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**Understanding How Labour Trafficking Networks Exploit Systemic Vulnerabilities in Europe:
An Exploration of the Italian Agriculture Sector**

Tesi di Dottorato di **Martina E. Marchesi**

Matricola: **4713998**

Supervisore: **Ch.mo Prof. Georgios A. Antonopoulos**

Coordinatore: **Ch.mo Prof. Francesco Calderoni**

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Understanding How Labour Trafficking Networks Exploit Systemic Vulnerabilities in Europe: An Exploration of the Italian Agriculture Sector

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Candidate:
Martina E. Marchesi

Advisor:
Professor Georgios A. Antonopoulos

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It is the border.

For many it is synonymous with impatience, for others with terror. For still others it represents the earthworks of a fort that must be defended. Everyone sets it above the other words, as if the others existed solely to describe the border's features.

The border always runs through the middle.

On this side lies the previous world. Over there lies what is yet to come, and that perhaps may never come.

In memory of Alessandro Leogrande, La Frontiera, 2015

Translation by Anne Milano Appel

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Abstract

Labour trafficking in Europe is a serious crime against persons, violating their fundamental human rights. Existing research primarily focuses on the victims, while data on offenders and the manner in which they exploit vulnerabilities is less developed. Recent trends in criminological literature are highlighting how the past lack of research is related to the lack of robust data, but also to traditional rigid approaches with exception to few extreme cases. On the contrary, they call for more flexible concepts recognising that labour trafficking is not only the product of offenders' will, but has deep roots embedded in the socioeconomic system.

Elaborating on these indications, this research focuses on the Italian agriculture sector, which has not yet been examined in literature from a criminological perspective, with the aim to understand the mechanisms through which labour trafficking originates and develops. This choice has been made because the characteristics particular to Italy make labour trafficking in agriculture central to the debate within the country; and because Italy shares some characteristics with other European countries, so some lessons learnt from this case can be discussed in light of the international debate on labour trafficking.

First, a macro-analysis examines how the structural factors associated in the international literature with labour trafficking take shape in the Italian context. The results show that the system itself seems to create a fertile ground for labour trafficking to develop and maintain: migrant workers' vulnerability is inherent in the current migration regulatory framework; the agrifood supply chain makes it necessary for producers to lower the cost of workforce; and the current legal system based on the repression of abusive conducts seen as exceptional events proves ineffective.

Second, a meso-analysis at organisation/network level describes the general characteristics of labour trafficking networks in Italy, and then zooms in four case studies selected through a rational systematic method to identify the main features, modalities, and relational organisation of the crime commission, and how the exploitative condition of the victims is developed and maintained. The results show that in the four case studies the trafficking networks develop and adapt to the opportunities offered by the legal system. The results are finally discussed in light of the international debate on labour trafficking, and the lessons learned from the case of Italy.

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