

REMERCIEMENTS

Cet ouvrage reprend une partie des communications présentées à l'occasion du 14^e congrès mondial de l'Association internationale de droit de la famille (International society of Family Law – ISFL) organisé par le Centre de droit de la famille (Université Jean Moulin Lyon 3) du 19 au 23 juillet 2011.

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Éditions Bruylant
Rue des Minimes, 39 • B-1000 Bruxelles

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Imprimé en Belgique

Dépôt légal
Bibliothèque nationale, Paris : février 2013
Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, Bruxelles : 2013/0023/057

ISBN : 978-2-8027-3998-2

La publication des actes du Congrès a été réalisée avec le soutien de

Rhône-Alpes

Région

Les organisateurs du congrès tiennent à remercier tout particulièrement Monsieur Fabrice Toulieux, Monsieur Florent Renard, Madame Christine Bidaud-Garon, Mademoiselle Stessy Tétard et toute l'équipe du Centre de droit de la famille pour le travail réalisé avant, pendant et après le congrès.

THANKS

This book compiles a part of papers presented at the 14th World Congress of the International Society of Family Law (ISFL), organised by the Centre of Family Law (University Jean Moulin Lyon 3) from July 19th to 23rd.

Under the auspices of

Michel MERCIER, Minister of Justice and Freedom,

Valérie PECRESSE, Minister of Higher Education and Research,

Roselyne BACHELOT-NARQUIN, Minister for Solidarity and Social Cohesion,

Nora BERRA, Secretary of State for Health,

Viviane REDING, Member of the European Commission on Justice, fundamental rights and citizenships.

And with the support of

The Ministry of Justice and Freedom

The Ministry of Higher Education and Research

The Ministry for the Arts and Communication,

The Agence française de la francophonie

The Regional Council of the Notaries of the Court of Appeal of Lyon

The Departmental Council for the Notaries

The International Union of Notaries

The Departmental Council of the Rhône

The City of Lyon

The University Jean Moulin Lyon 3

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The French Federation of Insurance Companies

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toujours exercer leurs recours, s'il y a lieu, contre les hospitalisés, contre leurs débiteurs et contre les personnes désignées par les articles 205, 206, 207 et 212 du Code civil" (25)

From what exposed so far, the Italian approach to the relation between public and private assistance (in terms of absolute independence between each other for preserving the *spontaneity* and *naturalness* of the familial solidarity) does seem more a municipal (unreasonable?) peculiarity than an expression of a widespread and common point of view.

CONCLUSION

If we agree, in accordance with the principle of familial solidarity, that the needs of individuals are to be brought back in the family for finding in it a composition, mediation and balancing; then the *need of each individual* is above all a *need of familial relevance*. This does mean that the family should represent the natural place in which *primarily* the individual needs have to find a remedy and satisfaction.

Only in the eventual case in which family does not exist any more or it is unable to provide any kind of support to its members, it will be justifiable the intervention of the State.

If it is true, a part from the empty declamations and rhetoric exhortations, that the *intergenerational solidarity* is a Constitutional value, not simply programmatic but immediately compulsory, then it has to be preserved and protected, also imposing (possibly through a subrogate action in favour of the medical institutions) the compliance of alimony obligations.

Otherwise, the *familial solidarity* is a mere expression of fine feelings, belonging exclusively to the province of spontaneity and of individual freedom, without any juridical relevance in the legal system (26).

(25) *Code de la santé publique, nouvelle partie législative*, art. 6145-11.

(26) For a more complete insight to the theme see S. CASARON, *Il dovere di assistenza verso il genitore in stato di bisogno*, Napoli, ESI, 2008.

ELDERLY CARETAKING: BADANTI VERSUS WELFARE POLICIES - FAMILY NEEDS HAVE ONLY PRIVATE ANSWERS.

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The data confirm that in Italy the weight of the assistance to the population that grows old reverts entirely almost on the family (1) and in particular on the women (2), the adult daughters, who often ask for the help of immigrants caregivers (3).

Legislative provisions on immigration are a further confirmation that the State isn't able to give answers to family real problems, so that families have to find answers on their own, through the so-called *badanti* or professional caregivers. More than else where, Italian families are less helped by the social policies, and therefore more overloaded by responsibility towards their weak members and they are often mostly induced to make a footstep back in front of important life choices.

Some economists have underlined that an important key to explain the different percentage of women participation to job market in different Countries are connected to peculiar institutional structure of "municipal" job market and to social support measures offered at "municipal level" (4).

For what, specifically involve southern Europe job markets, some scientists reveal that this area is characterised by "over-ruled" job markets,

(1) A. ALISSINA and A. IGINO, *Libalia fatta in casa*, Mondadori, 2008. For a widespread approach and analysis see M. BALDWIN and J. EDWARDS, "The Emerging European Immigration Regime: some Reflections on Implications for Southern Europe", *Journal. Comm. Mark. St.*, 1997, 35, 4, 513.

(2) R. PALOMBA, *Figlie di Mimera*, Franco Angeli, 2000; Milano; L. BATTISTONI, "I numeri delle donne. Partecipazione femminile al mercato del lavoro: caratteri, dinamiche e scenari", *Quaderni Spinn*, Ministero del Lavoro e delle Politiche Sociali, 2008.

(3) CNEIL, *Dossier di documentazione. L'immigrazione in Italia*, Roma, 2002. For a specific research on female migration, see E. DE FIRPO, "La componente femminile dell'immigrazione", E. FUGLISE, A. BERTANI (eds.), *Rapporto Immigrazione*, Ediesse, Roma, 2000; M. MACKAY, F. QUASSIO (eds.), *The Italian case: Socio-economic characteristics of immigrant business in Italy*, Second Conference of the "Working on the fringes: Immigrant businesses, economic integration and informal practices network", Jerusalem, June 2000.

(4) Also tax law has an important weight in woman decision to enter or remain in the job market, considering also the distinction between individual and familiar taxation, which meant a different and higher tax pressure in front of a second earner in the same family.

especially on matters as employment, dismissal, and different and peculiar contractual schemes. These elements, together with costly initial wages, make difficult women entrance in the job market.

According to Brewster and Rindfuss (5) the public offer of child care and family support explains lots of the differences among different countries, but it is a complex datum, really hard to detect, collect and interpret. Not by chance, lots of economic and statistics studies do not pretend to interpret and explain this datum, but use it only to describe a phenomenon.

It's a fact broadly recognized that we are one of the advanced countries with most obsolete *welfare system and not able* to protect the population from risks and to promote virtuous choices. Not by chance, the Italian system is characterised by the lower percentage of juvenile occupation and one of the worse combinations between births and female presence in the job market in the area OCSE.

According to Brewster and Rindfuss studies, the negative relationship between child-family care and participation to job market could be modified in a positive direction reducing the conflict between familiar responsibility and work. This goal could be achieved through public efforts, which take in the right consideration the normal evolution of job market and the female-family needs. The two authors have examined some family welfare policies and have argued that an univocal classification is nearly impossible or, in any case, not useful, as every policy has its peculiar and different aims and backgrounds. Moreover, empirical evidence and results on these policies effects are not always clear and certain.

The evaluation of the effects of child and family costs is really hard and implies the knowledge of many pieces of information such as, for example, costs of different opportunities for families. Quite often these pieces of information are not available and are referred only to part of population and in many countries the public support has a really different weight. The welfare system seems to be stronger in France and in the Scandinavian area, while the public effort is absent in English language Countries. (6)

(5) K. BREWSTER, R. RINDFUSS, "Fertility and women's employment in industrialized nations", *Annual Review of Sociology*, 2000, 26, 271-296.

(6) Relevant data are on Istat, "Alcuni indicatori del mercato del lavoro del Panel europeo sulle famiglie", *Informazioni*, No. 26, 2003; P. GAMBALDI, C. OLIVETTI, C. PERRONICO AND E. WASTEN, "Women in the labour force: how well is Europe doing?", I. BOERI, D. DEL BOCA AND C. PISSARIDS (eds.), *Women at work: an economic perspective*, 2004, Oxford University Press; for a summary on the recent evolution of male and female occupation in Italy L. SASSAUBI, *Come cambia la vita delle donne - Ministero per le Pari opportunità*, 2004.

A relevant data are statute provisions on parental leave (mother or father oriented), which are really heterogeneous in different Countries (7).

The investigation *Galca, Gender Analyses and Expensive Long Term Assistance*, realized as part of the project promoted by the European Committee and coordinated by the Foundation Giacomo Brodolini, has compared Italy, Denmark and Ireland analysing costs, structures and family responsibilities. In the first two countries, more than the 90% of the elderly ones is assisted at home or in equipped apartments, while Ireland records more than the 20% of assisted in rest homes, rest homes or sanitary residences. In Italy, when the elderly people assistance is at home, almost exclusively a relative, primarily woman, makes load of the elderly ones, while in Denmark the same service is public. In Italy, in particular, more often families make recourse to the services of the immigrants. In fact, the greatest number of foreign workers is employed in those that are statistically called *services to the families*: the 10,8% of the total one, against the 1,2% of the United Kingdom (8) and the 1,9% of the United States (9).

According to prudent evaluation, professional caregivers (not cleaning lady, housemaid or generic domestic helper) are more than 700,000, and at least 300,000 of them have not residence permit. It must be said that wide part of the foreigners employers who work in our country, because of the ties of the law, have entered in Italy in irregular way. The following regularization for the one that finds not an employment in a family is not simple or subsequent. This determines a problematic and unstable situation with disadvantages for everybody. A lot of families seem to have solved a problem with a person that provide for the necessary care, but they have another new problem, consisting in the long and complicated procedure to regularize the position of the irregular immigrated caregivers according to the provisions which fix limited quotas, or in the confirmations, that periodically

(7) For a complete study on parental leave in legislation Europe, USA and Japan, see S. TANAKA, "Parental leave and child health across OECD countries", *The Economic Journal*, 115, 2005.

(8) For a complete analysis on immigration in the United Kingdom, see Z. LEIGHTON AND F. HENRY, *Britain: "The World Be Zero Immigration Country"*, W.A. CONSERIUS, P.L. MARTIN AND J.F. HOLLIFIELD (eds.), *Controlling Immigration - A Global Perspective* Stanford University Press, Stanford, 1994; I. MACDONALD, *Immigration Law and Practice in the United Kingdom*, Butterworths, London, 2001.

(9) Fondazione Istan, *Docicissimo rapporto sulle migrazioni*, 2006. For a systematic approach on immigration and integration and to understand how it has changed in the last twenty years, see R. WALDINGER, *Immigrant integration in the post-industrial Metropolis: a View from the United States*, Milano, 1996; on the same theme, but from a different point of view, see L. VENTURINI, "Extent of Competition between and Complementarity among National and Third-World Migrant Workers in the Labour Market: an Exploration of the Italian Case", AA. VV., *The Jobs and Effects of Migrant Workers in Italy - Three Essays*, Geneva, 1996, 30.

the Government foresees (10). Now, the statute on public security makes the things, if possible, still painful and complicated, because of the norms that punish as a crime the entry and the illegal stay of the foreigners (11).

In this way, the looser will be the virtuous part of immigration: Italian families with the great necessity of assistance, but also the entire system.

The strict enforcement of recent provisions could have negative effects: the system of informal welfare would collapse and would subsequently fall the female occupation. A disaster, especially considering the actual economic recession and the confirmation that the Italian State is not enough careful about true problems of the families: it abandons them and not arranges and drafts structural reforms to the welfare system that would allow the Country to grow and its unable to find answers to family demand, who try to find solutions on their own, with their economic and personal skills.

A possible solution, similar to the French and the German model, is to introduce a sort of compulsory social insurance to pay care and assistance costs, and also to afford services to elder and disabled people, modulating the fee and the services having regard to the concrete case (12).

In this way, families can choose the correct mix of care, public and private services.

The system would oblige insurance companies to ensure new complex services and to give job opportunities to new professionals care givers, nurses, psychologists and so on, with the relevant consequences to create regular job demand.

I. - THE ITALIAN LAST GOVERNMENT POLICY

The model, which comes out from the last Government program, was focused on a family agreement, where grandparents help in children care while neo-parents try to maintain their position in the job market.

(10) See M. CUNBERN, "Espulsione dello straniero e libertà costituzionali", *Dir. Pubbl.*, 2000, 831; and also N. ZOZZELLA, "Il disegno di regolamentazione e l'immediata espulsione dello straniero", *Dir. Imm. Cit.*, 2003, I, 58; V. CAU and J. VILAUD, "Lo sviluppo della tutela antidiscriminatoria nel diritto comunitario", *Dir. Lav. Rel. Ind.*, 2003, 351; in English, R. CHOLEWICKI, *Migrant Workers in International Human Rights Law - Their Protections in Conventions of Employment*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1997.

(11) See L. 89/2002, known as Bossi-Fini, which establish the expulsion and immediate re-atriation of the foreigners, illegally entered into Italian boundaries, through the public force intervention.

(12) This seems to be the direction of Moris's Government programs. Actually, at the moment we have only legislative drafts and proposals, but nothing is certain.

In consideration of these, daughters and daughters in law would take care of elderly people when they become non self-sufficient.

So we have formal and informal care and assistance obligations, without an adequate economic and services support. The Italian model isn't able to achieve a primary goal: elderly care is not the opposite of female occupation.

According to the Italian last Government joint document by Minister of social and employ policy and Minister of equal opportunity *Italia 2020*: "The number of elderly people, cohabitants or not, who offer their support to family needs and manage is surprising increasing. They give help accompanying and assisting minor children, ensuring woman the possibility to remain in the job market. In other cases they use their retirement pension for family needs and at the same time they find an answer to their loneliness and fears. This is the intergenerational pact that we intend to promote."

Simplifying, summarizing and criticizing: minimum public effort maximum private result. Actually, nothing new under our sky, as long as public policies don't provide instruments to promote the intergenerational pact model and to ensure the inclusion of women in the job market (13), for example through a more participation of male workers in family life and needs (14), promoting parental leave (15).

Actually, it has to be underlined the cautious approach suggested by OECD (16) in evaluating motherhood policies effects: "A generous work-family reconciliation package is certainly indispensable, but it does not appear to be enough. [...] Labour market penalty linked to low education is even higher for women than the penalty connected to motherhood."

(13) N. BERNARD, "A New Governance - Approach to Economic, Social and Cultural Rights in the EU", *Social and Labour Rights in a Global Context International and Comparative Perspectives*, B. HERRN (ed.), Cambridge, 2003, 247; and also C. BARNARD, S. DEAN, "Corporate Governance, European Governance and Social Rights", *Social and Labour Rights in a Global Context International and Comparative Perspectives*, B. HERRN (ed.), Cambridge, 2003, 122.

(14) S. COURRANT, *Family Men, Fatherhood, Housework and Gender Equity*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1996.

(15) See L. CALVÀ, *Paternità e lavoro*, Bologna, Il Mulino, 2007; for an interesting comparison between European and USA policies on motherhood and work see C. J. RICH, "How well do parents with young children combine work and family life?" Working paper 10247, National Bureau of Economic Research, 2004; R. LAURE and J. ZWENGLER, "Does parental leave affect fertility and return-to-work? Evidence from a true natural experiment", Working Paper n. 242, Institute for Empirical Research in Economics, University of Zurich, 2005; M. BAKER and K. MURTAGH, "How does job-protected maternity leave affect mothers' employment and infant health?" Working paper among new mothers", *Demography*, 36, 2, 145-155, 1999; C.L. BAUM, "The effect of state maternity leave legislation and the 1993 Family and Medical Leave Act on employment and wages", *Labour Economics*, 10, 573-596, 2003.

(16) OECD, *Employment outlook*, 2002.

Immediately after the already cited paragraph, the document *Italia 2020* identifies possible solutions to support the intergenerational pact:

1. tax exemption or immunity or better, tax relief;
2. flexible employ agreement and flexible work time table (17).

In other words there isn't a public effort in terms of economic and service support, not an effective welfare intervention, because the costs of these solutions are upon family or owner-employer shoulders.

On one side, we walk on the already known path of minimal fee breaks for families who take care of their relatives and, on the other side, we promise to establish a new duty to owners and employers to re-organize the firm or the enterprise, according to care needs of his relative's workers.

Moreover, in the Government program is described a passive role of the State, who coordinates the dialogue between employers and workers to find an autonomous solution to the rebus of double necessity: increase the percentage of female occupation - ensure to elderly care needs.

The document is considered a perfect example of the default *familismo* formal declaration and obligation for families to assist their member, who needs care, but no public and welfare effective support.

The Government seems to ignore the EU other member State welfare policies on this field, providing a system of social protection, which cover the necessity of a population who grows up and become older and older in a really speedy way (18).

Actually, our system provides, on one side, for economic support, and on the other side, for social and care service.

The economic measures are mainly two:

- *Indennità di accompagnamento*, reserved only to totally non autonomous people.
- *Assegno di cura*, only in few Regions (the richest ones), which has a diffusion of 2%.

In general, we are talking about money breaks, which are completely insufficient to pay professional caregivers on regular job market. So the alternatives are:

(17) See E. Ruscicella, *Il nuovo patto intergenerazionale della flessibilità. Monografia Ispol Mercato del lavoro 7/05*, on www.istat.it; M.C. Bombelli, S. Cuomo, *Il tempo al femminile. Organizzazione temporale tra esigenze produttive e bisogni personali*, Ebas, 2008.

(18) M. Bell, and L. Wadninton, "Diversi eppure eguali - Riflessioni sul diverso trattamento delle discriminazioni nella normativa europea in materia di eguaglianza", *Giorn. Dir. Fam. Soc. Ind.*, 2003, 373.

- to give work to an irregular care givers;
- to leave your job to take care of your relative personally (female re-nur-cation);
- to become poorer, paying a regular professional care giver.

For what concerns social and care services, they have a diffusion of 3-4% on the National level, but on ISTAT statistics, the elder population of dis-able percentage in 2000 was between 20,6 and 12,2% and has increased in the last decade.

So, if we want to support the intergeneration pact, we have to do more than these. The question has to find an answer through the coordination of three different Ministers, because it interest almost three different National Funds: the one for *non autosufficienza*, the family one and the one on social and welfare politics.

And the question is: how can we help families who decide to take care at home of a person who is not autonomous, giving job opportunity to a fam-ily assistant, but with not relevant economic resources?

Family assistants, house cleaners and caregivers job agreement has a pro-hibitive cost in Italy, really high minimum rate of the wage system (30-40% more than in the 2006). As a result, the black market is increasing and pub-lic services are inadequate, so families have to solve the problem with rest house or home services. It's becoming really hard to choose to maintain a non-autonomous person at home, having few economic resources.

This new agreement is, actually, more adequate to the economical par-otama and it's a great piece of news for professional caregivers, but it's not the same for the employers: Italian families. For them the costs are prohibi-tive, especially if the family assistant is co-habitant: EUR 1,500 every month.

This is plus or minus the same amount for a place in a rest house in most of the Italian regions: Emilia Romagna, Veneto, Toscana and in differ-ent other contexts.

So, *badante* is no more competitive or she is less competitive than in the past, and we can imagine two future possibilities.

First of all, again the increase of the black market, because it's cheaper and, of course, less professional. So, this would increase and improve the illegal collusion between employers and workers.

A second hypothesis is the demand and return to public services (19), in rest house or at home, because costs are cheaper, while quality

(19) B. Caruso, "Le politiche di immigrazione in Italia e in Europa: più Stato e meno Mercato?", *Dir. Merc. Lav.*, 2000, 279.

and professionalism should be higher. The lack, in this case, would be in the assistance intensity, which is the best offer of *badante*-cohabitant (n.24).

It has to be said that statistics data show a wide spread change: the reduction of family assistant who accept the co-habitation solution. This trend is becoming common in different areas of our country and it is connected to an integration of these women in the social context. They often have an autonomous accommodation. This allow them to ask for family re-joining (or reunion), so that - at certain conditions - they can call their parents and relatives from their native Country (20). In such panorama, family assistants prefer a "x hour wage system." This solution, if the timetable is well organized, can ensure the same economic income of the co-habiting model (21).

Another solution is the possible increasing of accommodation demand in rest houses, because it is less expensive for families in terms of costs, presence and support of relatives, and also of quality intervention and support.

The entrance in the European Union of Countries such as Romania and Bulgaria is changing a little bit the panorama, because these are Countries that export *badanti* and caregivers in Italy (22). The free movement of people and workers in the EU (23), would contribute to reduce the percentage

(20) W. CHOLEWICKI, "Family Reunification and Condition Placed on Family Members: Dismantling a fundamental human Right", *Eur. Jour. Mig. Law*, 2002, 3, 271, with a statistic and sociological approach, in Italian, G. ZINCONI, *Primo rapporto sull'integrazione degli immigrati in Italia*, Bologna, 1999; on the author opinion on the economic weight of immigrated workers as fundamental consequences on the low or high level of their social integration, see G. ZINCONI (ed.), *Cittadinanza e migrazione: un' applicazione al caso italiano*, Atti del Convegno "L'incidenza economica dell'immigrazione", Firenze 11th-12th December 2003.

(21) Some statistical data can explain how immigration has changed in Italy in the last ten years and which is the integration level of immigrated people. In particular, we can say that two kinds of immigrants are more protected, also after the entering in force 109/2003 European directive: EU citizens and people who have obtained a "CE long time-permit to stay". The European Union opening at East has determined the increasing of EU citizens, resident and domiciled in Italy: 1,241,368 in 2008. In the same year we have registered 1,011,967 people with a "CE long time-permit to stay". This particular permit can be given after five years staying in Italy and do not need an every year renewal. This represents an intermediate step to obtain the Italian citizenship after others five years. During 2010 these two kinds of immigrated have numerically increased but already in 2009 they represented the 53,2% of the 4,235,059 immigrated regularly resident in Italy. Actually, more than the half of immigrated population has already a strong juridical status, which cannot be discriminated in the access to welfare services under the above cited EU directive. These data are on line, cfr. www.istat.it.

(22) G.J. BORIAS, R.B. FREDMAN and L.F. KATZ (eds.), *Searching for the Effect of Immigration on the Labour Market*, Cambridge, 1996, 28. For an interesting approach, see B. GOSI, *Managing Migration - Time for a new international regime?*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2000; B. GOSI, "Towards a new international regime of orderly movements of people", B. GOSI, *Managing Migration - Time for a new international regime?*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2000, pp. 6-26. See also, J. MERRIS, "Theories of International Immigration Policy - A Comparative Analysis", *Int. Migration Rev.*, vol. 34, 2000, p. 1245 and ff.

(23) For a complete analysis of EU Politics in the last decades see M. WESS, "The Politics of EU Charter of Fundamental Rights", *Social and Labour Rights in a Global Context International and Comparative Perspectives*, B. HERRI, Cambridge, 2003, 73; N. EMAMOU, "Subsidiarity: Panacea or

of irregular workers without a residence permit to stay in Italy and in the next years we will assist to a different configuration of the familiar assistance job market; maybe more fragmented, but in a different way: not only through the distinction between clandestine and not clandestine workers, but between the ones who has a regular job and the other ones who work "in black (24)". So we would have:

- integrated and professional *badanti*, more expensive and with more risk of non-occupation,
- new arrived ones, less qualified and professional, but cheaper (25).

III. - ... TO EXPLICIT FAMILISMO - A COMPARISON WITH OTHER EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

Alternative models aren't only the Scandinavian ones, which have the tendency to disaggregate families, but also the explicit *familismo*, supported by public resources and in which the family has to afford the weight of the most part of care and assistance work, but with the economic support of considerable money transfer and accompaniment benefit and services. For example, care systems in Austria and Germany are based on the same Italian principles, but the difference is that in those countries they have an effective public offer of the necessary service, both in rest house or at home, all over the interested areas. In other words the percentage of person who has the right to these service and the persons who use effectively these service

Fig Leaf", D. O'KEEFE and P.M. TWOMEY (eds.), *Legal Issues of the Maastricht Treaty*, Chancery, London, 1994; E. GULD, "Primary Immigration: The Great Myths", E. GULD and C. HANLOW (eds.), *Implementing Amsterdam: Immigration and Asylum Rights in EC Law*, Hart Publishing, Oxford-Portland, 2001. For a wide analysis of international rules, see I.S. BOSSAK, "Human Rights, State Sovereignty and Protection of Undocumented Migrants Under the International Migrant Workers Convention", *Int. Migration Rev.*, 1991, Vol. XXV, No. 4; M.E. FIX and L. LAGARON, "Social Rights and Citizenship: An International Comparison", T.A. ALLENKOPF and D. KUSHWER (eds.), *Citizenship for an Age of Migration*, The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington D.C., 2002.

(24) R. BARRERA and R. TRARRO, "Inserimento, lavoro, integrazione e la politica dell'immigrazione", *Econom. It.*, 2002, 419. In English, G.J. BORIAS, *Economic research on the determinants of immigration: lessons for the European Union*, World Bank, Washington, 1999. For a global approach, see W.A. CORNELIUS, P.L. MARTIN and J.F. HOLLIFIELD (eds.), *Controlling Immigration. A global perspective*, Stanford University Press, 1994; again W.A. CORNELIUS, P.L. MARTIN and J.F. HOLLIFIELD, "Introduction: the ambivalent quest for immigration control", W.A. CORNELIUS, P.L. MARTIN and J.F. HOLLIFIELD (eds.), *Controlling Immigration - A global perspective*, Stanford University Press, 1994; E. RENZI, "Migrants Involvement in Irregular Employment in the Mediterranean Countries of the European Union", *International Migration Papers*, n. 41, Geneva, Io, 2011.

(25) European Commission - DG Justice and Home Affairs, "Admission of third country national for paid employment or self-employment activity", the research is by Ecotec Research and Consulting Limited, Luxembourg. Office for Official Publication of the European Communities, 2001.

are quite often the same and really higher than in Italy. Moreover in those countries there are insurance systems for long term care and assistance programs, which allow a real and significant support to families.

In 2006, the accompaniment benefits in Italy was EUR 450, while the maximum money transfer in Austria was EUR 1,562, in Germany the maximum contribution was of EUR 665 or EUR 1,432 if the beneficiary would opted for services, instead of money cash.

Actually, it has to be underlined also the circumstance that Austria and Germany are systems that take in consideration different level of disability and graduate the possible answers, including also less serious cases. In these two countries families are free to choose if they want to receive services, money or a mix of these to different kind of public intervention.

Coming back to the last Government programmatic document Italia 2020, unfortunately, we have to say that there are no sign that the Italian system is going in this direction: no any extension of the number of beneficiaries of economic contributions, no any provision to adequate the quantum to the European level.

If families should continue to take care of their elderly non-autonomous relatives, without a higher and qualified offer of public services or without sufficient money contributions, the obvious consequences would be again:

- cheap and non-professional *badanti* from the black market;
- coming out of daughter and daughter in law from job market.

In fact, default *familiismo* doesn't help women to maintain their job... and it's strange if we consider that the main purpose and goal of the Italia 2020 program is exactly to promote the entrance of women in the job market. The risk for Italian women is that the 2020 Italy would be exactly the same of 2010 one.

IV. - BUILDING AN ALTERNATIVE TO THE BLACK MARKET

Many active projects, today, have the relevant aim to build an alternative to the private home assistance black market. A market notoriously characterized by scarce qualification, high discontinuity of assistance and different forms of loneliness that meet together each other (those one of immigrated women and those one of families) far from the services' system.

The problem is not simply "to do something," as, for example, courses to specialize or structure, whose mission is to find a link between the demand and the offer of these kind of professionals, but above all to organize a real system ...

I mean that it has no sense to promote a high level and professionally formed *badanti* (26), if this is not accompanied by mechanisms to sustain the greatest cost of whom is formed. In other words it has sense only if the Government support families' abilities of expense. Otherwise the risk is that the job market then expels the ones who are professionally formed, because there is no place and remuneration to give the correct value to their new competences.

Some local project (27), in fact are in a stand by situation, because workers do not take part to them as the real and effective benefits are not clear in terms of finding a job adequately paid.

Creating new and specialized professionals, spin off services and connection between work demand and offer is not enough to ensure the outing of black market, the transformation of this work from submerged/de-qualified into qualified/regular. All of these instruments will be vain if they are not part of a complex and systematic project. Without this precondition we will have only interesting, but ineffective and impracticable results.

We can discuss then of professional profiles, economic support, accompanying services, but without forgetting that all of these must be tied to a context such as the Italian job market in continuous crisis and construction.

(26) S. PASQUINELLI, "Assistenti familiari: le questioni aperte", *Prospettive Sociali e Sanitarie*, No. 14, 2006 and different interventions on the newsletter www.qualificare.info.
(27) Cf. D. MASONI, S. PASQUINELLI and G. RUSMINI, *Il lavoro privato di cura in Lombardia*, Milano, 2006; and also <http://www.qualificare.info/index.php?id=92>.