated concept; it generally means that all people, regardless of their disabilities, religions, origins, sexual orientations or other differences, have the right to be respected and appreciated as valuable members of their communities, attend general education classes with peers throughout life, work at jobs in the community that pay a competitive wage and have careers that use their capacities to the fullest. Different attribute can specify the means, mainly with regard the proposed interventions to face exclusion situations. For instance, social inclusion in general refers to the involvement of wide range of social groups, including the vulnerable ones, to different spheres of life by improving the accessibility to public and private services and by the empowerment of the socially weaker parts.

However, the inclusion is never absolute, but it is closely related to individuals and their perception, awareness and knowledge of the situation, to the life phase, the specific context or the historical period, the society's framework conditions, such as its laws, regulations and norms. It may concern only an area of life, such as the employment sphere, or all the life aspects. Being influenced by a range of factors [28,29], social inclusion can be considered a dynamic construct. Accordingly, socially inclusive interventions should put the emphasis also on the native-born and their groupings as well as on the inclusion of the socially weaker parts of them. It has come to be associated with connectedness, belonging as well as aspects of rights, entitlement and social capital, taking a different shape depending on the context and the population [29].

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Therefore, the social and working inclusion is characterized by empowerment interventions addressed to vulnerable people, but also by the presence of an inclusive context [1]or environment [30]. Some elements can contribute to define this concept: the farming characteristics, the working conditions, the social activities, the relations with the external environment, the modality used for people involvement. With regard the farming characteristics, several authors agree on the importance of a multifunctional approach to the agricultural process and the presence of diversity in agricultural productions and broadening activities, including short chain. The social farming, indeed, is not a simulated situation of work, but an authentic working environment.

To achieve the purpose of social and working inclusion, therefore, it is indispensable to realize not only several social activities in an agricultural context or to provide jobs for vulnerable people, but mainly to design a complex system of action and relationship to connect internal with external inclusion dimensions.

The working conditions are very important to the empowerment dimension. They should be marked by:

- positive relationship between employer and employee and among workers, based on respect
 and trust, which favor the high self-esteem and create a positive learning environment for all
 employees;
- activities with increasing complexity and responsibilities, which allow people to increase their technical and professional competencies, to perceive the changes and attempting to explore new paths;
- knowledge about the whole work process and the role in the process for each worker, that is a
 way to understand the importance of their work;
- knowledge about the results of the activities in terms of commercialization, consumption, use of services and impact on local context, that allows to create links with the external environment.

These elements refer to the capabilities approach was formulated by[31,32], and afterwards developed in normative, ethical, methodological and political aspects. Among the most relevant aspects, in addition to cognitive and learning strategies, the capability approach contemplates the organization and planning of work.

The agricultural activities should be combined with social activities realized by social and health services with the aim to offer individual paths and the opportunity to reflect on their experiences. It needs to design a complex set of activities to accompany people along the path, that includes guidance, training, internship, accompaniment, etc. The presence of activities with increasing complexity and responsibility can also contribute to address this objective as well as the relationship with the external environment are important to build an inclusive context. Therefore, the intra and extra company relationships are the most important elements in achieving a quality SF. Integration, in fact, refers to a situation and has a compensatory approach, with regard to educational sphere, looking at the individual person; the context is left in the background and the focus on individuals, thus increasing a specialized response. On the contrary, inclusion refers to a process that looks at the vulnerable people in its entirety integrated into a context and it is addressed to the whole community.

The context takes importance, since the internal capabilities acquired by a person can be expressed if the external conditions allow it. The more socio-cultural and economic conditions allow equity, the more vulnerable people can be included in real socio-economic processes. In this sense it is essential to intervene also on the local community in which people live and work [33].

We can therefore stress how there is an interdependence between individual freedom of agency and social, political and economic opportunities available. Therefore, the well-being of the person consists not only in the activities that she/he is able to perform, but also in her/his freedom or opportunity (ability) to use them [31,32]. Studies carried out in the Italian scholastic context [34,35] indicate possible environmental factors that can be taken into consideration to detect the students working in their personal, social and environmental interactions, including socio-cultural barriers, such as those due to prejudices and stereotypes.

Even the presence of heterogeneous user of path or services in the same situation in a remarkable element contributing to the creation of a quality SF [36]. This approach avoids ghettos of the people

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involved; it highlights differences by working on everyone's abilities. Additionally, the SF actors carries out many initiatives with the involvement of local community, to sensitize it and to reduce the stigma that characterizes some disadvantaged people, such as mental illness, foreigner and generally the "otherness". It is another important element that contributes to the construction of the inclusive context.

In the inclusive approach there is an engagement from both the agricultural and social care/health sectors, especially network agreement between social/care sector on one hand and private farms on the other one. These actors belong to different worlds (i.e. different backgrounds, institutions, policies) that find in SF their gradual interaction, in a perspective of overcoming of sector-based model of care.

3. Materials and Methods

The methodological approach of this article is qualitative; it aims to synthesize fieldwork research, qualitative interviewing, and quantitative data in line with the strategy of building up a case study [37]. To verify the meaningfulness and usefulness of the inclusive model of SF, four case studies of social and working inclusion addressed to immigrants are considered. The cases were selected using the purposeful sampling technique, that is the selection of cases or samples that are likely to be informational rich with respect to the purposes of our study. The logic behind purposeful sampling is that a few cases studied in depth yield many information and insights about a topic. The aim is to provide a description of the different detected issues that illuminates one's understanding of the phenomenon [38].

In 2019, under the Italian National Rural Network, a call to identify SF experiences was launched addressed to inclusion of immigrants, named "Rural excellence" [39]. Four experience have been chosen by a process of screening and evaluation involving experts; the choice has been based on the following criteria: a) innovativeness; b) reconfiguration of existing social practices; c) social engagement; d) different geographical position (four different regions along the Italian peninsula).

The four case are related to experiences promoted by the third sector and characterized by the involvement of farmers and other actors in the activities, with differences due to the specific contexts and purposes. A case studies description is presented in paragraph 3.1.

The information was collected through detailed in-depth interviews, field visits, documents and reports analysis. Overall, 24 are interweaved, each by 1 or 2 researchers (Table 1). An interview guideline was developed to collect information about the projects and their activities, people involved, favoring or hindering factors of inclusion, outcomes.

	Project	Farmers	Recipients	Other actors
	partners			
Manarola foundation	4	2	2	-
Cambalache association	1	-	1	1
Diritti a Sud association	2	-	1	-
Don Bosco 2000 association	2	1	6	1
Total	9	3	10	2

Table 1. Interweaved actors

Project partners (i.e., project managers, coordinators) were interviewed to collect information about the project and its outcomes and to analyse possible factors that favor or hinder the inclusion of migrants. Farmers were interviewed to understand the degree of involvement and the role in the project. The interviews with the recipients aimed to know their involvement in the initiative and the benefits they gained from it. Other actors were interviewed, when possible, to better describe the framework. All interviews were recorded.

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The field visits have allowed to gather more information on the experiences, such as availability and characteristics of the structures, cultivation methods, low or high use of facilities, and retrieve reports, disclosure documents and other materials useful to complete the framework.

Content analyses was done manually and was focused on the meaning and semantic relationship of words and concepts, also regarding the inclusive approach described above. The set of categories used for coding have objective (typology of activity, people involved, etc.) and conceptual characteristics (related to the inclusive approach; Figure 1).

Once coding has been completed, the data collected were examined to compare the inclusive approach and draw conclusions in response to the research question.

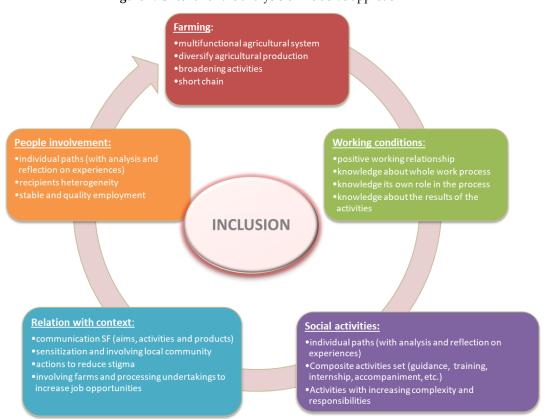


Figure 1. Criteria for the analysis of inclusive approach

Source: CREA - Research Centre for Agricultural Policies and Bioeconomy, Roma Italy

4. Results

The inclusive approach, both from a social and work point of view, has been investigated and analysed in four case studies; we have thoroughly analysed the results obtained in terms of strengthening the ties with the territory and individual and collective growth, and the methods of inclusion and communication used.

The case studies analysed concern the experiences of the Manarola foundation (Liguria), the Cambalache association (Piemonte), the Diritti a Sud association (Puglia) and the Don Bosco 2000 association (Sicilia) (Table 2).

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Table 2. Case studies on socio-occupational inclusion of migrants.

Case studies	Region	Year of establis hment	Legal form	Beneficiaries	SF activity	
Manarola foundation	Liguria	2014	Foundation of Partecipation	Migrants and people in economic distress	- Training - Social integration and inclusion - Work inclusion (job grants)	
Cambalache association	Piemonte	2011	Social promotion association (agricultural VAT number)	Asylum seekers and holders of international protection (male)	- Training, training placements	
Diritti a Sud association	Puglia	2014	Cultural association (agricultural VAT number)	Migrants and unemployed	 Training Social and cultural inclusion Work inclusion (employment contracts) Participation in rights claim events 	
Don Bosco 2000 association	Sicilia	1998	Non-profit association	Migrants and unemployed	 Training, including agricultural Citizenship education Social and cultural integration Work inclusion (job grants, hiring, start up) 	

Source: CREA - Research Centre for Agricultural Policies and Bioeconomy, Roma Italy

4.1. Manarola foundation

The Manarola foundation has been founded in March 2014 in Liguria after around a year of numerous public meetings. The choice of the legal form, a foundation of participation, allowed to establish the share capital with donations of money and land, made by more than 50% of the families of Manarola, an ancient village on the Ligurian Riviera located within the Cinque Terre National Park. Since 1997 the entire Cinque Terre area, a stretch of coast of about 10 km that appears as an amphitheater of terraces overlooking the sea, has been a World Heritage Site as a "cultural landscape" of extraordinary value, thanks to the network of terraces which, created over the course of a millennium, uniquely characterize the landscape, revealing a style of traditional millennial life. The area in which the foundation operates is made up of terraced fields, largely abandoned, which overlook the village; for this reason, the foundation's main objective is to rebuild the landslide dry stone walls to bring those fields back to cultivation. The foundation therefore plays a role of local protection as guarantor not only of the protection, restoration and conservation of the rural landscape, but also of the restart of the local agricultural economy. In this important action to combat the abandonment of agricultural land and the strong landscape degradation that has caused severe environmental disasters over time (flood in March 2011), the foundation counts on collaborative relationships with various local associations and businesses.

To remove one of the main obstacles to the cultivation of land, caused by the exodus of the local population over the past few years, the initiative Banca del Lavoro was promoted as part of the "Integr-Actions: paths for social and work inclusion" project, supported by the Carispezia foundation in collaboration with Caritas Diocesana La Spezia-Sarzana-Brugnato, the professional organizations Confagricoltura and the Italian Confederation of Farmers (CIA) and the Cinque Terre National Park. The aim of the Banca del Lavoro is twofold: to find workforce and create social-work integration paths for migrants and people in economic difficulties.

As part of the "Banca del Lavoro" project, the Manarola foundation has launched a survey of the public and private land surrounding the village in order to rebuild the land properties by acquiring them for rent. Once the land can be cultivated, it is sublet by the foundation to local farms and / or

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the Cinque Terre Agricultural Cooperative to be cultivated with vineyards. In this way one of the main local products (the Sciacchetrà wine) is supported and the risk of landslides and collapses is avoided, thanks to the action of roots of the vines and dry-stone walls to contain the soil.

The scarcity of the local workforce, determined by the fact that the younger generations preferred to invest in the tourism sector, meant that the foundation had recourse to the Banca del Lavoro. The people available were young immigrants of La Spezia's Caritas Diocesana coming from Mali, Senegal and Nigeria, the first actors of a social agriculture laboratory articulated primarily in specific training courses, in the classroom and on the job, with equipment and materials made available by the Park. Curated free of charge by the project's trade associations, the training aimed in the first phase to improve the language skills and the knowledge on job security; in a second phase (on the job) practical lessons were added on green maintenance systems, on the arrangement of slopes and dry stone walls and on the cultivation especially of vines.

The results obtained in Manarola with the social agriculture laboratories have been particularly interesting: integration between migrants and autochthone in conditions of economic hardship involved and their social inclusion in the territory; hiring 7 of them from some local companies; establishment of a social cooperative by 7/8 participants in the laboratory, almost all migrants. The cooperative offers maintenance services for walls and land to local businesses that request them through the CIA professional organization; the costs of the interventions are borne by the Cinque Terre National Park which recognizes to the local businesses the role of custodians of the landscape and the territory.

The activities of the "Integr-Actions" project will continue thanks to a new "Stonewallsforlife (LIFE Climate Change Adaptation)" project, led by the Cinque Terre National Park and partnering the foundation together with the University of Genoa, ITRB GROUP, Legambiente, local authorities and Spanish and Greek associations.

4.2. Cambalache association

The second case study is represented by Cambalache, an association of social promotion with agricultural value added tax (VAT) registration born in Piedmont in 2011. The association aim is to promote a virtuous model of reception, assistance and social inclusion for asylum seekers and international protection holders. It works in Alessandria, third Piedmontese municipality by population and first by surface. The association is composed of a multidisciplinary team and offers different types of services: legal advice, psychological assistance, teaching of the Italian language, communication and promotion of activities. By assigning a central role to the training of assisted people, the association promotes professionalization and requalification courses. To amplify the impact of its actions in terms of social inclusion, it also promotes voluntary courses, training activities for operators and awareness-raising activities for citizens. Technical advice on beekeeping and agriculture is entrusted to external collaborators.

From 2012 to 2019 it managed extraordinary reception projects - Extraordinary Reception Centres (CASs), while from 2016 to 2018 it managed a System for the protection of asylum seekers and refugees (SPRAR) project, in collaboration with Company & Soc. Coop. and with the San Benedetto al Porto Community association. In this role - in addition to guaranteeing hospitality - it accompanied the beneficiaries in all legal and administrative procedures and guaranteed them linguistic, cultural and health assistance. Cambalache has an administrative-accounting office, a design office and staff dedicated to the production and marketing of agricultural products.

Among the various reception projects activated, there is "Bee My Job", an experimental social farming, conceived in 2015 to help refugees and asylum seekers to acquire new skills, to include themselves in a new social context and to emancipate themselves economically. A pilot social beekeeping experience was activated with the project; the choice of this production sector depended on a series of elements: the need to be able to offer the useful knowledge and skills with short training activities is the most important ones.

The number of young people who received professional training in beekeeping and in organic and synergic agriculture has increased gradually, from 15 in the first year of experimentation (2015)

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to 25 in the following years, up to 75 in 2018 when the project was also started in the province of Bologna and in Lamezia Terme, with the help of the La Venenta cooperative and the Progetto Sud Community respectively.

The participants, selected from the male holders of international protection and asylum seekers welcomed in the local context according to their technical and relational skills, followed an intensive theoretical-practical training course for two months, for a total of 6 hours of lessons per day. The training focused also on language skills and job security; the course also provided guidance for the use of the services offered by the territory, active citizenship and work inclusion. Once the training phase is over, the participants are admitted carrying out an internship of at least 4 months at farms selected by the Cambalache association. Up to date, there are about 70 involved farms.

Also, in this case, the "Bee My Job" projects intend to include male asylum seekers and international protection, through the activation of an urban beehive within the Forte Acqui municipal park in Alessandria and organize meetings of beekeeping and environmental education address to young people and adults. The beehive and the synergistic urban garden created in 2019 in collaboration with Caritas Diocesana, as well as the store open at the headquarters of the association store, represent the privileged meeting places between the project beneficiaries and the local community. The products of the beehives and vegetable garden are sold at local and national public events, at the association's sales point managed by two Italian civil service volunteers and two refugees, to local restaurants and to people of a Group of Purchase (through WhatsApp). All products are sold with the project label, in order to emphasize the importance of welcoming people in difficulty and cultural contamination.

The development of the project and the various awards and prizes obtained at national and international level (i.e. the "Welcome - Working for Refugees Integration" of the UNHCR- UN Refugee Agency) have contributed to make "Bee My Job" as a model that can be replicated in different professional sectors and applicable to other types of vulnerable people. Extended in 2018 also to women asylum seekers and unaccompanied foreign minors, in 2019 it was replicated in three other professional sectors also involving people with disabilities, unemployed over 50 and migrants at risk of labour exploitation.

The intense and uninterrupted networking with the various partners involved in the project was an element of strength that also favored the development of the communication phase, also arousing the interest of national and international newspapers. The communication of the objectives, activities and results achieved takes place through participation in local fairs and events, educational meetings in bees and agriculture schools. In order to better illustrate the Bee My Job idea and experience, a photographic exhibition has been created over time that portrays the new beekeepers and their teachers at work and also a short documentary, available on the Cambalache association website.

4.3. Diritti a Sud association

The Diritti a Sud association has been established in Nardò (Puglia) in 2014, with the aim to protect the fundamental rights of people in difficult conditions, primarily immigrant and foreign seasonal workers, affirming the culture of legality, the fight against mafias and organized crime, abuse of power and all forms of discrimination. Through the organization of cultural events, the association promotes the culture of civil coexistence, the value of cultural, ethnic and religious differences, active citizenship, inclusion and social cohesion.

In 2014 the association participates, together with the Solidaria association of Bari, in the realization of the social agriculture project "Sfruttazero", which, through a mutualistic approach, aims to support the tomato supply chain and its processing into sauce, not using chemicals products and ensuring respect for workers' rights. The project assumes particular symbolic value: Puglia, together with Campania, is one of the main production and processing poles of Italian industrial tomatoes [40] and it is also one of the Italian regions with greatest number of areas with risk of serious labour exploitation of foreign workers in agriculture or with "indecent" situations (Ricciardi et al., 2018).

The activity, started with a production of around 2,500 jars, continues thanks to a crowdfunding campaign, which allows the two associations not only to purchase raw materials for the cultivation

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of tomatoes, but also to share directly with consumers the idea of productive activity and the commitment to protect human dignity, the right to self-sustaining economically and to self-determine oneself as individuals and part of a community. Over time, the processes and production performance have improved to the point of allowing a production of 16,800 bottles of tomato sauce in Nardò and about 8,200 more in Bari. The associations take care of the entire chain, from the planting of tomato seedlings to the transformation and the marketing of the bottles of sauce for which the "narrative labels" have been created, which show the face of the workers who believe in the project and actively participate in the action of contrasting the forms of labour exploitation. 20% of the marketing takes place locally, through participation in fairs and markets, through orders sent via the association's website or Facebook page or to small local shops that share the same ideals. 80% of the production, however, is shipped to Solidarity Purchase Groups in Northern Italy, in particular in the Veneto and Trentino-Alto Adige regions, or even abroad (France and Switzerland).

The positive sales trend, among other things, has led to the birth of a national network of self-producers and distributors, called FuoriMercato, characterized by the inspiring principles of solidarity and mutual aid.

The Diritti a Sud association carries out organic agriculture, which, by limiting the mechanical processing and providing for example the use of compost obtained from manure or by maceration of vegetable substances, reduces costs, while increases production even by 50%. The workers hired over the years are all made up of migrants and unemployed, over 50 or in any case people who have difficulty entering the world of work; these are seasonal workers, whose contracts start in some cases from April, the month of sowing, others from mid-July to the end of September for the harvest. Registration with the Chamber of Commerce as farm allows the association to take care of the entire supply chain, from sowing to harvest; the transformation is carried out at the structure of the Provincial Agricultural Consortium of Lecce, located 30 km from Nardò. Furthermore, the inclusion from the beginning of social agriculture among the statutory activities allows the association to enter into regular seasonal agricultural contracts on the basis of land lease contracts, thus pursuing the aim of creating job opportunities, recovering abandoned land and creating networks of relationships and collaborations with the territory. Workers are paid an hourly wage of € 7.40, plus pension contributions and insurance for accidents in the workplace.

4.4. Don Bosco 2000 association

The Don Bosco 2000 non-profit association has been established in 1998 with the aim of promoting man's training and integration through the application of Don Bosco's preventive educational system. But it was from the years 2008-2010, that is, since the emergency of the management of immigrants on the island broke out, that the association's activities inevitably created to revolve around reception, social integration and all work inclusion of migrants who landed mainly in the port of Catania.

The association has opened over 5 reception centers over time due to continuous landings along the Sicilian coasts and to need to strengthen the regional reception systems: the first, used in Catania in 2015 for unaccompanied foreign minors, it was closed in December 2018; the rest are in the Province of Enna (Piazza Armerina, Aidone, Pietraperzia, Villarosa).

The areas of intervention of the association are different and, in addition to the management of reception centers for immigrants, involved the implementation of education projects for global citizenship carried out with schools and local associations, and aggregation between young Africans and Sicilians in the speakers. To make the presence of immigrants welcome, the association carries out various projects, some of which aim to return the assets confiscated from the mafia to the community through the enhancement of human capital, others to create places for social aggregation and "Mutual reception", in particular in the Lido and in the hotel in solidarity during the experimentation phase, which can also be used by people with physical disabilities and in which immigrants take care of the reception.

In addition to the literacy courses carried out in the very first reception centers, the association promotes training courses at work as part of the SPRAR projects financed by the Municipalities

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through the National Fund for asylum policies and services, selecting companies from the provinces of Catania and Enna pertaining to the sectors of interest of immigrants for the matching phase. Since 60% of the reception immigrants declare that they are interested in working in the agricultural field, most of the job training projects aim to transfer their knowledge and skills necessary for effective, efficient and sustainable management of the vegetable gardens, also from an irrigation point of view. An initial course on workplace safety is followed by a period of coaching the company tutor for learning efficient cultivation and irrigation techniques. The allowance paid to trainees, equal to approximately 500.00 Euros, is co-financed at 50% by the farm; at the end of the training course, trainees are issued with a certificate of participation which acknowledges the activities carried out and the skills acquired.

The job placement takes place in compliance with the inclinations and aspirations expressed by the immigrants in reception and requires a preliminary mapping of local companies operating in different sectors, including agriculture. Through the Work Desk activated at the Aidone Center, the association has managed to support the recruitment of several immigrants to welcome companies from other Italian regions; other migrants were hired, however, by the companies that had hosted their training internship within the SPRAR projects.

After attending specific training courses, some immigrants were hired by the association as cultural mediators, also in the context of the international development cooperation projects carried out.

Very interesting is the creation in 2017 of a social garden at the Don Bosco Colony in Catania; it's a local development project that has served as a testing ground for subsequent replication on an international scale. The garden is self-financed by the association and cultivated by immigrants both for self-consumption and on behalf of local families; the planning process was structured in such a way as to empower immigrants during all phases ranging from the preparation of the land and planting to the management of relations with the tenant families of the plots of land. So, the work inclusion restores dignity to the commitment made by the immigrants and, at same time, it gives the possibility of building positive relationships with the local community, allowing them to reconstruct the idea of possible positive relationships with others. The actions of exchange and acquisition of knowledge, enhancement of skills, recovery and enhancement of family memory and experiences gained before the migratory journey, enable of restoring equal social dignity and the economic and social emancipation. The positive repercussions of the social garden project are amplified, finally, in the international development cooperation projects aimed at achieving the so-called "circular migration". It is a migration model that can be counted among the best practices that can help face the migration phenomenon, simultaneously promoting the personal and professional growth of people inclined to migration and their economic success in the countries of origin. The project activates virtuous cycles of training and skills acquisition in Italy and the acquisition of knowledge, skills and innovation to migrants African countries, in order to create agricultural start-ups. In particular, in a first phase, the welcome immigrants participate in a training course on the main techniques of agricultural production and irrigation management of a vegetable garden; in the following phase, they return to their countries of origin, where they actively participate in on-site awareness actions to recruit interested people and once new study classes have been formed they teach them notions of agriculture, horticulture and self-entrepreneurship. Finally, the project includes support for agricultural start-ups made up of African immigrants highly inclined to migration. To date, thanks to the circular migration project, two agricultural start-ups have been launched: the first in Senegal, in the village of Tambacounda, and the second in Gambia, in Kekuta Kunda. The employment contracts stipulated allow immigrants to achieve two important results: maintaining humanitarian protection and, therefore, the freedom to return to Italy to continue participating in the international cooperation project, and above all financially support their family of origin, sending part of their earnings through remittances.

The activity of the association is enriched and supported by its membership of networks such as the Salesian Federation for Social or International Volunteering for Development. In 2018, in order to allow the identification, also at an international level, of the actions carried out and of the products

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obtained with the commitment and full involvement of African immigrants in reception, a brand with a strong ethical connotation was created, called "Beteyà", which in Mandinka language means "beautiful and good". The brand will be used in Sicily to identify a line of Home & Dress products, produced by social enterprise set up as part of a project financed by the With the South foundation and in which seven immigrants work in reception. In Africa, on the other hand, the same brand is used for the marketing of horticultural products collected in the gardens created with Africans involved in the "circular migration" project.

5. Discussion

What follows is a brief description of the five drivers that the model described in paragraph 3 to evaluate the pathways of social inclusion.

5.1. Farming

The first driver to be taken into consideration when evaluating the pathways of social inclusion at work is the inclusive setting [32] which is different in the experiences analysed. The four experiences refer to training projects aimed at fostering the socio-work inclusion of migrants and with this objective they involve the agricultural world in a different way, but they have in common both the fact of involving farms for training and the recovery of land for agricultural use. In particular Manarola foundation (Liguria) recovers abandoned terraces and restored them, in the case of Cambalache association (Piemonte) the beehive and the synergistic garden is built in municipal land, the Don Bosco 2000 association (Sicilia) grows gardens on confiscated land from organized crime, the Diritti a Sud association (Puglia) grows tomatoes in unused plots of land renting them by old farmers. Agricultural production activities concern horticulture and industrial horticulture (tomato), viticulture, beekeeping and, in line with the new definition of an agricultural farm [41] that is not only a producer of primary goods but also of services, there is also the processing in wine, sauce tomato and honey. Particular attention regards the labelling of the products for the recognition of the inclusion activity: the Manarola foundation has produced in collaboration with the social winery a label with the narration of the project at the social winery, the Cambalache association markets the products under the name of the project "Bee-My Job", the sauce tomato of the Sfruttazero project shows on the label in percentage terms how much each step impacts on the price that the consumer pays - 100% ethical and with 0% exploitation; Don Bosco 2000 uses a brand with a strong ethical connotation called "Beteyà" which in Mandinka language means "beautiful and good". If we take into consideration the element of multifunctionality, the experiences analysed highlight different paths that manifest themselves in the involvement of immigrants at the farm's point of sale (Cambalache) or in working alongside local farmers (Manarola - local farmers who are familiar with the ancient techniques of building walls and restoring terraces, Don Bosco 2000 at the Di Grazia farm and social garden at the Catania's Center). The products are sell using the short chain, i.e. solidal purchase group (SPG), local points of sale, ad hoc off-market circuits (Fuorimercato) and also free of charge to the disadvantaged families.

5.2. Working condition

The working condition driver to promote socio-work inclusion represents the way in which people are involved in farming. All experiences try to involve the territory in the project in order to foster a positive working environment. The horticultural activities of the Don Bosco 2000 association takes advantages of the relationships with the territory started through other activities managed by the association, the Diritti a Sud association involves immigrants together with local workers and implements the paths of migrants with education activities for citizenship, the Ligurian experience was born by the will of the residents and the Cambalache project has provided a code of ethics and conduct for the companies that are involved in the project. The code of conduct is a declaration in which the farmer states that she/he is in compliance with all the rules for safety and hygiene at work,

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moreover the companies must declare that they have no pending convictions for exploitation of undeclared work and that they are committed to respect the cultural differences of the trainees.

The experiences analysed confirm the importance of sharing with migrants both knowledge about the whole work process and its own role in the process; knowledge about the results of the activities in terms of commercialization, consumption, use of services and impact on local context.

In these terms, the choice of production processes that require a medium-low qualification through professionalizing intensive courses that allow to enter in the labour market is a pathway common to all experiences.

5.3. The contribute in People Involvement

In social farming paths, an important driver to promote social and working inclusion is the ways and means of involvement of participants. The four experiences examined have different interpretations of involvement due also to the position of their activities within the entire path that each participant has undertaken with the social-health services. Since they are associations or foundations addressed aims different from those of cooperatives (type A or B) or farms, they have a limited role with respect to individual paths construction. However, the Don Bosco 2000 association offers support and guidance to regularize immigrations employment status, housing intermediation, support to conclude their education. The project addressed to immigrants is funded by the System for the protection of asylum seekers and refugees (SPRAR) and other national and international funds aimed to inclusion, realized in cooperation with other local actors. The Don Bosco 2000 role consists in supporting individuals in their inclusion paths, including reflections about path itself.

Also Cambalache association realizes its activities in collaboration with local actors under the SPRAR and CASs. The participants are identified based on their technical and relational competences by a staff composed of psychologists, pedagogists and social workers. The motivations analysis is also an important step to selecting participants. The Manarola foundation, instead, is a part of a complex partnership that promote the project, but it contributes just marginally at participations skill assessment, opportunities analysis and reflection on experience. The role of trainers and tutors is limited at educational and job spheres, while the complete take-up of cases takes place at local social service level. The experience of the Diritti a Sud association, finally, is born under volunteer context, without connections with local social services. Possible paths depend on participant - the Diritti a Sud association member relationships and are not encrypted into a specific protocol for intervention.

With regard the participation of different recipients, the Diritti a Sud association and the Manarola foundation activities involving both Italian and immigrant workers, while Diritti a Sud and the Cambalache associations address their projects exclusively to immigrants. However, all the experiences are involved in activities aimed to inform and raise awareness among citizens and farmers. The professional traineeship is the main form of contract used in examined cases; it is present in all the projects excluding Sfruttazero. Really, the traineeship is a trainer instrument and not a work one, but in Italy it represents the main tool to access to a stable and quality employment, especially for immigrants. Sfruttazero uses seasonal contract to involve participants in the tomatoes production, which is an agricultural production particularly subject to illegal employment and *caporalato* phenomenon. The association runs also an info-point on workers' rights to support immigrants and local workers.

5.4. Social activities

The individual paths have been presented above (People involvement). With regard the presence of a composite activities set, the Don Bosco 2000 association and the Manarola foundation propose formal activities of training and mentorship in order to learn the profession. However, also the other two experiences adopt an educational approach as part of their interventions, that is expressed in informal training on the job. Sfruttazero in addition offer accompaniment services for other life sphere (housing problem, regularity of the documents, etc.).

In the four experiences, the workers are involved in activities with increasing complexity and responsibilities with the aim to develop competences and marketable skills. Highly interesting is Don

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Bosco 2000: the proposed path also offers learners the opportunity to gain expertise to improve their livelihoods areas, such as small-scale agriculture and micro-enterprise training. In short, they propose to immigrant to become from agricultural worker to trainer and entrepreneur, in a logic of circular migration.

5.5 The contribute in relation with context

The nature and quality of the relationships that the experiences examined have started and consolidated in the territorial area and also at national and/or international level, represent central elements for immigrants's social and work integration development. The external dimension of the inclusive process, in fact, can play a fundamental role for the stability and qualitative strengthening of AS activities, even contributing to redesigning the social role of local realities and identificating farms, associations and social cooperatives as promoters, guarantors and catalysts of virtuous processes of social and work inclusion of weak subjects. The analysis focused on the social and working inclusion activities of four case studies to verify the presence and role of local community awareness and involvement actions aimed at reducing the stigma. the analysis focused also on farms scouting activities and creation of relationships contacts between immigrants and farmers, in order to increase job opportunities. The communication of social inclusion actions, carried out also or exclusively through agricultural and agri-food activities, has been supported by the intense network work carried out with the different project partners. The communication takes place first of all with the internet pages of case studies, in which there are specific sections dedicated to socio-working inclusion projects, collections of papers and press release and informative videos, aimed to recounting projects experiences, in the case of the Cambalache and Don Bosco 2000 associations, and to fundraising for Manarola foundation. In addition, printed materials are added, such as explanatory brochures, informative reports and, for the Don Bosco 2000 association, also periodical magazines for telling the projects and the results in terms of social inclusion and economic and cultural development. Objectives, activities and results achieved are also communicated at fairs, local events and educational meetings, such as those organized by Cambalache association on beekeeping and organic farming or through the realization of photographic exhibitions that portray the work of new beekeepers and their teachers. All the case studies collaborate with one or more networks of local, national and in some cases also foreign, public and private entities. The Diritti a Sud association uses a network of actors composed also from the Solidaria association, from the Fuori dal ghetto collective, from the Osservatorio migranti Basilicata, while the Network of auto producers and distributors, called FuoriMercato, operates nationally. The Don Bosco 2000 association participates in national organizations, such as the Salesiani per il Sociale Federation and International Volunteer Service for Development Federation, collaborates with various local public and private entities (i.e., Police Headquarters, schools, production companies also in the agricultural sector) and, carrying out development cooperation projects in Senegal and Gambia, has started also collaborations with African public and private entities. Participation in various collaboration networks often facilitates the implementation of the projects promoted, making very dynamic the activity carried out by the experiences examined, and also contributes to amplifying the ethical and social profile of their commitment, allowing the integration of production activities and, in the case of the Manarola foundation, of recovery and conservation of the landscape with also those of socio-occupational integration.

Thanks to global citizenship education projects with schools, cultural and sporting events, social gathering centers and training placements at local companies, the awareness of communities towards migration and reception issues has increased. The creation of support networks for immigrants for the protection of their rights has played a fundamental role in the action to contrast the stigma, allowing the creation of solidarity and mutual respect with immigrants. Manarola foundation through the website becomes associated and other people, which can donate the desired amount, also for the purchase of individual stones to be given away on holidays, on which the names of the donors are engraved. The Cambalache association also promotes voluntary courses and training activities for operators, as well as on bees educational and environmental education meetings for young people

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and adults. The Diritti a Sud association has adopted a "narrative labels", an interesting example of storytelling used for the marketing of sauce bottles in order to raise consumer opinion; labels Sfruttazero effectively tells the story and values of the brand, reporting the costs, in percentage, of each production step (i.e. "0% of exploitation") to show their impact on the final price. The launch of widespread reception systems, for example in Aidone and Villarosa by Don Bosco 2000, has revitalized the countries from a social and economic point of view, putting abandoned houses back into use and facilitating the full and effective social inclusion of immigrants in the local context. This result was also achieved with the cultivation of the social garden at the Catania's Center, where integration also passed through culinary cultural exchanges and exchanges of knowledge on African horticultural products cultivated in the garden and shared with Sicilian young. Other awareness raising and fundraising actions, through the "Diamo loro retta" campaign, were carried out to enable completion of some immigrant's studies.

All the case studies examined have in common the collaboration with local farms interested in supporting their ethical and social commitment. In Manarola, the need to create long-term social-working inclusion paths for migrants and unemployed was born together with those for safeguarding the territory and restoring production of abandoned and degraded terraces. To achieve these objectives, "Banca del Lavoro" and the organization of training and job placement courses were used. The reclaimed land is subleased by the foundation to farms, which over time have hired 7 people including migrants and people in a state of economic hardship. The project gave to the 7 participants, most of them immigrants that took advantage of the training, the opportunity to make a social cooperative; the cooperative provides free (costs incurred by Banca del Lavoro) maintenance services for walls and land to local businesses that request them. Cambalache today has a collaboration of about 70 local companies, where training courses of at least 4 months on beekeeping, organic cultivation and pruning techniques are carried out. In the case of the Diritti a Sud and of the Don Bosco 2000 associations, the agricultural and processing companies are selected for the matching phase which provides for the start of training internships with classroom and field lessons, generally lasting 5 months.

6. Conclusions

The problem of the migratory phenomenon managing takes on different forms and levels of emergency in the various Italian regions, whose attractiveness for immigrants also varies according to the labour needs of the local production systems. Social farming can be a concrete response to the exploitation of migrants' work by promoting paths of social inclusion, developing innovative forms of hospitality, exploiting a solid and effective collaboration between farms, social cooperatives, associations, local services and schools. The internship period allows participants to acquire agronomic and management skills, to get to know more complex farm in terms of the intensity of mechanization than those of their background.

To counter the tendency to stigmatize the immigrants - unfortunately still current - actions capable of reducing social prejudice must be promoted, for example by using positive images and appropriate languages, fighting discrimination in the workplace, promoting opening and functioning of gathering places and, more generally, by supporting active reception and social-work integration policies, as demonstrated by the examinated cases. Indeed, social disapproval of the different is not always the result of a conscious act; for this reason, it is important to work on raising public awareness, in order to facilitate awareness of prejudice, the first step in overcoming discrimination. The organization of social farming in networks involving an heterogenous group of actors is one of the most effective tools to encourage the integration of migrants and the contrast the tendency to stigmatize them [42].

Historically welcomed as a "multifunctional" workforce, especially in rural areas, the presence of immigrants responds to working needs (i.e. agriculture, tourism, construction)[43]. The migrants, in the cases examined, found opportunities for inclusion in the agricultural sector, with important

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repercussions in the local social system, sometimes in need of a specific workforce. The period of internship at the farms is useful to the participants to acquire agronomic and managerial skills, to know the more complex farms in terms of intensity of mechanization than those of their background. The experiences of AS, therefore, are supporting the socio-cultural insertion processes, also triggering stabilization dynamics accepted by the territories.

The fight against the *caporalato* is more effective if accompanied and supported by inclusive actions that aim to reduce social prejudice and affect food conscious consumption and cultural substrate. Social disapproval for the immigrant, as well as for the "other" in general, is not always the result of a conscious act; for this reason all associations and foundations engage in migrant integration actions, constantly promoting public awareness actions in order to help overcome diversity, promoting cultural contamination and positive relationships between immigrants and local communities.

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