

PATTERNS OF RECENT INDIAN FEMALE MIGRATION TO ITALY focus on Rome and Lazio

Highlights

- Indian migration to Italy has steadily increased over the last decade: 165,663 regular residents in 2020, + 50 per cent compared to 2011);
- Indian female inactivity rate (76%) and unemployment rate (32%) in Italy are higher than the average of all non-EU female migrants (44 % and 17% respectively);
- The region of Lazio hosts more than 20 per cent of the total Indian migrants and more than 50 per cent of the total number of Indian students enrolled in Italian universities;
- Indian female migrants vary greatly in terms of migratory routes, motives, outcomes and prospects depending, among others, on state of origin, caste, values;
- Language barriers, unattractive job opportunities, exploitation and sexual harassment in the workplace, geographical isolation in the countryside, which restricts mobility, are some of the main difficulties encountered by Indian female migrants in Italy;
- Social norms (i.e. gender division of roles and duties in the community of origin) and limited opportunities to interact with Italians often hinder integration within the Italian community;
- IOM is active in raising awareness among migrants in Lazio including Indians and working in the agricultural sector, on labour rights and on existing protection mechanisms for victims of labour exploitation;
- IOM is committed to ensuring equal opportunities for all students, including those with a migratory background, in accessing and completing higher education, by promoting the institutionalization of mentorship schemes within Italian universities, and directly engaging students as agents of social change.

Indian migration to Italy

Indian migration to Italy has been steadily increasing over the last decade. Today, Italy hosts the second largest Indian population in Europe after the UK, amounting to 165,663 regular residents in 2020. Indians are the 5th most numerous non-EU national group residing in Italy. The Indian population is young (the average age is 32 years) and predominantly male (females are 42% of the total). The region of Lazio hosts 20 per cent of the total Indian migrant population in Italy, with 33 thousand regular residents only in the capital city of Rome (MLPS, 2021).

Migration motives and outcomes vary greatly among the Indian community. The first relevant migratory route from India to Italy emerged in the 1980s following the socio-political, agrarian, and labour crisis that affected the northern Indian state of Punjab (Jacobsen and Myrvold, 2011). Early Punjabi outmigration to Italy involved mostly young men, driven by the demand for low-skilled labourers in the Italian agricultural sector. This has remained a salient feature of Indian labour migration to Italy: in 2020, 38 per cent of Indian

migrant workers were employed in agriculture, and 44 per cent of them in unskilled manual occupations.

The Agro Pontino area (province of Latina, Lazio region) hosts a high number of Punjabi migrants employed in farms and greenhouses. Recent studies have highlighted cases of severe labour exploitation and abuse of migrant workers perpetrated by employers in the area, and denounced the latters' poor living and working conditions (Osservatorio Placido Rizzotto, 2020).

This Briefing is co-authored by IOM Italy and Annamaria Laudini, PhD researcher in Social Sciences at the European University Institute. This report is based on an ethnographic research conducted by Annamaria in early 2021 in the framework of the masters' programme in Applied Anthropology of the University of Amsterdam, in collaboration with IOM Italy. The research findings are discussed in depth in the master's thesis "Empowered by migration? Rethinking agency and gender roles among Indian women in Lazio, Italy". IOM thanks Annamaria for her commitment and for discussing her work and findings with IOM Italy staff in July 2021.



While there is a trend towards stabilization through family reunification channels (56% of the applications for long-term residency in 2020 was for family motives), the growing presence of Indian female migrants in Italy is not yet visible in the labour market. In 2020, only 16 per cent of Indian women of working age were employed, compared to 83 per cent of Indian men. Also, Indian female inactivity rate¹ stood at 76 per cent in 2020 (against an average 44% of non-EU female migrants).

Another component of Indian migration to Italy is constituted by university students, especially from the southern states of Telangana and Andhra Pradesh, who are attracted by the reputation of European universities and by the availability of scholarships for foreign students. Indians are the 4th most numerous national group among non-EU university students in Italy with 4,920 students enrolled in the academic year 2020/2021 (MIUR opendata). This is 6 per cent more than those enrolled in the previous year, and 9 times the number of Indian students enrolled ten years ago.



Photo: IOM cultural mediators speaking with migrant workers in a farm in Lazio, July 2020.

Gender and state of origin intersect in determining different experiences among Indian migrants in Italy (Lum, 2012). The regional differences in women's status across India (Evans, 2020; Rahman and Rao, 2004) underlie different migratory projects and outcomes. Specifically, Punjabi women tend to arrive in Italy through family reunification processes after marrying an Indian man already settled in the country. They rely largely on the husband and on the in-law family and have limited opportunities to learn Italian, have their qualifications recognized or find employment.

In contrast, female migrants from Kerala tend to arrive in Italy independently for employment purposes (e.g. as housekeepers or nurses), and to sponsor family reunification processes later on, often reversing the normative power relations typical of Indian households by becoming breadwinners (Lum, 2012). The exploration of the migratory patterns of Indian female university students from Andhra Pradesh in Rome and Lazio completes the picture.

Research questions and methodology

This briefing is based on a 3-month ethnographic research conducted in the framework of a Masters' programme in Applied Anthropology of the University of Amsterdam, in partnership with IOM Italy. The research aimed at investigating the reasons hindering Indian women's access to the Italian job market with a focus on the Lazio region. Given the COVID-19 restrictions in place in early 2021, the fieldwork was limited to Rome and to online contacts with Indian female migrants in the region. Through participant observation,² 28 in-depth semi-structured interviews and thematic analysis of interview transcripts, the study focused on migration's impacts on Indian women's empowerment, including their stance towards patriarchal customs and normative power relations. The study compared the (observed and self-reported) lived experiences of Indian Punjabi housewives and workers identified at the two Gurudwaras of Rome using snowball and purposive techniques - with those of Indian students enrolled in Rome's universities La Sapienza and Tor Vergata – reached though social media and by word of mouth. Considering the regional differences in Indian women's status, the study inquired into Indian female migrants' patterns of migration, the factors underlying different migratory experiences among them and the main problems hindering their integration in the host community and their participation in the Italian labour market.

¹ Inactivity rate refers to the share of working-age population (15+ years old) that is not active in the labour market, hence it is not employed or unemployed. This comprises people who are not working and not looking for a job. Typically, this includes (but it is not limited to) full-time students, people engaged in household or family duties and retired individuals (seel ILO definition <a href="https://example.com/hence/but/leas-shape-

² This was possible also by offering a 12-weeks online Italian language course free of charge to Indian women participating in the study.



Housewives, workers, university students: profiles and migratory patterns of Indian women in the study

Socio-demographic profiles

This briefing presents the findings of a research involving two groups of Indian women. It compares their migratory routes, motives, prospects and outcomes, highlights some differences within and between-groups, and discusses some of the main factors underlying such differences.

The first group is represented by 14 Punjabi women whose average age is 35 years, mainly belonging to the dominant Sikh caste³ named "Jat", and to the Dalit Hindu caste named "Ad-dharmi". All are married with children (except one divorced without children) and live in Rome and in neighbouring towns. The average time spent in Italy in this group is 6.6 years, ranging from 3 to 13 years. All completed secondary education in India and two have a university degree (one in Computer Science and one in Hindi). All are housewives, except for two women employed as caregivers. Most husbands work as agricultural labourers, bakers, housekeepers and in horse/cow sheds. The two female workers arrived in Italy independently and speak fluent Italian, while the rest arrived in Italy through family reunification and have basic Italian skills. The husbands settled in Italy several years before their wives, learned Italian at their workplaces and sponsored the family reunification process after obtaining a long-term residence permit. Most families have children who attend school in Italy and speak Italian fluently; they aim to settle in Italy, save money and return to India upon

The second group is made of 14 university students whose average age is 25 years and who come from different Indian states (Andhra Pradesh, Telangana, Assam, West Bengal and Gujarat). All belong to the high castes named Brahmin, Kamma, Chowdury, Reddi and Patel; the vast majority are Hindu and only one is Christian. Most are single (only 3 are married with children) and live in Rome.

Map: Origin states of Indian female migrants participating in the research.



Two are PhD candidates in Biochemistry and Computer Science. The remaining 12 are Master students: 3 study Mechanical Engineering, 2 Aero-spatial Engineering, 2 Fashion Technology, 3 Economics and Business Management, 1 Physics, 1 Bioinformatics. All have lived in Italy for one to three years and received a scholarship from the Italian government for the whole duration of the Master. They live in shared flats with other Indian students or in single rooms in university accommodations. Two work part-time as babysitters or waitresses (without a contract and with a salary of 4 €/hour on average) to send remittances to support their family in India, which they describe as "poor to medium-low class".

Motives and patterns of migration to Italy

Among Punjabi women, marriage and family reunification are the main reasons for migrating to Italy. In line with available evidence for the prevalence of caste endogamy in India,⁴ all Punjabi women had an intra-caste marriage except one: 11 had a traditional arranged marriage where prospective spouses were paired remotely by the extended families (one is now divorced), 2 had a love-cum-arranged marriage where prospective spouses proposed to their parents the person they were already (secretly) in love with as potential life partner, and 1 had a love, inter-caste marriage which cost the woman to be cast out of her family and to lose contact with her relatives and friends after marriage.

³ Caste (jati) is an ancient social institution peculiar to South Asian societies. The caste system represents the social hierarchy and traditional occupational specialization of various endogamous groups, with Brahmins (the sacerdotal caste) on top of the pyramid, followed by Kshatriyas (warriors and landowners), Vaishyas (traders and sellers), Shudras (servants) and Avarna, "outcastes" or "untouchables" (cleaners, sweepers). The latter re-named themselves "Dalit" (oppressed, broken) to reclaim their political identity. Caste is inherited by individuals by birth and transmitted inter-generationally via the practice of endogamy. Caste-based discrimination was banned in the Indian Constitution and a series of "affirmative action" interventions were deployed to improve caste-based inequalities. Yet, because of the prevalence of intra-caste marriages, today "in India the caste into which a person is born remains among the most

important determinants of life opportunity", de facto influencing marriage, job and educational opportunities (Mosse, D., 2018). ⁴ The custom of marrying someone from the same jati, is so widespread in India that only about 6 per cent of all marriages are inter-caste (Allendorf, K. and Pandian, R. K., 2016).



All marriages took place in India. As per the custom of patrilocality,⁵ the wives moved to the in-law family house after marriage and lived there for some years before joining their husbands in Italy. Only two of the Punjabi women in the study arrived in Italy independently on a tourist visa, and later obtained a residence permit thanks to their work contracts.

Within the group of students, the main reported reason for migrating to Italy was to improve their career prospects by gaining a master's degree in Europe. This is a highly valued asset in the Indian labour market and a matter of social prestige in India. It is often parents who promote the idea of studying abroad and support their daughters financially and morally to initiate and sustain the migration process. A student describes the typical scenario of hopes and expectations of today's middle-class urban Indian families as such:

Your path is signed if you are a young Indian who studies in STEM⁶ (and who can afford it): you go out of the country after completing the Bachelor, you do your master's abroad, get a job and settle down. Then your parents arrange your marriage, you get married in a month, you make a family wherever you have settled and you get praised. Your parents too get praised by their social network and boast about you. That's what everybody does: after your degree is over, you're expected to fly out (Australia, USA and Canada are the goto options normally), do your masters, get married, make kids.

Most students reported that Italy was not their first choice in terms of destination, but it appeared as the most convenient option after discussing with a consultancy agency, because of the availability of scholarships and the relatively low living costs compared to other European countries. Many said that they took the chance to study abroad to avoid or delay the prospect of an early arranged marriage.

Migratory patterns among the university students vary. Two of them applied individually to the university, while the other 12 relied on consultancy agencies in India to support their visa application to Europe (the reported minimum cost of these services was 1 lakh Rupees, about 1000 €). The process usually involves an initial consultation with the agents on the opportunities available in Europe. Then, the student submits all her certificates and valid documents to the agency, which takes care of the visa application. Once the student's pre-application for a visa is accepted, she is scheduled an appointment at the consulate of Italy in Mumbai, where she is interviewed by a panel of Indian and Italian public officers who assess her

motivation to migrate and her previous knowledge in her field of study. The process lasts from a few weeks up to several months; successful applicants get an approval stamp on their passport, which is then sent to the local visa office or directly to their homes. Once the application process is completed, they can travel to Italy and begin their university course abroad.

According to informants, the agencies sometimes put them in contact with other students in the same university facilitating the initial networking in Italy. In Rome, most found accommodation via social media and by word of mouth, namely in shared apartments with other Indian students. Some reported instances of discrimination due to their nationality by tenants, who either refused to rent their flats to Indians or imposed specific conditions (e.g. the signature of a declaration that prohibits the use of spices, pressure cookers or Indian food items during the stay).

Agency, inclusion and participation in the Italian society

Indian women's patterns of migration and motivations have different impacts on their agency, household and family dynamics, and participation and inclusion in the local community and society.

Punjabi women who reunited with their husbands in Italy moved from an extended family in India (where they were under the scrutiny of both their husbands and the in-law family members) to a nuclear family in Italy (where they are accountable to their husbands only). Once in Italy, they remained confined to the roles of mothers and housewives, with limited opportunities to work outside the house. While most women in the study reported to have acquired a higher bargaining power towards their husbands while in Italy, many also perceived themselves as more vulnerable and disempowered owing to the loss of social networks and resources they could resort to in India (e.g. their family of origin).

The type of marriage may also shape the household dynamics and the patterns of inclusion in the Italian society. Namely, women in a love-cum-arranged marriage expressed higher levels of agency and autonomy (e.g. husbands agreed to let them work before having kids) compared to those in a traditional arranged marriage. The latter did not seem to question their ascribed position within the household nor tried to re-negotiate roles and duties with their husbands, who seemed reluctant to let them find employment outside the house. Thus, they stayed at home or within a small circle of permitted interactions since their arrival in Italy. Moreover, assuming the responsibility for domestic chores on their own (which in India is instead distributed among women of the extended family) hindered their opportunities for integration and autonomy (e.g. searching for employment or engaging in activities outside the home).

⁵ This (together with patrilineality – i.e. the transmission of the family name and patrimony to the son via the father) is one of the central features of the "classic patriarchy" model at place in most Indian households: the wife has to move from her parents' to the in-law family's house as soon as the wedding takes place and from that moment she is subordinate to the in-law family (with the husband's father holding the highest position of power) and expected to fulfil household and reproductive duties as well as care for the elderly (Kandiyoti, D., 1988).

⁶ Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics.



The low employment rate among these women is not only associated with the structural conditions of the labour market (e.g. jobs are often underpaid and exhausting in agriculture), but also with prevalent social and cultural norms (e.g. live-in jobs as caregivers may not be acceptable for husbands).

Interviews with Punjabi activists and cultural mediators in Lazio confirmed that gender roles ascribed to Punjabi women (as housewives and mothers) and social norms hinder their employment in Italy (e.g. women who work outside the home are considered of low status and dubious morality, since their behaviour cannot be monitored by their relatives and could therefore compromise the family honour (Chakravarty, 2018)). Hence, Punjabi women from middle and higher classes or castes prefer not to engage in employment – even if the husband has a low income - to preserve social prestige and the family's reputation.

Protecting migrant workers: preventing and countering labour exploitation

IOM works to prevent and fight labour exploitation across Italy, in close collaboration with the Italian Ministry of Labour and Social Policies, the National Labour Inspectorate, the Regions, Prefectures, law enforcement authorities, social partners, the national anti-trafficking network and civil society organizations, in the framework of the projects Su.pr.eme. and Alt Caporalato. IOM cultural mediators support labour inspectors during monitoring activities to overcome potential linguistic and cultural barriers and facilitate the identification of unethical work practices and the activation of appropriate protection mechanisms. IOM cultural mediators also conduct outreach activities to raise awareness among migrants on labour rights and existing protection mechanisms for victims of labour exploitation.

The majority (77%) of workers met and informed during outreach activities conducted by IOM cultural mediators in the province of Latina between 2020 and 2021 were from India (189). Between January and September 2021, 149 migrants were informed during outreach activities in this province; 77 per cent of them were Indian nationals. Overall, women were about 5 per cent of all migrants from India met by cultural mediators in Lazio since 2020. All women worked in agricultural or flower-growing industries, mostly in packaging, and declared to have come to Italy for family reasons. The small share of Indian female migrant workers met by IOM coincides with the findings of the research presented in this briefing, pointing to sociocultural factors underlying the low labour market participation of Punjabi women, for whom not having to work outside the house is considered a symbol of family status and well-being.

For more information: https://italy.iom.int/sites/italy/files/ news-documents/Aggiornamento%20risultati%20OIM%20 %28Giugno%2021%29.pdf

Indeed, the only two women who were employed in this group belonged to the Dalit caste (their socio-economic position is lower compared to the rest of the group). They reported to have been taught to value financial and personal independence, to be used to work outside the home, and to have experienced less pressure from family concerning honour and social prestige. They enjoyed their family's support to migrate to Italy in search for better job opportunities. Their jobs provided them with the resources to settle in Italy and to exercise high levels of agency in their life (for instance, one divorced from an abusive husband without facing material difficulties; the other travelled alone to Germany to visit friends and could choose her husband without the interference of family). This empowerment process occurred despite their working conditions being often marked by exploitation and abuse (both reported unexpected and unmotivated changes to their work contracts, unlawful withholding of wages, false accusations, sudden suspensions of work, and in one case sexual harassment).

However, where women have fair contracts and work beside Italian colleagues, they learn the language, acquire new skills (e.g. obtain a driving licence) and, in general, enjoy higher levels of autonomy.

Instead, women who remain isolated in the countryside (e.g. because the husband works in cowsheds or greenhouses), confined to the role of housewives, or who find employment in segregated sectors without any interaction with the local population, find it difficult to learn the language, being deprived of socialization and integration opportunities, and are more likely to remain financially dependent on their husbands. Ultimately, this situation makes them more vulnerable vis-à-vis unexpected risks or circumstances (e.g. illness, inability to work, abuses by or death of the husband). As one of the workers reflected:

If tomorrow happens that the husband is sick and cannot work, then what will they do? This is the danger for them, but they don't think about it. There is a woman I know at the Gurudwara: she has three kids; she came to Italy after her husband; she used not to work while her husband had a job and drank a lot. One night he had a heart attack because of too much drinking and died. After he died, it was really difficult for her: she did not have any work experience, she did not speak Italian. Some nuns helped her find a job and learn the language; but if they were not there, how would she have managed to raise three kids?

The attitudes of the female university students are, instead, shaped by their work and life aspirations after completion of their education. All of them claimed to be satisfied with their choice to study in Italy and would recommend the experience to other prospective students. The majority aspire at relocating to English-speaking countries after a brief internship or work experience in Italy.

This highlights two fundamental challenges reported by all Indian students met in Rome: language is a huge barrier to integration, and job opportunities for English-speakers in Italy are scarce.



Since the university courses they attend are taught in English and undertaken mostly by South-Asian and Middle-Eastern students, their chances to learn Italian in class or to interact with Italian students are limited.

Moreover, the free Italian classes offered by the universities often overlapped with other classes, and teaching methods were perceived as ineffective (e.g. teachers spoke only Italian), which made the learning process difficult and frustrating, and eventually compelled them to give up any attempt to learn the language. Language barriers were also reported to have a significant impact on their everyday life in Rome (e.g. most students faced difficulties in opening a bank account, booking a doctor appointment or requesting an ID card).

Concerning the effects of migration on university students' agency, the differences that emerge among women in this sub-sample – rather homogeneous in terms of age, caste/ class and religion – are to be attributed mostly to their upbringing, to the values upheld by their families, and to the individual understanding that each woman has of herself.

Women brought up in conservative families, who experienced restrictions on their movements and choices during adolescence, developed a strong emotional dependence on their parents and thus tended to conform to their understanding of Indian "traditional" values and lifestyles. They reported to stay mostly at home, hang out only with other Indian female students, eat only Indian food, keep daily contact with parents and relatives, and ask them permission before engaging in any project.



Photo: Student Commitee of peer mentors, University of Rome La Sapienza, Italy © IOM Italy 2020.

Ensuring access to education for all

Education is a fundamental human right, essential for the achievement of sustainable development and addressing inequalities. IOM is committed to ensure migrants' and displaced persons' access to quality education and lifelong learning opportunities. In Italy, IOM promotes migrants' equal opportunities to access higher education and contributes to inclusive education by addressing political, social and economic barriers to inclusion and participation and countering xenophobia and discrimination.

With the support of the Department for Civil Liberties and Immigration of the Italian Ministry of Interior (Mol), IOM implemented the project "Mentorship – Towards a Network of Inclusive Italian Universities" between 2018 and 2021, in partnership with the Conference of Italian University Rectors (CRUI) and the Ministry of University and Research (MUR). This project contributed to institutionalizing student mentorship schemes in ten Italian universities to support refugee and migrant students' academic and social inclusion. Mentorship schemes facilitated the establishment of student committees and the identification and training of dedicated mentors, students who provided support to their peers with a migratory background to become full members of the academic communities and the cities where they belong.

This approach has rapidly become a good practice with significant replication potential. Besides providing linguistic, administrative, academic, and social support in line with the institutional priorities and services available in the partner universities, the initiative promoted institutional commitment, strengthened collaboration among universities, encouraged youth participation and countered different forms and narratives of xenophobia and prejudice. Mentorship schemes directly engage students as agents of social change carrying the potential to facilitate their transition to adulthood and to their future roles in ever more diverse societies as political actors, innovators, productive and responsible members of plural and cohesive societies.

In contrast, women who reported to have experienced more personal freedom while growing up in India, enjoyed high levels of freedom also in Italy and reported to be integrated in the Italian community in terms of relationships, values and lifestyle: they travelled alone, shared flats with male peers, and had love relationships with foreign students (all actions which are morally sanctioned by Indian society). Those who transgressed social norms imposed on women in India (e.g. tattooing, dating, drinking alcohol) declared, nevertheless, that they would never share this with their Indian female relatives or friends. All women agreed that personal safety and freedom from fear of being sexually harassed was the most crucial difference they experienced in terms of personal freedom between India and Italy.



As such, the study revealed that Indian female university students' career aspirations shape the migration process and outcomes; whereas their integration in Italy is shaped by the values and norms upheld by their families of origin, as well as by the structural conditions (e.g. language barriers) of the contexts in which they are embedded.

Conclusions and recommendations

This briefing presents some key findings of a qualitative study on the motivations, patterns and outcomes of migration of two different groups of Indian women residing in the Lazio region.

Punjabi women interviewed for this study arrived in Italy mainly via family reunification and planned to raise a family and settle in the country permanently. The low labour market participation of these women is explained by structural factors (i.e. labour market segmentation, unfavourable working conditions) and by the compliance with the traditional social norms and values of Punjab, including strict gender division of labour and prejudices against female workers. Most women continue observing the rules prevalent in their community of origin (e.g. being cautious about their actions to avoid peers' judgment or disapproval, avoiding working in order to maintain social prestige). However, women who enjoy decent working conditions are likely to gain financial independence, build social networks, and exercise new forms of agency, including renegotiating gender power dynamics within the couple.

The university students interviewed arrived in Italy on student visas obtained through consultancy agencies in India, with the purpose of improving their career prospects, for which they wish to relocate to other countries after spending a short period of time in Italy.

The impact of migration on their integration in the Italian society is deeply shaped by their personal upbringing. Those who were raised in more 'traditional' families are likely to continue observing the social norms and upholding the expectations and roles ascribed to women in India, contrary to those who enjoyed more personal freedoms even prior to arriving in Italy.

Overall, the study suggests that, through migration, women experience individual rather than collective processes of empowerment, which are not fixed but evolving, sometimes impaired and sometimes elicited by unexpected shocks. To support Indian female migrants' integration, policymakers should take into consideration the specificities of these individual processes and design tailored measures that facilitate different aspects of their participation and inclusion in the society. Some of these measures include the promotion of language training that takes into consideration the different needs and conditions of migrants, especially of migrant women.

The promotion of orientation services and social spaces accessible to Indian women besides schools and temples can facilitate social interactions with others and the development of stronger social networks to exchange information, foster mutual material and moral support, and fight discrimination and stereotypes.



Policymakers can also facilitate labour market integration and protect migrant workers throughout the migration process, from guaranteeing ethical recruitment and decent work, to preventing and combating labour exploitation, by fostering interinstitutional dialogue, the development and enforcement of adequate policies and legislation, the creation of multistakeholder partnerships, and the provision of key services (e.g. intercultural mediation, outreach and information for migrant workers, and capacity building of private sector and social partners).

Further engagement with private sector partners is needed to promote the monitoring and enhancing of supply chains to prevent labour exploitation and increase the availability of ethical and decent work alternatives to victims of labour exploitation and vulnerable migrants. Finally, promoting youth participation in social inclusion by expanding mentorship schemes in universities can help strengthening the participation of students with a migratory background in the academic and the larger communities where they belong, and foster more cohesive societies.



Photo: Cultivated fields in Lazio where outreach activities against labour exploitation were conducted, Italy. \odot IOM Italy, 2021.

REFERENCES

Allendorf, K. and Pandian, R. K., 2016. The Decline of Arranged Marriage? Marital Change and Continuity in India. *Population and Development Review*, 42(3), 435–464.

Chakravarty, U., 2018, Gendering Caste: Through a Feminist Lens. SAGE Publications.

Evans, A. 2020, Why are North and South India so different on gender?, https://www.draliceevans.com/post/why-are-southern-north-eastern-indian-states-more-gender-equal

Kandiyoti, D., 1988, Bargaining with Patriarchy. Gender & Society, 2(3), 274–290.

Jacobsen and Myrvold, 2011, Sikhs in Europe: migration, identities and representations. Ashgate Publishing, Ltd.

Lum, K., 2012, Indian Diversities in Italy: Italian Case Study, *CARIM-India Research Report RR2012/22*, European University Institute—Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Research.

Ministero del lavoro e delle politiche sociali, 2021, La comunità Indiana in Italia. Rapporto annuale sulla presenza dei migranti - 2020, Roma.

Mosse, D., 2018, Caste and development: Contemporary perspectives on a structure of discrimination and advantage. *World Development*, 110, 422-436.

Osservatorio Placido Rizzotto, 2020, V° Rapporto Agromafie e Caporalato. Federazione Lavoratori AgroIndustria – Confederazione Generale Italiana del Lavoro FLAI-CGIL. Roma, Ediesse Editore.

Rahman, L., and Rao, V., 2004. The determinants of gender equity in India: examining Dyson and Moore's thesis with new data. *Population and Development Review*, 30(2), 239-268.

DISCLAIMER

The opinions expressed in the report are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the views of the International Organization for Migration (IOM). The designations employed and the presentation of material throughout the report do not imply the expression of any opinion whatsoever on the part of IOM concerning the legal status of any country, territory, city or area, or of its authorities, or concerning its frontiers or boundaries.



© IOM 2021 Some rights reserved. This work is made available under the <u>Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivs 3.0 IGO License (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 IGO)</u>. For further specifications please see the <u>Copyright and Terms of Use</u>. This publication should not be used, published or redistributed for purposes primarily intended for or directed towards commercial advantage or monetary compensation, with the exception of educational purposes, e.g. to be included in textbooks.

