



I-CLAIM

Improving the Living
and Labour Conditions
of Irregularised Migrant
Households in Europe



PRIME

Protecting Irregular
Migrants in Europe

Breaking the cycle of irregularity in Italy:

Evidence and policy proposals
to promote regular and safe
pathways for migrant people

Policy Brief

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Summary

This policy brief, produced within the framework of the European projects I-CLAIM and PRIME, which analyse the factors that generate dynamics of irregularity and legal precariousness among migrants in Italy, focuses on the entry channels for work (a quota system regulated by the decreto flussi) and on the pathways to regularisation and maintenance of regular status for foreign nationals.

The ethnographic research, conducted by researchers from Ca' Foscari University of Venice (I-CLAIM) and the Migration Policy Centre of the European University Institute (PRIME), through interviews with migrant workers, employers, trade unionists, civil society actors and policymakers, yields five key findings.

First, the recruitment of migrant labour largely takes place outside the quota system: both workers and employers, in agriculture as well as in the domestic and care sector, make limited use of this channel, which is regarded as cumbersome, costly and inadequate, while those who do use the quota system are frequently exposed to fraud and fraudulent intermediation.

Second, pathways to regularisation or to maintaining regular status (through ad hoc regularisation campaigns, the quota system for work, but also — and more often — through conversions and renewals) are obstructed by prolonged bureaucratic "limbos". Delays in the issuance and renewal of residence permits generate a condition of "bureaucratic violence" that undermines access to employment, housing, healthcare and welfare services, keeping people in a state of constant precariousness.

Third, access to housing represents a critical issue: discrimination, high rents and an informal rental market force many migrants into inadequate and/or informal housing arrangements, often lacking essential services and with limited (or no) access to public transport (particularly in agriculture).

Furthermore, legal regularity does not necessarily correspond to decent working and living conditions. Partial or absent contracts, below-standard wages, unsustainable working hours and abuses characterise sectors such as agriculture and domestic work, affecting also those who hold a residence permit, especially when it is temporary and precarious.

Finally, the effects of irregularity or legal precariousness are multidimensional and follow gendered lines: female migrant workers, particularly mothers, bear a more severe impact, as they shoulder the burden of family care work under conditions of extreme precariousness and in the absence of adequate services, with intersections between housing precariousness, labour exploitation and gender-based violence.

The policy brief therefore puts forward four recommendations: (1) reform entry channels for work, making them diversified, continuous, more bureaucratically streamlined and less dependent on a single employer, including the introduction of a job-search entry channel; (2) establish permanent regularisation channels on an individual basis, decoupled from extraordinary regularisation; (3) strengthen the operational capacity of public administrations to reduce procedural delays and fraudulent intermediation; (4) ensure that legal regularity translates into effective rights, through structural interventions on access to housing, welfare services, and with a gender-sensitive and intersectional perspective.

Introduction

“Italy doesn’t want you to go like this [indicates a straight line in front of him with his hand], but like this, this, this, this [indicates a zig-zag line in front of him with his hand]”

(PRIME, man, migrant farmworker, July 2024)

“If you are undocumented, it’s easier for them to get rid of you. So undocumented workers are the ones who have it the worst [...] but even if you have regular status, you often end up accepting things because you have no alternatives”

(I-CLAIM, woman, migrant farmworker, March 2025).

This Policy Brief has been produced within the framework of the European projects I-CLAIM (*Improving the Living and Labour Conditions of Irregularised Migrant Households in Europe*) and PRIME (*PRotecting Irregular Migrants in Europe*), aimed at examining and understanding the dynamics of irregularity — including forms of legal and labour precariousness — affecting migrants in Italy, the factors that generate and amplify them, and the repercussions of these processes on the family dimension of these individuals. Both projects have focused on the political, legal and administrative instruments, and on the related practices that contribute to the production of irregularisation or of fragile and precarious forms of regularity. The interplay of these instruments and of the infrastructures of irregularity — which the I-CLAIM project defines as “irregularity assemblages” ([Sigona & van Liempt 2025](#)) — involves various actors and institutions, at both national and regional/local level.

Drawing on the results of the ethnographic research conducted in Italy within the framework of both projects, this policy brief focuses on the **regular entry system** — the so-called *decreti flussi* system, a quota system for TCN workers — for migrant workers **and on the pathways to regularisation**, highlighting the obstacles that migrants often face and the factors that expose them to situations of irregularity or to the constant risk of falling into it.

In recent years, particularly over the last decade, Italy has witnessed — and continues to witness — the adoption of increasingly restrictive migration and asylum policies that contribute to the production of irregularity (see [Colucci 2018](#), [Palumbo & Marchetti 2024](#)). These policies have not only had a concrete impact on the possibility of obtaining forms of protection and regular status, but have also rendered the legal (and therefore employment) condition of those residing regularly in the country increasingly precarious. The overall effect has been to curtail rights and to weaken and obstruct pathways to regularisation and inclusion, particularly from a long-term perspective.

The system of entry channels for work, known as the *decreti flussi* system, represents a decisive node in the infrastructures of irregularity ([De Blasis & Bonizzoni 2024](#)). Despite a recent increase in the envisaged entry quotas, this model continues to function as a mechanism that creates and fuels precariousness, abusive practices and exploitation. Based on an employer-driven model, **the *decreti flussi* system is characterised by costly, opaque and protracted procedures that do not reflect labour market realities and needs**. Moreover, this also fuels forms of dependency and vulnerability to exploitation by abusive employers and other intermediaries.

At the same time, **mass regularisation processes** (such as the 2020 regularisation scheme for “essential” workers) **are often stalled by bureaucratic limbo** ([Bonizzoni et al. 2025](#)), while **residence permit renewals are often strongly delayed** and can take months. As a result, **migrants are left in conditions of legal uncertainty, with direct consequences for their access to rights, services, and decent work**, as demonstrated by I-CLAIM and PRIME research.

Italy's rigid rules for regular entry and stay — particularly income and housing requirements — disregard labour market realities and the **severe difficulties** migrants face **in securing decent housing**. Legal precariousness and housing insecurity thus become mutually reinforcing. Meanwhile, in a labour market heavily segregated by nationality, gender, skin colour and legal status, undeclared work and exploitation affect not only irregular migrants but also regular ones, asylum seekers, temporary protection holders and EU citizens. These dynamics leverage intersecting vulnerabilities to suppress wages, rights and working conditions.

These **dynamics are most visible in agriculture and domestic care work**, sectors examined by the I-CLAIM and PRIME research in Italy. These sectors are marked by high rates of informality and exploitation, where the weight of racialised and gendered hierarchies is particularly acute.

Despite institutional interventions in recent years, particularly in the agricultural sector, the data collected within the I-CLAIM and PRIME projects highlight the absence of responses capable of addressing in a structural manner issues such as entry channels for work, access to decent housing and effective access to welfare services. It should also be noted that many institutional interventions frequently lack an explicitly gender-sensitive and intersectional approach in addressing these issues.

On the basis of these considerations, this Policy Brief puts forward **four policy recommendations addressed to national policymakers**:

- 1) Reform entry channels for work, making them diversified, continuous and genuinely practicable, moving beyond the “first-come-first-served/click day” approach and reducing exclusive dependence on the employer.
- 2) Establish permanent individual-based regularisation channels and create a “support network” to address and prevent dynamics of irregularisation.
- 3) Strengthen the operational capacity of public administrations involved in entry, residence and service access procedures, reducing the scope for fraudulent intermediation.
- 4) Ensure that legal regularity also means effective rights: support access to decent housing conditions and guarantee access to welfare services.

Methodology

This policy brief is based on research conducted by the research team of Ca' Foscari University of Venice within the Horizon Europe-UKRI [I-CLAIM project](#) and by the research team of the Migration Policy Centre of the European University Institute within the Horizon Europe [PRIME project](#). Both projects carried out qualitative interviews with various stakeholders, including migrant workers, civil society and employer associations' representatives, employers, trade unionists and policymakers.

I-CLAIM research in Italy focused on the living and working conditions of migrants in agriculture and domestic and care work in the Campania region, with particular attention to the gender perspective. This Policy Brief is based on the research carried out through the analysis of the national political and legal instruments and practices that from 2003 to 2023 contributed to generating multidimensional forms of irregularity in Italy, including conditions of limbo and legal precariousness ([Palumbo & Marchetti 2024](#)). The Brief also relies on the ethnographic fieldwork and 41 qualitative interviews with women migrant workers employed in domestic work and agricultural sectors — including women of Ukrainian origin in conditions of irregularity or legal precariousness ([Palumbo 2025](#); [Marchetti & Lashchuk 2025](#)). Many of the interviewees in both sectors were of Ukrainian origin and included both persons without a residence permit and persons with regular residence status but with a history of irregularity and/or, at the time of the research, in conditions of legal precariousness, including Ukrainian women holding temporary protection.

PRIME research examined the role of national institutions (namely Italy's political system, legal system, labour market and welfare systems) and of the interests of various stakeholders in shaping the living and working conditions of (ir)regular migrants in Italy ([Ruhs, Palme & Fox-Ruhs 2024](#)). This Policy Brief draws on PRIME legal analysis of the rights of irregular persons ([Fox-Ruhs & Palme 2025](#)), ethnographic research involving nearly 50 interviews with foreign workers across Southern, Central and Northern Italy, approximately 20 employer interviews, around 20 interviews with policy actors ([Giannetto & Procter TBP 2026](#), [Cases C. et al. 2026](#)), and two surveys targeting employers (approximately 70 respondents - see [Yazici, Anderson & Ruhs 2026](#)) and migrants in conditions of irregularity or semi-regularity (over 300 participants - see [Bruschi & Forin 2025](#), [Linekar et al. 2026](#)).

An earlier version of this document was discussed at a joint I-CLAIM/PRIME roundtable on 24 February 2026 with representatives of civil society organisations — including migrant women-led organisations, organisations active in the fields of health, legal support and advocacy for migrants — as well as international, political and research organisations, all of which have supported the research activities of I-CLAIM and PRIME over the three-year projects' period. This closing event, together with post-event feedback exchanges, made it possible to co-create and validate the recommendations contained in this policy brief.

Key findings from the research

MAIN FINDING #1:

The recruitment of migrant labour, in the vast majority of cases, takes place outside the quota system, and regular status is acquired through channels other than those envisaged for entry for work purposes.

The ethnographic research conducted within the framework of both projects found that, in both the domestic and care sector and in agriculture, **the majority of workers did not enter Italy through the *decreti flussi* – i.e., the Italian quota system for TCN workers.** In many cases, individuals went through periods of irregularity, subsequently regularising their status through channels such as the residence permit under Art. 31 of the [Consolidated Immigration Act \(TUI\)](#) for the care of minors, *sanatorie* (i.e., *ad hoc* regularisation campaigns), asylum applications and the granting of international protection or other forms of protection. In the agricultural sector, for example, there is a significant component of asylum-seeking workers and holders of international protection; in the case of Ukrainian female farmworkers, in particular, many regularised their status through *sanatorie* or hold temporary protection.

At the same time, **employers also make limited use of the quota system.** In both agriculture and the domestic and care sector, employers tend to hire migrant workers who are already present on the territory, even when their legal status is not easily understandable or verifiable. In particular, in agricultural contexts characterised by predominantly small and medium-sized family-run enterprises and in a care sector largely based on direct employment by families, the *decreti flussi* system is often considered **cumbersome, costly and inadequate to meet immediate labour needs.** Moreover, the tendency to prefer workers already present on the territory is also due to the need, on the part of employers, particularly in the domestic and care sector, to hire personnel considered reliable or at least assessable in advance. In the case of the agricultural sector, the fact that agricultural work in many rural areas includes greenhouse cultivation and involves both seasonal and non-seasonal production leads enterprises to employ, throughout the year, workers already present on the territory with whom they maintain more stable relationships, while recourse to seasonal labour — potentially hired through the quota system — occurs mainly during peak production periods.

Overall, migrants already present in Italy (whether regularly or irregularly) end up constituting the most immediately accessible pool of labour, and one perceived as more reliable, for employers.

At the same time, the research highlighted that those who enter through the quota system are often exposed to fraudulent schemes, sometimes paying substantial sums to co-national intermediaries and/or potential employers. Consequently, once in Italy, many are unable to complete the regularisation process, as the employers with whom they were supposed to formalise the employment relationship turn out to be untraceable. As a result, many of these workers find themselves *de facto* in a condition of irregularity, with limited possibilities of regularising their status and with a high risk of becoming involved in undeclared work and exploitation.

MAIN FINDING #2:

Pathways to regularisation are often characterised by recurring bureaucratic obstacles and prolonged periods of administrative limbo and, at the same time, do not guarantee conditions of stability, but rather generate situations of fragility and precariousness in which the risk of falling back into irregularity remains constantly high.

Migrants often remain trapped in a veritable bureaucratic limbo that slows down and undermines their regularisation pathways. This situation has also affected, for example, many of those who applied under the 2020 regularisation campaign. Our research found that the entrusting of the management of *sanatoria* applications to employers or to unreliable CAF (tax assistance centres) led some of the individuals interviewed in 2024 — who had submitted applications under the 2020 regularisation — to still be living, at the time of the interview (2024), in a condition of total uncertainty regarding their status. This made it impossible to intervene on the regularisation of the employment relationship and, consequently, on the regularisation of their legal status, also entailing substantial expenses in the attempt to obtain answers that, in many cases, have still not arrived. In particular, some women employed in the domestic and care sector, defrauded by their employers, found themselves unable to report their situation, fearing that doing so might compromise their chances of finding housing and work, thus remaining trapped in limbo.

The bureaucratic obstacle course often continues during the renewal phase of residence permits. Indeed, renewal not infrequently takes several months and, although the legislation provides for the continuity of certain rights and protections during this waiting period (such as registration with the national health service or access to family support measures, for example the *assegno unico universale*, i.e. universal family allowance), their concrete application is often inconsistent, with a significant impact on migrants and their families, particularly in cases of single mothers. Furthermore, although during the wait for permit renewal the migrant holds a receipt that entitles them to work, employers and employment agencies often display mistrust and tend not to establish or maintain employment relationships.

The research of I-CLAIM and PRIME do not interpret this effect as a migration policy failure, but as the **outcome of lengthy and cumbersome bureaucratic processes: a form of “bureaucratic violence” generated by institutional negligence or abandonment, which keeps people in a constant condition of precariousness and administrative suspension.** This condition renders access to employment, housing, healthcare and welfare services uncertain, preventing the possibility of building and planning a decent family and working life.

At the same time, in both sectors analysed, the research shows that the condition of regularity acquired through different channels (quota system for work, ad hoc regularisations, protections and permits linked to childcare), does not necessarily translate into legal stability and therefore into a full exit from dimensions of irregularity. The majority of interviewees reported **living with the constant risk of losing their residence permit**, with cascading repercussions on the living conditions of their family members, particularly their minor children integrated into the Italian social fabric.

I-CLAIM and PRIME ethnographic research shows that, particularly in agriculture but also in the domestic sector, professionals (including lawyers and CAF) and co-nationals, also often in exchange for payment, play a central role in guiding people through the complex permit bureaucracy. Their intervention may accelerate or slow down regularisation, issuance or renewal procedures, and can sometimes take on ambiguous or even fraudulent characteristics.

MAIN FINDING #3:**Critical issues in access to housing between irregularity and discriminatory dynamics**

The availability of housing constitutes one of the essential prerequisites for regular entry and stay on national territory. The data emerging from the research show that migrants face **recurring obstacles in access to housing**, attributable to forms of discrimination, high rental costs and, in the case of lower rents, often inadequate housing arrangements. In this context, an **informal and illegal rental and lodging market** thrives, fuelled by the participation of various actors, including co-nationals and professionals.

In the agricultural sector, informal settlements lacking access to essential services and with significant **transport-related problems** to and from the fields often represent the only housing option for many migrant farmworkers. At the same time, for migrant farmworkers as well as for domestic and care workers living in urban centres, the choice frequently falls on inadequate housing arrangements, often characterised by overcrowding, irregularity and the absence of contractual protections. Moreover, many of these urban contexts are marked by a **lack of public transport services**, with the result that, despite residing in urban areas, many people find themselves de facto in conditions of isolation and dependent on informal transport networks run by local residents or co-nationals.

To these conditions must be added, particularly in the case of domestic and care work, forms of cohabitation between families or elderly persons and migrant workers. All these arrangements can lead to manipulative dynamics, controlling practices on the part of employers who also provide accommodation and, in the most serious cases, outright situations of harassment and abuse.

MAIN FINDING #4:**Regular legal status does not necessarily correspond to decent working conditions: the dimension of “regularity without rights” characterises sectors marked by undeclared and exploited labour.**

Absence of contracts or the presence of part-time contracts covering only a fraction of the work actually performed; wages below the standards set by national and provincial collective agreements, often replaced by “pirate” collective agreements (*contratti collettivi “pirata”*); unsustainable working hours and rhythms; non-compliance with workplace health and safety regulations; extending to verbal and physical insults and assaults: these are dynamics that consistently characterise the working conditions of migrants employed in sectors such as domestic and agricultural work.

Although the irregularity of residence permit status constitutes one of the main vulnerability factors that employers, as well as *caporali* (illegal gangmasters), can leverage, the possession of a regular residence permit—especially when temporary and precarious—often does not protect people from undeclared work and exploitation.

In a context characterised by a marked **stratification of legal statuses** of migrant workers across different sectors, forms of abuse and exploitation are rooted in the specific and **differentiated conditions of vulnerability** in which these individuals find themselves. This occurs within a system in which structural gender-based inequalities intersect with those based on nationality, class, skin colour and legal status.

The research highlighted as an emblematic case of these dynamics the situation of Ukrainian female workers employed in the domestic sector or in agriculture. Many of them, despite holding a regular residence permit, often find themselves in a **situation of prolonged and now almost “permanent” temporariness**—as in the case of holders of temporary protection from Ukraine—and must contend with **patterns of grey labour, minimum wages and absence of protections**. Abuse, sexually charged comments and requests are moreover part of the daily reality of many of these workers, in a context in which **labour exploitation and gender-based violence continuously intersect**. In the domestic/care sector, where workers and employers find themselves in a “forced” cohabitation, these dynamics take on even more evident forms through logics of control over the workers’ bodies and restrictions on their autonomy and privacy.

MAIN FINDING #5:

Irregularity is multidimensional and follows gendered lines: labour precariousness and status undermine health, family life, autonomy and safety, with more severe effects for female workers

The research carried out for I-CLAIM and PRIME shows how the dimension of irregularity, including that of legal precariousness, has a simultaneous impact across various spheres and dimensions of the individual and family life of migrants.

The prolonged waits generated by bureaucratic obstacles, the condition of legal precariousness due to the continuous transition from one status to another and the risk of falling into irregularity, together with the absence or partiality of contracts, constitute factors that profoundly affect **physical well-being and mental health**, reducing the energy and capacity to build integration pathways and to envisage one’s own future.

At the same time, the research shows how, in both sectors, the dynamics of exploitation go well beyond the strictly labour dimension and permeate every aspect of the lives of migrants and their families. In agricultural work, for example, exploitation is closely intertwined with inadequate housing conditions, the difficulty of reaching workplaces and the need to use inadequate means of transport, often provided by the same illegal intermediaries. In this scenario, long commutes reduce—to the point of eliminating—the time devoted to rest, leisure and the maintenance of relationships, relegating life outside of work to a mere appendage and **effectively denying the centrality of relationships, emotional bonds and the social sphere of migrants**.

The impact of these dynamics **affects migrant women with particular intensity**, especially working mothers, on whom the burden of family care work continues to fall almost entirely. It is they who must sustain an almost impossible balance between care time and work time, often under conditions of extreme precariousness and in the absence of adequate and effective welfare services.

Policy Recommendations

POLICY RECOMMENDATION #1:

Reform entry channels for work, making them diversified, continuous and genuinely practicable, moving beyond the “first-come-first-served/click day” approach and reducing exclusive dependence on the employer

Introduce more flexible entry channels that can be planned throughout the year (not concentrated in narrow windows), with simplified procedures and certain timeframes. Complement the employer-driven channel with at least **a job-search entry channel**, with proportionate requirements and convertibility into a work permit once employment is found.

In the linkage with countries of origin, strengthen the administrative capacity of consulates, *prefettura* (i.e., prefectures) and *questura* (i.e., police headquarters) to reduce “losses” along the procedural chain and shorten processing times. Furthermore, envisage a regulated role for “bridging” actors (for example authorised bodies and social actors) in facilitating a transparent matching of labour supply and demand, to avoid new forms of dependence on a single employer and reducing recourse to opaque intermediation and the risk of abuse.

POLICY RECOMMENDATION #2:

Establish permanent individual-based regularisation channels

Introduce **a stable regularisation mechanism for those who are rooted in the Italian social and labour fabric, activatable on an individual basis**, not linked to extraordinary regularisation campaigns (*sanatorie*), for those who can demonstrate an actual employment relationship and/or a pathway of integration.

Complement this with a **regularisation channel based on rootedness** (family and social ties, length of stay in the country, integration), with clear and uniform criteria across the territory.

Envisage a temporary protection permit for those who, despite having entered through regular channels or being in a regularisation procedure, lose their employment or are unable to finalise the process for reasons not attributable to the individual, so as to enable the search for new employment and avoid falling into irregularity.

Define streamlined and digitalised procedures, with maximum timeframes and an obligation to provide clear reasoning for refusals; establish a public monitoring system (timeframes, outcomes, backlogs) to prevent multi-year “limbos”.

POLICY RECOMMENDATION #3:

Strengthen the operational capacity of public administrations involved in entry, residence and service access procedures, reducing the scope for fraudulent intermediation

Invest in **strengthening the operational and technological capacity of the offices responsible for managing work entry procedures**, the issuance and renewal of residence permits and access to welfare services — in particular *prefettura* (prefectures), *questura* (police headquarters), consulates, *sportelli unici per l’immigrazione* (single immigration desks) and *patronati* (social security and social rights offices) — through the adjustment

of staffing levels, staff training, the digitalisation of procedures and the introduction of uniform service standards across the entire national territory. Establish structured coordination mechanisms between the different administrative levels and the competent agencies, in order to reduce procedural fragmentation, duplication and waiting times that fuel the bureaucratic “limbos” documented by the research.

A more efficient and accessible administration can produce a direct effect on reducing fraudulent intermediation: where procedures are transparent, timely and comprehensible, the space is reduced for those actors — professionals, co-nationals or fraudulent intermediaries — who profit from the difficulties and misinformation of migrants. Within this framework, a complementary role should be recognised for civil society organisations in providing guidance, information and support to migrants through the procedures, without this translating into a substitution of the institutional responsibilities of the State. Finally, **periodic monitoring and evaluation systems should** be established, with public and transparent indicators on processing times, backlogs and causes of delays, so as to ensure that legislative reforms translate into concrete and timely effects — also in view of the implementation (expected by June 12, 2026) of the EUPact on Migration and Asylum, whose measures risk proving even more punitive for irregularised persons present in Italy.

POLICY RECOMMENDATION #4:

Ensure that legal regularity also means effective rights: support access to decent housing conditions, guarantee access to welfare services and create a “support network”

Implement structural interventions to **ensure access to adequate, well-serviced and well-connected housing arrangements, from a long-term perspective**. This entails investing in public housing policies and social housing instruments that increase the supply of decent and affordable housing; promoting the renovation of disused properties; and **ensuring the presence of essential services** — transport, schools, healthcare facilities — that enable irregular foreign workers or those with precarious legal status to live in decent conditions.

A structural approach must also envisage the coordinated involvement of a network of actors: local authorities, employers and employer organisations, the third sector and trade unions, to ensure sustainable and integrated solutions over time, avoiding forms of territorial segregation or emergency-only responses.

In parallel, it is necessary to strengthen the measures that facilitate **effective access to welfare services**, reducing the administrative and informational barriers that often limit the use of social and health benefits even by persons with regular residence status. This includes support in managing administrative procedures and the dissemination of clear and accessible information on social rights, as well as specific attention to identifying and combating fraudulent intermediaries.

It is also necessary to integrate on a permanent basis **a gender-sensitive and intersectional perspective** into the design and implementation of interventions. This entails envisaging targeted measures for persons potentially exposed to specific forms of vulnerability, such as those experiencing exploitation in isolated work contexts (for example in live-in work), those with significant care responsibilities and those exposed to violence or harassment. Such interventions should be developed in coordination with local services, with anti-exploitation project networks and with anti-violence networks, in order to guarantee effective protection and sustainable pathways to autonomy over time.

*"I don't have a car. I have to go from [place of residence in the outskirts of the city] to [location of the police office to get the residence permit]. The first time I did this whole trip was when my [premature] son went back to the hospital. Then I had to do the trip another time because they gave me an appointment. They said it was for Monday. But I didn't go because my son wasn't well and my 14-year-old was also very sick [...] Now, the lady at the family allowance office tells me that "we asked the INPS", and she tells me no [for the assegno unico i.e., family allowance] because the issue with the tax code is still pending, this provisional tax code... So, I have to go another time... **Look, in Peru, it's a developing country, we're below Europe, but when I go in my country to an office, at least there they say "look you have to do this and that", and they do it internally, you send an email and they solve it. Here, no, you have to go there, here, there, no, CAF, no, the welfare office..."***

(PRIME, woman, care worker, May 2024)

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