

“ROLE OF NON-PROFIT IN MIGRATION POLICIES: SPAIN AND ITALY COMPARED”¹

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1. INTRODUCTION

The presence in developed economies of private organisations in what is defined as the third sector or non-profit sector has become increasingly more widespread. In the majority of European countries the NP sector has only been subject in the last ten years to serious, legal scrutiny.

Academic interest in the growth of the NP sector and the role it has come to play in developed economies has grown apace, and can be summarised in three main areas:

a) NP sector growth is attributed by some economists to the expansion of charity sponsorship of social services (James, 1987; Ackerman, 1987);

b) NP sector growth has been attributed to the failure of governments to provide social services. (Weisbrod, 1988). With services in effect provided on the basis of voter preference, the NP sector has come to fill the gap left by the state for social services.

c) For Hansmann (1980) et al NP sector growth has to be seen in light of market asymmetry. With producers' only interest in exploiting market asymmetry for own ends and not consumers, the effectiveness of checks and balances is reduced at production level and end product. Under no pressure from profit motive, the NP sector has scarce interest in exploiting market asymmetry.

The present paper will investigate the role played by NP sector in immigration, with particular reference to services offered to immigrants and their implications for relations between NP sector and State in two countries noted for their similar patterns of migration, namely Italy and Spain.

In both Italy and Spain the migratory picture is characterised by a lack of so-called “real” (not just legislative) measures that take account of immigrant needs. Even though emergency policies exist to meet various contingencies, lack of awareness of population movements is probably behind the “absence” of the state.

It would seem to be unnecessarily reductive to interpret – as in the past – population movements as a “perverse” combination of demographic pressure and chronic underdevelopment. Other factors such as earlier population intakes, expectations on the part of both families of origin and migrant families about the country of destination also come into play (Massey, 1998; Conti, Natale, Stozza, 2002). The migratory phenomenon has become much more complex and multifaceted compared to population movements of the twentieth century or even the final decade of the last century.

A common factor in all migratory processes appears to be the income “bracket” above and below incentive for migration. Below the minimum income bracket, costs of migration along with poor access to information/education appear to be too high to risk the move. In higher income brackets migration no longer appears to be a convenient option. If, as current theories in demographics suggest, there is a gradual shift towards higher income brackets for countries in the Southeast

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Mediterranean, in contrast to some African countries where the shift is towards lower income brackets, this should theoretically translate into a gradual slowing down of the migratory process.

In this paper selection and analysis of statistical data will be explored in section 2, followed in section 3 by a comparative analysis of Spanish and Italian policy towards immigration. In sections 4 (Italy) and 5 (Spain), the link between NP sector and immigration will be explored in terms of the statistical data selected. The existence of a possible causal relation between NP sector and immigrants will then be evaluated with a view to assessing any advantages for immigrants in the possible substitution of state institutions by the NP sector (section 6). Concluding remarks will follow in section 7.

2. DATA SELECTION

To assess the “stability” of the relationship between the NP sector and immigration important decisions have necessarily been made regarding data, time references and the territories under discussion.

Italy and Spain have selected for study firstly because of their common experience of migration and secondly, because of the substantial input from the NP sector over the last twenty years in both countries.

For nearly a hundred years the migratory picture in Italy has been characterised by emigration. (Rosoli, 1978) Since the end of the seventies its position has been profoundly altered by successive incoming waves of population. With some qualifications the migratory picture in Spain has matched that of Italy. From being a traditional exporter of labour it has become a settlement area for immigrants from developing and/or middle developing countries. The rapid change in status of the two countries in global migration has brought about a response both from state institutions and the NP sector.

While to begin with steps were taken to manage the knock on effects of immigration; provision of services to the immigrant community has only been subsequently programmed. Special input has come from the NP Sector, which, from the mid-nineties, has grown in strength and influence in both countries.

To delineate trends involving the NP or voluntary sector (from hereon also NPOs) data for this paper has been taken from ISTAT in Italy for NPOs registered in each region at 31 December for each year. Surveys of NPOs from ISTAT go back to 1995; figures from the latest survey² were published in 2003 and date to December 2001. Official figures for the NP sector have been available in a standard form – in line with the internal classification system - only from the start of this period. International NP sector surveys have, in fact, only been available in a standard form from the beginning of the nineties through the ICNPO (International Classification of Non-profit Organisations), developed at John Hopkins University, Baltimore.

With Spain the term Non Profit Organisation (NPO) refers to data from the Ministry of Interior on associations or *Entidades Asociativas* in the register of associations.

Assessment of the link between NPOs and immigrants, and immigrant use of NPOs has been determined by different choices. For Italy the average number of immigrant users calculated for the period 1995-2003 has been obtained from official statistics for NPOs by region. The figures for immigrants (both legal and illegal) as NPO service users are, however, the product of a separate study based on interviews with official NPOs, realized in the period 2002-2003.

The questionnaire, which has been partially structured, is based on NPO profiles including a breakdown of age, composition, aims, resources and measures undertaken as well as profiles of service users. For the majority of NPOs interviewed services are geared towards different needs, and geared towards the changing needs of their majority users, namely immigrants³.

² The survey for 2004 has not yet been published by ISTAT.

³ Given the fact only one aspect of the questionnaire is involved in this paper, namely development of relations between NP sector and immigration, the sample and questionnaire has not been reported.

The sample under study is made up of those NPOs found in regional registers by 31 December 2001 that operate in the social services sector (about 30% or 5200 of NPOs); of these about 15% deal with immigration. Answers given by NPOs have been the basis of a retrospective analysis of NP sector and sector use. The final date in the sample relates to data from officially recognised NPOs at 2001.

For Spain, on the other hand, the link between NPOs and immigrants has been analysed in the main using data from official sources. Research into the NP sector involved in social services to immigrants is still in progress.

From analysis of the growth of the NP sector in both countries, the question can then be asked: what are the advantages of NPOs taking over the functions and responsibilities of state institutions?

With this in mind, a calculation has been made on expenditure for voluntary labour, which will be discussed in section 6.

3. IMMIGRATION AND SOCIAL POLICY IN ITALY AND SPAIN IN LAST DECADE

Recent immigration in Italy and Spain and immigration policy has to be seen in context of the European migratory system. The similarity in migratory experience which has seen the shift in the eighties away from emigration and labour export to immigration is echoed in the migratory experience of both Greece and Portugal. In what has been defined as “the Mediterranean Immigration Model” (Pugliese, 2002; King, 2000, 2001; Venturini, 2001) these southern European states have become settlement areas for immigrants from the coastal regions of Africa and Asia, central and eastern Europe.

The presence of legal immigrants in Italy has been characterised by continuous and rapid growth from the mid-eighties. From nearly 300, 000 legal resident permits issued in 1980 to 650,000 registered by 1st January 1992 around 2,194,000 have been issued by the start of 2004. Similarly in Spain, the number of legal immigrants has continuously been on the rise in the last twenty years. From the end of 1981 with 198,000 legal immigrants to 361,000 at the start of the next decade (1st January 1992) the number of immigrants with regular permits stands on 1st January 2005 at about 1,977,000 (Tab. 1 and Tab. 2).

In the last decade, numbers of legal immigrants, which have not always been consistent have seen a strong increase in the second half of the nineties, both in Italy and Spain, as the percentage variations show (Tab.3).

The most striking increases in Italy have taken place on the back of two regularization process. First, following the Dini Decree (D.L. 489/95) from the end of 1995 to the first three months of 1996 the position of some 250,000 immigrants was legalised between 1995 and 1998. Second, the Bossi Fini Law (L. 189/02) has seen a 50% increase in immigrants with regular permits between 2003 and 2004, including 650,000 domestic and black market workers. This has resulted interesting changes in lists of provenance with a shift away from central and eastern Europe towards Mediterranean Africa and southern and central Asia. At the top of the list are immigrants from relatively new countries such as Roumania, the Ukraine, Ecuador and Moldavia, as long with historically present ethnic groups such as Albanians and Moroccans. Numbers of Chinese and Poles have also been on the increase.

Following the introduction of *Leyes de Extranjeria* del 2000 (L. 4/2000 – L. 8/2000), and a further regularization *por motivos de arraigo*, numbers of legal immigrants in Spain have been growing since 2001 (Gozalvez Perez, 1997, 2001). Lists of provenance continue to be dominated by Moroccans. Numbers of South Americans with regular permits are also on the rise, particularly from Ecuador and Colombia. Numbers from Peru remain stable.

With the attraction of a interesting job market in various sectors the North remains the preferred area of settlement for immigrants in Italy. Numbers are up by 60%, compared to the Centre and the South where increases have been 30% and 10% respectively. In the Centre settlement is metropolitan in character with numbers concentrated in Lazio and Rome Province. The regions of

the South, Campania, Apulia and Sicily remain stable both as settlement areas and transit areas, especially along the coastal areas where welcome/support centres have been particularly strong.

Tab. 1. Legal Immigrants in Italy by Region at 1st January, 1992-2004.

Regions	Absolute Values (in thousands)					Percentage Values				
	1992	1995	1998	2001	2004	1992	1995	1998	2001	2004
Valle Aosta	2	2	2	2	4	0,3	0,3	0,2	0,1	0,2
Piemonte	35	40	67	91	168	5,4	5,9	6,6	6,6	7,6
Lombardia	124	136	220	312	503	19,1	20,1	21,5	22,6	22,9
Liguria	20	21	30	31	58	3,1	3,1	2,9	2,2	2,6
Trentino	15	19	23	43	43	2,3	2,8	2,3	3,1	2,0
Veneto	43	52	83	139	214	6,6	7,7	8,2	10,1	9,7
Friuli	19	26	30	38	62	2,9	3,8	3,0	2,8	2,8
Emilia-R.	51	50	82	114	218	7,8	7,4	8,0	8,3	9,9
Toscana	44	50	69	112	175	6,8	7,4	6,7	8,1	8,0
Umbria	12	14	19	25	44	1,8	2,1	1,9	1,8	2,0
Marche	11	14	22	36	65	1,7	2,1	2,2	2,6	3,0
Lazio	155	146	205	241	331	23,8	21,5	20,0	17,5	15,1
Abruzzo	8	11	14	18	33	1,2	1,6	1,4	1,3	1,5
Molise	1	1	1	2	3	0,2	0,1	0,1	0,1	0,2
Campania	32	31	54	66	111	4,9	4,6	5,3	4,8	5,1
Puglia	16	17	26	33	43	2,5	2,5	2,5	2,4	2,0
Basilicata	2	1	2	3	6	0,3	0,1	0,2	0,2	0,3
Calabria	7	7	14	14	33	1,1	1,0	1,4	1,0	1,5
Sicilia	46	32	47	49	65	7,1	4,7	4,6	3,6	3,0
Sardegna	7	8	11	11	15	1,1	1,2	1,0	0,8	0,7
<i>Total</i>	<i>650</i>	<i>678</i>	<i>1.023</i>	<i>1.380</i>	<i>2.194</i>	<i>100,0</i>	<i>100,0</i>	<i>100,0</i>	<i>100,0</i>	<i>100,0</i>

Source: Istat and Ministry of Interior at 1st January 2004

Tab. 2. Legal Immigrants in Spain by Comunidades Autonomas at 1st January, 1992-2005.

Comunidades Autonomas	Absolute Values (in thousands)						Percentage Values					
	1992	1995	1998	2001	2004	2005	1992	1995	1998	2001	2004	2005
Andalucia	49	61	84	132	209	223	13,6	13,3	13,8	14,8	12,7	11,3
Aragon	5	6	10	18	39	53	1,4	1,4	1,6	2,0	2,4	2,7
Asturias	6	6	7	10	13	16	1,7	1,4	1,2	1,1	0,8	0,8
Baleares	21	26	32	46	76	92	5,8	5,6	5,3	5,1	4,6	4,7
Canarias	35	47	59	78	113	126	9,7	10,3	9,7	8,7	6,9	6,3
Cantabria	2	3	3	5	12	14	0,6	0,6	0,6	0,6	0,7	0,7
Castillia - M	3	6	9	16	37	49	0,8	1,2	1,5	1,8	2,2	2,5
Castillia y L.	10	14	17	24	45	57	2,8	3,0	2,9	2,7	2,7	2,9
Cataluna	61	83	125	215	384	462	16,9	18,1	20,4	24,0	23,3	23,4
C.Valenciana	47	56	65	87	180	227	13,0	12,2	10,6	9,7	10,9	11,5
Extremadura	3	5	7	11	17	19	0,8	1,0	1,2	1,2	1,0	1,0
Galicia	13	16	19	24	38	43	3,6	3,6	3,2	2,7	2,3	2,2
Madrid	81	94	116	163	355	412	22,4	20,3	19,0	18,2	21,6	20,9
Murcia	6	7	10	23	58	93	1,7	1,4	1,6	2,5	3,5	4,7
Navarra	2	4	5	11	23	27	0,6	0,8	0,8	1,2	1,4	1,4
Pais Vasco	9	12	16	19	29	37	2,5	2,7	2,6	2,1	1,7	1,9
La Roja	1	1	7	6	14	16	0,3	0,3	1,2	0,7	0,8	0,8
Other	7	14	18	9	7	9	1,9	3,0	3,0	1,0	0,4	0,4
<i>Total</i>	<i>361</i>	<i>461</i>	<i>610</i>	<i>896</i>	<i>1.647</i>	<i>1.977</i>	<i>100,0</i>	<i>100,0</i>	<i>100,0</i>	<i>100,0</i>	<i>100,0</i>	<i>100,0</i>

Source: Ministerio de Trabajos y Asuntos Sociales and Ministerio del Interior

Tab. 3. The growth of Legal Immigrants in Spain and in Italy. Percentage Variations, 1992-2005.

Comunidades Autonomas (Spain)	Var.%			Regions (Italy)	Var.%		
	1992/1998	1998/2005	1995/2005		1992/1998	1998/2004	1995/2004
Andalucia	71,4	165,5	262,6	Valle d'Aosta	0,0	100,0	100,0
Aragon	100,0	430,0	748,2	Piemonte	91,4	150,7	320,0
Asturias	16,7	128,6	161,0	Lombardia	77,4	128,6	269,9
Baleares	52,4	187,5	255,4	Liguria	50,0	93,3	176,2
Canarias	68,6	113,6	164,7	Trentino	53,3	87,0	126,3
Cantabria	50,0	366,7	445,2	Veneto	93,0	157,8	311,5
Castillia - La Mancha	200,0	444,4	788,2	Friuli	57,9	106,7	138,5
Castillia y L.	70,0	235,3	314,4	Emilia-Romagna	60,8	165,9	336,0
Cataluna	104,9	269,6	454,7	Toscana	56,8	153,6	250,0
Comunidad Valenciana	38,3	249,2	304,4	Umbria	58,3	131,6	214,3
Extremadura	133,3	171,4	319,3	Marche	100,0	195,5	364,3
Galicia	46,2	126,3	162,5	Lazio	32,3	61,5	126,7
Madrid	43,2	255,2	340,5	Abruzzo	75,0	135,7	200,0
Murcia	66,7	830,0	1.318,0	Molise	0,0	200,0	200,0
Navarra	150,0	440,0	621,4	Campania	68,8	105,6	258,1
Pais Vasco	77,8	131,3	203,0	Puglia	62,5	65,4	152,9
La Roja	600,0	128,6	1.090,5	Basilicata	0,0	200,0	500,0
Other	157,1	-50,0	-37,6	Calabria	100,0	135,7	371,4
Total	69,0	224,1	328,6	Sicilia	2,2	38,3	103,1
				Sardegna	57,1	36,4	87,5
				Total	57,4	114,5	223,6

Source: elaborated from Istat data, Ministerio de Trabajos y Asuntos Sociales and Ministerio del Interior

In Spain, however, the spread presents a slightly different picture with high immigrant presence in the “metropolitan” areas of Madrid and Barcelona; in the “Levantine-Mediterranean” with large and rich immigrant communities in Catalonia along with some nationalities represented in Valencia and Andalusia. Recently the spread has become more “diffuse” and perhaps will continue along these lines (Carella, Paterno, Strozza, 2001).

Up until the end of the seventies immigration policy⁴ was limited to internal management, maintenance of public order, national security and border controls. Only from the second half of the eighties with the recognition of immigration as a key phenomenon of our times has immigration policy been allowed to develop. Before the present laws government response to immigration in Italy and Spain had been based on different decisions, even as policy developed on roughly the same lines. While legislation for immigration is not the subject of this study, a brief outline will be given of policies adopted by each country (Carella, Pace, 2001).

Policy makers in Italy have long neglected immigration; immigrants have been granted only partial recognition. Even with the latest legislation (Law Bossi-Fini 2002) there has been no real prescription for policy with “guest” workers allowed only on a temporary basis and for specific economic needs.

In Spain the situation is characterised by a more active and thoughtful policy which was begun in the early nineties, when important legislation was enacted on the theme of integration of immigrants and came together under the *Plan de Integracion Social*⁵, approved on 2 December, 1994. In this document integration is expressed as a priority and a goal of immigration policy not just for central government but also for regional and provincial administrations and NPOs.

⁴ Initiatives are obviously distinguished by type. With the problem in a developed country such as Italy of the so-called brain drain among the professional class, initiatives have been recently made to encourage so-called return of entrepreneurship.

⁵ The Plan provides for action/intervention over a four year period in various fields such as normative law, culture and education. With this in mind one organisation was set up in 1995: *Observatorio permanente de la inmigracion* for collecting and compiling data on immigrants.

Underpinning the social reality of immigration has been the institution following *la Ley Organica 4/2000 of Foro para la Integración Social de los Inmigrantes*, whose functions include promoting integration of immigrants in Spanish society and coordinating initiatives promoted by NPOs and strengthening ties between NP sector and state institutions. In line with recent local and state laws, the plan for integration has further been reinforced by new initiatives such as the setting up of *Foros de inmigrantes* in 2000 for “The Regional Programmes for Immigrant Integration” currently under way in 8 *Comunidades Autonomas*.

Finally it is worth pointing out the many initiatives for immigrants promoted by NPOs. The NP sector is particularly strong in this field, especially in the provision of welcome/support centres. In the literature (Ambrosini, 2005) NPOs have been categorised on the basis of type of intervention. Case studies (Ambrosini 2002, 2003) suggest that the most common model for NPOs in Italy are charity-based associations involved in relief work to the desperate and needy (often immigrants). Also present in the picture are business associations, for the most part co-operatives involved in management of welcome/support centres and provision of secondary services (multi-functional booths and information services). Apart from the NPOs described above, Spain also boasts associations promoted and organised by the immigrants themselves that offer orientation services and support services for access to job market.

4. THIRD SECTOR AND IMMIGRATION IN ITALY: TOWARDS A DEVELOPING RELATIONSHIP

4.1. TRENDS IN NP SECTOR

A comparatively recent phenomenon in Europe (Salamon et al, 2000), the NP sector has developed across all sectors. This has led over time to a degree of integration with the state and various proxy relationships with state structures entailing responsibilities and obligations conditioned by the political and socio-economic climate in which NPOs are found. NP sector growth and development must be seen in the context of state and market failure in the West. In an extensively developed market with high mobility and therefore limited asymmetry the role in production and reallocation attributed to NP sector by the literature is drastically reduced. (Badale, 1997). Likewise if the public sector guarantees social services, NPOs can only have a nominal, promotional role. But when both market and public sector break with these models, space inevitably opens up for the NP sector. (Anheier et al., 2001).

The failure of the State appears particularly critical in the welfare sector currently occupied by NPOs. Following the need to solve new and diverse social problems in the decade 1970-1980, the State has been increasingly handicapped by public expenditure to the detriment of the welfare sector. In this historical context effecting much of Western Europe, the NP sector has taken on an increasingly important role in the planning of public policy, and the financing and provision of social services.

In Italy, as in Spain the social relevance of the NP sector has grown since the end of the seventies. With the crisis in welfare, a slowing economy and an upturn in unemployment forcing government rethink of socio-economic policy NPOS emerged and spread rapidly through the eighties. After the continuing failure of government to come up with social policy, social division was exacerbated by the “disinterest” on the part of enterprise culture in social services and the growing tendency to cut public funds. It was only, however, in the nineties that legislation provided for the NP sector, under Law n.266/1991 which brought recognition of voluntary work, and Law n.381/1991 on Social Co-operation, later replaced by Law n. 460/1997.

In Italy the NP sector has only been under survey since 1995. Prior to 1995 sector surveys were carried out sporadically and with different methodology. Analysis of NPOs can only be made with acceptable accuracy from the above date. Lack of uniform data prior to 1995 limits the ability, as in the present case, to make valid comparisons with other countries (cf. Section 2). In spite of the lack

of uniform data, a marked increase is shown in the number of NPOs registered regionally from 1995, the year of the first ISTAT survey, through to 2001 (Tab. 4). In the Northeast and South, the increase in NPOs has been by 137.4% and 200.8% respectively over the national average of 119.3%. The disaggregate data, not here reported for lack of space shows that Lombardy, followed by Emilia Romagna and the Veneto, has the largest number of NPOs. The most interesting results for the regions are for Sicily and Campania where the increase in NPOs has been three times the national average, in the period 1995-2001.

Tab. 4. *Voluntary Organisations by Region at 31 December, 1995-2001.*

Regions	Absolute Values (in thousands)				Percentage Values				Var.% 1995-2001
	1995	1997	1999	2001	1995	1997	1999	2001	
Piemonte	693	991	1188	1384	8,3	8,5	7,9	7,6	99,7
Valle d'Aosta	35	46	53	73	0,4	0,4	0,4	0,4	108,6
Lombardia	1687	1827	2591	3154	20,2	15,6	17,2	17,2	87,0
Trentino A.A.	404	830	1343	1560	4,8	7,1	8,9	8,5	286,1
Bolzano	327	728	1042	1228	3,9	6,2	6,9	6,7	275,5
Trento	77	102	301	332	0,9	0,9	2,0	1,8	331,2
Veneto	872	1075	1270	1907	10,5	9,2	8,4	10,5	118,7
Friuli V.G.	236	418	548	631	2,8	3,6	3,6	3,4	167,4
Liguria	314	489	600	631	3,8	4,2	4,0	3,4	101,0
Emilia R.	1018	1343	1664	1907	12,2	11,5	11,0	10,5	87,3
Toscana	1340	1683	1792	1894	16,1	14,4	11,9	10,4	41,3
Umbria	173	289	353	393	2,1	2,5	2,3	2,1	127,2
Marche	178	343	450	637	2,1	2,9	3,0	3,5	257,9
Lazio	194	292	423	516	2,3	2,5	2,8	2,8	166,0
Abruzzo	90	160	201	254	1,1	1,4	1,3	1,4	182,2
Molise	24	69	89	130	0,3	0,6	0,6	0,7	441,7
Campania	173	407	564	763	2,1	3,5	3,7	4,2	341,0
Puglia	162	285	331	422	1,9	2,4	2,2	2,3	160,5
Basilicata	56	133	155	205	0,7	1,1	1,0	1,1	266,1
Calabria	188	177	292	363	2,3	1,5	1,9	2,0	93,1
Sicilia	55	246	368	491	0,7	2,1	2,4	2,7	792,7
Sardegna	451	607	796	978	5,4	5,2	5,3	5,3	116,9
<i>ITALY</i>	<i>8343</i>	<i>11710</i>	<i>15071</i>	<i>18293</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>119,3</i>
Northwest	2729	3353	4432	5242	32,7	28,6	29,4	28,7	92,1
Northeast	2530	3666	4825	6005	30,3	31,3	32,0	32,8	137,4
Centre	1885	2607	3018	3440	22,6	22,3	20,0	18,8	82,5
South	1199	2084	2796	3606	14,4	17,8	18,6	19,7	200,8

Source: Istat

Turning to sector activity, it can be seen NPOs are most actively involved in health and social services. Even if there has been a slight dropping off in sector involvement for the period under study, the importance of the two sectors has persuaded us to focus on NPOs operating social services for immigrants (Tab. 5).

Tab. 5. NPOs by sector, 1995-2001 (%).

Sector	Percentage of NPOs by sector			
	1995	1997	1999	2001
Health	42,4	37,6	36,0	33,1
Social Services	30,5	28,7	27,1	28,6
Culture-Recreation	11,7	13,7	16,8	14,9
Civil Protection	6,4	9,3	9,0	9,8
Education	2,8	2,9	1,7	3,3
Environmental Cons.	2,2	3,4	4,2	3,8
Custody and Rights	2,2	2,7	1,8	2,4
Sports	1,8	1,7	1,8	1,9
Other Sectors	-	-	1,6	2,2
<i>Total</i>	<i>100,0</i>	<i>100,0</i>	<i>100,0</i>	<i>100,0</i>

Source: Istat

4.2. CASE STUDY RESULTS: NUMBERS OF IMMIGRANT NPO USERS

A vast and complex macro-process which, by its nature, is not easy to quantify or assess – migration has an inevitable, and not just in “official” estimation, impact on the social-economic fabric of the state and particularly the social security system. Often marginalised, or socially excluded, the immigrants who come to fill the ranks of the so-called “new poor”⁶ bring with them a very different set of needs from the traditional ones. If illegal, they have no right to social security⁷ and health care. Effectively neglected by the state and state institutions, a big question mark is left hanging over their needs and status.

The gap left by the state in social services has been filled by socially committed NPOs largely dependent on volunteer labour. In 2001 the number of NPOs was about 18,000, comprising 12,000 paid employees and around 696,000 volunteers working on average 9 hours a week⁸. About 30% of these NPOs are involved in social services and international co-operation with special focus on services to immigrants.

To determine the quantitative relationship between NPOs and immigrants⁹, an index has been drawn up showing the number of NPO assisted immigrants by region, derived from an independent study carried out in 2002-2003, and the total of NPOs operating in the sector according to ISTAT (Tab. 6). (Gurrieri, Lorizio, Losurdo, 2004).

With faster growth of NPOs to immigrant users the actual global index for the relationship between NPOs and immigrant users is on the wane for the period 1995-2003. As can be seen in table 6, however, the increase in NPOs over the last ten years has had particular resonance in the south of Italy. In the north, where the number of NPOs has risen in tandem with the number of immigrant users, an increase has been registered for the period under study. If the challenge of immigration appears to have been met across the territory, results produced by analysis of the table by region have not been particularly informative. The gradual increase after initial decline shown by the table can probably be attributed as much to the political implications of migration as the subsequent financing of structures set up to deal with the phenomenon and in some sense enjoyed by the NP sector.

⁶ For more precise “parameters” research is being carried out with focus on income variables.

⁷ Fertile ground for the recruitment of illegal immigrants in organised crime.

⁸ Figures quoted here are from ISTAT but FIVOL which operates in the NP sector showed in 2001 about 3,200,000 volunteers.

⁹ Figures on immigrants assisted by NPOs in 2001 were 184,000, 3,2% of the total.

Tab. 6. Average number immigrants assisted by NPOs in Italian Regions, 1995- 2003.

Regions	Years									
	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	
Valle d'Aosta	53,21	52,35	44,69	44,02	42,10	39,64	39,27	39,12	39,06	
Piemonte	74,81	94,15	101,88	102,15	102,27	103,41	103,74	103,96	103,94	
Lombardia	103,89	142,86	135,13	135,45	136,02	136,27	141,12	141,64	141,72	
Liguria	61,18	65,23	62,32	63,10	63,465	64,22	64,51	64,72	64,79	
Trentino	79,04	97,42	80,90	80,19	80,06	79,32	78,10	78,15	78,15	
Veneto	115,12	91,89	107,51	107,89	108,22	108,64	108,85	109,17	109,24	
Friuli	84,44	74,53	69,97	69,46	69,11	68,77	68,32	67,84	67,15	
Emilia-Romagna	57,89	64,16	74,24	74,86	75,09	75,67	75,94	76,15	76,32	
Toscana	52,05	55,58	66,35	66,97	69,04	69,75	70,02	71,24	71,22	
Umbria	88,75	126,19	126,12	126,22	126,48	126,65	127,04	127,28	127,36	
Marche	79,50	67,14	59,32	59,09	58,15	56,28	55,12	54,73	54,82	
Lazio	822,44	529,04	345,12	346,27	346,92	348,33	350,01	350,29	350,33	
Abruzzo	144,01	162,54	160,66	160,66	160,99	161,37	162,27	162,62	162,73	
Molise	44,28	28,45	28,32	28,12	27,62	25,34	25,11	23,79	23,85	
Campania	230,97	182,72	149,85	147,29	147,04	146,25	145,82	145,53	145,67	
Puglia	127,07	76,92	49,95	49,69	49,13	48,57	48,09	47,62	47,86	
Basilicata	31,95	38,22	39,00	39,07	39,24	39,57	39,82	39,87	39,90	
Calabria	142,31	71,69	71,68	71,15	71,02	68,47	68,22	68,04	68,22	
Sicilia	639,20	127,30	93,54	93,19	92,74	92,67	91,48	91,14	92,03	
Sardegna	16,09	15,52	13,31	12,94	12,71	10,96	10,67	10,23	10,15	
<i>ITALY</i>	<i>152,41</i>	<i>108,19</i>	<i>93,99</i>	<i>93,88</i>	<i>93,87</i>	<i>93,50</i>	<i>93,67</i>	<i>93,65</i>	<i>93,72</i>	
Northwest	73,27	88,64	86,00	86,18	85,96	85,88	87,16	87,36	87,37	
Northeast	84,12	84,12	83,15	83,10	83,12	83,10	82,80	82,82	82,71	
Centre	260,68	194,48	149,22	149,63	150,14	150,25	150,54	150,88	150,93	
South	171,98	87,92	75,78	75,26	75,06	74,15	73,93	73,60	73,80	

Source: elaborated from Istat data

To obtain a more precise understanding of the relationship between immigration and NPOs, as examined above, it is important to take account of not just the presence of legal immigrants but also that of illegal immigrants.

Research has been carried out in two steps: first, looking at the relationship between NPOs registered per region (ISTAT) and immigrants threatened with expulsion (T.E). And then at the relationship between NPOs and illegal immigrants (I.I), or rather those immigrants who, in spite of repatriation orders, have not been repatriated and have remained on NPO records. Time scale is the same as above, i.e. 1995- 2003 (Tab. 7).

Results show that services to illegals from NPOs are generally, though with the exception of some southern regions, on the increase. Analysis highlights the increase, as already noted, in numbers of NPOs as well as the increase in number of immigrants threatened with expulsion. The percentage of T.E. immigrant users appears to be higher than that for legal immigrants, except in the south, particularly Calabria, Sicily and Sardinia where the percentage is down on the national average because of a comparable increase in NPOs and T.E. immigrants¹⁰. Even if the number of NPOs for start of period under study is particularly low compared to the national average, the number of NPOs in Sicily, for example, has risen over the whole period by 792% (ISTAT). This might be explained in terms of an NPO response to the boat loads of illegal immigrants arriving on Sicilian shores.

¹⁰ The south coast of Italy is the most common area for disembarking illegal immigrants.

Tab. 7. Relationship between number of illegal immigrants threatened with expulsion and NPOs, 1995-2003.

Regions	Years								
	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003
Valle d'Aosta	0,42	0,78	1,26	0,99	0,74	0,96	1,12	1,14	1,03
Piemonte	1,79	3,04	3,98	4,09	4,26	4,69	6,12	6,74	6,55
Lombardia	2,26	2,39	2,61	2,65	2,77	2,82	3,09	3,13	3,19
Liguria	1,02	1,32	2,17	2,18	2,31	2,52	2,59	2,63	2,65
Trentino	2,16	2,01	1,64	1,79	1,95	2,13	2,19	2,22	2,19
Veneto	1,95	2,61	3,90	4,12	4,27	4,35	4,39	4,52	4,59
Friuli	3,76	5,62	6,86	6,94	7,03	7,15	7,17	7,25	7,13
Emilia-Romagna	2,82	3,06	3,54	3,61	3,94	4,09	4,24	4,33	4,49
Toscana	1,41	1,63	2,01	2,09	2,21	2,25	2,37	2,39	2,38
Umbria	2,58	3,59	4,25	4,29	4,31	4,47	4,62	4,68	4,78
Marche	2,68	2,98	3,02	3,16	3,19	3,24	3,27	3,27	3,31
Lazio	7,38	9,71	11,01	11,29	11,47	11,62	12,04	12,51	12,67
Abruzzo	3,25	8,94	8,28	8,31	8,44	8,63	8,70	8,90	8,93
Molise	1,00	3,00	4,66	4,27	4,39	4,68	4,71	4,82	4,88
Campania	1,66	2,09	3,08	3,12	3,20	3,22	3,37	3,39	3,46
Puglia	5,65	7,96	9,69	9,74	10,02	10,21	10,27	10,42	10,79
Basilicata	1,55	2,90	4,04	3,95	3,99	4,05	4,12	4,25	4,31
Calabria	9,84	6,15	5,69	5,62	5,15	4,84	4,70	4,65	4,73
Sicilia	38,48	7,99	6,08	6,75	7,24	7,91	9,42	10,04	12,00
Sardegna	1,11	0,82	0,54	0,52	0,37	0,35	0,21	0,19	0,12
<i>ITALY</i>	<i>4,61</i>	<i>3,89</i>	<i>4,35</i>	<i>4,42</i>	<i>4,52</i>	<i>4,66</i>	<i>4,87</i>	<i>5,01</i>	<i>5,15</i>
Northwest	1,26	1,68	2,19	2,23	2,33	2,50	2,95	3,12	3,09
Northeast	2,67	3,32	3,98	4,11	4,29	4,43	4,49	4,58	4,60
Centre	3,51	4,47	5,07	5,20	5,29	5,39	5,57	5,71	5,78
South	7,81	4,98	5,25	5,28	5,35	5,48	5,68	5,83	6,15

Source: elaborated from Istat data

A similar picture emerges for I.I. or illegals, although the percentage increase is not quite as high as for T.E. immigrants (I.E.). This discrepancy can be explained by the fact that I.I. totals are not as great as I.E. totals, and so, the percentage is down in relation to NPO structures. The exceptions to this are in Sicily and Sardinia where the NPOs are up on the number of illegals (Tab. 8).

Tab. 8. Relationship between number of illegal immigrants and NPOs, 1995-2003.

Regions	Years								
	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003
Valle d'Aosta	0,36	0,63	0,96	0,96	0,70	0,92	0,99	1,01	0,97
Piemonte	1,62	2,71	3,05	3,09	3,27	3,41	3,64	3,71	3,69
Lombardia	2,20	2,22	2,26	2,34	2,52	2,59	2,67	2,83	2,94
Liguria	0,68	0,96	1,83	1,85	1,98	2,03	2,12	2,26	2,24
Trentino	1,94	1,77	1,42	1,45	1,67	1,88	1,95	1,96	1,95
Veneto	1,53	2,23	3,43	3,47	3,62	3,69	3,74	3,81	3,87
Friuli	2,20	3,73	4,98	5,04	5,15	5,27	5,34	5,51	5,43
Emilia-Romagna	2,36	2,41	2,94	3,00	3,21	3,29	3,46	3,57	3,65
Toscana	1,23	1,29	1,37	1,42	1,49	1,58	1,63	1,66	1,62
Umbria	2,37	3,21	3,67	3,64	3,81	3,87	4,02	4,12	4,16
Marche	2,04	2,19	2,15	2,19	2,27	2,33	2,35	2,39	2,43
Lazio	6,00	8,58	9,54	9,58	9,66	9,71	9,73	9,84	9,91
Abruzzo	1,36	6,89	6,50	6,52	6,61	6,67	6,82	6,88	6,96
Molise	0,80	2,71	3,76	3,81	3,84	3,89	3,89	3,95	3,99
Campania	0,01	1,38	2,32	2,87	2,27	2,91	3,15	3,22	3,27
Puglia	4,37	6,96	8,16	8,19	8,33	8,42	8,47	8,62	8,96
Basilicata	1,36	2,54	3,33	3,39	3,46	3,50	3,56	3,63	3,70
Calabria	9,63	6,00	5,47	5,42	4,67	4,24	4,23	4,12	4,25
Sicilia	1,55	7,78	5,88	5,93	5,99	6,40	6,72	6,91	7,19
Sardegna	0,92	0,68	0,46	0,42	0,07	0,21	0,09	0,12	0,12
ITALY	2,22	3,34	3,60	3,72	3,72	3,84	3,92	4,00	4,06
Northwest	1,21	1,63	2,02	2,06	2,11	2,23	2,35	2,45	2,46
Northeast	2,00	2,53	3,19	3,24	3,41	3,53	3,62	3,71	3,72
Centre	2,91	3,81	3,85	4,20	4,30	4,37	4,43	4,50	4,53
South	2,50	4,36	4,48	4,56	4,40	4,53	4,61	4,68	4,80

Source: elaborated from Istat data

5. IMMIGRANTS AND NP SECTOR IN SPAIN

5.1 CONSISTENCY AND NP SECTOR ACTIVITY

Welfare in Spain, as in other Southern European countries, runs at a lower mean than North European countries.

With client relations based on service exchange and money transfers the third sector has been slow to develop. Only since the early nineties has it started to grow apace, especially in the social services sector. From lack of official representation and the means to formalise/program intervention NP sector activity has - in the start up phase - been based on charity work. Following this NPOs have taken on managerial style roles in the structuring of intervention. Now the NP sector in Spain has a pioneering and innovative role in offering orientation/support services and mediation with state institutions.

Social policy has been particularly geared towards immigrants in recent years. Since 2000, following the latest legislation immigration has been “institutionalised” and recognised as a priority, or “hecho social” (Gil Arujo, 2004; Cachon Rodriguez, 2003) by both private and public sector. The traditional volunteer sector has thrived in this context, along with the new pluralistic associations and associations run by immigrants.

In the Spanish third sector the main category of legally recognised association are those defined by *Ley Organica 1/2002 Reguladora del Derecho de Asociaciòn*. The concept of voluntary organisation involving rights and area of competence has been established with *Ley 6/1996 del Voluntariado*. Through current law on associations (1/2002) which has taken the place of *Ley 191/1964 the Registro Nacional de Asociaciones* has remained. Organised by the *Ministerio del Interio*, it comprises the register of official associations operating in Spain since 1964. Under this

normative law NP associations operating at regional levels in *Registros Autonómicos de Asociaciones* are also recognised.

In line with the classification of the National Register published by the Ministry of Interior data is supplied on three types of *Entidades Asociativas*: the above mentioned associations, association federations and youth associations.

At 1 January 2004 about 269,000 there were *Entidades Asociativas* active in Spain with 24,000 on the national register, the remaining 245,000 on that of the regions. At the start of 2005, 2,744 NP associations were registered nationally. Taking account of numbers for 2004, 92% of total associations are registered with the regions. The majority of *Entidades Asociativas* are concentrated in Andalusia and Catalonia, which account for 40,000 associations per region about 16% and 14% respectively. Madrid, Valencia and Castilla Leon each have between 20 to 30 thousand associations (Tab.9).

Since the start of eighties there has been a growing trend for NPOs with significant growth occurring in 1991-92 - a two-year period characterised by greater consistency in the numbers of registered associations.

At the start of 2004 38% (102,539) of NPOs were registered in the cultural sector, 17% (about 46,000) in sport and recreation and 15% (about 45,000) in the service sector, including both charity aid and home help associations.

Tab. 9. *Entidades Asociativas by Comunidades Autonomas at 1st January (1981-2004).*

Comunidades Autonomas	Absolute Percentage (in thousands)					Percentage Values					Var.% 1991-2004
	1981	1991	1995	2001	2004	1981	1991	1995	2001	2004	
Andalucia	6	16	22	37	44	15,0	16,0	15,5	16,3	16,4	175,0
Aragon	1	3	5	8	10	2,5	3,0	3,5	3,5	3,7	233,3
Asturias	1	3	4	6	8	2,5	3,0	2,8	2,6	3,0	166,7
Baleares	0	2	3	4	5	0,0	2,0	2,1	1,8	1,9	150,0
Canarias	2	4	5	9	11	5,0	4,0	3,5	4,0	4,1	175,0
Cantabria	1	1	2	3	4	2,5	1,0	1,4	1,3	1,5	300,0
Castillia –M	2	5	7	12	15	5,0	5,0	4,9	5,3	5,6	200,0
Castillia y L.	3	8	12	20	23	7,5	8,0	8,5	8,8	8,6	187,5
Cataluna	7	17	22	34	40	17,5	17,0	15,5	15,0	14,9	135,3
C.Valenciana	4	8	13	22	26	10,0	8,0	9,2	9,7	9,7	225,0
Extremadura	1	3	4	6	7	2,5	3,0	2,8	2,6	2,6	133,3
Galicia	3	7	11	17	19	7,5	7,0	7,7	7,5	7,1	171,4
Madrid	4	11	15	23	27	10,0	11,0	10,6	10,1	10,0	145,5
Murcia	1	3	4	7	8	2,5	3,0	2,8	3,1	3,0	166,7
Navarra	1	2	2	4	5	2,5	2,0	1,4	1,8	1,9	150,0
Pais Vasco	3	6	9	12	14	7,5	6,0	6,3	5,3	5,2	133,3
La Roja	0	0	1	2	2	0,0	0,0	0,7	0,9	0,7	0,0
Other	0	1	1	1	1	0,0	1,0	0,7	0,4	0,4	0,0
<i>Total</i>	<i>40</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>142</i>	<i>227</i>	<i>269</i>	<i>100,0</i>	<i>100,0</i>	<i>100,0</i>	<i>100,0</i>	<i>100,0</i>	<i>169,0</i>

Source: Ministerio del Interior

5.2. NP SECTOR SPREAD IN RELATION TO IMMIGRANTS

An indicator has been calculated to assess parallel growth and spread of NP sector and immigration for the period under study.

The interval presented from 1991 to 2003 delineates the most important phases of growth not just for immigration but also third sector. 1991 can be considered a key year highlighting the growing awareness in Spanish society of the immigration phenomenon and the organizational response of the NP sector. 1995 points to a period of consolidation in NP sector and immigration policy. 2001- 2004 defines a period of rising numbers of immigrants and the growing response of NPOs.

The impact of this can be felt at regional level between numbers of active NP associations and immigrants with permits (Tab. 10) with the “Density” index showing 163 NPOs for every 1000 immigrants (at the beginning of 2004).

Further analysis of the table shows an increase in the index from 277 for 1,000 immigrants to 308 (for 1,000 immigrants) for the first half of the last decade (Tab. 10) – a compensation in the statistics which points to the readiness of the third sector response to the social problems exacerbated by the arrival of immigrants.

The same cannot be said for the following five-year period, where there appears to be a dropping off in the response. In comparison with 1995 there were 50 associations less for every 1000 immigrants in 2001. A further decline from 253 for 1,000 immigrants to 163 (for 1,000 immigrants) is registered for 2001-2004 – a period in which following the process of settlement enacted by government the number of legal immigrants in Spain almost doubled. (Tab.10). In other terms the density value in relation to immigrant numbers has almost halved since the mid-nineties from 308 for 1,000 immigrants to 163.

Tab. 10. *Entidades Asociativas for 1000 immigrants at 1st January (1991-2004).*

Comunidades Autonomas	Number of Entidades Asociativas for 1000 immigrants			
	1991	1995	2001	2004
Andalucia	326,5	360,7	280,3	210,5
Aragon	600,0	833,3	444,4	256,4
Asturias	500,0	666,7	600,0	615,4
Baleares	95,2	115,4	87,0	65,8
Canarias	114,3	106,4	115,4	97,3
Cantabria	500,0	666,7	600,0	333,3
Castillia - La Mancha	1666,7	1166,7	750,0	405,4
Castillia y Leon	800,0	857,1	833,3	511,1
Cataluna	278,7	265,1	158,1	104,2
C. Valenciana	170,2	232,1	252,9	144,4
Extremadura	1000,0	800,0	545,5	411,8
Galicia	538,5	687,5	708,3	500,0
Madrid	135,8	159,6	141,1	76,1
Murcia	500,0	571,4	304,3	137,9
Navarra	1000,0	500,0	363,6	217,4
Pais Vasco	666,7	750,0	631,6	482,8
La Roja	0,0	1000,0	333,3	142,9
Other	142,9	71,4	111,1	142,9
<i>Total</i>	<i>277,0</i>	<i>308,0</i>	<i>253,3</i>	<i>163,3</i>

Fonte: elaborated from Minsterio del Interior data

For this there are two possible explanations. Immigrants have taken advantage of the vast network of informal NPOs not accounted for by official registers. The NP sector has been taken by surprise at the unexpected growth of immigration, and only now has been mobilised to deal with the phenomenon.

Regional figures, which tend to confirm the above picture, show that areas of the greatest concentration in settlement with 60% of immigrants residents (*Comunidades autonomas* of Catalonia and Madrid followed by Andalusia and Valencia) and also with the largest number of NPOs, present the lowest “density” index .

In the final analysis NP sector is perhaps still not equipped to deal with immigration problems, even if policy makers and public opinion would like to think that the NP sector has a key role in solving these problems.

6. “NEW” RELATIONS BETWEEN STATE AND NP SECTOR IN ITALY AND SPAIN

A comparison of ISTAT surveys of NPO and immigrant distribution by territory with data collected for this paper suggests both a stable and growing relationship between NPOs and immigrants. Immigration has forced the pace of NPO growth – at least in the case of some regions, in Italy and in Spain. This link points to the stability of the relationship, both in regions with strong immigrant presence and in regions that traditionally bear the brunt of illegal immigration where the NP sector is rising.

In addition to that we should the illegal immigrants. In spite of the large efforts which have been made their amount cannot be computed in a correct way. However, some recent studies have estimated an amount of illegal foreigners of around 500,000 units in both Countries. Therefore, the number of illegal immigrants may well be higher than appears; in this context the role of NPOs in providing welcome/social services to immigrants is even more relevant bearing in mind illegal immigrants cannot rely on the support of state institutions.

A hypothesis can be made for the role of NPOs in the process of restructuring and redimensioning the welfare state not just as a substitute for state institutions but as possible solution to the social problems and in particular to immigration¹¹.

To this end the NP sector can be seen as having a proxy or “delegate” function in its contractual relations with the state characterised by none of the asymmetry and contractual incompleteness that usually informs the contract model between state and non-profit and undermines efficiency in a profit economy. (Hart, Moore, 1990) The re-definition of relations between state and non-profit could allow to some important results:

- a greater visibility and efficiency in the high demand sector of social service;
- “stabilising” the relationship with the NP sector could bring significant savings to the public sector – the benefits of which can be seen from the research here.

Multiplying the average number of hours of voluntary, or unpaid work per year with average hourly salary of state employees doing similar work and applying this figure to the number of volunteers working in the NP sector for immigrants, an approximate saving is made of 3 milliards Euro in Italy. In Spain this saving is about 3,3 Miliardi Euro (Tab.11).

Tab.11 Expenditure for volunteers in Italy and Spain.

<i>Economic Variables</i>	<i>Country</i>	
	<i>ITALY*</i>	<i>SPAIN</i>
Number Volunteers	696000	254.000**
Number Of Working Hours In Year Per Volunteer	446	1300
Hourly Wage State Employee	~ 9.8 Euro	~ 9.8 Euro
Av. Year Wage Volunteer as State Employee.	~ 4580 Euro	~ 12740
Expenditure	~ 3 milliards Euro	~ 3,3 milliards Euro

Source: elaborated from Istat and John Hopkins University data

*2001, Istat data

** 1995, John Hopkins University (Salomon et al., 2000)

The informations about the volunteers were got from a research made in John Hopkins University in 1995. In this research 729,000 were employed in NP sector; 475,000 of them were full employed and 254,000 were volunteers, always working full time. So, because of the impossibility to use official data, due to the lack of them in the most Countries (except for Italy), in this work we use the 1995 data volunteers. Reasonably it can be considered more than double.

¹¹ Also in light of the fact savings can be made by NPOs with long-term sector experience.

Given the number of “delegate” NPOs currently working in other areas of the public sector with larger numbers of volunteers, this could amount to further savings to the public sector.

7. CONCLUSION

The NP sector has seen consistent development throughout Europe. In the majority of EU countries the NP sector has been characterised by important changes in relations between state institutions and EU institutions that have led to the growth of managerial style NPOs operating in the welfare sector. Legislation from the EU has not been totally representative of all aspects of the NP sector. Since the early nineties, policy decisions from individual member states have also been geared towards NP sector regulation.

Compiling data on the NP sector has been made problematic by the lack of official international sources. Likewise, sources on a national level have not been produced regularly or with any methodological consistency. Italy is the only EU country where regular reports on NPOs are produced from ISTAT (*Istituto Nazionale di Statistica*) and FIVOL (*Federazione sul volontario*). A project is currently under way in Greece, Spain and Portugal to produce a data bank for NPOs (Project “Volmed” financed by the General Directive of EU Commission, 1996).

The absence of legislation on third sector at EU level and subsequent lack of definition for voluntary organisations, and clear parameters for each country makes comparative analysis between countries particularly difficult.

In spite of these problems, the role of NP sector in immigration in Italy and Spain has been compared and contrasted on the basis of their similar migratory experience in the Mediterranean sub-system. As is borne out by this paper, there also appears to be sufficient similarity in NP sector relations with immigration. In both states the continuous and rapid growth of immigrants has been paralleled by similar growth in the NP sector, which is reflected in the numbers of NP assisted immigrants.

In the distribution of these services, however, there does not appear to be sufficient co-ordination/ collaboration between state/local institutions and NPOs, even though NPOs have been implicitly entrusted with the role of support/welcome to immigrants. Studies on integration policy for immigrants (Rose, 1997; Favell, 2001) stress the importance of formulating a delegate function for NPOs and the necessity of involving NPOs in the implementation of state programmes for immigrants. Effective savings through the voluntary sector have been calculated in an attempt to assess possible advantages of “Governing at a distance” (Morris, 1998). Savings appear to be consistent and above all expectation. Even if limited from an accountancy point of view, this calculation would seem to support the hypothesis – elsewhere expressed – for the need to grant “functional powers” to NPOs.

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